

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE MacGREGORS BEFORE 1571

by

Martin D.W. MacGregor

Presented for the degree of Ph.D.  
University of Edinburgh

1989



Do mo mhàthair, agus mar  
chuidhneachan air m'athair.

I declare this is entirely my own work and no part  
of it has been previously published in the form now  
presented.

Martin D. W. MacGregor

Martin D.W. MacGregor

June 1989

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the help and support of many people to whom I would like to express my gratitude. My supervisors, Dr. John Bannerman and Dr. William Ferguson have been a constant source of encouragement. Their careful reading of my work at the manuscript stage has resulted in my making numerous corrections and improvements which have been incorporated into the final version. It is to Dr. Bannerman that I owe my choice of research topic, while I have benefited greatly from his specialist knowledge of the kin-based society of the late medieval Highlands. I would like to thank Professor I.B. Cowan for permission to consult the Argyll Transcripts housed in the Scottish History Department at Glasgow University; and the staffs of the Scottish Record Office and the National Library of Scotland for their efficiency and courtesy. Several fellow researchers have been kind enough to supply me with references which they have come across in the course of their own studies; in this respect I would particularly like to mention Mr. John Ballantyne.

During this last year, the moral and practical support of my family and friends, and of all the members of staff, and post-graduate students, within the Scottish History Department at Edinburgh University, has been invaluable to me. I owe a special debt to my mother, Mrs. Jane MacGregor, who transcribed virtually the whole of the original manuscript, to Mrs. Doris Williamson, who produced the typescript with great speed and accuracy, and to my friend David E. Brown, who carried out all the proof-reading and assisted with the preparation of the maps. Finally, my special

thanks are due to the Clan Gregor Society, who very generously awarded me a grant which has helped to keep body and soul together over the past two years.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations conform to the List of abbreviated titles of the printed sources of Scottish history to 1560, published as a supplement to the Scottish Historical Review, October 1963, with the following additions and variations:

<u>ADC</u>	<u>Acta Dominorum Concilii</u> , SRO.
<u>ADC i</u>	<u>The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, 1478-1495</u> , ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1839).
<u>ADC ii</u>	<u>The Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, 1496-1501</u> , edd. G. Neilson and H. Paton (Edinburgh, 1918).
<u>ADC (Public)</u>	<u>The Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554</u> , ed. R.K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932).
<u>AT</u>	<u>Argyll Transcripts</u> made by 10th Duke of Argyll, in Glasgow University Scottish History Department.
Bannerman, "The Lordship of the Isles"	Bannerman, J.W.M., "The Lordship of the Isles", in <u>Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century</u> , ed. J.M. Brown (London, 1977), 209-40.
Barrow, <u>Robert Bruce</u>	Barrow, G.W.S., <u>Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland</u> (2nd edn., Edinburgh, 1976).
Black, <u>Catalogue</u>	Black, R., <u>Catalogue of the the classical Gaelic MSS. in The National Library of Scotland</u> (forthcoming).
<u>Breadalbane Muns.</u>	<u>The Breadalbane Muniments</u> , SRO GD112.
<u>Chron. BDL.</u>	Gregory, D., "A short obituary relating to the Highlands", <u>Arch. Scotica</u> iii (1831), 317-28.
<u>Chron. Fortingall</u>	"The Chronicle of Fortingall" in <u>The Black Book of Taymouth</u> (Bannatyne Club, 1855), 109-48.
<u>Companion to Gaelic Scotland</u>	<u>The Companion to Gaelic Scotland</u> , ed. D.S. Thomson (Oxford, 1983).



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- Haws, C.H., Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation 1540-1574 (SRS, 1972).
- HMC
- Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (London, 1870 - ).
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- MacGregor, Coll.  
(MacGregor Transcripts)
- The John MacGregor Collection, SRO GD50/187.
- MacGregor, Coll.  
(Menzies Writs)
- The John MacGregor Collection, SRO GD50/186.
- Manrent Book (Cailean Liath)
- Book of bonds of manrent made to Cailean Liath, sixth chief of the Campbells of Glen Orchy: SRO GD112/24.
- Manrent Book (Donnchadh Dubh)
- Book of bonds of manrent made to Donnchadh Dubh, seventh chief of the Campbells of Glen Orchy: SRO GD112/24.

- Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland  
 NLS  
 NRA (Scot)  
Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton  
 RCAHMS  
 SGTS  
 Skene, Celtic Scotland  
 SRO  
 SRS  
SS  
Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture  
 Stewart, Memorials  
 STS  
Thirds of Benefices  
 Watson, Celtic Place-Names  
 Watson, Scottish Verse  
 Watt, Fasti  
 Wormald, Lords and Men
- Nicholls, K., Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages (Dublin, 1972).  
 National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.  
 National Register of Archives (Scotland).  
The Protocol Book of Gavin Hamilton: SRO GD112/5/10.  
 Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.  
 Scottish Gaelic Texts Society.  
 Skene, W.F., Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban (Edinburgh, 1886-90).  
 Scottish Record Office, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.  
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 Wormald, J., Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603 (Edinburgh, 1985).

NOTE ON NOMENCLATURE

The mother-tongue of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the late medieval Highlands was Gaelic and they bore Gaelic names. That fact is largely obscured by the surviving sources, predominantly written in Latin or Scots, in which these names are represented by Latin or Scots equivalents of the Gaelic forms, or else the Gaelic form is preserved but in a Scots-based orthography. Modern historians writing in English have tended to adhere to those Latinised or Scotticised renderings.

The system of nomenclature I have adopted attempts to reconcile the desire to make it clear that the society under consideration was a Gaelic-speaking one, with the limitations imposed by the fact that this thesis is composed in English. In the case of Gaelic surnames for which an accepted English equivalent exists (e.g. MacGregor, Macintyre, Campbell, Robertson), the English form is used. Gaelic surnames which possess no accepted English equivalent (e.g. MacThearlaich, MacThàmhais), have been given in Gaelic. Personal names and epithets have also been Gaelicised in every case where a reasonable certainty exists that the individual concerned was Gaelic-speaking, providing that the Gaelic original which underlies the recorded form of the name or epithet can securely be deduced. Forms which I have failed to identify are given as they appear in the sources, and underlined.

Wherever possible, place-names are given in the form in which they appear on the modern Ordnance Survey one-inch map. Unidentified forms are again reproduced as they appear in the original source, and underlined.

ABSTRACT

By the late sixteenth century, in the eyes of Scottish central government the MacGregors had come to be perceived as probably the most violent and lawless of the Highland clans. This fact has been noted, but never adequately explained, by previous historians. This thesis attempts to remedy that defect by conducting the first detailed examination of the earlier history of the MacGregors. In the process light is shed upon aspects of the kin-based society of the late medieval Highlands: the different political strata existing within it; the dynamics operating within it; and the role of the crown therein. It is shown that the MacGregors came into being in the fourteenth century, in the lordship of Glen Orchy in north-east Argyll; that by the earlier fifteenth century they had become a client kindred in the service of the Campbells; that between 1437 and 1550, MacGregor expansion eastwards (a phenomenon which was facilitated by actions of the crown) throughout a zone extending from Rannoch south to the Lennox was instrumental in enabling the Campbell chiefs to bring these territories into their sphere of influence; and that within the same period two new Campbell branches - those of Glen Orchy and, to a lesser extent, Cawdor - came into being on the back of MacGregor military power. In particular, the pre-eminence which the Campbells of Glen Orchy had achieved in Breadalbane by the early sixteenth century owed much to their close relationship with the MacGregors, and to the extensive settlement of the latter within this area. As a result of their rapid and successful expansion eastwards, however, the MacGregors increased

greatly in power, so much so that by 1550 they had become a threat to the continued supremacy of the Campbells of Glen Orchy within Breadalbane. The attempts of the Glen Orchy chief Cailean Liath to neutralise that threat after 1550 sparked off a major feud in 1562, whose course was heavily influenced by national politics. Although finally resolved in 1570/1, the feud left a double legacy: the relationship between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors never recovered, while the latter's reputation for violence was now established.

## INTRODUCTION

In the general histories of Scotland, the MacGregors make their first appearance in connection with the Highland policies of James VI.<sup>1</sup> In February 1603 the MacGregors defeated the Colquhouns in a major engagement fought at Glen Fruin on west Loch Lomondside. On 3 April, James and his privy council ordained that:

the name of m<sup>c</sup>gregoure suldbe altogidder abolisched and that the hail persounes of that clan suld renunce thair name and tak thame sum uther name and that They nor nane of thair posteritie suld call thame selffis gregor or m<sup>c</sup>gregoure thaireftir under the payne of deade.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequent measures and actions had as their aim the extermination of the kindred.<sup>3</sup> That this was not achieved is not to deny the exceptional repression which the MacGregors experienced in specific phases after April 1603. The laws passed against them were finally repealed only in November 1774.<sup>4</sup>

It was originally envisaged that this thesis would deal with the consequences of the proscription of April 1603, in the belief that, if one could explain how the MacGregors maintained their identity as a clan in the face of attempts to destroy that identity, much light might thereby be shed on the nature of clan society in seventeenth century Scotland. It seemed only logical to begin by investigating the history of the MacGregors prior to 1603. It soon became clear both that that history as yet remained

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1. Donaldson, James V - James VII, 231-2; R. Mitchison, A History of Scotland (London, 1970), 171; R. Mitchison, Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603-1745 (The New History of Scotland series, vol. v, 1983), 15-16; W.C. Dickinson, Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603 (3rd edn., revised by A.A.M. Duncan, Oxford, 1977), 389.
  2. APS iv (1593-1625), 550b.
  3. Ibid., 550b-551a; RPC ix (1610-13), xxxiii-xlii; Donaldson, James V - James VII, 232.
  4. Kermack, The Clan MacGregor, 30.

unwritten, and that sufficient source material survived with which to reconstruct it. Further research revealed the existence of a particularly rich seam of evidence for the years between 1550 and 1570/1; and that the latter point represented an important landmark in MacGregor history. In its final form then, this thesis consists of an enquiry into the history of the MacGregors before 1570/1 - although in parts of Chapters IV and V it has proved necessary to look beyond the terminus in order to render earlier developments fully intelligible.

The aims and terms of reference of our enquiry have naturally been determined by the present state of historical knowledge respecting the MacGregors in particular, and the Highlands in general, within the late medieval period. The inadequacy of our knowledge on both counts can best be appreciated if we point out that the most detailed examination of the history of the MacGregors prior to 1603 remains a paper by Donald Gregory, read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1830;<sup>5</sup> and that the same author's History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland, from AD 1493 - AD 1625, first published in 1836, is still the best general history of the late medieval Highlands in print.

The lack of a full-scale treatment of the earlier history of the MacGregors contrasts oddly with the fact that two major attempts have been made to collect the source material on which the making of such a synthesis depends. Gregory himself was a key figure

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5. Gregory, Inquiry.

in the first phase, in the earlier nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, in the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, Edinburgh lawyer John MacGregor made a very extensive compilation of historical material relating to the Highlands, much of it concerned with his own surname, and which is now housed in the Scottish Record Office.<sup>7</sup> Yet the step from compilation to composition was never properly made. Donald Gregory would almost certainly have expanded upon his paper of 1830 had it not been for his death in 1836. The most substantial of the clan histories - A.G.M. MacGregor's History of the Clan Gregor (1898-1901) consists largely of extracts from the primary materials collected in the early nineteenth century, with brief narrative linkage. Of works to appear this century, A.A.W. Ramsey's The Arrow of Glenlyon (1930), W.R. Kermack's The Clan MacGregor (1953) and F. Macgregor's Clan Gregor (1977) all deal very briefly with events prior to 1571, while Kermack alone adopts a scholarly and critical approach.

The failure to establish the history of the MacGregors prior to the late sixteenth century on a solid footing has left a vacuum which some commentators have filled simply by assuming that what was true of the proscription era must have been equally true of earlier periods of the clan's history. General histories of Scotland note that the MacGregors had achieved a notorious reputation for violence and lawlessness by the late sixteenth century, but are unable to offer any detailed and coherent

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6. MacGregor, Clan Gregor i, 2-3.

7. The John MacGregor Collection: SRO GD50.



explanation as to why this was so; some authors suggest or imply that such behaviour had long been characteristic of the clan.<sup>8</sup> Again, it has often been argued that the MacGregors' difficulties began well before 1603. Gregory believed that it was to the reign of Robert I that their "downfall" should be dated;<sup>9</sup> others point to the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when the Campbells acquired the lordship of Glen Orchy in north-east Lorn;<sup>10</sup> writing of events c.1600, E.J. Cowan states that the MacGregors, "had suffered persecution and harassment for close on a century".<sup>11</sup> Finally, the role played by the Campbells in helping to implement Government policies against the MacGregors after 1603<sup>12</sup> has fuelled the assumption that the relationship between both these kindreds was confrontational from the start; that the Campbells, indeed, pursued a deliberate policy of depriving the MacGregors of their lands. The establishment of a son of the Campbell lord of Loch Awe in the lands of Glen Orchy in 1432 has been seen as a landmark in this process. Ian Grimble refers to, "the Campbell campaign to dispossess the MacGregors", which began in 1432 and culminated in 1603.<sup>13</sup> In Sheriff Macphail's estimation, the Glen Orchy Campbells, "pursued a policy of ruthless harrying of their less powerful neighbours till they got the whole country into their hands", the MacGregors being numbered among these "less powerful neighbours".<sup>14</sup> Commenting on early sixteenth century evidence for

8. See supra n.1, for references.

9. Gregory, Inquiry, 133.

10. Kermack, The Clan MacGregor, 8-9; Companion to Gaelic Scotland, 174.

11. E.J. Cowan, "Fishers in Drumlie Waters: Clanship and Campbell Expansion in the time of Gilleasbuig Gruamach", TGSI liv (1984-6), 284.

12. Ibid., 286-90.

13. Companion to Gaelic Scotland, 174.

14. Highland Papers iv, 198.

cultural collaboration involving members of both kindreds, W.J. Watson observed that such cooperation was not precluded by "hostile relations between the MacGregors and the Campbells".<sup>15</sup>

Another symptom of the neglect of earlier MacGregor history is the divergence of the views of the few commentators there have been on a number of very basic issues. Firstly, there is the question of origins. There still persists a widespread popular belief that the MacGregors are of royal descent. Early modern genealogical tracts and certain clan histories assert that the MacGregors derive from the ninth century King Alpin: the MacGregor eponym was a King Gregory, a brother or son of Alpin's own son Kenneth, first king of Picts and Scots.<sup>16</sup> It follows that the MacGregors came into being as a clan in the Dark Age period, and presumably this explains Donald Gregory's statement that the MacGregors were already an "ancient tribe" by the time of the Wars of Independence.<sup>17</sup> More recently, however, W.D.H. Sellar has challenged the notion of a royal descent,<sup>18</sup> while he and others have suggested that the eponym must have lived in the fourteenth and not the ninth century.<sup>19</sup>

Secondly, there is the question of the MacGregors' settlement pattern. There is general agreement that the earliest area with

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15. Watson, Scottish Verse, xvii.

16. R. Douglas, The Baronage of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1798), 493; MacGregor, Clan Gregor i, 5; W.D.H. Sellar, "Highland Family Origins - Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking", in The Inverness Field Club, The Middle Ages in the Highlands (Inverness, 1981), 109.

17. Gregory, Inquiry, 133.

18. Sellar, op. cit., 109-10.

19. Ibid., 110; Companion to Gaelic Scotland, 44, 174; R.A. Dodghson, 'Pretense of Blude' and 'Place of thair Duelling': The Nature of Scottish Clans, 1500-1745, in (edd.) R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte, Scottish Society 1500-1800 (Cambridge, 1989), 195.

which the MacGregors can confidently be associated is Glen Orchy.<sup>20</sup> However, Gregory's belief that there was already a heavy MacGregor presence throughout western Perthshire by the later thirteenth century<sup>21</sup> is directly at odds with W.R. Kermack's assertion that, "there is little actual evidence that MacGregors were extensively settled outside Argyll", before 1432.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, we have already referred to the general assumption that relations between the MacGregors and the Campbells were always hostile. Indeed, W.R. Kermack has argued that it was as a direct consequence of their being deprived of Glen Orchy by the Campbells in 1432 that the MacGregors were forced to disperse eastwards;<sup>23</sup> and in this he has been followed by R.A. Dodghson, who speaks of "the retreat of the MacGregors in the face of expansion by the Campbells of Glen Orchy".<sup>24</sup> But a different view is advanced by Rev. W. Gillies. While Gillies argued that the MacGregors were settled in Breadalbane before the Campbells of Glen Orchy arrived there, he clearly did not believe that the MacGregors had been driven eastwards because of Campbell expansion. On the contrary, he suggests that, "relations between the MacGregors and the early lairds of Glenorchy were quite good" and that trouble began only after the accession of Cailean Liath, sixth laird of the Glen Orchy Campbells, in 1550.<sup>25</sup>

We turn from the MacGregors to consider the wider historiographical background. While it would be true to say that recent

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20. Gregory, Inquiry, 130-1; Kermack, The Clan MacGregor, 5-8; Companion to Gaelic Scotland, 173-4.

21. Gregory, Inquiry, 132-3.

22. Kermack, The Clan MacGregor, 13.

23. Ibid., 12.

24. R.A. Dodghson, op. cit., 195, n.96.

25. Gillies, Breadalbane, 362-3.

years have seen a marked improvement in the state of our knowledge of the late medieval Highlands, particularly as a result of the work of W.D.H. Sellar, Rev. W. Matheson and Dr. J.W.M. Bannerman,<sup>26</sup> it is nevertheless obvious that a vast amount of authoritative analysis remains to be done, both on the nature of society and its institutions, and on the individual histories of particular kindreds and localities. There is still a tendency for historians to produce surveys of clanship and society which range over the whole Highland area, and cover long time spans,<sup>27</sup> when what is really needed is detailed research at the local level. The bulk of the recent research which has adopted a local perspective has focussed almost entirely upon one particular zone, the Lordship of the Isles.<sup>28</sup> No other region has yet received comparable attention.

In the case of the present study, therefore, which is largely concerned with the territories lying immediately to the east of Argyll, the only existing guides are local histories, some of which - notably Rev. W. Gillies' In Famed Breadalbane - are fine examples of the genre, but which nevertheless are in no sense a substitute for rigorous scholarly analysis. Again, certain themes or issues which impinge upon this thesis, such as the

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26. For the works of these historians see the bibliography in Companion to Gaelic Scotland.

27. See e.g., R.W. Munro, "The Clan System - Fact or Fiction?" in The Inverness Field Club, The Middle Ages in the Highlands (Inverness, 1981), 117-29; R.A. Dodghson, *op. cit.*; D. Stevenson, Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century (Edinburgh, 1980), Chapter 1.

28. See especially Bannerman, "The Lordship of the Isles"; Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture.

remarkable rise of Campbell power, and the role of the crown in the late medieval Highlands, are at present severely under-researched.

Such, then, is the historiographical setting which has conditioned the scope and attentions of the present enquiry. In terms of the MacGregors themselves, our aim is to conduct a critical analysis of their history before 1571, investigating issues such as their origins, settlement pattern and relationship with the Campbells in an attempt to provide a rational explanation of the notoriety the MacGregors had achieved by the late sixteenth century. In the process it is hoped to create a secure foundation upon which future studies of MacGregor history beyond 1571, and indeed beyond 1603, might be built. Our approach will be almost wholly political: social, economic and cultural matters will be considered only insofar as they contribute to the establishment of a basic political framework.

In more general terms, it is hoped to use our examination of the MacGregors as a means of shedding light upon wider issues such as the rise of the Campbells and the role of the crown in the late medieval Highlands. This thesis will also attempt to create a model for a new type of clan history, by eschewing the partisanship and genealogical tunnel-vision which so often blights the genre, seeking instead to maintain an awareness of the broader historical canvas of which the MacGregors formed a part. Finally, we shall attempt to provide a more detailed examination of the mechanisms operating within the kin-based society in a particular

locality of the late medieval Highlands than has been carried out hitherto, in the belief that it is only once a whole series of similar local studies has been completed that a general history of the late medieval Highlands can be written.

CHAPTER I  
ORIGINS AND POLITICAL SETTING

"The study ... of clan - or lineage-based societies - ... is comparatively recent. It would seem that until recently researchers were unwilling to accept the reality of the claims of common descent which constitute the basic qualification of a clan".<sup>1</sup>

The words of a modern Irish historian apply with even more force to Scotland, where serious research into the origins and evolutions of clans is still in its infancy. Nevertheless, the most recent work on the Scottish side has pointed to the same conclusion that the key factor which made a clan a clan was the claim to descent from a common ancestor or eponym, many of whom can be identified as historical figures.<sup>2</sup> In examining the origins of Clann Griogair the first task we must set ourselves is identification of the eponym. Let us begin, however, with the name he bore.

The forename which in modern Scottish Gaelic is normally spelt Griogair, derives ultimately from the Greek verb gregoréo, 'to be watchful'. Thus Gregórios (Lat. Gregorius) meant 'watchman', and we can readily understand how the pastoral connotations of the name gave rise to its considerable popularity in the ecclesiastical context. It was borne by two fourth century fathers of the Eastern Church, and by no less than 16

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1. Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland, 8.

2. Companion to Gaelic Scotland, 43-4, and the sources there cited; Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 103-4.

Popes, commencing with St. Gregory the Great at the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries. Doubtless it was St. Gregory's fame, coupled with the framework of the Early Christian Church, which explains the wide currency achieved by the name in continental Europe (Ital. Gregorio, Gmn. Gregor, Fr. Grégoire).<sup>3</sup>

We can posit three routes by which the name could have entered the Gaelic milieu in Scotland. The first two depend on evidence from Ireland. The surety list of one of the Gaelic notitiae in The Book of Kells, dated 1033 x 1049, includes ri Maige Lacha .i. Gilla Griguir Ūa Dum[muic] (the king of Magh-Lacha, Gilla-Griguir ó Dummaig).<sup>4</sup> The form Gilla-Griguir (literal meaning, "devotee of Gregory") implies the existence of a cult, presumably devoted to St. Gregory the Great; and it is conceivable that the second element of the compound subsequently became detached from the first and used as a forename in its own right.

Secondly, in the twelfth century in Ireland, we find the Latin form Gregorius being used as the equivalent of the Gaelic names Gréne and Gill-Áeda, the former borne by a bishop of Dublin, the latter by a bishop of Cork.<sup>5</sup> Between the early twelfth and late thirteenth centuries, Gregorius was applied to several Scottish ecclesiastics: bishops of Moray, Dunkeld, Ross and Brechin, a dean of Strathspey, and an archdeacon of St. Andrews.<sup>6</sup> Hence it is possible that some of these men had

3. Rev. P. Woulfe, Sloinne Gaedal is Gall (Dublin, 1923), 188-9; E.G. Withycombe, The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names (Oxford, 1977), 139.

4. (Ed.), G. Mac Niocail, Notitiae as Leabhar Cheanannais 1033-1161 (Dublin, 1961), 12.

5. (Edd.), T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne, A New History of Ireland, ix, Maps, Genealogies, Lists (Oxford, 1984), 309, 295.

6. Watt, Fasti, 214; 94; 266; 39; 243; 305.



Gaelic personal names with which Gregorius was being equated. Gregorius could then have come to be used as a Gaelic forename in its own right, ultimately assuming the form Griogair.

Thirdly, there is the possibility of Norman influence. The Normans brought the name to England, where, in the form Gregory, it was common by the twelfth century.<sup>7</sup> The earliest bearers of the name in Scotland - Gregory de Melville (1165 x 1170, 1185 x 1189) and Gregory son of Geoffrey (1165 x 1174), who were possibly one and the same person - were clearly Norman incomers.<sup>8</sup> Subsequent examples are John son of Gregory, master of a Scottish ship arrested at Lynn in England in 1226;<sup>9</sup> William son of Gregory, prepositer of the burgh of Crail in 1330 and 1343;<sup>10</sup> and Gregory Lely, granted a remission in an account rendered by the sheriff of Forfar in 1359.<sup>11</sup> The forename Gregory could have been borrowed directly into Gaelic.

The earliest recorded instance of the name in Gaelic seems to be Grigair mac Gilla na nangeal ap manach Erenn (Grigair son of Gilla-na-nangeal, abbot of the monks of Ireland), who died in 1216.<sup>12</sup> But the name never took root in Ireland, despite its comparative popularity with the early Anglo-Norman settlers.<sup>13</sup> In Scotland, the earliest occurrence is apparently Gregor Makenkerd

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7. Withycombe, *op.cit.*, 139.

8. RRS ii, nos. 45, 59, 78, 266; G.W.S. Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History (Oxford, 1980), 96.

9. CDS i (1108-1272), no. 934.

10. ER i (1264-1359), 265, 305, 520.

11. Ibid., 591.

12. (Ed.), W.M. Hennessy, The Annals of Loch Cé (Rolls Series, 1871).

13. Woulfe, *op.cit.*, 189.

(i.e. mac an ceaird, son of the gold- or silver-smith) in 1297.<sup>14</sup> What was to prove the most significant attribution of the name in this context, namely to Griogair, eponymous ancestor of the MacGregors, must have taken place about this time, in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries.<sup>15</sup>

Our knowledge of the eponym, and of the earliest MacGregors, derives almost entirely from genealogical and annalistic evidence. Three pedigrees of the early MacGregor chiefs have survived. In the form in which we possess them all three can be said to have been composed between 1415 x 1440 on the one hand and c.1512 on the other. Two are to be found in that remarkable compilation, principally of Gaelic poetry, but including also material in Latin and Scots, made in the early sixteenth century and generally known as The Book of the Dean of Lismore.<sup>16</sup> The title derives from a note on p.27: Liber domini Jacobi mcgregor Decani Lismorensis. Sir James (Seumas) belonged to a family which we shall refer to in the future as the family of the dean of Lismore. It was based at Tulaich a'Mhuilinn near Fortingall at the mouth of Glen Lyon, and seems to have maintained a long association with the parish church of Fortingall.<sup>17</sup> The combination of wide-ranging cultural and literary interests with service to the church over several generations places the family among the professional learned orders of Gaelic society. There is considerable internal evidence that sir Seumas, his brother Donnchadh, and their father Dubhghall

14. CDS ii (1272-1307), no. 942. On cerd, a gold- or silver-smith, see Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 145. A possible earlier instance could be Gregorius Oder, on record in 1296, if we interpreted Oder as the personal epithet odhar (CDS ii (1272-1307), no. 576; Dictionary of the Irish Language (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1913-76), Odor).

15. Infra, p. 21.

16. NLS, Advocates' MS. 72.1.37.

17. Watson, Scottish Verse, xiv-xv; Chron. Fortingall, summer 1558; infra, P. 17.

played the critical roles in determining the contents of The Book of the Dean of Lismore.<sup>18</sup> Thus the large amount of MacGregor-related material it contains need hardly surprise us. The two genealogies can be extracted from poems which rehearse the pedigrees of the respective MacGregor chiefs they eulogise. The first, by Mac Giolla Fhionntóg an Fear-dána, addresses Maol-Coluim, chief from 1415 to 1440; the second, by Donnchadh, brother of the dean, addresses Eoin Dubh, chief from 1461 to 1519.<sup>19</sup> Donnchadh also gives us a prose version of Eoin Dubh's pedigree on p.144.<sup>20</sup>

Our third genealogy is one of a number contained in a Gaelic manuscript, nine folios long, generally known as MS 1467.<sup>21</sup> The genealogies are all on f.1 : ff.2-9 contain religious material and also provide evidence as to authorship and date and place of composition. At the top of f.7 we are told that the account of the Passion of Christ just completed was written down by Dubhghall Albannach mac mhic Chathail in the presence of Eilís Buitiléir (Elizabeth Butler) in 1467. Ff.4-5 have drawn upon them the measurements of Christ's feet, and a note states that this was done for Dubhghall Albannach by Tánaidhe Ó Maolconaire in the house of MacEgan brehon of Ormond. Thus we may be confident that "ff.2-9 at least were written in the general area of the Butler territories of Ormond in 1467",<sup>22</sup>

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18. See especially the poem beginning, Duanaire na Sracaire, by Fionnlagh Macnab, which instructs Dubhghall to "write the song-book" (Watson, Scottish Verse, 2-5; also *ibid.*, xvi-xvii). Donnchadh is one of the best represented Scottish poets in the collection with five poems. Seumas and Dubhghall, as notaries public (*infra*, may well have determined the use of secretary script and an orthography based mainly on Scots which we find in the book: cf. the legal styles on pp. 27, 35, 90, 92a, 223, 301, 314 fgmt. 4r.
19. NLS, Advocates' MS. 72.1.37, 209ff. (printed Watson, Scottish Verse, 26-31); *Ibid.*, 208.5ff. (printed Watson, Scottish Verse, 212-7).
20. For a facsimile see (ed.), T. McLauchlan, The Dean of Lismore's Book (Edinburgh, 1862), frontispiece.
21. NLS, Advocates' MS. 72.1.1.
22. Black, Catalogue.

and it would seem likely that the genealogies on f.1 were written down around the same date. Ronald Black has argued that the way in which the pedigrees are crammed together "suggests that until now f.1 had been left blank as a cover for the rest of the MS, and that it was being hastily employed as the only available material on which to write the text",<sup>23</sup> which would place the writing of the genealogies in or after 1467.

It is clear that the pedigrees in MS 1467 derive in part from a genealogical compilation originally made c.1400. However, the likelihood is that it does not do so directly, but rather via an intermediate stage or stages. The evidence for this, which is analysed in detail in Appendix I, rests on the fact that certain pedigrees in MS 1467 have been brought down beyond c.1400. The MacGregor pedigree is of this number. It comes down as far as Pàdraig, chief between 1440 and 1461, and is thus the second of our three pedigrees according to chronological sequence.

The dates used in the preceding paragraphs to determine the lengths of the chiefships of Maol-Coluim, Pàdraig and Eoin Dubh, are derived from our second source type, annalistic evidence contained in two late-medieval chronicles which we shall call The Chronicle of the Book of the Dean of Lismore (Chron. BDL) and The Chronicle of Fortingall (Chron. Fortingall). The former is to be found between pp. 186-197 incl. of The Book of the Dean of Lismore.<sup>24</sup> The whereabouts of the original of the latter are currently unknown, but an edition was published by

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23. Ibid.

24. It was edited by D. Gregory, "A short obituary relating to the Highlands", Arch. Scotica iii (1831), 317-28.

Cosmo Innes in 1855.<sup>25</sup>

Both chronicles largely consist of what we might call local sections, which record the deaths of prominent men and women, principally from the central and western Highlands, between 1390 and 1542 in the case of Chron. BDL, and 1390 and 1579 in the case of Chron. Fortingall. Between 1390 and 1542, the local section of Chron. BDL contains 82 entries, that of Chron. Fortingall 119. 13 are unique to Chron. BDL., 50 to Chron. Fortingall, while they share 69 entries. This implies that neither chronicle derives wholly from the other, and that both derive, ultimately and to some extent, from a common ancestor, compilation of which presumably commenced in 1390.

Further analysis suggests that the local sections share two chief characteristics. Firstly, it is clear that the focal point from which their entries emanate is Fortingall.<sup>26</sup> Secondly, there is a marked emphasis upon Clann Griogair. This is especially true of the earlier entries. The first three in each chronicle (one of which is unique to each chronicle, giving four entries in total) concern the MacGregor ruling family. The death of every MacGregor chief is recorded down to 12 April 1528.

Hence we would immediately suspect that members of the family of the dean of Lismore were the moving spirits behind the compilation of each chronicle and of their common ancestor. It is possible to marshal some genealogical evidence in support

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25. Taymouth Bk., 109-48.

26. Cf. Chron. Fortingall, 1531, Beltane 1532, 23 March 1566, 16-23 September 1576.

of this argument. In a colophon on p.144 of The Book of the Dean of Lismore, the dean's brother Donnchadh names his father as Dubhghall Maol and his grandfather as Eoin Riabhach. W.J. Watson was prepared to extend the pedigree further on the basis of the following entry in Chron. Fortingall:

Dec. 1542 - Obitus Katherine Neyn Ayn  
Weyll sponse Johannis MCAyn Rawych  
VCGewycar apud Aychly.

Watson identified Ayn Rawych (i.e. Eoin Riabhach) with Dubhghall Maol's father. If he was correct to do so, then Eoin Riabhach was mac a'Bhiocair - the son of the vicar.<sup>27</sup>

On 30 July 1406, Robert bishop of Dunkeld issued a precept charging that sir John (Eoin) of Glen Orchy, priest of the diocese of Argyll, be inducted into possession of the vicarage pensionary of Fortingall.<sup>28</sup> We shall see that Eoin's bearing this designation at this particular date makes it probable that he was a member of the MacGregor ruling family.<sup>29</sup> To identify him with a'Bhiocair, the apparent progenitor of the family of the dean of Lismore, would be to explain how and when the association of this family with Fortingall began. 1406 is sufficiently close to 1390 as to allow us to suggest that this same man commenced the keeping of an annal at Fortingall, the common source from which Chron. BDL and Chron. Fortingall are at least in part derived. His being of the MacGregor ruling family would explain why the chronicles are so well informed about that family, especially in their earliest entries.

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27. Watson, Scottish Verse, xv.

28. HMC vii, pt. ii (Atholl Charters), 706, no. 19.

29. Infra, pp. 37-8.

These entries provide a valuable supplement to the information contained in our three genealogies.

What the foregoing analysis of our sources means is that we possess a good range of material stemming from the native milieu, principally from the MacGregors themselves, with which to examine the origins of the clan. That evidence has been tabulated (see Table I). Let us make two preliminary points. Firstly, in terms of comparative value the pedigree of 1415 x 1440 is a better source than the other two. It is earlier than them, and as its own brevity suggests is purely a biological statement in a way that they manifestly are not.<sup>30</sup> In so far as the two overlap it is in agreement with the annalistic evidence, which we have argued derives from a chronicle being compiled on a contemporary basis. Secondly, Donnchadh Beag, the earliest ancestor given in the pedigree of 1415 x 1440, also occurs in the later pedigrees. Hence he can conveniently be employed as a dividing line around which we can shape our discussion. Let us postpone consideration of the lower segments of the later pedigrees for the moment, and concentrate on comparing their upper segments with the pedigree of 1415 x 1440.

There are three discrepancies. Firstly, the c.1512 pedigrees add two extra generations - Eoin and Maol-Coluim - between Griogair and Donnchadh Beag. This goes against the testimony of the genealogy of 1415 x 1440 and of MS 1467, and hence is to be rejected. These names may have been added for numerical

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30. For the 'contamination' of the later pedigrees by 'political' ideas, see *infra*, pp. 30-1, 31-3, 116-7.

TABLE I. THE MacGREGOR LINEAGE BEFORE 1519: THE GENEALOGICAL AND ANNALISTIC EVIDENCE

SOURCE	I		II		III	
	BOOK OF THE DEAN OF LISMORE	'MS 1467'	BOOK OF THE DEAN OF LISMORE	BOOK OF THE DEAN OF LISMORE	CHRON. BDL AND CHRON. FORTINGALL	
Author/Scribe	Mac Giolla Fhionntog an Fear-dána	Dubhgall Albannach mac mhic Chathail	Donnchadh mac	Dubhghaill Mhaol		
Date of Composition	1415 x 1440	1440 x 1461	(a) prose 1512	(b) poetic ? c.1512		
		genealach cloinni grigair				
	Maol-Coluim	Maelcolaim	Eoin	Eoin		Johannes Dow (d.24 May 1519)
	Eoin Dubh	Padraic	Pàdraig	Pàdraig		Patricius (d.28 April 1461)
	Eoin	Eoin	Maol-Coluim	Maol-Coluim		Malcolmus (d.20 April 1440)
	Griogair and Maol-Coluim	Griogair	Eoin Dubh	Eoin Dubh		Johannes Dow (d.1415)
	Donnchadh Beag	Donnchadh	Eoin	Eoin		Johannes Gregorii (d.1390)
		Maelcolaim	Griogair	Griogair		[Gregorius]
		Gillacrif	Eoin	Eoin		
		Ferchar	Maol-Coluim	Maol-Coluim		
		Murdagh	Donnchadh Beag	Donnchadh Beag		
		Ainnrias	Donnchadh a Srvighlea	Donnchadh		
		Cormac	Giolla Fhaoláin	Giolla Fhaoláin Oirchill		
		Airbertach	Aodha Urchádhaigh	Aodha Urchádhaigh		
		Ferchar	Kennane (MS)	Konane (MS)		
		Ferchar Fada	Ailpín	ua		
		Feradach Finn		Ailpín		
				oighre		
				Dubhghall		



reasons, for Donnchadh mac Dhubhghaill Mhaoil seems to have been preoccupied with trying to interpret the pedigrees he wrote down, especially the poetic version, according to an elaborate and still obscure numerical framework.<sup>31</sup> The fact that the genealogy of 1415 x 1440 gives Griogair a brother called Maol-Coluim could suggest that both Maol-Coluim and Eoin were brothers of Griogair who became absorbed into the c.1512 pedigrees as his lineal predecessors.

The other two discrepancies both occur in the upper segment of the pedigree in MS 1467. Firstly, comparison with the other sources makes it clear that the top two generations have been inverted. Secondly, Eoin Dubh, a common factor elsewhere, has been omitted completely. The MacGregor pedigree is not unique in this respect. It would seem that Dubhghall Albannach was pressed for time as well as space, for his writing (especially when set against the neatness of his hand in ff.2-9) is careless to the point of illegibility in places,<sup>32</sup> while mistakes are not infrequent.<sup>33</sup> Some of these, no doubt, were in Dubhghall's source, but others seem to be due to the way in which Dubhghall copied his source. In the

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31. Watson, Scottish Verse, 214-17, vv.11-14. The colophon with which Donnchadh concludes the prose version (transliterated in Black, Catalogue) begins:

Agus an Kennane sin b'e ard-righ Albainn  
gu deimhinn 's an nuair sin, agus an t-Eoin seo  
an t'aon duine deug on Kennane seo

[and this Kennane was high-king of Scotland in truth at that time, and this Eoin is the eleventh man from this Kennane].

32. See Black, Catalogue for comments.

33. For example, Dubhghall, the MacDougall eponym, is made the son rather than the brother of Raghall, and the latter is consequently wrongly described as the point at which Clann Ruairi, Clann Domhnaill and Clann Dubhghaill converge (MS 1467, f.lv, bc32-3, 47-8; Skene, Celtic Scotland, iii, 470 n.19, 472 n.25).

Campbell pedigree Dubhghall names two individuals as Ailean. One of them occurs at the place where we would expect to find Cailean Mór, from whom the style of the Campbell chiefs derived. These look like dictation errors:<sup>34</sup> Dubhghall has heard "mhic Ail<sup>e</sup>ín" for the phonetically very similar "mhic Chail<sup>e</sup>ín". Dictation might help to explain the omission of Eoin Dubh from the MacGregor pedigree, for Dubhghall could easily have made the two successive "Eoins" into one. The inversion of Maol-Coluim and Pàdraig could be explained by our argument that several stages lie behind MS 1467 as we have it. If the MacGregor pedigree were part of the original compilation made c.1400, then the names of Maol-Coluim and Pàdraig were added subsequently. In Appendix I we argue that this was probably done at an intermediate phase rather than by Dubhghall Albannach himself. Thus we could postulate a situation whereby, when the names came to be added to the MacGregor pedigree, perhaps there was room for only one name to be inserted into the text, the other being placed alongside. When this came to be copied by a subsequent scribe, perhaps Dubhghall Albannach himself, both names were incorporated but in the wrong order.<sup>35</sup>

We can now return to the eponymous Griogair. Our sources are unanimous: the only candidate is Griogair, son of Donnchadh Beag and father of Eoin. Since Eoin died in 1390 Griogair himself must have flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century.

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34. Judging by the appearance of the phrase do gabh, 'took it down from dictation', in the colophons of several Gaelic MSS, it would appear that dictation was commonly employed in the copying process. The phrase occurs in the colophon beginning at f.7r a1 in MS 1467, which refers to the preceding passage concerning the Passion of Christ (C. Plummer, "On the Colophons and Marginalia of Irish Scribes", Proceedings of the British Academy (London, 1926), 16, n.4; Black, Catalogue).

35. I owe this suggestion to David E. Brown.

Thus the assertion which we find in the MacGregor origin-legend, in the fully developed form which it assumed in the early-modern period, that the eponym was a brother or son of the ninth century Kenneth MacAlpin (in some versions he even displaces Kenneth), King of Scots and Picts, is revealed as a myth.<sup>36</sup> The notion of a royal descent from Kenneth MacAlpin first began to be promulgated in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, our fullest statement of it at that time coming in Donnchadh mac Dhubhghaill Mhaoil's poem and prose genealogy.<sup>37</sup> Donnchadh, however, made no attempt to tamper with the eponym. The key influence in that respect was Hector Boece, who had transformed Girig, the obscure king who reigned with Eocha, grandson of Kenneth MacAlpin, from 878-889, into a Dark Age superhero, Gregor or Gregory the Great, conqueror in turn of the Danes, Britons and Irish.<sup>38</sup> Boece's invention was seized upon in a work entitled A Latin History of the Alpinian Family, presumably composed between the late sixteenth and eighteenth centuries when it was recovered from the Scots College at Paris by the poet David Mallet or Malloch (d. 1765), who himself claimed MacGregor descent.<sup>39</sup> This work seems to have identified Gregory the Great with the eponym of Clann Griogair, and connected him genealogically with Kenneth MacAlpin. Further

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36. For general discussion see D. Sellar, "Highland Family Origins - Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking", in The Middle Ages in the Highlands (Inverness Field Club, 1981), 109-110.

37. *Infra*, pp. 31-3, 117 n. 257.

\* 38. (Edd.), E.C. Batho and H.W. Husbands, The Chronicles of Scotland compiled by Hector Boece. Translated into Scots by John Bellenden, 1531 (STS, Edinburgh and London, 1941), ii, 69-80.

39. R. Douglas, The Baronage of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1798), 493; (ed.), S. Lee, Dictionary of National Biography (London, 1909), xii, 869-72.

\* But Dr. W. Ferguson has pointed out that this can be traced back to Fordun.

myth-making was an inevitable part of such a process, and reached its apotheosis in the article on the name 'MacGregor' in Douglas' Baronage of Scotland (1798), a piece of sustained fiction marred only by the occasional intrusion of fact.<sup>40</sup>

The belief in royal descent from Gregory the Great and/or Kenneth MacAlpin has persisted to the present day both in the popular mind and in clan histories, thus explaining the disproportionate amount of space which the latter devote to the Dark Ages.<sup>41</sup> Even at a more scholarly level the idea has been influential.<sup>42</sup> It must help to explain Donald Gregory's belief that the MacGregors were already an "ancient tribe" at the time of the First War of Independence.<sup>43</sup>

Gregory also believed that the surname MacGregor could already be found in the records of that period, but it can readily be shown that the 'MacGregors' concerned were in fact Lamonts.<sup>44</sup> Gregory also interpreted the earliest entry in the chronicles, the obit. of Johannes Gregorii de Glenvrquhay in 1390, as another instance of the surname.<sup>45</sup> As we have seen, the genealogical evidence points unambiguously to the conclusion that Gregorii represents a patronymic here. Furthermore, analysis of the naming techniques in use in the late-medieval

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40. Douglas, Baronage, 493-505.

41. MacGregor, Clan Gregor i, 5-15. F. MacGregor, Clan Gregor (Edinburgh, 1977).

42. Kermack, The Clan MacGregor, 4.

43. Gregory, Inquiry, 133.

44. In the records of the parliament of 1293 they are described as Lawemundus MCGreghere and Anneesius filius Duncani MCGregere; and again as Lochmanus MCKilcolmi MCErewer and Enegius MCErewar (APS i (1124-1423), 447b, 448a). Comparison with genealogical and other record evidence makes it clear that these men are to be respectively identified with Laghmann, eponymous ancestor of the Lamonts, and his collateral relation Aonghas; and that MCGreghere/MCGregere/MCErewer/MCErewar is for Mac (Mhic) Fhearchair (Lamont Papers, 1, 4-8: W.D.H. Sellar, "Family Origins in Cowal and Knapdale", SS xv, pt.i (1971), 23, 27, 33). For further comment on the forms MCErewer/MCErewar see infra, p. 67.

45. Arch. Scotica iii (1831), 320, n. (a).

west highlands, in documents and monumental inscriptions, shows that the forename followed by the father's forename in the genitive was a very common formula.<sup>46</sup> In the course of the present study only three cases of Gregorii representing the surname MacGregor have been discovered,<sup>47</sup> while the work of J.W.M. Bannerman on the west highlands in general adds only one more possible example.<sup>48</sup>

Naturally enough, the surname MacGregor only came into being after the lifetime of the eponymous Griogair himself. It was in use by the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>49</sup> It might be argued that this seems to allow insufficient time for the surname to have evolved. In fact, recent research on the process of kindred-formation has emphasised above all else the rapidity with which the process could take place. Given the appropriate conditions, we regularly find that within two or three generations of the eponym, his name was being borne by his specific successors as chiefs, as their style; by his descendants collectively, as their clan name, and by his descendants individually, as their surname.<sup>50</sup>

Let us give some examples. In the case of the three kindreds - Clann Dubhghaill, Clann Domhnuill and Clann Ruairi - which derived from Clann Somhairle, in terms of generations beyond the eponym, we find the surname in use in the second generation in Clann Ruairi and Clann Domhnuill; in the third, in Clann

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46. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 87.

47. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/2/48; Fraser, Grant iii, 261-2; AT, 11 February 1520. Significantly, all three instances concern the family of the dean of Lismore.

48. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 122 and n.14.

49. Infra, pp. 25-7.

50. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 104; cf. Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland, 11.

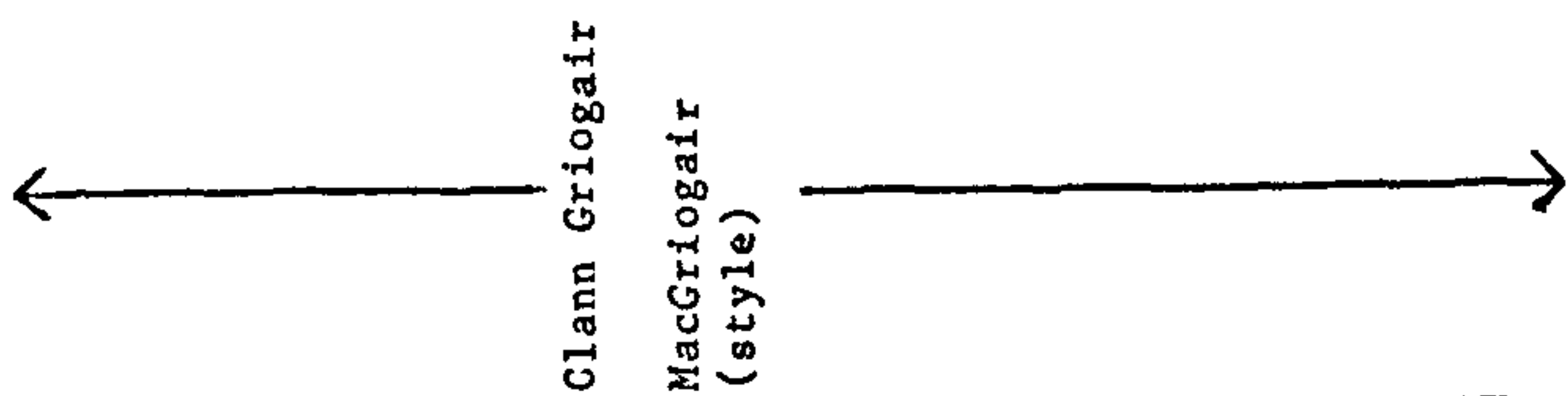
Dubhghaill.<sup>51</sup> The earliest instance of the style may date to the second generation in Clann Ruairi<sup>52</sup> and the third in Clann Domhnuill.<sup>53</sup> In the case of the MacKinnons the surname is in use in the third generation.<sup>54</sup> In the case of the Lamonts, the surname is in use in the third, the clan name in the fourth generation.<sup>55</sup> The pedigree of the MacSorleys of Monydrain in MS 1467<sup>56</sup> is headed genelach cloinne somairle, and begins with Domhnall, in the fourth generation from the eponym. The earliest instances of the style and surname are in the third generation, with Domhnall's father Gill-easbuig, who in charters of 1410 and 1414 is referred to as Celestinus Angusii dictus Maksowirle (the style) and Celestinus McSowerle (the surname) respectively.<sup>57</sup> In Ireland we find Diarmait na nGall of Leinster (d.1171), who by lineage was Diarmait mac Donnchada meic Murchada, bearing his grandfather's name as style and surname in the contemporary annals.<sup>58</sup>

The earliest occurrences of the style, clan name and surname among the MacGregors have been tabulated (see Table 2), and fit securely into the general pattern. Clan name, style and (probably) surname were all in use three generations after Griogair. In fact, if our earlier argument that the MacGregor

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51. MacRuairi: Stevenson, Documents ii, no. 445; Barrow, Robert Bruce, 153, n.1. MacDonald: Annals of Loch Cé, 1299. This is Alexander (Alasdair), son of Aonghas Mór, son of Domhnall. MacDougall: ibid. This is Alexander (Alasdair), son of Eòghan, son of Donnchadh, son of Dubhghaill.
52. Barrow, Robert Bruce, 408, n.1.
53. (Edd.), W.M. Henessy and B. MacCarthy, Annals of Ulster (1887-1901), 1318; for his identity see (ed.), S. Mac Airt, The Annals of Inisfallen (Dublin, 1951), 1318, and Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 203.
54. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 104.
55. Lamont Papers, 10, nos. 16 and 17, where Donnchadh is in the third generation although the surname is actually applied to Eoin in the second; MS 1467 f. 1r e19.
56. F. 1v b11.
57. Highland Papers iv, 236; AT, 4 June 1414.
58. B. O Cuív, "Two Notes", Éigse xvi (1975-6), 136-7.

TABLE 2: REFERENCES TO DESCENDANTS OF GRIOGAIR, 1390 x 1461

Source generation beyond the eponym Date		INDIVIDUAL							COLLECTIVE			
		Chron. BDL (unless otherwise stated)	Kirkland Papers, bdl 3	Fraser, Colquhoun ii, 286-7	Highland Papers iv, 200, 202	AT	(a) CSSR iv, 190 (b) Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/75/1	MS 1467 f. 1r c.42	Watson, Scottish Verse, 26-31	ER v (1537-54) 596		
1390	1	Johannes Gregorif de Glenvrchay										
c.1400	2	Johannes Dow McAnecham VcGregor										
1415		[luxor] Johannis Nigri McGregor (Chron. Fortingall)										
1424			Duncanus Gregorif; Dugallus Gregorif; Nicholanus Gregorif									
1428												
1430				Johannes MacGregor dominus de Ardincon-walle								
1432					Gregorius Johannis							
1434					Malcolmus Johannis Gregorif		Alexander Johannis Gregorif					
1440	3	Malcolmus Johannis Nigri McGregor										
1441												
1449												
1453												
1461	4	Patricius McGregour dominus de Glenschrey										McGregouris



pedigree in MS 1467 was part of the original compilation made c.1400, is correct, it would mean that the clan name was in use within two generations of Griogair's death.

The entries in the chronicle make an interesting sequence, especially if we accept that compilation was carried out on a contemporary basis. Eoin (who bore the epithet Cam, one-eyed) son of Griogair, and his son and successor Eoin Dubh, are both identified by patronymics. We do find the surname applied to Eoin Dubh, but retrospectively, in the entries concerning his wife, and his son and successor Maol-Coluim. It is only with Pàdraig, son of Maol-Coluim, that we find the chief referred to simply by the surname.

Of the clutch of references between 1428 and 1434, it is likely that only that of 1430 is an instance of the surname. In the document of 1428, Gregorii, for reasons already advanced, is almost certainly a patronymic.<sup>59</sup> Comparison with the other names listed in the document suggests that the scribe was careful to distinguish between the patronymic and surname by using the Latin genitive to represent the former, and Scotticised versions of Gaelic forms in mac (M<sup>C</sup>Arthur, M<sup>C</sup>Nab) to represent the latter.

The forms on record in 1434 are more problematic. It is naturally tempting to identify Malcolmus Johannis Gregorii with the chief, Malcolmus Johannis Nigri M<sup>C</sup>Gregour (d.1440) in which case Gregorii would here represent the surname. However, the Latin forename followed by two dependent Latin genitive forms was another very common contemporary naming formula,<sup>60</sup> and in

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59. *Supra*, pp. 23-4.

60. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 87-8.



every instance so far found bar one, the genitives represent the forenames of the father and grandfather.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, the scribe responsible for this document again appears to reserve the Latin genitive form for patronymics and the form in mac for surnames. The likelihood is, therefore, that Malcolmus and Alexander were collaterals, perhaps descending from a Griogair, brother of Eoin Cam.

Johannes MacGregor, lord of Ardinconnel (north of Helensburgh at the mouth of the Gareloch) remains to be discussed. MacGregor could be patronymic or surname. The fact that he was already an established territorial lord may favour the surname, particularly since the lands he held, as we shall see, were some considerable distance from the lands where his kindred were still largely based at this date,<sup>62</sup> which might make the surname a more meaningful way of describing him. If so this would be its first occurrence outwith the immediate lineage of the chiefs themselves.

Thus far we have established that the eponymous Griogair flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century, and that the clan to which he gave his name was in being by the first half of the fifteenth century. Let us now consider two further questions. Firstly, what can we deduce about the origins of Clann Griogair itself? In other words, is it possible to trace earlier incarnations of the lineage from which the clan ultimately

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61. The exception is Robertus Duncani Lagmanni, chief of the Lamonts, on record in 1410 (Highland Papers iv, 234). Comparison with the Lamont pedigree in MS 1467 (f. 1r e19-29) makes it clear that Lagmanni must represent the surname MacLaghmainn.

62. *Infra*, p. 48.

derived? Secondly, what were the immediate political circumstances and setting within which the clan came into being? At the outset, it must be emphasised that our attempts to answer both questions will be conditioned by the sparse and fragmentary nature of the evidence.

With respect to our first question, the principal sources are the lower segments of the pedigrees in MS 1467 and of c.1512. Let us, however, consider firstly the possibility, suggested by one piece of later and independent evidence, and not necessarily to be dismissed because of the ultimate course of historical events, that the MacGregors were actually an offshoot of Clan Campbell. In 1562 the then earl of Argyll referred to the contemporary MacGregor chief as coming "of our hous".<sup>63</sup> Since the mother of the chief concerned was a Campbell,<sup>64</sup> it might be argued that the comment referred specifically to him rather than to the MacGregor lineage in its entirety. Against this, we could point to a bond of alliance made between this same earl of Argyll and Patrick Lord Drummond in 1573, "understanding the auld kyndnes and allya that hes this lang tyme past standin betuix the houssis of Argyle and Drymmen and now of laitt renewit be Patrik now Lord Drummond he beand cum of my Lorde of Argyle's hous".<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, while later Campbell (and Drummond) traditional histories do argue for a Campbell origin for the Drummonds,<sup>66</sup> none of them makes

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63. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 27 June.

64. Infra, p. 75.

65. AT, 14 April.

66. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 161 and n.19.

a similar contention with regard to the MacGregors.

We turn to consider the lower segment of the pedigree in MS 1467. The MacGregor pedigree is one of 18 which are traced back to the Cenél Loairn of Dalriada in the person of Feradach Finn, father of King Ferchar Fada who died in 697.<sup>67</sup> Ten of the 18, including the MacGregors, achieve this descent through an intermediary called Cormac son of Airbertach.<sup>68</sup> Another of the ten is the MacKinnon pedigree, and the recent discovery of a hitherto unnoticed inscription on a MacKinnon effigy at Iona has confirmed both that Cormac and Airbertach did exist, c. the later twelfth century, and that the MacKinnon pedigree is accurate down to this point.<sup>69</sup> Since it is consistent (both in the number of generations above Cormac, and in the fact that the eponym is a son of Cormac in each case) with the pedigrees of the MacQuarries, MacMillans and Clann Gill-Adamnáin, we can be confident in accepting all four (henceforth group A) as genuine down to Airbertach at least.<sup>70</sup> The remaining six (henceforth group B) - those of the MacGregors, MacDuffies, MacKenzies, Mathesons and Gillanders, along with a pedigree previously identified as that of the Macnabs<sup>71</sup> - have little in common either with the group A pedigrees or with each other. In each case the number of generations back to Cormac seems to be too great to fit the time scale which applies to the group A pedigrees;<sup>72</sup> the eponym of the

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67. Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 476-90; Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 104.

68. The ten are conveniently set out in D. Sellar, "Highland Family Origins", 107.

69. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 103-6.

70. Ibid., 104.

71. On the 'Macnab' pedigree, see *infra*, p. 53.

72. Since the MacGregor pedigree comes down to 1440 x 1461 it could be chronologically consistent with the Group A pedigrees, but in all other respects it differs from them.

clan is considerably removed from Cormac, and the descents thereafter back to Feradach Finn differ both in the personnel and number of generations involved.

The overwhelming likelihood is then that the lower segments of the group B pedigrees, including that of the MacGregors, are fabrications. For reasons obscure to us, the compiler of MS 1467 has sought to connect the group B kindreds with those of group A by introducing Cormac and Airbertach, the genuine ancestors of the latter, into the pedigrees of the former.

The view which the MacGregors themselves were later to promulgate, and which has found most favour with scholars,<sup>73</sup> was that they were originally MacAlpines. As we have seen, the earliest major statement of the idea, in the lower segments of the pedigrees of c.1512, is already imbued with the notion of royal descent, but it is possible to strip away the accretions and suggest that genealogical reality could lie behind them. Let us focus upon the final two names in the prose version and the final three names in the poetic version. There are three discrepancies to consider. The name rendered Kennane in the prose version is rendered Koñane in the poetic version. In the prose version Kennane is son of Alpin (mac): in the poetic version Koñane is Alpin's grandson or descendant (úa). Dubhghall, whose heir Alpin is in the poetic version, is omitted from the prose version.

This last can readily be dismissed as a 'royal' accretion, for Fordun (repeating a mistake made in the earlier king lists),<sup>74</sup>

73. Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 362-3; D. Sellar, "Highland Family Origins", 110.

74. M.O. Anderson, Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland (Edinburgh, 1980), 46, 254, 265, 271, 273, 282.

and Boece after him, do give King Alpin's predecessor as Dungallus,<sup>75</sup> and we know that the compilers of The Book of the Dean of Lismore had access to Fordun and Boece.<sup>76</sup> Not so easy to explain away is the discrepancy between the names Kennane and Koñane, each of which is clearly identified with the persona of Kenneth MacAlpin king of Picts and Scots.<sup>77</sup> Kenneth (itself the Anglicised form of Gaelic Cináed), came to be used as the equivalent of Gaelic Coinneach,<sup>78</sup> but the latter does not lie behind either Kennane (which might suggest Cianan)<sup>79</sup> or Koñane, which, according to the orthography used in The Book of the Dean of Lismore, could represent either Connán or Conán.<sup>80</sup> There is no clear reason why Donnchadh mac Dhubhghaill Mhaoil should not have represented Kenneth by Coinneach had he so wished.<sup>81</sup>

Thus it may well be that this discrepancy gives us an insight into the making of the pedigree. Genuine MacGregor ancestors

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75. Chron. Fordun i, 145; Boece, Historiae (1527), 'Scotorum Regum Catalogus', no. 67 (Dongallus).
76. NLS, Advocates' MS 72.1.37, pp. 78-82, 242-3.
77. Supra, n. 31; Watson, Scottish Verse, 212-17, esp. 214-5, v.9.
78. K.H. Jackson, The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer (Cambridge, 1972), 50-1.
79. Woulfe, op.cit., 175, gives Kenanus as the Latin equivalent of Cianan.
80. I am grateful to Dr. Donald Meek for clarification on this point. According to Watson, Scottish Verse, 298, Connán "is a diminutive of Conn, and is not to be confused with Conán, which is a totally different name". In D. Sellar, "Highland Family Origins", 110, and 115 n.32, Koñane is not expanded, and hence equated with Conán. It is a curious coincidence that two of the sites in Scotland commemorating a saint or saints called Connán - Dìseart Chonnáin at Dalmally and Cill Chonnáin on Loch Rannoch - came to be closely connected with the MacGregors (Watson, Celtic Place-Names, 282).
81. Dr. Meek informs me that Kyñich would have been the likely representation of Coinneach according to the book's orthography.

called Cianan or Connán/Conán, and Alpin, are being adopted to fit the personae of the ninth-century kings, Kenneth and Alpin, and in the variations between Kennane and Koñane, and indeed between mac Ailpín in the prose version and úa Ailpín in the poetic version, we see the rough edges of the process.

If we accept this hypothesis then we would probably need to assume that the three generations which take us from Kennane/Koñane to Donnchadh Beag - Aodh Urchádhágh (Hugh of [Glen] Orchy), Giolla Fhaoláin Orchill (the devotee of St. Fillan of Orchill)<sup>82</sup> and Donnchadh a Sruighlea (Duncan from Stirling) - are also authentic. Aodh's designation lends some support to such an assumption, insofar as our earliest references to the immediate MacGregor lineage locate it in the general vicinity of Glen Orchy.<sup>83</sup> However, although it may be worth noting that Strath Fillan, site of the monastery of St. Fillan, lies not far to the east, the significance of the other two names is not clear.

By the late sixteenth century the claim to a 'royal' MacAlpin descent had gained sufficient currency as to result in the creation of a MacGregor coat of arms featuring a crown.<sup>84</sup> Yet in this same period there is evidence which, though one might argue that it too was a product of that spurious claim, might better be explained as supporting the case for a genuine, non-royal MacAlpin origin. Among nearly 150 MacGregors listed

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82. Presumably the place of that name in Muthill parish in upper Strathearn. It is not clear whether Giolla Fhaoláin, or St. Fillan himself, is to be associated with Orchill.

83. *Infra*, pp. 35-6.

84. MacGregor, Clan Gregor i, 16-17; Taymouth Bk., 173; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1, 18 December 1578.

in a document of 1590 we find three MacAlpins.<sup>85</sup> More dramatic is the bond between the MacGregor chief Alasdair Ruadh, and Amh~~olghaidh~~ MacAulay of Ardencaple in 1592, "understanding our selves and our name to be Macalppins of awld, and to be our just and trew surname, quherof we are all cumin, and the said Alexander [i.e. Alasdair Ruadh] to be the eldest brother".<sup>86</sup> We might note that Ardencaple is slightly south of Ardinconnel where we saw that a MacGregor was established as territorial Lord as early as 1430. Finally, a breakdown of MacGregors occupying the lands of Glen Strae in 1612 includes a M<sup>C</sup>Alpenie in Stronmilchan.<sup>87</sup> This is particularly significant because, as we shall see, the MacGregor chiefs probably held these lands, which included their principal fortress at Stronmilchan, from the inception of their lineage.<sup>88</sup> The use of M<sup>C</sup>Alpenie without a forename could suggest that it was the style of the head of a branch of the kindred. This might just be an ossified formation preserving the older kindred name, which had continued to be used by a collateral line even after Griogair's lifetime and the adoption of his name by his lineal descendants and the rest of the clan.

The surname MacAlpin is on record from the late thirteenth century, mainly in the Lennox and Perthshire, but instances are few and scattered.<sup>89</sup> We might tentatively suggest, therefore, that there was a Clann Ailpín, whose eponym was quite distinct

85. RPC iv (1585-92), 455.

86. Fraser, Colquhoun ii, 112-3.

87. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/12. Presumably M<sup>C</sup>Alpenie is a rendering of MacAilpeinich, literally, 'the son of the member of the kindred of Alpin'.

88. Infra, pp. 44-5.

89. Black, Surnames, 451-2; CSSR i, 103, 191.

from the ninth century king of that name, and which had already fragmented completely by the late thirteenth century; and that in the MacGregors, MacAulays and the independent instances of the surname we see the detritus of the fragmentation process.

Let us now turn to our second question, and attempt to uncover the political circumstances and setting within which Clann Griogair came into being. The effective starting point of the MacGregor lineage in its immediate sense was Griogair's father Donnchadh Beag, a common factor in all the genealogies, and the furthest point reached in the pedigree in the poem composed between 1415 x 1440. The opening two verses of the poem make it clear that the choice of terminus was no arbitrary one.

Buaidh thighearna ar thóiseachaibh  
atá o thús a gcinidh;  
áireómhad dá n-óigfhearaibh  
gach aon ara mbraith fisidh.

Céad tighearna an tíre-se  
Donnchadh Beag fa mór aigneadh,  
do fhág mar chuid díleaba  
ag Clainn Ghriogóir a ngaisgeadh.

[From the beginning of their race chiefs  
do possess the excellence of lords; I shall  
record of their young men each one of whom  
a learned man hath knowledge.

The first lord of this land was Donnchadh Beag,  
great of spirit, who left with Clann Griogair  
their valour as a legacy. ]<sup>90</sup>

What was the land referred to? Without being too specific at this stage let us note that in the fourth verse of the same poem, Eoin son of Griogair is said to come ó Loch taobhsholas Toilbhe, 'from bright-shored Loch Tulla', at the head of Glen

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90. Watson, Scottish Verse, 26-7.



Orchy;<sup>91</sup> that in his obit. in the chronicles in 1390 he is styled de Glenvrquhay; and that, again in the poem of 1415 x 1440, his grandson Maol-Coluim is described as gá dheaghchungbháil ... deisgeart Glinne geal Urcháidh, 'well maintaining ... the southern side of fair Glen Orchy'.<sup>92</sup> This accords with the occurrence of Aodh Urchádhagh in the lower segment of the c.1512 pedigrees. As a term Glen Orchy bore two meanings: the glen itself, and, in a wider sense, the lordship or barony, and parish, lying between Perthshire in the east, and "a line uniting the northern extremities of Lochawe and Lochetive in the west".<sup>93</sup>

Donnchadh Beag must have flourished c.1300. Thus the First War of Independence, far from being the point from which, "we must date the downfall of this ancient tribe", as Donald Gregory suggested,<sup>94</sup> was the point at which the immediate MacGregor lineage could be said to have come into being. At that time the lordship of Glen Orchy seems to have been a part of the lordship of Lorn, power-base of the MacDougalls, then the dominant kindred in Argyll. Certainly, there is evidence c.1308 that the authority of the MacDougalls extended as far east as the Loch Awe area,<sup>95</sup> and hence perhaps also embraced Glen Orchy; while, by the terms of King John Balliol's ordinance of 1293, Alasdair MacDougall was to have been sheriff of the

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91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. OPS ii, pt. i, 134.

94. Gregory, Inquiry, 133. Gregory surmised that the MacGregors were allied with the MacDougalls and hence suffered because of the eclipse of the latter in this period. He also erroneously identified the ruling lineage in Glen Dochart, which lost that position as a result of its apparent opposition to Bruce, as a MacGregor lineage. In fact these people were almost certainly Macnabs (*infra*, p. 53 and n. 176).

95. Barrow, Robert Bruce, 254-8; cf. CDS ii (1272-1307), no. 1646, p. 439.

proposed new sheriffdom of Lorn, which was to have included Glen Orchy.<sup>96</sup> But as a result of their opposition to Robert Bruce, and the support he received from the "barons of Argyll", notably the Campbells, the MacDougalls lost their pre-eminent position to the latter, whose chief was confirmed in possession of the lands of Loch Awe and Ardskeodnish in 1315.<sup>97</sup> In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries we can trace the consolidation and expansion of Campbell authority in the area of upper Loch Awe and eastern Lorn. Within this period the Campbell chiefs became superiors of, and then, it would appear, largely displaced, the MacNaughtons, then based in upper Loch Awe side, and whose chiefs thereafter reappear at Dunderave on Loch Fyne, not far from Inveraray itself.<sup>98</sup> In 1382, Gill-easbuig Campbell of Loch Awe and his son Cailean were appointed royal lieutenant and commissar respectively over lands within the sheriffdom of Argyll, with power dictas terras auctoritate regia regendi.<sup>99</sup> Since the eastern limit of their jurisdiction was defined as Carndrome (i.e. Carn Droma, just behind Tyndrum, on the boundary between Argyll and Perthshire),<sup>100</sup> it is clear that the lordship of Glen Orchy was encompassed therein.

In his obit. in the chronicles in 1390, Eoin son of Griogair is described as Johannes Gregorii de Glenvrquhay. According to the naming formula in use in the west highlands in the late-medieval period, the designation de Glenvrquhay

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96. APS i (1124-1423), 447b.

97. Barrow, Robert Bruce, 406-7.

98. RMS i (1306-1424), App. 2, no. 1940; OPS ii, pt. i, 130-1.

99. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 1431.

100. Watson, Celtic Place-Names, 401-2.

applies to Eoin, whether or not it also applied to his father.<sup>101</sup>  
 In the Gaelic context such a designation, based on a place-name, "might mean that the person concerned was lord of the place, or that he belonged to the ruling family, and/or that he was a native".<sup>102</sup>

This designation presents us with a problem, for it was borne by no other MacGregor chief. In the chronicles Eoin's successors Eoin Dubh and Maol-Coluim are given no designations at all. Pàdraig is then styled de Glenstray or dominus de Glenschrey [Glen Strae] on his death in 1461, while in a charter of 14 March 1449 he is described as de Stronmelachan [Stronmilchan].<sup>103</sup> Both designations were used by his successors. Outwith the chiefs themselves, the only other probable instance of de Glenvrquhay being applied to a MacGregor is that of the presumed ancestor of the family of the dean of Lismore in 1406.<sup>104</sup>

Furthermore, both before and after 1390, the designation, of Glen Orchy, was borne by other lineages. Among the lands to be included in the proposed sheriffdom of Lorn under the terms of the ordinance of 1293 already mentioned, was Terra Johannis de Glenurwy.<sup>105</sup> On 5 April 1358 David II granted totam terram de Glenwrquhay to Mariota of Glen Orchy, daughter of umquhile Johannes of Glen Orchy, and spouse of Eoin Campbell,

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101. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 125.

102. *Ibid.*, 88.

103. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/75/1.

104. *Supra*, p. 17.

105. See note at the end of this chapter, pp. 67-8.

to be held with all the liberties her predecessors enjoyed.<sup>106</sup>  
 In 1407, Glen Orchy was among lands regranted by Regent Albany to Cailean Campbell lord of Loch Awe.<sup>107</sup> On 20 October 1432 Cailean's son and successor Donnchadh granted all his own property lands of Glen Orchy, along with certain other lands, to Cailean, his eldest son by his second wife.<sup>108</sup>  
 By at least 1437 Cailean was using the designation, of Glen Orchy,<sup>109</sup> which his descendants bore until they were created earls of Breadalbane in 1677.<sup>110</sup>

No contemporary evidence survives to enable us to identify the lineage of which we hear in 1293 and 1358. The tenth duke of Argyll claimed they were Campbells, his only grounds being that several inventories of Argyll writs, in referring to the 1358 charter, describe Mariota as daughter of umquhile Johannes Campbell of Glen Orchy, and that it was normal Campbell practice, if one of their lineages ended in an heiress, to have her marry back into the clan.<sup>111</sup> The evidence of the inventories can be discounted, while the practice of marrying heiresses back into the clan was hardly confined to the Campbells.<sup>112</sup>

According to the seventeenth century, Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells, Gill-easbuig, father of the famous

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106. RRS vi, no. 180.

107. HMC iv (Argyll MSS), 473, no. 5.

108. Highland Papers iv, 198-200.

109. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/3/1/1, 27 March.

110. SP ii, 203.

111. AT, 1358; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Niall duke of Argyll to John MacGregor, 10 December 1912 (filed under 1358).

112. Cf. SP v, 333, for an instance in the lineage of the earls of Lennox.

Cailean Mór from whom the style of the Campbell chiefs derived, had a sister, Mór Mhath (good Sarah), who was, "mother to Sir John M<sup>c</sup>Grigor Knight of Glenurchay in those days".<sup>113</sup> Thus 'Sir John' and Cailean Mór are made first cousins. If we strip away his title (the kind of spurious detail that could easily accrue to genuine tradition) and his surname (anachronistic since it did not exist at this time), we are left with the possibility that this is the man on record in 1293. Chronologically this is feasible, since Cailean Mór last appears on record in the 1290s.<sup>114</sup> It could further be argued that the surname applied to 'Sir John' reflected a belief that he was of the same lineage as the later chiefs who did bear it. The MacGregor genealogies lend no support to such a theory, but they might nevertheless leave open the possibility - which, as we shall see, possesses some attractions<sup>115</sup> - that in its immediate origins the lineage of Donnchadh Beag was a junior branch of the kindred whose main line terminated in Mariota of Glen Orchy. Given our hypothesis of a MacAlpin descent for the MacGregors, we would therefore need to assume that the lineage of Mariota of Glen Orchy was itself of MacAlpin origin.

If, however, we choose to reject that Mariota's lineage was the immediate parent kindred from which the lineage of Donnchadh Beag derived, then we are left with the possibility that her lineage was quite distinct and as yet unidentified. The evidence claiming it as either a 'MacGregor' or 'Campbell' lineage is late, exceptionally tenuous, and possibly coloured by the fact that these were the kindreds

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113. Highland Papers ii, 83-4.

114. SP i, 319-20.

115. Infra, pp. 42-3.

which historically came to be most strongly associated with Glen Orchy.

What is perhaps more important for us to determine is the status which each of these three lineages enjoyed in Glen Orchy. The essential point to grasp is that, on the basis of the charter evidence of 1358 and 1407, the Campbell lords of Loch Awe inherited (presumably through the marriage of Mariota of Glen Orchy and Eoin Campbell)<sup>116</sup> the position held previously by the lineage of Johannes

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116. Donald Gregory, who did not know the date of this charter, wrongly equated Mariota's husband with Eoin Campbell, son of Sir Niall Campbell and Mary Bruce, and earl of Atholl, who died at Halidon Hill in 1333 (Gregory, Inquiry, 131). The Scots Peerage (i, 326, 329) takes the Eoin who, according to Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells, was a son of the Cailean who was chief between 1394 and 1413 (Highland Papers ii, 93-4); makes him a son of the Cailean who was Sir Niall's successor as Campbell chief, and then identifies him with Mariota's husband. This is done purely in order to explain how Glen Orchy passed to the Campbell chiefs: there is no evidence whatsoever that Cailean, son of Sir Niall, had a son called Eoin.

At present it is not possible to offer a secure identification of Eoin Campbell, husband of Mariota, or to explain precisely how Glen Orchy passed to the Campbell ruling lineage. The following is a tentative suggestion. According to Ane Accompt, Cailean, chief of his name from 1394 to 1413, and the first Campbell chief whom we find in possession of Glen Orchy, "married Dame Mary Campbell daughter to Sir John Campbell who was the son of Dugald who was the son of Sir Neill Campbell and consequently his own cousin" (Highland Papers ii, 93). We know that Cailean received papal dispensation to marry Katherine of Lorn in 1362 (Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 204), but if that marriage did take place then it was short-lived, for Cailean's wife is indeed named as Mary Campbell in a dispensation granted to them in 1372 (CPL iv (1362-1404), 183. She is described as Mariota in a document of 1387 (SP i, 328-9). In a charter of 1440 she is described as Mariota filia MCCwill [Mhic Dhubhghaill] Cambel (ibid., 330-1). The forenames Mary and Mariota were interchangeable as far as record was concerned (*infra*, p.376, n.320). If we then interpreted MCCwill as 'son of Dubhghall', the evidence of Ane Accompt would harmonise.

For us therefore it would be attractive to identify Eoin Campbell, father of Mary, with Eoin Campbell, spouse of Mariota of Glen Orchy in 1358. If we further assumed that Mary, as the heiress of Eoin and Mariota, brought Glen Orchy to her husband, this could explain how Glen Orchy passed to the Campbell ruling lineage.

A possible further identification for Eoin would be with Eoin Campbell, on record as lord of Ardskeodnish c.1355 and on 31 March 1358 (Highland Papers ii, 140-1, 143).

and Mariota of Glen Orchy, as tenants-in-chief of the crown. The charter of 1432 gives us a further insight into what that position was. Donnchadh, lord of Loch Awe, granted his son Cailean omnes et singulas terras proprietatis nostre de Glenvrchay. As Macphail pointed out, the implication was that "there were other lands of which he only had the superiority".<sup>117</sup> The earliest confirmation we receive of this is a document of 1470<sup>118</sup> which shows the MacGregor chief and the chief of a MacLachlan kin-group holding lands within the lordship of Glen Orchy of the earl of Argyll, as the Campbell chiefs of Loch Awe had by then become.

What then was the position of the MacGregor lineage between c.1300 (the time of Donnchadh Beag, "the first lord of this land") and 1390, and how could its chief Eoin be styled of Glen Orchy in the latter year? The most likely explanation is as follows. On the basis of evidence of 1432 and after, it is clear that the lands which the MacGregor chiefs held of the Campbell chiefs were what were called the lands of Glen Strae, a component part of the lordship of Glen Orchy. As we shall see, it was very probably these lands in which the MacGregor lineage became established in the time of Donnchadh Beag.<sup>119</sup> This could most neatly be explained on the basis of our earlier argument that Donnchadh Beag's lineage was a junior branch of the ruling kindred as represented by Johannes and Mariota of Glen Orchy. Thus Donnchadh Beag would have held the Glen Strae lands of the ruling

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117. Highland Papers iv, 198-9.

118. AT, 18 December.

119. Infra, pp, 44-5.

Glen Orchy lineage in precisely the same way as his successors from the fifteenth century onwards held them of the Campbell chiefs.<sup>120</sup> The termination of the ruling lineage with Mariota would then have meant a weakening of control at the top, leaving the MacGregor lineage dominant for a time, and explaining why Eoin son of Griogair was styled of Glen Orchy on his death in 1390.

The MacGregor lineage did not occupy that position long. We have already traced the expansion of Campbell authority eastwards as far as the Argyll/Perthshire boundary by c.1400. The acquisition of the lordship of Glen Orchy by their ruling family, which must have taken place at some point between 1358 and 1407,<sup>121</sup> fits securely into this context.

Previous commentators have unanimously asserted that the Campbell acquisition of Glen Orchy, the establishment there in 1432 of a member of the Campbell ruling family who by at least 1437 was styled of Glen Orchy, and the subsequent adoption of the designation of Glen Strae (or of Stronmilchan) by the MacGregor chiefs, implied the wholesale physical displacement of the MacGregors.<sup>122</sup> Behind these assertions lie the assumptions that because the relationship between the Campbells and the Macgregors was profoundly antagonistic at a later period, it must always have been thus; and that in territorial terms the designations of Glen Orchy and of Glen Strae corresponded precisely to those glens themselves, and hence were mutually exclusive.

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120. The rather less attractive alternative would be to suppose that Donnchadh Beag was the head of an up-and-coming lineage unrelated to the ruling Glen Orchy kindred, which established itself in the Glen Strae lands with or without the ruling kindred's consent.

121. Glen Orchy is not mentioned in a charter of 1369 confirming the existing possessions in Argyll of the Campbell lords of Loch Awe (RRS vi, no. 429).

122. Gregory, Inquiry, 135; Kermack, The Clan MacGregor, 8-9; Companion to Gaelic Scotland, 174.



If we take the latter point first, then we have already mentioned that Glen Orchy could be used in a wider sense to denote what was an extensive lordship and parish. The Glen Strae lands held by the MacGregor chiefs were a component part of that lordship. Thus the high altar of the parish church at Clachán an Dìseirt (Dalmailly) could be referred to as "the high altar of Glen Strae",<sup>123</sup> or "the high alter of the parish church of Glen Orchy".<sup>124</sup> Sixteenth-century documents refer to the 20 merkland of Glen Strae (or Stronmilchan) lying within Glen Orchy,<sup>125</sup> the barony of Glen Orchy,<sup>126</sup> or the lordship of Glen Orchy.<sup>127</sup>

We have no detailed breakdown of the Glen Strae lands before 1519,<sup>128</sup> but the lands delineated then accord sufficiently well with our earlier evidence for lands held by the MacGregor chiefs to suggest a continuity which was apparently unaffected by the coming of the Campbells, and which very probably extended back to the time of Donnchadh Beag. These lands ran from within the mouth of Glen Strae, east along the Strath of Orchy, into the mouth of Glen Orchy. Hence in 1523 they could be described, following their resignation by the MacGregor chief to the earl of Argyll, as "the landis quhilkis he haldis of us in Glenurquhay and Glensra".<sup>129</sup> The lands lay mainly in the connecting strath, naturally more fertile than the lands within the glens. In the strath lay the two most important foci of the social and spiritual life of

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123. Chron. BDL, 31 July 1526.

124. AT, 10 February 1510.

125. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/122.

126. Ibid., GD112/1/3/123; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2A, 12 August 1591.

127. Ibid., GD50/187/1, 30 May 1540.

128. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/75/12/

129. Ibid., GD112/2/81/1, 21 March 1523.

Clann Griogair: Stronmilchan, probably the principal residence of the chiefs from before 1415 at least,<sup>130</sup> and certainly so by 1449 when it is first used as the chief's designation;<sup>131</sup> and Dìseart Chonnáin, the burial ground at Dalnally where the chiefs and other members of the ruling family were buried from at least 1390 to 1548.<sup>132</sup>

Continuity is also clear in the places of death of members of the ruling family between 1390 and 1528, as recorded in the chronicles:

19 April 1390	-	at Glen Orchy <sup>133</sup>
1415	-	at Stronmilchan
1415	-	in Glen Orchy <sup>134</sup>
1424	-	at Glen Orchy <sup>135</sup>
20 April 1440	-	at Glen Orchy <sup>136</sup>
28 April 1461	-	at Stronmilchan <sup>137</sup>
24 May 1519	-	at Stronmilchan
12 April 1528	-	at Achallader in Glen Orchy

Achallader lies by Loch Tulla, at the very head of Glen Orchy, and we have seen that the poem composed between 1415 and 1440 describes Eoin son of Griogair (d.1390) as coming from Loch Tulla. A poem addressed to Eoin Dubh chief between 1461 and 1519, describes him as seabhag deidgheal na dtri ngleann, 'white-toothed hawk of the three glens'. Glen Strae and Glen Lyon are specifically mentioned, and we would suspect that Glen Orchy was the third.<sup>138</sup>

130. Chron. BDL.

131. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/75/1.

132. Chron. BDL and Chron. Fortingall, passim.

133. 19 April 13 - , in Chron. Fortingall.

134. Chron. BDL.

135. Chron. Fortingall.

136. 20 April 14 - , in Chron. Fortingall.

137. Gregory read 20 April, but in fact the MS reading (NLS Advocates' MS 72.1.37, p. 191, no. 1) is 28 April, agreeing with Chron. Fortingall.

138. Watson, Scottish Verse, 204-5, v.4; 208-9, v.21; 206-7, v.11. Cf. ibid., 198-9, vv.9, 13; 212-3, v.3, for further references to the MacGregors in the Glen Orchy area.

His obit. in Chron. BDL concludes, quo die planctus magnus erat in Glenwrquhay.<sup>139</sup>

Clearly then, the shifts in designation were not symptomatic of physical displacement. Rather, they signified changes in the hierarchy of power within the lordship of Glen Orchy. The Campbells had established themselves at the ruling level in succession to the lineage of Johannes and Mariota of Glen Orchy, displacing the MacGregor lineage from the position it had temporarily occupied. The process did not concern possession of land, but acknowledgement of relative kin status. Far from the relationship between the Campbells and MacGregors being hostile from its inception, the fact that the grant of 1432 involved only property lands suggests that the Campbells had recognised the MacGregors' status as an established territorial kindred within the area. The fact that the grant, and the consequent instrument of sasine in 1434, were witnessed by members of the MacGregor ruling family,<sup>140</sup> suggests that they had accepted the Campbells' status as the new ruling lineage. Such an analysis is fully in accord with the course of MacGregor/Campbell relations over the next century, in which, as we shall demonstrate, the MacGregors' position was that of a client kindred depending on the earl of Argyll - of whom they held their Glen Strae lands - and on other Campbell branches, while the evidence for co-operation between the two kindreds is overwhelming.

Doubtless as a consequence of his erroneous belief in an

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139. 24 May 1519. For planctus, see NLS, Advocates' MS 72.1.37, p. 193, no. 6. Gregory prints planetus.

140. Highland Papers iv, 200, 202.

early origin for the MacGregors, Gregory suggested that by the thirteenth century at least they were already extensively settled outside of Argyll in western Perthshire:- Rannoch, Glen Lyon, Glen Lochay, Glen Dochart, Strath Fillan and Balquhider.<sup>141</sup> Against that, Kermack argued that there was, "little actual evidence that the MacGregors were extensively settled outside Argyll", before 1432.<sup>142</sup> Kermack was undoubtedly correct. We have already had cause to mention most of the references we have to MacGregors before 1450, and the great bulk of these connect them with the lordship of Glen Orchy, and in particular, as we have argued, the Glen Strae lands. We have established that Dìseart Chonnáin, Stronmilchan, and perhaps Achallader by Loch Tulla,<sup>143</sup> were the key centres of the clan's early existence. If we take the place of issue of documents witnessed by MacGregors, and marriages made by their ruling family, prior to 1450, as a rough index of the world within which they moved, then that world was nearly synonymous with Argyll. Documents were witnessed at Ardtetyllpollach<sup>144</sup> (the stream which was probably regarded as the march between Glen Orchy and Loch Awe),<sup>145</sup> Kilchurn Castle,<sup>146</sup> Inishail<sup>147</sup> and Inveraray;<sup>148</sup> marriages were made with the Lamonts and (probably) the MacLachlans of Cowal, and an unidentified branch of the Campbells.<sup>149</sup>

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141. Gregory, Inquiry, 132-3. On his reasons for including Glen Dochart see *supra*, n. 94.

142. Kermack, The Clan MacGregor, 13.

143. *Supra*, p. 45.

144. Highland Papers iv, 202.

145. *Ibid.*, 202, n.1.

146. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/75/1.

147. AT, 16 October 1434.

148. Highland Papers iv, 200.

149. *Infra*, pp. 71 and n.8; 75.

We have three references to MacGregors outwith Argyll before 1450. One of these probably implies actual settlement, if we are correct in identifying the man presented to the vicarage of Fortingall in 1406 as ancestor of the family of the dean of Lismore.<sup>150</sup> Another - that to Eoin MacGregor, lord of Ardinconnel in 1430<sup>151</sup> - implies not merely settlement, but the establishment of a branch of the MacGregors as territorial lords well outside the dùthaich of the clan at a very early date. How they came to be there we do not know.<sup>152</sup> Our third reference is more problematic. On 22 April 1428 an inquisition was held at Killin before John de Spens of Perth, baillie of Glen Dochart.<sup>153</sup> Among the fifteen jurors were Duncanus Gregorii, Dugallus Gregorii and Nicholanus Gregorii. Since the inquisition's purpose was to define the privileges which the hereditary bearer, or *deòir*, of the relic at St. Fillan que vulgariter dicitur Coygerach, had been accustomed to enjoy from the inhabitants of the parish of Glen Dochart since the time of Robert I, we might expect that the jurors would be based in, and knowledgeable of, the locality. For some of them this was demonstrably true. The jurors included three MacNabs, a Menzies (member of a kindred whose main territories, though by now in the Appin of Dull, had earlier been in Glen Dochart,<sup>154</sup> and Karulus Campbell, who was probably a Campbell of

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150. *Supra*, p.17.

151. Fraser, Colquhoun ii, 286-7.

152. For discussion see *infra*, pp. 108-10.

153. Kirkland Papers, bdlc 3. The document is dated at Kandrochid; cf. another meeting of the baillie court of Glen Dochart on 9 February 1469, at Kandrochte Kilin (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57, loose document).

154. *Infra*, p 59.

Strachur and Glen Falloch.<sup>155</sup> Nevertheless, if the balance of probability favours our accepting this document as early evidence for MacGregor settlement in Breadalbane, we would have to confess that it is very isolated evidence. It is only in the second half of the fifteenth century that we can begin to trace MacGregor penetration here in detail, and even then Glen Dochart does not seem to have been of great importance to the MacGregors, either as an avenue east or as an area of settlement.<sup>156</sup>

Let us now, in the concluding section of this chapter, try to adopt the perspective of the early fifteenth century MacGregors, still based overwhelmingly in Glen Strae and Glen Orchy, and survey the political landscape which surrounded them. Glen Orchy and Glen Strae lay in Lorn, in the north-eastern extremity of the province of Argyll. North, and north-east of Lorn lay the lordships of Lochaber and Badenoch. South of Badenoch lay the earldom of Atholl, beyond which, curving in an arch to the south-west and returning us to our starting-point of Argyll, were the earldoms of Strathearn, Menteith and Lennox. But the circle so described omits reference to certain lands, lying in the central zone bounded by Atholl and Argyll to the east and west, and running from Lochaber and Badenoch in the north to the northern end of Loch Lomond in the south. Hereafter we shall refer to these lands collectively as "the central zone". We can consider them in three divisions. Firstly, there were Rannoch, Upper Strath Tay, Fortingall, and Glen Lyon, corresponding largely to the ancient

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155. *Infra*, pp. 59-60. For the occurrence of the forename Tearlach (Lat. *Karulus*) among these Campbells see *infra*, p. 228; *Chron. Fortingall*, 16 May 1494.

156. *Infra*, pp. 154-7, 169.

Appin of Dull.<sup>157</sup> Secondly, there were the lands on either side of Loch Tay. These appear in record in a variety of phonetic renderings of the Gaelic originals Deas-fhaire (south-facing, i.e. the north side) and Tuath-fhaire (north-facing, i.e. the south side).<sup>158</sup> Thirdly, there were Glen Dochart, Strath Fillan, and Glen Falloch - a continuous stretch of territory running from Finlarig at the west end of Loch Tay, westwards as far as the ancient division of Druimm nAlban, and thence south virtually to the north end of Loch Lomond. By the late-medieval period these lands were known collectively as the lordship, or barony, of Glen Dochart,<sup>159</sup> corresponding to the parish of the same name.

The existing pattern of power throughout this area in the early fifteenth century had been strongly influenced by the Wars of Independence, which had broken the Comyn/MacDougall alliance then politically dominant throughout much of northern Scotland.<sup>160</sup>

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157. Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 271; ER ii (1359-79), 425 (for Glen Lyon). It has been asserted (ER vi (1455-60), lxxxviii) that Rannoch was part of the original Apdaine, but it seems more likely that it was part of the earldom of Atholl. A grant of lands, including half of Rannoch, in 1451, describes them as all being in the earldom of Atholl (RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 491), while the branch of the Stewarts who were dominant in Rannoch in the later fifteenth century may well have been descended from Walter earl of Atholl who was forfeited and executed in 1437 (*infra*, pp. 137-8).
158. Gregory, Inquiry, 138-9, n.40; ER v (1437-54), 483 (dextra et sinistra pars lacus de Taya), 650 (ex utraque parte lacus de Taya).
159. Highland Papers iv, 7; Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/2/40.
160. G.W.S. Barrow, The Kingdom of the Scots (London, 1973), 377-9.

By the early fifteenth century, within our area, the two most powerful and widely influential entities were the MacDonald Lordship of the Isles, and the House of Stewart. Let us consider the Lordship first. Argyll, of course, had formed one of the two constituent provinces of the Lordship of the Isles (the other being the Hebrides) from the time of Somerled in the later twelfth century. The titles Rí Airir Goidel (King of Argyll) and Rí Innse Gall (King of the Hebrides), which reveal the existence of the two provinces, were sometimes held by different branches of Somerled's descendants at the same time, down to the early fourteenth century. Rí Airir Goidel disappears from record thereafter, presumably reflecting its absorption within the title Rí Innse Gall, which Clann Domhnuill, by now the dominant branch of the descendants of Somerled, succeeded in making their own exclusive possession.<sup>161</sup>

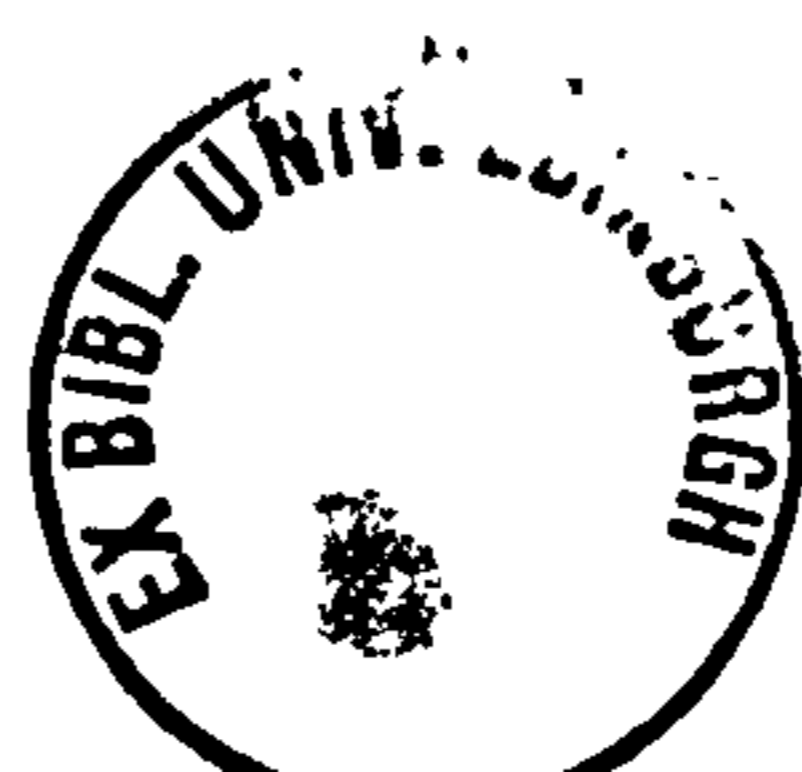
We saw that Clann Dubhghaill, that branch of Clann Somhairle which had previously been most powerful in Argyll, lost that position to the Campbells because of its opposition to Robert Bruce during the Wars of Independence.<sup>162</sup> The restoration of their territories to the MacDougalls in the mid-fourteenth century was only partial, and they were never to recover their former pre-eminence.<sup>163</sup> In 1388 this attenuated lordship of Lorn, consisting apparently of the coastal area running from Appin south to the boundary between Lorn and mid-Argyll, passed by

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161. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 201-2; Bannerman, "The Lordship of the Isles", 211.

162. *Supra*, pp. 36-7.

163. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 202-4.





marriage to a branch of the Stewarts.<sup>164</sup>

The clan pedigrees contained in MS 1467 give us an indication of the sphere of influence of the MacDonald lordship c.1400.<sup>165</sup> Their pre-eminence in Argyll is confirmed by the presence of the pedigrees of the MacNaughtons, MacLachlans, Lamonts, MacSorleys of Monydrain, MacEwens of Otter, Campbells and MacDougalls. In addition, the pedigrees of the Camerons and Macintoshes, the major kindreds of Lochaber, are testimony to the fact that the Macdonalds had been lords of Lochaber from the early fourteenth century.<sup>166</sup>

The degree of influence exercised by the Lordship within the rest of the whole area we are concerned with, c.1400, though not easy to assess, seems to have been slight. MS 1467 does contain the pedigree of the native earls of Lennox,<sup>167</sup> which should perhaps be viewed in conjunction with the fact that the last of these earls, Donnchadh, married Elena (Eilidh), widow of the eldest son of Eoin, lord of the Isles.<sup>168</sup> But the only other surviving indications of impingement by the Lordship here consist of occasional military intrusions.<sup>169</sup> In Strathearn and Menteith the evidence is similarly confined to a pedigree from MS 1467,<sup>170</sup> which, although it has yet to be properly analysed, is probably that of the MacLarens of Balquhiddier.<sup>171</sup>

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164. C.M. MacDonald, The History of Argyll up to the beginning of the sixteenth century (Glasgow, 1950), 174.

165. Infra, p. 70 and n.1.

166. (Edd.), J. and R.W. Munro, Acts of the Lords of the Isles 1336-1493 (SHS, 1986), xxxi.

167. F. 1r e11-18.

168. SP v, 340-1; Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 204.

169. Acts of the Lords of the Isles, lxvii.

170. F. 1r d14-21.

171. Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 343-4. But see Black, Catalogue.

Our "central zone" is an area within which, it has been suggested, the Lordship may once have exercised political influence.<sup>172</sup> The case for this rests largely on two pedigrees in MS 1467, and early sixteenth century cultural evidence emanating from Fortingall. The pedigrees are those of the MacGregors,<sup>173</sup> and another which Skene identified as that of the Macnabs of Glen Dochart.<sup>174</sup> However, the names of the Macnab chiefs c.1400 are now known.<sup>175</sup> They do not correspond with the names in the upper segment of Skene's "Macnab" pedigree, which indeed are not typical of the forenames used by the Macnab ruling family either before or after c.1400.<sup>176</sup> The MacGregor pedigree, as we have seen, comes down in date to 1440 x 1461, which raises the question as to whether it was a part of the original compilation, or a later addition.<sup>177</sup> The point, however, is unimportant for our present purposes, for even by 1440 x 1461 MacGregor expansion eastwards from Glen Orchy and Glen Strae into the Loch Tay area can only have been at an early stage.<sup>178</sup> In other words, it was because the MacGregor heartlands lay in Argyll, and while they were still largely confined there, that they came under the influence of the Lordship - a point borne out by other evidence.<sup>179</sup>

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172. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 206.

173. F. 1r c42-8.

174. F. 1r c25-41; Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 361-2, 486-7.

175. Johannes (Eoin), son of umquhile Alexander (Alasdair) Macnab, was seised as heir to his father on 20 September 1407 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/34), following precept of sasine by Robert duke of Albany. An undated charter by Albany to Alasdair Macnab (*ibid.*) can be assigned to the period between 28 April 1398, when Robert was created duke of Albany (SP i, 147), and 20 September 1407.

176. The pedigree begins, Giolla-Muire s. Eòghan s. Aonghas s. Macbethad. Earlier individuals on record probably to be identified members of the Macnab ruling family are Eoin (1238) and Maol-Coluim and Pàdraig (1296) (Highland Papers iv, 4). Between 1407 and 1600, the Macnab chiefs used the forenames Eoin, Pàdraig, Alasdair and Fionnlagh (Gillies, Breadalbane, 92-8).

177. *Supra*, p. 21.

178. *Supra*, pp. 46-9.

179. *Infra*, pp. 71-2.

The early sixteenth century cultural evidence consists of the distribution pattern of the poetry of Scottish provenance in The Book of the Dean of Lismore, compiled at Fortingall, and the references to the repair of one stone cross, and the erection of another, in the same area. The distribution pattern is clearly related to the area covered by the Lordship, while the crosses suggest a link with the west-highland tradition of monumental sculpture which flourished under the Lordship.<sup>180</sup> The role of Fortingall, however, need not imply that the influence of the Lordship per se had extended this far, but rather that the MacGregor family based there, who were probably the moving forces behind both the compilation of The Book of the Dean of Lismore and the erection of the crosses, were under direct Campbell patronage, and belonged to a clan who were aligned politically with the Campbells, at a time when the latter harboured clear ambitions to fill the position vacated by the Lords of the Isles following their forfeiture in 1493.<sup>181</sup>

We must conclude then, that there is no reliable evidence to indicate that the Lords of the Isles ever wielded appreciable political authority within our "central zone".<sup>182</sup> By the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, both here and in other of the lands of interest to us, it is clear that that role was being

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180. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 206.

181. *Infra*, p. 71.

182. This is not to deny the possibility of the existence of connections at a less formal and cultural level. It is interesting to note that Eoin Macdougall of Lorn was granted Glen Lyon in 1369 (RMS i (1306-1424), no. 237), and was acting as royal baillie of the Appin of Dull in 1371 (ER ii (1359-79), 352) - although MacDougall involvement seems to cease completely and abruptly thereafter. Further east, the thanage of Glen Tilt is said to have been granted to Eugenius brother of Reginald of the Isles in 1371 (Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 272).

performed by the Stewarts, and in particular the sons of Robert II and their descendants. In 1372 Badenoch was detached from the earldom of Moray and granted to Robert's son Alexander.<sup>183</sup> The earldom of Atholl, which had been forfeited in 1314, was thereafter held almost invariably by a scion of the royal house; after 1406 it was held by Alexander's brother Walter.<sup>184</sup> Strathearn constitutes something of an exception in that, although it had been held by David, another son of Robert II, it had passed through his daughter and heiress to Patrick Graham, whose son Malise became earl on Patrick's death in 1413.<sup>185</sup> From the later fourteenth century Menteith was held by Robert, again a son of Robert II, and the future duke of Albany and Governor of Scotland. After his death in 1420 he was succeeded by his son Murdoch.<sup>186</sup> Finally, as a result of Murdoch's marriage to Iseabal, eldest daughter of Donnchadh earl of Lennox, that earldom had been settled on them and their heirs male.<sup>187</sup>

To understand the role of the Stewarts in our "central zone" in the early fifteenth century, we need to consider briefly the earlier history of these lands. The Appin of Dull and the Lordship of Glen Dochart were both in origin territories under the jurisdiction of, and possessed by, abbots of monasteries within the Celtic church. Thereafter the Appin of Dull became vested in the crown, while the lordship of Glen Dochart

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183. Acts of the Lords of the Isles, xxx.

184. SP i, 428-37.

185. Ibid., viii, 259-60.

186. Ibid., i, 146-50.

187. Ibid., i, 149.

appears to have been held by the Macnab chiefs, who are said to have been the descendants of the hereditary lay abbots of Glen Dochart.<sup>188</sup>

The early history of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire is very obscure. By the fourteenth century they were in the possession of the earls of Fife - when and how this connection began is not known.<sup>189</sup>

There is no certain evidence that the general area of the Appin of Dull and Loch Tay once formed part of the earldom of Atholl. A law of William I, which assigns a joint administrative role to the earl of Atholl and the abbot of Glen Dochart (although in "Argyll which pertains to Scotia") may suggest that at that time at any rate, the earls were the most important people in the area.<sup>190</sup> We know that they held the church of Dull, with its chapels of Foss and Branwo in Glen Lyon, which they granted to the priory of St. Andrews in the thirteenth century.<sup>191</sup> They were also lay patrons of the parish church of Fortingall.<sup>192</sup> In addition, the following groups of lands were certainly parts

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188. Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 261, 270-1, 361-2. But see *supra*, p. 53.

189. RRS vi, no. 63; SP iv, 14; Fraser, Grandtully i, 191\*-2\*. Since this last document is a grant to Robert, earl of Fife and Menteith, of the whole barony of Strathurd, with the lands of Strath Braan, Deas-fhaire, Tuath-fhaire and the isle of Loch Tay, in 1389; and since Duncan earl of Fife had been granted lands including Strath Braan in 1160 x 1162 by Malcolm IV (RRS i, no. 190), perhaps the connection began then.

190. APS i (1124-1423), 372.

191. St. Andrews Liber, 245-6, 295-6.

192. HMC vii, pt. ii (Atholl Charters), 706, no. 19.

of the earldom: the thanage of Crannach, in Deas-fhaire,<sup>193</sup> and lands in Upper Strath Tay, principally Weem and Aberfeldy Beg, along with Comrie,<sup>194</sup> which lies between the east end of Loch Tay and the mouth of Glen Lyon. On the evidence of a charter of 1451, the same may also have been true of Rannoch, and of Fearnan in Deas-fhaire.<sup>195</sup> From our early fifteenth century perspective, however, the significant point is that these lands were not generally controlled by the earl of Atholl.

Control, in fact, largely rested with the sons of Robert II, especially the Albanys, Robert and Murdoch. At least as early as 1390 x 1398, Robert had been granted the barony of Fortingall in succession to the Menzieses.<sup>196</sup> From at least 1397 he was

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193. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 690, no. 6. The thanage of Crannach consisted of Crannach proper - a group of lands lying between Morenish and Lawers in Deas-fhaire (Survey of Lochtayside 1769 (SHS, 1936), 31-37). Some sources (RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3507; RMS vi (1593-1608), no. 1517) seem to imply that it also included the lands of Achmore, in Tuath-fhaire just east of Killin; Duncroisk, in Glen Lochay; Kenknock (i.e. Kenknock Easter, on the west bank of the River Lochay close to Killin (Gillies Breadalbane, 393)), and Roro (sometimes described as the two Roros, e.g. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 691, no. 11), but the implication is not present in other sources (*ibid.*, 690, no. 6; 691, no. 15). Nevertheless, even if these lands were not part of the thanage of Crannach, they were certainly part of the earldom of Atholl (*ibid.*, 691, no. 11).
194. Highland Papers iv, 191-3; HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 690, no. 5; 691, no. 11.
195. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 491, and *supra*, n. 157.
196. RMS i (1306-1424), App. 2, no. 1744. The charter belongs to Robert III's reign, and is probably pre-1398 since it does not describe Robert as duke of Albany which he became in that year. The index B description of this charter describes it as a confirmation, implying the existence of an earlier grant, possibly dating to c.22 January 1375, when Robert was granted the lordship of Glen Dochart following its resignation by Alasdair Menzies (RMS i (1306-1424), no. 562; *infra*, p. 59).

receiving by royal grant an hereditary annual pension of 204 merks in exchange for the lands of the Appin of Dull, presumably implying that these had already been granted or promised to him.<sup>197</sup> Murdoch inherited the pension after his father's death.<sup>198</sup> In 1392 Murdoch had presided over a justice ayre at Perth as dominus de Apthane and justiciar of Scotland north of the Forth.<sup>199</sup> Since the document is concerned with two men over whom John Logie was claiming jurisdiction, and since Dull had been granted to John by Margaret Logie, his mother and David II's wife (it had formed part of her dower lands) before 1369,<sup>200</sup> it is clear that in 1392 Murdoch was lord of the Appin of Dull. Finally, we should note that at a slightly earlier date, Alexander lord of Badenoch held lands and influence here. In 1374 he refused to allow the payment of the contribution from the Appin of Dull, including Glen Lyon.<sup>201</sup> In 1379 his father granted him the lands of Tempar, Lassintullich, Tullochrosk and Kynachar (between Lochs Rannoch and Tummel), Garth, and Bolfracks near Dull, following their resignation by Johanetta Menzies.<sup>202</sup>

The Menzieses were probably the next most important grouping behind the Stewarts in the Appin of Dull and environs by the early fifteenth century. Their connections with the area dated back to at least the mid-thirteenth century when they were feuing out

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197. ER vi (1455-60), lxxxviii, n.l.

198. Ibid., iv (1406-36), 357, 377.

199. Fraser, Menteith ii, 266.

200. ER ii (1359-79), 298.

201. Ibid., 425.

202. RMS i (1306-1424), no. 676.

Professor Barrow has pointed out that Farbalescip is almost certainly to be interpreted as a compound consisting of the Gaski far-baile ("headman of the township") and the suffix "sd(h)ip", and hence directly analogous with forms such as tscheochdeorship.



the lands of Culdairs, near Fortingall.<sup>203</sup> Their support for Bruce in the First War of Independence brought them the barony of Fortingall itself.<sup>204</sup> In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries they became vassals of the earls of Atholl in the thanage of Crannach, and the lands of Weem, Aberfeldy Beg, Comrie, and related lands, already mentioned.<sup>205</sup>

Again as a consequence of the Wars of Independence, the Menzieses had been granted the lordship of Glen Dochart by Bruce, at the expense, it would appear, of the Macnab chiefs.<sup>206</sup> However, they did not maintain their position here long. In 1375, on the resignation of Alasdair Menzies, Robert II granted the lordship to his son Robert, future duke of Albany.<sup>207</sup> In the early fifteenth century, the most important people below Albany in these lands were the Macnabs (still present although reduced in importance), and the Campbells of Strachur.

Documents issued by Albany as lord of Glen Dochart between 1398 and 1407,<sup>208</sup> to the then Macnab chiefs, reveal that the lands they held of him - principally Bovain, Easter Ardchyle, and Downich, along with the office of the farbalescipp of Auchlyne - were now limited to Glen Dochart itself. The connection of the Campbells of Strachur with the area began in the mid-fourteenth century when Alasdair Menzies granted his uncle, Iomhar Campbell, lands lying mainly in Glen Falloch, but

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203. G.W.S. Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History (Oxford, 1980), 134-5.

204. RMS i (1306-1424), App. 2, no. 465; Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 375.

205. Highland Papers iv, 191-3; HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 690, no. 6; 691, no. 11.

206. RMS i (1306-1424), App. 2, nos. 476-7; Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 375.

207. RMS i (1306-1424), no. 562.

\*208. Supra, n. 175. The meaning of farbalescipp is obscure. According to R.S. Fittis, Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth, to the Period of the Reformation (Edinburgh and Perth, 1885), 237, in another deed the office is called, "the office of ferbalschipe or servatechipe", of Auchlyne.

also in Glen Dochart.<sup>209</sup> In 1377 Robert II confirmed a grant of the same lands made by his son Robert, as lord of the barony of Glen Dochart, to Artair Campbell.<sup>210</sup>

We turn finally to Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire. Evidence for their being held by the earls of Fife, and for further Menzies influence in our "central zone", comes in a grant in 1343 by Duncan earl of Fife, to Sir Raibeart Menzies of Morenish and Edramucky in Deas-fhaire, along with the office of toiseach of the earl's decree of Kyiretollony. The reddendo included three suits yearly at Duncan's court of Deas-fhaire.<sup>211</sup> In 1389, Isabella, countess of the earldom of Fife, resigned lands which included Deas-fhaire, Tuath-fhaire, the Isle of Loch Tay, and Loch Tay itself, to the crown,<sup>212</sup> by whom they were immediately regranted to Robert, future duke of Albany,<sup>213</sup> who had succeeded to the earldom of Fife following an indenture made between himself and Countess Isabella in 1371.<sup>214</sup>

The pattern of power throughout the whole area we are concerned with in the early fifteenth century can be summarised as follows. The MacDonald lords of the Isles were dominant in Argyll and Lochaber. The sons of Robert II and their descendants, especially the Albany Stewarts, controlled Badenoch, Atholl, and Menteith, and were heirs to the earldom of Lennox. In our "central zone" they were lords of Glen Dochart, Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire, and apparently, Appin of Dull (certainly Fortingall).

209. Highland Papers iv, 12-14.

210. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/1/14.

\*211. RRS vi, no. 63.

212. SP iv, 14.

213. Fraser, Grandtully i, 191\*-2\*.

214. SP iv, 13-14.

\* Professor Barrow has pointed out that the phrase "toiseach of the earl's decree" stems from a mistranscription of the original charter for which Sir William Fraser was probably responsible. The correct reading should be Toscheochdear or a variant-spelling thereof. The office went with the lands of Ardernaig (again misread by Fraser as Kyiretollony): cf RMS 1580-1603, no. 1517.

Given their almost total domination of the Highland area (the Stewarts also held the earldoms of Mar and Buchan by the early fifteenth century)<sup>216</sup> it was probably inevitable that the two groups should eventually come into conflict, but when the collision came it did not concern our area, but Moray and Ross. Ambitions in Moray, and rival claims to the earldom of Ross, were probably the major motivations behind the Battle of Harlaw, fought between Domhnall Lord of the Isles, and Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, in 1411.<sup>217</sup>

The events which were to have a profound effect upon our area came slightly later, between 1424 and 1437, the personal reign of James I. Nationally, the reign saw both the beginning of the reversal by the crown of the policy which had led to the severe depletion of the lands in its own hands;<sup>218</sup> and a remarkable contraction in the numbers of the Scottish higher nobility, particularly the earls.<sup>219</sup> Since the Stewarts, particularly the Albany Stewarts, were probably the most dramatic casualties, the effect on the ruling level within our area was profound. In 1425, Murdoch duke of Albany, his two eldest sons Walter and Alexander, and his father-in-law Donnchadh earl of Lennox, were executed.<sup>220</sup> The great Albany territories, including the earldoms of Fife and Menteith, and the

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216. A. Grant, Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469 (The New History of Scotland series, vol. iii, 1984), 123.

217. Ibid., 216-7; Acts of the Lords of the Isles, lxxv-vi; Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 149, 205.

218. (Edd.), P. McNeill and R. Nicholson, An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600 (St. Andrews, 1975), 72.

219. Grant, Independence and Nationhood, 123-4.

220. SP i, 150.

lordship of Glen Dochart and Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire, were forfeited to the crown, but the same does not seem to have been true of Lennox, where Iseabal, Murdoch's widow and countess of Lennox, apparently recovered possession following James I's death in 1437.<sup>221</sup> In 1427, James deprived Malise Graham of the earldom of Strathearn, and gave it in liferent to his uncle, Walter Stewart earl of Atholl.<sup>222</sup> But in 1437 Walter's execution (along with that of his grandson and heir, Sir Robert Stewart) for his role in the murder of James I led to the acquisition of Atholl and Strathearn by the crown.<sup>223</sup>

The demise of the existing pattern of power meant the formation of a new one, differing to some degree both in structure and personnel. Lennox, we have seen, remained with Countess Iseabal between 1437 and her death c.1459.<sup>224</sup> The Menteith lands were divided in three. The bulk of them remained with the crown. Regular accounts of these lands appear in the Exchequer Rolls from 1451, and also include Strath Gartney, on the northern shore of Loch Katrine, which had not formed part of the original earldom, but had been acquired independently by the crown. The second group of lands were granted by James I to William Edmonstone of Culloden, his brother-in-law. The third group, lying principally in Aberfoyle parish, were erected by James into a new earldom of Menteith, and bestowed upon the same

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221. ER vi (1455-60), cxlv-vi.

222. R. Nicholson, Scotland, The Later Middle Ages (The Edinburgh History of Scotland series, vol. ii, 1978), 318, 322).

223. Ibid., 322-6; ER vi (1455-60), lxxxv.

224. ER vi (1455-60), cxlv-vi.

Malise Graham whom James had deprived of Strathearn.<sup>225</sup>

Strathearn itself remained a crown possession, the earliest exchequer accounts of which date from 1442-4.<sup>226</sup> Atholl remained with the crown until c.1457, when Sir John Stewart of Balveny, brother uterine of James II, and grandson in the main line of the first Stewart lord of Lorn, was created earl.<sup>227</sup>

Within our "central zone" the Appin of Dull and Loch Tay lands remained in the crown after 1424 x 1437. From 1450 onwards we find them grouped together in exchequer accounts along with other Perthshire crown estates, the individual units specified therein being the lands of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire, the baronies of Appin of Dull and Fortingall, and the lordships of Glen Lyon and Rannoch.<sup>228</sup> The barony of Appin of Dull, lying mainly in Upper Strath Tay, but also including Glen Lochay,<sup>229</sup> was a considerably truncated version of the original Apdaine, which as we saw, included Fortingall and most of Glen Lyon. Rannoch's presence could indicate that it too had belonged to the original Apdaine, but it is more likely to have been a part of the earldom of Atholl which became detached following the forfeiture of 1437.<sup>230</sup> What Earl Walter's forfeiture did mean was that the Menzies chief now held Crannach, Comrie, and the lands in Upper Strath Tay directly of the crown.<sup>231</sup> The same

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225. Ibid., lxxix-lxxx.

226. Ibid., lxxxiv.

227. Ibid., lxxxv; SP i, 440-1.

228. ER vi (1455-60), lxxxvi-viii.

229. Ibid., 560.

230. Supra, n. 157.

231. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 691, no. 23. The Menzies chief was also granted new possessions in the Appin of Dull in 1430 and 1435, presumably because of the forfeiture of the Albanys (ibid., 691, nos. 17, 19, 20, 21).

applied to the lands they had previously held in Deas-fhaire of the earls of Fife, and, after 1389, of the Albany Stewarts.<sup>232</sup>

In the lordship of Glen Dochart the main beneficiary of the disappearance of the Albanys was the Carthusian Charterhouse at Perth, established by James I in 1429.<sup>233</sup> The Charterhouse, however, was perpetually endowed only with the property of the lordship; the crown retained the lands occupied by the Macnab and Campbell of Strachur chiefs, who thus like the Menzies chiefs, became tenants-in-chief of the crown.<sup>234</sup> Among the property lands of the Charterhouse, we should note, were lands in Tuath-fhaire: two-thirds of Ardtalnaig; and Craig or Baile na Creige, also a part of Ardtalnaig.<sup>235</sup> These may have been a part of the former Albany lordship of Glen Dochart, or they may have been annexed to it after 1424.

Such were the detailed consequences of the events of 1424-37. We can hardly doubt that the major general consequence, for our area as for the nation as a whole,<sup>236</sup> was the creation of a vacuum of power, largely because of the fall of the Albany Stewarts.

It has been advanced as a general truism of late-medieval Gaelic society in Scotland that dislocation at the ruling level could leave a territory "wide open to a takeover by the kindred within its own bounds that profits most from the decline of the

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232. *Ibid.*, 691, no. 17.

233. Cowan and Easson, *Religious Houses*, 13, 86-7.

234. *ER* v (1437-54), 484, 651; although the lands of Auchlyne, previously held by the Macnab chiefs of the Albanys, was later held by them of the Charterhouse (Gillies, *Breadalbane*, 93-4). The Charterhouse also held lands in Atholl (*ADA*, 148\*).

235. *ER* v (1437-54), 483; viii (1470-79), 336; ix (1480-87), 574; xvii (1537-42), 484; *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/2/45, 22 September 1551, 6 February 1573; *infra*, p. 212, n. 58.

236. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 191-2.

ruling family or to inroads from powerful neighbours".<sup>237</sup> Within our "central zone", the kindreds who had most obviously benefited from the fall of the Stewarts were the Menzieses, Macnabs, and Campbells of Strachur, each of whose status had risen in terms of landholding at least. Their position as the principal tenants of the Charterhouse<sup>238</sup> may also have stimulated Macnab expansion, although equally they may already have been tenants of the Albanys in these lands.

In the wider context James I's reign had also seen the defeat of Alexander Stewart earl of Mar by the forces of the Lordship of the Isles at Inverlochy in 1431; Alexander's death in 1435; and eventual government recognition of the right of the Lord of the Isles to the earldom of Ross. This left the Lordship as by far the dominant political entity within Gaelic Scotland.<sup>239</sup> We might have expected then, that with the fall of the Albany Stewarts and others, the territories east of Argyll would have been easy prey for MacDonald expansionist ambitions. That this did not happen was probably because of the continuing difficulties which the Lords of the Isles faced in imposing their political will upon Ross, which thus remained their priority throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>240</sup> Furthermore, by the mid-fifteenth century a new challenge to their power in the central Highlands and Moray had appeared in the person of

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237. Bannerman, "The Lordship of the Isles", 213.

238. Gillies, Breadalbane, 93-6; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/45, 14 July 1558.

239. Grant, Independence and Nationhood, 217-8; Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 149, 205.

240. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 205; Bannerman, "The Lordship of the Isles", 212.

the earl of Huntly, who was granted the former Stewart lordship of Badenoch in 1451.<sup>241</sup>

In the event, the power vacuum was filled principally by Clan Campbell, whose chiefs (lords of Loch Awe until c.1457, earls of Argyll thereafter) succeeded in establishing some degree of influence throughout the zone east of Argyll formerly controlled by the Albany Stewarts and others, between 1437 and the late sixteenth century. Crucial to that process was the expansion of the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors into these territories. Indeed, the commencement of the gravitation eastwards of the Campbells of Glen Orchy can be connected directly with the events at the very end of James I's reign. James was murdered at Perth in February 1437.<sup>242</sup> The murderers fled westwards, "to the cuntreth of the Wild Scottes".<sup>243</sup> Among those involved in their capture was Cailean, first Campbell laird of Glen Orchy. As a result Cailean was knighted,<sup>244</sup> and from 1452-3 was leasing the lands of Lawers in Deas-fhaire with remission of the rent in reward for his service. Later these lands were granted to him in feuferm.<sup>245</sup> James I's reign saw the fall of the Albanys: his death was the trigger which gave their first foothold in our "central zone" to the kindred whose power would ultimately surpass that which the Albanys had wielded there.

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241. Grant, Independence and Nationhood, 219.

242. Ibid., 323-4.

243. The Life and Death of King James the First of Scotland (Maitland Club, 1837), 60.

244. Before 27 March 1437: Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/3/1.

245. ER v (1437-54), 542; viii (1470-79), 338; vi (1455-60), lxxi; RMS iii (1513-46), no. 316.



NOTE

(Referred to in footnote 105, p. 38).

APS i (1124-1423), 447b. Glen Orchy is in Gaelic Gleann Urchaidh, though Gleann-urcha better represents its pronunciation in the Perthshire dialect (Watson, Celtic Place-Names, 475-6). Among forms of the name on record, Glenurwy is unique. We may note, however, that under the terms of the same legislation, the sheriffdom of Kintyre was to include Terra Lochmani MCKilcolmi MCErewer and Terra Eneusii MCErewar (APS i (1124-1423), 447b). We have already seen (*supra*, n.105) that these men were Lamonts, and that MCErewer/MCErewar is for Gaelic MacFhearchair. If the scribe was using 'w' to represent the sound 'ch', as this suggests then the form Glenurwy becomes more understandable.

Johannes de Glenurwy has sometimes been identified (Gregory, Inquiry, 131; Companion to Gaelic Scotland, 173; Kermack, The Clan MacGregor, 6) with a man who appears several times on record in 1296 and 1297 after being captured at Dunbar, and first named as John de Glenurchwhar. Elsewhere, however, it has been suggested that he came from Glenurquhart, by Loch Ness (Barrow, Robert Bruce, 104). This receives support from a comparison of the early forms of Glen Orchy and Glenurquhart (in the form Urquhart, since Glenurquhart itself does not appear in early record) with the forms on record in 1296/7. It has been thought legitimate to add forms of Urquhart in Moray, since Watson (Celtic Place-Names, 352-3) considered it to be probably the same name as Urquhart by Loch Ness, and it comes on record earlier.

<u>Glenorchy</u>	<u>[Glen] urquhart</u>	<u>1296/7</u>
Glenurwy 1293 <sup>1</sup>	Urchard/Hurchard (Moray) early 13th cent. <sup>6</sup>	Glenurchwhar <sup>13</sup>
Glenwrquhay 1358 <sup>2</sup>	Vrchard (Moray) 1282 <sup>7</sup>	Glenurhard <sup>14</sup>
Glenourcha 1406 <sup>3</sup>	Hurward " 1290 <sup>8</sup>	Glenurchart <sup>15</sup>
Glenhurcha 1437 <sup>4</sup>	Vrcharde 1342 <sup>9</sup>	Glenorwar <sup>16</sup>
Glenvrchay 1432/4 <sup>5</sup>	Wrchard 1372 <sup>10</sup>	
	Vrquhard 1385 <sup>11</sup>	
	Vrcharde 1398 <sup>12</sup>	

1. APS i (1124-1423), 447b.

3. HMC vii, pt. ii (Atholl Charters), 706, no. 19.

5. Highland Papers, iv, 198-200, 202.

7. APS i (1124-1423), 110

9. RRS vi, no. 485.

11. Ibid., 553a.

13. CDS ii (1272-1307), no. 742.

15. Rot. Scot. i, 43a.

2. RRS vi, no. 180.

4. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/3/1, 27 March 1437.

6. Moray Registrum, 41, 44, 96, 102.

8. Ibid., 441a.

10. APS i (1124-1423), 560a.

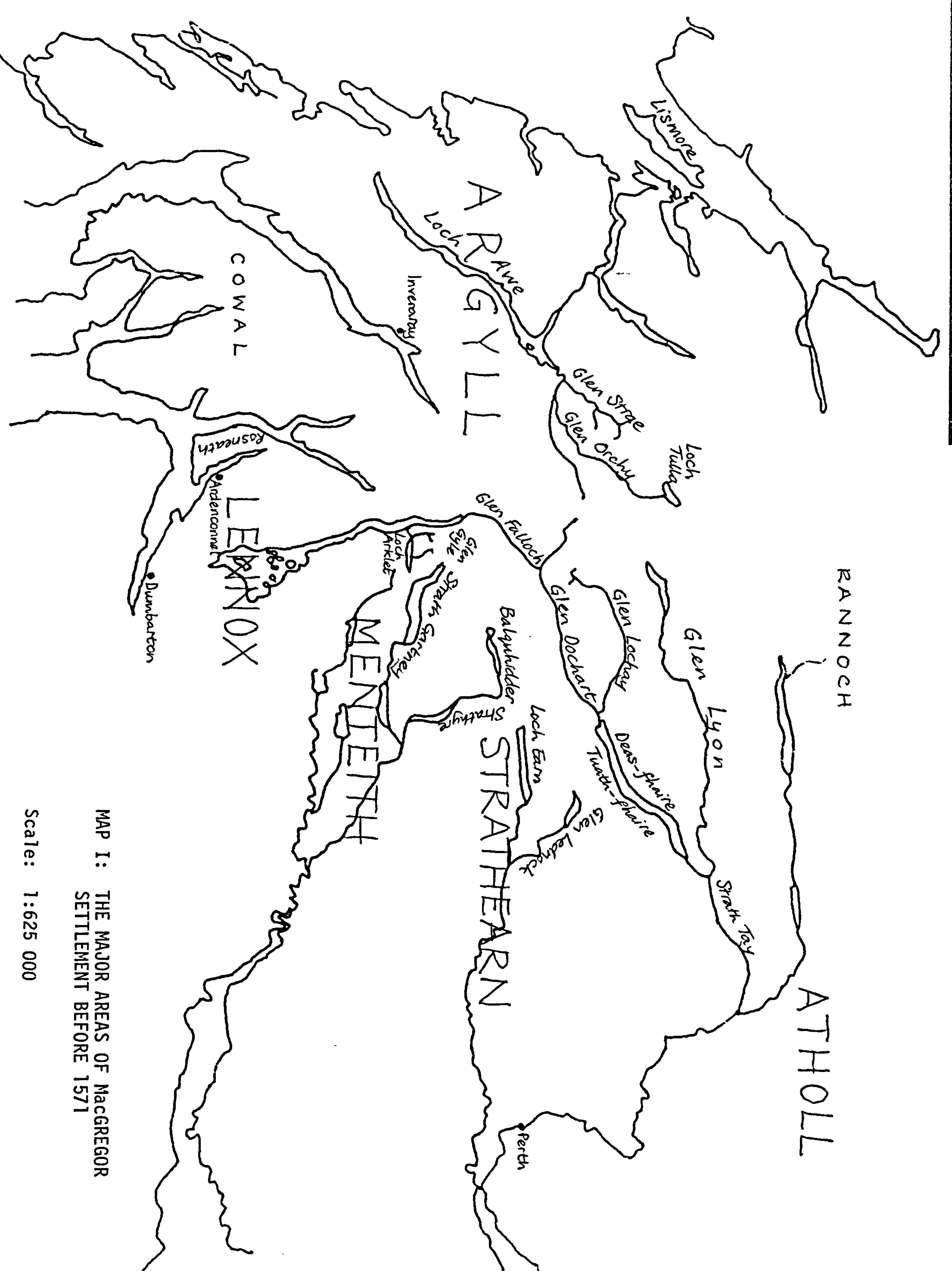
12. Ibid., 571b.

14. Ibid., no. 940.

16. Ibid., 45a.

The historical context of the 1296/7 entries likewise favours an identification with Glenurquhart. Johannes de Glenurchwhar was mainperned in 1297 by among others John earl of Atholl and Sir John Comyn of Badenoch and his son (CDS ii (1272-1307), no. 940). Since Alexander and Robert, brothers of Sir John Comyn, David Graham and his nephew of the same name (on their ties with the Comyns see Barrow, Robert Bruce, 72, 152), and Hugh of Airth (who was acting as Sir John Comyn's baillie in the Appin of Dull in 1291/2 (CDS ii (1272-1307), nos. 582-3)), were mainperned along with them, he may have been a follower of Sir John Comyn. Certainly the context suggests no obvious link with Glen Orchy.

Thus it appears that we are dealing with two distinct contemporaries, Johannes of Glen Orchy and John of Glenurquhart (though it is curious that there is no other early evidence for Glenurquhart as a designation). The similarity between the names is such as to render confusion likely, and indeed they are sometimes indistinguishable in later record (Glen Orchy = Glenvrchard (AT 1482); Glenurquhard (RSS i (1488-1529), no. 513: 22 April 1500); Glenurquhart (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/134: 26 July 1563).)



MAP I: THE MAJOR AREAS OF MACGREGOR SETTLEMENT BEFORE 1571

Scale: 1:625 000

## CHAPTER II

POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS, EXPANSION AND STATUS, 1437-c.1550

The clan genealogies contained in MS 1467, deriving from a compilation originally made c.1400, have as their unifying feature the fact that the kindreds they represent came within the sphere of influence, whether political, cultural or both, of the MacDonald Lords of the Isles.<sup>1</sup> In the later fourteenth century we find the most prominent kindreds of Argyll - the MacLachlans and Lamonts of Cowal, along with the MacDougalls and Campbells - "bound together in a network of marriage alliances and bonds of alliance and manrent, and closely associated with John Lord of the Isles".<sup>2</sup> The pedigrees of these and other Argyll clans are present in MS 1467.<sup>3</sup> Around 1400 then, the Campbells could fairly be described as one of the principal kindreds of Argyll, all of whom acknowledged the authority of the MacDonald Lord of the Isles.

The fifteenth century saw the uninterrupted waxing of Campbell power and influence at both the local and national levels.<sup>4</sup> By 1457, the year in which their chief was created earl of Argyll, they were the dominant kindred in that province. The earldom conferred upon them simply acknowledged that, in the Gaelic context,

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1. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 205. The unity extends to the actual substance of the pedigrees, for certain groups of clans - five, if we accept the divisions made by Skene (Celtic Scotland, iii, 458-90), are given a common ancestry. Thus the original compiler's apparent desire to express the political cohesion of the Lordship by providing common origins for its component kindreds may explain why the MacGregors are placed within that group of clans for whom a descent from Cormac son of Airbertach is claimed.
  2. *Ibid.*, 204.
  3. The others are the MacNaughtons, MacEwens of Otter and MacGregors.
  4. For their national status see *infra*, pp. 113-5.

the Campbells had resurrected and made their own the pre-fourteenth century title of Rí Airir Goídel. A probable contributory factor to that process was the continuing MacDonald preoccupation with the earldom of Ross.<sup>5</sup> Even before 1457 there were signs that the Campbell chiefs were beginning to steer a course which was distinct from that of the Lords of the Isles themselves,<sup>6</sup> and it was entirely predictable that, following the forfeiture of the Lordship in 1493, they should try to extend their influence westwards and establish themselves as Lords in succession to the MacDonalds, although they were never to do so with complete success.<sup>7</sup>

What of the evidence for MacGregor ties with the Lordship? Their pedigree is present in MS 1467. We can also point to marriage ties which associate the early MacGregor chiefs Eoin Dubh (chief from 1390 to 1415) and his son and successor Maol-Coluim (chief from 1415 to 1440) with the group of Argyll kindreds linked to the Lords of the Isles in the later fourteenth century, specifically the MacLachlans and Lamonts.<sup>8</sup> From at least 1390 onwards, members of the MacGregor

5. Bannerman, "The Lordship of the Isles", 212.

6. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 210.

7. *Ibid.*, 212.

8. Watson, Scottish Verse, 30-1, where Maol-Coluim is husband of Maíre ... inghean Mheic Laghmainn, 'Mary ... Lamont's daughter'; and mac Dear-bháil buidhe ó (?) Ghallaibh, 'son of yellow-haired Derval from (?) the Lowlands'. In Chron. Fortingall (1424), Eoin Dubh's wife is described as Dear-bháil, daughter of Eóghan MacLachlan (Darwayll Neyn Ewyn V<sup>C</sup>Lachlyn).

Dear-bháil's identity presents a number of problems. The reading ó Ghallaibh (which might point to Caithness, Galloway or the Lowlands in general as her place of origin) is uncertain (Watson, Scottish Verse, 263). MacLachlan could be her father's patronymic rather than his surname, and even if the latter, an Eóghan does not figure among the recorded chiefs of the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan in the late-fourteenth century when Dear-bháil's father must have flourished.

Nevertheless three reasons make it reasonable to assume that Eóghan was indeed a MacLachlan of Strathlachlan, either a member of the ruling family or the head of a branch of the kindred. Firstly, there is Maol-Coluim's subsequent marriage into the Lamonts, neighbours and kin of the MacLachlans. Secondly, a marriage tie with the MacLachlans could attractively explain the updating of the MacGregor pedigree in MS 1467 given that a MacLachlan genealogist seems to have updated certain genealogies /

ruling family regularly commissioned grave-slabs for use in their burial ground at Dalmally from the Loch Awe school of stone-carvers, one of the four such schools which flourished under the patronage of the Lords of the Isles.<sup>9</sup> In the light of the early MacGregor marriage ties with the Lamonts and MacLachlans, it is interesting to note that the distribution pattern of the Loch Awe school products embraced the territories of all three kindreds.<sup>10</sup>

Evidence of this nature tends to confirm what in any case we would have suspected, that the ties between the MacGregors and the Lords of the Isles were not of an immediate or explicit character. The key political relationship which dominates MacGregor history down to c.1570 and beyond was that with the Campbells. It must have been formed in the later fourteenth century or earlier fifteenth century, the period within which the Campbells extended their authority eastwards as far as the Lorn/Perthshire boundary, through the commission of lieutenantry of 1382, their acquisition of the lordship of Glen Orchy before 1407, and the establishment as a branch of the ruling family, who soon became known as the lords of of Glen Orchy, within that lordship in 1432.<sup>11</sup>

8 genealogies within the compilation (see Appendix 1). Thirdly, such (contd) a marriage tie might explain the presence of a MacLachlan lineage in Glen Orchy by the later fifteenth century (infra, p. 74 and n. 14).

9. Chron. BDL and Chron. Fortingall, passim; RCAHMS, Argyll ii: Lorn (1975), 132-4; PSAS xxxi (1896-7), 81. Three MacGregors were buried in stone tomb-chests (Chron. BDL, 22 June 1498, 24 May 1519). These seem to have been a late and relatively rare phenomenon in west Highland monumental sculpture, surviving examples being limited to Mid Argyll and Lorn (Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 74).

10. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 50-1.

11. Supra, pp. 37,39.

The coming of the Campbells to Glen Orchy brought them into the closest physical proximity to the MacGregors. Kilchurn Castle, the earliest principal fortress of the Campbells of Glen Orchy, completed possibly by 1440 and certainly by 1449,<sup>12</sup> lay within two miles of Stronmilchan, the main residence of the MacGregor chiefs, at the north end of Loch Awe. In these circumstances, and given the respective power of each kindred, it would only seem possible for the relationship between them to have followed one of two paths: co-operation, with the MacGregors in the subordinate position, or confrontation, entailing the displacement of the MacGregors.

It is clear that the former path was followed. The MacGregors became a client kindred of the Campbells. In this chapter we shall examine the nature of that relationship between c.1432 and 1550. Within this period the most tangible manifestation of the bond between the kindreds was in their joint expansion eastwards from Argyll into western Perthshire. Much of our discussion will be concerned with this phenomenon, but other aspects of the relationship will be considered first. Our sources are fragmentary, especially for the fifteenth century, but can sometimes be supplemented with relevant material drawn from after 1550. Particularly useful in this respect is the evidence provided by the attempts to repair the relationship after it had broken down completely in the 1560s.

We have no explicit statements of the dependency of the MacGregors upon the Campbells before the sixteenth century, but can

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12. RCAHMS, Argyll ii: Lorn (1975), 238.

be confident that it came into being with the establishment of control at the ruling level within the lordship of Glen Orchy by the lords of Loch Awe. We have already argued that that process involved a reduction in the status of the MacGregor chiefs, who had briefly occupied that position, but not their actual displacement. Campbell pre-eminence seems to have been accepted by the MacGregors, while the lords of Loch Awe in turn accepted the MacGregor standing as an established territorial kindred within the lordship of Glen Orchy.<sup>13</sup> After 1432, our next information relating to the land-holding pattern within the lordship, in 1470, shows Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy, the MacGregor chief Eoin Dubh, and the head of a MacLachlan kin-group, all as vassals of the earl of Argyll.<sup>14</sup> The MacGregor chiefs were to hold their Glen Strae heartlands of the earls of Argyll until 1554.<sup>15</sup>

Other evidence besides their feudal status confirms the position of the MacGregor chiefs as Campbell vassals. A body of references, individually mundane but collectively significant, can be assembled to show members of the MacGregor ruling family operating within a Campbell milieu, either witnessing documents issued by the lords of Loch Awe/earls of Argyll, or acting as their baillies, between 1432 and 1546. The two earliest references (1432 x 1434), both

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13. *Supra*, pp. 41-6.

14. *AT*, 18 December. The presence of these MacLachlans in Glen Orchy could be attractively explained if we supposed that on the occasion of her marriage to Eoin Dubh, Dear-bháil daughter of Eòghan MacLachlan was accompanied to her new residence by a group of her clansmen (*léine-chneas*) in the customary manner (cf. W. Matheson, "Traditions of the MacKenzies", *TGSI* xxxix-xl (1942-50), 203.

15. *Infra*, pp. 268-9.



relating to the documents by which Donnchadh lord of Loch Awe granted his property lands of Glen Orchy to his son Cailean, are especially valuable, in that they suggest that the dependency was already in existence by this point.<sup>16</sup>

The marriages made by the MacGregor chiefs form another valuable index to their political orientation, and subsequent to the early MacLachlan and Lamont ties, Campbell marriages were the norm between 1440 and 1570. Pàdraig (chief from 1440 to 1461) and Mariota Campbell received papal dispensation to marry on 29 July 1441.<sup>17</sup> Our only other documentary reference to Pàdraig also sets him in a Campbell context.<sup>18</sup> One of the two known wives of Pàdraig's son and successor Eoin Dubh (chief from 1461 to 1519) was inghean Eoin mheic Ghill-Easbuig ... Ealasaid a Gleann Lfomhunn, 'the daughter of Eoin son of Gill-easbuig, Ealasaid from Glen Lyon'.<sup>19</sup> Although her precise identity has not been established, the presence of the characteristic Campbell forename Gill-easbuig suggests that she belonged to that clan. Alasdair MacGregor of Glen Strae, last on record in 1546,<sup>20</sup> married a daughter of Campbell of Ardinglas,<sup>21</sup> while his son Griogair Ruadh married Marion daughter of Donnchadh Ruadh Campbell of Glen Lyon.<sup>22</sup>

Other MacGregor kin-groups apart from the ruling family established special ties with the Campbells. Most notable is the

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16. See Appendix II, pt. i.

17. CSSR iv (1433-47), 190.

18. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/75/1.

19. Watson, Scottish Verse, 156-7, vv. 18-19.

20. AT, 12 April.

21. Taymouth Bk., 64.

22. Ibid; infra, pp. 317-8.

case of the family of the dean of Lismore. After 1470 the earls of Argyll were also lords of Lorn, one-third of which was held by the Glen Orchy chiefs as their vassals.<sup>23</sup> With Lorn went the patronage of ecclesiastical benefices within the lordship,<sup>24</sup> and on 18 December 1470 Cailean earl of Argyll granted Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy and his son Donnchadh in liferent, "the thyrde gyfte and advocatioun of all the kyrkis and benefices of Lorn".<sup>25</sup> In 1553, following a dispute concerning these benefices, it was decided that in future Cailean Liath, sixth chief of the Glen Orchy kindred, should present to the chancellorship and chantership of Lismore, and that the earl and master of Argyll should present to the deanship and treasurership.<sup>26</sup> We do not know what arrangements had existed before that date, but we can safely deduce that it was through the patronage of either the earl of Argyll or Campbell of Glen Orchy that sir Seumas MacGregor was presented to the deanery of Lismore, an office he already held by 10 March 1514,<sup>27</sup> and of which he was apparently still in possession on his death in 1551.<sup>28</sup> A similar path was followed by his son Dubhghall, who was presented to the chancellorship of Lismore by Cailean Liath of Glen Orchy in the summer of 1558.<sup>29</sup> Of the 21 documents so far discovered in which Seumas and/or his own father Dubhghall are involved either as baillies, notaries public, or witnesses, 16 are Campbell-related, and 15 of these are directly concerned

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23. OPS ii, pt. i, 111-4.

24. Ibid., 111.

25. AT.

26. OPS ii, pt. i, 161.

27. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/75/11.

28. Chron Fortingall, St. Lucia's Day [13 December]; cf. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, document filed under 12 April 1532, but dated 12 April 1542; MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/1/iv/39.

29. Chron. Fortingall; cf. Watt, Fasti, 32. For the relationship see RSS v (1556-67), pt. i, no. 311; RPC iv (1585-92), 455: Dougall Denesoun McGregour.

with the earls of Argyll or the Glen Orchy chiefs.<sup>30</sup> This state of affairs is accurately reflected in The Book of the Dean of Lismore itself, for whose compilation Dubhghall, Seumas, and Seumas' brother Donnchadh seem to have been principally responsible,<sup>31</sup> and which to some extent can be seen as a product of MacGregor/Campbell cultural collaboration. Within the book two of the best represented Scottish poets are Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy<sup>32</sup> and Donnchadh MacGregor, the dean's brother.<sup>33</sup> Also present are compositions by the ruling family of the Campbell earls of Argyll,<sup>34</sup> and indeed in his poem addressed to Dubhghall MacGregor which appears to anticipate the compilation of the book itself, Fionnlagh Macnab portrays the earl of Argyll as the artistic judge to whom such a compilation should properly be brought.<sup>35</sup>

The two other special ties for which we have evidence link the MacGregor kin-groups concerned with the Campbells of Glen Orchy. The MacGregors of Brackley,<sup>36</sup> the lineage which acted as the hereditary keepers of Kilchurn Castle on behalf of the Glen Orchy chiefs until the late sixteenth century,<sup>37</sup> first come on record

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30. See Appendix II, pt. ii. Of the other five documents, three are Macnab-related (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/34, 22 March 1487, 11 December 1524, 11 July 1525), one Menzies-related (MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vi/56), and the other a tack by Menzies of Rannoch to Alasdair MacGregor of Glen Strae in 1543 (*ibid.*, GD50/186/I/iv/39).

31. *Supra*, pp. 13-14.

32. With nine poems: NLS, Advocates' MS. 72.1.37, pp. 10, 37, 109, 111, 149, 202, 225, 251, 306.

33. With five poems: *ibid.*, pp. 7, 28, 64, 208, 223.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 73 (by an earl or earls of Argyll); p. 251 (by Iseabal wife of Cailean first earl of Argyll); pp. 285, 292.8 (by Iseabal daughter of the first or second earl of Argyll).

35. Watson, Scottish Verse, 2-5, esp. 2-3, vv. 6-7, cf. *ibid.*, xvi.

36. These MacGregors were only granted the lands of Brackley, east of Dalmally, in 1573 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/35, 28 January), but for convenience are styled as such within this thesis.

37. For selected references to the lineage before 1550 see Appendix II, pt. iii.

in the person of Donnchadh, who died on 19 July 1518.<sup>38</sup> The connection most probably began with the building of Kilchurn in the mid-fifteenth century: its strength is best illustrated by the fact that when the relationship between the MacGregors and the Campbells of Glen Orchy broke down completely in the 1560s, the Brackley lineage remained loyal to the latter.<sup>39</sup> The second tie was one of fosterage. On 29 April 1510 two representatives of a MacGregor kin-group by now established on Loch Tayside, at Fearnan in Deas-fhaire, agreed to foster Cailean, third son of Cailean the eldest son and heir of Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy.<sup>40</sup> This Cailean would become chief of his kindred in 1550.

The sixteenth century provides us with several precise statements of the MacGregors' position as Campbell dependants. On 2 December 1530 Sir Eoin Campbell of Cawdor gave his bond that, with the assistance of Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll, he would ensure that the MacGregors observed good rule.<sup>41</sup> On 28 August 1536, prior to his departure for France where he was shortly to be married, James V issued letters of protection for the period of his absence to Earl Gill-easbuig and 200 of his kin, friends and servants. Among those listed were seven MacGregors including the chief.<sup>42</sup> At Inveraray on 6 October 1544, Alasdair MacGregor of Glen Strae gave Gill-easbuig his bond of manrent after being granted certain lands in heritage by the earl.<sup>43</sup> A licence concerning the

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38. Chron. BDL.

39. Infra, p. 379.

40. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/2/38 (printed Taymouth Bk., 179).

41. ADC (Public), 343-4.

42. RSS ii (1529-42), no. 2152.

43. AT.

MacGregors granted by Mary of Guise on 7 February 1558 intimated that, "our cosing the Erle of Ergyle and Coline Campbell of Glenvrquhay hes the service of that clann".<sup>44</sup> During the feud in the 1560s, Griogair Ruadh MacGregor of Glen Strae informed Cailean Liath of Glen Orchy that if peaceful relationships could be restored, "I, my kennissmen, freyndis and servandis ... salbe obedient and serviceabile to your maisterschip in tymes cummyng", against all except Queen Mary and the Earl of Argyll, and continued:

Ye are the maister that is maist necessar for me and my freyndis under God, and I and my kennismen ar the maist necessar servandis for you under God, and all thoycht that I and my frendis be at deferance with your Maisterschip instantly, I and tha and gif God sendis me ofbryng will servef your Maisterschipsis ofbryng in tym cummyng.<sup>45</sup>

Finally, and moving slightly beyond the specific terminus of our study, a report on the Highlands and Islands drawn up for the English government c.1593 described the MacGregors as dependants of the Earl of Argyll.<sup>46</sup>

The factor common to all these references is the earl of Argyll. On 29 June 1562, Gill-easbuig, the fifth earl, reminded Cailean Liath of Glen Orchy that, "our fader of guid memorie [Gill-easbuig the fourth earl] geff ... the Makgregouris and thair band to you ... to that effect thay suld serve him and you in all guid actionis".<sup>47</sup> In due course we shall see that before 1513 the MacGregors were clearly in close alliance with the Campbells of Glen Orchy, and that between 1513 and 1550, when Cailean Liath acceded, there is other evidence in addition to the document of

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44. NLS, Advocates' MS, Ch. B.11.

45. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, filed after document of 27 November 1564.

46. CSP Scot. xi (1593-5), no. 198, p. 255.

47. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

2 December 1530 already cited, to confirm a connection with the Campbells of Cawdor.<sup>48</sup> We can reasonably conclude that the ultimate controlling influence behind the MacGregors was the earls of Argyll, who gave their services to the Campbells of Glen Orchy before 1513, to Campbell of Cawdor between 1513 and 1550, and again to Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy after 1550.

Those services were primarily of a military nature. It must be significant that in the years following 1437 and 1513, the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the Campbells of Cawdor respectively were both in the very early phases of their existence as distinctive branches of the clan. On that basis alone we might postulate that Clann Griogair - already an established kindred by 1437 - was being used as the plasma upon which both branches fed until they themselves had become politically viable. Such a conclusion would seem to be borne out by the fact that between 1437 and 1513 the expansion of the Campbells of Glen Orchy eastwards was carried out in tandem with the MacGregors, who often seem to have been operating in the van, paving the way for the spread of Campbell of Glen Orchy influence.<sup>49</sup> In itself this makes it probable that the relationship between the MacGregors and the Campbells of Cawdor - the surviving evidence for which is sparser<sup>50</sup> - functioned along similar lines.

We possess several specific examples of the MacGregors providing military service to the Campbells. The earliest concerned a dispute over the abbey of Coupar Angus. Following the death of abbot William Turnbull on 22 February 1524, Alexander

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48. *Infra*, pp. 115-6, 122-6.

49. *Infra*, Chapter III.

50. *Infra*, pp. 122-6.

Spens was elected as his successor against the wishes of the crown. By 31 May 1525 it was known that Cailean, third earl of Argyll was working to have his brother Domhnall preferred to the abbacy, and had secured the support of James V. On 14 June 1526 Parliament ratified the letters of commendation sent to the pope for provision of Domhnall Campbell to Coupar Angus. Spens, however, continued to pursue his title, and Campbell's appointment became secure only at some point between 13 May 1529 and 10 January 1530.<sup>51</sup> This presumably forms the background to a violent confrontation at Perth on 20 June 1527 in which a group led by the provost Patrick Charteris, attacked Domhnall Campbell and John earl of Atholl,<sup>52</sup> and suffered in turn from an onset by the followers of these men. Of the 17 followers named 11 were MacGregors, among them the chief, two of his cousins, and three members of the family of the dean of Lismore. Also involved were the heads of the Lawers and Glen Lyon branches of the Glen Orchy kindred.<sup>53</sup>

Political divisions within Scotland following the death of James V in December 1542 form the background to the next example. Gill-easbuig fourth earl of Argyll was aligned with the conservative faction which opposed the policies initially pursued by the Governor, James Hamilton second earl of Arran. Along with other nobles Argyll had boycotted the parliament of March 1543 at which Arran had been declared Governor.<sup>54</sup> At this point, however, Argyll was rendered politically vulnerable in the west highlands by

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51. Coupar Angus Charters ii, 275-7.

52. For Atholl's ties with the earl of Argyll at this time, see Wormald, Lords and Men, App. B, 382, no. 32.

53. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 14 August 1527, where Gill-easbuig son of Sir Donnchadh Campbell is presumably Gill-easbuig Campbell of Glen Lyon.

54. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 16; Donaldson, James V - James VII, 66.

the apparent escape from captivity of Domhnall Dubh, claimant to the MacDonald Lordship of the Isles.<sup>55</sup> Following the expiry of a truce between Argyll and Domhnall Dubh on 1 May, the earl began mobilising his adherents "to take part and go with him to war on the earl of the Isles",<sup>56</sup> and before 7 June had "much ado in the Highland with the Irishman, who rebelled against him".<sup>57</sup> Probably between 7 June and 19 August, in order to encumber Argyll further and prevent him playing a national role, Arran's government released certain west highland chiefs who had been held in ward since being taken on James V's expedition of 1540.<sup>58</sup> By 19 August Argyll's territories had been attacked by around 1800 men;<sup>59</sup> while the earl ravaged the traditional MacDonald territories of Kintyre,<sup>60</sup> where he and his predecessors had been the crown's legal and administrative agents since 1506,<sup>61</sup> and of which he had been granted a 12 year tack on 27 April 1543. On 3 September Arran capitulated to the conservative faction,<sup>63</sup> and on 9 September

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55. D. Gregory, The History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625 (London and Glasgow, 1881), 154-5.
56. (Ed.) A. Clifford, The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler (Edinburgh, 1809), i, 192.
57. *Ibid.*, 214.
58. *Ibid.*, 266-7, 274-5.
59. *Ibid.*, 266-7.
60. Hamilton Papers, ii, 39. Kintyre is here described as, "the ile of Glentire which is on Makcannos". For references to Kintyre as an island see Barrow, Robert Bruce, 209, and OPS ii, pt. i, 1, while the identification is further supported by the fact that Argyll asserted that he would have gone on to attack the Governor's island of Arran had the Governor not changed political direction on 3 September (Hamilton Papers, ii, 39). The reference to Makcannos [MacAonghais?], however, is puzzling since the contemporary chief of Clan Donald South, the most powerful kindred within Kintyre, was Seumas, son of Alasdair, although it may be worth noting that Seumas had a brother called Aonghas.
61. OPS ii, pt. i, 4-5.
62. RSS iii (1542-48), no. 249.
63. P.F. Tytler, History of Scotland (3rd edn., Edinburgh, 1845), iv, 302.



Argyll was in Edinburgh for Mary's coronation, at which point it was reported that he had left Kintyre in the keeping of "his brother Margregour" [Alasdair of Glen Strae], until his own return there.<sup>64</sup> We can safely assume that the MacGregors had fought on the earl's behalf throughout the summer of 1543; while the role assigned to their chief in Kintyre bespeaks a close relationship with the earl. It was probably also at Argyll's behest that Alasdair Ruadh participated in the siege of Glasgow (which had been captured by the earl of Lennox) on behalf of the government in April 1544.<sup>65</sup>

The other instances stem from the period of feud in the 1560s. In late 1565 reconciliation was achieved purely in order that the earl of Argyll and Cailean Liath of Glen Orchy, then involved in a rebellion against Queen Mary, might use the military service of the MacGregors both in support of that rebellion and against the external dangers - particularly from the earl of Atholl - threatening the Campbells. The MacGregors went on to play a part in the subsequent punitive raids carried out by Campbell forces on Strath-earn, Menteith, Lennox and adjacent lowland areas.<sup>66</sup> Finally, on 7 April 1566, Argyll, who by this stage had gained a remission from

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64. Hamilton Papers ii, 39. Gill-easbuig fourth earl of Argyll, who succeeded to the chiefship of the Campbells between 4 November 1529 and 15 January 1530 (SP i, 337-8), had been fostered by Maud Montgomery, spouse of Cailean Campbell of Ardkinglas (AT, 4 September 1557). Presumably the "dochter to the laird of Ardkinglass" whom Alasdair Ruadh married (Taymouth Bk., 64) was a daughter of Cailean and Maud, and it was on this basis that Gill-easbuig could describe Alasdair Ruadh as his brother.

65. TA viii (1541-46), 279; Donaldson, James V. - James VII, 69.

66. Infra, pp. 347-55.

Mary which also included the MacGregor chief Griogair Ruadh, informed Cailean Liath that Griogair Ruadh was not to be used against certain MacFarlanes who had killed one of Cailean Liath's servants, for fear of jeopardising the entire remission.<sup>67</sup> This suggests that under normal circumstances the MacGregors would perform revenge attacks of this nature.

The MacGregors' role as Campbell dependants brought them status and security in return. This manifested itself in two main ways. Firstly, the Campbells maintained the MacGregors in the lands which the latter held of other proprietors. This was particularly important because the MacGregors' expansion eastwards after 1437 saw them establish themselves under a variety of landlords, who might very well have been reluctant to accept them as their tenants had the MacGregors not enjoyed the maintenance of the Campbells. On 29 April 1510 two MacGregors based at Robertson of Struan's lands of Fearnan in Deas-fhaire gave their bond of manrent to Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy, who in return bound himself to defend them in their lands there.<sup>68</sup> In 1565, when attempts were being made to end the feud between the MacGregors and the Campbells, one of the peace conditions which the earl of Argyll proposed to Cailean Liath of Glen Orchy was that, if the MacGregor chief, Griogair Ruadh, or his friends should:

get onye rowmis fra ony utheris, thai servyng  
us and you upon the samyn rowmes, we and ye baytht  
to fortifie and manteyine thame tharintill for  
thair guid service as said is.<sup>69</sup>

67. Infra,

68. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/38 (printed Taymouth Bk., 179).

69. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1,  
28 August.

The same stipulation was again involved in the final peace settlement of 1570.<sup>70</sup>

Secondly, the Campbells' national prominence guaranteed the MacGregors a voice at court, where the Campbells could act on their behalf if necessary. In 1530, at a time when the MacGregors' activities in Rannoch had brought them to the attention of the government, it was Eoin Campbell of Cawdor, with the assistance of the earl of Argyll, who became responsible for the clan's future good behaviour before the Lords of Council.<sup>71</sup> On 7 February 1558 the crown licensed Menzies of Weem to set his Rannoch lands to the MacGregors, on the understanding that the earl of Argyll and Cailean Liath of Glen Orchy would, "do thare deligens to causs gud reule be kepit be the said clann".<sup>72</sup> In March 1566, when the earl of Argyll was pardoned by Mary for his role in a rebellion against her the previous year, he secured the inclusion in his remission of the MacGregor chief Griogair Ruadh, who had been outlawed by Mary for different reasons in 1563.<sup>73</sup> Similarly in 1570, when the feud between the MacGregors and the Campbells of Glen Orchy had been settled, Argyll took steps to have the MacGregors relaxed from the horn using his own position as Justice General and his connections at court.<sup>74</sup>

The most dramatic manifestation of the MacGregors' status as Campbell clients between 1432 and 1550 was in the joint expansion of both kindreds. Within this period the Campbell chiefs established a sphere of influence over the territories lying east of Argyll:

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70. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/3/193, f. 2v.

71. ADC (Public), 343-4.

72. NLS, Advocates' MS, Ch. B.11.

73. Infra, pp. 357, 361.

74. Infra, pp. 390-1.

the Lennox, Menteith and Strath Gartney, Strathearn and Balquhiddy, and the lands of the "central zone". Clearly they were enabled to do so by the breakdown of local control throughout this area brought about by the developments in the reign of James I already discussed.

While the expansion of Campbell influence westwards in the wake of the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493 has been recognised and discussed by historians,<sup>75</sup> this earlier thrust eastwards after 1437 has been largely neglected, and merits more detailed analysis than is possible here. Our principal concern is to investigate the role played in this eastwards expansion by the MacGregors. The fullest evidence relates to the "central zone", especially Breadalbane and Rannoch, and is discussed in Chapter III. The remaining areas will be considered in this chapter, but we begin with some general remarks about the phenomenon viewed in its entirety.

Several factors probably assisted the expansion of Campbell influence eastwards from Argyll after 1437. Firstly, there were already existing links with some of these territories. The Campbells of Strachur were also established in Glen Falloch. In the late fourteenth century we can trace increasing Campbell connections with the Lennox.<sup>76</sup> Between 1369 and 1373, Donnchadh, who became earl of Lennox in 1385, married Eilidh, daughter of Gill-easbuig Campbell lord of Loch Awe,<sup>77</sup> Christiana, daughter of Gill-easbuig's successor Cailean, married Donnchadh MacFarlane of Arrochar. Together they were granted lands which included Kinlochlong in 1395.<sup>78</sup> The bond between the Campbell chiefs and the heads of the Drummonds of Strathearn, which was to

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75. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 211-2; J. Bannerman, "The Lordship of the Isles", 212-3; D. Gregory, The History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland, 85 and *passim*.

76. Fraser, Lennox ii, 25-6, 35-6, 48-9, 56-8.

77. SP v, 340-1.

78. Lennox Cartularium, 64.

prove important after 1437, was already in existence in the fourteenth century.<sup>79</sup> Secondly, we shall see that in certain areas east of Argyll particular factors exacerbated the power vacuum created between 1424 and 1437.<sup>80</sup> More generally, both Donnchadh Campbell of Loch Awe and Cailean, the son to whom he granted Glen Orchy, made connections by marriage with the Albany Stewarts which may have helped to promote Campbell influence in areas previously under Albany authority;<sup>81</sup> while from about the mid-fifteenth century, the earls of Argyll and to a lesser extent the Campbells of Glen Orchy were prominent in central government.<sup>82</sup>

The extent of the sphere of influence achieved by the earls of Argyll, and their own pre-eminence therein, are defined by a series of commissions of lieutenantry and justiciary granted to the earls between 1475 and 1550. On 4 December 1475 James III constituted Cailean, the first earl, the senior of four joint lieutenants within the bounds of Argyll and Lorn, Lennox, Menteith, Strath Gartney, Balquhidder, Deas-fhaire, Tuath-fhaire, Glen Dochart and Glen Falloch.<sup>83</sup> In 1504 Cailean's successor Gill-easbuig was made lieutenant of Argyll, Lorn, Knapdale, Kintyre, Deas-fhaire, Tuath-fhaire, Glen Lyon and Balquhidder.<sup>84</sup> In 1518 the third earl Cailean was granted a commission of justiciary within the bounds of Breadalbane, which was defined as extending from the ford of the River Lyon in the east to Carn Droma on the Argyll/Perthshire boundary in the west.<sup>85</sup> A document of 1521 suggests that Cailean's sphere

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79. Fraser, Menteith ii, 239; Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 161.

80. Infra, pp. 103, 107.

81. Donnchadh's first wife was Marjory, daughter of Duke Robert (SP i, 331), while Cailean's first wife was Mariota, the daughter of Walter Stewart, son of Duke Murdoch and Iseabal countess of Lennox (Highland Papers, iv, 203-4).

82. Infra, pp. 113-5.

83. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 1210.

84. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/32.

85. AT, 24 November.

of influence was seen as encompassing the Lordship of the Isles, Argyll, Lorn, Knapdale, Kintyre, Breadalbane, Balquhider, Menteith, Strathearn and the Lennox.<sup>86</sup> On 6 July 1525 he received a commission of justiciary, "within all the boundis of Braidalbane Rannoch and Glenlyoun fra the furde of Lyoun to Carndrome and to the end of Lochlowmont, and within Buchquhider and Glencoich [Glen Quaich]":<sup>87</sup> from 18 October we have the record of a justice ayre held by him within part of these lands.<sup>88</sup> In 1549 Cailean's successor Gill-easbuig was described as Lord Lieutenant of the southern half of the Lordship of the Isles, Lorn, Breadalbane, Rannoch, Menteith and Strath Gartney.<sup>89</sup> In March 1550, as Justice General of Scotland, he held justice courts for Breadalbane, Glen Lyon and Balquhider, and also granted remissions in favour of tenants of Iomhar Campbell in Glen Falloch.<sup>90</sup>

With one exception these commissions comprehended the entire zone east of Argyll in which a vacuum of power had been created by the events of James I's reign. The exception was the earldom of Atholl, which, although forfeited to the crown following the execution of Earl Walter Stewart in 1437, was to prove a barrier impervious to Campbell penetration. In or before 1457, Sir John Stewart, brother-uterine of James II, was created earl of Atholl.<sup>91</sup> Under Sir John and his successors, the local power of the earls of Atholl seems to have undergone something of a resurgence. On 4 December 1475 - the same day that Cailean earl of Argyll became

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86. *Ibid.*, 18 March.

87. *Ibid.*

88. *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/1/2/41.

89. *Ibid.*, GD112/1/2/69, 70; cf. *ibid.*, GD112/1/2/66. His lieutenantry also covered the rest of the sheriffdom of Perth, Forfar and Kincardine.

90. *Highland Papers* iv, 32; *AT*, 10, 12 March.

91. *SP* i, 441.

joint lieutenant of lands including Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire - John earl of Atholl was granted a similar commission with respect to his own earldom, along with the power to call out the king's lieges within the lordships of Appin of Dull, Strath Braan, Fortingall, Rannoch, Glen Lyon and Strath Ardle.<sup>92</sup> A constant theme of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the tensions resulting from the collisions of the spheres of influence of the earls of Atholl and Argyll within the "central zone", especially Glen Lyon and Rannoch.<sup>93</sup> Caught in the crossfire were the Menzieses of Weem, the description of whose chief in 1578 as "evill handillit betuix the Campbells and the Earl of Athole diverse wyse",<sup>94</sup> was equally applicable to much of the preceding century.

The level of influence achieved by the Campbells east of Argyll was by no means uniform. It seems to have been weakest in Menteith, Strath Gartney and Strathearn. In the Lennox, Campbell influence took the form of the dependency of the heads of the major Lennox kindreds - the Buchanans, Colquhouns, MacFarlanes, Galbraiths and MacAulays - on the earl of Argyll, and those bonds were naturally strongest in those periods after 1424 when there was either no effective earl of Lennox, or the earl was absent from Scotland. The situation in Balquhiddel resembled that in the Lennox insofar as Campbell ascendancy found expression in kin-based terms, through the allegiance owed to the earl of Argyll by the four major Balquhiddel clans, namely the Stewarts, MacLarens, Macintyres and MacGregors. But the fact that the earls of Argyll seem to have had no rivals to

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92. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 1211.

93. Infra, pp. 120-1, 345-55; also AT, 20, 22 July 1576, 10 August 1579.

94. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 696, no. 86; infra, pp. 141-2, 145-50, 182, 191-4, 337-8.

the loyalties of the Balquhiddar kindreds meant that they enjoyed a far more stable ascendancy there than they did in the Lennox.

The influence of the earls of Argyll was strongest in the "central zone", largely because, out of all the territories east of Argyll, it was into the "central zone" alone that a part of Clan Campbell - the Glen Orchy lineage - actually expanded after 1437. By c.1550 the Campbells of Glen Orchy were probably the most important kindred within the "central zone". They played a key role as the intermediaries or linchpins through whom the influence of the earls of Argyll was channelled. The earls delegated to the Glen Orchy chiefs the responsibility of bringing out the general population of the "central zone" to perform military service on the crown's behalf. Thus on 24 February 1476, in the wake of the commission of joint-lieuten<sup>an</sup>try granted to Cailean earl of Argyll on 4 December 1475, he constituted Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy his deputy in Deas-fhaire, Tuath-fhaire, Glen Falloch and Glen Dochart, with full power to raise the inhabitants whenever charged to do so by the earl.<sup>95</sup> Again on 7 February 1549, Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll bound himself to maintain and defend all the barons, free-holders and tenants of Breadalbane who accompanied him to war in the queen's service, "they obeyand the lard of Glenurquhay in our behalf".<sup>96</sup>

The Glen Orchy chiefs were also expected to bring out their own network of kinsmen, friends, tenants, servants and partakers to perform military service specifically on behalf of the earls of Argyll. A bond issued by the fourth earl on 26 August 1557<sup>97</sup>

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95. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/1/14.

96. Ibid., GD112/1/2/66.

97. Ibid., GD112/1/2/105.



referred to the faithful service he had received in the past from Cailean Liath of Glen Orchy and his adherents between the Ford of Lyon and Carn Droma. A postscript added that, "all that is in Rannoch, Bradelban and Boquhidder to be comprehendit therein": further proof that it was in these areas that Campbell influence was most deeply rooted. Two licences granted by the fifth earl to Cailean Liath and the heads of the Lawers and Glen Lyon branches of the Glen Orchy kindred, in 1565 and 1570, included the provision that "all the servandis and [tenentis pertening] the saidis Lairdis abone Carnedrome [serve us] obedientlye in all our efferis".<sup>98</sup> A precept issued by the sixth earl in 1575 stated that all the inhabitants above the Ford of Lyon (presumably referring to Rannoch), had been accustomed to rise and assist the earl in company with the laird of Glen Orchy.<sup>99</sup>

We turn finally to consider in general terms MacGregor expansion between 1437 and c.1550, and the part it played in the creation of the Campbell zone of influence east of Argyll. One of the cardinal tenets of the kin-based society as it operated in Scotland and Ireland was that the rapid territorial expansion of a kindred entailed its fragmentation into a number of divisions, each of which would normally adopt its own clan name and surname which could then be used as alternatives to the clan name and surname of the parent kindred.<sup>100</sup> MacGregor expansion between 1437 and 1550 provides a perfect illustration. As the kindred moved eastwards the principal septs which came into being were:-

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98. Ibid., GD112/1/3/161, 185a. The gaps are filled by the transcript in MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 7 November 1565.

99. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/210.

100. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 104-5, 202.

Clann Donnchaidh Lìobhunnaich, based initially in Glen Lyon, and which itself subdivided into four distinctive lineages at Roro in Glen Lyon, Fearnan and Ardeonaig on Loch Tayside, and Rannoch; the kindred of Donnchadh Làdasach in Glen Lochay and Glen Dochart; the kindred of Pàdraig Choaldich in Glen Lednock; Clann Dubhghaill Chéire in Balquhiddel and Glen Gyle; a lineage using the surname MacRaibeirt in Strathyre and on east Loch Lomondside, and a kingroup surnamed Johnson (MacEoin) in Perth. Although lack of evidence makes it impossible to establish precise links by which these septs were ultimately connected to the ruling lineage of the clan, we can nevertheless be confident that we are dealing with a genuinely kin-based phenomenon.

Given their status as a client kindred of the Campbells, it must be significant that it was overwhelmingly into territories within the Campbell sphere of influence that the MacGregors expanded between 1437 and c.1550. Even in those instances where we find MacGregors settled elsewhere, a Campbell connection can often be traced.<sup>101</sup> The fact that there is no certain evidence to suggest that other Campbell adherents based in Argyll underwent similar expansion eastwards within this period underlines the significance of the MacGregors' role.<sup>102</sup>

We have two explicit statements which demonstrate that the Campbells and MacGregors were understood to be operating in tandem as far as expansion was concerned. Both concern Sir Raibeart

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101. *Infra*, pp. 110-12, 124-6.

102. An eighteenth century traditional history of the Campbells of Craignish claims that an offshoot of that kindred called Sliochd Thearlaich Dhuibh, 'the offspring of Black Charles', became established at Ardeonaig in Tuath-fhaire in the thirteenth century (SHS *Misc.* iv, 207-8). Since our earliest documentary references to this kin-group at Ardeonaig date to the middle of the sixteenth century (*infra*, it may be more likely that their presence there commenced after 1437. It is also perhaps worth pondering whether there was any connection between the Macintyres of Balquhiddel and the Macintyres of Lorn.

Menzies of Weem, at whose expense much of the MacGregor/Campbell expansion into the central zone in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was achieved.<sup>103</sup> On 23 January 1505 James Reddoch, to whom Raibeart had sold the lands of Duncroisk in Glen Lochay, bound himself and his heirs that they would not, "wadset, analy, nor put away", these lands in part or in whole to Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll, Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy or Eoin MacGregor of Glen Strae.<sup>104</sup> On 22 February 1519 Uilleam Menzies and his spouse Jonat Campbell gave Sir Raibeart their bond that they would grant tacks of the lands of Roro in Glen Lyon, "to nane berand surname of Campbell nor to the chief of the Clan Gregor".<sup>105</sup>

The central zone also provides the deepest insights into the actual mechanics of MacGregor/Campbell joint expansion. Within the social structure the kindreds were operating at different and complementary planes: the MacGregors at the lowest level settling on the ground as kindly tenants<sup>106</sup> (out of all the lands into which they expanded between 1437 and 1550, only at Kingarth in Glen Lednock did they acquire a heritable legal title);<sup>107</sup> the Campbells of Glen Orchy in the intermediate position as crown baillies and tenants-in-chief, and the earls of Argyll at the apex, as their commissions of lieutenantry and justiciary demonstrate. In certain cases - Glen Lochay, Glen Lyon and Rannoch - the MacGregors were clearly acting as the physical spearhead of the expansion process: the influence of the Campbells of Glen Orchy and of the earls of Argyll followed in the wake of the

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103. *Supra*, p.89 and n94; *infra*, Chapter III.

104. *MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs)*, SRO GD50/186/I/iv/4.

105. *Ibid.*, GD50/186/I/iv/16.

106. *Infra*, pp. 167-8.

107. *Infra*, pp. 97, 216-7, 234.

establishment of an actual MacGregor presence on the ground.<sup>108</sup> Elsewhere, however (Glen Lednock and Balquhiddy for example),<sup>109</sup> the admittedly thinner evidence may suggest that Campbell influence preceded MacGregor settlement. Hence it is probably safest to conclude that the MacGregors could operate either in advance of the Campbells, paving the way for the spread of their influence, or might be introduced into lands over which the Campbells had already acquired influence in order to seal their ascendancy.

On 20 March 1585, Domhnall Robertson, fiar of Struan, bound himself to ensure that the tenants of his lands of Fearnan on Loch Tayside would serve the earl of Argyll and Campbell of Glen Orchy in hosting [active military service] and hunting as was customary.<sup>110</sup> These tenants were overwhelmingly MacGregors, who had established themselves at Fearnan by 1510;<sup>111</sup> and it would seem reasonable to assume that the Robertson chief of the time would have been initially reluctant to accept them as his tenants given that he could not expect to command their allegiance. But the military strength of the MacGregors may have left him, and other proprietors into whose territories the MacGregors expanded, with little choice. Such is the inference we can draw from events at Rannoch, where, prior to 16 February 1523, the MacGregors forcibly occupied the lands of Menzies of Weem, who was ultimately forced to legalise their status and accept them as his tenants once his attempts to expel them

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108. *Infra*, Chapter III.

109. *Infra*, pp. 96-7, 101-2.

110. *Taymouth Bk.*, 230.

111. *Infra*, p. 163.

with government assistance had failed.<sup>112</sup>

We turn now to commence our systematic analysis of the correlation, and where possible the interaction, between Campbell and MacGregor expansion eastwards from Argyll (excluding the "central zone") between 1437 and c.1550. We shall adopt a spatial approach, working from Strathearn southwards to the Lennox, before dealing finally with some instances of MacGregor settlement outwith the Campbell sphere of influence.

That the position achieved by the Campbells in Strathearn after 1437 (from which point the earldom was in the possession of the crown)<sup>113</sup> was not strong is suggested by the fact that it occurs only once in the series of documents we have used to define the Campbell sphere of influence.<sup>114</sup> But some benefit must have accrued to the earls of Argyll from their relationship with the Drummonds, who seem to have held the offices of steward, coroner and forester of Strathearn (including Balquhiddar)<sup>115</sup> apparently on an hereditary basis from the fourteenth century.<sup>116</sup> The relationship, traceable from the later fourteenth century,<sup>117</sup> was grounded in the belief that they shared a common origin.<sup>118</sup> Between 1479 and 1584 we have a number of statements demonstrating that the heads of the Drummonds owed allegiance to the earls of Argyll.<sup>119</sup> There was also a possible connection with the Reddochs, who came to prominence in Strathearn in the late fifteenth century,

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112. *Infra*, pp. 172-199.

113. *Supra*, p. 62.

114. *Supra*, p. 88.

115. *RMS* iii (1513-46), no. 2825; *ER* xix (1557-62), 567.

116. *SP* viii, 31-2; *RMS* ii (1424-1513), no. 1160; *ADC* ii, 313.

117. *Supra*, pp. 86-7.

118. *AT*, 14 April 1573.

119. *Wormald, Lords and Men*, App. A, 263, no. 1, 188, no. 48, 191, no. 58; App. B, 392, no. 71.

both in an administrative capacity and as a land-owning family.<sup>120</sup> The lands they held included Dalmarglen, Funtullich, and, for a time, Kingarth, all in Glen Lednock east of Comrie.<sup>121</sup> In the late sixteenth century they owed allegiance to the earl of Argyll.<sup>122</sup> Finally, marriages made by the Campbells of Glen Orchy and Campbells of Lawers in the first half of the sixteenth century brought the former the lands of Ardveich and Derry on the north shore of Loch Earn,<sup>123</sup> and the latter Fordie east of Comrie, Glentarken, on the north shore of Loch Earn, and Balmuick in Glen Lednock.<sup>124</sup>

The Strathearn account for 1445 reveals that Sir Cailean Campbell - presumably the first chief of the Glen Orchy kindred - had occupied and laid waste Glen Lednock.<sup>125</sup> Hence Glen Lednock may well have constituted all or part of the lands within the bailliary of Sir Cailean referred to in the account of 1444, and from whose fermes a fee was paid to Sir Donnchadh Campbell - presumably the contemporary Loch Awe chief.<sup>126</sup>

From at least the late fifteenth century onwards there was very intensive MacGregor settlement in Glen Lednock. The earliest recorded MacGregors there are Eoin mac Ghriogair, who was already tenant of Lurg in the earliest surviving crown rental of Strathearn c.1480, and remained as such until 22 October 1492;<sup>127</sup> and Donnchadh mac Phàdraig, tenant of Kingarth between 1496

120. ER ix (1480-87), 354, 491; x (1488-96), 41, 74, 213, 283, 318; 641-3, 727, 729; xi (1497-1501), 420-2.

121. Ibid., x (1488-96), 643, 729; xi (1497-1501), 422.

122. Taymouth Bk., 239.

123. RMS iii (1513-46), no. 1974.

124. ER xii (1502-07), 629; xiii (1508-13), 645; xv (1523-9), 237-8; RMS iii (1513-46), no. 346.

125. ER v (1437-54), 205.

126. Ibid., 173.

127. Ibid., ix (1480-87), 572 (John Grereson); ibid., 630; x (1488-96), 643, 694, 729 (John Gregorson(e)).

and 4 February 1509, when these lands were set to him in feuferm,<sup>128</sup> and who subsequently left Scotland at some point before 15 July 1514.<sup>129</sup> Although we cannot prove that MacGregor settlement in Glen Lednock began at the same time as, or was directly consequent upon, the Campbell activity here in the 1440s, what is not in doubt is the Campbell affiliations of these MacGregors. Of the 11 MacGregors involved in the fracas at Perth in 1527,<sup>130</sup> five were from Glen Lednock.<sup>131</sup>

In the sixteenth century we find the Glen Lednock MacGregors divided into at least three distinctive branches, one at Kingarth (and later also at Dalmarglen),<sup>132</sup> the second at Invergeldie,<sup>133</sup> and the third outwith the glen itself at Dundurn, between Comrie and the east end of Loch Earn.<sup>134</sup> It is not clear if these branches all derived from a common ancestor or how they were ultimately connected to the MacGregor ruling family. The use of the phrase, "the men of Glen Lednock", to describe them, is suggestive of a corporate identity.<sup>135</sup> On 2 August 1569 five Glen Lednock MacGregors entered into a contract, "takand the

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128. RSS i (1488-1529), no. 60; ER xi (1497-1501), 422; xii (1502-07), 629, 646.
129. ER xiv (1513-22), 24.
130. Supra, p. 81.
131. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 14 August 1527.
132. E.g, ER xvii (1537-42), 732; xix (1557-67), 418; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/59, 108; ibid., GD112/2/117/57/1/20; ibid., GD112/1/3/163, 165; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 27 May 1565, 9 November 1566; ibid., GD50/187/2, 10 May 1591; RSS v (1556-67), pt. ii, no. 3193. For Dalmarglen see Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/71; RPC iv (1585-92), 454.
133. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/71; ibid., GD112/1/3/195; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 2 August 1586, 9 January 1594; RPC iv (1585-92), 454.
134. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 14 August 1527; ibid., GD50/187/2, 8 August 1586; RSS iv (1548-66), no. 20; RPC iv (1585-92), 454.
135. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to Argyll, 30 August 1565; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/34 (endorsement).

burdine on thame for thair selfis and the rest of thair freindis of thair branche".<sup>136</sup> An early seventeenth century source describes the Glen Lednock MacGregors collectively as, "the ... race come of the late Patrik Choaldich";<sup>137</sup> and it would be tempting to identify Pàdraig Choaldich with Pàdraig, father of the Donnchadh who was tenant and then feuar of Kingarth between 1496 and c.1514. On the other hand, this leaves Eoin mac Ghriogair of Lurg unaccounted for, while another early seventeenth century document asserts that the Dundurn branch was an offshoot of the MacGregors of Brackley.<sup>138</sup> Hence the safest conclusion may be that the presentation of the 'men of Glen Lednock' as a single entity was grounded in geographical proximity rather than biological reality.

By the later sixteenth century, the three main branches of the Glen Lednock MacGregors were multiplying and spreading out, taking up residence on Loch Earnside (Glentarken and Finglen), at various places in the strath between Loch Earn and Comrie in addition to Dundurn (Port of Loch Earn, Dùnira, Tullybannocher, and Comrie itself), and at Glascorrie to the east, and Meiggar to the south, of Comrie.<sup>139</sup> Within the same period, members of two MacGregor kin-groups hitherto based in the "central zone" - Clann Mhic Eoin Ruaidh of Glen Lochy and the MacEoin Mhalaiche

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136. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/34.

137. RPC vi (1599-1604), 403. W.J. Watson suggested comhalta 'a foster-brother', or comhaltach, 'fulfilling one's promise or contract', as possible interpretations of Choaldich (letter dated 13 November 1928 in MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2B/folder 1.

138. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/196a.

139. RPC iv (1585-92), 454; Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 54, 58; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 8 August 1586.



sept of Ardeonaig - moved into the Glen Lednock area, settling at Dundurn and Comrie.<sup>140</sup> Both groups were associated with the Glen Lednock MacGregors in a political context in a document of 2 August 1569.<sup>141</sup>

That Balquhiddy (which was almost certainly acquired by the crown along with Strathearn in 1437) was an area within which the earls of Argyll achieved a very high degree of influence, is suggested by the licence of 26 August 1557 already quoted.<sup>142</sup> The key to that influence was the allegiance owed to the earls by the major Balquhiddy kindreds. On 8 January 1593<sup>143</sup> the men of Balquhiddy gave their bond of manrent to Gill-easbuig, the seventh earl, agreeing to serve him in the king's wars, in hosting and in hunting, as their predecessors had been accustomed to serve Gill-easbuig's ancestors. The document is badly damaged, but the signatories' names which can be read include Stewarts and Macintyres. MacLarens were also probably parties to the bond, for on 8 November 1559 Gill-easbuig fifth earl of Argyll transferred to Cailean Liath of Glen Orchy, "the manrent, homage and service quhilk our predecessouris and we had and hes of the hail kynn and surname of the Clanlaurane [Clann Labhrunn] and their posteritie togidder with the uptaking of thair calpis".<sup>144</sup> On 25 December 1566 Gill-easbuig similarly transferred to Cailean Liath the manrent, service and calps due to him and his predecessors from the Macintyres of Balquhiddy.<sup>145</sup>

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140. Clann Mhic Eoin Ruaidh: *infra*, p. 159; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/2/7; RPC iv (1585-92), 455 (Patrik McInroy MacGregor in Dundurne). The MacEoin Mhalaiche sept: *infra*, pp. 164-5 MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, September 1580, and Dunblane Testaments, 135.

141. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/34; cf. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 57-8.

142. *Supra*, pp. 90-1.

143. AT.

144. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/112 (printed Taymouth Bk., 201).

145. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/166 (printed Taymouth Bk., 211).

By a bond made on 28 April 1586, 14 Balquhiddar Stewarts, acting on behalf of their surname, agreed in future to give Donnchadh Dubh of Glen Orchy a calp besides that due to Argyll, and to serve him against all except Argyll and their own landlords.<sup>146</sup>

The connection between the Campbells and the Stewarts, who were the most important of the Balquhiddar kindreds between the later fifteenth century and c.1550, seems to have been particularly close. These Stewarts descended from Seumas Stewart of Baldorane in the Lennox, natural son of James, son of Murdoch duke of Albany,<sup>147</sup> and who is first found leasing part of Balquhiddar in 1463.<sup>148</sup> His successors, who employed the styles Baldorane or of Balquhiddar,<sup>149</sup> possessed most or all of Balquhiddar (with the exception of Glen Ample) as tenants firstly of the crown,<sup>150</sup> and after 1528, of the Lords of Methven.<sup>151</sup> Seumas' immediate successor Uilleam married Mariota, daughter of Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy,<sup>152</sup> while a series of documents dating between 1487 and 1513 suggest a strong bond between Uilleam and his son and successor Bhaltair on the one hand, and Mariota's brother Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy on the other.<sup>153</sup>

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146. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/270 (printed Taymouth Bk., 236-7).

147. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 858.

148. ER vii (1460-69), 174. Andrew Stewart Lord Avondale, who went pledge for the fermes of Balquhiddar allowed to the account as a result of the lease made to James, was the latter's first cousin (RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 858; Highland Papers iv, 203-6), and had himself been tenant of Balquhiddar since 1446 (ER v (1437-54), 248, 583, 591; vi (1455-60), 282, 355, 637; vii (1460-69), 258, 173).

149. ER xiii (1508-13), 191, 637.

150. Ibid., vii (1460-69), 485; viii (1470-79), 274-5, 350, 535-6; ix (1480-87), 566, 592-3; xi (1497-1501), 412-3; xii (1502-07), 635, 678; xiii (1508-13), 633, 636-8, 323-4.

151. Ibid., xvii (1537-42), 718-9.

152. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 2461. Uilleam had previously been married to Jonet Buchanan (ibid., no. 2205).

153. Ibid., nos. 1668, 2461, 2717, 3223, 3845.

The connections between the earls of Argyll and the Balquhiddel kindreds may all go back to c.1467-8, when the earls of Argyll became tenants of part of Balquhiddel - the 20 poundland of Glen Ample at the south-west corner of Loch Earn.<sup>154</sup> In 1510 these lands were set in feuferm to Cailean, eldest son of Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll.<sup>155</sup> On 17 July 1528 the entire lordship of Balquhiddel was granted by James V to his mother Queen Margaret and her husband Henry Stewart, later first lord Methven.<sup>156</sup> Although now vassals of Lord Methven in Glen Ample,<sup>157</sup> the pre-eminence enjoyed by the earls of Argyll in Balquhiddel in kin-based terms continued to be reflected in grants of commissions of lieutenantry and justiciary. Presumably the authority exercised by Lord Methven in Balquhiddel would largely depend upon Argyll's co-operation,<sup>158</sup> and doubtless this explains the marriage tie between Methven's eldest daughter Janet, and Cailean, brother of the fifth earl of Argyll, to whom Methven granted the Glen Ample lands in 1551, to be held of the crown by them and their heirs.<sup>159</sup>

We can establish only two explicit connections between the MacGregors and Balquhiddel before 1550. Fionnlagh MacGregor was tenant of half of Easter and Wester Innerlochlane in rentals of 1510,<sup>160</sup> while for a brief period commencing in 1544, the MacGregor chief was the earl of Argyll's vassal in the Glen Ample

154. ER vii (1460-69), 574-5; viii (1470-79), 534, 535-6; x (1488-96), 726.

155. Ibid., xiii (1508-13), 638; RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3783.

156. RMS iii (1513-46), no. 614.

157. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/65, 16 April 1547.

158. Cf. AT, 29 April 1552.

159. Ibid., 8 March 1549; RMS iv (1546-80), no. 641.

160. ER xiii (1508-13), 323, 627. Innerlochlane may be a garbled rendering of Inverlochlarig in western Balquhiddel.

lands.<sup>161</sup> Nonetheless, there are grounds for believing that by c.1550 the MacGregors had established themselves alongside the Stewarts, Macintyres and MacLarens as the fourth major kindred in Balquhiddy. In the later sixteenth century, MacGregor settlement there was almost exclusively associated with a kin-group which by the 1560s at least was styled Clann Dubhghaill Chéire, and whose members were by then using MacDhubhghaill Chéire as their surname.<sup>162</sup> This lineage first appears on record in 1533 in the person of Gille-Coluim M<sup>C</sup>Cowle-Kere MacGregor and his brothers Donnchadh and Pàdraig.<sup>163</sup> M<sup>C</sup>Cowle-Kere here might represent either a branch-surname or a patronymic, which implies that Dubhghaill Ciar himself must have flourished c.1500 or earlier. Hence it is probable that his descendants were already present in Balquhiddy before 1550. It is unlikely that Fionnlagh MacGregor is to be numbered among them, however, since that forename does not appear to have been used by Clann Dhubhghaill Chéire.

On the basis of the evidence available to us, then, it would seem that the Campbells came to Balquhiddy before the MacGregors. Members of Clann Dhubhghaill Chéire were being maintained by the earl of Argyll in 1563,<sup>164</sup> and were among the men of Balquhiddy who promised their customary service to the earl in 1593<sup>165</sup> possible confirmation that Clann Dhubhghaill Chéire was established in Balquhiddy before 1550. A further pointer to MacGregor/Campbell interaction there was the MacGregor chief's temporary

161. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/23; *infra*, p. 129.

162. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 11 March 1565; Cailean Liath to Argyll, 4 October 1563. For their location in Balquhiddy see Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), ff. 9v-10r, 13r; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 13 August 1591.

163. Pitcairn, Criminal Trials i, \*164.

164. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 4 October 1563.

165. AT, 8 January.

status as vassal of the earl of Argyll in Glen Ample after 6 October 1544.<sup>166</sup>

We move south to Menteith and Strath Gartney, along with which we can conveniently consider Corriarklet and Glen Gyle on north-east Loch Lomondside, and Strathyre.<sup>167</sup> In Menteith proper, there is no obvious sign of Campbell influence in the later fifteenth century, either with the Graham earls of Menteith after 1453 (when earl Malise returned from a sixteen-year captivity in England)<sup>168</sup> or with the Edmonstons of Duntreath, who were chamberlains and stewarts of the Menteith crown-lands, and the keepers of the former Albany stronghold of Doune, for most of that time.<sup>169</sup> But in the earlier sixteenth century James Stewart, younger son of Andrew Lord Avondale, supplanted the Edmonstons in these offices.<sup>170</sup> In 1527 and 1528, Cailean earl of Argyll gave bonds of manrent to James,<sup>171</sup> while the latter's son, who

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166. *Infra*, p. 129.

167. Glen Gyle was itself a part of the lordship of Strath Gartney (*RMS* ii (1424-1513), no. 1171; *ER* vii (1460-69), 52). Corriarklet had been incorporated into the earldom of Menteith when granted to Earl Robert Stewart in the late fourteenth century, and was consequently forfeited to the crown along with the other Albany territories (*RMS* ii (1424-1513), no. 3119). Strathyre was actually a part of the earldom of Strathearn (*ibid.*, no. 1171).

168. *SP* vi, 143. It may be worth noting that Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy became tutor to Walter, illegitimate son of Malise earl of Menteith, on 8 July 1489: *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/3/1/1.

169. *ER* vii (1460-69), 247, 483, 574; ix (1480-87), 329; xiii (1508-13), 530; *ADC* ii, 313.

170. *SP* iii, 186; *ER* xvii (1437-42), 714-5, 717.

171. *Wormald, Lords and Men*, App. A, 180-1, no. 16; 181, no. 18. That Cailean made the bonds to James rather than vice versa suggests that specific circumstances were operating.

succeeded to his father's position in Menteith,<sup>172</sup> married a daughter of the deceased fourth earl of Argyll in 1564.<sup>173</sup> In c.1593 Argyll was said to have various dependants in Menteith.<sup>174</sup>

In the early sixteenth century two groups of land in Strath Gartney were parcelled out in feuferm to the heads of different branches of the Shaws.<sup>175</sup> The Campbells of Lawers seem to have subsequently acquired a right by marriage to some of these lands.<sup>176</sup> Bonds made by the Shaw lairds holding these lands in 1586 excepted their allegiance to the earl of Argyll,<sup>177</sup> and it is conceivable that these allegiances dated back to the beginning of the century. In 1510 lands in Strath Gartney were also set in feuferm to the Buchanan chief,<sup>178</sup> and it is he who was the common factor with regard to Glen Gyle, Corriearklet and Strathyre, all of which were held by the Buchanan chiefs from the later fifteenth century.<sup>179</sup> Hence the earl of Argyll would presumably be able to exert influence here through the Buchanan chief in the periods when he commanded the allegiance of the latter.<sup>180</sup>

The fact that evidence connecting the MacGregors with this zone only begins to come on stream consistently from c.1550 itself, tends to marginalise the significance of the three earlier

172. ER xix (1557-67), 458; SP iii, 187-8.

173. SP iii, 188.

174. CSP Scot. xi (1593-5), no. 198, p. 255.

175. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3193; ER xiii (1508-13), 634.

176. ER xvii (1537-42), 714; RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3350.

177. Taymouth Bk., 237-9.

178. ER xiii (1508-13), 634.

179. Glen Gyle: RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 761; Corriearklet: ibid., no. 3119, and ibid., iii (1513-46), no. 929; Strathyre: ibid., ii (1424-1513), nos. 784, 1171, and ibid., iii (1513-46), no. 3859.

180. Infra, pp. 107-8.

references we possess. At some point between 1451 and 1453, MacGregors were responsible for the killing of Eòghan MacBeth, tenant of Strongarvald in Strath Gartney;<sup>181</sup> but we have no reference to MacGregor settlement here before 1568. Domhnall MacGregor (initially with his mother Dovaik) was tenant of Eglisdisdane and Ballachraggan in the barony of Doune between 1483 and 1508:<sup>182</sup> in 1500 Gille-Coluim MacGregor was one of the subtenants of Bhaltair Buchanan of that ilk in the lands of Ledard on the north shore of Loch Ard, held by Bhaltair as vassal of the earl of Menteith.<sup>183</sup> We do not find MacGregors at either location thereafter.

The later evidence reveals that MacGregor settlement was concentrated overwhelmingly in the north and west of the Menteith zone. While we cannot demonstrate explicit ties between most of the MacGregors concerned and the Campbells, there is a correlation between MacGregor and Buchanan settlement which may be significant in the light of the Buchanan/Campbell connection established below. Thus, the Buchanan lands of Strathyre were a recognised zone in MacGregor settlement by 1568,<sup>184</sup> in which year we find Alasdair mac Raibeirt Mhóir MacGregor on record there.<sup>185</sup> MacGregors were also present in Strath Gartney by 1568,<sup>186</sup> and in neighbouring Glen Finglas by 1570.<sup>187</sup> In addition to its

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181. ER v (1437-54), 596.

182. Ibid., ix (1480-87), 564; xiii (1508-13), 631.

183. ADC ii, 401.

184. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/2/7; cf. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), GD50/187/2, 7 July 1588.

185. RSS vi (1567-74), no. 737.

186. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/2/7; cf. Port. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 79.

187. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/191.

base in Balquhiddel, Clann Dubhghaill Chéire - which did have demonstrable Campbell affiliations - was settled in the Buchanan lands of Glen Gyle by 1553, in the person of Donnchadh MacDhubhghaill Chéire.<sup>188</sup> If we choose to identify Donnchadh with the man of that name on record in 1533,<sup>189</sup> we might push the association with Glen Gyle back to that point. Finally, Dubghall M<sup>C</sup>Gregoursone - possibly a member of Clann Dubhghaill Chéire - was in the Buchanan lands of Corriarklet in 1546.<sup>190</sup>

At this point it is most appropriate to consider a MacGregor kin-group associated with lands which, strictly speaking, lay in our final zone, the Lennox, but in very close proximity to some of the territories just discussed. This kin-group was marked out by its use of the forename Raibeart, and hence was very probably connected with the lineage of Alasdair mac Raibeart Mhóir in Strathyre. In 1546 and 1571 respectively, Seòras mac Raibeirt and Donnchadh Bàn mac Raibeirt mhic Thearlaich were described as inhabitants of Craig Rostan, south of Glen Gyle and Corriarklet on east Loch Lomondside.<sup>191</sup> It is conceivable that Seòras and Donnchadh Bàn were brothers, and that the link with Craig Rostan had begun in the generation of their grandfather Tearlach. By the late sixteenth century the lineage was clearly expanding, and its members seem to have been using MacRaibeirt as a surname.<sup>192</sup>

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188. RSS iv (1548-56), no. 2116; cf. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/225.

189. Pitcairn, Criminal Trials i, \*164.

190. RSS iii (1542-48), no. 1831.

191. Ibid: Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/195; cf. ibid., GD112/2/117/57/2/7; RSS iv (1548-56), no. 2661.

192. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 8 August 1586.



We turn finally to the Lennox. Whatever effective control Iseabal countess of Lennox was able to exercise there after 1437 probably evaporated following her death c.1459,<sup>193</sup> in the protracted struggle which ensued between the various claimants to the earldom, and which was resolved in favour of Sir John Stewart Lord Darnley only in 1488.<sup>194</sup> John's great-grandson Matthew, the fourth Stewart earl, was abroad in France from 1532 until his return in 1543, and then in exile in England between 1544 and 1565, his lands being forfeited in 1545.<sup>195</sup>

These dislocations at the ruling level redounded to the benefit of the earls of Argyll, whose influence within the Lennox seems to have been strongest between 1437 and 1488, and again between 1532 and 1564. Cailean earl of Argyll became joint lieutenant of the Lennox on 4 December 1475<sup>196</sup> at a time when, although John Stewart was using the title Earl of Lennox, his status as such was in no sense secure.<sup>197</sup> On 10 October 1473 it had proved necessary to charge the inhabitants of the Lennox to obey John,<sup>198</sup> while on 4 December 1475 he was made lieutenant not of that earldom but of lands in south-west Scotland where his own roots lay.<sup>199</sup>

The best single piece of evidence for the level of Campbell influence in the Lennox comes from 1536, while Earl Matthew Stewart was in France. The list of the dependants of Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll drawn up in that year included 17 Colquhouns, four Buchanans,

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193. *Supra*, p. 62.

194. Fraser, *Lennox* i, 276-311.

195. *SP* v, 353.

196. *RMS* ii (1424-1513), no. 12.

197. Fraser, *Lennox* i, 288-301.

198. *Ibid.*, ii, 101-2.

199. *RMS* ii (1424-1513), no. 1209; N. Macdougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982), 22.

two MacAulays (including the chiefs of all three kindreds), three Galbraiths (including the laird's brother), and four MacFarlanes, while more detailed analysis would probably reveal other names to be of Lennox provenance.<sup>200</sup> Some of that influence must have been lost on Earl Matthew's return in 1543, when we know that the Buchanan chief at least was in his retinue.<sup>201</sup> On Earl Matthew's forfeiture in 1545 extensive lands within the Lennox were granted to the earl of Argyll.<sup>202</sup> Matthew regained these on his return to Scotland and the annulment of the forfeiture against him in late 1564,<sup>203</sup> while at his election as Regent on 17 July 1570, the Lennox presence was headed by the MacFarlane and Galbraith chiefs, and Raibeart Buchanan of Leny.<sup>204</sup> But Earl Matthew's return did not spell the end of Campbell influence in the Lennox, for on 11 March 1565 it was stated that the Buchanan chief was now an adherent of Argyll and not of Matthew,<sup>205</sup> while in the report prepared for the English government c.1593 Argyll was said to have various dependants in the Lennox.<sup>206</sup>

Almost certainly among those dependants was the MacGregor kin-group which in circumstances unknown had become established at Ardinconnel at the mouth of the Gareloch by 1430,<sup>207</sup> and which

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200. RSS ii (1529-42), no. 2152.

201. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 18.

202. RMS iii (1513-46), nos. 3173, 3291, 3300.

203. Donaldson, James V - James VII, 116.

204. CSP Scot. iii (1569-71), no. 363.

205. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath.

206. CSP Scot. xi (1593-5), no. 198, p. 255.

207. Supra, p. 48.

was later closely associated with the neighbouring lands of Laggarie.<sup>208</sup> By the late fifteenth century these MacGregors were already moving up the Clyde estuary, and had acquired property in Dumbarton.<sup>209</sup> Thus sir Donnchadh MacGregor, who was chaplain of the chapel of St. Patrick in Dumbarton Castle between 1473/4 and his death in 1503,<sup>210</sup> and also vicar of the parish of Drymen,<sup>211</sup> almost certainly belonged to this lineage.

While there is no evidence that the MacGregors of Ardinconnel/Laggarie played any part in the affairs of the clan as a whole within our period, it is abundantly clear that they too came within the Campbell network. Thus the only document so far discovered in which they are associated with their kinsmen to the north is the list of adherents of the earl of Argyll drawn up in 1536, among whom was Pàdraig MacGregor of Laggarie.<sup>212</sup> On several occasions between 1480 and 1526 these MacGregors witnessed documents involving the earls of Argyll, or acted as their baillies.<sup>213</sup> Most of these documents concerned the lands of Roseneath, opposite Ardinconnel on the other side of the Gareloch, which were acquired by Cailean earl of Argyll in 1490;<sup>214</sup> and after they were granted in turn by the master of Argyll to Cailean Campbell of Ardkinglas in 1558,<sup>215</sup> we find the MacGregors of Ardinconnel/Laggarie closely associated with that particular branch of the Campbells.<sup>216</sup>

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208. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 9 August 1508; RMS iii (1513-46), no. 3140.
209. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 22 June 1464, 22 January 1468.
210. ER viii (1470-79), 262; xii (1502-07), 272; RSS i (1488-1529), no. 1001.
211. ADA, 148\*; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 8 May 1495.
212. RSS ii (1529-42), no. 2152.
213. See Appendix II, pt. iv.
214. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 1918.
215. AT, 19 April.
216. See Appendix II, pt. iv.

The Campbell connection can also be traced through marriage ties. A charter of 16 December 1500 reveals that the spouse of John Porterfield younger of that Ilk, head of a prominent Renfrewshire family, was Katherine MacGregor, who almost certainly belonged to the Ardinconnel/Laggarie lineage.<sup>217</sup> Other evidence shows the Porterfields operating alongside these MacGregors within a Campbell milieu.<sup>218</sup> Prior to 6 March 1563, Eoin MacGregor had married Janet, sister of Domhnall Campbell, a burgess in Dumbarton.<sup>219</sup>

It only remains to deal with the evidence for MacGregor settlement outwith the zone already delineated before c.1550. Even here a Campbell connection is sometimes apparent. This is certainly true of some of our references to MacGregors in the north-east, discussion of which can conveniently be postponed until we look at the relationship between the MacGregors and the Campbells of Cawdor.<sup>220</sup>

The presence of MacGregors at Ayr and Auchinleck in 1548 and 1570 respectively<sup>221</sup> is best explained if we assume that those involved were members of the Ardinconnel/Laggarie kin-group, which - as the reference to Katherine MacGregor in 1500 also suggests - had gravitated south of the Clyde estuary. The presence of Donnchadh MacGregor at Saline in Fife in 1545<sup>222</sup> was doubtless due to the fact that part of these lands was held by the chief of the Colquhouns as vassals of the earls of Argyll,<sup>223</sup> which makes it probable that Donnchadh also belonged to the Ardinconnel/Laggarie

217. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 2560 (Katherine MacGregor); Black, Surnames, 670.

218. AT, 26 May 1501; RSS ii (1529-42), no. 2152.

219. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

220. Infra, pp. 122-6.

221. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 25 May 1548, October 1570.

222. RSS iii (1542-48), no. 1403.

223. AT, 1 February 1480; RMS iii (1513-46), no. 2307.

lineage.

By the second half of the sixteenth century a MacGregor family using the surname Johnsone (or Johnstone) had achieved a position of social prominence at Perth both as burgesses and local landholders.<sup>224</sup> The earliest identifiable member of this lineage, Seòras (George) Johnsone, held property within the burgh by 21 May 1547,<sup>225</sup> and was described as burgess of Perth on 17 January 1548.<sup>226</sup> We have no certain evidence as to Seòras' immediate antecedents, but the fact that he was subsequently associated on record with members of the family of the dean of Lismore,<sup>227</sup> which by c.1550 was gravitating from the vicinity of Fortingall eastwards along Strath Tay,<sup>228</sup> could suggest that he belonged to that family. If so, then we might identify the Eoin (John) from whom the surname MacEoin or Johnsone, derived, with Eoin Riabhach, father of Dubhghall, father of Seumas the dean of Lismore, who must have flourished in the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>229</sup> This would imply that Johnsone was already a surname when used with reference to Seòras in 1547/8.

In a letter written by Seòras on 2 May 1577, he described himself as the "auld servitor" of Menzies of Weem.<sup>230</sup> But it would appear that, between 1547 and 1556 at least, he was performing a similar role on behalf of the Campbells of Glen Orchy. He witnessed a bond between two members of that kindred at Perth in 1547.<sup>231</sup>

224. M.H.B. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1982), 145-6. For the surname see MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, October 1592; RPC vi (1599-1604), 797.

225. Prot. Bk. Rollok, no. 35.

226. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/3A.

227. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 17 February 1562, 16 April 1571.

228. *Infra*, pp. 165-7.

229. *Supra*, p. 17.

230. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vii/18.

231. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/3A, 21 May.

When Cailean Liath of Glen Orchy acquired a tenement within the burgh in 1551, it was Seòras who gave him infeftment therein,<sup>232</sup> while in the same year he acted as cautioner for Seumas Campbell,<sup>233</sup> head of the Lawers branch of the Glen Orchy kindred which also acquired property in Perth at some point before 19 January 1576.<sup>234</sup>

In the final section of this chapter we shall attempt to fashion a narrative of MacGregor political history between 1437 and 1550. Such a narrative can hardly be continuous, given the fragmentary nature of the evidence. The relationship with the Campbells does however provide a unifying framework, and our major concern will be to explain how that relationship changed with time. In particular this will necessitate consideration both of the changes in the relative status of the MacGregors and the Campbells of Glen Orchy between 1437 and 1550; and of the extent to which the MacGregors, although a client-kindred of the Campbells, nevertheless retained a capacity for independent action. Finally, we shall discuss what evidence there is for relations between the MacGregors and central government before 1550.

The period fell into two distinct phases. The first, which lasted from 1437 to 1513, saw a dramatic increase in the power and status of the lords of Loch Awe (earls of Argyll after c.1457), the Campbells of Glen Orchy, and the MacGregors, which owed much to the close co-operation between them. Between 1437 and 1513 the Campbells of Glen Orchy were the most important lineage within Clan Campbell next to the chiefs themselves.

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232. Prot. Bk. Rollok, no. 97; cf. *ibid.*, no. 98.

233. *Ibid.*, no. 108; cf. *ibid.*, nos. 109, 110, 121.

234. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 41-2.

Cailean, first of the Glen Orchy Campbells, was the uncle of the Cailean who succeeded as lord of Loch Awe c.1453 and became earl of Argyll c.1457.<sup>235</sup> The Black Book of Taymouth asserts that the latter Cailean was a minor on his accession, and that his uncle acted as his tutor, built Inveraray Castle for him, married him to one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Eoin Stewart lord of Lorn, and was instrumental in arranging the settlement whereby the lordship of Lorn passed to the Campbells in 1469/70, with his nephew as sole superior.<sup>236</sup> Doubt has been cast on elements of the traditional account, particularly that relating to the lordship of Lorn.<sup>237</sup> Nevertheless, Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy stood next in succession to Cailean earl of Argyll in the charter of tailzie by which the latter was granted the lordship of Lorn on 17 April 1470.<sup>238</sup> That same position was occupied by Donnchadh Campbell, second head of the Glen Orchy kindred, in charters of tailzie granted to the first two earls of Argyll in 1481, 1497 and 1502.<sup>239</sup> In 1495 Donnchadh was the first-named of the four executors of the deceased first earl:<sup>240</sup> in 1513 he and Gill-easbuig, the second earl, died together at Flodden, and were buried together at Kilmun.<sup>241</sup>

Within the same period the earls of Argyll and to a lesser extent the Campbells of Glen Orchy both achieved prominence in central affairs. For virtually the whole of the reign of James III, Cailean earl of Argyll was an important and loyal

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235. SP i, 331-2.

236. Taymouth Bk., 13; cf. Highland Papers ii, 95-7.

237. SP i, 332; ii, 174-5.

238. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 989.

239. Ibid., nos. 1464, 2354, 2669.

240. ADC i, 417-8.

241. Taymouth Bk., 16.

member of government, becoming Master of the King's Household in 1464 and Chancellor in 1483.<sup>242</sup> He lost the Chancellorship in February 1488 because of his support for the future James IV in the latter's rebellion against his father, but was reinstated by James IV on 15 June 1488, and remained as Chancellor almost until his death in 1493.<sup>243</sup> His son succeeded him as Master of the King's Household.<sup>244</sup>

Almost certainly in reward for his role in the capture of the murderers of James I, Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy was knighted prior to 27 March 1437<sup>245</sup> perhaps on 25 March, when James II was crowned at Holyrood.<sup>246</sup> In 1444 and 1450 he witnessed charters granted by James II.<sup>247</sup> In Gaelic tradition he is remembered as Cailean Dubh na Roimhe, "that is black Colin of Rome because he travelled to Rome";<sup>248</sup> and we can confirm that he was there in 1465 and 1466, acting as James III's ambassador.<sup>249</sup> Cailean's son Donnchadh was a familiar and armour-bearer of James IV,<sup>250</sup> and was knighted by him between 26 April 1503 and 4 April 1506 - possibly in August 1503, on the occasion of James's

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242. Nicholson, Scotland. The Later Middle Ages, 398, 409, 506, 511-2.

243. *Ibid.*, 525-8, 532; (edd.), E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy, Handbook of British Chronology (3rd edn., London, 1986), 182.

244. SP i, 335.

245. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/3/1/1.

246. Nicholson, Scotland. The Later Middle Ages, 326. The document of 27 March, a licence by the papal legate on behalf of Cailean, was issued at Edinburgh. Hence Cailean may have been present at James II's coronation.

247. RMS ii (1424-1513), nos. 275-6, 278-80, 285, 382.

248. Highland Papers ii, 95; Taymouth Bk., which claims he was three times in Rome; W.J. Watson, Marbhnadh Dhonnchaidh Duibh, reprinted from An Deò-Gréine (Glasgow, 1917), 6-7.

249. AT.

250. RMS ii (1424-1513), nos. 2091, 2448, 2668; ER xii (1502-07), 705.



marriage to Margaret Tudor.<sup>251</sup> Between 1493 and 1500 he was regularly a Lord of Council.<sup>252</sup> In 1500 and 1506 both he and Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll were among the commissioners appointed to set lands within the Lordship of the Isles.<sup>253</sup>

Prominence at the centre was the corollary of pre-eminence within the locality. Within this period the influence of the earls of Argyll was spreading westwards into the Lordship of the Isles, and eastwards into western Perthshire and the Lennox, especially the "central zone", where the authority of the earls depended upon the ascendancy achieved by the Campbells of Glen Orchy by 1513.<sup>254</sup>

The position of the Campbells of Glen Orchy in turn owed much to the MacGregors. Between 1437 and 1513, no explicit statement to the effect that the former had been granted the services of the latter by the Campbell chief, has survived. Nevertheless, a number of pieces of evidence enable us to draw precisely that conclusion. Most important was the correlation of their expansion patterns.<sup>255</sup> Although there was some MacGregor settlement south of the "central zone", notably in Glen Lednock, between 1437 and 1513, the overwhelming thrust of the kindreds' expansion was targeted upon Breadalbane, especially Glen Lyon, Glen Lochay and Deas-fhaire. The bond between James Reddoch and Menzies of Weem in 1505 confirms that the MacGregors and Campbells of Glen Orchy were expanding in tandem. Finally, the Campbells of Glen

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251. RMS ii (1424-1513), 2717; ER xii (1502-07), 705; Nicholson, Scotland. The Later Middle Ages, 554.

252. ADC i, ii, passim.

253. RSS i (1488-1529), no. 513; ER xii (1502-07), 704-5, 709-10.

254. On that ascendancy, see *infra*, pp. 150-2.

255. See Chapter III, esp. pp. 169-72.

Orchy were the patrons of three specific MacGregor groupings: the family of the dean of Lismore, the MacGregors of Brackley and the MacGregors of Fearnan.

Between 1437 and 1513, given the success of their own expansion eastwards, and their attachment to the rising star of the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the earls of Argyll, the power and importance of the MacGregors must have increased dramatically. The clearest indication of their changing political status lies in the refashioning of the pedigree of their chiefs. It was characteristic of Gaelic society in Ireland and Scotland that as a lineage rose in importance, that process would be reflected in the manipulation of its pedigree, which would effectively become a political statement. The genealogy of the Dál Cais of Munster is one of the best attested examples.<sup>256</sup> In the case of the MacGregors - and discounting the pedigree in MS 1467, which did not emanate from the MacGregors themselves - the contrast between the brief and biologically accurate pedigree of 1415 x 1440, and the pedigree of c.1512 which attempts to derive the MacGregor chiefs from the lineage of Kenneth MacAlpin king of Scots,

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256. In general see D. Sellar, "Highland Family Origins - Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking", in The Inverness Field Club, The Middle Ages in the Highlands (Inverness, 1981), 103-4.

defines precisely the rise in the clan's status between 1437 and 1513.<sup>257</sup>

Within this period, three pieces of evidence suggest that, Campbell clients though the MacGregors were, they nevertheless enjoyed and asserted a measure of autonomy both in thought and action. The pedigree of c.1512, rather than attempting to portray the MacGregors as a scion of the Campbells as it might conceivably have done, was instead a conscious proclamation of distinctive identity. The poetic version of the pedigree says of the MacGregor chief Eoin Dubh:

Tearc aithris a fhine ann  
d'uaislibh Gaidheal ná glannGhall

[Rare is the counterpart of his line among  
the nobles of the Gael or of the bright  
Lowlander].<sup>258</sup>

The other two examples concern the MacGregors' relationship with the Campbells of Glen Orchy. Firstly, while the general correlation between the expansion patterns of both kindreds is clear, the fact that the MacGregors used Glen Lyon and the Campbells of Glen Orchy Glen Dochart, as their respective avenues east, suggests

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257. See Table 1; cf. supra, pp. 31-3. The notion of a MacGregor royal descent was clearly evolving in the late fifteenth century. A eulogy of the MacGregor chief Eoin Dubh in The Book of the Dean of Lismore, which must have been composed between 1461 (Eoin Dubh's accession) and c.1478. (Watson, Scottish Verse, 288), describes him as Mheic Ghriogóir ó Dhun Monaidh, 'MacGregor from Dún Monaidh (ibid., 148, v.2; 149, v.7). In tradition Dún Monaidh was a residence of the kings of Scots (Watson, Celtic Place-Names, 394-5). For another poem in The Book of the Dean of Lismore alluding to the MacGregor royal descent, see Watson, Scottish Verse, 204, v.4; 206, v.9.

258. Ibid., 212-3, v.2.

that there was scope for independent action.<sup>259</sup> Secondly, on 18 December 1470,<sup>260</sup> Cailean earl of Argyll granted his uncle Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy the stewartry of the latter's own lands within the lordship of Glen Orchy, along with the stewartry of the lands held of the earl by the chief of the MacLachlan lineage. However, Campbell of Glen Orchy was merely granted permission to negotiate with the MacGregor chief Eoin Dubh with respect to the stewartry of the lands the latter held of the earl. In terms of relative kin status then, Eoin Dubh was superior to the MacLachlan chief, and not so inferior to Campbell of Glen Orchy as to give the latter an automatic right to the stewartry of Eoin Dubh's lands in Glen Orchy.

Between the deaths of Donnchadh, second head of the Glen Orchy Campbells, in 1513 and of Eoin the fifth laird in 1550, their kindred experienced a dramatic reversal in its fortunes. In that time the Glen Orchy chiefs made only one fresh territorial acquisition, the lands of Ardveich and Derry on the north shore of Loch Earn, which came to the fifth laird through marriage in 1539.<sup>261</sup> Nor did they play any part in central government. As the ruling family of Clan Campbell continued to expand, the Glen Orchy chiefs ceased to be the most important lineage in the clan next to the earls themselves. Between 1513 and 1550 that position was occupied by Gill-easbuig Campbell of Skipness, and in particular by Eoin Campbell of Cawdor, brothers of Cailean third earl of Argyll. Both Gill-easbuig and Eoin were very prominent in the

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259. *Infra*, p. 169.

260. *AT*.

261. *RMS* iii (1513-46), no. 1974. On the stagnation of the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy in Breadalbane, see *infra*, pp. 152-4.

expansion of Campbell influence into the Lordship of the Isles down to c.1531,<sup>262</sup> while Eoin seems to have maintained a close relationship with his nephew Gill-easbuig, the fourth earl.<sup>263</sup> The estrangement between the earls of Argyll and the Campbells of Glen Orchy created tensions. In 1531 Gill-easbuig the fourth earl and Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy submitted to the arbitration of a number of their kinsmen all matters of contention between them, particularly where Gill-easbuig had failed to act towards Donnchadh as an overlord and chief ought to act towards his kinsman and tenant, and vice versa.<sup>264</sup> In a bond of service made by Donnchadh on 26 June 1532, he excepted his allegiance to Gill-easbuig, "so far as he is oblist to him of law allanerlie".<sup>265</sup>

The Glen Orchy kindred was also beset by serious internal divisions within this period. The ineffectuality of the chiefs narrowed the power differential between themselves and the heads of the Lawers and Glen Lyon branches. A bond of mutual manrent and support made between Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy and Gill-easbuig Campbell of Glen Lyon on 30 June 1538 was to all intents and purposes a bond between equals.<sup>266</sup> One condition was that Eoin should take Gill-easbuig's advice before making any agreement with Seumas Campbell of Lawers. To some extent the Lawers branch overshadowed the ruling Glen Orchy lineage between 1513 and 1550, acquiring fresh territory in Breadalbane,<sup>267</sup> and (through the marriage of Seumas Campbell with Mariota Forrester) in Strathearn, Menteith and Strath Gartney.<sup>268</sup> In the 1530s, once the MacGregors

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262. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 212.

263. AT, May 1543, 7 June 1544.

264. AT.

265. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/43 (printed Taymouth Bk., 180-1).

266. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/48 (printed Taymouth Bk., 181).

267. Infra, p. 153.

268. Supra, pp. 96, 104.

had established themselves in Rannoch, it was the Campbells of Lawers rather than the Glen Orchy chiefs who initially seem to have followed in their wake and acquired influence there.<sup>269</sup> A further complicating factor was the emergence in the 1540s of Cailean Liath of Crannach - who would succeed his brother Eoin as Glen Orchy chief in 1550 - as a power in his own right.<sup>270</sup> On 19 May 1544, a contract of friendship was concluded between Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy, Gill-easbuig Campbell of Glen Lyon, Seumas Campbell of Lawers and Cailean Liath of Crannach in an attempt to end the divisions among them.<sup>271</sup>

The ascendancy achieved by the Campbells of Glen Orchy in the "central zone" by 1513 was largely responsible for the diminution in the influence of the earl of Atholl there. Glen Lyon and Rannoch had been included in the commission granted to the earl in 1475 because of the pre-eminence in both areas of the Stewarts of Fortingall, who were Atholl dependants. Before 1513 the Stewarts lost their pre-eminence in Glen Lyon and Rannoch to the Campbells of Glen Orchy and Menzieses respectively.<sup>272</sup>

Between 1513 and 1550 the earls of Atholl exploited the difficulties of the Glen Orchy lineage to re-assert themselves within the "central zone". Through much of this period they were imposing severe pressure upon the Menzieses of Weem.<sup>273</sup> In 1531 and 1532 Earl John, acting at the behest of James V, led military expeditions which aimed to displace the MacGregors from Rannoch.<sup>274</sup> On 26 June 1532, Donnchadh Campbell of Glen

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269. *Infra*, pp. 195-6.

270. *Infra*, pp. 153-4.

271. *Wormald, Lords and Men*, App. B, 385, no. 43.

272. See Chapter III.

273. *Infra*, pp. 191-4.

274. *Infra*, pp. 192-3.

Orchy (along with Uilleam Murray of Tullibardin) gave Earl John his bond of service.<sup>275</sup> In 1536, the deaths of Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy before 2 May<sup>276</sup> and of his son and heir Cailean, a minor, between 4 June and 4 August,<sup>277</sup> left the Glen Orchy lineage highly vulnerable. On 8 May John earl of Atholl (a cousin of Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy),<sup>278</sup> was granted the gift of the ward of the lands which Donnchadh had held directly of the crown:<sup>279</sup> on 15 July James V granted John in feuferm 28 merklands in or near Glen Lochay,<sup>280</sup> in all of which the Glen Orchy chiefs had been tenants since 1502.<sup>281</sup> Subsequently Atholl administered justice upon these tenants in his courts.<sup>282</sup> Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy - who had become chief of his kindred by 4 August, following the death of his nephew Cailean<sup>283</sup> - asserted his own right to do so in his capacity as baillie of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire, and the Lords of Council resolved the clash of competing jurisdictions in Eoin's favour on 16 February 1537.<sup>284</sup>

There are two other indications of the decay of the local power of the Campbells of Glen Orchy between 1513 and 1550. On 30 August 1549, Eoin Menzies of Roro bound himself to Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy that his house would:

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275. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/43 (printed Taymouth Bk., 180-1).
276. Ibid., GD112/3/1/1. Mr. William Bowie is in error in stating that he died on 5 September (Taymouth Bk., 18).
277. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/1/v.
278. SP ii, 180.
279. RSS ii (1529-42), no. 2028.
280. RMS iii (1513-46), no. 1596.
281. Infra, p. 144; ER xv (1523-29), 581.
282. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/47, where the assertion that Atholl had been doing so for several years must be an exaggeration.
283. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/1/v; cf. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/3/1/1, 2 May 1536.
284. Ibid., GD112/1/2/47.

be reddy with mete and drynk and wther necessaris  
 convenand thairto till the said Jhon Campbell his  
 howsald and followaris for the tyme has every  
 wther gentill manis howss in the cuntre beis that  
 hes promyst siclyk quhat place within Braydalbon  
 or Glenlyon the said Jhone Menzeis happinis for the  
 tyme to remane. <sup>285</sup>

This was the Gaelic exaction of cuid oidhche. Significantly, however, we learn that this bond was a reaffirmation of Glen Orchy's rights following an action of spulyie raised by Menzies over the alleged exaction of cuid oidhche in 1548. Secondly, the justice courts held by the earl of Argyll in western Perthshire in early 1550<sup>286</sup> followed complaints of general social unrest in Breadalbane, Rannoch and Strath Gartney between 1542 and 1549, "like as neither law nor justice war to be had in this realme".<sup>287</sup> In the case of Breadalbane at least, the root cause may well have been the tensions engendered by the breakdown of effective local control by the Campbells of Glen Orchy, and of which the bond of 30 August 1549 provides a specific example.

The difficulties of the Glen Orchy chiefs may well have been compounded by the fact that between 1513 and 1550 there is no evidence to suggest that they enjoyed the active military service of the MacGregors. We have seen that the latter were acting on the earl of Argyll's behalf in the 1540s,<sup>288</sup> while they seem to have been briefly associated with the Lawers lineage in Rannoch in the 1530s; but the key political relationship they formed between 1513 and 1550 was with the fastest rising star within the Campbell kindred, Eoin Campbell of Cawdor, brother of Cailean third earl of Argyll. Eoin's status within Clan Campbell after 1513, and his

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285. Ibid., GD112/1/2/68 (printed Taymouth Bk., 187-9).

286. Supra, p. 88.

287. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/69.

288. Supra, pp. 83.



influence in the west, have already been mentioned;<sup>289</sup> he acquired the thanage of Cawdor in 1512, following his marriage to the grand-daughter and heiress of the last thane.<sup>290</sup>

Interestingly, the MacGregors seem to have made some connections with the north-east prior to the point at which their relationship with Campbell of Cawdor apparently commenced. Dubhghall MacGregor, the father of the dean of Lismore, witnessed a document involving Eoin, son and heir of the chief of the Grants, on 9 May 1482,<sup>291</sup> and himself married Katherine Neyn Donyll V<sup>C</sup>Clawe alias Grant.<sup>292</sup> Eoin's sister Katherine married Lachlann, son of the Macintosh chief, and their daughter Marion married the MacGregor chief Eoin Dubh (as at least his second wife),<sup>293</sup> surviving him on his death on 24 May 1519.<sup>294</sup>

The actual bond with Eoin Campbell of Cawdor seems to have been forged by Eoin Dubh's successor, Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair,<sup>295</sup>

289. *Supra*, pp. 118-9.

290. Cawdor Bk., xxii: RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3703.

291. Fraser, Grant iii, 261-2; Dugellus Gregorii notarius publicus. The identification is confirmed both by Dubhghall's marriage to a Grant, and by the very detailed obituary of Eoin Grant that appears in Chron. BDL (30 August 1482).

292. Chron. Fortingall, 22 July 1511.

293. For his other recorded marriage see *supra*, p. 75.

294. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1, 9 February 1523; Macfarlane, Gen. Coll. i, 195.

295. The Black Book of Taymouth asserts (64) that Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair "was not righeous air to the M<sup>C</sup>Gregour, bot wes principall of the Clandoulcheir" [Clann Dubhghaill Chéire]; but its contradictory statements as to whom he married (11, 64) should in themselves make us beware of accepting its account of his accession. Eoin Dubh had been predeceased by his son and heir Gille-Coluim (Chron. BDL, 22 June 1498), while the fact that Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair was granted the Glen Strae lands by the earls of Argyll four days after Eoin Dubh's death (Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/75/12) suggests that his succession was not a matter of controversy. It is almost certainly to be explained in terms of the kin-based system of succession which is known to have operated within territorial kindreds in the Lordship of the Isles until at least the sixteenth century (Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 99-100, 114, 127, 132-3, 147-8). Later traditional historians who were ignorant of this system of succession - as Mr. William Bowie, author of The Black Book of Taymouth clearly was - often distorted their narratives in order to explain it away (*ibid.*, 99-100, 127).

even before the latter became chief, and to have endured beyond his death on 12 April 1528, until at least December 1530. At Kilmaronag in Muckairn parish on 7 July 1519, and at Benquhir on 10 August 1521, Eoin witnessed bonds of manrent made to Cawdor, the latter by Lachlann Macintosh captain of Clan Chattan.<sup>296</sup> This makes it virtually certain that Eoin is to be further identified both with the Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair who witnessed similar bonds made to Cawdor at Killespick-Kyril (again in Muckairn parish) and at Kenlochlaan on 8 June 1519 and 20 October 1518 respectively;<sup>297</sup> and with the Eoin MacGregor who witnessed a bond of manrent to Cawdor at Kilmaronag on 29 November 1515.<sup>298</sup> This is the earliest evidence for the connection: the latest is 2 December 1530, when as we saw, Eoin Campbell of Cawdor, in conjunction with the earl of Argyll, was regarded as responsible for the MacGregors.<sup>299</sup>

We can be confident then, that between 1515 and 1530 at least the MacGregors were in the service of Eoin Campbell of Cawdor, both in the west and in the north-east. Unfortunately, no direct evidence to that effect has survived.<sup>300</sup> The only specific pointer

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296. Cawdor Bk., 131, 140. Cawdor was granted lands within Muckairn parish by Fearchar bishop of the Isles in 1532: OPS ii, pt. i, 133.

297. Cawdor Bk., 129, 130 (where his forename is lost due to damage to the document).

298. *Ibid.*, 128.

299. *Supra*, p. 78.

300. It may be worth noting that according to a traditional account, Cawdor only made good his right to the lands in Muckairn parish granted him in 1532 (*supra*, n.295) after overcoming resistance from MacDougall of Lorn to whom the lands had previously been leased (OPS ii, pt. i, 133 n.1).

towards MacGregor military activity in the north-east is the possible role played by Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair in the capture of the man responsible for killing Lachlann Macintosh, captain of Clann Chattan, in 1525.<sup>301</sup> But some such activity there must have been, for it left a legacy in the form of a limited but nevertheless significant amount of MacGregor settlement. Domhnall MacGregor was sheriff or baillie of either Elgin, Forres or Inverness on 19 February 1540.<sup>302</sup> Donnchadh MacGregor was described as a tenant of Eoin Campbell of Cawdor on 11 December 1543.<sup>303</sup> At Meikle Geddes, north-east of Cawdor, on 18 July 1568, Eoin MacGregor witnessed a grant to Gill-easbuig, son of Eoin Campbell of Cawdor.<sup>304</sup> Gill-easbuig had himself been granted Meikle Geddes on 10 March 1562.<sup>305</sup> Master Gill-easbuig MacGregor, a notary public, was in the service of Grant of Freuchy by 1554,<sup>306</sup> and was followed in that role by Uilleam MacGregor, presumably his son and also a notary.<sup>307</sup> It may just be that they were an off-shoot

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301. Chron. Fortingall. The traditional Macintosh history, De Origine et Incremento Mackintoshiorum Epitome, erroneously attributes Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair's involvement to his having married Lachlann's sister (Macfarlane, Gen. Coll. i, 217-8), when in fact that marriage was made by his predecessor Eoin Dubh. If Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair did play a part he may have been acting on behalf of Eoin Campbell of Cawdor, to whom, as we saw, Lachlann had given his bond of manrent in 1521.

302. Fraser, Grant iii, 83. Eoin Campbell of Cawdor was granted the office of sheriff of Nairn on 3 January 1529 (RMS iii (1513-46), no. 723; cf. Cawdor Bk., 171-2).

303. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1.

304. Moray Registrum, 397.

305. Cawdor Bk., 174-5.

306. Fraser, Grant iii, 114, 126, 136, 150, 152, 157, 388, 405.

307. Ibid., 157, 165, 166, 170, 184, 196, 204, 272, 296, 393, 401.

of the family of the dean of Lismore, given their own professional status and the earlier evidence for ties between that family and the Grants. Either a Grant or Cawdor connection might explain how Eoin MacGregor came to be in the service of Eoin MacKenzie of Kintail in 1557,<sup>308</sup> for MacKenzie, Campbell of Cawdor and Grant of Freuchy had been among the parties to a bond of mutual assistance made on 17 January 1546.<sup>309</sup>

The bond with Campbell of Cawdor was one sign that the stagnation which afflicted the Campbells of Glen Orchy between 1513 and 1550 did not transmit itself to the MacGregors. Another was the continued expansion of the latter throughout the zone east of Argyll, most dramatically into Menzies of Weem's lands of Rannoch, which the MacGregors occupied by force shortly before 16 February 1523, and from which - with the exception of their temporary expulsion by the earl of Atholl in 1531 - it proved impossible to remove them.<sup>310</sup> Menzies of Weem's abject confession to the Lords of Council that

M<sup>C</sup>Gregour [i.e. the chief Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair] on force enterit in [his] landis and withaldis the samyn fra him maisterfully and is of fer gretar power nor [him] and will nocht be put out be him of the saidis landis,<sup>311</sup>

is as clear a statement as we could wish of the waxing military strength of Clann Griogair.

There seem to have been further manifestations of that strength in the 1540s. Unfortunately our chief source, a poem in Scots

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308. RMS iv (1546-80), no. 1144.

309. Cawdor Bk., 167-9.

310. Infra, pp. 189-99.

311. ADC, vol. xxxiii, f. 185.

titled Duncane Laideus' Testament,<sup>312</sup> needs to be treated with extreme caution. It was apparently composed for Donnchadh Dubh, chief of the Glen Orchy kindred between 1583 and 1631, and thus at least a generation after the events it purports to narrate,<sup>313</sup> and at a time when the relationship between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors had altered irretrievably; while the author's preoccupation with moral and religious themes<sup>314</sup> adds a further distorting element.

The poem recounts the life of Donnchadh Làdasach,<sup>315</sup> who belonged to a MacGregor lineage principally associated before 1550 with the forest of Mamlorn and Corrycharmaig in Glen Lochay.<sup>316</sup> Donnchadh's father was named Pàdraig,<sup>317</sup> probably the Pàdraig MacGregor who was apparently tenant of Mamlorn in 1541.<sup>318</sup> According to the poem Donnchadh Làdasach became an enormously influential figure within the clan in the period between the death of James V in 1542 and his own execution in 1552.<sup>319</sup> It was at his instigation that the MacGregor chief or chiefs<sup>320</sup> carried out separate raids against the MacLarens of Balquhiddier (27 of whom were killed) and the Robertsons of Struan

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312. Taymouth Bk., 151-72.

313. Ibid., vi and n. 2; xi.

314. I.B. Cowan, "The Medieval Church in the Highlands", in The Inverness Field Club, The Middle Ages in the Highlands (Inverness, 1981), 98; J. Kirk, "The Jacobean Church in the Highlands", in The Inverness Field Club, The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands (Inverness, 1986), 28.

315. The epithet, deriving from the noun làdas, means "lordly".

316. Infra, pp. 157-8.

317. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzie's Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/46.

318. Infra, pp. 157-8.

319. For discussion of his career after 1550, including his possible assumption of the office of tutor, see infra, pp. 285-7, 290-4.

320. Alasdair Ruadh of Glen Strae definitely led the attack on the Robertsons (infra, p. 128), and hence presumably also the earlier (according to the poem's chronology) attack upon the MacLarens. But it is conceivable that his son Eoin Ruadh, who succeeded him at some point between 12 April 1546 (AT) and the end of the year (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/23), led the attack on the Campbells of Glen Orchy. The poem describes the leader of each raid merely as, Makgregoure (Taymouth Bk., 159-60).

(whom Donnchadh Làdasach averred to be planning an attack on the MacGregors); and an abortive night-attack upon the Campbells of Glen Orchy themselves, which aimed to pave the way for nothing less than the replacement of the latter by the MacGregors as the dominant kindred within Breadalbane. In the words the poet gives to Donnchadh Làdasach:

Had we gottin oure will in thir thingis,  
This cuntray we thocht oure selffis for to gyde.<sup>321</sup>

We have already noted that 1542-49 seems to have been a period of general disturbance in Breadalbane, while independent confirmation exists for the attack on Robertson of Struan, which took place on 22 August 1545.<sup>322</sup> But on other counts the poem's version of events seems to square less satisfactorily with what other evidence we do possess. A tack of his Rannoch lands granted by Alasdair Menzies of Rannoch to Eoin Ruadh of Glen Strae on 4 October 1548 gave the latter the right to introduce subtenants, "excepting Duncan M<sup>C</sup>Gregour M<sup>C</sup>Phadrik [Donnchadh Làdasach] and his barnis alanerlie".<sup>323</sup> While confirming that Donnchadh Làdasach was a recognised malcontent, the tack demonstrates that whatever influence he had acquired within the clan as a whole did not mean that wider society was incapable of drawing a distinction between him and the rest of Clann Griogair.

The onset upon the MacLarens is placed at Easter, at some point between the death of James V and the attack on the Robertsons. Thus 1543, 1544 or 1545 would all be possibilities. Yet within

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321. *Ibid.*, 159-61.

322. *Chron. Fortingall*.

323. *MacGregor, Coll.* (*Menzies Writs*), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/46.

this period relations between the earl of Argyll - under whose protection the MacLarens were<sup>324</sup> - and Alasdair Ruadh of Glen Strae seem to have been particularly close.<sup>325</sup> Not until 1547, when Alasdair Ruadh's successor Eoin Ruadh lost his position as Argyll's vassal in Glen Ample to the earl's son Cailean,<sup>326</sup> is there any hint of estrangement between the MacGregor chiefs and the earls of Argyll.

Also problematic is the onset claimed to have been made upon the Campbells of Glen Orchy. What little evidence we have for relations between the two kindreds in the late 1540s betrays no sign of a major crisis. Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy witnessed the grant of the tack of the Rannoch lands to Eoin Ruadh of Glen Strae on 4 October 1548,<sup>327</sup> while until his death in 1550 he remained on the closest terms with the MacGregors of Brackley and the family of the dean of Lismore.<sup>328</sup> Again, one wonders what realistic hope the MacGregors could have harboured of achieving pre-eminence within Breadalbane at the expense of the Campbells of Glen Orchy. Despite the distance which had developed between the latter and the earls of Argyll, the earls were hardly likely to view such a process with equanimity, given that it was through the Campbells of Glen Orchy that they themselves exercised influence on Breadalbane. Hence any serious attempt to displace the Campbells of Glen Orchy would surely meet with general Campbell opposition.

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324. *Supra*, p. 99

325. *Supra*, p.83; cf. *AT*, 12 December 1545, 12 April 1546.

326. *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/2/65, 16 April.

327. *MacGregor, Coll. (Menzie's Writs)*, SRO, GD50/186/I/iv/46.

328. *Infra*, p. 274.

Nevertheless, the decline of the Campbells of Glen Orchy had undoubtedly created tensions both within their own lineage and in wider Breadalbane society. It seems inherently probable that the unabated rise of the MacGregors - who by 1550 may well have been in terms of sheer military strength the most powerful kindred within the "central zone" - would engender particular tensions between them and the Campbells of Glen Orchy, notwithstanding the closeness of their relationship before 1513. From the perspective of the Glen Orchy chiefs, the MacGregors' continued expansion, and the formation of their relationship with Campbell of Cawdor, may have served to underline the MacGregor capacity for independent action already in evidence before 1513.<sup>329</sup>

That capacity may have been personified, albeit in extreme terms (remembering his ostracism from the rest of the clan in the tack of 1548), by Donnchadh Ladasach, and it could even be that through his influence the potential threat which the MacGregors may now have come to represent to the Glen Orchy chiefs was actually realised. If an attack on the Campbells of Glen Orchy did indeed take place in the late 1540s then it must have been an isolated incident which created no major repercussions prior to the death of Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy on 5 July 1550; but it might well help to explain what happened immediately thereafter.

We turn finally to review briefly the scraps of evidence for the relationship between the MacGregors and central government

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329. It may also have been in the 1530s during the resurgence of the power of the earl of Atholl in the "central zone", that the relationship between the earl and certain MacGregor elements, notably the Roro branch and one of the Rannoch septs, was formed (infra, pp. 346, 348-9, 353-4).



between 1437 and 1550. On two occasions that relationship was strained. In 1504 Makgregor Inenuych - possibly to be identified with the Glen Strae chief or the head of the MacGregors of Glen Lyon<sup>330</sup> - was summoned to appear before Parliament to answer for "certain treasonable actions".<sup>331</sup> But since a number of prominent individuals from western Perthshire were summoned on similar charges at the same time,<sup>332</sup> the issue at stake clearly did not concern the MacGregors alone. The background may have been the dispute over Rannoch which had precipitated a violent feud between Menzies of Weem and Stewart of Fortingall (who was also summoned) in 1502.<sup>333</sup>

More serious consequences attended the MacGregors' activities between c.1522 and the early 1530s, when in addition to their forcible occupation of Rannoch despite the opposition of Menzies of Weem, they also seem to have been among the Argyll men whose raids upon Strathearn and Menteith were responsible for protracted disruption within those areas.<sup>334</sup> On 2 December 1530, Menzies of Weem took instrument before the King and Lords of Council that unless "sum gud reule be fundin for the clan Gregour", he could not answer for the maintenance of peace within his territories.<sup>335</sup>

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330. The epithet might be derived from Inneoin, a place-name in the Glen Orchy area (Watson, Scottish Verse, 198, v.13); or it might be a garbled rendering of Liobhunnach, and hence refer to the head of Clann Donnchaidh Liobhunnaich, the MacGregors of Glen Lyon (infra, p. 156).

331. APS ii (1424-1513), 225b.

332. Ibid., 255b-256a.

333. Infra, pp. 178-81.

334. ER xiv (1513-22), 392; xv (1523-29), 142; ADC (Public), 317. On the MacGregors' involvement, see ER xv (1523-29), 483; Pitcairn, Criminal Trials i, \*164.

335. ADC (Public), 343.

On 4 December the Lords gave a respite to the MacGregors until the 14th, to give them time to come before the council, "to wirk and mene for thaim of all attemptatis bigane and to geif plegis and sufficient securitie for gud rewle in tyme tocum".<sup>336</sup> In the autumn of 1531, John earl of Atholl, acting on the orders of James V, expelled the MacGregors from Rannoch, but the subsequent reluctance of either Atholl or the crown to take direct responsibility there enabled the MacGregors to re-establish themselves, a state of affairs which the crown itself finally accepted, as the licence granted to Menzies of Weem in 1558 demonstrates.<sup>337</sup>

As we have already argued, any goodwill which the MacGregors did enjoy in government circles must have stemmed from their Campbell connections. It was the Campbells who assumed responsibility for the MacGregors in the eyes of the crown in 1530 and 1558, while it is not difficult to detect a Campbell presence or influence at work in the two instances of positive relations between the crown and the MacGregors which we possess before 1550. For a week in the autumn of 1506, James IV stayed at Achadh Innis Chlainn, north of Tyndrum, which we know to have been the residence of a MacGregor lineage.<sup>338</sup> During his time there James received

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336. Ibid., 344.

337. *Infra*, pp. 192-3, 197-8.

338. *TA* iii (1506-07), 338-9. For the location (wrongly stated, *ibid.*, xxviii-xxix, to be Inchcailloch in Loch Lomond), cf. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 435; Gillies, *Breadalbane*, 63-4. For the MacGregor lineage there see *Chron. BDL*, 9 July 1518 (*Aychinchallane*); *Chron. Fortingall*, 6 March 1548 (*Aychinchechallen*); *OPS* ii, pt. i, 141.

gifts from the MacGregor chief Eoin Dubh, while among those who entertained him were the bard of Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy and the clàrsair or harpist of Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll. Secondly, on 12 April 1542 James V wrote to Daibhidh Lord Drummond asking him to set certain lands to, "our lovit Schir James [Seumas] Dane of Lesmoir"<sup>339</sup> - who had owed his advancement to that office to the Campbells.

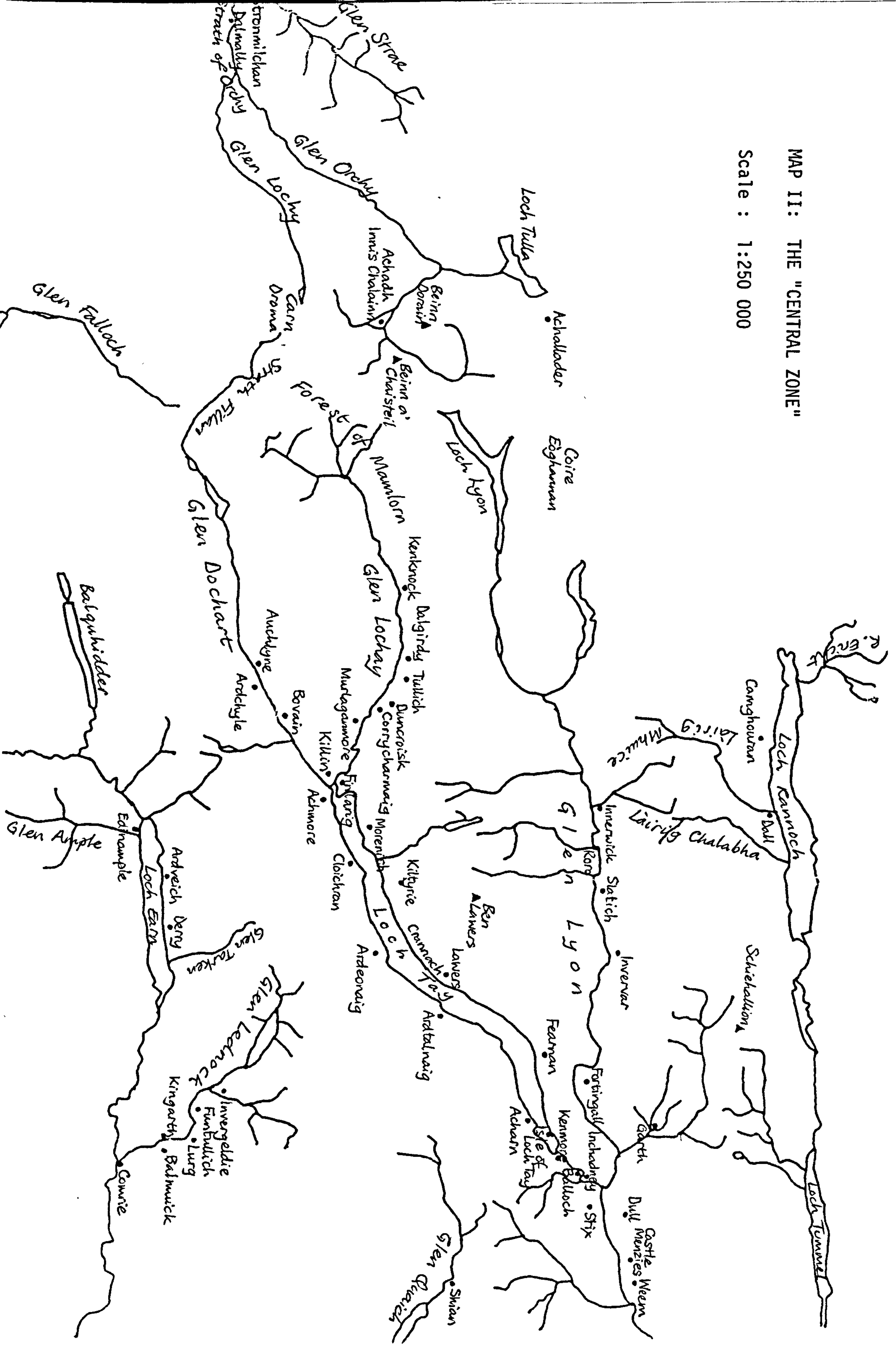
For all the paucity of the evidence, one thing is clear. Before 1550 there is no real sign that the MacGregors had yet achieved the notoriety in the eyes of Lowland opinion and of central government which was to be theirs later. That notoriety, we shall argue, stemmed directly from a catastrophic breakdown in relations between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors after 1550.

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339. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, document filed under 12 April 1532, but dated 12 April 1542.

MAP II: THE "CENTRAL ZONE"

Scale : 1:250 000



## CHAPTER III

THE EXPANSION OF THE CAMPBELLS OF GLEN ORCHY AND THE MacGREGORS  
INTO BREADALBANE AND RANNOCH, 1437-c.1550

The dominant phenomenon within the "central zone" after 1437 was the expansion into these territories of the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors, taking advantage of the vacuum of power created by the eclipse of the Albany Stewarts in 1425 and the execution of Walter earl of Atholl in 1437. By c.1550 they were established as the two most powerful kindreds here. The basic thrust of the expansion of the Campbells of Glen Orchy is marked out by the successive major fortresses which they built or acquired: Kilchurn in the mid-fifteenth century; the tower of Strath Fillan, Finlarig (at the west end of Loch Tay) and the Isle of Loch Tay (near the east end, and possibly a former stronghold of the earls of Fife and/or the Albany Stewarts) in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; Balloch (now Taymouth, at the east end of Loch Tay) in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It is also significant that whereas the first two Campbell lairds of Glen Orchy were buried in Argyll, at Kilmartin and Kilmun respectively,<sup>2</sup> their descendants, including the Lawers and Glen Lyon branches, were normally buried in the choir of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary,<sup>3</sup> built at Finlarig

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1. Strath Fillan: *infra*, p. 143; Finlarig: *infra*, p. 145; the Isle of Loch Tay: *infra*, pp. 143, 151; Balloch: *infra*, p. 232.
  2. Taymouth Bk., 14, 16.
  3. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/3/1/1, 16 September 1517, 2 June 1550.

by Cailean the third laird, "to be ane buriall for himselff and his posteritie".<sup>4</sup> Hence, while their acquisition of one third of the lordship of Lorn after 1470, along with other factors, meant that the west always remained important to the Campbells of Glen Orchy,<sup>5</sup> their power-base had clearly shifted to Loch Tayside by the mid-sixteenth century. Their attachment to their ancestral lands of Glen Strae meant that the west probably remained even more important to the MacGregors, whose ruling family continued to be buried at Dìseart Chonnáin at Dalmally until at least 1548.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that The Book of the Dean of Lismore, compiled in the first half of the sixteenth century, contains a poem almost certainly composed within that period which describes the MacGregors as na fir a Brághaid Alban, 'the men from Breadalbane', bespeaks a similar eastwards gravitation on their part.<sup>7</sup>

From the perspective of both kindreds in the mid-fifteenth century, with the solid launch-pad of Campbell power in Argyll behind them, Breadalbane, lying directly east of the lordship of Glen Orchy, was near at hand, easily accessible via routes such as Glen Lyon and Glen Dochart, and bereft of effective local control by any one magnate or kindred. For the Campbells of Glen Orchy, their tenure of Lawers from 1452-3 must have further defined the path their expansion was to take. And definition may also have been provided by the fact that a limited amount of Campbell and MacGregor settlement had occurred within the "central

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4. Taymouth Bk., 17; *ibid.*, 18, 19, 23, 71; Chron. Fortingall, 26 July 1529, 12 August 1537, 8 June 1554, 7 January 1555, 1 May 1558, 17 January 1579.

5. Taymouth Bk., 10-11; *infra*, pp. 204-5.

6. Chron. Fortingall, 6 March.

7. Watson, Scottish Verse, 238-9, v.8.

zone" prior to 1450. On the part of the MacGregors there is the problematic evidence of the inquisition held at Killin in 1428, and the establishment of the family of the dean of Lismore at Fortingall, apparently in or soon after 1406;<sup>8</sup> while the Campbells of Strachur in Cowal had also held lands in the lordship of Glen Dochart, principally in Glen Falloch, from the fourteenth century.<sup>9</sup>

The salient features of the political landscape confronting the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors in the "central zone" in the mid-fifteenth century were as follows.<sup>10</sup> Rannoch, Appin of Dull, Fortingall, Glen Lyon, Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire, and Glen Lochay, were initially with the crown, although they were steadily to be granted out again over the course of the next century. The heads of the Menzies kindred were crown tenants-in-chief in their lands in Upper Strath Tay, Comrie and Roro in Glen Lyon, and Crannach (with the related lands of Kenknock, Duncroisk and Achmore), Morenish and Edramucky in Deas-fhaire. The lordship of Glen Dochart was divided among the Carthusian Charterhouse of Perth, and the chiefs of the Macnabs and the Campbells of Strachur, all holding directly of the crown.

It is now appropriate to add further detail to that landscape by considering the other kindreds and proprietors in evidence in the "central zone" after 1437. Some had been present before then, some were parvenus, while in other cases the length of the connection is not clear. Foremost amongst

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8. *Supra*, pp. 17, 48-9.

9. *Supra*, pp. 59-60.

10. In general see chapter 1.

them was a Stewart lineage which first appears on record in the person of Eoin, who bore the designation, of Rannoch, in 1449.<sup>11</sup> Eoin is described as such several times thereafter,<sup>12</sup> but his successors bore the designations, of Garth (their principal fortress) or, of Fortingall. Previous attempts to adduce Eoin's ancestry have overlooked a key piece of evidence. Two panegyrics in The Book of the Dean of Lismore address Eoin Stewart, further described as, a crích Raithneach ... mheic Shir Roibeirt, 'from the bounds of Rannoch ... thou son of Sir Robert'.<sup>13</sup> On the criteria of geography and chronology, it would be feasible to identify Eoin's father with Sir Robert Stewart, heir and grandson of Walter earl of Atholl, who was executed along with his grandfather in 1437 for his role in the murder of James I.<sup>14</sup>

We do not know if the presence of the Muschets of Tolgarth in part of the lands of Finlarig, and of the Stewarts of Ardgowan in Balloch and Acharn, and in Shian in Glen Quaich, antedated 1424 x 1437.<sup>15</sup> The connection of the heads of the Drummonds with the remaining part of Finlarig, along with Wester Stix, not far from Balloch, and Cowleballoch in the brae of Glen Quaich,<sup>16</sup> might conceivably be a legacy of the period in the later fourteenth century when John Drummond was baillie of the Appin of Dull,<sup>17</sup> which his sister Margaret Logie, wife of David II, subsequently held as part of her dower lands.<sup>18</sup> In

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11. Fraser, Grandtully i, 15.

12. Ibid., i, lxxiv; ER v (1437-54), 539; Stewart, Memorials, 63.

13. Watson, Scottish Verse, 176-9, 184-93, esp. 186-7, vv. 5-6.

14. Nicholson, Later Middle Ages, 321-6.

15. Infra, p. 145.

16. Infra, pp. 145, 165, 212.

17. RMS i (1306-1424), App. 2, no. 1273.

18. Supra, p. 58; ER ii (1359-79), lix.



the mid-thirteenth century the Moncreiffs were vassals of the Menzieses in the lands of Culdairs, near Fortingall: on 1 December 1455 James II granted Malcolm Moncreiff of that ilk lands including Culdairs and neighbouring Duneaves, incorporated into a free barony to be held of the crown.<sup>19</sup>

In 1403, Robert Menteith lord of Rusky granted the lands of Ardeonaig in Tuath-fhaire (which had come into his possession by means unknown) to his wife Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Donnchadh earl of Lennox.<sup>20</sup> Thus these lands became embroiled in the dispute over the succession to the earldom, and by the early sixteenth century had been divided equally between the two unsuccessful claimants, Napier of Merchiston and Haldane of Gleneagles.<sup>21</sup>

Raibeart, chief of Clann Donnchaidh (the Robertsons) of Struan, played a part in the capture of the murderers of James I along with Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy, and, like Cailean, was rewarded with lands in Deas-fhaire - Fearnan, near the east end of Loch Tay - as well as half the lands of Rannoch. These formed part of the free barony of Struan granted to Raibeart by James II in 1451.<sup>22</sup> Either at this point or shortly afterwards an offshoot of the Robertsons became established at Carwhin, also in Deas-fhaire, the superiority of which went with the lands of Ardeonaig lying

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19. Moncreiffs ii, 639; i, 30-1.

20. Fraser, Menteith, ii, 272-3.

21. RMS ii (1424-1513), nos. 2235, 3347 (Napier), 3288 (Haldane).

22. Ibid., no. 491.

directly opposite across Loch Tay.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, we have no information predating 1437 concerning kindreds actually established within the "central zone" other than the Menzieses, Macnabs and Campbells of Strachur. Nonetheless, the Cristesones (Gael. MacGille-Chrìost) who held Ledcharrie and Edravinoch in Glen Dochart from at least the mid-fifteenth century, may well have been indigenous,<sup>24</sup> and the same could hold true for some of the surnames which appear in the earliest crown rental of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire c.1480:- MacCairbre (in Glen Lochay), MacLean (also Glen Lochay), MacThàmhais (at Ardtalnaig in Tuath-fhaire, and Kiltyrie in Deas-fhaire) and MacNaughton (at Eddergoll, in Tuath-fhaire at the east end of Loch Tay).<sup>25</sup> The antiquity also claimed for surnames such as MacDiarmid and MacMillan finds no support in the early written records.<sup>26</sup>

If any of these lineages were in fact settled in the "central zone" before 1437, none of them made much impact thereafter. The same applied for the Muschets, Stewarts of Ardgowan, Drummonds, Moncreiffs, Haldanes and Napiers, all of whom lacked a kin-base within these territories. The Campbells of Strachur and the Macnabs did have a kin-base, while the Robertsons swiftly

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23. Gillies, Breadalbane, 400; RMS ii (1424-1513), nos. 3288, 3347. The first recorded Robertson chief of Carwhin died in 1484 (Chron. BDL, 4 February; cf. also ibid., 29 September 1529; Chron. Fortingall, 30 April 1554, 10 March 1560). His successors bore the style Mac a'Bharain, 'the son of the Baron' (infra, pp. 210, 211 and n. 48).

24. Infra, p 145; Gillies, Breadalbane, 355-6.

25. ER ix (1480-87), 573-4. On MacCairbre and MacLean see infra, pp. 240-2; MacThàmhais: Gillies, Breadalbane, 359 and infra, n. 64; MacNaughton: Gillies, Breadalbane, 369-70, and Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1, loose document dated 9 February 1469. On the location of Eddergoll, see Gillies, Breadalbane, 383.

26. Gillies, Breadalbane, 360-1, 366-7.

established one, but while all three were prominent, none was a serious contestant in the struggle for pre-eminence which took place between the mid-fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries.

The kindreds chiefly involved in that struggle were the Menzieses, Stewarts of Fortingall, Campbells of Glen Orchy and MacGregors. Probably the unifying characteristic of the period, both in Breadalbane and in Rannoch, was the way in which the Menzieses were squeezed in turn by the other parties.<sup>27</sup> By c.1475 the Stewarts were dominant in the northern half, the Campbells of Glen Orchy in the southern half, of the "central zone". Around 1500, for reasons of its own, the crown intervened and, making no allowance for the prevailing local trends, elevated the Menzies chiefs to control in Appin of Dull and Rannoch at the expense of the Stewarts of Fortingall. The bitter feud which ensued between those kindreds redounded to the benefit of the Campbells of Glen Orchy, and of the MacGregors, who expanded into Rannoch as a consequence. By c.1550 the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors were the most powerful clans throughout the entire "central zone".

Developments in Rannoch formed a quite distinctive phenomenon which must be analysed separately. We shall begin with Breadalbane, dividing our discussion into three sections: first, the waxing of the power of the Campbells of Glen Orchy vis a vis the Menzieses and Stewarts of Fortingall down to c.1550; second, MacGregor expansion into Breadalbane

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27. Cf. supra, p. 89.

in the same period; third, how far and in what respects the expansion of both kindreds is thus revealed to be a coordinated operation.

After 1437 we might reasonably have expected the Menzieses to become the dominant kindred within the northern part of the "central zone" - Rannoch, Upper Strath Tay, Fortingall and Glen Lyon - which largely corresponded to the ancient Appin of Dull. In fact, until the very early sixteenth century they were overshadowed here by the Stewarts of Rannoch, subsequently designated of Fortingall or of Garth. When the exchequer accounts of the crown lands in the "central zone" commence in 1451, Eoin Stewart was already tenant of Fortingall and Rannoch.<sup>28</sup> In 1455 Fortingall was granted to him in feuferm.<sup>29</sup> Between 1467 and 1471 either he or Ailean Stewart were crown tenants of Glen Lyon.<sup>30</sup> The full extent of their influence is defined by 19 year tacks granted to Eoin and Niall, his son and heir, by James III on 4 May 1473, of the lands and bailliary of Rannoch, Appin of Dull, Glen Lyon, Glen Quaich and Strath Braan.<sup>31</sup> Following his father's death in 1475, these tacks were confirmed to Niall for a further 19 years in 1478.<sup>32</sup>

The lands of Lawers, which Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy was occupying rent-free from 1452-3, were later granted to him

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28. ER v (1437-54), 485-6.

29. Stewart, Memorials, facsimile facing p. 14, and 63.

30. ER vii (1460-69), 475, 533; viii (1470-79), 61.

31. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 1353; for Glen Quaich cf. ER ix (1480-87), 296.

32. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 1353. For the prominence of the Stewarts of Fortingall in Strath Ardle at this time, see ibid., nos. 1004, 1122, 1151; Stewart, Memorials, 63-4.

in feuferm.<sup>33</sup> By 16 August 1467 he had also acquired Achrioch in Strath Fillan from a Malcolm Johnsoun whose names probably mark him out as a Macnab.<sup>34</sup> It may have been here that he built the fortress later described as the tower of Strath Fillan.<sup>35</sup> Together Lawers and Achrioch formed the patrimony of Eoin, a younger son of Cailean and first of the Campbells of Lawers, one of the two most important branches to derive from the Glen Orchy stem before 1603. East of Lawers, Cailean acquired tacks of the Port of Loch Tay and the adjacent isle which he either fortified or refortified, and which was one of the strongholds used by his descendants.<sup>36</sup> By the time of his death in 1475, at the tower of Strath Fillan,<sup>37</sup> Campbell ascendancy in the southern half of the "central zone" seems to have been a reality. On 24 February 1476 Cailean earl of Argyll appointed Donnchadh, second head of the Glen Orchy kindred, as his deputy within Deas-fhaire, Tuath-fhaire, Glen Dochart and Glen Falloch,<sup>38</sup> which had been included in a wider-ranging commission of lieutenantry granted to Cailean and two others on 1 December 1475.<sup>39</sup>

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33. ER v (1437-54), 542; RMS iii (1513-46), no. 316.

34. RMS ii (1424-1513), nos. 928, 933.

35. Taymouth Bk., 13.

36. Gillies, Breadalbane, 407. Mr. William Bowie also ascribes to Cailean the acquisition of Achmore and that part of Ardtalnaig not in the hands of the Charterhouse of Perth (Taymouth Bk., 12). In fact Achmore seems first to have been acquired in tack by Cailean's son Donnchadh in 1488 (infra, p 147), while the third of Ardtalnaig was among the lands granted to the sixth Glen Orchy chief Cailean Liath in 1564 (RMS iv (1546-80), no. 1559). In c.1480 it was held by members of the MacThàmhais lineage as crown tenants (ER ix (1480-87), 574); in 1541 by Donnchadh MacThàmhais and two Campbells (ibid., xvii (1537-42), 728).

37. SP ii, 175, n.4.

38. AT

39. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 1210.

By 1475 then, the year in which both Eoin Stewart of Fortingall and Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy died,<sup>40</sup> their kindreds had achieved pre-eminence within the "central zone". The period from 1475 to 1513, when Cailean's son and successor Donnchadh died at Flodden, saw the continued dynamic expansion of the Campbells of Glen Orchy, and hence the increasing impingement of their sphere of influence upon those of the Stewarts of Fortingall and the Menzieses, a process which benefited from the bitter feud between the latter kindreds which permanently affected the Stewarts' position.

Let us begin with the consolidation and extension of Campbell power within the southern part of the "central zone". The earliest detailed crown rental of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire, c.1480, reveals Donnchadh Campbell to be tenant in the Port and Isle of Loch Tay, and in Killalochane in Eddergoll.<sup>41</sup> In 1492 his tenure of these lands, along with the eastern end of Eddergoll adjacent to the lands of Balloch, was converted into feuferm.<sup>42</sup> In c.1480 Donnchadh was also tenant in a group of lands in or near Glen Lochay:- Corrycharmaig, Tullich, Dalgirdy and part of Tirarthur.<sup>43</sup> By 1502 he was additionally tenant of Cloichran, Moiarlannich, Tirai and Kiltyrie, again in or near Glen Lochay, along with the remaining part of Eddergoll not granted to him in feuferm in 1492, and one third of Ardtalnaig in Tuath-fhaire.<sup>44</sup> All these lands remained with him until 1513.<sup>45</sup> We should also note here an Eoin Campbell of

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40. Chron. BDL, 26 September, 10 December.

41. ER ix (1480-87), 573-4.

42. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 2091.

43. ER ix (1480-87), 574.

44. Ibid., xii (1502-7), 641.

45. Ibid., 684, xiii (1508-13), 628-9: xiv (1513-22), 489.

le Crag, first on record in 1508.<sup>46</sup> If le Crag is to be identified with Craig (or Baile na Creige) which formed part of the lands held by the Charterhouse in Ardtalnaig,<sup>47</sup> then Eoin was a tenant of the Charterhouse there.

Donnchadh also bought out other Breadalbane proprietors, presumably in part because of wealth and his political influence and connections.<sup>48</sup> Between 1494 and 1508 he acquired Edravinoch and Ledcharry in Glen Dochart from Domhnall Cristesone, Finlarig from John Lord Drummond and James Muschet of Tolgarth, and (by means of an exchange of lands) Balloch, Acharn and Shian from John Stewart of Ardgowan.<sup>49</sup> On 16 May 1513 all these lands, with the addition of Wester Murlagan (also called Murlaganmore) in Glen Lochay, were confirmed to Donnchadh by James IV and incorporated into the free barony of Finlarig.<sup>50</sup>

Let us now consider the gains made by the Campbells of Glen Orchy at the expense of the Menzieses and Stewarts of Fortingall between 1475 and 1513. The most important was Glen Lyon, where the Stewarts were the tenants and baillies of the crown lands, and the Menzieses were crown tenants-in-chief in the lands of Roro and Comrie. In October 1488, Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy, Niall Stewart of Fortingall, and Raibeart Menzies of Weem, were all in Edinburgh for the first

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46. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/34.

47. Supra, p. 64.

48. Cf. supra, pp. 114-5.

49. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/68, 22 June 1494; RMS ii (1424-1513), nos. 2717, 3223; AT, 24 May 1508, and RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3232.

50. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3847.

parliament of James IV's reign.<sup>51</sup> On the 15th, Donnchadh and Niall made an indenture which defines their respective spheres of influence and the nature of their relationship from that time forth.<sup>52</sup> What the document reveals is that Donnchadh had obtained a tack of the kirk of Dull, and tacks of the bailliary and fees of Rannoch, Appin of Dull, and Glen Quaich, all of which had previously pertained to Niall. In order to secure the surrender of these tacks, Niall became bound to give over to Donnchadh the lands and bailliary of Glen Lyon, along with £100. Thus Appin of Dull, Rannoch, Glen Quaich, Strath Ardle, Strath Braan, and the kirk of Dull now pertained to Niall; Deas-fhaire, Tuath-fhaire, Glen Dochart, Glen Lyon and Glen Lochay, to Donnchadh. They agreed not to trouble each other in their tacks of the same, by legal or extra-legal means, in future, but to "stand-in awfald kyndnes" for their lifetimes. In particular, Niall would not interfere with Donnchadh's possession of Glen Lyon.

We cannot be certain when and how Donnchadh obtained the tacks which he was able to exchange for Glen Lyon, but the most likely explanation lies in the contemporary political situation. Cailean earl of Argyll had been reinstated to the chancellorship immediately after James III's death at Sauchieburn on 11 June 1488.<sup>53</sup> On 15 June he was among the recipients of a far-reaching commission concerning the crown lands, including powers to set vacant lands, and to prolong or shorten existing tacks.<sup>54</sup> A bond of manrent made by Niall Stewart to John earl of Atholl

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51. Nicholson, Later Middle Ages, 532.

52. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/1/24 (printed Taymouth Bk., 177-8).

53. Nicholson, Later Middle Ages, 525, 532.

54. ER x (1488-1496), 629-30.



in 1478 had provided that in the event of a royal hosting, Niall would participate under the earl's banner.<sup>55</sup> If Niall had been among the Atholl men who fought under the earl for James III at Sauchieburn,<sup>56</sup> he may well have been politically vulnerable in October 1488.

On 21 October, still in Edinburgh, Raibeart Menzies of Weem granted Donnchadh Campbell his lands of Achmore (in Tuath-fhaire near the west end of Loch Tay) in liferent, "for his gret kyndnes favor help and suple done and to be done to me in all my actionis ... movit or to be movit".<sup>57</sup> Thereupon Donnchadh gave Raibeart his bond of manrent, and bound himself not to oppress the tenants of Raibeart's lands of Achmore, Morenish and Crannach, and of his lands on the River Lyon, the bailliary of all of which Raibeart had granted him.<sup>58</sup>

It seems curious that Raibeart, apparently under obligation to Donnchadh in the first document, should receive his bond of manrent in the second, unless that bond was made with special reference to the situation in these particular lands. Nevertheless, the overall effect of these transactions in Edinburgh is clear. The sphere of influence of the Campbells of Glen Orchy now embraced Glen Lyon. Donnchadh Campbell was tenant and baillie of the crown lands there, and baillie of the Menzies lands - Roro and Comrie - on the River Lyon. On 7 September 1502

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55. Stewart, Memorials, 74-5 and facsimile.

56. Nicholson, Later Middle Ages, 529.

57. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/ii/9.

58. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 704, no. 177.

the crown lands of Glen Lyon were set in feuferm to him by James IV.<sup>59</sup> These, along with the 24 merkland of the third of Lorn, became the patrimony of Donnchadh's son Gill-easbuig,<sup>60</sup> progenitor of the Campbells of Glen Lyon, after the Campbells of Lawers the most important branch of the Glen Orchy kindred in existence before 1603.

Donnchadh Campbell's position as baillie of the Menzies lands of Achmore, Morenish, Crannach, Roro and Comrie after 1488 went hand in hand with an actual Campbell presence in most of these lands. Achmore (granted to Donnchadh in liferent in 1488), part of Morenish, and Crannach seem to have been wadset to Donnchadh and his successors on a more or less continuous basis, and were normally occupied by the Glen Orchy ruling family or scions thereof.<sup>61</sup> The connection with Crannach, in fact, went back to at least 1479.<sup>62</sup> Morenish came to be divided into three

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59. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 2668.

60. Taymouth Bk., 15-16.

61. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iii, 29 June 1515; GD 50/186/I/iv/47, 48 f. 1r, nos. 2, 5; GD 50/186/II/vi/10. Cf. also *infra*, p. 210. Crannach was granted by Menzies to Donnchadh Campbell by charters dated 13 January 1510 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/36) and 18 September 1511 (RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3646) and was among the lands incorporated into the barony of Finlarig and granted to Donnchadh by James IV in 1513 (*ibid.*, no. 3847). But on 19 September 1511 Donnchadh granted Menzies letters of reversion in respect of Crannach (MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/47, 48 f. 1r, no. 5).

62. ADA, 73: Donnchadh Campbell and his spouse Catherine; ADC i, 40: Donnchadh Campbell and his spouse Elizabeth daughter of Patrick. If the same Donnchadh was involved on each occasion then he must have remarried in the interim (12 March x 4 November). He cannot be identified with Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy, whose known spouses include neither an Elizabeth nor a Catherine. Perhaps he might be identified with Donnchadh Campbell of Morenish (*infra*, p. 149).

parts:- easter, middle and wester.<sup>63</sup> Donnchadh Campbell of Morenish appears on record in 1503.<sup>64</sup> He should almost certainly be identified with Donnchadh Campbell of Easter Morenish on record in 1514,<sup>65</sup> and hence is not to be confused with Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy himself (d.1513), but regarded as another member of the ruling family. It was Easter Morenish which the Campbells of Glen Orchy continued to occupy.<sup>66</sup> At Roro, lack of evidence makes it impossible to demonstrate a Campbell presence before 1565, but it may have commenced well before then.<sup>67</sup>

Finally, there are two other, albeit slight pointers to further Campbell expansion into the territories of the Menzieses and Stewarts of Fortingall between 1475 and 1513. On 24 November 1495, Kinloch, Turrerich and Tirchardie in Glen Quaich were leased to Eoin Campbell of Lawers.<sup>68</sup> Although apparently restored to Niall Stewart of Fortingall on 21 January 1497,<sup>69</sup> they were ultimately to be granted to the then head of the Lawers kindred in 1540.<sup>70</sup> In Upper Strath Tay, Donnchadh

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63. *Infra*, p.170.

64. *AT*, 2 July. The Donnchadh MacThàmhais, also of Morenish, mentioned in this document, should almost certainly be identified with the Donnchadh MacThàmhais who was a tenant of Raibeart Menzies of Weem in half of his lands of Morenish in 1491 (*ADA*, 156, where his name is given as Duncan mawiss, because of the loss of what was probably originally a superscript *c*).

65. *MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs)*, SRO GD50/186/I/iii, 28 March.

66. *Infra*, p. 170.

67. *Infra*, p. 171.

68. *ER x (1488-96)*, 762.

69. *Infra*, p. 177.

70. *RMS iii (1513-46)*, no. 2159.

and Marion Campbell were among the tenants of Aberfeldy and Dalrawer in 1484,<sup>71</sup> while Menzies of Weem took action against Eoin Campbell MacThàmhais in 1499 for wrongful occupation of his lands of Torouchane.<sup>72</sup>

The extension in the lands held by the Campbells of Glen Orchy between 1475 and 1513 had its corollary in the wider role they now performed as the agents of central government. Between 1 July 1479 and 21 July 1480 Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy acted as chamberlain of the crown lands of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire.<sup>73</sup> An act concerning local justice made by the parliament of October 1488 apparently left Donnchadh responsible for Glen Orchy, Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire, Niall Stewart of Fortingall for Rannoch, Appin of Dull and Glen Lyon, and Iomhar Campbell of Strachur for Glen Falloch.<sup>74</sup> But the contemporary transactions which brought Donnchadh the crown lands of Glen Lyon and the bailliary of the entire glen were confirmed in 1498, when James IV granted him the bailliary of Deas-fhaire, Tuath-fhaire, Glen Lyon, and the barony of Glen Dochart.<sup>75</sup> By the terms of a remission granted to Donnchadh in 1501, he was made responsible for the future good rule of the inhabitants of Deas-fhaire, Tuath-fhaire, Glen Lyon, Glen Dochart, Glen Lochay and Glen Quaich.<sup>76</sup> In 1497 he was even granted the bailliary of Appin of Dull in succession to Niall Stewart of Fortingall, but in 1502 this role was assigned to the Menzies chief.<sup>77</sup>

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71. ADC i, 90\*.

72. ADC ii, 320.

73. ER ix (1480-87), 10-11.

74. APS ii (1424-1567), 208b.

75. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 2448.

76. RSS i (1488-1529), no. 698.

77. ADC ii, 89, 313; *infra*, p. 178.

Let us summarise the position achieved by the Campbells of Glen Orchy by 1513. Their sphere of influence now consisted of the lordship of Glen Orchy, the lordship of Glen Dochart, Deas-fhaire, Tuath-fhaire, Glen Lochay and Glen Lyon. Besides Kilchurn Castle they held fortresses at Strath Fillan, Finlarig and the Isle of Loch Tay, where the building work carried out by the first laird was substantially enlarged upon by his son Donnchadh, probably out of necessity following the destruction wrought by a fire on Palm Sunday 1509.<sup>78</sup>

In terms of specific lands with which they were associated, whether as baillies, tenants-in-chief, or tenants, the presence of the Campbells of Glen Orchy seems to have been strongest at either end of Loch Tay (Finlarig and Achmore at the west end; Port and Isle of Loch Tay, Balloch, Eddergoll and Acharn at the east end), in all of Glen Lochay except Duncroisk and Easter Murlagan (Murlaganbeg), and in Glen Lyon. In the lordship of Glen Dochart (although we should remember that Finlarig was a part thereof, and lay very close to the lordship's spiritual and administrative caput, Killin) their presence was light:- the tower of Strath Fillan, Achrioch, Ledcharry and Edravinoch. The Campbell of Glen Orchy's status as crown baillies and lieutenants here probably depended on the far stronger physical presence of the Campbells of Strachur and Glen Falloch who had a strategically important fortress at the Isle of Loch Dochart.<sup>79</sup> The presence of the Campbells of Glen Orchy was stronger in Deas-fhaire (Tirarthur, Morenish, Kiltyrie,

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78. Chron. BDL; Taymouth Bk.,

79. Cf. *infra*, pp. 246, 257.

Crannach and the Port and Isle of Loch Tay) than in Tuath-fhaire (Cloichran, one third of Ardtalnaig, (?) le Crag and Acharn. Finally, there was a very light presence in Glen Quaich (Shian, and the apparently short-lived tenure of other lands by Eoin Campbell of Lawers) and Upper Strath Tay (Dalrawer, (?) Torouchane).

The fact that the position achieved by the first two heads of the Glen Orchy kindred in the "central zone" by 1513 remained substantially unaltered until the death of Eoin, the fifth laird, in 1550, is one of the surest signs of the stagnation of the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy within that period.<sup>80</sup> The third, fourth and fifth chiefs did at least manage to keep what their predecessors had gained. True, a comparison of the crown rental of 1541 with that of c.1480<sup>81</sup> seems to indicate a contraction in the lands held by the Glen Orchy chiefs in Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire. It may be that those tenants occupying lands leased to previous lairds of Glen Orchy were in some way dependent upon Eoin Campbell, laird in 1541. But equally one might argue that the influence achieved by John earl of Atholl in Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire c.1536<sup>82</sup> may have undermined the position of the Campbells of Glen Orchy sufficiently as to allow smaller lineages and kin-groups to come to the fore. Part of that influence rested on James V's grant of the Glen Lochay lands to the earl in 1536;<sup>83</sup> and Glen

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80. *Supra*, pp. 118-122.

81. *ER* ix (1480-87), 573-4; *ibid*, xvii (1537-42), 727-9.

82. *Supra*, pp. 120-1.

83. *RMS* iii (1513-46), no. 1596.

Lochay was the most notable zone of apparent contraction in the lands held by the Glen Orchy chiefs in 1541. The major beneficiary was the MacCairbre lineage, and it was to Donnchadh MacCairbre rather than Campbell of Glen Orchy that James V had granted Murlaganbeg in Glen Lochay in 1530.<sup>84</sup>

Atholl's influence seems to have been short-lived, however, and by 1544 the crown lands in Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire had been set in tack to Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy by the earl of Argyll.<sup>85</sup>

Nevertheless, it is quite clear that any dynamism displayed by the Glen Orchy kindred between 1513 and 1550 emanated from sources other than its chiefs. It was Seumas Campbell, the head of the Lawers branch, who acquired Duncroisk in Glen Lochay before 3 March 1531,<sup>86</sup> and, before 4 June 1540, the lands held briefly by his father in Glen Quaich c.1495, along with the superiority of Carwhin in Deas-fhaire. By this same charter all their possessions in the "central zone" were incorporated into the free baronies of Achinrevach and Lawers.<sup>87</sup> On 28 February 1543 Seumas also acquired Auchtertyre in Strath Fillan, set in feuferm to him by John Gray, prior of the monastery or chapel royal of Strath Fillan.<sup>88</sup>

It was also in the 1540s that Cailean Liath, soon to be the sixth chief of the Glen Orchy kindred, began to emerge as a power in his own right. In the crown rental of 1541 he was tenant of several lands in Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire,<sup>89</sup> and was

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84. *Ibid.*, no. 941; see also *infra*, p. 241.

85. *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/1/2/60.

86. *RMS iii* (1513-46), no. 994.

87. *Ibid.*, no. 2159.

88. *Ibid.*, no. 2993.

89. *ER xvii* (1537-42), 728-9.

probably made chamberlain of the entire lordship at the same time, an office he seems to have held until his death.<sup>90</sup> By 1541 he also held the Menzies lands of Crannach, either of his brother Eoin as intermediary or directly of Menzies himself;<sup>91</sup> and at some point before 17 January 1548 he became his brother's tenant in Acharn.<sup>92</sup>

We turn now to consider in detail the MacGregor expansion into the "central zone" between 1437 and c.1550 outlined briefly in the previous chapter. Since expansion went hand in hand with the subdivision of a kindred into distinct lineages or kin-groups, each of which had the potential to assume its own identity,<sup>93</sup> it is by consideration of those lineages that the phenomenon can most naturally and readily be analysed. The survival of source material, particularly for the critical phase in the later fifteenth century, is poor, but to some extent this can be remedied by the use of relevant evidence drawn from after 1550.

All the evidence suggests that the major artery through which the MacGregors expanded into the "central zone" was Glen Lyon. This tends to marginalise further the significance of the appearance of the three MacGregors at Killin in the inquisition of 1428.<sup>94</sup> If that document does imply early MacGregor settlement in the lordship of Glen Dochart, then with one exception it remains the only evidence thereof before the mid-sixteenth century.

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90. *Infra*, p. 208.

91. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/54.

92. *Ibid.*, GD112/2/3A.

93. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 104-5, 202.

94. *Supra*, pp. 48-9.



As an avenue eastwards Glen Lyon was a logical choice. At their westernmost point the lands of Glen Lyon marched directly with the north-eastern boundary of the lordship of Glen Orchy.<sup>95</sup> At or near the head of Glen Orchy itself lie Loch Tulla and Achadh Innis Chalaínn (now Auch) which both saw apparently early settlement by the MacGregor ruling family.<sup>96</sup> Achadh Innis Chalaínn affords easy access to the head of Glen Lyon by means of the pass which runs between Beinn Dòrain and Beinn a'Chaisteil. From the viewpoint of their kindred to the west, the MacGregors already established at Fortingall, at the other end of Glen Lyon, may well have acted as a magnet towards which they gravitated, and a bridge-head to settlement beyond.

We can assemble a chain of references concerning Eoin Dubh, MacGregor chief from 1461, which demonstrate that by his death in 1519 his sphere of influence was regarded as embracing Glen Lyon, and, at the east end of Loch Tay, Balloch. A panegyric composed within that period describes Eoin Dubh as seabhag deídghéal na dtri ngleann, 'white-toothed hawk of the three glens', and of the two glens named within the poem, Glen Lyon is one.<sup>97</sup> We have suggested that one of Eoin Dubh's two known wives, inghean Eoin mheic Ghill-Easbuig ... Ealasaíd a Gleann Líomhunn, 'the daughter of Eoin son of Gill-easbuig ... Ealasaíd from Glen Lyon', was a Campbell. Since we have no evidence of a physical Campbell presence in Glen Lyon before the

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95. MacFarlane, Geog. Coll. ii, 563.

96. Supra, p. 132 and n. 338.

97. Watson, Scottish Verse, 204-5, v. 4; 206-7, v.11.

sixteenth century, the probability is that she was a resident rather than a native thereof. The implication, that Eoin Dubh had a residence in Glen Lyon, is supported by the fact that his son and heir Maol-Coluim died there in 1498.<sup>98</sup> Another eulogy of Eoin Dubh composed between 1461 and 1519 refers to teaghlach airmghéar/Mheic Ghriogóir i mBealach, 'the keen-weaponed household of MacGregor in Balloch'.<sup>99</sup> The association of the MacGregors with Balloch, which lasted until 1552, proved strong enough to give rise to a proverb: Bealach nan laogh aig deagh MhacGriogair, 'Balloch of the calves, in the possession of good MacGregor'.<sup>100</sup>

Genealogical analysis provides conclusive confirmation of Glen Lyon's role. Later sources refer to the existence of a Clann (or Sliochd) Donnchaidh Lìobhunnaich, 'the clan (or race) of Donnchadh of Glen Lyon', from whom most of the important MacGregor kin-groups within the "central zone" descended:- those of Roro in Glen Lyon itself, Fearnan in Deas-fhaire, Ardeonaig in Tuath-fhaire, and Rannoch.<sup>101</sup>

We shall see that Donnchadh Lìobhunnach probably flourished not long before c.1450.<sup>102</sup> Clearly it was in his person that Clann Griogair established itself on the ground in Glen Lyon, before mushrooming outwards very swiftly in the persons of his

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98. Chron. BDL, 22 June.

99. Watson, Scottish Verse, 144-5, v.7.

100. Gillies, Breadalbane, 121-2.

101. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/196a; RPC vi (1599-1604), 403 (where for 'Sleghand raice', read 'slegh [sliochd] and raice'); MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 7 September 1565.

102. Infra, p. 160.

immediate descendants to establish itself on Loch Tayside and in Rannoch.

The earliest probable references to a MacGregor in the "central zone" after 1450 are to Pàdraig mac Ghille-Choluim, keeper of the royal forest of Mamlorn between 1457 and 1462.<sup>103</sup> Mamlorn lies between the head of Glen Lyon and Glen Lochay. In 1462 it was part of the lordship of Glen Lyon,<sup>104</sup> while by 1476 it was being administered in two parts, one going with Deas-fhaire and the other with Glen Lyon.<sup>105</sup> Pàdraig is the earliest recorded member of the kindred of Donnchadh Làdasach, which was very prominent in the affairs of the clan as a whole by the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>106</sup> Pàdraig's successors were both keepers and tenants of Mamlorn, and tenants of Corrycharmaig in Glen Lochay proper, apparently on an hereditary basis.<sup>107</sup> Pàdraig himself was probably crown tenant of Mamlorn,<sup>108</sup> which, although waste in the rental of c.1480,<sup>109</sup> seems to have been held by a Pàdraig

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103. ER vi (1455-60), 411 (Patricius McGilcallum); vii (1460-69), 111-2, 204 (Patricius Malcomesone); J.M. Gilbert, Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland (Edinburgh, 1979), 135, where however it is wrongly assumed that Patricius McGilcallum and Patricius Malcomesone are distinct. Malcolmus, or Colmus, was the most common late-medieval Latin equivalent for Gaelic Gille-Coluim (Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 120). Hence Malcomesone is clearly a rendering into Scots of mac Ghille-Choluim.
104. ER vii (1460-69), 113.
105. Ibid., viii (1470-79), 336-7, 608.
106. Supra, pp. 127-8, 130; infra, pp. 285, 290-4.
107. Infra, pp. 233-4.
108. Since the fermes allowed in the exchequer accounts after Mamlorn was restored to forest were equivalent to Pàdraig's fee as a forester it may be that his position was that of a tenant receiving remission of his fermes in respect of the office he held (ER vi (1455-60), 306, 410-11; vii (1460-69), 111-3, 204. But cf. Gilbert, op.cit., 41).
109. ER ix (1480-87), 574.

MacGregor, who can safely be assumed to be a descendant of Pàdraig mac Ghille-Choluim, in the rental of 1541.<sup>110</sup> Pàdraig was also tenant of Corrycharmaig in 1541,<sup>111</sup> and this connection may have commenced in Pàdraig mac Ghille-Choluim's time.<sup>112</sup> We do not know if the same applies to the lands of Wester Ardchyle in Glen Dochart, first associated with the lineage on 12 October 1551,<sup>113</sup> and subsequently held by its head of the chief of the Campbells of Strachur and Glen Falloch.

At this point we can depart briefly from chronological sequence to deal with two other MacGregor kin-groups present in Glen Lochay by the first half of the sixteenth century. The first was descended from an Eoin Dubh, described in 1528 as "Johannes Dubh Duncanson M<sup>C</sup>Gregour in Murlaganmore in Glen Lochay ... natural son of umquhile Duncan M<sup>C</sup>Gregour".<sup>114</sup> While it is possible to suggest that he was a member of Clann Donnchaidh Lìobhunnaich,<sup>115</sup> he is not claimed as such by later genealogical accounts, which assert instead that his lineage derived from the MacGregors of Brackley.<sup>116</sup> Hence he was presumably a son of Donnchadh MacGregor of Brackley who died

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110. ER xvii (1537-42), 727. Mamlorn is here called Balmakan (Baile Mhic Eoin) an alternative designation it had developed (*ibid.*, 482).

111. *Ibid.*, 727.

112. *Infra*, pp. 170-1.

113. Highland Papers iv, 32-3.

114. RMS iii (1513-46), no. 591.

115. *Infra*, p. 162 n. 133.

116. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/196a, where Gregoure Beg M<sup>C</sup> Ean Duy comes under Gregor MakEanis hous, the MacGregors of Brackley.

in 1518.<sup>117</sup> By the later sixteenth century Eoin Dubh's descendants seem to have adopted his name as their surname, and to have moved from Murlaganmore to Duncroisk (opposite Corrycharmaig) and Kenknock, further up Glen Lochay.<sup>118</sup>

The other lineage, known as Clann Mhic Eoin Ruaidh, only comes on record in 1568 (by which time a part thereof was already settled in the vicinity of Glen Lednock),<sup>119</sup> but was presumably established here at least a generation before then. It was also based at Duncroisk, and hence may have been connected to, or derived from, the kindred of Eoin Dubh.<sup>120</sup>

After 1457 x 1462, the next two references to MacGregors in the "central zone" concern Glen Lyon. On 9 February 1469 Eoin mac Mhaoil-Choluim mhic Ghriogair compeared at Killin before the baillie-court of Glen Dochart concerning a dispute over the lands of Correheyman, the fermes of which were being demanded by Margaret Stirling, spouse of Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy, but which Eoin claimed to have leased from deor de mesar.<sup>121</sup> Correheyman is probably to be identified with Coire Eòghannan, near the head of Glen Lyon.<sup>122</sup>

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117. Chron. BDL, 19 July.

118. E.g., MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 1 August 1587: Duncane Our MackEan Duy in Duncroisk; Gregor Beg MackEan Duy in Kenknock, cf. RPC iv (1585-92), 454.

119. Supra, pp. 98-9.

120. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/34: Clan V<sup>C</sup>Ane Roy; GD112/2/117/57/2/7: Gregor M<sup>C</sup>Ane Roy and Malcum M<sup>C</sup>Ane Roy (31 July 1568). On its location, see MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 1 July 1587; Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 57-8, 68-9; RPC iv (1585-92), 454.

121. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1, loose document: Johannes M<sup>C</sup>Molcalum M<sup>C</sup>Gregor. On attempts to interpret deor de mesar see Gillies, Breadalbane, 80, and cf. RMS viii (1620-33), no. 198: Dewar-Namais.

122. Macfarlane, Geog. Coll ii, 563.

In an exchequer account of 4 July 1471, the fermes of 10½ merklands of Glen Lyon were stated to be resting on a Donnchadh Beag for the year of the account and four years one term preceding, implying that his tenure had begun at least as early as the Martinmas term of 1465/6.<sup>123</sup> Donnchadh Beag is surnamed MacGregor on 13 May 1472<sup>124</sup> and in the notice of his death which took place at Roro on 17 February 1478.<sup>125</sup> Since Roro was not crown demesne but had long been held by the Menzieses of Weem as crown tenants-in-chief, it must have been other lands in Glen Lyon which Donnchadh Beag was specified as holding between 1465/6 and 1471.

Donnchadh Beag is the first identifiable member of Clann Donnchaidh Lìobhunnaich on record, but is not necessarily to be regarded as its eponym, for the epithet he bears makes it probable that he was the son of a Donnchadh Mór who might equally be identified with Donnchadh Lìobhunnach. Donnchadh Mór - if such there was - must have flourished in the latter part of the first half of the fifteenth century, and we would need to assume that he established himself in Glen Lyon within that period. It might be objected that he has left no trace in the surviving contemporary records, scanty though they are. But what does seem to favour his identification with Donnchadh Làdasach is the fact that, as we shall see, Niall Breac, Uisdean and Uilleam, with whom the Fearnan, Ardeonaig and Rannoch branches of Clann Donnchaidh Lìobhunnaich seem to have respectively originated, were more likely to have been brothers of Donnchadh Beag than his sons.<sup>126</sup> Hence the most attractive (though tentative) reconstruction, for

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123. ER viii (1470-79), 61.

124. Stewart, Memorials, 70-2 and facsimile.

125. Chron. BDL.

126. Infra, pp. 163, 164, 174.

which parallels could readily be adduced,<sup>127</sup> would equate Donnchadh Lìobhunnach with Donnchadh Mór, father of Donnchadh Beag, Niall Breac, Uisdean and Uilleam, from whom the branches at Roro, Fearnan, Ardeonaig and Rannoch derived respectively.

The Roro kindred, described as a "house and branch" in its own right in a document of late 1566 or early 1567,<sup>128</sup> was the most important component of Clann Donnchaidh Lìobhunnaich, which makes it likely that Donnchadh Beag was the eldest son of Donnchadh Mór. After Donnchadh Beag's death in 1478 his descendants continued to occupy Roro<sup>129</sup> while expanding into other parts of Glen Lyon and into Loch Tayside. Possibly a son of Donnchadh Beag was Eoin mac Dhonnchaidh, who was already leasing the eastern part of Eddergoll near Balloch c.1480,<sup>130</sup> and who died at Balloch in 1492.<sup>131</sup> We saw that the MacGregor chief Eoin Dubh had a residence at Balloch and it may be that Eoin was its keeper. He does not appear to have had any progeny, for by the mid-sixteenth century Balloch was occupied by a different MacGregor lineage.<sup>132</sup> Definitely sons of Donnchadh Beag were Griogair and Pàdraig, who died in 1503 and 1522 respectively

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127. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 104, 202.

128. MacGregor Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1, 14 December 1566.

129. Chron. Fortingall, 20 October 1503, April 1515, 4 May 1544, 16 January 1555; RSS ii (1529-42), no. 2152, p. 321.

130. ER ix (1480-87), 573: Johannes Duncansone.

131. Chron. BDL, 10 March.

132. Infra, p. 166.

at Morenish in Deas-fhaire<sup>133</sup> - probably Wester Morenish, since we know that Pàdraig's son Alasdair Odhar held it in tack of Menzies of Weem.<sup>134</sup> This lineage came to an end with Alasdair Odhar ( d.1551), and by the later sixteenth century Wester Morenish was held by a scion of the MacGregor ruling family.<sup>135</sup>

Within Glen Lyon itself, the lineages which come on record at Slatich and Invervar, just below Roro, in the first half of the sixteenth century, were presumably offshoots of the Roro kindred, and may have become established in these lands c.1550 or before. Griogair mac Eoin Mhaoil died at Easter Invervar in 1525:<sup>136</sup> there was still a MacGregor presence here in 1587.<sup>137</sup> The wife, daughter and son of Alasdair mac Mhaoil-Choluim mhic Ghriogair died at Slatich in 1543, 1544 and 1568 respectively.<sup>138</sup> Finally, two lineages - those of Eòghan mac Dhonnchaidh mhic Ghriogair and Eoin Cam mac Dhonnchaidh mhic Ghriogair, who may have been brothers - seem to have had residences both at Roro, and, by the second half of the sixteenth century and probably

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133. Chron. BDL, 10 September 1503; Chron. Fortingall, October 1522. Pàdraig is mentioned in a precept of remission in 1507, along with his brother Eoin Dubh (RSS i (1488-1529), no. 1503). The latter may be the John Dow Makgregour Duncansone on record in 1531 along with Donnchadh MacGregor his brother in Morenish (MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 10 October 1531), but is apparently not to be identified with the Johannes Dow Duncansoun on record in Glen Lochay in 1528 (*supra*,

134. *Infra*, pp. 287-8.

135. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vii/26.

136. Chron. BDL, 15 March.

137. MacGregor, Coll (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 1 August 1587.

138. Chron. Fortingall, 20 February 1543, 1544, 13 April 1568.



earlier, at Fortingall (at Croftgarbh and Tulaich a'Mhuilinn respectively) at the mouth of Glen Lyon.<sup>139</sup>

South of Fortingall in Deas-fhaire, the ramifications of the MacGregors occupying the Robertson lands of Fearnan began with Eòghan, Eoin and Griogair, the three recorded sons of a Niall Breac.<sup>140</sup> The latter must have flourished in the second half of the fifteenth century, and hence was probably a brother of Donnchadh Beag who died at Roro in 1478.

Eoin and Griogair were already in possession of Stronfearnan by 29 April 1510.<sup>141</sup> Eoin, who died at Fearnan in 1525,<sup>142</sup> should probably be identified with the John Neilson(e) on record in documents of 1487 and 1494 concerning lands in Glen Dochart, in the company of MacGregors of Roro and Dubhghall, father of the dean of Lismore.<sup>143</sup> Griogair witnessed a document again involving members of these kindreds<sup>144</sup> shortly before his death on 2 May

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139. The lineage of Eòghan : Chron. Fortingall, 16 January 1555; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 5 July 1587: Duncan M<sup>c</sup>Kewin M<sup>c</sup>Condoquhie in Croftgarrow. The lineage of Eoin Cam: Chron. Fortingall, 4 May 1544; Coll. de Rebus Alban., 32; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 8 April 1584; RPC iv (1585-92), 454: Duncane M<sup>c</sup>Ean Cham in Tullichmullen.
140. Eòghan is attested in the obit. of his son, Uisdean mac Eòghain mhic Néill, at Fearnan on 19 April 1525 (Chron. BDL).
141. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/38 (printed Taymouth Bk., 179).
142. Chron. BDL, 16 October.
143. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/34, 22 March 1487; GD112/2/68, 7 July 1494. For the identification of Gregor Duncanson and his son Eugenius, witnesses to the latter document, as MacGregors of Roro, see Chron. Fortingall, 20 October 1503, April 1515. for the involvement of Dubhghall, see Appendix II, pt. ii.
144. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/14. The notary was Seumas MacGregor, dean of Lismore. The witnesses included Patrick Duncansone, probably to be identified with Pàdraig, son of Donnchadh Beag, who died at Morenish in October 1522 (Chron. Fortingall).

1512.<sup>145</sup> A son of his, Maol-Coluim Cam, died at Tegarmuchd in the Appin of Dull in 1521.<sup>146</sup> By the later sixteenth century MacGregors of Fearnan were also at Culdairs in neighbouring Fortingall.<sup>147</sup>

On 9 February 1524, Eoin Malach mac Uisdein died at Tullochcan,<sup>148</sup> part of the Napier lands of Ardeonaig in Tuath-fhaire.<sup>149</sup> Uisdean must have flourished in the later fifteenth century, and was probably, like Niall Breac, a brother of Donnchadh Beag of Roro. But it may well have been his son who first settled at Ardeonaig, for it was the name Eoin Malach which their descendants were using as their surname by the late sixteenth century.<sup>150</sup> We find members of the kin-group acting in tandem with MacGregors of Fearnan in 1552, and with MacGregors of Glen Lednock and Clann Mhic Eoin Ruaidh in 1569.<sup>151</sup> This last is obviously connected with the fact that, as with Clann Mhic Eoin Ruaidh, a branch of the Ardeonaig MacGregors became established at Comrie near Glen Lednock in the late sixteenth century,<sup>152</sup> possibly because of lack of opportunity for further

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145. At Crannach, according to Chron. BDL. Under the same date Chron. Fortingall records the deaths of Gregor Neilson at Fearnan and Gregor McNeyll at Crannach. The document cited in n. 144 concerned Crannach, but there is no later evidence to show that the MacGregors of Fearnan were present there.
146. Chron. Fortingall, 24 January.
147. RPC iv (1585-92), 454: Gregour MCHucheon in Couldar.
148. Chron. Fortingall. Malach means 'large-browed' or 'forbidding'.
149. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3347.
150. Arch. Scotica iii (1831), 326, n.(a); MacGregor, Coll (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0, GD50/187/2, September 1580 and Dunblane Testaments, 135; Duncan Makinvallich alias McGregor, and his children, Donald, Patrick, Elizabeth, Jonat and Marion M<sup>C</sup>Invallichis.
151. Taymouth Bk., 195-6; Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/2/117/57/1/34.
152. Supra, pp. 98-9.

expansion at Ardeonaig itself.<sup>153</sup> Even so, the MacEoin Mhalaiche MacGregors of Ardeonaig and Comrie continued to be regarded as a single entity.<sup>154</sup>

Down to c.1550 we can trace the continuous settlement of the family of the dean of Lismore at their base in Fortingall - to which their apparent progenitor had come c.1406, well in advance of the main MacGregor expansion eastwards via Glen Lyon - and a gravitation on their part to Loch Tayside, and, especially latterly, down Strath Tay. Indeed it seems to have been a branch of this family which settled in Perth in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>155</sup> By the early sixteenth century the kindred had residences at Tulaich a'Mhuilinn, Garth and Ardtrasgart, all at Fortingall.<sup>156</sup> Seumas MacGregor, the dean of Lismore, was described as vicar of Fortingall and lessee of the church lands there in his obit in Chron. Fortingall in 1551,<sup>157</sup> while his son Dubhghall built a new house beside the church in the summer of 1558.<sup>158</sup>

Seumas and his father before him were tenants of the Drummond lands of Wester Stix, near the junctions of Tay and Lyon, apparently from c.1480.<sup>159</sup> Seumas's son Griogair was resident

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153. Infra, pp. 300, 308-9.

154. RPC iv (1585-92), 454.

155. Supra, p. 111.

156. Chron. BDL, 22 July 1511, 9 October 1511, 15 February 1525. For Ardtrasgart's location at Fortingall see Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/6/365.

157. St. Lucia's Day [13 December].

158. Chron. Fortingall.

159. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, filed under 12 April 1532 but recte 12 April 1542.

there in 1552,<sup>160</sup> but the connection seems to have been severed by 27 November 1564.<sup>161</sup> The presence of two of Seumas's brothers, Eoin and Uilleam, at Fearnan and Bolfracks (the latter in Upper Strath Tay) respectively, almost certainly predated 1550.<sup>162</sup> In the crown rental of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire of 11 April 1541, a third brother, Griogair, was joint tenant of Cloichran in Tuath-fhaire, and tenant of Skiag near Balloch.<sup>163</sup> At that time he was also one of the tenants of the church lands of Inchadin.<sup>164</sup> He himself was based at Balloch,<sup>165</sup> quite possibly as the keeper of the residence of the MacGregor chief there. He also held lands in Upper Strath Tay,<sup>166</sup> and it was in this direction that he moved after his displacement from Balloch in 1552, dying at Carsdull on 1 May 1555.<sup>167</sup> His own son Seumas resided at Drumdewan,<sup>168</sup> part of the half of the church lands of Dull of which he was tacksman,<sup>169</sup> conceivably in succession to his father; and Seumas's own sons lived in the Appin of Dull.<sup>170</sup>

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160. Manrent Bk. (Cailean Liath), ff. 3v-4r.

161. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

162. For Eoin and other of his relations at Fearnan, see Chron. Fortingall, 12 January 1556, 16 May 1564, 31 January 1566. For Uilleam and his wife at Bolfracks, see *ibid.*, 26 January and 16 June 1557.

163. ER xvii (1537-42), 728-9. On the location of Skiag [Balnaskiag], see Gillies, Breadalbane, 381.

164. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/54.

165. Chron. Fortingall, 3 September 1549, Whitsunday [5 June] 1552.

166. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzie's Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vii/1.

167. Chron. Fortingall.

168. Manrent Book (Donnchadh Dubh), f.28r: Johne MakJames VekGregour.

169. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 17 February 1562, 28 July 1571, 18 Decmeber 1578.

170. RPC iv (1585-92), 454: Johne, Williame and Dougall M<sup>C</sup>kregour Jamesoun in Apnidill.

There only remains for consideration a clutch of references to MacGregors who cannot be securely assigned to any of the lineages so far discussed. They relate to Fortingall and Strath Tay, and since settlement in both areas was particularly characteristic of the family of the dean of Lismore, it may be that some of these MacGregors belonged to that family. Griogair mac Phàdraig died at Fortingall in 1510.<sup>171</sup> In Strath Tay, Griogair mac Dhonnchaidh was named among tenants of Aberfeldy and Dalrawer in 1484,<sup>172</sup> while in the same year Domhnall Ballow MacGregor was a tenant of the Charterhouse of Perth in its lands in Atholl,<sup>173</sup> which seem to have lain mainly or wholly in Strath Tay.<sup>174</sup> Again at Aberfeldy, Griogair mac Eòghain Dhuibh is on record in 1525.<sup>175</sup> Both Donnchadh mac Alasdair mhic Eòghain at Drumcastell in the lordship of Kinclavin (1551,<sup>176</sup> 1555),<sup>177</sup> and a MacGregor kin-group in the Brae of Weem using the patronymic or surname M<sup>C</sup>Acrom (1552),<sup>178</sup> were likely to have been there before 1550.

A final general point needs to be made concerning the position the MacGregors occupied within the landholding structure in Breadalbane before c.1550. It is virtually certain that none of them had heritable written title to their lands. Rather their status, as defined by a Fearnan MacGregor at a slightly later date, was

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171. Chron. BDL, 28 November.  
 172. ADC, i, 90\*.  
 173. ADA, 130\*.  
 174. Ibid., \*111.  
 175. Fraser, Grandtully i, 54-6.  
 176. Prot. Bk. Rollok, 22-3.  
 177. Taymouth Bk., 200.  
 178. Ibid., 196.

that of "native and kyndlie titularis and possessouris".<sup>179</sup>

The MacGregors were tenants of the crown itself, or of crown vassals, or of ecclesiastical institutions, holding their lands either by written tacks of short duration,<sup>180</sup> or, perhaps more commonly, without formal written rights.

MacGregor expansion into Breadalbane can be summarised as follows. It was channelled through Glen Lyon, and possibly targeted upon Fortingall, where by c.1550 or slightly later, members of three different MacGregor lineages - those of Roro and Fearnan as well as the family of the dean of Lismore - were settled. Roro itself had been reached before 1478, by which time settlement in at least the upper reaches of Glen Lochay was under way. By c.1550 there was a strong MacGregor presence throughout Glen Lochay. Returning to Glen Lyon, descendants or possible descendants of Donnchadh Lìobhunnach were at Eddergoll/Balloch by c.1480/1491, Morenish by 1503, Fearnan by 1510 and Ardeonaig by 1524. Between c.1480 and 1552, there was a perceptible movement - especially though not exclusively involving the family of the dean of Lismore - from Loch Tayside into the Appin of Dull and Upper Strath Tay:- Stix, Tegarmuchd, Carsdull, Drumdewan, Bolfracks, the Brae of Weem, Aberfeldy and Drumcastell. Only two other lands require mention - Wester Ardchyle in Glen Dochart, and Kynzeldies, probably to be identified with Kinnell near Killin, where there is no evidence for MacGregor settlement before

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179. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2B, 25 July 1601.

180. See Highland Papers iv, 32-3; Taymouth Bk., 189-90; cf. infra, p. 196.

1579, but to which the kindred were then stated to have "kindness", which could imply that they had been present here before 1550.<sup>181</sup>

We are now in a position to compare the patterns of Campbell of Glen Orchy and MacGregor expansion into Breadalbane before 1550. They were by no means identical. Whereas Glen Lyon seems to have been the preferred route of the MacGregors to Loch Tayside, the Campbells of Glen Orchy seem rather to have used Glen Dochart. Again, the presence of one kindred did not automatically imply that of the other. We do not find MacGregors in the Campbell of Glen Orchy lands in Glen Dochart, at the west end of Loch Tay, or at Lawers; or Campbells of Glen Orchy at Ardeonaig, Fearnan, or the lands in Upper Strath Tay occupied by MacGregors.

Nevertheless, the MacGregors' status as Campbell dependants meant that Campbell of Glen Orchy, and through him Argyll, could expect their service even when they occupied lands with which the Campbells of Glen Orchy were not directly connected.<sup>182</sup> Furthermore, the two expansion patterns did overlap at points which we shall deal with in order of rising significance. A MacGregor and Campbells both feature in a list of tenants of Aberfeldy and Dalrawer in 1484. In 1541, Griogair, brother of the dean of Lismore, was joint tenant at Cloichran along with Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy and the latter's brother Cailean Liath.

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181. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 23 February 1579; AT, 28 February 1579.

182. Supra, pp. 84-5.

Eoin mac Dhonnchaidh, the MacGregor tenant of Easter Eddergoll c.1480, died at Balloch in 1492, by which date Balloch may already have been a residence of the MacGregor chief. In 1492 and 1508 respectively, Easter Eddergoll and Balloch were included in grants made to Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy, and MacGregors seem to have remained as tenants of the Glen Orchy chiefs at Balloch until the mid-sixteenth century.

The Campbells of Glen Orchy were baillies of the Menzies lands of Morenish after 1488, while there was an actual Campbell presence in Easter Morenish by 1503, the same year in which Griogair, son of Donnchadh Beag died at Morenish, probably the western part thereof. Later evidence suggests that Easter Morenish was held by Campbells of Glen Orchy, Middle Morenish by members of the Menzies ruling family, and Wester Morenish by MacGregors, all as tenants of Menzies of Weem.<sup>183</sup>

The two most important zones of overlap were Glen Lochay and Glen Lyon. Glen Lochay, part of the Campbell of Glen Orchy sphere of influence by 1488, was experiencing intensive MacGregor settlement by the first half of the sixteenth century. That settlement had begun with an ancestor of the kindred of Donnchadh Làdasach at Mamlorn between 1457 and 1462. The Glen Orchy chiefs were crown tenants of Corrycharmaig from c.1480 until at least c.1532. In 1541 it was held by a member of the kindred of Donnchadh Làdasach. By the late sixteenth century the head of

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183. For Middle Morenish see MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/40.



that kindred was Campbell of Glen Orchy's vassal here.<sup>184</sup>  
 It may well be that there was a joint presence at Corrycharmaig from c.1480. Murlaganmore, where Eoin Dubh mac Dhonnchaidh MacGregor died in 1528, had been acquired by Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy before 16 May 1513. Duncroisk, acquired by Campbell of Lawers before 3 March 1531, was by the later sixteenth century the scene of settlement by two MacGregor lineages who may have already been there for a generation.

Glen Lyon formed part of the sphere of influence both of Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Lyon (d.1513) and of the MacGregor chief Eoin Dubh (d.1519). MacGregors were established at Roro well before 1488, when Donnchadh acquired tacks of the crown lands and bailliary of Glen Lyon, and the bailliary of the Menzies lands on the River Lyon, including Roro. The joint MacGregor/Campbell of Glen Orchy presence among the tenants of Roro which we find in 1565<sup>185</sup> may have begun well before then. By the time that the MacGregor lineages at Slatich and Invervar appear on record towards 1550, they were tenants of the Campbells of Glen Lyon in these lands.

We can reasonably conclude (remembering also the other evidence for cooperation between the kindreds) that the expansion of the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors into Breadalbane

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184. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 1580.

185. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vii/5.

was to some extent achieved in tandem, although the nature of the sources makes the actual mechanics of the process difficult to recover. One clearly significant factor was that within the landholding structure, the MacGregors and the Campbells of Glen Orchy were in general operating at different and complementary planes, the former establishing themselves as kindly tenants on the ground, the latter as baillies of the crown and Menzies lands, and as crown tenants-in-chief, chamberlains and lieutenants.

This makes it attractive to postulate a relationship in which the MacGregors operated slightly in advance of, and at a more fundamental level than, the Campbells of Glen Orchy, whose wealth and political influence (the latter exemplified by the transactions at Edinburgh in 1488) enabled them to secure titles and offices thereafter. In the cases of Eddergoll and Balloch, and particularly of Glen Lyon, it does seem that the influence of the MacGregors anticipated that of the Campbells of Glen Orchy, but the dating criteria we possess are not precise enough to enable us to say that the same was also true elsewhere. Hence it may be better to see the relationship as a flexible marrying of the resources of both kindreds, either of which might take the initiative as far as expansion was concerned, according to circumstances.

We turn now to consider Rannoch, where the fuller nature of the evidence enables us to get much nearer to the heart of the expansion process than was possible in Breadalbane. The

decisive thrust into Rannoch was made by the MacGregors, under the leadership of their chief Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair, not long before 16 February 1523. Campbell of Glen Orchy influence duly followed, but did not become explicit until after 1550. The length of the time-lag is probably to be explained by the problems which beset the Glen Orchy chiefs between 1513 and 1550, a period in which the MacGregors do not seem to have been actively in their service.<sup>186</sup>

It seems clear that the MacGregors moved into Rannoch from Glen Lyon, which had also performed such a key role in the expansion into Loch Tayside, and where they were already well established. Easy access was provided by two passes, Làirig Mhuice and Làirig Chalabha, which both begin at Innerwick, west of Roro, and run respectively to Camghouran and Dall on south Loch Rannochside.<sup>187</sup>

MacGregors may well have been using these routes prior to the major thrust of the kindred into Rannoch. On 29 November 1513, 6 March 1515 and 29 January 1516, payments to Griogair mac Eoin Mhaoil are recorded in the Dunkeld accounts, on the first occasion apparently for providing wood from Glen Lyon, and on the last, "for cariages of sparris from Rannoct", to be used in building projects within the diocese.<sup>188</sup> This must be Griogair mac Eoin Mhaoil who died at Easter Invervar in Glen Lyon in 1525.<sup>189</sup>

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186. *Supra*, p. 122.

187. Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, 484.

188. *Rentale Dunkeldense* (SHS, 1915), 129-30, 139, 266.

189. *Chron. BDL*, 15 March.

There is also the evidence of marriage ties which could date to the first two decades of the sixteenth century. On 25 January 1537 Donnchadh mac Eoin mhic Dhubhghaill died at Camghouran.<sup>190</sup> His identity is not known but we know that he was married to a MacGregor who died in 1544 at Slatich in Glen Lyon,<sup>191</sup> and that he had a daughter, Mór, who seems to have been married to a MacGregor of Roro, where she died, also in 1544, being buried in Rannoch.<sup>192</sup>

Genealogical analysis (as it did in the case of expansion into Loch Tayside) confirms Glen Lyon's role. Early sixteenth century sources make the Rannoch MacGregors part of Clann Donnchaidh Lìobhunnaich.<sup>193</sup> A lack of earlier evidence means that the precise connections cannot be established with confidence. Nevertheless, a key link may well be Gille-Coluim mac Uilleim, who died at Glen Lyon in January 1523 and was buried in the chapel of Branwo there.<sup>194</sup> It is at least conceivable that Uilleam was a son of Donnchadh Lìobhunnach himself, and that the three main MacGregor branches which we find in Rannoch by the second half of the sixteenth century were all descended from him. One of those branches first comes on record on 23 June 1550<sup>195</sup> and again on 3 August 1552,<sup>196</sup> in the person of Uilleam mac Ghille-Choluim, presumably a son of the Gille-Coluim who died at Glen Lyon in 1523.<sup>197</sup> These documents also respectively

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190. Chron. Fortingall.

191. Ibid.

192. Ibid., 4 May.

193. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/196a; RPC vi (1599-1604), 403.

194. Chron. Fortingall: Malcolmus Wylzemson.

195. ER xviii (1543-56), 497.

196. Taymouth Bk., 194-5.

197. For later descendants of this lineage see MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 8 August 1586.

mention an Eoin mac Ghille-Choluim Ghlais and a Domhnall Ruadh mac Ghille-Choluim Ghlais, who were probably brothers. Their father Gille-Coluim Glas may have been a brother of the Gille-Coluim of 1523. By the 1560s this lineage was already being referred to as Clann MhicGille-Choluim Ghlais,<sup>198</sup> while its members were using MacGille-Choluim Ghlais as a surname by the 1580s.<sup>199</sup> The earliest recorded member of the third branch is Donnchadh mac Eoin Dhuibh, on 21 December 1552.<sup>200</sup> Eoin Dubh himself may have been, like Gille-Coluim Glas, a brother of Gille-Coluim who died at Glen Lyon in 1523.

In political terms, MacGregor expansion into Rannoch was made possible by a chain of events which took its beginning in the mid-fifteenth century. Apart from the MacGregors, the chief protagonists were the Stewarts of Fortingall, the Menzieses of Weem, the earls of Atholl and Huntly, and the crown.

In 1451 James II granted half of the lands of Rannoch to the chief of the Robertsons of Struan.<sup>201</sup> From 1451 until 1502 the Stewarts of Fortingall were tenants and baillies of the half which remained with the crown, which lay on the north side of Loch Rannoch.<sup>202</sup> For most if not all of that period their tenure was rent-free. In the 19 year tacks of the lands and bailliaries of Rannoch, Appin of Dull, Glen Quaich, Glen Lyon and Strath Braan granted to Eoin Stewart in 1473, and renewed to

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198. Ibid., GD50/187/1, document filed under 1 December 1564: Clane M<sup>C</sup>Callume Glas.

199. Ibid., GD50/187/2, 8 August 1586; John Bane M<sup>C</sup>ilhalumglas.

200. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/92.

201. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 491.

202. The location is shown by the breakdown of these lands when granted to Menzies of Weem in 1510 (RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3507).

his son Niall in 1478, the fermes of Rannoch were remitted to them in return for their service as baillies.<sup>203</sup> A similar arrangement may have operated between 1451 and 1473, for in 1471 it was asserted that the fermes of Rannoch had been granted to Eoin Stewart by letters under the privy seal,<sup>204</sup> while during these years it is clear that the crown received little or no economic return here.<sup>205</sup>

The length of these tacks, and the remissions of the fermes of Rannoch, suggest that the Stewarts of Fortingall initially enjoyed a good relationship with the crown, and indeed James III's ratification of 1478 was made pro singulari favore quam gessit erga dictum Nigellum.<sup>206</sup> But the remission of the fermes of Rannoch could also imply that for whatever reasons, the area was not regarded as an attractive prospect.<sup>207</sup> Between 1455 and 1460, in fact, Rannoch was described in the exchequer accounts as being partly or wholly waste.<sup>208</sup> Since we have no late-fifteenth century evidence for the kind of inherent political problems which were to beset the region in the sixteenth century and after, the causes may rather have been economic. It may be significant that the theme of one of the two surviving eulogies addressed to Eoin Stewart of Fortingall (d. 1475) is the extermination of wolves.<sup>209</sup>

203. Ibid., no. 1353; ER viii (1470-79), 339; ix (1480-87), 261.

204. ER viii (1470-79), 60-1.

205. Ibid., v (1437-54), 486, 539, 650; vi (1455-60), 53, 244, 367, 410, 605; vii (1460-69), 4, 112, 205, 233, 343, 396, 475, 533, 616; viii (1470-79), 60-1.

206. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 1353. If our theory about the origins of the Stewarts of Fortingall is correct, James III and Niall's father Eoin would have been third cousins.

207. Gregory, 'Inquiry', 138.

208. ER vi (1455-60), 53, 244, 367, 410, 605.

209. Watson, Scottish Verse, 176-9.

After 1488 - the year in which the Stewarts of Fortingall may have supported James III against his son, and by which stage the Campbells of Glen Orchy and MacGregors were making their presence felt in Breadalbane - there were signs that the influence of the Stewarts of Fortingall, both locally and in the eyes of the crown, was beginning to contract. In 1488, they surrendered their position as crown tenants and baillies of Glen Lyon to Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy.<sup>210</sup> On 24 November 1495 certain lands in Glen Quaich were leased to Eoin, first of the Campbells of Lawers.<sup>211</sup> The 19 year tack confirmed to Niall Stewart on 24 January 1478 was due to expire on 24 January 1497. On 21 January, Appin of Dull, Glen Quaich and Strath Braan were leased to Niall for a further five years.<sup>212</sup> This apparent restoration of his position in Glen Quaich was offset by the omission of Rannoch.<sup>213</sup> Furthermore, the new tack made no reference to the bailliaries of the lands concerned - and on 16 November 1497, and again on 22 January 1499, Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy is on record as baillie of the Appin of Dull.<sup>214</sup>

That Rannoch's omission from the tack of 1497 was deliberate is confirmed by an action pursued before the Lords of Council on behalf of James IV on 26 November 1500, against Niall, son and

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210. *Supra*, pp. 145-7.

211. *ER* x (1488-96), 762.

212. *Ibid.*

213. Rannoch had been mentioned in the exchequer rolls on 7 December 1495, the same day that Appin of Dull was leased to Niall Stewart for a further three years; but in the case of Rannoch the record is incomplete (*ibid.*, 746).

214. *ADC* ii, 89, 313.

heir of umquhile Niall Stewart of Fortingall, for £20 due for the fermes of Rannoch for each of the last 24 years. It was decreed that Niall should cease his intromission with the rents and profits of Rannoch in future, "because the assedacionis thairof producit be the procuratour of the sade Nele under our soverane lordis gret sele and termes thairof ar owtrunnyn and endit"; and that he should pay £20 for each of the last eight years for the same.<sup>215</sup>

At Stirling on 1 September 1502, James IV set the £20 lands of Rannoch in feuferm to Raibeart Menzies of Weem, for £30 yearly.<sup>216</sup> On the same day the ten-pound lands of Camsernay in the lordship of the Appin of Dull were also set to him in feuferm for £30 yearly, while £30 lands in the same lordship were set to him for five years, for £60 yearly. He also received the office of bailliary of the Appin of Dull, last held by Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy. For payment of these sums Menzies pledged himself in all his lands in the kingdom.<sup>217</sup>

The events of 1500 and 1502 show clearly that James IV had elevated Menzies of Weem to the position previously held by the Stewarts of Fortingall in Rannoch and the Appin of Dull. They

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215. Ibid., 447. The verdict may imply that only the tack of 1473 (which would have expired in 1492) was produced before the Lords.

216. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 2664.

217. ER xii (1502-7), 124, 642; RSS i (1488-1529), no. 866. On 26 June 1501 it had been decreed that Niall Stewart of Fortingall and others should cease occupation of Camsernay (Stewart, Memorials, 81).



further suggest that the reason was primarily economic, perhaps reflecting Menzies' greater wealth and willingness to pay. Remembering that Rannoch had previously been held rent-free, then the crown stood to receive £80 a year more than it had previously, as well as the down payment normally made on receipt of a feu-charter.<sup>218</sup> In this respect the grants to Menzies were typical of the more aggressive fiscal policy pursued by James IV, which involved "a general doubling of rents" from 1502 onwards, and the expansion of feuferm tenure.<sup>219</sup> Although that expansion seems to have begun in earnest nationally after 1506,<sup>220</sup> we can point out that on 7 September 1502, six days after the grants to Menzies, and again at Stirling, James IV set the 58 merklands of Glen Lyon in feuferm to Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy for the substantially increased annual rent of £60.<sup>221</sup>

A further reason for James IV's demotion of Niall Stewart might lie in the evidence for a concerted attempt on his part to improve the administration of justice in Perthshire, again in line with national policy - although here too there was a financial dimension.<sup>222</sup> Attempts were made to define who should be responsible for the collection of casualties due to the crown as a result of justice ayres held at Perth,<sup>223</sup> while in 1504 Parliament

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218. Nicholson, Later Middle Ages, 381.

219. (Edd.), P. McNeill and R. Nicholson, An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600 (St. Andrews, 1975), 73; L.J. Macfarlane, William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514 (Aberdeen, 1985), 413-7, esp. 415-6.

220. Macfarlane, *op.cit.*, 415.

221. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 2668.

222. Macfarlane, *op.cit.*, 416.

223. ADC ii, 89, 313.

decreed that Argyll, Lorn, and other areas previously unaccustomed to come to justice ayre should do so in future at Perth.<sup>224</sup> On 27 May 1501 James IV made a bond with a considerable number of Perthshire magnates, lairds and chiefs, including Niall Stewart of Fortingall and Raibeart Menzies of Weem, by which they became bound to enter all those dwelling within their lands or bailliaries whom they failed to prevent from committing certain crimes, to the king's justice ayre at Perth.<sup>225</sup>

On balance, however, it seems unlikely - and indeed would be deeply ironic - if a desire to improve justice played any part, along with the more obvious fiscal considerations, in James IV's removal of Rannoch from Stewart control. As already stated, there is no evidence that Rannoch was noted for unusual lawlessness in the later fifteenth century. After 1502 it became a regular source of trouble to central government for over 200 years, because of the failure of the Menzieses to establish effective control.<sup>226</sup> A main cause of their failure was the immediate and violent reaction of the Stewarts of Fortingall to their being discarded by the crown.

Given that the tacks of 1473 and 1478 entitled the Stewarts of Fortingall to rent-free tenure of Rannoch until 1497, Niall Stewart was entitled to feel aggrieved at both the summons and decret of 1500. Between 1451 and 1496 the exchequer accounts had frequently described his predecessors as being in arrears for the fermes of Rannoch,<sup>227</sup> but this presumably reflected no more

224. APS ii (1424-1567), 249.

225. Fraser, Menteith ii, 303-5.

226. Gregory, 'Inquiry', 142.

227. ER v (1437-54), 486, 539, 650; vi (1455-60), 605; vii (1460-69), 205, 233, 475, 533, 616; viii (1470-79), 60-1; ix (1480-87), 10, 111-2; x (1488-96), 254, 521, 577.

than poor administrative communication. There were already signs of tension between them and the Menzieses in March 1501, when the chief representatives of each kindred found surety that they would not harm each other.<sup>228</sup> The grants to Raibeart Menzies on 1 September 1502 proved to be the flashpoint. Later that same month Niall Stewart besieged, burnt and destroyed the fortress of Weem,<sup>229</sup> and laid waste the crown lands of the Appin of Dull now pertaining to Raibeart Menzies in feuferm, as well as some of his property lands there.<sup>230</sup>

In the feud which followed Stewart and Menzies each had the support of a greater magnate, the earls of Atholl and Huntly respectively. Let us consider briefly the reasons for their involvement. The relationship between the Stewarts of Fortingall and the post-1437 Stewart earls of Atholl was grounded in a blood connection, albeit a remote one,<sup>231</sup> and perhaps also in the possibility that the Stewarts of Fortingall, as the descendants (we have argued) of the pre-1437 Stewart earls of Atholl, exercised control over lands which may conceivably once have been within the earls' sphere of influence. In 1475 John earl of Atholl had been granted a royal commission of lieutenantry within his own earldom, with the power of convocation of the king's lieges in other parts of Perthshire, of which the Appin of Dull, Strath Braan, Fortingall, Rannoch, Glen Lyon and Strath Ardle were

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228. ADC ii, 485-6, 488, 498; cf. also *supra*, n. 217.

229. Chron. BDL, September 1502; MacGregor, Coll (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/5; TA ii (1500-04), 344; RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3507.

230. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/5.

231. John earl of Atholl describes Eoin Stewart of Fortingall as his dilectus consanguineus in a charter of 24 February 1466 (Fraser, Grandtully i, 18-20). We have suggested that Eoin was James III's third cousin. John earl of Atholl was James III's half-uncle.

specified.<sup>232</sup> These particular lands were all held by the Stewarts of Fortingall, in heritage or in tack. An indenture made between Atholl and Niall Stewart of Fortingall at Edinburgh on 22 January 1478 reveals that there had been tensions between them because of Atholl's "desyring of the said Neillis takkis offices and rowmis", but on Atholl's agreeing to desist therefrom in future, Niall became his man, and gave him his bond of manrent. The bond was sealed by the provision that Niall's son and heir Alasdair should marry Atholl's daughter Cristian.<sup>233</sup> In the event it was Alasdair's brother Niall who fulfilled the marriage and succeeded their father.<sup>234</sup> On 17 March 1501 John earl of Atholl went surety that Niall Stewart of Fortingall, his son-in-law, would not harm Raibeart Menzies of Weem.<sup>235</sup> The relationship between the earls of Atholl and the Menzies chiefs in the later fifteenth century had been marked by specific tensions over the patronage of the kirk of Weem,<sup>236</sup> and conceivably more general tensions stemming from the fact that the Menzies chiefs had ceased to be vassals of the earls of Atholl in the lands of Weem, Aberfeldybeg, Crannach and Comrie after the forfeiture of the earldom in 1437.

The earls of Huntly had become lords of Badenoch in 1451. Thereafter we can trace the spread of their influence southwards

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232. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 1211.

233. Stewart, Memorials, 74-5 and facsimile.

234. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 2828.

235. ADC ii, 488.

236. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 692, no. 25; Macfarlane, *op.cit.*, 65; MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/i/15.

through personal connections, particularly with the Stewarts of Fortingall and earls of Atholl,<sup>237</sup> and not, as we might have expected, with the Menzieses of Weem. A grant made by Eoin Stewart of Fortingall on 13 May 1472 reveals that Niall Stewart (probably the Niall mentioned in the same document as Eoin's deceased brother) had married Elizabeth Gordon.<sup>238</sup> A contract drawn up on 14 October 1474 provided for the marriage of Alexander, son of George earl of Huntly, and Jehan, daughter of John earl of Atholl.<sup>239</sup> In the bond of manrent of 1478 already referred to, Niall Stewart of Fortingall excepted his allegiance to Huntly, and promised that in the event of a dispute between Atholl and Huntly he would remain neutral.<sup>240</sup> In the indenture made between Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy and Niall Stewart of Fortingall on 15 October 1488, George earl of Huntly was involved on Stewart's behalf.<sup>241</sup> On 17 March 1501, the same day that John earl of Atholl went surety that Niall Stewart of Fortingall would not harm Raibeart Menzies of Weem, Alexander earl of Huntly did the same for Niall's sons, Maol-Coluim and Eoin.<sup>242</sup> Nor is there any evidence for any kind of bond between the earls of Huntly and the Menzies of Weem before September 1502.

The conclusion must be that Huntly's support for Menzies derived not from personal ties, but from the contemporary political role of his family. During the reign of James IV

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237. Cf. also Fraser, Grandtully i, 20-1; ADC ii, 488-9.

238. Stewart, Memorials, 70-2 and facsimile.

239. NLS, Advocates' MS 35.2.4, vol. i, ff. 265-8.

240. Stewart, Memorials, 74-5 and facsimile.

241. Taymouth Bk., 177-8.

242. ADC ii, 488.

the earls of Huntly became major figures in central government and the king's chief agents in the northern Highlands, where the demise of the Lords of the Isles after 1493 had left them the most powerful magnates.<sup>243</sup> The early sixteenth century saw the extension of their influence into Lochaber.<sup>244</sup> It must have been for these reasons, and at the behest of James IV, that Huntly assisted Menzies.

The problem was that after September 1502 the existing personal bonds between the earls of Huntly, earls of Atholl, and Stewarts of Fortingall remained strong,<sup>245</sup> thereby guaranteeing the Menzieses of Weem the often intense hostility of the earls of Atholl, and the at best equivocal support of the earls of Huntly. Hence the Menzies chiefs proved unable to fulfil the role which the crown had given them.

The attempts by the Menzies chiefs to gain compensation for the devastating losses (estimated at 3000 merks)<sup>246</sup> they had suffered in 1502 provide ample illustration of the problems they faced. At some point between 21 July 1503 and 23 July 1504, the Stewart fortress of Garth was captured, apparently by crown forces.<sup>247</sup> On 15 March 1505, following legal action by Menzies, it was decreed that Niall Stewart's lands and goods should be distrained.<sup>248</sup> However, by a charter dated either 25 March 1505 or 25 March 1506, James IV granted the barony of Fortingall, along with Garth, to Alexander earl of Huntly, on

243. Nicholson, Later Middle Ages, 544-6, 548-9.

244. RSS i (1488-1529), no. 723; RMS ii (1424-1513), nos. 2743, 2559, 2950, 3281.

245. Cf. *infra*, p 194; Wormald, Lords and Men, App. B, 380, no. 24.

246. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 706, no. 201.

247. ER xii (1502-07), 234-5.

248. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/5; cf. *ibid.*, GD50/186/I/iv/6, 7.

Niall Stewart's resignation<sup>249</sup> - and subsequent events reveal that Niall made the alienation to Huntly under reversion.<sup>250</sup> Thereafter the earls of Huntly and their immediate family remained in possession, and were making payment, or receiving remission of, the fermes of Fortingall, and other lands in the Appin of Dull also previously held by the Stewarts of Fortingall, until 1522.<sup>251</sup> On 16 January 1524 Earl Alexander died, leaving a young son in his minority.<sup>252</sup> No doubt choosing his moment, Niall Stewart carried out the procedures necessary for the redemption of Fortingall and Garth on 23 March and 2 May, and on 17 May obtained a decret of Lords of Council ordaining that the same be given over to him.<sup>253</sup> On 2 June 1525 the crown issued a precept of sasine for the infeftment of Niall and his wife Cristian (daughter, we have seen, of a previous earl of Atholl) in liferent, and John earl of Atholl in heredity, in Fortingall and Garth, following Niall's resignation of the same.<sup>254</sup> As a later source confirms, Niall thereby prevented Fortingall being apprised, and frustrated Menzies attempts to gain compensation - something they were still trying to achieve in 1553.<sup>255</sup> The power and sphere of influence of the Stewarts of Fortingall had, however, been severely reduced, and certainly did not now

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249. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 2953.

250. Stewart, Memorials, 90.

251. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3452; Stewart, Memorials, 89-90; ER xii (1502-07), 488; xiii (1508-13), 299, 474; xiv (1513-22), 228, 422.

252. Chron. Fortingall; Stewart, Memorials, 90.

253. Stewart, Memorials, 90.

254. Ibid., 92.

255. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 706, no. 201. According to this document, dated 18 September 1553, it was not to this earl of Atholl (who succeeded to the earldom c.4 January 1522 SP i, 443) but his father that Niall granted infeftments of Fortingall, but there seems to be no contemporary evidence for this.

include Rannoch.

On 22 November 1505 Alexander earl of Huntly and Raibeart Menzies of Weem made an indenture providing for the marriage of Menzies' son and heir to Huntly's daughter before Candlemas. Huntly undertook to defend Raibeart and his son in all their lands in the sheriffdom of Perth; to take Rannoch in tack for five years from Whitsunday next to Raibeart's profit; and to "gar plenish the said lands of Rannoch with the best folks of Reule that he can get therto", keeping Raibeart skaithless at the king's hands of the mails and non-entries of the tenants of Rannoch to the justice ayres, and all other charges thereof during these five years.<sup>256</sup>

Behind the indenture lay Menzies' fear that without outside support he could not achieve and maintain control in Rannoch, and hence would be liable for the financial penalties that might ensue, given the steps already taken by James IV to improve the administration of justice in Perthshire. His fears proved to be well founded. Huntly's support proved neither consistent nor committed enough. The violence which had greeted the initial grants of 1 September 1502 remained a factor thereafter. In these circumstances Menzies was unable to meet the financial targets laid down by the crown, or to control Rannoch.

The clearest evidence for the failure of the Menzies chiefs to achieve support in Rannoch comes in a decret of Lords of Council of 6 September 1516, following a summons issued by the king and Raibeart Menzies against certain individuals for withholding their mails of Rannoch and the Appin of Dull between 1509 and 1515. The presence of the earl of Atholl is unsurprising.

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256. NLS, Advocates' MS 35.2.4, vol. i, ff. 274-8.



But also cited were Alexander earl of Huntly, his son and heir John Lord Gordon (further evidence for the equivocal attitude of that family), and at least four Menzieses. It was decreed that one of the latter, Sir Raibeart Menzies of Kynnaldy, should relieve his chief of the entire mails of Rannoch, to the king, his comptroller or factors, for the past four years and in time to come, according to the tenor of his letters of obligation made to his chief on 16 September 1512.<sup>257</sup>

This may suggest that Huntly's tack of Rannoch or at any rate his special role therein, did not extend beyond 1510, and that Menzies of Weem thereafter turned to members of his own kindred to help him exercise control there. Apart from Menzies of Kynnaldy, we also know that prior to 8 March 1517 Menzies of Weem granted Rannoch to his son Uilleam Menzies of Rawer, free from rent and services, but on condition that Uilleam did not alienate or 'tyne' them, under penalty of £300.<sup>258</sup> The decret of 6 September 1516, however, suggests that Menzies could count on little support, at least initially, from members of his own kindred, let alone the earls of Huntly.

An exchequer account of 17 July 1508 referred to the incendia, rapina and predationes which Raibeart Menzies of Weem had sustained in the Appin of Dull and Rannoch.<sup>259</sup> The grant of Rannoch to his son Uilleam on 8 March 1517, narrated that

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257. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1.

258. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 704, no. 178.

259. ER xiii (1508-13), 56.

Raibeart had sustained great labour, scaith and expense in defending it.<sup>260</sup> On 28 April 1542 James V charged the comptroller to set in feu to Raibeart's son, also Raibeart, lands within the Appin of Dull held by him and his father for 40 years or more (i.e., presumably since 1 September 1502), and to:

be favorabill curtas and gentill to him in the compositioun of the samyn Becaus he and his fader hes sustenit gret skaith throw taking of oure saidis landis be thevis reiffaris and brokin men of the hieland.<sup>261</sup>

In these circumstances it was inevitable that the Menzies chiefs should fail to meet the heavy financial demands embodied in their feu charters and tacks of Rannoch and the Appin of Dull. They began with the crippling handicap imposed by the destruction caused by the Stewarts of Forthingall in September 1502, for which they could not obtain legal redress. In each of the two exchequer accounts which covered their tenure down to 22 July 1505, substantial parts of their fermes in Rannoch and the Appin of Dull were remitted.<sup>262</sup> The agreement with Huntly of 22 November 1505 may have brought some brief stability, for no remissions were made in the accounts of 6 July 1506 and 29 July 1507.<sup>263</sup> But on 17 July 1508, although Menzies made payments totalling £320 3s. 4d., he also received a remission of £60 3s. 4d. on account of the damages he had sustained.<sup>264</sup> Between 1510 and 1516 the exchequer accounts are silent, presumably because, as we have seen, Menzies'

260. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 704, no. 178.

261. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SR0 GD50/186/I/iv/38.

262. ER xii (1502-07), 234, 301.

263. Ibid., 407-9, 487-9.

264. Ibid., xiii (1508-13), 56.

tenants in Rannoch and the Appin of Dull withheld their mails from him between 1509 and 1515. From 1516 until 1522 Menzies was again receiving remissions for, or intrometting with, part of these fermes.<sup>265</sup> The account of 10 March 1522 explains why. Menzies received his remission since Rannoch and the Appin of Dull had been partly waste for the past five years, and in consideration of his having made full payment of the rest of the fermes up until the date of the account.<sup>266</sup>

It is at this point that we need to consider the MacGregors and Rannoch. By the early sixteenth century the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors, in alliance, had established themselves as the major forces in Breadalbane. Their expansion was partly responsible for the contraction in the power of the Stewarts of Fortingall evident even before 1502, while both before and after 1502 Menzies was experiencing pressure from the same source. In documents of 1504 and 1519 he expressly forbade the alienation of Duncroisk in Glen Lochay and Roro in Glen Lyon either to the Campbells or to the MacGregor chief,<sup>267</sup> while other grants made by him in the same period - including that of Rannoch to his son Uilleam in 1516 - included the same caveat, although couched in general terms.<sup>268</sup>

The waxing of MacGregor power (which continued after the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy had entered its fallow

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265. Ibid., xiv (1513-22), 158, 228, 295, 422-3.

266. Ibid., 422-3.

267. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/4, 16.

268. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 704, no. 178; MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/8.

period in 1513) coincided with the breakdown of effective local control over Rannoch, caused by the inability of Menzies of Weem to fill the position previously occupied by the Stewarts of Fortingall. In other words, the same conditions which had created the earlier opportunity for MacGregor and Campbell of Glen Orchy expansion into Breadalbane again prevailed, and the MacGregors were well placed to take advantage.

The date of the critical MacGregor thrust into Rannoch fell between the accession of Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair as chief after 24 May 1519, and 16 February 1523. It may be significant that the Gordons of Huntly are last mentioned in the exchequer rolls on 10 March 1522, and that their serious involvement in the area did not long outlast 16 February 1523.<sup>269</sup> The latter date saw the Lords of Council temporarily suspend letters purchased by Janet Countess of Atholl, charging Raibeart Menzies of Weem:

to put and hald M<sup>C</sup>Gregour his clan and complices out of the said Robertis landis of Rannach haldin be him of our soverane lord in feu ferme and failzeing thairof the said Robert to answer for the hale scaith done by the said M<sup>C</sup>Gregour and his clan to our soverane Lordis legis of Athole and utheris nixt adjacent thairto quhilk is impossible to the said Robert to do considering the said M<sup>C</sup>Gregour on force enterit in the said Robertis landis and withaldis the samyn fra him maisterfully and is of fer gretar power than the said Robert and will nocht be put out be him of the saidis landis.<sup>270</sup>

The passage could well serve as a locus classicus as to how expansion could occur within the kin-based society. It marks the effective beginning of a MacGregor presence in Rannoch which has lasted virtually to the present day,<sup>271</sup> and exemplifies

269. ER xiv (1513-22), 422, and supra, p. 185.

270. ADC, vol. xxxiii, f. 185.

271. The last Gaelic-speaking MacGregor native to Loch Rannochside has died within the past few years.

the principle of còir a' chlaidheimh - the occupation of land on the basis of sword-right, or sheer kin-power - for which we can find contemporary parallels elsewhere in Scotland<sup>272</sup> and in Ireland.<sup>273</sup> It also exemplifies the dilemma now facing Menzies. As the legal proprietor of Rannoch he was answerable to government for the payment of its fermes and the good rule of its inhabitants. But Rannoch was now occupied by the chief of a clan too powerful for Menzies to expel, to whose loyalties - remembering that the MacGregors were a client kindred of the Campbells - he had no claim, and over whose actions he had no control. If Menzies were to expel the MacGregors, he would need the kind of committed external assistance which had so far been lacking to him. The only apparent alternative would be to try and reach some kind of accommodation with them.

After the death of Raibeart Menzies of Weem on 12 August 1523,<sup>274</sup> the attempt to find a solution to the crisis in Rannoch rested with his son, also Raibeart. In this he must have been hampered by the withdrawal of the earls of Huntly (ineffectual though their support had been) and the restoration of the Stewarts to Garth and Fortingall, now as vassals of the earl of Atholl, by 1525; and by the existence of "deidlie feide and Inymyte" between himself and the earl of Atholl, as had also been the case in their fathers' generation.<sup>275</sup> Indeed Atholl obtained a commission of justiciary within certain of Menzies' lands,

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272. Monro, Western Isles, 70: Raasay, "pertaining to M<sup>C</sup>gillichallum of Raarsay be the sword and ... to the Bishop of the Iles in heritage".

273. Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland, 21.

274. Chron. BDL.

275. Stewart, Memorials, 92-3.

including Rannoch, for the alleged purpose of displacing him altogether, but the commission was declared null and void by the Lords of Council on 19 February 1529.<sup>276</sup> The continuing MacGregor presence, possibly in violent circumstances, is illustrated by the death of Griogair, son of the MacGregor chief Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair, at the isle of Loch Rannoch on 31 July 1526.<sup>277</sup> In 1524 and 1525, Raibeart received further remission of his fermes,<sup>278</sup> but the patience of government was clearly wearing thin. A further remission on 26 July 1529 was granted by the auditors, "only on condition that in future he asks for no allowance or remission of the fermes of the said lands of Rannoch".<sup>279</sup>

On 2 December 1530 Menzies took instrument before the Lords of Council that unless some good rule could be found for the Clan Gregor, he could not answer for his lands or good rule therein.<sup>280</sup> On "the morne after Sanct Tennenis day in harist", in 1531, John earl of Atholl and Clann Donnchaidh (the Robertsons of Struan) harried Rannoch.<sup>281</sup> From another source we learn that at James V's command, Atholl recovered the isle of Loch Rannoch, expelled from it the broken men of the Clan Gregor, and kept it at his own expense from 22 October 1531. Atholl thereafter made formal complaint to the king as to who should provide for the keeping of the isle in future. The king referred

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276. Ibid.

277. Chron. BDL. Chron. Fortingall, as published by Cosmo Innes, has 31 July 1522, but Griogair was definitely still alive on 21 March 1523 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/81/1).

278. ER xv (1523-29), 12, 154-5.

279. Ibid., 493.

280. ADC (Public), 344-5.

281. Chron. Fortingall.

him to the Lords of Council, to whom Atholl made frequent supplication, asking that they cause the house in the isle of Loch Rannoch to be received from him, provide for its future keeping "for the wele of the cuntre", and recompense him of his expenses in recovering and keeping the same. But the Lords "would geif no resolut deliverance tharin". Consequently, on 12 December 1531, Atholl asked for instruments confirming that he had made frequent supplication, and

protestit solemptly that quhat inconvenient hapnit in the cuntre throw the keping of the Ile of Lochrannoch suld nocht be laid to his charge ... considering he wes ay redy to do all the gad service he mycht do to the kingis grace for wele of the cuntre.<sup>282</sup>

Beltane 1532 saw the earl of Atholl and Clann Donnchaidh again harry the Brae of Rannoch, and the beheading of Alexander Dow Albrych (identity unknown) at Kinlochranoch.<sup>283</sup> But this marked the end of the first major attempt to expel the MacGregors from Rannoch. The fortress on the isle of Loch Rannoch was simply abandoned and demolished.<sup>284</sup>

It is clear from the record of 12 December 1531 that neither Atholl, nor the king and council, wished to take on the potentially costly and unrewarding responsibility of controlling Rannoch on a long-term basis, and that Atholl had taken care to obtain legal absolution. Additionally, the already bad relations between Atholl and Menzies reached a nadir between 1532 and 1539, largely, it would seem, because of a dispute over the lands of Fincastle

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282. ADC (Public), 367-8.

283. Chron. Fortingall.

284. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 707, no. 24.

and Shierglas, lying between Rivers Tummel and Garry, which had been among the lands held by Menzies from 1 September 1502, but which James V granted to Atholl on 16 February 1532.<sup>285</sup> Clearly, Atholl had taken action against the MacGregors in Rannoch not for the benefit of Menzies but at the behest of the crown, and perhaps also to prevent disorder spilling over into his own lands as had happened before 16 February 1523.<sup>286</sup> Hence a desire to maximise Menzies' vulnerability as the Menzies/Atholl relationship deteriorated may also explain the cessation of Atholl's involvement in Rannoch after Beltane 1532.

For his own part Menzies must have felt very isolated. In his feud with Atholl, the latter inevitably had the support of Niall Stewart of Fortingall;<sup>287</sup> at one point George earl of Huntly went surety for him;<sup>288</sup> while on 26 June 1532 he had concluded a bond of defence and service with Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy and Uilleam Murray of Tullibardin.<sup>289</sup> In Rannoch the MacGregors must have returned very soon after Atholl's withdrawal. To Menzies there can have seemed no real prospect of removing them in the foreseeable future, given his own preoccupation with his feud with Atholl, and given the complete failure of the joint crown/Atholl initiative of 1531/2. The alternative would be to legitimise their status and accept them as his tenants. This arrangement may have already operated briefly

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285. RMS iii (1513-46), no. 1139. For the progress of the feud, see MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/25r, 25v, 26r, 26v, 27, 31.

286. He may even have contemplated displacing Menzies altogether from Rannoch, as he was said to have had in the later 1520s (*supra*, pp. 191-2).

287. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/25v, 31.

288. Ibid., GD50/186/I/iv/25v.

289. Taymouth Bk., 180-1.



in the later 1520s, but if so it clearly broke down prior to Menzies' supplication of 2 December 1530, which revealed his inability to control the MacGregors.<sup>290</sup> In response to a deposition made that same day it had been the Campbells (in the persons of Eoin Campbell of Cawdor and the earl of Argyll) who had taken responsibility for ensuring the future good behaviour of Clann Griogair.<sup>291</sup> In Rannoch after 1532, there is evidence that Menzies was enabled to accept the MacGregors as his tenants by enlisting a measure of Campbell assistance, not to drive the MacGregors out, but to act as a buffer between him and them.

On 21 November 1535, Seumas Campbell of Lawers, on behalf of Raibeart Menzies of Weem and his son and heir Alasdair (to whom Raibeart had granted Rannoch on 1 May 1533),<sup>292</sup> discharged Alasdair MacGregor of Glen Strae of the mails of Rannoch of all preceding terms.<sup>293</sup> In April 1536, Alasdair Menzies of Rannoch and Eoin, brother of Seumas Campbell of Lawers, made a bond of friendship, especially for the defence and "bruking" of the lands of Rannoch. They agreed to choose jointly a deputy to keep the forests of Rannoch, sharing the profits equally between themselves. That previous trouble-spot, the isle of Loch Rannoch, along with the loch itself, which Eoin was to hold in liferent of Alasdair Menzies, was to be ready at all

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290. *Infra*, n. 293.

291. *ADC (Public)*, 344-5.

292. *RMS iii (1513-46)*, no. 1280.

293. *MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs)*, SRO GD50/186/I/iv/28. The amount involved (£116.13.4, of which MacGregor had already received discharge of £60.13.4 from Menzies of Weem) could well suggest that Menzies had already accepted the MacGregors as his tenants for a time in the later 1520s, when we remember that the annual rent to be paid by the MacGregor chiefs in the tacks of 1543 and 1548 was £18 and £20 respectively (*infra*, p. 196).

times to them both, and the expenses of keeping the isle shared equally between them.<sup>294</sup> That it should have been the Campbells of Lawers rather than their parent kindred the Campbells of Glen Orchy who first acted as apparent intermediaries between Menzies and the MacGregors in Rannoch is perhaps another symptom of the strength of the former and the weakness of the latter at this time. But the Campbells of Glen Orchy would soon reassert themselves.

At Balloch on 1 July 1543, Alasdair Menzies of Rannoch granted Alasdair MacGregor of Glen Strae a seven-year tack, commencing on Whitsunday 1544, of the 18 merkland of Rannoch east of the River Ericht, along with the isle of Loch Rannoch, for £18 yearly. The inhabitants were to answer to Alasdair Menzies at three head courts in the year if required, the profits of the same being in MacGregor's will; while the latter had power to hold courts of his own if he thought it expedient. Profits of all herehelds were to be divided equally between them. Menzies was to hunt in Rannoch when he pleased, informing MacGregor thereof in advance. Alasdair MacGregor would lose his tack if payment of the rent was forty days overdue.<sup>295</sup> On 4 October 1548 the tack was renewed for a further seven years from Whitsunday 1549, to Alasdair's son Eoin.<sup>296</sup> The lands of Rannoch were now described as a twenty merkland for which Eoin was to pay £20 yearly - the same ferme which had operated between 1476 and 1502.<sup>297</sup> The very favourable

294. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 704, no. 179. There was also a marriage connection between Eoin Campbell of Lawers and the Menzieses of Weem (SP v, 499-500).

295. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/39.

296. Ibid., GD50/186/I/iv/46.

297. ER viii (1470-79), 339.

terms on which these tacks were granted was a clear acknowledgement of how entrenched the MacGregor's position in Rannoch now was.

After 1550 the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy underwent a profound transformation with the accession of the sixth chief, Cailean Liath, who initiated a phase of intense expansion.<sup>298</sup> This was to involve the breakdown of the relationship between Cailean Liath and the MacGregors, whose service the earl of Argyll granted to Cailean Liath, probably in 1550 itself;<sup>299</sup> but before the breakdown became irretrievable in late 1562, we can see Cailean Liath's influence following the MacGregors into Rannoch. On 10 June 1553 he was granted a liferent tack of that part of the Menzies lands of Rannoch not already leased to the MacGregor chief, namely the 12 merkland west of the River Ericht, by Alasdair Menzies of Rannoch.<sup>300</sup> Subsequently he introduced the MacGregors as his subtenants here.<sup>301</sup> On 13 February 1561, Alasdair, now chief of his kindred, granted Cailean Liath the bailliary of all his lands of Rannoch during Alasdair's lifetime.<sup>302</sup>

On 7 February 1558, Mary of Guise had granted licence to Alasdair Menzies to set in tack his 20 poundland of Rannoch "to the auld tenentis and inhabitantis thairof of the Clangregour", for seven years, "understanding that it is nocht in the power of

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298. See chapter IV.

299. See chapter VI, esp. p. 285.

300. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

301. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/44.

302. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

Alexander Menzes of that ilk to anser for the gud reule of the Clangregour inhabitantis of the Rannocht, and that our cosing the Erle of Ergyle and Coline Campbell of Glenvrquhay hes the service of that clann, and that thai will do thare deligens to causs gud reule be kept be the said clann".

During that time Alasdair and his heirs would be exempted from all legal responsibilities regarding the MacGregors notwithstanding the General Band made by the lords and landed men of Perthshire to Mary and her daughter.<sup>303</sup> Clearly then, the reality of MacGregor occupation of Rannoch had now been accepted both by the Menzieses and the crown, but only on the understanding that legal responsibility for their conduct rested not with the Menzieses but the Campbells.

The comparatively full evidence makes the study of MacGregor expansion into Rannoch a rewarding one, not least because of the interaction it reveals between the working of central government and local Gaelic kin-based society. It was James IV's granting of Rannoch to the Menzieses at the expense of the Stewarts of Fortingall apparently for fiscal reasons, which created the conditions which enabled MacGregor expansion to take place. While there is no direct evidence that Stewart control of Rannoch was ineffectual before 1502, the Menzieses were never equal to the task. Neither Huntly nor Atholl, the former employed to shore up Menzies' initial position, the latter to expel the MacGregors after they came in, proved disinterested

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303. NLS, Advocates' MS, Ch. B.11.

or committed enough, while the government of James V was equally unwilling to take responsibility for Rannoch in 1531/2. The failure to eject the MacGregors by force left Menzies with the dilemma of accepting as his tenants members of a kindred to whose allegiance he could lay no claim. The dilemma was solved by exempting Menzies fully from legal responsibility, and laying it instead upon the Campbells, who in kin-based terms did command the MacGregors' allegiance; while the terms of the tacks granted to the MacGregor chief allowed him jurisdictional powers in Rannoch.

Thus was the MacGregor occupation of Rannoch finally legitimised by the crown. The problem was that the maintenance of peace now depended on the existence of consistently good relations between the Campbells and the MacGregors. When the relationship between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors broke down completely in late 1562, violence and disorder returned to Rannoch with a vengeance.<sup>304</sup>

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304. See chapter VI.

## CHAPTER IV

THE LORDSHIP OF THE CAMPBELLS OF GLEN ORCHY BETWEEN 1550  
AND THE EARLIER SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

After 1550, under the leadership of Cailean Liath, the sixth chief (d. 1583), and his son and successor Donnchadh Dubh (d. 1631), the stagnation which had afflicted the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy between 1513 and 1550 gave way to a phase of quite phenomenal expansion. Throughout virtually the entire area east of Argyll over which the earls of Argyll had come to exercise influence after 1437, and within which the great bulk of MacGregor expansion had taken place, these two men acquired new territory, offices and influence. This, combined with the formulation by these chiefs of an ideology which in certain important respects differed markedly from that of their predecessors, produced a new, far more precisely defined and powerful lordship which, in the heartland of Breadalbane at least, could justifiably be termed an hegemony. At times Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh played a significant role in national politics and enjoyed close relationships with the crown.<sup>1</sup> Within their own particular branch of Clan Campbell, down to c.1600 at least, they were dominant and unchallenged, while one of the most striking indications of the growth of their power after 1550 was the role played by Donnchadh Dubh during the minority of Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll in the late-sixteenth century, which may have had as its ultimate objective the chiefship of Clan Campbell itself.<sup>2</sup>

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1. *Infra*, p. 249; Gillies, Breadalbane, 140. Cailean Liath attended the baptism of James VI (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/42/1) and Donnchadh Dubh that of James' own son Prince Henry (Taymouth Bk., 431).
  2. *Infra*, pp. 221-2.

The present chapter will consist of an analysis of the nature of the lordship created by Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh after 1550, with particular reference to the consequences for kindreds and kin-groups other than the MacGregors. Of necessity, this will involve our going beyond 1571 and the formal terminus of this thesis. The broad canvas thereby created will enable us, in the concluding chapters, to focus more narrowly upon the implications for the MacGregors, and to identify what was shared and what was unique about their experiences after 1550. Chapter V will consider the relationship between the MacGregors and the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550 in more general and theoretical terms: Chapter VI will provide a detailed analysis of the critical years between 1550 and 1571, during which time the relationship broke down completely.

Our detailed analysis of the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550 must commence on a note of caution. There is a danger in overplaying the concept of a watershed c.1550 simply because there is a far greater abundance of evidence for the activities of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after, as opposed to before, that date. In the case of bonds of manrent made to the Glen Orchy chiefs, the number surviving from before 1550 is very small compared to the number made to Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh between 1550 and c.1600. But this could well create a false impression. The very high survival rate of post-1550 bonds is to be explained by the fact that Cailean Liath and Donnchadh

Dubh each had books drawn up into which were copied the individual bonds of manrent made to them.<sup>3</sup> Hence bonds made before 1550 may not have survived simply because they were not so treated. Some post-1550 bonds were renewals of earlier arrangements, quite possibly made on an oral basis.<sup>4</sup> Again, it is only from post-1550 sources that we learn of the types of exactions due to the Campbells of Glen Orchy from their tenants and dependants, but quite clearly many of these must have been in force before 1550.

We can accept this caveat and still be in no doubt that the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy underwent a phenomenal transformation after 1550. Let us deal firstly with the acquisition of lands, offices and influence; and it is best to begin by mentioning a general factor which contributed to that process, that of wealth. It seems clear that after 1550 Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh were able to draw upon financial resources far greater than those available to their predecessors. This statement cannot be quantified or satisfactorily explained, beyond observing that the increased efficiency so evident in the management of their lordship after 1550<sup>5</sup> probably meant that rents and casualties were exacted more effectively and thoroughly; and that, as they accumulated lands, offices and dependants, so they obviously enhanced their economic power. What is clear is that

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3. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/24; Wormald, Lords and Men, 101. These bonds have now been calendared by Wormald, Lords and Men, 205-49, which however contains a number of mistranscriptions, and should be used with caution.

4. E.g. the bond with the Macintyres of Lorn, infra, p.204. See also Taymouth Bk., 241, 250.

5. Infra, pp. 263-4.



their wealth was essential to the expansion and transformation of their lordship. On it depended virtually their every acquisition of land, church patronage and teinds; their building and improvement programme, and the tochers which went with their daughters. We cannot calculate Cailean Liath's expenditure in these areas, but if we accept the detailed figures given in the contemporary family history, The Black Book of Taymouth, then that of Donnchadh Dubh amounted to a remarkable £360,000.<sup>6</sup>

Wealth was especially important since it left Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh in a position to take advantage of the often intense economic pressures operating at every level of society within our area of study. A document of 31 October 1600 provides a particularly graphic illustration, although the Campbells of Glen Orchy were not in this instance the direct beneficiaries. Eoin MacEòghain alias Campbell and his son Domhnall gave over to Eoin Campbell in Portbane the seven merkland of Edramucky and Kenknock, on the narration that Eoin MacEòghain:

now being drivin to extreme povertie inabill  
to manure bruik or labor the said sevin  
markland ... as in lik manner being sa debtful  
to sundrie creditouris in great sommes of money  
Quhairthrow and be povirtie therwys he and the  
said Donald his sone and remanent bairnis and  
wyfe wer habill to perische and decay without  
the great support and helpe maid to thame be  
the said John Campbell ... be deliverance to  
thame of certane great sowmes of money.<sup>7</sup>

Moving up the social scale to the ruling grades, it was a financial crisis which almost precipitated the fall of the

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6. Taymouth Bk., 29-71.

7. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 266-7.

Robertsons of Struan in the early seventeenth century,<sup>8</sup> while the failure (and hence perhaps inability) of the Campbells of Strachur to meet their share of a royal taxation was a key factor in the loss of their Glen Falloch lands to Donnchadh Dubh.<sup>9</sup>

From the vantage point of Breadalbane, heartland of the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy by 1550, the next fifty years saw no significant expansion to the east or west. In Argyll, Donnchadh Dubh, completing what his father had begun, displaced the MacGregors from Glen Strae, a process to be discussed in Chapter V. The only other significant fresh acquisition was Braeglens of Lorn by Donnchadh Dubh before 4 October 1597.<sup>10</sup> This, coupled with the eastwards-orientated expansion of the lineage from its inception, might suggest the conclusion that their influence here was limited. This was manifestly not the case. Their possession of one third of the lordship of Lorn since 1470 meant that the Campbells of Glen Orchy had always maintained a western perspective; while certain specific ties were in existence well before 1550. From the time of Cailean, first laird of Glen Orchy, the Macintyres of Lorn - Clann an t-saoir - had accepted him and his successors as their chiefs and rendered them their calps.<sup>11</sup> The MacDougalls of Dunollie and Rarey, whose status was far higher than that of the Macintyres, had also acknowledged the Glen Orchy lairds as chiefs, and formed their personal retinue at conventions and hostings in the Highlands.<sup>12</sup>

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8. *Infra*, p. 211.

9. *Infra*, pp. 229, 231.

10. *Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton*, 199-200.

11. *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/1/2/99 (printed *Taymouth Bk.*, 200-1), the endorsement of which locates them in Lorn; *Manrent Book (Donnchadh Dubh)*, ff. 54r-v.

12. *Taymouth Bk.*, 179; *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/1/4/283 (printed *Taymouth Bk.*, 241).

There was "old kindness" between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the Campbells of Duntrone.<sup>13</sup>

After 1550 these relationships were maintained and strengthened, while new bonds were created. There were specific bonds of manrent to Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh by MacDougall of Dunollie,<sup>14</sup> and a bond of friendship between Cailean Liath and Campbell of Duntrone,<sup>15</sup> while the latter family fostered both Donnchadh Dubh himself, and his eldest son Cailean, in order that "luife and favour suld be and continew betwex the housis of Glenurquhay and Duntrone".<sup>16</sup> The fosterage of Cailean also created a bond between Donnchadh Dubh and the foster-mother's kindred, the Campbells of Inverlevir.<sup>17</sup> It may be that the bonds of manrent by Stewart of Appin to Cailean Liath in 1570, and to Donnchadh Dubh in 1585,<sup>18</sup> were renewals of older arrangements, for we know that these Stewart chiefs held some of their lands of the lairds of Glen Orchy.<sup>19</sup> But there seems to be no precedent for the dependency of the MacDhonnchaidh Campbells of Inverawe on Donnchadh Dubh,<sup>20</sup> or the bond of friendship made between him and Cailean Campbell of Craignish on 8 June 1585.<sup>21</sup> Finally, an important marriage tie was arranged by Donnchadh Dubh between his sister Annas and Eoin Campbell, who became laird of Ardkinglas in 1591.<sup>22</sup>

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13. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/156 (printed, but wrongly dated, Taymouth Bk., 210).
  14. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/167 (printed Taymouth Bk., 213), which shows 1567, not 1587 (Wormald, Lords and Men, 299 (no.99)) to be the correct date; Taymouth Bk., 226.
  15. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/156 (printed Taymouth Bk., 210).
  16. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/157; Taymouth Bk., 228-30.
  17. Taymouth Bk., 228-30.
  18. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/192 (printed Taymouth Bk., 215); GD112/1/4/250.
  19. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 145-7.
  20. Manrent Book (Donnchadh Dubh), ff. 32v (printed Taymouth Bk., 235), 47r (printed Taymouth Bk., 248-9), 66r-v.
  21. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/252 (printed Taymouth Bk., 231).
  22. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/271.

East of Breadalbane, by 1599 Donnchadh Dubh had acquired Middle Stix from Sir James Stewart of Ballechin, and Wester Stix from the earl of Atholl.<sup>23</sup> The Stix lands lay near the east end of Loch Tay, but were part of the earldom of Atholl. Moving down the Tay, Donnchadh Dubh was in 1586 seised in Dunfallandy in the Appin of Dull.<sup>24</sup> Beyond Dunkeld, Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh after him were crown chamberlains of the lordship of Kinclavin from at least 1557<sup>25</sup> until Donnchadh Dubh renounced the office in 1590,<sup>26</sup> and within the same lordship Donnchadh Dubh acquired Drumnoquhall and Drumquhassall from Thomas Fotheringham of Wester Powrie in 1593.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the earldom of Atholl remained a barrier impervious to anything beyond this slight degree of penetration. But at the same time we must remember that the reassertion of the power of the earls of Atholl between 1513 and 1550 had posed a substantial threat to the Campbells of Glen Orchy, and seems to have contributed to the stagnation of their lordship in that period.<sup>28</sup> After 1550, with the exception of a major crisis in 1565, that threat disappeared, to be replaced by a generally good and cooperative relationship. Donnchadh Dubh's first wife was Jean, daughter of Earl John who died in 1579.

It was in the lands of the "central zone", where the Campbells of Glen Orchy were already powerful; and in the south - Strathearn and Balquhiddel, Menteith and Strath Gartney - that the dramatic

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23. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 213-4, 260-2. Taymouth Bk., 32.

24. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/272; Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 71-2.

25. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/98.

26. Ibid., GD112/1/5/299.

27. Ibid., GD112/1/5/311; Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 134-5; RMS vi (1593-1608), no. 76.

28. Supra, pp. 120-1.

changes occurred. Taking the "central zone" first, let us remind ourselves briefly of the structure of power which came to prevail here between 1424 and 1550. The Menzies chiefs had been elevated to control of Rannoch and the Appin of Dull. Within the Loch Tay zone, the Campbells of Glen Orchy held the crown bailliary in heredity, had been granted some of the crown lands in feuferm, and had acquired various other lands. Two major branches of the kindred were established at Lawers and Glen Lyon. There were a variety of other proprietors: the Menzies chiefs (lands in Glen Lyon; Comrie, the thanage of Crannach, Edramucky and Morenish), the Moncreiffs of that Ilk (Duneaves and Culdairs, near Fortingall), the Robertsons of Struan (Fearnan) and of Carwhin (Carwhin - where their superiors were the Campbells of Lawers <sup>29</sup> and, possibly before 1550, Murlaganbeg in Glen Lochay), all on the north side of Loch Tay; and the Napiers of Merchiston and the Haldanes of Gleneagles (Ardeonaig), and the Carthusian Charterhouse of Perth (one third of Ardtalnaig) on the south side. Within the lordship of Glen Dochart the proprietors were the Campbells of Strachur (mainly Glen Falloch), the Macnabs (mainly in Glen Dochart proper), and the Charterhouse, whose main tenants were the chiefs of the Macnabs and the chiefs of the Campbells of Lix. The latter lineage only comes on record after 1550, but must have originated before then, and was most probably an offshoot of the Campbells of Strachur. Here, as in the Loch Tay lands, the Campbells of Glen Orchy held the crown bailliary in heredity, but within the Charterhouse territory, the Campbells of Lix held the office of

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29. RMS iii (1513-46), no. 2159; Gillies, Breadalbane, 86.

serjeantry of certain lands including their own; while the Macnab chiefs, as the principal tenants of the Charterhouse, must have performed a similar role, the evidence for which is doubtless embodied in the farbalescipp of Auchlyne, an office they had held from at least the time that the dukes of Albany were lords of Glen Dochart. Auchlyne was the only land which the Macnab chiefs held of the Charterhouse in feuferm rather than in tack.

After 1550 the Menzies chiefs remained in control of the Appin of Dull and Rannoch, although not without continued difficulties, especially in the latter area where they now relied upon the Campbells of Glen Orchy to keep control over the MacGregor tenants.<sup>30</sup> But in the Loch Tay zone, and in the lordship of Glen Dochart, the existing pattern of power was obliterated in the 50 years after 1550 and replaced by the single hegemony of the Campbells of Glen Orchy. The process could actually be said to have begun on 11 April 1541, but even then the personality involved was Cailean Liath himself. On that date a fresh assedation of the crown lands of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire was made,<sup>31</sup> and it is probable that Cailean Liath was constituted chamberlain of these lands at the same time.<sup>32</sup> The office almost certainly remained with him for the rest of his life<sup>33</sup> and in it his son Donnchadh Dubh followed him.<sup>34</sup> From chamberlain of

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30. *Supra*, pp. 89, 197-8.

31. *ER* xvii (1537-42), 727-9.

32. *Ibid.*, 453, 481-2.

33. *Ibid.*, 487; xviii (1543-56), 326, 349; xix (1557-67), 18, 103, 148, 254, 285, 315; xx (1568-79), 79, 230, 264, 287, 334; xxi (1580-88), 199, 247, 273.

34. *Ibid.*, xxi (1580-88), 616, 310; xxii (1589-94), 166, 241, 413; xxiii (1595-1600), 69, 113, 165, 216, 294-5, 342. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/42, contains accounts of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire down to 1712.

Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire he graduated on 21 November 1557 to chamberlain of the entire crown lordship of Kinclavin, of which Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire were a part, and which also included Fortingall, Appin of Dull, Rannoch and Kinclavin itself.<sup>35</sup> The initial grant was for three years, but again the office seems to have remained with Cailean Liath and thereafter passed to Donnchadh Dubh until renounced by him in 1590.<sup>36</sup>

On 9 January 1543 the crown lands of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire were set in tack for 19 years to Gill-easbuig, fourth earl of Argyll.<sup>37</sup> On 31 March 1544 Gill-easbuig set them in tack for nine years to Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy: it was specified that he should not remove any of the tenants and occupiers unless the fault be manifest, and judged before the earl.<sup>38</sup> On 3 May 1556 the same lands were set for seven years by Mary of Guise to Cailean Liath and his wife Katherine Ruthven, again with the proviso concerning the eviction of tenants.<sup>39</sup> The critical step came on 27 October 1564, when Mary Queen of Scots set in feuferm to Cailean Liath these lands in their entirety, including the 28 merkland of Glen Lochay which had been granted in feuferm to John earl of Atholl in 1536.<sup>40</sup>

Donnchadh, the second Glen Orchy chief, to whom the bailliary of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire, and of Glen Dochart, had been granted in heredity, had briefly been chamberlain of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire in 1479/80,<sup>41</sup> and had succeeded in upgrading his

35. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/107.

36. Ibid., GD112/1/4/234; GD112/1/5/299.

37. RSS iii (1542-48), no. 18.

38. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/60.

39. Ibid., GD112/1/2/98.

40. RMS iv (1546-80), no. 1559.

41. ER ix (1480-87), 10-11.

tacks of certain lands within that lordship into feus;<sup>42</sup> while Eoin, the fifth chief, as we saw, held the rest of that lordship in tack from the earl of Argyll after 1544. But their achievements bear little in comparison to Cailean Liath's in monopolizing the chamberlainship of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire from 1541 until his death in 1583, gaining the feu of the entire lordship, and transmitting both assets to his son Donnchadh Dubh. As both feuars and chamberlains, as well as crown baillies, they had attained a degree of control which their predecessors had never known.

That ascendancy was cemented during the chiefship of Donnchadh Dubh by the elimination of most of the other Loch Tayside proprietors already listed. The Campbells of Lawers were also beneficiaries. Like his predecessors, Donnchadh Dubh was tacksman in the Menzies lands of Crannach and Morenish, and on the west bank of the River Lyon.<sup>43</sup> On 15 April 1602 Alasdair Menzies sold irredeemably to him, the thanage of Crannach (with its related lands of Auchmore and Kenknock, near Killin), Edramucky and Morenish, in Deas-fhaire, plus the toscheochdoraschip of Ardtalnaig in Tuath-fhaire.<sup>44</sup> In Glen Lochay, on 10 November 1594 Donnchadh Dubh was seised in Murlaganbeg following a charter by Eoin Robertson alias Mac a'Bharain, of Carwhin.<sup>45</sup> In 1630 Donnchadh Dubh bought out any right pertaining to the earls of Atholl by virtue of the feu-charter of the 28 merkland of Glen Lochay granted them in 1536.<sup>46</sup>

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42. RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 2091.

43. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/52/14; Taymouth Bk., 28.

44. RMS vi (1593-1608), no. 1517; Taymouth Bk., 33.

45. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 142-3. For the style Mac a'Bharain, see ibid., 38-9.

46. Taymouth Bk., 70-1.



Elsewhere in Deas-fhaire, the lineage of the Robertsons of Carwhin appears to have died out with Eoin Robertson,<sup>47</sup> but even before the latter's death it seems clear that a Domhnall Menteith alias Mac a'Bharain had somehow gained title and possession of Carwhin.<sup>48</sup> Probably as a consequence of events of 1601 to be discussed shortly,<sup>49</sup> he appears to have been displaced and the Campbells of Glen Orchy seem to have been the beneficiaries.<sup>50</sup> Duneaves and Culdairs were alienated by William Moncreiff of that Ilk to Donnchadh Dubh before 14 June 1598.<sup>51</sup> The one exception to the pattern was at Fearnan, although the Robertsons of Struan came very close to losing it in the early seventeenth century. Prior to 21 June 1605 it was strongly believed that Donnchadh Dubh might buy Fearnan,<sup>52</sup> and not long thereafter he did acquire part of these lands.<sup>53</sup> In 1618 the Struan lands of Rannoch and Fearnan were apprised in consideration of debts owed to Sir Seumas Campbell of Lawers, to whom they were granted by the crown the following year.<sup>54</sup> But by 1636 Fearnan had been redeemed, and the Robertsons of Struan continued to hold it until 1749.<sup>55</sup>

In Tuath-fhaire it was Cailean Liath who gained the Charterhouse lands of one third of Ardtalnaig, firstly through an assignation of a tack of the same made to him by Seumas Campbell of Lawers on 6 May 1555,<sup>56</sup> then through a six year tack from the Charterhouse itself on 4 July 1556,<sup>57</sup> and finally

47. Gillies, Breadalbane, 86.

48. It seems curious that an Eoin Robertson alias Mac a'Bharain should be supplanted by a Domhnall Menteith alias Mac a'Bharain; but perhaps the style Mac a'Bharain went with the lands of Carwhin.

49. Infra, pp. 238-9.

50. Ibid.

51. RMS vi (1593-1608), no. 730; Taymouth Bk., 32.

52. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/69/5.

53. Ibid., GD112/2/117/57/1/14; Gillies, Breadalbane, 86.

54. RMS vii (1609-20), no. 1961.

55. Gillies, Breadalbane, 86-7.

56. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/95 (printed Taymouth Bk., 198-9).

57. Ibid., GD112/1/2/100.

through a major feu-charter granted him by the Charterhouse on 6 February 1573.<sup>58</sup> We saw that Donnchadh Dubh was granted the toscheochdoraschip of Ardtalnaig in 1602. He also made gains in Glen Quaich.<sup>59</sup> At Ardeonaig, both the Haldanes and the Napiers seem to have sold up in the early seventeenth century, their lands going to the Campbells of Lawers.<sup>60</sup>

In the lordship of Glen Dochart the story was, if anything, even more dramatic. Before the end of 1552 Cailean Liath had become superior of the lands previously held by the Macnab chiefs as tenants-in-chief of the crown.<sup>61</sup> He subsequently acquired the actual property of certain of these lands, namely Easter Ardchyle and Duinish.<sup>62</sup> As a result of transactions which took place between 1596 and 1599 (which also involved the Campbells of Ardkinglas, who had earlier gained title to these lands) Donnchadh Dubh acquired both the property and superiority of the Campbells of Strachur's lands of Glen Falloch, displacing them entirely.<sup>63</sup>

Campbell of Glen Orchy influence within the Charterhouse lordship of Glen Dochart began in 1551, with a grant of a tack of the bailliary.<sup>64</sup> In the two days of rioting which followed John Knox's sermon preached at Perth on 11 May 1559, the Charterhouse was destroyed.<sup>65</sup> In the 1560s the community shrank and ebbed away, to be replaced by a series of commendators until the suppression of the priory in 1602.<sup>66</sup> By 1574 Cailean Liath had been granted

58. Ibid., GD112/2/45. Craig, or Baile na Creige, also involved in these transactions, was a part of Ardtalnaig: Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 140-2.

59. Taymouth Bk., 32-3.

60. RMS vii (1609-20), no. 742; J. Spottiswoode, History of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1847-51), 111, 291.

61. Infra, pp. 236-7.

62. Infra, pp. 223-4.

63. Infra, pp. 278-31.

64. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/45, 22 Sept.

65. Knox, History, i, 161-3; Chron. Fortingall, summer 1559.

66. Cowan and Easson, Religious Houses, 87.

the bailliary of the entire Charterhouse lordship, and virtually all its lands, including Auchlyne, in feuferm.<sup>67</sup> In the wake of the Act of Annexation of 1584, the Campbells of Glen Orchy came to hold these lands directly of the crown.<sup>68</sup> The sole exception was the land held by the Campbells of Lix, similarly granted to their chief in feuferm in 1569.<sup>69</sup> But eight years previously, in 1561, Donnchadh Campbell of Lix and his son Eòghan gave their bond of manrent to Cailean Liath, who in return promised to defend them in the lands they held of the Charterhouse and their other lands; should Cailean Liath obtain these lands he would renounce them to the Campbells of Lix.<sup>70</sup> Clearly the possibility of losing their lands had brought the Campbells of Lix into dependency on Cailean Liath, and that dependency was not ended by the grant of 1569. On 6 February 1573 Cailean Liath was granted the bailliary of all the Charterhouse lands in Glen Dochart.<sup>71</sup> By a contract made the following month, Eòghan Campbell of Lix renewed the bond of manrent made by his father, and bound himself and his tenants to compear at the annual courts held by the Campbells of Glen Orchy as baillies of the Charterhouse lands, and to give them the customary services attached to the office of bailliary.<sup>72</sup> In 1585 title to these lands passed to Sir Seumas Campbell of Ardkinglas<sup>73</sup> (just as that of the Glen Falloch lands did) by whom they were rapidly parcelled out through several subinfeudations.<sup>74</sup>

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67. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/45, 6 Feb. 1573; Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 34-5.

68. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/45, 1590, 20 July 1591.

69. Taymouth Bk., 411-2; RMS iv (1546-80), no. 2164.

70. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/115 (printed Taymouth Bk., 205).

71. Ibid., GD112/2/45.

72. Ibid., GD112/1/3/203 (printed Taymouth Bk., 218-20).

73. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 77-9; RMS v (1580-93), no. 1901.

74. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 81-2, 82-4, 92-3.

Whether the Campbells of Glen Orchy later acquired them (as they acquired the Glen Falloch lands) is not clear. Finally, in the case of the priory of Strath Fillan it was the Campbells of Lawers who benefited, becoming feuars of its kirklands and tacksmen of its fruits after 1560.<sup>75</sup>

As one would expect from the acquisition of lands and offices on this scale, the influence of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh within the "central zone" after 1550 was inescapable, cutting across tenurial patterns and embracing all levels of society. It was in the "central zone" that the bulk of their bonds of manrent - especially those of Donnchadh Dubh - were made. Those making the bonds - both individuals and kin-groups - seem to have come from all parts of the social spectrum. The ruling grades of society, and, immediately below them, the daoin-uaisle or gentlemen of the clan, were fully represented: the Campbells of Strachur<sup>76</sup> and of Lix,<sup>77</sup> Robertsons of Struan<sup>78</sup> and of Carwhin,<sup>79</sup> and Menzieses of Comrie<sup>80</sup> all made bonds which made clear their dependency upon the Campbells of Glen Orchy. It is also clear that, down to c.1600, the Campbells of Glen Orchy enjoyed an unchallenged ascendancy over their own branches of Lawers<sup>81</sup> and Glen Lyon.<sup>82</sup> Indeed the Campbells of Lawers, who seem to have been far more dynamic than their parent

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75. RSS viii (1581-84), no. 654.

76. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/96 (printed Taymouth Bk., 199).

77. Ibid., GD112/1/3/203 (printed Taymouth Bk., 218-20).

78. Manrent Bōok (Donnchadh Dubh), f. 23v (printed Taymouth Bk., 230); Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/5/297 (printed Taymouth Bk., 246-7).

79. Ibid., GD112/1/2/83 (printed Taymouth Bk., 194).

80. Manrent Book (DonnchadhDubh), ff. 72v-73r (printed Taymouth Bk., 256).

81. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/95 (printed Taymouth Bk., 198-9).

82. Taymouth Bk., 410; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/217 (printed Taymouth Bk., 222); GD112/1/3/218 (printed Taymouth Bk., 223).

kindred between 1513 and 1550, apparently underwent a crisis in the late sixteenth century, and only survived with the help of the Campbells of Glen Orchy.<sup>83</sup>

We move south to Strathearn and Balquhidder, where prior to 1550, the only acquisitions made by the Glen Orchy chiefs were Ardveich and Derry on the north shore of Loch Earn, acquired through marriage by Eoin the fifth laird in 1539.<sup>84</sup> Cailean Liath's expansion here depended heavily upon the existing influence of the earls of Argyll.

In 1551 Henry Stewart Lord Methven had granted Glen Ample to his eldest daughter Janet, to be held of the crown by her and the heirs born to her and her future husband, Cailean, brother of Gill-easbuig fifth earl of Argyll. The liferent was reserved to Henry and his wife, also called Janet Stewart.<sup>85</sup> Henry died at some point before 9 April 1557, when his widow married Cailean Liath's brother-in-law, Patrick third Lord Ruthven.<sup>86</sup> In 1560, Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll bound himself to infeft Cailean Liath heritably in these lands, or, in the event of opposition, in lands of equal value elsewhere.<sup>87</sup> Opposition was likely to stem from Janet Stewart, now lady Ruthven, who in 1560 was occupying these, her jointure lands, along with her subtenants;<sup>88</sup> and from Cailean, brother of the earl of Argyll. On 27 June 1562 Argyll informed Cailean Liath:

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83. Taymouth Bk., 49.

84. RMS iii (1513-46), no. 1974.

85. RMS iv (1546-80), no. 641. See also AT, 8 March 1549.

86. SP iv, 261.

87. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/65.

88. Ibid.

As concerning the besines of Boquhidder we have spokin earnestlie to our broder thairintill, and he hes promisit to us befoir honest men to give us the same, sua that na impediment salbe in it, but quhowsehone we pas to the Lawland the same salbe endit without ony farder delay. <sup>89</sup>

Argyll duly granted Glen Ample to Cailean Liath on 22 February 1563,<sup>90</sup> having already compensated his brother with lands in Argyll.<sup>91</sup> Janet lady Ruthven, despite her family connection to Cailean Liath, was not so easily appeased, and as late as 1569 and 1570 she and her subtenants were still occupying Glen Ample, while Cailean Liath was still without sasine and was paying rent to her.<sup>92</sup>

Cailean Liath's other acquisitions in Strathearn and Balquhidder were Edinchip (near the west end of Loch Earn and within the lordship of Balquhidder) from John Scrymgeour constable of Dundee, under reversion;<sup>93</sup> and the eight merkland of Kingarth in Glen Lednock, previously held by a MacGregor lineage as crown tenants and later as feuars.<sup>94</sup> A contract providing for the marriage of the heiress of this family with Dubhghall, son and apparent heir of Gille-Coluim MacGille-Mhìcheil, drawn up on 12 May 1561, could suggest that Kingarth was already felt to be under threat, for it included elaborate provisions to ensure that a marriage would take place between the two families, "sua that God willing that marriage salbe haldin amangis tham for saifte of the lands of Kingarth to be brukit and joisit heritable be the successione that beis amangis tham".<sup>95</sup> But on 27 May 1565 Seònaid MacGregor of

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89. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

90. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/65.

91. AT, 20 Jan 1563; OPS ii pt. i, 98.

92. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/175; GD112/2/65, 27 June 1570.

93. Ibid., GD112/1/3/116; GD112/1/5/333.

94. Supra, pp. 96-7.

95. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/20.

Kingarth Mór took instrument that she might dispone her lands without impediment;<sup>96</sup> and on 9 November 1566, as lady Kingarth, and with the consent of Gille-Coluim MacGille-Mhìcheil, she bound herself to infeft Cailean Liath in Kingarth, to be held of the crown in feuferm and heritage.<sup>97</sup> Charter and sasine to that effect duly followed on 10 and 15 November.<sup>98</sup> Finally, Gille-easbuig, a son of Cailean Liath, acquired one quarter of the lands of Monzie, north of Crieff, in 1581, through his marriage to the daughter of Anndra Toscheoch of Monzie.<sup>99</sup>

The quarter of Monzie passed to Donnchadh Dubh,<sup>100</sup> who also acquired the glebe called lie Ibert of the parish church of Monzie before 19 June 1599.<sup>101</sup> Donnchadh also bought Edinchip outright from the Scrymgeours,<sup>102</sup> acquired Dunira from Patrick Lord Drummond in 1584,<sup>103</sup> and Nether and Over Tullybannocher from Murrays and Drummonds respectively in 1623.<sup>104</sup> But the bulk of his gains, following in the wake of his father's acquisition of Kingarth, were in Glen Lednock: Funtullich and part of Dalmarglen from the Reddochs of Cultybraggan prior to 2 June 1596;<sup>105</sup> and Invergeldie, which in fact was bought by one of Donnchadh Dubh's sons in 1625.<sup>106</sup> Donnchadh Dubh also acquired the "grass roum" of Glaschorrie Benguckuk (presumably to be identified with Glascorrie east of Drummondernoch, and thus outwith Glen Lednock itself) in 1585, from MacGregors in

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96. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.  
 97. Ibid., GD50/187/1.  
 98. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/165 (precept of sasine), 163 (sasine, wrongly dated 15 October); RSS v (1556-67), pt. ii, no. 3193.  
 99. RMS v (1580-93), no. 904; Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 48-9.  
 100. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/267 (printed Taymouth Bk., 234-5).  
 101. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 231-3.  
 102. Taymouth Bk., 55-6.  
 103. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 54: "Mewie called Dunnyra".  
 104. Taymouth Bk., 59-60.  
 105. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 171-3; cf. also ibid., 131-2.  
 106. Taymouth Bk., 63.

Invergeldie to whom it had been sold under reversion by Eoin Drummond of Drummondernoch, the heritable proprietor; and then from Drummond himself in 1588.<sup>107</sup>

The territorial acquisitions made by Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh in Balquhiddel and Strathearn went hand in hand with their acquisition of considerable influence within the context of the kin-based society there, for which they were largely indebted to the earls of Argyll. Out of all the surviving bonds of manrent made to Cailean Liath, the highest individual total came from Balquhiddel. On 8 November 1559, shortly before he first promised to infest Cailean Liath in Glen Ample, Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll transferred to him, "the manrent, homage and service", of Clann Labhrunn (the MacLarens).<sup>108</sup> This was the first of a rash of bonds made to Cailean Liath by Balquhiddel kin-groups between 1559 and 1561,<sup>109</sup> culminating with a bond by Clann Labhrunn as an entity.<sup>110</sup> On 25 December 1566 Gill-easbuig transferred to Cailean Liath the manrent, service and calps due to him and his predecessors from the Macintyres - Clann an t-saoir - of Balquhiddel, the reason given being that Cailean was better able to protect them since he lived nearer them.<sup>111</sup> On 22 May 1573 Clann Labhrunn again gave its collective bond of manrent to Cailean Liath, and at the same time elected him and his heirs to be their chiefs.<sup>112</sup>

Cailean Liath had received one bond from a Balquhiddel Stewart,<sup>113</sup>

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107. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 57-8, 90-1, 91-2; Taymouth Bk., 26.  
 108. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/112 (printed Taymouth Bk., 201-2).  
 109. Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), ff. 9r, 9v-10r (printed Taymouth Bk., 202), 10r, 10v-11r (printed Taymouth Bk., 202-3), 13r.  
 110. Ibid., ff. 14r-v.  
 111. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/166 (printed Taymouth Bk., 211).  
 112. Ibid., GD112/1/3/201 (printed Taymouth Bk., 216); Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), ff. 17r-v (printed Taymouth Bk., 216-8).  
 113. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/164 (printed Taymouth Bk., 211), the endorsement of which makes it clear that the place of residence concerned was Port of Loch Earn, not of Menteith (Wormald, Lords and Men, 216, no. 43).



and a more general although informal relationship may have existed in his time.<sup>114</sup> But it was Donnchadh Dubh who made the connection explicit, through a bond made in specific circumstances on 28 April 1586, by fourteen named Stewarts, for themselves, their heirs, surname and friends. The relationship, however, differed from that with the MacLarens and Macintyres, in that the Stewarts would continue to give a calp to Argyll, and excepted their allegiance to him and to their landlords.<sup>115</sup> There were further bonds to Donnchadh Dubh by Balquhiddar Stewarts in 1587 and 1592.<sup>116</sup> Donnchadh Dubh also enjoyed close relations with the Drummonds, making bonds of friendship with Pàdraig Lord Drummond and Seumas Drummond Commendator of Inchaffray on 24 February 1584 and 18 August 1589 respectively.<sup>117</sup> On 22 August 1586 he gave a bond of protection to Alasdair Reddoch fiar of Cultybraggan, with special reference to lands held by the latter in Strathearn.<sup>118</sup> Among these were Funtullich and Dalmarglen, most of which Donnchadh Dubh would subsequently acquire.

Expansion into Menteith and Strath Gartney was purely a phenomenon of the chiefship of Donnchadh Dubh, who alone acquired territories and bonds of manrent in these areas, especially Strath Gartney.<sup>119</sup> The two most significant bonds were made to him on 28 May 1586 by Shaw of Knockhill and Shaw of Cambusmoir, with

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114. The bond of 28 April 1586 mentions the great pleasure done to the forbears of the Stewarts concerned by the house of Glen Orchy: Manrent Book (Donnchadh Dubh), f. 26r.

115. Ibid.

116. Manrent Book (Donnchadh Dubh), ff. 44r-v (printed Taymouth Bk., 242-3); Taymouth Bk., 249.

117. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/241, 292 (printed Taymouth Bk., 227, 244).

118. Taymouth Bk., 239.

119. For the Menteith bonds, see Wormald, Lords and Men, 220 (no. 60), 231 (no. 109). Donnchadh's sister Mary married the future earl of Menteith following a contract made in late 1587: SP ii, 183; Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 84-6, 86-7.

particular reference to the lands held by these lairds in Strath Gartney.<sup>120</sup> Donnchadh Dubh subsequently acquired many of these lands: Ardcandknoquhane from Shaw of Camkurmoir in 1594;<sup>121</sup> and a 13 merkland from Shaw of Knockhill in 1618 which was virtually identical to the lands specified in the bond of 1586.<sup>122</sup> On 4 February 1593 James VI granted Donnchadh Dubh a group of lands within the lordship of Strath Gartney, clustered around, and including, Loch Venacher, which had been resigned by Sir Michael Balfour of Balgarvie.<sup>123</sup> In 1595 Donnchadh Dubh acquired Carnedewar (apparently near Kilmahog)<sup>124</sup> from Eoin Mac an deòir:<sup>125</sup> by 1599 he had acquired Easter and Wester Creachanis from Alexander Balfour fiar of Boghall.<sup>126</sup> Finally, in 1618 he gained Letter in Upper Strath Gartney from the laird of Kippenross.<sup>127</sup>

Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh extended their influence beyond the zone already delineated, into Lochaber, and, less significantly, Badenoch. The earliest evidence for a connection between the MacDonalds of Keppoch and the Campbells of Glen Orchy is a contract made in 1563.<sup>128</sup> The Keppoch chiefs

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120. Taymouth Bk., 237-9.

121. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 15/18 November.

122. Taymouth Bk., 34.

123. Ibid., ff. 123-4. Sir Michael, better known as Sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh, became Lord Burleigh in 1607: RMS vi (1593-1608), no. 1105; SP i, 539.

124. Taymouth Bk., 30-1.

125. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/5/327.

126. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 203-5, 221-3. In these sasines the lands are described as, "Kinyrchreachane and Costinterrie now called Ester and Wester Creachanis". Taymouth Bk., 27, places them in Strathyre but if they are to be further identified with the lands of Creachanmoir and Creachanbeg mentioned in a document of 1 June 1598 (MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2), then this may imply a location close to Brig o' Turk.

127. Taymouth Bk., 34; cf. ER xvii (1537-42), 714; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/1/13, 18; GD112/1/3/155.

128. Infra, p. 320.

renewed their bond of service in 1569<sup>129</sup> and 1587.<sup>130</sup> A bond of 1590 suggests that Donnchadh Dubh was trying to extend that influence further by acquiring the superiority of the Keppoch lands of Gargawach.<sup>131</sup>

A connection between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the Camerons is demonstrable from 1570.<sup>132</sup> A document of 8 November 1586 places the Cameron chief in a subordinate position to Donnchadh Dubh,<sup>133</sup> and this is confirmed by a bond of manrent of 5 May 1591.<sup>134</sup> On 12 May 1596 they made a bond of friendship for the peace of their respective bounds.<sup>135</sup> In Badenoch, previously good relations with the Macintosh chiefs were translated into a bond of friendship in 1600.<sup>136</sup>

It is logical to conclude our analysis of the expansion of Campbell of Glen Orchy influence after 1550 with reference to a particular series of bonds which really stemmed from the cumulative effect of that influence. These bonds took as their setting the minority of Gill-easbuig, son and heir of Cailean earl of Argyll who died in 1584. The next ten years saw an extraordinary jockeying for control of Gill-easbuig and of Clan Campbell itself, which culminated in the murder of Eoin Campbell of Cawdor on 4 February 1592.<sup>137</sup> According to later testimony, Donnchadh Dubh was the driving force behind both Cawdor's murder, and a plot one

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129. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/179 (printed Taymouth Bk., 214-5).  
 130. Ibid., GD112/24/1 (1538-98).  
 131. Ibid., GD112/24/1 (1538-89), 16 March 1590.  
 132. Infra, pp. 380 and n. 344.  
 133. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/274.  
 134. Ibid., GD112/1/5/303 (printed Taymouth Bk., 247-8).  
 135. Ibid., GD112/1/5/337 (printed Taymouth Bk., 252-3).  
 136. Ibid., GD112/1/5/363 (printed Taymouth Bk., 256-7).  
 137. In general see Highland Papers i, 141-94; E. J. Cowan, "Clanship, Kinship and the Campbell acquisition of Islay", SHR lviii (1979), 136-43.

of whose objectives was the murder of Gill-easbuig and his brother, and the establishment of Campbell of Lochnell as earl of Argyll.<sup>138</sup> Donnchadh Dubh stood to gain the barony of Loch Awe, but it would seem reasonable to infer that his ambitions would not have ended there. Because of their dramatic expansion after 1550, the Campbells of Glen Orchy were now emphatically the most powerful branch of the Campbells behind the ruling family itself. According to one account, Donnchadh Dubh complained that, "he and his predecessouris had ever found greater freindship frae uther noblemen nor ever he fund in his chiefe or his hous".<sup>139</sup> And some of the bonds he made between 1585 and 1591 might have been made by the earl of Argyll himself. One thinks in particular of those with Campbell of Ardkinglas and MacLean of Duart in 1587;<sup>140</sup> MacDonald of Dunivaig in 1590;<sup>141</sup> and, on the same day in 1591, bonds with the heir of the MacDonalds of Clan Ranald,<sup>142</sup> and Cameron of Locheil.<sup>143</sup>

Let us now move into the heart of the process of Campbell of Glen Orchy expansion after 1550 to try to observe and understand its actual mechanics and tangible consequences. The questions we need to ask are: who were the beneficiaries; who were the casualties and what happened to them; and what particular factors Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh exploited to achieve their success.

138. Highland Papers i, 175-89, esp. 184-5; Cowan, op.cit., 138-9, 141-2.

139. Highland Papers i, 177.

140. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/4/282 (printed Taymouth Bk., 240).

141. Ibid., GD112/24/1 (1538-89), 16 March 1590.

142. Ibid., GD112/1/5/304 (printed Taymouth Bk., 247).

143. Ibid., GD112/1/5/303 (printed Taymouth Bk., 247-8). Other important bonds were with Campbell of Lochnell (ibid., GD112/1/4/260 (printed Taymouth Bk., 234)); Ardkinglas and the earl of Montrose (ibid., GD112/1/4/285 (printed Taymouth Bk., 242)); Niall bishop of Argyll (ibid., GD112/1/4/288 (printed Taymouth Bk., 243)). For a pointer to the degree of Donnchadh Dubh's influence in northern Argyll at this time, see Highland Papers i, 187.

Virtually without exception, the beneficiaries were the sons of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh. In a clear attempt to create a new power-base for his kindred in Balquhiddel and Strathearn, where he acquired so much land and influence, Cailean Liath bestowed Glen Ample, Edinchip and Kingarth on his second son Cailean, who already held the existing Strathearn possessions of Ardveich and Derry, and bore the designation, of Ardveich.<sup>144</sup> It was also in Strathearn, as we saw, that his fourth son Gill-easbuig acquired a quarter of the lands of Monzie by marriage. In the lordship of Glen Dochart, of the lands formerly held by the Macnab chiefs whose actual property Cailean Liath had gained, he granted Easter Ardchyle and Duinish to Cailean of Ardveich, and Auchlyne to his third son Pàdraig.<sup>145</sup>

By his two wives and at least three other women, Donnchadh Dubh had at least twelve sons, who benefited both from the fresh acquisitions he made and from a redistribution of the lands in Balquhiddel and Strathearn gained in the time of Cailean Liath. Of his sons by his first wife Jean Stewart, daughter of the earl of Atholl, the second, Raibeart, briefly held the Strath Tay acquisitions of Dunfallandy and Drumnoquhall and Drumquhassall,<sup>146</sup> but these were soon exchanged for the Glen Falloch lands gained from the Campbells of Strachur, and the Strath Gartney lands gained from Balfour of Balgarvie, Henry Shaw of Cambusmoir, and Eoin Mac an deòir.<sup>147</sup> The fourth son, Gill-easbuig, received the

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144. Taymouth Bk., 21-2; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/65, 1560, 22 February 1563 (Glen Ample); GD112/1/3/116 (Edinample); GD112/1/3/116 (Edinchip); GD112/1/3/212 (Kingarth). He must have been granted Ardveich and Derry by 1 February 1562: GD112/1/3/116.

145. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 47-8.

146. Ibid., 154-6.

147. Ibid., 132-4, 159-62.

quarter of Monzie - the title to which his father acquired from Gill-easbuig fourth son of Cailean Liath, and from Anndra Toscheoch of Monzie<sup>148</sup> along with the glebe of the parish church of Monzie.<sup>149</sup> On the fifth son, Alasdair, were bestowed the Strath Tay lands briefly held by his brother Raibeart.<sup>150</sup>

Pàdraig, Donnchadh Dubh's eldest son by his second wife Elizabeth Sinclair, received two groups of lands near the east end of Loch Tay, namely Culdairs and Duneaves, and Middle and Wester Stix;<sup>151</sup> and, much later, the bulk of the lands formerly held by Cailean of Ardveich, namely Glen Ample, Ardveich and Derry, and Easter Ardchyle (presumably with Duinish).<sup>152</sup> Of the other former Ardveich lands, Donnchadh Dubh bestowed Kingarth on Pàdraig, his natural son by Janet Burdon,<sup>153</sup> and Edinchip on another Pàdraig, his natural son by Mariota MacIver.<sup>154</sup> The latter of these Pàdraigs also received Murlaganbeg and a small part of Moiarlannich in Glen Lochay,<sup>155</sup> while, again in Glen Lednock, the former was one of the two beneficiaries of Donnchadh Dubh's acquisition of Funtullich and the second part of Dalmarglen. The other was his brother

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148. Ibid., 50-1, 143-5; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/267 (printed Taymouth Bk., 234-5); Taymouth Bk., 25, 31.  
 149. Taymouth Bk., 27-8.  
 150. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 184-6.  
 151. Ibid., 228-9, 262-5.  
 152. Taymouth Bk., 61-2.  
 153. Ibid., 55; for his mother, see Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/5/338.  
 154. Taymouth Bk., 55-6; for his mother, see Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 162-3.  
 155. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 162-3.

Seumas, another son by Janet Burdon.<sup>156</sup> It was apparently the same Seumas on whom Donnchadh Dubh bestowed Glaschorrie Benguckuck, and who himself acquired Invergeldie in 1625.<sup>157</sup> Finally, Easter and Wester Creachanis in Strath Gartney were bestowed on Domhnall, a natural son of Donnchadh Dubh by Agnes Colquhoun.<sup>158</sup>

We can cite two instances where the beneficiaries were servants of the Campbells of Glen Orchy. On 2 November 1572, Cailean Liath set in tack to his servitors, Hugh Hay and his wife Cristiane Stanness, lands including Wester Skiag at the east end of Loch Tay, which had been among the crown lands set in feuferm to Cailean Liath in 1564.<sup>159</sup> On 2 April 1596, virtually at the same time that Raibeart, son of Donnchadh Dubh was infeft in the Strath Gartney lands, possession of one element of those lands, Ardcandknoquhane, was delivered to Uilleam, son of Raibeart Menzies of Comrie, and a servitor of Donnchadh Dubh.<sup>160</sup>

Where there were beneficiaries, inevitably there were casualties, for whom the consequences ranged from reduction in status, through partial or total displacement from their lands, to complete oblivion. Beyond simple financial power the Campbells of Glen Orchy employed or exploited other means to achieve their objectives: loyalty to the house;

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156. Ibid., 173-5; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/5/338. These suggest that Funtullich went to Pàdraig, and Dalmarglen to Seumas. But Taymouth Bk., 26, 55, suggests the reverse of this arrangement, and seems to be confirmed by RMS viii (1620-33), no. 536.

157. Taymouth Bk., 26, 63.

158. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 229-30.

159. Taymouth Bk., 414-6.

160. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 158-9.

a well-honed opportunistic instinct to strike when others were at their most vulnerable; rigorous application of the available legal mechanisms; and, if necessary, a willingness to go beyond the law and use violence.

We can divide those at whose expense Campbell of Glen Orchy expansion took place into several categories. The first, which consists of previous generations of the ruling family, is best regarded as a special case, for it is clear that far from being the victims of a remorseless and unceasing displacement process, those concerned were often themselves motivated by a desire to prevent their lands passing out of the hands of the ruling family. The best examples are the lands in Strathearn and Balquhiddy bestowed by Cailean Liath on his sons Cailean of Ardveich and Gill-easbuig of Monzie, which were divided among several sons of Donnchadh Dubh in the next generation. By a contract made in 1585, Cailean of Ardveich, at that time destitute of male heirs, and "for the weill, honour and staniss of the hous of Glenurquhy", sold all his lands to his brother Donnchadh Dubh.<sup>161</sup> However, Cailean did subsequently have a male heir. On 28 June 1595, clearly near death, he made Donnchadh Dubh tutor testamentar to his eldest son and heir, also called Cailean, and his other offspring, providing that Donnchadh Dubh maintained them and his wife, "as the said Sir Duncane wald anser to God at the lettir day upoun his conscience and to the warlde upoune his honoure".<sup>162</sup> By the terms of the contract of 1585 this Cailean was allowed redress

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161. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/254, 255.

162. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 154.



to his father's lands, in which he was duly infeft in 1610, but he himself seems to have had no heirs except a daughter.<sup>163</sup> On this occasion, however, although Cailean did give Kingarth to Donnchadh Dubh, he sold his remaining lands to Gill-easbuig brother of the laird of Lawers, and it was only by buying out Gill-easbuig's right that Donnchadh acquired them and was able to divide them among his sons.<sup>164</sup>

By a contract of 1586 which bears comparison with that made by Cailean of Ardveich the previous year, Gill-easbuig son of Cailean Liath obliged himself to resign his quarter of Monzie into the hands of his new superiors, and obtain a new infeftment tailzied to Donnchadh Dubh, failing male heirs to himself.<sup>165</sup> In exchange he received considerable sums of money, along with the lands of Tirai, Dalgirdy and Tullich in Glen Lochay,<sup>166</sup> where he already held Murlaganmore.<sup>167</sup> By 1594 Donnchadh Dubh had acquired the superiority of the quarter of Monzie, and was able to bestow it on his son Gill-easbuig.<sup>168</sup>

Perhaps our clearest case of displacement of a previous generation of the ruling family comes at Auchlyne. We saw that the Campbells of Glen Orchy had displaced the Macnab chiefs here. Cailean Liath granted Auchlyne to his third son Pàdraig, who subsequently granted it to Donnchadh Dubh.<sup>169</sup> But Donnchadh Dubh had to contend with a rival claim from Katherine, a natural daughter of Eoin fifth laird of Glen Orchy, who alleged that Auchlyne had been granted to her in

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163. SP ii, 183.

164. Taymouth Bk., 57-8.

165. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/267 (printed Taymouth Bk., 234-5).

166. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 113.

167. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/3/2, 20 June 1584.

168. Taymouth Bk., 25, 31.

169. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 52.

conjunct fee by her previous husband Fionnlagh, chief of the Macnabs.<sup>170</sup> On 8 January 1595 a decret arbitral upheld Donnchadh Dubh's right over that of Katherine, excluding her and her current husband from possession. At the same time, on the grounds that Katherine was "now an agit woman discendit of the houss of Glenurquhay", Donnchadh Dubh was to compensate her annually for the ferms she and her husband had been accustomed to receive from the tenants of Auchlyne.<sup>171</sup>

We can next consider the Campbells of Strachur. The fact that they were Campbells did not prevent their being completely displaced from their Glen Falloch lands by 1599. The means by which this was achieved - financial strength, astute exploitation of legal mechanisms, and an ability to act when their protagonists were at their most vulnerable - makes it a classic example of expansion in the era of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh. A contract of 20 February 1562 had provided for the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Cailean Campbell of Ardkinglas and sister of Seumas Campbell fiar of Ardkinglas, with Tearlach, son and apparent heir of Iomhar Campbell of Strachur.<sup>172</sup> Evidence of 13 May 1577 reveals that there had been a very serious division between Tearlach and his father,<sup>173</sup> and it may have been as a consequence of this that at some point between 1580 and 1591, Tearlach, as fiar of Strachur, sold to his brother-in-law Seumas Campbell, now of Ardkinglas, the 26 merklands of Glen Falloch, to be held of Tearlach in feuferm.<sup>174</sup> Seumas

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170. For the marriage tie, see Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/34, 3 November 1552.

171. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2.

172. Highland Papers iv, 33-4.

173. Ibid., 38.

174. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/5/353, which gives the date of the contract as 158- . Seumas Campbell of Ardkinglas died in 1591: Highland Papers i, 144.

died in 1591, to be succeeded by his son Eoin, who was already married to Annas, sister of Donnchadh Dubh, and over whom Donnchadh Dubh seems to have been able to exert considerable influence.<sup>175</sup>

On 10 January 1596, Iomhar and Tearlach of Strachur were put to the horn for failure to pay that part of the tax imposed by James VI on the occasion of the baptism of his son which had fallen on their Glen Falloch lands.<sup>176</sup> Remaining as such for a year and a day, they consequently lost their liferent of Glen Falloch and the mails thereof for their lifetimes, as laid down by act of parliament. The liferent and mails returned to their superior, the king, who on 12 March 1597 granted them to Raibeart, Donnchadh Dubh's second son, for his lifetime.<sup>177</sup>

That Raibeart should be the recipient of the grant could hardly be unconnected with the fact that, in the period between 10 January 1596 and 12 March 1597, his father had acquired the Ardkinglas title to Glen Falloch and had infeft Raibeart therein.<sup>178</sup> Thus the Campbells of Strachur found themselves trapped by a legal pincer-movement, which proved impossible to escape. On Whitsunday, 15 May 1597, Iomhar, Tearlach and the various tenants of Glen Falloch were charged to remove by Raibeart, as heritor of these lands and donator of the gifts of the liferent of Iomhar and Tearlach.<sup>179</sup> On 4 June it was decreed that Donnchadh Dubh should have possession of the Isle of Loch Dochart which had been granted

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175. E.J. Cowan, "Clanship, Kinship and the Campbell acquisition of Islay", SHR lvi (1979) 138-9; Highland Papers i, 150.

176. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/2, 8 June 1597.

177. Ibid., GD50/187/2.

178. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 169-71, 180-3; Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/5/339.

179. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/2, 9 June 1597.

in tack by Eoin Campbell of Ardkinglas to Gill-easbuig mac Eòghain Dhuibh alias Campbell.<sup>180</sup> On 8 June it was decreed at the instance of the king's advocate and Raibeart Campbell, now described as fiar of Glen Falloch, that the liferent and mails of Glen Falloch pertained to Raibeart,<sup>181</sup> and the following day Iomhar, Tearlach and the tenants, having failed to remove after 15 May, were ordered to do so.<sup>182</sup> This was the first of a series of similar decreets<sup>183</sup> which culminated in the eviction of some of the chief occupants of Glen Falloch on 29 and 30 August.<sup>184</sup>

Capitulation followed swiftly. By 21 May 1598, Gill-easbuig mac Eòghain Dhuibh, who had refused to surrender possession of Loch Dochart with its isle the previous summer, had resigned it and his kindness thereof to Donnchadh Dubh, in return for 400 merks.<sup>185</sup> A branch of the Glen Orchy kindred became established here in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>186</sup> For a time the Campbells of Strachur seem to have put up a military resistance,<sup>187</sup> but their position was no longer tenable. On 28 April 1598, Tearlach fiar of Strachur, with consent of Iomhar, resigned the Glen Falloch lands into the king's hands in favour of his son and apparent heir Cailean.<sup>188</sup> By a contract of 13 June, Cailean, as if already infeft in the Glen Falloch lands,

180. Highland Papers iv, 44. For Eoin's tack to Gill-easbuig see Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/5/351.

181. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2.

182. Ibid., GD50/187/2, 9 June 1597.

183. Ibid., GD50/187/2, 25 July 1597; Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 195-6; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/5/350.

184. Ibid., GD112/1/5/350.

185. Ibid., GD112/1/5/351.

186. Gillies, Breadalbane, 243-5.

187. Highland Papers iv, 37.

188. Ibid., 42. This course of action had first been mooted among the Campbells of Strachur on 23 September 1596, but at that stage it seems to have been considered as a means of safeguarding their position, rather than of transferring their title to Donnchadh Dubh: Highland Papers iv, 39-40.

sold them to Donnchadh Dubh, both property and superiority, for 6000 merks, to be held of the king. Because of the earlier alienation to Ardkinglas, Donnchadh would receive certain lands in the barony of Strachur in special warrandice.<sup>189</sup> Cailean of Strachur received infeftment in June;<sup>190</sup> Donnchadh Dubh was granted Glen Falloch by James VI on Cailean's resignation on 17 February 1599,<sup>191</sup> and given sasine on 26 April;<sup>192</sup> he had his son Raibeart infeft there on 4 May.<sup>193</sup> The whole operation had cost Donnchadh Dubh 24000 merks: 18000 to buy out the title of the Campbells of Ardkinglas, and 6000 to the Campbells of Strachur.<sup>194</sup> If the failure of the latter to pay the royal taxation was symptomatic of financial difficulties, then the 6000 merks may have played a major part in their final capitulation.

Our next category, that of kindreds and kin-groups who had depended on the Campbells of Glen Orchy before 1550, is especially important to us since we can consider the MacGregors themselves (despite the likelihood that between 1513 and 1550 they were not in the active service of the Campbells of Glen Orchy) as falling within it. Discussion of the MacGregor displacement from Glen Strae must be postponed for the present, but we can summarise here how they were otherwise affected by the expansion of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550.

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189. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD 112/1/5/353; Highland Papers iv, 43-4.  
 190. Highland Papers iv, 42-3.  
 191. RMS vi (1597-1608), no. 859.  
 192. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 217-21.  
 193. Ibid., 225-7.  
 194. Taymouth Bk., 31; Highland Papers iv, 44.

Before 1550 the MacGregor chiefs had had a residence at Achallader near Loch Tulla in north-east Lorn.<sup>195</sup> Achallader lay within the lordship of Glen Orchy, and hence the MacGregor chiefs must have been tenants of the Glen Orchy lairds here. On 15 April 1567 Cailean Liath granted Gill-easbuig Campbell (unidentified but presumably a member of the Glen Orchy lineage)<sup>196</sup> a 19 year tack of the four merkland of Achallader, along with the keeping of the house there.<sup>197</sup> If this house and the MacGregor residence were one and the same, then the MacGregor chiefs had now been displaced. Indeed they may already have been displaced by 24 August 1561.<sup>198</sup> MacGregors do seem to have continued to occupy the lands of Achallader, but with a reduced status, subordinate to the Campbell tacksmen.<sup>199</sup>

Within Breadalbane, Griogair mac Dhubhghaill of the family of the dean of Lismore was evicted from Balloch by Cailean Liath on Whitsunday, 5 June 1552.<sup>200</sup> Before 1550, Balloch, like Achallader, had been the site of a residence of the MacGregor chiefs:<sup>201</sup> by 21 November 1559 Cailean Liath had completed the building of his own fortress here, later known as Taymouth Castle, and which became the principal seat of his descendants.<sup>202</sup> It would appear that Griogair mac Dhubhghaill was also displaced

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195. *Supra*, p. 45.

196. There seems to be no evidence for the assertion (RCAHMS, *Argyll ii: Lorn* (1975), 174, n.1) that Gill-easbuig was a natural son of Cailean Liath, while the tack itself gives no sign that he is to be identified with Cailean Liath's legitimate son of that name.

197. *Taymouth Bk.*, 409-10.

198. *Infra*, pp. 305-6.

199. RCAHMS, *Argyll ii: Lorn* (1975), 174.

200. *Chron. Fortingall*.

201. *Supra*, pp. 156, 166.

202. *Manrent Book (Cailean Liath)*, f. 9r. Work at Balloch may have begun in the summer of 1557 (*Chron. Fortingall*). For a traditional account of the MacGregor displacement from Balloch, see Gillies, *Breadalbane*, 121-2.

from the lands of Cloichran in Tuath-fhaire and Skiag near Balloch - in which he had been joint-tenant and tenant respectively in the crown rental of 1541<sup>203</sup> - either in 1552 itself, or perhaps after Cailean Liath had been granted the crown lands of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire in feuferm in 1564. At any rate, the tack granted by Cailean Liath to his servants Hugh Hay and Cristiane Stanness in 1572 included the lands of Wester Skiag.<sup>204</sup>

Until the late sixteenth century the kindred of Donnchadh L`adasach maintained its position in the royal forest of Mamlorn (where in the mid-fifteenth century at least the then head of the lineage had acted as keeper) and Corrycharmaig in Glen Lochay, and in Wester Ardchyle in Glen Dochart, which actually formed a part of the Campbell of Strachur's Glen Falloch lands. In 1597, as a result of the Campbell of Glen Orchy acquisition of the Glen Falloch lands, Donnchadh Abrach MacGregor, grandson of Donnchadh L`adasach, was ordered to remove from Wester Ardchyle.<sup>205</sup> On 11 August 1596, Donnchadh Dubh had been granted a tack under the privy seal of forests including Mamlorn, along with the right to appoint keepers.<sup>206</sup> On 20 October 1599 Donnchadh Abrach and his son Raibeart Abrach resigned the forest of Mamlorn and a merkland thereof to Donnchadh Dubh.<sup>207</sup> The details of the resignation may imply

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203. *Supra*, p. 166.

204. *Supra*, p. 225.

205. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/5/350. Other MacGregors were ordered to remove from other parts of the Glen Falloch lands at the same time, including Donnchadh mac Eoghain Dhuibh, on whom see *infra*,

206. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, document filed under 20 October 1599.

207. *Ibid.*, SRO GD50/187/2, 20 October 1599.

that Donnchadh Dubh intended to regrant these lands to them; while it is also clear that they maintained a connection with Wester Ardchyle beyond 1597.<sup>208</sup> But in 1617 Donnchadh Dubh bought the kindness [i.e. the right to possession of land on the basis of a kin-connection with the previous holder]<sup>209</sup> of Mamlorn, Corrycharmaig and Wester Ardchyle from Raibeart Abrach for £400,<sup>210</sup> almost certainly bringing to an end the possession of these lands by the kindred of Donnchadh L`adasach.

As Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh began to acquire lands in Glen Lednock after 1550, the MacGregors there faced reduction or (at least attempted) displacement. Following Cailean Liath's acquisition of Kingarth and infeftment of his son Cailean of Ardveich therein, the MacGregors initially remained in possession alongside the latter's own tenants and servants, paying their mails to him. But in 1591 Cailean attempted to evict three tenants, two of whom were certainly MacGregors. His right to do so was contested by one MacGregor, P`adraig Aminocht, on the grounds of "daylie prackik observit in favouris of all kyndlie possessouris of landis hauldin of his majestie", his claim to kindness going back to his grandfather who had died "heritably rentalit" in these lands. But the sheriff court of Perth upheld Cailean's title, deriving from the feuferm charter granted by Queen Mary to his father, and which P`adraig himself had acknowledged by paying mails to him for several years past; and P`adraig was ordered to remove on 17 July 1591.<sup>211</sup>

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208. *Infra*, p. 243.

209. M.H.B. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1982), 58.

210. Taymouth Bk., 33.

211. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 10 May, 3 July, 17 July 1591.



On 5 June 1596 we saw that Donnchadh Dubh infeft two of his natural sons in Funtullich and the second part of Dalmarglen, lands where Donnchadh had held very strong influence since 1586. On 7 August 1596 Pàdraig MacGregor in Dalmarglen, who seems to have been a steelbow tenant of Donnchadh's, gave him his bond of manrent, and resigned to him ad perpetuam remanentiam his four merkland of Dalmarglen, and all his right and kindness to the same. Donnchadh Dubh, in consideration of Pàdraig's great age and inability reserved him three of the four merklands during his lifetime.<sup>212</sup>

Finally, Donnchadh Dubh's acquisition of Dunira in Strathearn from Pàdraig Lord Drummond in 1584 took place at the expense of the MacGregor occupant,<sup>213</sup> while the grant to Donnchadh Dubh of Easter and Wester Creachanis in Strath Gartney, which he subsequently bestowed upon his natural son Domhnall, seems to have been consequent upon the resignation by certain MacGregors of their rights to these lands.<sup>214</sup>

In his testament drawn up on 2 June 1550, Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy requested his brother Cailean Liath, "to do wele to my wiff and bairnis and all kynd servandis and in speciall Finlay M<sup>C</sup>nab of Bowayn".<sup>215</sup> Fionnlagh had married Katherine, a natural daughter of Eoin Campbell,<sup>216</sup> while other evidence reveals some

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212. Taymouth Bk., 253; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 7 August 1596, 30 August 1597.  
 213. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 54; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/246.  
 214. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2, 1 June 1598, *supra*, n. 126.  
 215. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/3/1/2.  
 216. Gillies, Breadalbane, 96.

of Fionnlagh's predecessors operating within a Campbell milieu.<sup>217</sup> We can reasonably conclude that before 1550 the Macnab chiefs were in a position of benevolent and perhaps rather loosely defined dependency on the Glen Orchy chiefs.

Cailean Liath's subsequent conduct towards Fionnlagh Macnab was hardly in accordance with his brother's wishes. At Killin on 3 November 1552, Fionnlagh bound himself to accompany Cailean Liath to Edinburgh, or wherever else the Governor and Lords of Council happened to be, before 8 December, and there to resign the lands which he held of the crown, for new infeftment to be made in favour of Fionnlagh, his wife Katherine and their male heirs; and failing these heirs, in favour of Cailean Liath and his heirs. If Fionnlagh and Katherine did have a male heir, Fionnlagh would pay Cailean Liath 300 merks to cover the expenses incurred by the making of this infeftment. At the same time Fionnlagh granted Cailean a liferent tack of all his lands, both those held of the crown and those held of the Charterhouse of Perth.<sup>218</sup>

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217. An early sixteenth century Macnab chief, also called Fionnlagh, whose poem in The Book of the Dean of Lismore, appears to anticipate the compilation of the book itself, portrays the earl of Argyll as the patron to whom such a compilation should be brought (Watson, Scottish Verse, 2-5, esp. 2-3, v.7). This Fionnlagh married a Mariota Campbell (Gillies, Breadalbane, 95). Another Fionnlagh, chief of the Macnabs at the end of the fifteenth century, was in the retinue of Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll when the latter was granted a charter at Inverness on 9 January 1498 (Cawdor Bk., 87-8).

218. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/34.

Fionnlagh did indeed accompany Cailean Liath to Edinburgh, but by some means - whether by legal chicanery, personal intimidation or financial inducement or a combination of some or all of these is not clear - Cailean Liath managed to circumvent the arrangements envisaged by the contract of 3 November. At Edinburgh on 24 November, Fionnlagh granted Cailean Liath a charter of sale a me of the lands he held of the crown.<sup>219</sup> The charter was confirmed under the Great Seal on 27 June 1553,<sup>220</sup> by which time Cailean Liath had already received sasine.<sup>221</sup> The process was completed on 8 April 1559, when Cailean Liath granted these lands to Fionnlagh, to be held of Cailean Liath and his heirs in ward and relief.<sup>222</sup> Cailean Liath was now superior of the Macnab chiefs in the lands they had formerly held directly of the crown. As we have already seen, by 1574 he was also superior of all the lands formerly held in tack or feu by the Macnab chiefs of the Charterhouse.<sup>223</sup> Although Cailean Liath allowed the Macnab chiefs to remain as his vassals in the bulk of all these lands,<sup>224</sup> he did acquire the actual property of Easter Ardchyle and Duinish, and of Auchlyne, which he granted out to two of his sons. A distinct branch of the Campbells of Glen Orchy came into being at Auchlyne in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>225</sup>

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219. Ibid.

220. RMS iv (1546-80), no. 813.

221. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/34, 5 May 1553.

222. Ibid.

223. Supra; pp. 212-3; cf. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/45, 14 July 1558; GD112/1/2/110.

224. Ibid., GD112/2/34, 8 April 1559; GD112/2/3A, 22 July 1574.

225. Gillies, Breadalbane, 243-5.

It is clear then, that after 1550 the Macnab chiefs were swiftly and dramatically reduced in status, and brought into a far more explicit dependency on the Glen Orchy chiefs than had been the case hitherto.

In the Moncreiff lands of Culdairs and Duneaves the most significant kin-group appears to have been a family of MacQueens who were long established dependants of the Campbells of Glen Orchy.<sup>226</sup> We saw that title to Culdairs and Duneaves had passed to Donnchadh Dubh before 14 June 1598, and that he infeft his son Pàdraig here on 7 May 1599. On 17 June 1600 Pàdraig Og MacQueen, who had given Donnchadh Dubh his bond of manrent in 1594 after receiving Easter Duneaves from him, was ordered to remove from these lands at Donnchadh's instance.<sup>227</sup> In 1601 Pàdraig Og complained to the Privy Council that "certain broken men and other evil disposed persons" had taken his lands and possessions, destroyed all his houses, "given himself sundrie bloody wounds and left him for dead", inflicting upon him injuries so serious that he was no longer able to pursue his career as a minister.<sup>228</sup>

Our next category consists of kin-groups which as far as we know were not dependent on the Campbells of Glen Orchy before 1550. In unknown circumstances, Domhnall Menteith alias Mac a'Bharain had gained title and possession of Carwhin well before the death of Eoin Robertson alias Mac a'Bharain, who as far as

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226. Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), ff. 16r-v; Manrent Book (Donnchadh Dubh), ff. 30v; 55v-56r (printed Taymouth Bk., 250-1).

227. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2B.

228. Gillies, Breadalbane, 139.

we know was the last in the lineage of the Robertsons of Carwhin.<sup>229</sup> By 1599 and 1600 there were serious tensions between Domhnall Menteith and Donnchadh Dubh,<sup>230</sup> and early in 1601, the same period that saw the onset on Pàdraig Og MacQueen in Duneaves, Donald's house and property were destroyed by, as he alleged, Donnchadh Dubh's agents.<sup>231</sup> It was as a consequence of the complaints made by Domhnall Menteith and Pàdraig Og MacQueen that Donnchadh Dubh was warded in Edinburgh Castle from June until at least October, 1601.<sup>232</sup> Even so it would appear that by the mid-seventeenth century Carwhin had passed to the Campbells of Glen Orchy.<sup>233</sup>

There was a clear case of displacement at Ardcandknoquhane in Strath Gartney. After acquiring it from Shaw of Cambusmoir, Donnchadh Dubh infeft his son Raibeart here on 4 April 1596. Two days previously actual possession had been delivered to Donnchadh's servitor, Uilleam Menzies, and this had necessitated the removal of the three incumbents.<sup>234</sup>

As a final example of how profound the impact of Campbell of Glen Orchy expansion after 1550 could be, let us look at one particular area, Glen Lochay. Prior to 1550 the Campbells of Glen Orchy had come to hold Murlaganmore of the crown,<sup>235</sup> and were tenants elsewhere in what was predominantly crown

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229. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/224a; Gillies, Breadalbane, 86.

230. RPC vi (1599-1604), 614, 644.

231. Gillies, Breadalbane, 139.

232. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/6/366, 367.

233. SP ii, 190.

234. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 158-9.

235. This statement depends upon the identification of Murlaganmore with the western half of Murlagan, granted to Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy before 16 May 1513: RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3847.

demesne. But equally, if not more prominent here were the MacCairbres, while it was the earl of Atholl to whom the Glen Lochay lands were set in feuferm in 1536.<sup>236</sup>

In 1564, as we saw, all the remaining crown lands of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire, including those of Glen Lochay, were set in feuferm to Cailean Liath. In the Glen Lochay lands after 1564, Gill-easbuig, Cailean Liath's fourth son, who held Murlaganmore, was given Tirai, Dalgirdy and Tullich by Donnchadh Dubh in compensation for his resignation of the quarter of Monzie. Historically, the ten merkland of Moiarlannich had consisted of three parts. One, a two merkland, was held in the rental of 1541 by a MacLean,<sup>237</sup> a member of a kin-group which had held this and another part of Moiarlannich in the rental of c.1480.<sup>238</sup> On 2 December 1575, Donald m<sup>C</sup>indeora V<sup>C</sup>cogerach, who had become dependent on the Campbells of Glen Orchy through extreme poverty, and had resigned to them his lands in Glen Dochart, received in return the two merkland of Moiarlannich last occupied by Domhnall MacLean.<sup>239</sup>

Donald m<sup>C</sup>indeora's tenure did not last long, for on 21 April 1596 Pàdraig, natural son of Donnchadh Dubh, was seised in the two merkland.<sup>240</sup> The remaining eight merklands were on 20 October 1585 granted to Donnchadh Dubh's fourth son Gill-easbuig in liferent tack.<sup>241</sup> Elsewhere, we have already seen that by 1617 the kindred of Donnchadh Ladasach had lost its hereditary

236. *Supra*, p. 121.

237. *ER* xvii (1537-42), 727: John M<sup>C</sup>Calvane, where 'v' should probably be emended to 'e'.

238. *Ibid.*, ix (1480-87), 574: Donald M<sup>C</sup>Gillane, and Mulikyn, presumably to be identified with Mulikyn M<sup>C</sup>Gillane who held part of Tirai. See also Gillies, Breadalbane, 366.

239. *Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton*, 39-41: Donald M<sup>C</sup>olean.

240. *Ibid.*, 162-3.

241. *Ibid.*, 64-5.

position in Mamlorn and Corrycharmaig to Donnchadh Dubh.

Despite their loss of the two merkland of Moiarlannich the MacLeans did survive as a viable entity holding other lands,<sup>242</sup> in stark contrast to the MacCairbres. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the MacCairbres were a prominent, even expanding lineage based in Glen Lochay. In the rental of c.1480 Donnchadh MacCairbre held a four merkland of Moiarlannich and shared Tirai with a MacLean.<sup>243</sup> In the rental of 1541, in addition to Moiarlannich (a three merkland) and Tirai (in its entirety), the three named MacCairbres also held Tullich, and half of Dalgirdy - which interestingly had both been held by Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy c.1480<sup>244</sup> - and jointly held Kiltyrie.<sup>245</sup> In addition, in 1530 they had become tenants-in-chief of Murlaganbeg.<sup>246</sup>

For the MacCairbres, the grant of the Glen Lochay lands to Cailean Liath in 1564 brought about a rapid descent into oblivion. As the evidence discussed above shows, after 1564 they were frozen out of Moiarlannich, Tirai, Tullich and Dalgirdy. At some point between 1530 and 11 May 1573, they lost their superiority of Murlaganbeg to Robertson of Carwhin, from whom they continued to hold it in tack. For on the latter date the then representatives of the MacCairbre lineage assigned to Eoin Mac an deòir a tack of these lands made to them by Robertson

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242. Gillies, Breadalbane, 366.

243. ER ix (1480-87), 574.

244. Ibid.

245. Ibid., xvii (1537-42), 727-8.

246. RMS iii (1513-46), no. 941.

of Carwhin. On 2 December 1575 Eoin sold these letters of assignation to Cailean Liath, his wife Katherine Ruthven and their fourth son Gill-easbuig.<sup>247</sup> We do not know if Gill-easbuig ever held Murlaganbeg. As we saw, Donnchadh Dubh secured the title to these lands before 10 November 1594<sup>248</sup> and infeft his natural son Pàdraig there on 21 April 1596.<sup>249</sup> Our final snapshot of the MacCairbres in decline comes on 21 June 1597, when Pàdraig MacCairbre bound himself, if he had no male heirs, to dispone to Donnchadh Dubh half of his property, since Donnchadh had granted him his bond of protection in recovering debts totalling 800 merks owed to Pàdraig by six different individuals.<sup>250</sup> After 1600 the surname MacCairbre disappears from record, presumably implying that the lineage had ceased to be a viable entity or had become extinct.<sup>251</sup>

Let us summarise our analysis of the internal mechanics of Campbell of Glen Orchy expansion under Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh. It is as well to emphasise that displacement of the previous proprietors or occupants was not automatic - the Macnab chiefs and kindred, for example, remained in Glen Dochart as vassals of the Campbells of Glen Orchy - and that even when the Campbells of Glen Orchy had decided on a course of eviction, and had obtained decreets to that effect, the strength of the claim to kindness could make this difficult to accomplish, and might have to be dealt with separately. Thus even after the

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247. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 38-9.

248. Supra, p. 210.

249. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 162-3.

250. Taymouth Bk., 255.

251. Gillies, Breadalbane, 360; Black, Surnames, 462.



acquisition of the Glen Falloch lands, which had involved the eviction of the chief occupants in 1597, Donnchadh Dubh bought out Donnchadh MacEòghain MacGregor's kindness of one merkland in 1601.<sup>252</sup> Donnchadh Abrach MacGregor had been among those decerned to flit in 1597 in respect of his lands of Wester Ardchyle, but his son Raibeart was still there in 1612,<sup>253</sup> and the connection seems to have been finally severed only in 1617, when Donnchadh Dubh bought Raibeart's kindness of Wester Ardchyle and his other lands for £400.<sup>254</sup> Finally, some consideration was shown in the cases of Pàdraig MacGregor in Dalmarglen, who was allowed to remain there on account of his age and infirmity; and of Katherine Campbell, whom a decret arbitral decided was to receive compensation from Donnchadh Dubh for her loss of the mails of Auchlyne. Even so, in the light of all the evidence discussed, these factors must be seen as only slightly mollifying what was essentially an unsentimental, ruthless and sometimes violent process.

Throughout the dramatically expanded sphere of influence they established between 1550 and c.1600, Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh were able to exact the same basic range of services both from those bound to them by bonds of manrent and from their actual tenants.<sup>255</sup> These exactions were: the giving of a calp, and faithful service; attendance on the Glen Orchy

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252. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2B; 16 January 1601.

253. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/11.

254. Taymouth Bk., 33.

255. For proof that the same exactions applied to both groups, see Taymouth Bk., 237-9, 248, 256.

chiefs at huntings, military hostings (fines could be imposed for failure to comply) and "the watch", to prevent incursions of malefactors; support, presumably of a financial nature, when the Glen Orchy chiefs had lands to redeem or buy, daughters to marry, or in any other circumstance tending to the advancement of the house;<sup>256</sup> assistance with the bringing of wine to Balloch once a year (in summer or harvest) by the provision of carriage-horses; the giving of sufficient presents once or twice a year; and the provision of meat for the horses and dogs of the Glen Orchy chiefs twice a year.<sup>257</sup> The Glen Orchy chiefs could also exercise a strict right of veto as to whom their tenants and dependents could dispone or sublet land, and also in the case of widowed women tenants, whom they could marry or take in concubinage.<sup>258</sup>

A type of bond found after 1550 consisted of an individual or small kin-group adopting a son or daughter of the Glen Orchy chief as one of their own offspring, with the entitlement to receive a bairn's part of goods on the death of the adopting individual or individuals. Sometimes, both before 1550 and especially thereafter, the Glen Orchy chief himself was adopted, regardless of the fact that he was a full-grown adult. These

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256. This particular group of exactions may collectively have amounted to the "stenting" we find in other bonds. Cf. AT, 8 October 1593, for Argyll's chief vassals consenting to his exacting a tax in order to buy the lands and bailliary of Macintosh in Lochaber.
257. For representative examples see Taymouth Bk., 236, 237-9, 240, 248-9, 259-60; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/69/5.
258. Taymouth Bk., 248-9, 250; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/67 (printed Taymouth Bk., 186-7).

bonds of adoption were obviously related to, but at the same time apparently distinct from, the custom of fosterage. Particularly in the case of the adoptions of the Glen Orchy chief, what we seem to have is a remarkable extension of the institution of fosterage, apparently for purely material gain. Occasionally in the case of Cailean Liath, and without fail in the case of Donnchadh Dubh, no mention was made of adoption, the bond consisting simply of an assignation of a bairn's part or specified proportion of goods, sometimes commuted into a money payment.<sup>259</sup>

We have already seen how all embracing the influence of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh became in the "central zone" after 1550, and it is here that we find evidence for additional exactions, affecting all grades of society, which further justify the use of the term "hegemony", at least for Breadalbane. Some of these stemmed from the concentration in their hands of the offices of crown chamberlains and baillies of the Loch Tay zone and the lordship of Glen Dochart, and baillies of the Charterhouse lands of Glen Dochart. Hence these lands were subject to taxations, hosting, hunting and "baillie day works" - a day's work for the Glen Orchy chiefs in ploughing, harrowing and transport of peat respectively - while the ruling grades of society and their tenantry would further be required to pay their feu mails to Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh, and attend their courts.<sup>260</sup>

Two other services seem to have been due exclusively from that class within Gaelic society which we can most conveniently refer

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259. Taymouth Bk., 191, 205, 231, 252, 257-8; SRO, Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/49 (printed Taymouth Bk., 182-3).

260. Ibid., GD112/1/4/267 (printed Taymouth Bk., 234-5); GD112/1/3/203 (printed Taymouth Bk., 218-20).

to as the daoin-uaisle, or gentlemen of the clan: the giving of cuid oidhche, or a night's hospitality with entertainment; and the obligation to "ride and gang" with the Glen Orchy chiefs in both highlands and lowlands [i.e. hosting].<sup>261</sup> That both were in existence before 1550 is attested by a bond by Eoin Menzies of Roro to Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy on 30 August 1549,<sup>262</sup> but significantly as we saw in Chapter II, that bond was a reassertion of Glen Orchy's rights following an action of spulzie raised by Menzies over the alleged exaction of cuid oidhche in 1548. Such a challenge, we argued, accorded well with the other evidence for the stagnation of the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy between 1513 and 1550.<sup>263</sup> After 1550 no such difficulties seem to have been encountered. On 9 September 1552 a kin-group in the Brae of Weem promised to serve Cailean Liath in the highlands and lowlands, "as the gentle men of the cuntre dois".<sup>264</sup> In a grant by Donnchadh Dubh to his second son Raibeart, of the Glen Falloch lands formerly pertaining to the Campbells of Strachur, on 20 November 1601, the reddendo included cuid oidhche once a year, as well as access to the Isle of Loch Dochart and the dwellings thereon whenever Donnchadh Dubh was travelling between Glen Orchy and Finlarig; and the personal service of Raibeart and his tenants in the highlands, and of Raibeart alone in the lowlands.<sup>265</sup>

Thus far we have delineated the expansion achieved by Cailean

261. On the daoin-uaisle, and the services of cuid oidhche and hosting (slogad), see J.W.M. Bannerman, "The Scots Language and the Kin-based society" (forthcoming).

262. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/68 (printed Taymouth Bk., 187-9).

263. Supra, pp. 118-22.

264. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/90 (printed Taymouth Bk., 196).

265. RMS vi (1593-1608), no. 1277.

Liath and Donnchadh Dubh; the internal consequences of that expansion, and the remarkable degree of social control they exercised within their enlarged sphere of influence. The extension of the power of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550 was on a far greater scale than that of their earlier, primary phase of expansion between 1432 and 1513. But in any case, the expansion factor is not the only one on which our argument for a profound shift in the nature of the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550 depends. Let us turn to consider three interacting factors which began to operate after 1550, and whose great value lies in what they reveal about the ethos of the lordship of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh.

The first is religion. Very little detailed research has yet been done on the impact of the Reformation in the Highlands as a whole, let alone on the areas of interest to us. Recent work has demonstrated that the older view that the reformed church found it very difficult to make headway in the Highlands in the decades after 1560 requires modification, but noted at the same time that there seem to have been particular problems in recruiting reformed clergy to the parishes in our "central zone";<sup>266</sup> while it has been estimated that the percentage of Perthshire parish clergy who became active conformers was markedly low, perhaps because of the conservatism of those bishops within whose dioceses the Perthshire parishes fell.<sup>267</sup> The events of 1559 drew the

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266. J. Kirk, "The Jacobean Church in the Highlands 1567-1625", in The Inverness Field Club, The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands (Inverness, 1986), 24-51, esp. 35-6.

267. G. Donaldson, "The Parish Clergy and the Reformation", in (ed.) D. MacRoberts, Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625 (Glasgow, 1962), 136. See also M.J. Yellowlees, "The Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Diocese of Dunkeld at the Reformation", Innes Review xxxvi, no. 2 (Autumn, 1985), 81-3.

attention of the compiler of the Chronicle of Fortingall, and after 1560 he records the deaths of three prominent lairds or chiefs - Uilleam Murray of Tullibardin (a well-known reformer),<sup>268</sup> Seumas Campbell of Lawers and Alasdair Menzies of that Ilk - who died as Protestants,<sup>269</sup> and of two less prominent individuals who had remained Catholics.<sup>270</sup> We also have some information on the religious affiliations of MacGregor clerics and members of the family of the dean of Lismore after 1560, which present a rather ambivalent picture. We find three of them in the service of the reformed kirk: sir Dubhghall, the son of the dean, who had been advanced to the chancellorship of Lismore by the patron Cailean Liath in the summer of 1558,<sup>271</sup> was by 1574 a reader at Fortingall and seems to have remained as such until at least 1590;<sup>272</sup> Griogair mac Dhubhghaill, reader at Moulin in 1574;<sup>273</sup> and Donnchadh MacGregor alias Cléireach, reader at Killin in 1574, and probably at Fortingall and Weem before that.<sup>274</sup> At the same time, Donnchadh Cléireach was in 1590 included in a list of "Jesueitis and Excommunicat Personis", as an abuser of the sacraments on both sides of the Forth,<sup>275</sup> while the compiler of the Chronicle of Fortingall, whose loyalties clearly lay with the unreformed kirk, and who was very probably a member of the family of the dean of Lismore, described another member of the family, Eoin mac Dhubhghaill, on his death in 1564, as a "spurner of the law of the heretics".<sup>276</sup>

268. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 40, 160, 164.

269. Chron. Fortingall, 12 February 1562, 30 January 1563, 7 March 1564.

270. Ibid., 16 May, 5 November 1564.

271. Ibid., QPS ii, pt. i, 161.

272. Haws, Parish Clergy, 93; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/295, GD112/1/5/298.

273. Haws, Parish Clergy, 186.

274. Ibid., 93, 126, 245.

275. RPC xiv (Addenda: 1545-1625), 373.

276. Chron. Fortingall, 16 May.

In other ways, however, the Reformation did have profound and tangible effects. 1560 meant the elimination of two long established elements in the landholding pattern in Breadalbane and Glen Dochart, namely the Charterhouse of Perth and the priory of Strath Fillan, whose possessions and rights of jurisdiction passed to the Campbells of Glen Orchy and Campbells of Lawers respectively. More significant for our present purposes was the fact that for Cailean Liath, the Reformation was a spiritual watershed. In early 1551 he married Katherine, sister of Patrick, future third Lord Ruthven.<sup>277</sup> Together they were the recipients of a papal licence to have both a priest or confessor to whom they could give confession, and a portable altar.<sup>278</sup> This licence probably predated 1556, for in that year, at the earl of Argyll's fortress of Castle Campbell in the Ochils, Cailean Liath came under the influence of John Knox - who at that time was in the service of Gill-easbuig, the fourth earl - to the extent that he asked Gill-easbuig to retain him.<sup>279</sup> Once the revolution began in earnest in 1559, Cailean Liath was a prominent member of the Congregation which occupied Perth in late June, others being his chief, Gill-easbuig fifth earl of Argyll, and his brother-in-law, Patrick third Lord Ruthven;<sup>280</sup> and he attended the reforming Parliament of August 1560.<sup>281</sup>

Cailean Liath's conversion to Protestantism was not long in making its mark within his lordship. It may have been a

277. SP iv, 260; RMS iv (1546-80), no. 616.

278. AT. The Duke places it under 1555, but was not sure of the exact date.

279. Knox, History i, 123.

280. Ibid., i, 188; CSP Scot. i (1547-63), no. 480; Donaldson, James V-James VII, 93-4.

281. APS ii (1424-1567), 526.

factor in the similar conversions of Seumas Campbell of Lawers and of Alasdair Menzies of that Ilk who, as Alasdair Menzies of Rannoch, was in Cailean Liath's retinue in the 1550s.<sup>282</sup> At Balloch on 28 May 1561, Cailean Liath drew up a contract with Mr. William Ramsay, minister of the kirk of God, whereby the latter became bound to make due ministration in the parish kirk of Inchadin, "in teching and preching synceirly the word of God, and mynistering of the sacramentis to the glory of God and instructiōne of the pepill". Ramsay was to enter the office within ten days and hold it for a year; Cailean Liath would provide him with a stipend, and enter him in possession of the manse and glebe lying beside the kirk of Inchadin, "occupyit in tymis past be the vicaris of the said kirk".<sup>283</sup> Ramsay seems to have entered the service of the Campbells of Glen Orchy as a chaplain and notary in the final years of the chiefship of Cailean Liath's predecessor Eoin.<sup>284</sup> In the early 1550s he regularly acted as notary for Cailean Liath; in 1555 he was Cailean Liath's chaplain at Finlarig Castle, and in 1557 he was curate of Killin.<sup>285</sup>

A tack granted by Cailean Liath in 1572 of lands at the east end of Loch Tay, including the four shillingland of Kenmore,

282. Taymouth Bk., 190-201.

283. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/114 (printed Gillies, Breadalbane, 262-3).

284. Ibid., GD112/2/3A, 17 January 1548; MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/IV/41, 42, 43, 44; Taymouth Bk., 187-8.

285. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/103; Taymouth Bk., 189-90, 193-6; Gillies, Breadalbane, 261. It would be tempting to identify this William Ramsay with Wilhelmus Ramsius Scotus, art. mgr., s. Andrae, who matriculated at Lutheran Wittenburg University in 1544 (P. Lorimer, Precursors of Knox (Edinburgh, 1857), note K). But it appears that there were two contemporaries named William Ramsay, both graduates of St Andrews (St. Andrews Univ. Recs., 136, 139, 238; 141, 147, 245), whose careers are apt to be confused (Gillies, Breadalbane, 263-4). J. Durkan and A. Ross, Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow, 1961), 136-7, suggest it was the other William Ramsay who was at Wittenburg.



reserved his right to build a kirk at Kenmore, "for the weill and eiss of oure houss and releif and commoditie of oure tennentis", should he find the opportunity to do so; and to give the Kenmore lands to the minister appointed.<sup>286</sup> On 10 January 1580 Cailean Liath petitioned for a licence to transpose the parish church from Inchadin to Kenmore, on the grounds that the existing site was inconvenient, and that the church was "fallin down to the ground and al[luterlie] demolisit except a litill pert of the wall standing"; and to mortify perpetually to the new church the old manse and glebe. The petition was made with the consent of the parishioners, with the proviso that the old church and churchyard were to continue to serve as their burial place.<sup>278</sup> Attempts to raise the stent began in 1581,<sup>288</sup> and in 1585 the recipient of the tack of 1572 gave his assent to the building of a new kirk at Kenmore,<sup>289</sup> but on 11 August 1591 the stent had still not been collected.<sup>290</sup> Our earliest certain reference to the kirk of Kenmore comes in a bond of manrent made there on 7 August 1608.<sup>291</sup>

Our second factor is perhaps best introduced by way of examples. The testament of Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy drawn up on 2 June 1550<sup>292</sup> was witnessed by the following: Alasdair Menzies of Rannoch; Fionnlagh Macnab, almost certainly chief of his name; three members of the family of the dean of Lismore, including the dean himself; sir Thomas Reddoch, chaplain and

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286. Taymouth Bk., 414-6.  
 287. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/224a.  
 288. Ibid., GD112/2/117/57/1/1, 2, 3.  
 289. Ibid., GD112/1/4/251.  
 290. Ibid., GD112/1/5/305.  
 291. Taymouth Bk., 257-8.  
 292. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/3/2.

vicar of Inchadin,<sup>293</sup> and John Reddoch; Eoin Tàillear mór alias MacNaughton;<sup>294</sup> Eoin Lighich, and Tearlach MacPhilip. A document drawn up at Finlarig c.28 June 1596 was witnessed by Thomas Brown, Mungo Lockhart, Gavin Hamilton notary public, Gavin's son Patrick, and Robert Christie dispensator (i.e. household treasurer) at Finlarig, all described as servants of Donnchadh Dubh.<sup>295</sup>

This is a brutal demonstration of the fact that, after 1550, dramatic changes took place in the ranks of the personal servitors and retinue of the Campbells of Glen Orchy, with the introduction and elevation to key posts of a considerable number of non-indigenous (i.e. non-Gaelic) individuals and families. Qualifications must immediately be made. Nomenclature alone can sometimes be a treacherous guide in trying to distinguish native from non-native,<sup>296</sup> while the latter could in any case be rapidly assimilated. The shift, of course, was not absolute, and the Campbells of Glen Orchy continued to give patronage to products of the native milieu. On 4 December 1558 Cailean Liath, in return for the good and faithful service performed to him and his predecessors by the then representative of the MacEwen bardic lineage, confirmed to him and his son lands in the lordship of Lorn, to be held in blenche ferme in return for their continued poetic services rendered on an hereditary basis.<sup>297</sup> It was almost certainly a later MacEwen who composed the famous elegy to Donnchadh Dubh following his death in 1631.<sup>298</sup> "The

293. Ibid., GD112/1/2/92, shows he was vicar of Inchadin.

294. For the surname, see Taymouth Bk., 407-8.

295. Taymouth Bk., 255; for the date, see Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/5/347.

296. Thus Christie might be a shortened version of Christison (Gael. MacGille-Chriost), a surname we find in Glen Dochart in the fifteenth century: Gillies, Breadalbane, 355.

297. Taymouth Bk., 408-9.

298. Companion to Gaelic Scotland, 170-1.

Bard M<sup>c</sup>Alester", who received payment of meal from the mill of Balloch in 1582, may have been based locally at Rhevaurd (The Bard's Slope), on Drummond Hill west of Balloch.<sup>299</sup>

Another charter of precisely the same type as that of 1558, and again of lands in Lorn, was granted by Cailean Liath on 7 July 1575 to his servitor Cailean Lighich, of the professional medical kindred the MacLachlans of Craiginterve, in return for "service and ministratioun in the said art of medicine and chirurgerie".<sup>300</sup>

A shift took place nevertheless, and, with the single prominent exception of William Ramsay, who entered the service of the Campbells of Glen Orchy shortly before 1550, and whom Cailean Liath continued to patronise, it began abruptly after 1550.<sup>301</sup> For ease of reference sample lists of the indigenous and non-indigenous servitors of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh between 1550 and c.1600 have been compiled and placed in Appendix III. What is particularly noteworthy is that incomers often held the most important posts, as notaries and legal and financial agents. Before 1550, the Campbell of Glen Orchy's notaries were products of the native milieu, often members of hereditary professional families serving in the unreformed church: sir Muiris MacNaughton vicar of Inchadin;<sup>302</sup> Eoin Cléireach mac Eoin Mhalaiche,<sup>303</sup> and, above all others, Seumas MacGregor dean of Lismore and his father.<sup>304</sup> After 1550 the Campbell of Glen Orchy's notaries were almost exclusively incomers, and in some

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299. Taymouth Bk., 265; Gillies, Breadalbane, 408.

300. AT.

301. For the absence of non-indigenous servitors before 1550, see Taymouth Bk., 179-89.

302. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/2/38 (printed Taymouth Bk., 179).

303. Taymouth Bk., 186-7.

304. Supra, pp. 75-7.

cases at least it appears that their religious affiliations, and those of others of the incoming servants, may have played a part in the process.

From c.1552 to c.1571<sup>305</sup> Cailean Liath's chief notary was Andrew White, a burgess of Perth, whom we also find acting as his procurator in 1559,<sup>306</sup> and paying his mails of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire in 1562.<sup>307</sup> Presumably Thomas White and Mr. George White, both of whom also served Cailean Liath, and the latter of whom continued to serve Donnchadh Dubh, were relations. Andrew's replacement was Gavin Hamilton, notary to Cailean Liath and then to Donnchadh Dubh from c.1574 to c.1604.<sup>308</sup> When admitted as a notary on 1 January 1570, he was described as, "servitour to Maister Johne Carsuell bishop of the Ilis of the age of tuentie tua zeris or thairby".<sup>309</sup> John Carswell, chaplain to the earl of Argyll before 1560, and thereafter - as superintendent of Argyll and the Isles, bishop of the Isles, and translator into Gaelic of the Book of Common Order - an important figure in the reformed church, was himself a notary, and it could be that Hamilton served his apprenticeship under him.<sup>310</sup> Hamilton remained in Carswell's service until the latter's death in 1572,<sup>311</sup> and after remaining in Argyll for a spell in the service of the earl,<sup>312</sup> he was in the employ of Cailean Liath by 1574.<sup>313</sup> Cailean Liath had been undisputed patron of the

305. Taymouth Bk., 192; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/194.

306. Ibid., GD112/3/2, 8 December.

307. Iibd., GD112/1/3/117.

308. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton.

309. Ibid., first page (unnumbered).

310. (Ed.) R.L. Thomson, Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh (SGTS, Edinburgh, 1970), esp. lxxx-lxxxi; J. Kirk, op. cit., 36.

311. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 1-11; Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh, lxxxiv.

312. AT, 20 April 1573.

313. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 25-6. The connection may have begun c. 15 October 1573 x 20 November 1573: AT.

chancellorship and chantership of Lismore since 1553,<sup>314</sup> and Gavin Hamilton went on to hold both offices after 1574.<sup>315</sup> As in the case of Andrew White, we find kinsmen of Hamilton's following in his footsteps: his son Patrick became a servant of Donnchadh Dubh. After 1604, when Gavin Hamilton's protocol book ends, we find notaries such as John Balvaird and Thomas Rae acting for Donnchadh Dubh.<sup>316</sup>

Apart from the Hamiltons, Donnchadh Dubh's most significant servitor was William Bowie. He first appears on record on 2 January 1586;<sup>317</sup> is probably to be identified with the William Bowie, student, and resident in Perth, of 27 June 1587,<sup>318</sup> and had become Mr. William Bowie by 2 February 1597.<sup>319</sup> He was tutor to Donnchadh Dubh's grandsons, acted as his notary, and commenced the writing of the eulogistic family history, The Black Book of Taymouth, which he dedicated to his patron in June 1598.<sup>320</sup>

Cailean Liath's marriage to Katherine Ruthven doubtless explains the presence of William Ruthven - parish clerk of Killin in 1557<sup>321</sup> - and James Ruthven in his retinue, and again religious factors may have been influential here. Other probable non-indigenous servants of Cailean Liath were Hugh Hay and his wife Cristiane Stanness [? Stenhouse], and Allan Baxter, while Walter Lindsay continued in the service of Donnchadh Dubh. Other likely incoming servants of Donnchadh Dubh were Alexander Livingston, William Paton, Thomas Brown, John Jack, Oliver Maxton and Mungo Lockhart.

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314. OPS ii, pt. i, 161.

315. Watt, Fasti, 32-3.

316. Taymouth Bk., 258-60.

317. Ibid., 234-5.

318. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 79-80.

319. Taymouth Bk., 253-4.

320. Ibid., i, 4.

321. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/103.

At either end of Loch Tay, the castles of Finlarig and Balloch and their households acted as natural foci for these incomers. At Finlarig were based servants of Donnchadh Dubh's such as John Gentleman, Mungo Lockhart, Robert Christie treasurer of the household,<sup>322</sup> and George Mitchell steward of the pantry.<sup>323</sup> At the other end of the loch Cailean Liath seems to have deliberately elevated two of his incoming servitors, Hugh Hay and Cristiane Stanness, into positions of local importance. On 2 November 1572 he granted them a 19 year tack of the lands of Wester Skiag, Kenmore and the Coble Croft, along with the keeping of a ferry and an inn. Cailean Liath himself would build the inn on the Coble Croft before 2 September 1573, and undertook to discharge all other innkeepers and brewsters in Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire, with the exception of one on each side. It was in the same tack that Cailean Liath reserved his right to build a church at Kenmore in future.<sup>324</sup>

The two factors discussed so far, religion and the introduction of non-indigenous servitors, seem to share a connection which it is appropriate at this point to bring out more clearly. The connection is the burgh of Perth. Perth was a centre for reforming ideas long before the Reformation.<sup>325</sup> Cailean Liath's marriage to Katherine Ruthven in 1551 gave him a connection with a family which had long been, and continued to be, exceptionally prominent within the burgh, regularly holding the office of sheriff or provost,<sup>326</sup> and whose head in 1559, Cailean Liath's

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322. *Ibid.*, GD112/1/5/347.

323. Taymouth Bk., 334.

324. *Ibid.*, 414-6.

325. Donaldson, James V - James VII, 27.

326. SP iv, 257-9; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/153; MacGregor, Coll. (Menzie's Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vii/23.

brother-in-law Patrick, was also a committed Protestant. Shortly after their marriage, on 13 August 1551 Cailean Liath and Katherine were infeft in a tenement in Perth already occupied by them, on the resignation of William Ruthven of Ballindean.<sup>327</sup> This was almost certainly the first time the Campbells of Glen Orchy had acquired property in Perth, and Cailean Liath was later himself to build a tenement here.<sup>328</sup> His connection with the Ruthvens and Perth must have brought Cailean Liath political influence (which might have been a factor, for example, in his acquisition of the Charterhouse lands and bailliary), as well as encouraging or reinforcing his conversion to Protestantism. Furthermore, we have seen that the ranks of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh's new servitors included Andrew White, burgess of Perth, and William Bowie, also apparently a resident of Perth, as well as two Ruthvens. Other of the new servitors may well have come from the same source; and we can at least admit the possibility that some of them may have subscribed to the reformed faith.

Our third factor could be described as, "estate improvement". One aspect of this was the major building programme upon which Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh embarked after 1550. In addition to the tenement in Perth, Cailean Liath built the castles of Balloch and Edinample (the latter as a focus for the new power-base he had established in Balquhiddy and Strathearn), and made additions to Finlarig.<sup>329</sup> Donnchadh Dubh fortified the strategically important<sup>330</sup> Isle of Loch Dochart, and, in Lorn, built fortresses at Achallader

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327. Prot. Bk. Rollok, no. 97, Cf. also *ibid.*, no. 98.

328. Taymouth Bk., 22.

329. *Ibid.*

330. *Supra*, p. 246.

and Balcaldine.<sup>331</sup> He also carried out major renovations at Finlarig and Kilchurn; constructed bulwarks to prevent the Tay flooding Balloch and its yards, and built a bridge over the River Lochay.<sup>332</sup> Other aspects of the improving process were associated exclusively with Donnchadh Dubh. "He was a pioneer of afforestation and made laws requiring all tenants and cottars to set down and plant young trees, oak, ash and plane, every year in their 'kailyards', in proportion to the size of their holdings," the saplings to be provided by his own gardener.<sup>333</sup> He established parks at Balloch, Finlarig, Glen Lochay and Glen Orchy, where acorns and fir seed were sown, and young firs and birches planted. He introduced new types of animal - fallow deer and rabbits - to Inishail in Loch Awe, and had a salt pan constructed on his lands in Lorn.<sup>334</sup>

What unites these three factors is their revelation of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh as agents of change, who were perfectly willing to embrace and introduce new ideas and relationships even if it meant severing hereditary and customary ties with the past. We can best demonstrate this by studying the changes which the interaction of our three factors produced at the east end of Loch Tay. Before 1550 the main focus of life here was Inchadin, site both of the parish church, within whose grounds, and indeed within whose walls, local lineages and kin-groups such as the MacNaughton vicars of Inchadin, the Robertsons of Carwhin, the MacGregors of Fearnan and the

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331. Taymouth Bk., 35-6.

332. Ibid., 35-6, 44, 46, 67, 68, 70.

333. Gillies, Breadalbane, 140-1.

334. Taymouth Bk., 45, 47, 60, 66-7.



family of the dean of Lismore had long been buried;<sup>335</sup> and of the local market and fair, Feill nam Ban Naomh, held annually on the Nine Virgins' Day in July.<sup>336</sup> MacGregors had been settled at Balloch from the late fifteenth century, and continued to be most strongly associated with it after it had been granted to the Campbells of Glen Orchy in 1508. The main base of the Campbells of Glen Orchy at the east end of Loch Tay before 1550 was the Isle of Loch Tay, which they had held since the time of Cailean Dubh na Roimhe in the later fifteenth century.<sup>337</sup>

After 1550 Cailean Liath deliberately elevated Balloch and Kenmore at the expense of Inchadin. The MacGregors were displaced from Balloch, and what was to become the Campbell of Glen Orchy's main fortress was completed there by 1559.<sup>338</sup> In 1561 Mr. William Ramsay was established as minister at Inchadin, occupying the manse formerly held by the pre-Reformation vicars. In 1572 Hugh Hay and Cristiane Stanness were established at Wester Skiag, a former MacGregor possession;<sup>339</sup> the Coble Croft, as keepers of a new inn which was to have a virtual monopoly on Loch Tayside; and Kenmore, which however Cailean Liath was already contemplating as a site for a new parish church. On the Nine Virgins' Day in 1575, "the prasyn [i.e. fixing of prices] and the margat was haldin and begwn at the Kenmor at the end of Lochtay and ther was na margat nor fayr haldin at Inchadin quhar it was wynt tilbe haldin. All this doin be Collyn Campbell of Glenwrquhay".<sup>340</sup> In 1581

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335. Chron. BDL, Chron. Fortingall, passim.

336. Gillies, Breadalbane, 409.

337. Supra, p. 143.

338. Supra, p. 232.

339. Supra, p. 233.

340. Chron. Fortingall.

Cailean Liath took the first positive steps which eventually led to the replacement of Inchadin by Kenmore as the site of the parish church; and the parishioners' stipulation that they should still be allowed to use the old church for burial suggests their desire to prevent the complete severance of another customary bond. "With the hostelry, the markets, and the kirk set up at Kenmore, the 'Model Village' [it underwent further 'improvement' in the late-eighteenth century]<sup>341</sup> began its history".<sup>342</sup> If we set it against the pre-Reformation kirk of Inchadin, completely ruined by 1581, we have a potent symbolic encapsulation of the dramatic changes which had taken place since 1550.

We are now in a position to draw conclusions about the nature of the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550. That there was a rapid and profound transformation is not in doubt. Gone was the internal weakness and stagnation which characterised the years between 1513 and 1550, to be replaced by a phase of expansion far more dramatic than the earlier primary phase the kindred had experienced between 1432 and 1513. Largely although not entirely because of their own actions, the landscape over which Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh exerted control was very different from that which had existed before 1550. Long established elements such as the prevailing ecclesiastical structure, including the priory of Strath Fillan and the lordship of the Charterhouse; the kirk, vicars, market and fair of Inchadin,

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341. Gillies, Breadalbane, 189.

342. *Ibid.*, 124.

and the Campbells of Strachur and the MacCairbres, were swept away, displaced, or went into decline. In their stead came a new ecclesiastical structure, which in general established itself gradually and only with difficulty; the kirk, reformed minister, inn, market and fair at Kenmore; the many sons and sometimes the servitors - some of them incomers - of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh, established on newly acquired lands throughout their lordship; a series of new fortresses at Balloch, the Isle of Loch Dochart, Edinample, Achallader and Barcaldine; new forests, parks, trees and animals.

In the lordship of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh there was much, naturally, that was recognisably Gaelic. They presided over a kin-based structure, acknowledged as chiefs by, and receiving calps and presents from, the Macintyres of Lorn, the MacLarens and Macintyres of Balquhidder, and a plethora of smaller kin-groups and individuals. The MacDougalls of Dunollie and of Rarey acted as their retinue at conventions and hostings in the highlands. Bonds were made through fosterage and adoption, and they continued to patronise professional bardic and medical kindreds. Many of the exactions they were able to levy across the different grades of society - cuid oidhche, the rendering of calps and labour services, provisions for their dogs and horses, and the levying of their daughters' dowries off the country - can be paralleled in late-medieval Irish lordships.<sup>343</sup> The expansion of their own lineage, and the consequent reduction and displacement of others after 1550 was in accordance with one of the fundamental principles of a kin-based

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343. Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland, 31-7.

society. Yet within the kin-based society, in which hereditary and customary principles counted for so much, Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh - themselves products and integral parts of that society - were instruments of radical change, bringing in new people and religious and social ideas, and displaying a willingness to sever or reorganise established relationships and practices.

The severing or reorganising of established relationships and practices, and the creation of new ones, was the most distinctive characteristic of the lordship of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh. It was most clearly manifest, and very possibly took much of its inspiration from, Cailean Liath's conversion to Protestantism. A man who had renegotiated entirely a relationship so fundamental as that between himself and God, and abandoned his existing faith and that of his ancestors in the process, was arguably capable of severing or renegotiating any other relationship or customary practice no matter how deep its roots lay. The same principle was clearly evident in the elevation of Kenmore at the expense of Inchadin. And it was also true of the relationships between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and those who fell within the ambit of their lordship after 1550. The phenomenal expansion of their power entailed the extinction or displacement of some lineages, the reduction of others, and the creation of a considerable number of new dependencies. Particularly in the heartland of their lordship in Breadalbane, the Campbells of Glen Orchy had now established themselves at the apex of a hierarchy in which every other entity was dependent upon them in ways that were much more explicit and binding than

had been the case before 1550. This was true in terms of both the kin-based society and the landholding structure. In the case of the former the supremacy of the Campbells of Glen Orchy was expressed particularly through bonds of manrent and the range of exactions already referred to. Indeed the sheer number of bonds of manrent made to Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh, coupled with the fact that they were engrossed into books kept especially for the purpose, makes their collection unique in the Scottish context; "the single most dramatic example of making of bonds of manrent to assert the power of the lord".<sup>344</sup> In terms of landholding, the varied pre-1550 pattern was replaced by the hegemony of the Campbells of Glen Orchy, who (with the single prominent exception of the Robertsons of Struan) either displaced the existing proprietors and tenants-in-chief entirely - such as the Charterhouse and the Campbells of Strachur - or else brought them into a state of feudal vassalage - as with the Macnabs.

The powers of social control of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550 were further strengthened by their acquisition of the bailliary of the Charterhouse lordship of Glen Dochart, which left them with unrivalled rights of jurisdiction over Deas-fhaire, Tuath-fhaire, Glen Lyon and Glen Dochart. After 1550 their courts were normally held at Balloch, Kenmore (further evidence for their elevation), Finlarig and Killin.<sup>345</sup> In addition to their judicial functions, these courts "formulated a code of statutes and enactments for the regulation of the social

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344. Wormald, Lords and Men, 100-101.

345. Gillies, Breadalbane, 260.

and economic life of the country, and there were few aspects of the life of the [inhabitants] of Breadalbane that were not touched by restriction or precept".<sup>346</sup>

The records of these courts are extant from 1573.<sup>347</sup> From 1574 copies of the Campbell of Glen Orchy's property deeds were engrossed in the protocol book of Gavin Hamilton, while after 1 August 1552,<sup>348</sup> copies of their bonds of manrent were also engrossed in books which, as we have seen, were unique in the Scottish context. In itself the keeping of these records is powerful evidence for the reorganisation of the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy on a far more efficient and orderly basis after 1550; and was doubtless rendered necessary by the sheer scale of acquisition of new territories, offices and dependants. Hand in hand with the keeping of these records went the creation of a professional secretariat - whose key members were successively Andrew White and Gavin Hamilton - in contrast to the more informal situation which had prevailed before 1550, when the Glen Orchy chiefs seem to have made use of local native notaries as the need arose.

At the heart of the changes which had taken place after 1550 were Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh themselves. Our analysis of their lordship has revealed them to be men of exceptional energy, ability, ambition and ruthlessness. What they did after 1550 was to take a locality and - through the exploitation of various mechanisms (baron courts; kin supremacy, frequently acknowledged through bonds of manrent; feudal

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346. *Ibid.*, 253. For examples of these statutes, see *ibid.*, 254-60; *Taymouth Bk.*, 352-67.

347. *Breadalbane Muns.*, SR0 GD112/17.

348. *Manrent Book (Cailean Liath)*, ff. 1v-2r.

superiorities) which together afforded them almost unlimited powers of social regulation and control - shape it according to their own vision. The very landscape became a manifestation of their will: the lands held by their sons; the fortresses; the 'model village' of Kenmore; the forests, parks, trees and animals. Perhaps we see the psychology which produced these changes most clearly in a grant by the earl of Argyll to Donnchadh Dubh of the keeping of the forest of Cruachan in 1597, on the grounds that Donnchadh Dubh had long wanted to put deer and roe therein, and understanding:

the said Sir Duncanis mynd purpois and intentioun  
to be effectuall tending to the policy and decoratioun  
of the contrey and to the effect that he may bring  
the samyne to ane guid point and perfectioun.<sup>349</sup>

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349. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/5/344.

## CHAPTER V

THE MacGREGORS AND THE CAMPBELLS OF GLEN ORCHY BETWEEN  
1550 AND THE EARLIER SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

We have now created the essential backcloth against which we can set and more fully comprehend the nature of the relationship between the MacGregors and the Campbells of Glen Orchy between 1550 and the early seventeenth century. Chapter VI will provide a detailed analysis of the critical years between 1550 and 1571. This chapter will adopt a broader and more theoretical perspective, examining some of the key issues involved, and comparing and contrasting the MacGregors' experiences with those of other kindreds.

In Chapter IV we saw that after 1550 the MacGregors, in common with many other lineages, including those such as the Macnabs and MacQueens which had also depended on the Campbells of Glen Orchy before 1550, experienced reduction in status or actual displacement as Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh acquired their lands and divided them among their sons. This pattern is no more than we would expect within a kin-based society. The seventeenth century Irish antiquarian Dualtagh MacFirbisigh described it thus:

For it is a usual thing in the case of great princes, when their children and their families multiply, that their clients and followers are squeezed out, wither away and are wasted.<sup>1</sup>

Kenneth Nicholls defines the phenomenon as, "expansion from the top downwards",<sup>2</sup> and cites an example which has some points of contact with the Campbell of Glen Orchy/MacGregor scenario:

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1. Cited in D.Ó Corráin, Ireland before the Normans (Dublin, 1972), 45.
  2. Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland, 10.



Down to the end of the fifteenth century the MacCawell chiefs of Kinelfarry in South Tyrone appear in the annals as a minor power, but then a period begins in which the family always appear as allies or followers of Donnell O'Neill (Lord of Tyrone, 1498-1509) and, after him, of his sons. By 1568 the descendants of Donnell were the lords of Kinelfarry, and the MacCawells, while still present, were reduced to insignificance.<sup>3</sup>

Up to a point then, we could interpret the experience of the MacGregors after 1550 as a natural consequence of the processes at work within the kin-based society. The general model provided by MacFirbisigh perhaps fails to convey the abruptness with which these processes took place within the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy, and which is to be explained by the rapidity with which Cailean Liath reversed the stagnation so evident before 1550. But what sets the MacGregors apart, and what neither MacFirbisigh nor our own overview of the lordship of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh after 1550 could prepare us for, is the sustained military resistance with which the MacGregors met the processes of reduction operating upon them after 1550. The only other apparent instance of armed opposition encountered by Cailean Liath or Donnchadh Dubh was the brief flurry by the Campbells of Strachur in 1598, while it was Donnchadh Dubh who used force against the MacQueens of Duneaves and Domhnall Menteith of Carwhin in 1601. The MacGregor resistance after 1550 was on an entirely different plane and manifested itself in two main ways: an exceptionally violent and bitter feud between themselves and Cailean Liath which lasted from 1562 until 1570, and left a permanent legacy; and a long struggle over the MacGregor lands of Glen Strae,

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3. Ibid., 25.

from which - in complete contrast to every other acquisition made by Cailean Liath or Donnchadh Dubh - it took the latter 50 years to displace the MacGregor chiefs. The events of the 1560s will be dealt with in Chapter VI: the struggle for Glen Strae will be considered briefly here.

Glen Strae was important to the MacGregors for several reasons. In legal terms it was the only territory held by their chiefs on an heritable basis down to 1554, if we exclude the brief period in the 1540s when they held Glen Ample of the earls of Argyll. Again there was a very strong emotional attachment. The MacGregor chiefs had been based at Glen Strae since the very inception of the lineage in the early fourteenth century: members of the ruling family had been buried at Dìseart Chonnáin at Dalmally, which lay within the Glen Strae territory, from at least 1390 until at least 1547. Finally, the fertility of the strath between the mouths of Glen Strae and Glen Orchy, where most of the lands held by the MacGregor chiefs lay, must have made Glen Strae economically important to the MacGregors.

The MacGregor chiefs held Glen Strae as vassals of the earls of Argyll (lords of Loch Awe before c.1457), apparently without incident, from the late fourteenth century or early fifteenth century until 1554. At that point, the MacGregor chief Griogair Ruadh was a minor. Taking advantage of this vulnerability - just as Donnchadh Dubh would do in the case of the Campbells of Strachur in 1596 - Cailean Liath purchased the superiority of Glen Strae, along with the ward and non-entry of the same during Griogair Ruadh's minority, and the marriage of the latter, from the

earl and master of Argyll for an unspecified sum, by transactions carried out at Edinburgh on 26 April and 7 May 1554.<sup>4</sup>

In late 1552, Cailean Liath had also acquired the superiority of the Glen Dochart lands previously held directly of the crown by the Macnab chiefs. In 1559 Cailean Liath granted these lands to Fionnlagh Macnab, and although the Macnab chiefs were subsequently displaced entirely from Easter Ardchyle and Duinish, they continued to hold the bulk of these territories as vassals of the lairds of Glen Orchy.

The experience of the MacGregor chiefs after 1554 was profoundly different. None of their number was accepted as the vassal of either Cailean Liath or Donnchadh Dubh in Glen Strae until 1624,<sup>5</sup> while the infeftment of the then chief, Griogair Murray alias MacGregor, in that year, was merely a device to pave the way for his subsequent and decisive resignation of his own right, and that of his heirs and successors, to these lands. In the summer of 1570 Cailean Liath granted Glen Strae to Donnchadh Dubh, then fiar of Glen Orchy;<sup>6</sup> in 1604 Donnchadh Dubh infeft his second son Raibeart therein;<sup>7</sup> in 1613 Raibeart's own son Eoin became tenant there.<sup>8</sup> Glen Strae returned to the main Glen Orchy line in 1640, when Raibert Campbell became chief of the kindred.<sup>9</sup>

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4. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/75/19, 20; GD112/2/117/57/1/32x.
  5. As proved by the infeftment of Griogair Murray alias MacGregor in that year as lawful and nearest heir of his great-grandfather, Alasdair MacGregor of Glen Strae: (ed.), H. Campbell, Abstracts of the General Register of Sasines for Argyll, Bute and Dunbarton, otherwise known as the Argyll Sasines (Edinburgh, 1934), no. 182.
  6. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/81/II/8, 9, 10.
  7. Prot. Bk. Gavin Hamilton, 302-3.
  8. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/81/III/25, 26.
  9. Taymouth Bk., 89.

On two occasions Cailean Liath did promise to accept the MacGregor chief as his vassal, but attached conditions which make it clear that he was using the superiority of Glen Strae as a political weapon with which to try to bring the MacGregor chiefs into a very explicit dependency upon him. On 24 November 1562 he bound himself to infest Griogair Ruadh (who by now had come of age) in Glen Strae only if the latter first surrendered two of his dependants - who had been involved in the murder of a servant of Cailean's some months previously - and accepted certain unspecified legal restrictions.<sup>10</sup> On 29 March 1570 Cailean Liath promised that if he executed Griogair Ruadh, now his prisoner, he would in due course thereafter infest the latter's young son Alasdair Ruadh in Glen Strae, but again the bond was hedged around with restrictions, including the provision that Alasdair Ruadh should hold Glen Strae, "in ward and releif with all securitie neidful as sall pleis my lord of Ergyle to deviss".<sup>11</sup>

For most of the years between December 1562 and 1570 Griogair Ruadh and many of his kindred were engaged in a campaign of mobile guerrilla warfare. The only point at which they may have been in possession of Glen Strae was between late 1565 and mid-1567 when a temporary truce prevailed between them and Cailean Liath.<sup>12</sup> When the feud was finally ended in late 1570, Cailean Liath granted Griogair Ruadh's brother Eòghan the ward, use and profit of the Glen Strae lands, as tutor to Griogair Ruadh's son Alasdair Ruadh during the latter's minority.<sup>13</sup> On 28 June 1585, on being granted

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10. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/122; *infra*, pp. 280-3, 309-13.

11. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/182a; *infra*, pp. 375-6.

12. *Infra*, p. 359.

13. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/191.

tacks of Wester Morenish by Donnchadh Dubh, Eòghan granted that Donnchadh Dubh should

be free of all conditionis maid to him (Eòghan)  
of the landis or uther malis in Glenurquhay  
And renounceis all takis and uther secureteis  
maid be Duncan to him thairupone.<sup>14</sup>

After this point the MacGregors maintained themselves in Glen Strae without any legal title whatsoever, and against the wishes of Donnchadh Dubh - a testimony both to their military power and to the strength of their attachment to these lands. Donnchadh Dubh's first attempt to evict them by legal means took place in 1590:<sup>15</sup> its failure was acknowledged by a supplication he presented to the Privy Council in 1595, which revealed that Alasdair Ruadh had been occupying Glen Strae by force since August 1590.<sup>16</sup> Following the proscription of the clan in April 1603, and the execution and forfeiture of Alasdair Ruadh in 1604, the MacGregors certainly were displaced, and Glen Strae was occupied by Donnchadh Dubh's son Raibeart; but

Duncane M<sup>C</sup>Ewne M<sup>C</sup>Gregour [son of Griogair Ruadh's brother Eòghan], callit Tutor... some few yeirs thairefter violentlie possest the saidis landis, and withheld the same fra the said Robert Campbell.<sup>17</sup>

According to a remission granted in 1627,<sup>18</sup> a force led by Donnchadh Dubh and four of his sons carried out a major assault on Glen Strae in or around May 1611, burning the settlements (villae) and lands of Duiletter and the castrum of Glen Strae. If that date is accurate, then even an attack on this scale was insufficient

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14. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/2 (photostat of the original).  
15. Ibid., GD50/187/2, 10 August; Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/5/296.  
16. RPC v (1592-99), 213-4, where 1580 is an error for 1590.  
17. Ibid., xiv (Addenda: 1545-1625), 572.  
18. RMS viii (1620-33), no. 1076.

to displace the MacGregors permanently, for in 1612 Donnchadh Dubh again found it necessary to carry out the legal procedures for evicting them.<sup>19</sup> The issue was finally resolved only in 1624. In April and May of that year a contract was made between Donnchadh Dubh and his eldest son and heir Cailean on the one hand, and Griogair, Pàdraig and Eòghan, the nephews of Alasdair Ruadh, on the other. Griogair would, "purchase and obtene him selff deulie infeft and sasit" in the 20 merklands of Glen Strae, on a precept of clare constat to be granted in his favour by Donnchadh and Cailean as superiors thereof; thereafter he would resign the lands immediately to them in return for £10,000.<sup>20</sup> The procuratory of resignation ad remanentiam drawn up at the same time provided for the resignation of Griogair's "indoubtit lauchfull and immediat superioritie" of Glen Strae. He, his heirs and successors were in future "to be alutterlie secludit and debarrit fra the propertie and possessioun of the saidis landis".<sup>21</sup> On Whitsunday Donnchadh Dubh paid Griogair 5,000 merks and discharged him from all legal action intended against him before that date. The remaining ten thousand merks were lodged with David Livingston of Dunipace as security to Donnchadh Dubh and Cailean, with power to Griogair to uplift them after six years.<sup>22</sup> Security to Griogair of the 10,000 merks was provided by a contract of 5 July 1624 by which Livingston sold the town and lands of Seabeg in Stirlingshire to him, and in special warrandice also to Cailean.<sup>23</sup> Griogair duly took sasine in the Glen Strae lands on 13 July,<sup>24</sup> and

19. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/12r; GD112/2/81/III/34.

20. Ibid., GD112/2/81/III/27.

21. Ibid.

22. OPS ii, pt. i, 140.

23. Ibid., 140-1.

24. (Ed.), H. Campbell, Argyll Sasines, no. 182.

resigned them to Donnchadh Dubh and Cailean at Finlarig between nine and ten o'clock on the morning of 21 August 1624.<sup>25</sup>

Although traces of insecurity on the part of the Campbells of Glen Orchy lingered even after 1624,<sup>26</sup> the struggle for Glen Strae was now effectively over. A topographical description of the Highlands, apparently composed c.1644, says of Loch Awe:

On the North-syde of the east heid of this Logh there is a town which the M<sup>C</sup>Gregours were wont to dwell and inhabite in, sumetimes which is called Stronimiallchan in Glenstra . . . this Stranimiallchan is now manured occupied and used be the laird of Glenurquhie and his sone.<sup>27</sup>

We have established then, that although the MacGregors' experiences after 1550 were part of a much wider phenomenon which saw numerous kindreds and kin-groups displaced or reduced by Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh, and brought into clearly-defined subjection to them, nevertheless the effect of viewing the MacGregors against this background is to emphasise the unique intensity of their experiences, as exemplified by the feud of the 1560s and the struggle for Glen Strae. In order to explain why this was so we need to consider the development of each kindred before 1550 and the special relationship which had existed between them for much of that period.

The degree of correlation between the settlement patterns of both kindreds as they moved into Breadalbane before 1513 meant that, as the Campbells of Glen Orchy underwent a fresh phase of major expansion after 1550, the MacGregors were inevitably affected more profoundly than any other kindred. This finds its clearest

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25. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/81/III/28.

26. OPS ii, pt. i, 143.

27. Macfarlane, Geog. Coll. ii, 147-8; for the date cf. ibid., xxxi, xlv, 512.

expression in 1565, when in answer to a request by the earl of Argyll (who was then attempting to negotiate a settlement between Cailean Liath and the MacGregors) that the MacGregors be allowed to re-occupy their kindly possessions, Cailean Liath replied:

And as to M<sup>C</sup>Gregouris kyndlie rowmis I can nocht mak your Lordship ansuer of that be resson that the Clangregor allegis that mekle of the rowmis that I have suld be thairis.<sup>28</sup>

Down to 1550 the most prominent and favoured of the servitors of the Glen Orchy chiefs were the family of the dean of Lismore, and the MacGregors of Brackley. These ties were unaffected by the weakening of the bond between the MacGregors as a whole and the Campbells of Glen Orchy between 1513 and 1550. On 17 May 1550, less than two months before his death, Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy granted a tack on generous terms to his "weil belovit servand", Eoin mac Dhonnchaidh of the Brackley lineage:<sup>29</sup> members of the family of the dean of Lismore were among the beneficiaries of Eoin's testament, drawn up on 2 June, while three of them, including the dean himself, were witnesses to it.<sup>30</sup>

After 1550, these two lineages were the most spectacular casualties of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh's policies of introducing non-indigenous servitors, which itself exemplified their disregard for hereditary and customary ties. In neither case was the watershed absolute. It was through Cailean Liath's patronage that the dean's son sir Dubhghall MacGregor became chancellor of Lismore in 1558. But there was a clear and symbolic

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28. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 9 July.

29. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/73 (printed Taymouth Bk., 405-8).

30. Ibid., GD112/3/1/2.



significance in his replacement in that office at some point between 1575 and 1578 by Cailean Liath's new servitor and notary public Gavin Hamilton,<sup>31</sup> even though Dubhghall seems to have remained on good terms with Donnchadh Dubh thereafter.<sup>32</sup> Others of his lineage were not so fortunate. Cailean Liath evicted Griogair mac Dhubhghaill from Balloch on Whitsunday 5 June 1552 as a prelude to the building of his new castle there; and either then or subsequently Griogair was also displaced as tenant of Skiag and Cloichran. In the course of the feud between Cailean Liath and the MacGregors, Griogair, the dean's own son, was slain by a servant of Cailean Liath in 1565.<sup>33</sup>

During that feud the MacGregors of Brackley remained loyal to Cailean Liath,<sup>34</sup> and they maintained their position as keepers of Kilchurn Castle until 8 January 1595, when a decret arbitral ordained that the then head of the lineage, Griogair mac Eoin, should surrender to Donnchadh Dubh:

all rycht clame and kyndnes that he or his  
forsaidis had hes or may have to the custodie  
and keping of the said castell and fortalice of  
Glenurquhay, commodities and privilegis had  
thairthrow in favouris of the said sir Duncan  
and his foirsaidis ad perpetuam remanentiam.<sup>35</sup>

So ended an hereditary connection of 150 years' standing.

Finally, and most importantly, the years between 1513 and 1550 had seen a pronounced shift both in the nature of the relationship between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors, and in their relative status.<sup>36</sup> After 1513 the Glen Orchy chiefs seem

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31. Watt, *Fasti*, 32-3.

32. *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/1/4/295; GD112/1/5/298.

33. *Infra*, pp. 346-7.

34. *Infra*, p. 379.

35. *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/1/5/324.

36. *Supra*, pp. 118-33.

to have been deprived of the military services of the MacGregors, who were now acting on behalf of Eoin Campbell of Cawdor as well as the earls of Argyll. This may have contributed to the failure of the Glen Orchy chiefs to expand their lordship further, while within Breadalbane itself they found it extremely difficult to keep control both of elements within their own kindred, and of dependants such as Menzies of Roro. The MacGregors continued to expand and by 1550 were probably in military terms the most powerful kindred within Breadalbane. Whether or not we accept that under Donnchadh Làdasach's influence they launched an attack on the Campbells of Glen Orchy in the late 1540s with the intention of challenging the latter's pre-eminence, there can be little doubt that the MacGregors now presented the biggest political threat to that pre-eminence.

Central to the ethos of the lordship established by Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh after 1550 was the use of a range of devices, including feudal superiorities, bonds of manrent and adoption, and rights of jurisdiction, in order to make others subject to them in precisely defined ways. They were absolutists, intolerant of opposition. Within a hegemony of this nature there could be no place for a kindred as powerful as the MacGregors, possessing a capacity either for independent action or for action at the behest of another, such as Campbell of Cawdor.

In the light of the foregoing analysis, the unique character of the MacGregors' experiences after 1550 becomes clear. It was inevitable that an attempt to curb the independence of the MacGregors, and reduce them to a state of explicit dependency upon him, would

form a key element of the programme upon which Cailean Liath embarked after 5 July 1550. It was equally inevitable that such a policy would encounter violent opposition, given that the MacGregors possessed the power to resist.

The first signal of Cailean Liath's intentions towards the MacGregors came a mere five days after his accession, and was apparently his first significant act as chief of his kindred.<sup>37</sup> In 1552, Cailean Liath was able to exploit the climate of insecurity created by his execution of Donnchadh Làdasach on 16 June in order not only to further his MacGregor policies, but also to take bonds from many other kin-groups and individuals, and acquire the superiority of the lands of Fionnlagh Macnab.<sup>38</sup> We may be justified in concluding that in the early 1550s Cailean Liath used his MacGregor strategies as the spearhead of his wider programme, in the belief that by firstly reducing those most able to oppose him, the subjection of others would naturally follow. The approach was to backfire in the 1560s, however, when Cailean Liath's total preoccupation with the MacGregor feud brought his general expansionist drive to a standstill.

The particular challenge presented by the MacGregors was reflected in the fact that Cailean Liath used a wider range of mechanisms to attempt to reduce them than he did in the case of any other kindred; and that in the case of the MacGregors these mechanisms were either only partially successful, or took much longer to achieve success than they did with other kindreds. These distinctions can best be brought out if we contrast the MacGregors

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37. *Infra*, pp. 287-9.

38. *Infra*, pp. 295-8.

with the Macintyres and MacLarens of Balquhiddar, two other kindreds drawn into the orbit of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550.

Cailean Liath's first step was to secure the grant of the services of the MacGregors from Gill-easbuig fourth earl of Argyll,<sup>39</sup> most probably in the immediate aftermath of his own accession in 1550. Some of the events of the next few years might suggest that the clock had simply been turned back: the relationship between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors had<sup>been</sup> renewed upon exactly the same basis as it had operated before 1513. Cailean Liath introduced the MacGregors into the 12 merkland of Rannoch west of the River Ericht granted him in tack by Alasdair Menzies on 10 June 1553;<sup>40</sup> his assurance (along with that of Argyll) that the MacGregors would keep good rule enabled Mary of Guise to grant Menzies permission to set the rest of his Rannoch lands in tack to the MacGregors in 1558;<sup>41</sup> in the same year Dubhghall MacGregor became chancellor of Lismore through Cailean Liath's patronage.<sup>42</sup> But from Cailean Liath's point of view his acquisition of the services of the MacGregors ended their potentially troublesome connection with the Campbells of Cawdor (although it would revive in the late sixteenth century)<sup>43</sup> and acted as the launch-pad for a series of further measures - the taking of bonds of manrent, the purchase of the superiority of Glen Strae, and an attempt to acquire rights of jurisdiction over members of the clan - which aimed to reduce the MacGregor chief to the status of a nominal

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39. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 29 June 1562; NLS, Advocates' MS, Ch. B.11.

40. *Supra*, p. 197.

41. *Supra*, pp. 197-8.

42. Chron. Fortingall, summer.

43. Cawdor Bk., 184.

figurehead or indeed to bypass him altogether, leaving Cailean Liath as the effective head of the kindred. In introducing these measures Cailean Liath exploited the fact that for most and perhaps all of the period between his accession and 1562, there was no adult MacGregor chief.<sup>44</sup>

If we take the bonds of manrent first, we can begin to develop the parallels provided by the Macintyres and MacLarens. As with the MacGregors, it was through grants made by the earl of Argyll that Cailean Liath acquired the services of both kindreds in the first instance, though unlike the MacGregors, these grants created new relationships rather than reviving older ones. In the case of the Macintyres it is clear that Argyll's grant alone was sufficient to ensure their future obedience to Cailean Liath.<sup>45</sup> The MacLarens were clearly a more powerful kindred, for Argyll's transfer of their manrent, homage and services to Cailean Liath on 8 November 1559 was made on condition that the MacLarens themselves consented thereto.<sup>46</sup> Bonds of manrent accepting Cailean Liath as chief to the exclusion of all others were made by nine MacLarens on 21 November 1559, 26 MacLarens on 11 March 1560, and by the kindred in its entirety on 3 June 1561.<sup>47</sup>

The MacGregor bonds form an altogether different type of sequence which seems to reflect how Cailean Liath's hold over the kindred fluctuated at different times. The first MacGregor to make a bond of manrent to Cailean Liath, on 10 July 1550, bound himself that in the event of a dispute between his own chief and Cailean Liath he would remain neutral.<sup>48</sup> Between August and December 1552, at a point when the clan as a whole was especially

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44. *Infra*, pp. 285-313.

45. *Infra*, p. 281.

46. *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/1/2/112 (printed *Taymouth Bk.*, 201).

47. *Manrent Book (Cailean Liath)*, ff. 9r, 10v-11r, 14r-v.

48. *Infra*, pp. 287-8.

vulnerable, MacGregor individuals or kin-groups made five bonds involving the permanent renunciation of their own chief and the acceptance of Cailean Liath in his stead.<sup>49</sup> The next bond, made in August 1555, suggests that this particular crisis was past, for the MacGregor concerned reserved his allegiance to his own chief.<sup>50</sup> In 1560 and 1561, MacGregors in Glen Lednock and Balquhiddar made three bonds accepting Cailean Liath as chief to the exclusion of all others.<sup>51</sup> Once Griogair Ruadh came of age and the feud between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors began, it is clear that several of these bonds at least, including some made in 1552, were disregarded,<sup>52</sup> while at no time did Clann Griogair collectively renounce its chief in favour of Cailean Liath as the MacLarens did.

Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh's manipulation of the superiority of Glen Strae as a means both of trying to extract concessions from the MacGregor chiefs and ultimately of depriving them of their lands, has already received some discussion. What we need to consider further here is one of the conditions upon which Cailean Liath made Griogair Ruadh's infeftment in Glen Strae conditional in his obligation of 24 November 1562, namely the surrender of two of Griogair Ruadh's dependants who had been involved in the slaying of a servant of Cailean Liath.

The importance of the issue lay in the fact that the protection of his kinsmen and dependants was fundamental to the role of a chief.<sup>53</sup> A late fifteenth century chief of the MacDonalds of Keppoch

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49. *Infra*, pp. 296-8.

50. *Infra*, p. 301.

51. *Infra*, pp. 304-5. No evidence has yet been discovered to show that these MacGregors owed allegiance to any other chief apart from their own.

52. *Infra*, p. 316.

53. See e.g. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/64 (printed Taymouth Bk., 185-6).

was deposed by the elders of the clan for surrendering to Macintosh, the steward of Lochaber, one of his own clansmen who had fled to him for protection after committing a crime.<sup>54</sup> This makes it unsurprising that agreements by kindreds to surrender any of their members to a particular individual, or to allow him a judicial role in their own affairs, seem usually to have gone hand-in-hand with their acceptance of that individual as their chief, presumably implying either the outright rejection of their own chief or the reduction of the latter to a position of insignificance. The dependency of the Macintyres of Lorn on the Campbells of Glen Orchy began because some of their number killed a foster-brother of Sir Cailean, the first Glen Orchy chief. Subsequently the Macintyres

deliverit to hym ane of the principile comittaris of the said slauchter callit Johne Boy M<sup>c</sup>yn teir to be pwnesit at the will of the said sir Colyne. And mayrover that thair and thair posteritie mycht remane in favouris of the said Sir Colyne electit and tuke him and his airis for thar cheiffis and masteris...<sup>55</sup>

Turning to the Balquhiddar kindreds, we find that on 24 August 1590 four Macintyres bound themselves to deliver one of their surname to Donnchadh Dubh if the latter was charged by James VI to be answerable for the individual concerned.<sup>56</sup> The greater power of the MacLarens was reflected in the fact that, in the bond of 1561 by which the entire kindred accepted Cailean Liath as chief, it was provided that if any of the clan failed to keep the bond, four of the wisest and ablest men of the clan would reform

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54. D. Gregory, The History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625 (London and Glasgow, 1881), 108-9.

55. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/2/99 (printed Taymouth Bk., 200-1).

56. Taymouth Bk., 246.

the failure.<sup>57</sup> But a further bond by the MacLarens in 1573 stipulated that once the guilty party had been tried before the ablest persons of the surname, the matter should thereafter be remedied by Cailean Liath, thereby assigning to the latter a judicial role.<sup>58</sup>

Against this background we can fully appreciate the dilemma presented to Griogair Ruadh by the obligation of 24 November 1562. That the surrender of his dependants to Cailean Liath would have created a more explicit form of clientship than had existed between any of his predecessors and the Glen Orchy chiefs is suggested both by the violence which marked Griogair Ruadh's rejection of these terms,<sup>59</sup> and the evidence for the degree of independence enjoyed by the MacGregor chiefs before 1550 already discussed.<sup>60</sup> In a letter written to Cailean Liath probably in late 1564, Griogair Ruadh reaffirmed his position: he would refuse to have any truck with a peace settlement which included among its conditions the lives of his kinsmen.<sup>61</sup> In fact, the issue was conceded in late 1570 after Griogair Ruadh's death, in the final treaty made between Cailean Liath and leading MacGregors headed by Griogair Ruadh's brother Eòghan, now tutor. One of the two surviving draft versions of that treaty provided that any MacGregors covered by the settlement who failed in their duty to Cailean Liath, were to be captured and delivered to him by Eòghan and his principal kinsmen within 40 days of the offence being

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57. Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), ff. 14r-v.

58. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/201 (printed Taymouth Bk., 216).

59. *Infra*, pp. 313-4.

60. *Supra*, pp. 117-8, 130.

61. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, document filed after document dated 27 November 1564.



committed, to be tried in the presence of Eòghan and his principal kinsmen along with other prominent local personages, with Cailean Liath as judge and overman<sup>62</sup> - an arrangement close to that envisaged in the bond made by the MacLarens in 1573.

These or similar arrangements were reiterated in various contracts made throughout the period during which Eòghan was tutor.<sup>63</sup> Yet early in his chiefship, Alasdair Ruadh dramatically reasserted the responsibility of the MacGregor chief to protect his clansmen. The circumstances were very reminiscent of those faced by Griogair Ruadh in late 1562, with the difference that on this occasion the party to whom Alasdair Ruadh should have surrendered his dependants was the earl of Montrose and not Campbell of Glen Orchy.<sup>64</sup> In September 1589, certain MacGregors slew Eoin Drummond of Drummondernoch, a dependant of the earl of Montrose.<sup>65</sup> In the words of the Register of the Privy Council:

the authoris thair of cuttit of the said umquhile Johnne Drummondis heid, and caryed the same to the Laird MacGregour; quha and the hail surname of M<sup>c</sup>kgregour purposlie convenit, upoun the nixt Sondag thaireftir, at the kirk of Buchquhidder quhair thay causit the said umquhile Johnis heid be presentit to thame, and thair, avowing the said murthour to haif bene committit be thair commoun counsale and determination, layed their hands upon the pow, and, in eithnik and barbarous maner, sweir to defend the authoris of the said murthour ...<sup>66</sup>

Upon this issue, as well as that of Glen Strae, 1570 did not mark the end of the resistance of the MacGregor chiefs.

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62. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/191. The other version (ibid., GD112/1/3/193a) makes no mention of a judicial role for Eòghan and his kinsmen.
63. E.g., ibid., GD112/1/4/225,245; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 12 May 1584 (photostat of original), 28 June 1585 (photostat of original).
64. For a decret arbitral of 12 February 1588 ruling that Alasdair Ruadh and his tutor Eòghan surrender two MacGregors to Montrose before 1 August, see MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2.
65. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/293 (printed Taymouth Bk., 244-6).
66. RPC iv (1585-92), 453.

## CHAPTER VI

THE BREAKDOWN OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MacGREGORS  
AND THE CAMPBELLS OF GLEN ORCHY, 1550-1571

part i: 1550-1562

On the evidence of the family history, The Black Book of Taymouth, Cailean Liath, third son of Cailean the third Campbell laird of Glen Orchy, would have been 51 years old when he became head of his kindred in 1550.<sup>1</sup> This may be an exaggeration, but if so not by much, since by 29 April 1510 he was of an age to be fostered.<sup>2</sup> As a third son, he could not normally have expected to succeed to the headship of his lineage. Dynastic accident - the death of the son and heir of his eldest brother Donnchadh, and the succession of his elder brother Eoin, who died in 1550 leaving no legitimate male heirs<sup>3</sup> - gave him that opportunity.

The background to Cailean Liath's entire adult life before 1550 had been the stagnation of the lordship of his kindred. That stagnation had been counterpointed, and indeed probably intensified, by the rise of his own personal star from the later 1530s. Both these factors doubtless help to explain the rapidity with which he assumed control and inaugurated a new era, in 1550. It may have been apparent for some time before Eoin Campbell's death that Cailean Liath would succeed him. Certainly the actions of the latter thereafter bear all the hallmarks of a man grasping his opportunity to put into practice a premeditated programme.

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1. Taymouth Bk., illustration facing p. 20.

2. Supra, p. 78.

3. Eoin had a filius putativus, Pàdraig, who died on 1 May 1558 (Chron. Fortingall).

The decisiveness of the break with the past is nowhere more powerfully symbolised than in Cailean Liath's subsequent treatment of the family of the dean of Lismore, and Fionnlagh Macnab of Bovain, all of whom featured prominently in Eoin Campbell's testament drawn up on 2 June 1550, and the latter of whom Cailean was specifically requested to treat benevolently by the terms of that document.<sup>4</sup> But it was in an action whose implications concerned the MacGregors as a kindred that the new regime first manifested itself, and it became clear in due course that Cailean Liath's MacGregor policies were a key element in his overall strategy.

We have already suggested that those policies may have been commenced under the dual stimulation of the sanction of the earl of Argyll, whose grant to Cailean Liath of the service of the MacGregors may have taken place immediately on Cailean Liath's accession; and the rise to prominence and influence of Donnchadh L`adasach MacGregor, who may have embodied, albeit in extreme terms, the MacGregor capacity for independent action which the prevailing ethos of the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550 was not prepared to tolerate.<sup>5</sup> We can now add another factor. Cailean Liath's accession seems to have coincided - possibly with suspicious precision - with an internal crisis at the head of the MacGregor lineage. The MacGregor chief Eoin Ruadh died suddenly and violently at some point after 4 October 1548, "of the hurt of ane arrow going betuix Glenlyoun and Rannoch".<sup>6</sup> He was certainly dead by 26 April 1554,<sup>7</sup> and almost

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4. *Supra*, pp. 235-8, 274-5.

5. *Supra*, pp. 127-30, 278.

6. *Taymouth Bk.*, 64-5.

7. *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/75/20.

certainly so before the period between 22 November 1551 and 16 June 1552. In fact, it is possible to argue that his death should be placed shortly before or after 10 July 1550.<sup>8</sup> His nearest male heir, his brother Griogair Ruadh, was a minor. According to Duncan Laideus' Testament, Donnchadh Làdasach himself had designs on the chiefship, but was elected tutor instead.<sup>9</sup> It is very difficult to determine whether he did indeed become tutor. Contemporary sources do not use that term of him, but nor do they use it of any other MacGregor, while Donnchadh Làdasach was unequivocally the most prominent personage within the clan until June 1552. Tutors, it would seem, were usually relatively near kinsmen of the under-age chief chosen by the leading men of the clan who would thereafter act as his advisors.<sup>10</sup> Donnchadh Làdasach was certainly not a close relation of Griogair Ruadh. His own lineage had hived off from the main stem in the mid-fifteenth century, but had remained important. Donnchadh Làdasach carried that prominence to remarkable levels in the 1540s, and if he did indeed become tutor it must have been on this basis. The problem was that, before 1550 at least, his influence seems to have been entirely malignant, and had already created tensions with the Campbells. Menzies of Weem's tack to Eoin Ruadh on 4 October 1548 had demonstrated an ability to distinguish between the kindred of Donnchadh Làdasach on the one hand, and the rest of Clann Griogair on the other, but such a distinction might well be lost should

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8. *Infra*, pp. 288-9.

9. Taymouth Bk., 161.

10. R.W. Munro, "The Clan System - Fact or Fiction?", in The Inverness Field Club, The Middle Ages in the Highlands (Inverness, 1981), 119-20, 121-2.

Donnchadh Làdasach become tutor. "Thair wit was waik, or ellis thai wantit sleip / Thai gaif the wolf the wedder for to keip", was how the author of Duncan Laideus' Testament interpreted that decision.<sup>11</sup> Whether or not he became tutor, it may rather have been the case that there were MacGregors who were alarmed by his pre-eminence in the wake of Eoin Ruadh's death, believing that his established notoriety and the poorness of his relationship with the Campbells would outweigh any advantage which might accrue from his military abilities.

Chron. Fortingall and The Black Book of Taymouth both agree that Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy died at the Isle of Loch Tay on 5 July 1550.<sup>12</sup> Five days later, at the same place, Cailean Liath received the bond of manrent of Alasdair mac Phàdraig mhic Dhonnchaidh MacGregor, also known as Alasdair Odhar.<sup>13</sup> Alasdair Odhar became Cailean Liath's faithful servant, and would serve him in both highlands and lowlands at Cailean's expense. Both parties excepted their respective allegiances to the earl of Argyll and to the MacGregor chief. In all this there was nothing untoward. The MacGregors of Fearnan had given their bond of manrent to the Glen Orchy chief in the context of the contract of fosterage of 1510, and other MacGregor kin-groups may have done the same before 1550, or at any rate before 1513. But there were two further clauses. It was stipulated that, "gif it happinnys ony differance ... betuixt

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11. Taymouth Bk., 161.

12. Ibid., 19. The preamble to his testament of 2 June 1550 describes him as already dead, yet the verb forms within the body of the document are couched in the first person present (Breadalbane Muns., SRO, GD112/3/2). An independent and near-contemporary document supports a July dating (ibid., GD112/2/6, 14 September 1550). We can fairly assume that Eoin was already terminally ill on 2 June, and died on 5 July.

13. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/76 (printed Taymouth Bk., 189-90).

the said Collyne his ayris and McGregor his cheyff ... the said Alexander sall nocht stand with ane of thame bot he sall be ane ewinly man for baytht the pairties until the difference is mitigat on baytht sides". Secondly, Alasdair assigned to Cailean Liath and his heirs his tacks of lands, particularly the ten merkland of Wester Morenish, currently occupied by himself and his subtenants, and made them the executors of his goods (which were inventoried separately that same day)<sup>14</sup> if he left no heirs, with power to uplift and dispone both tacks and goods upon his decease.

Wester Morenish had long been an important MacGregor holding, possibly from the generation of Alasdair Odhar's grandfather, Donnchadh Beag of Roro. Alasdair's uncle Griogair had died there in 1503, as had his father Pàdraig in 1522.<sup>15</sup> In keeping with the pattern of joint-expansion which had prevailed before 1513, members of the Campbell of Glen Orchy kindred had established themselves as tacksmen at Easter Morenish from at least 1503.<sup>16</sup> The terms of Alasdair Odhar's bond were an altogether new and ominous phenomenon, contemplating as they did the possibility both of the displacement of the MacGregors from Wester Morenish, and of future antagonism between Cailean Liath and the MacGregor chief.

Why did Alasdair Odhar make such a bond? The document stated that he did so of his own free will, but its unprecedented terms surely imply deeper motives springing from specific circumstances. It could be that the MacGregor chief Eoin Ruadh had recently died,

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14. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzie's Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/49.

15. Supra, pp. 161-2.

16. Supra, pp. 148-9, 170.

precipitating a crisis within the lineage of the sort already described, and of which Alasdair Odhar's bond was a manifestation. This argument has in its favour the fact that, between June and December 1552, precisely this type of sequence of events was observed.<sup>17</sup> Alternatively, and rather more speculatively, it could be that the potential for conflict between Cailean Liath and Eoin Ruadh had existed from the point of the accession of the former, if not before; it was in the event of such a conflict that Alasdair Odhar bound himself to remain neutral; and that shortly thereafter the conflict became real and brought about Eoin Ruadh's death.

It counts against the latter hypothesis, and is in any case strange, that after 10 July 1550 contemporary sources for relations between Cailean Liath and the MacGregors fall silent until late 1551, leaving Alasdair Odhar's bond suspended in a curious isolation, apparently a cue neither for further action on Cailean Liath's part nor for any immediate MacGregor response. The silence is broken only once, on 31 October 1550, when Alasdair Odhar and Neacal Mac an tàilleir, who were suspected of the murder of Eoin mac Dhomhnuill Bhàin, were put to the horn after failing to compear to answer the accusation.<sup>18</sup> Griogair mac Dhubhghaill, of the family of the dean of Lismore, was pledge for the accused, which would seem to suggest that the bond of 10 July 1550 did not result in the estrangement of Alasdair Odhar from the rest of his kindred. But the identities of the two other parties are

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17. *Infra*, pp. 294-8.

18. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

unknown, and hence any wider significance the evidence may hold is obscure to us. Cailean Liath meanwhile began to lay the foundations of his lordship: securing the ward and marriage of the lands of which his brother's daughters were heiresses in September 1550; marrying Katherine Ruthven in early 1551; acquiring a tenement in Perth with her in August, and a tack of the bailliary of the Charterhouse lordship of Glen Dochart on 22 September.

Within this same period, according to Duncan Laideus' Testament, Donnchadh Làdasach, now tutor, embarked on a widespread campaign of violence, extorting rent from the peasantry between Perth and Strath Fillan.<sup>19</sup> We must suspect considerable exaggeration here, for it seems inconceivable that such a campaign would have failed to leave its mark on contemporary sources. Nevertheless, the fact remains that when these sources come on stream again in late 1551, they focus unequivocally on Donnchadh Làdasach, and his clearly deteriorating relationship with the earl of Argyll and Cailean Liath.

At Dumbarton, on 12 October 1551, Donnchadh Làdasach and two of his sons, Griogair and Eoin, made a declaration by which they accepted that certain restrictions should apply to the tack of Wester Ardchyle in Glen Dochart which they held of Iomhar Campbell of Strachur.<sup>20</sup> Iomhar's motives may be explained by a document of 31 October. Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll, for as much as he had granted Cailean Liath licence to pursue, apprehend and justify Donnchadh Làdasach, his sons Griogair and Donnchadh, and their servants and accomplices, nevertheless guaranteed him that far from

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19. Taymouth Bk., 162.

20. Highland Papers iv, 32-3.



being required to answer to the authorities for any criminal act or murder committed in the process, such an action would in fact redound to his credit.<sup>21</sup> Three weeks later, on 22 November, Donnchadh Làdasach and his son Griogair went to Morenish, where they killed Alasdair Odhar, and thence to Killin, where they killed Johnne M<sup>c</sup>Bayne Pipare.<sup>22</sup>

The difficulty we face is in deciding whether these slayings confirm that Donnchadh Làdasach was indeed the acting head of Clann Griogair, and were committed by him in that capacity; or whether they were simply part of a personal vendetta between him and the Campbells; or indeed whether both factors were present. In keeping with the poet's moral and religious intentions, Duncan Laideus' Testament represents the killing of Alasdair Odhar as the seduction of Donnchadh Làdasach into fresh temptation by the devil, and as "cruell murthure on my awin natioun",<sup>23</sup> but makes no mention of the victim's being a servant of Cailean Liath, a point made explicitly by the contemporary government sources through which we learn of the killing. This might support the contention that Donnchadh Làdasach was acting on behalf of his kindred in exacting vengeance on Alasdair Odhar. Yet if so, retribution had been curiously slow in arriving. The fact that we know nothing of the identity of the other victim exacerbates our problems.

The course of subsequent events is no less enigmatic. Donnchadh Làdasach and his son Griogair were denounced as rebels at the market cross in Perth on 5 December,<sup>24</sup> and the escheat of their goods

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21. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/78. Presumably Argyll issued this document in his capacity as Justice General of Scotland, although this is not stated.

22. Ibid., GD112/1/2/79; Taymouth Bk., xii.

23. Taymouth Bk., 163.

24. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/79.

purchased by Cailean Liath from the governor, Châtelherault.<sup>25</sup>

At the Isle of Loch Tay on 11 March 1552, Cailean Liath took out a contract with Seumas Stewart of Baldoran, and Anndra and Gille-Coluim Drummond, by which they agreed to:

invade and persew to the deid Duncane Laudosach  
MCGregour, Gregor his sone... quhare ever thai sall  
happyn to mak resydens be reasoun that thai ar our  
deidlie enemeis and our soverane ladeis rebellis.<sup>26</sup>

Cailean Liath's choice of allies suggests recent or relatively recent depredations by Donnchadh Làdasach in Balquhiddy and Strathearn. The very fact that he needed to recruit them suggests that his own resources had proved inadequate to the task. Such an interpretation renders more intelligible the otherwise extraordinary rapprochement of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Làdasach which was formalised at the Isle of Loch Tay on 2 May. Cailean Liath, "the zeill of luf and gude conscience moving me to the samyn", received Donnchadh Làdasach and Griogair into his protection, forgave them all their actions against him, and gave over to them the escheat of their goods he had obtained from Châtelherault, "thai beand for the tyme our Soverane Ladeis rebellis and now ressavit to her hienes peax and my favouris". In return they gave him their bond of manrent.<sup>27</sup>

The document contained two other significant elements. If Donnchadh Làdasach and his son should fail to observe the conditions contained in their bond of manrent, or "commit ma crimes or vrek" upon Cailean Liath, they would lose all securities and promises he had made to them, as well as his maintenance. The reference to the damages he had sustained may

25. Ibid., GD112/1/2/81 (printed Taymouth Bk., 193).

26. Ibid., GD112/1/2/80 (printed Taymouth Bk., 192).

27. Ibid., GD112/1/2/81 (printed Taymouth Bk., 193).

confirm our suggestion that Cailean Liath had had no choice but to resort to negotiation. Secondly, in a telling phrase, Cailean Liath discharged Donnchadh Làdasach and Griogair of "the rancour and displeasour of my mynde", created by their past actions.<sup>28</sup>

Taken together these points are proof of the existence of a deeply rooted personal antagonism which the new-found words of love and friendship could hardly hope to erase. Swiftly, and for the last time, the antagonism resurfaced. On 16 June, the Chronicle of Fortingall records:

interfectio et decapitatio Duncani M<sup>c</sup>Gregor et filiorum eius videlicet Gregorii et Malcolmi Roy per Colinum Campbell de Glenwrquhay et per Duncanum Roy Campbell de Glenlyon et Allexandrum Menzheis de Rannoch cum suis complicibus.

That this was a judicial execution is confirmed by the fact that the crown subsequently restored to Cailean Liath the escheat of the goods and possessions of Donnchadh Làdasach and Griogair, who had been "convict of certane crymis and poyntis of thift and resset of thift and justyfeit to the deid thairfore".<sup>29</sup> These cryptic phrases seem to suggest that further actions by Donnchadh Làdasach and his accomplices had rendered invalid the agreement of 2 May; but it may be wrong to exclude the possibility that that agreement had been a device of Cailean Liath's to buy time and create a sense of security which he subsequently exploited.

The major problem we face in assessing Donnchadh Làdasach's career is in deciding, once he became the most prominent figure in his kindred after the death of Eoin Ruadh, to what extent he

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28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., GD112/1/2/93.

was acting with the consent, and on behalf of, the clan as a whole, or whether he remained a maverick, engaged in an essentially private feud with Cailean Liath. In his defence we might say that Cailean Liath's bond with Alasdair Odhar had clearly signalled a new general policy towards the MacGregors. This found confirmation just before Donnchadh Làdasach's execution, on Whitsunday, 5 June, when Cailean Liath brought to an end the long established MacGregor presence at Balloch by evicting Griogar Mac Dhubhghaill,<sup>30</sup> and it may even be that there was a direct connection between this event and Donnchadh Làdasach's execution. Nevertheless, the unifying characteristic of Donnchadh Làdasach's career was violence, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the antagonism between himself and Cailean Liath may have helped to condition the latter's attitude towards the MacGregors as a whole, and created the climate within which he could launch his general campaign.

16 June 1552 marked the end of one phase and the beginning of another. Since 4 October 1548, Eoin Ruadh MacGregor, Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy, Seumas MacGregor the dean of Lismore, and Donnchadh Làdasach MacGregor and two of his sons, had died,<sup>31</sup> while Cailean Liath had acceded, made the bond with Alasdair Odhar, expelled Griogair mac Dhubhghaill from Balloch and executed Donnchadh Làdasach. Whatever else the latter had been, there was no doubting that he was a formidable protagonist. His death, and that of the dean of Lismore, left the MacGregors apparently denuded

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30. Chron. Fortingall.

31. For the dean's death see *ibid.*, St. Lucia's Day [13 December] 1551.

of leadership and figures of prominence, and exceptionally vulnerable. This seems to have remained true until the end of the minority of Griogair Ruadh in 1562, during which time, if there was a tutor, he has failed to leave any impression on the surviving evidence. Donnchadh Làdasach's death also seems to have had a profound destabilising effect on society in general within the Loch Tay area, Appin of Dull, Rannoch and Lorn.

On 15 July 1552 Daibhidh mac Dhonnchaidh in the Carse of Dull, "persevand the tyme dangerous and for the defens and mantenans of hym selff his barnis gudis and gear", disponed to Cailean Liath and Katherine Ruthven a bairn's part of his goods on his decease, and chose them as his adopted offspring.<sup>32</sup> On 1 August Gille-Coluim Robertson of Carwhin gave Cailean Liath his bond of manrent, particularly in order that Cailean Liath might defend him in his quarrel with Seumas Campbell of Lawers.<sup>33</sup> On 21 December a Rannoch MacGregor followed suit, "havand consideratioun of the diverss enormiteis and scathis that daily occurris and for the defensoune protectione and mantennyng" of himself, his family, servants, lands and possessions.<sup>34</sup>

These examples provide us with the termini of a clearly defined phase which followed Donnchadh Làdasach's death, and demonstrate that Cailean Liath was able to harness the prevailing insecurity and violence to draw others into dependency upon him. These dependencies could take feudal forms, as in his acquisition of the superiority of the lands formerly held by the Macnab chiefs of the

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32. Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), ff. 1r-v (printed Taymouth Bk., 193-4).  
 33. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/83 (printed Taymouth Bk., 194).  
 34. Ibid., GD112/1/2/92.

crown in November.<sup>35</sup> But very largely they found expression in bonds of manrent, of which, inclusive of the two already mentioned, Cailean Liath received 11 between 15 July and 21 December. Ten of these bonds are particularly interesting in that they involved the individual or kin-group concerned taking Cailean Liath and his heirs as their perpetual chiefs. These ten bonds can be divided into two groups. Five were made by the following:- Eoin Lighich alias Campbell; a kin-group in Glen Noe in Lorn deriving from a common ancestor called Gille-Màrtainn; Eoin mac Gille-Chriost mhic Fhionnlaigh mhic Dhomhnuill<sup>36</sup> and his brother, probably also from Lorn; a kin-group apparently surnamed Mac Gille-Chuinn and based in the Loch Tay area, and hence perhaps to be identified with the MacQueens of Duneaves;<sup>37</sup> and, apparently from the same area, a kin-group perhaps deriving from an Iomhar Glas, who were joined by Eoin mac an stalcair and his son Fionnlagh.<sup>38</sup> In all these bonds, the granters took Cailean Liath as their chief, "renunciand all utheris in the contrar".<sup>39</sup> This suggests that socially they were of minor importance, not part of any larger kindred, and hence previously dependent on one or more overchiefs.

The other five bonds were all made by MacGregor individuals or kin-groups:- Uilleam mac Ghille-Choluim, his son Gille-Coluim,

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35. *Supra*, pp. 236-7.

36. Wormald, *Lords and Men*, Appendix A, 210, no. 22, reads the last element of his name as Vic couil, i.e. mhic Dhubhghaill, but this would normally be Scotticised Vccoule by a late-medieval scribe.

37. See Gillies, *Breadalbane*, 364. There seems to be no evidence for the assertion made there that these MacQueens were MacGregors.

38. *Manrent Book (Cailean Liath)*, ff. 2v-3r, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v (printed *Taymouth Bk.*, 195-7).

39. Wormald is in error in stating that the makers of the last four bonds renounced MacGregor as their chief (*Lords and Men*, Appendix A, 210, nos. 21, 22; 211, nos. 23, 24).

and Domhnall Ruadh mac Ghille-Choluim Ghlais, of Rannoch; MacGregors of Fearnan and Ardeonaig, namely Gille-Coluim mac Eoin Mhalaiche, his brother Domhnall, Donnchadh mac Néill mhic Eòghain and his brothers Uilleam and Gille-Coluim; Griogair, son of the deceased dean of Lismore, in Stix; Domhnall Beag M<sup>C</sup>Acrom and his brothers Donnchadh and Uilleam in the Brae of Weem; and again from Rannoch, Donnchadh mac Eoin Dhuibh and his sons Donnchadh and Gille-Coluim.<sup>40</sup> In choosing Cailean Liath as their chief, all these groups stated that they had, in the words of one bond, "ranansyt left and gewin or thair cheyff the lard M<sup>C</sup>Gregor".<sup>41</sup>

A general abnegation of their overchiefs by five unimportant and apparently unconnected kin-groups was one thing: the specific abnegation of their chief by five kin-groups within one powerful clan was quite another. Again we see Cailean Liath's assault on the MacGregors in the van of his broader policy. The deterioration in the MacGregor's position between 1550 and later 1552 is shown by the fact that Alasdair Odhar had agreed only to remain neutral in the event of a dispute between Cailean Liath and the MacGregor chief, and had reserved his loyalty to the latter. Cailean Liath's intention now was clearly to bypass and neutralise the MacGregor ruling family, rendered ineffectual by a combination of death and youth, and realign the loyalties of the constituent elements of the clan upon himself. A dependency as explicit as this would leave the MacGregors incapable of functioning as an independent kindred,

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40. Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), ff. 2r-v, 3r-v, 3v-4r, 4v, 7r. For other versions, see Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/2/77 and 84, 87, 89, 90, 92 (printed Taymouth Bk., 194-7).

41. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/2/77 and 84.

and severely reduced in power. At the least, these bonds would advance much further 'a divide and rule' scenario upon which Cailean Liath could be said to have embarked with the bond of Alasdair Odhar, and this could explain the killing of Griogair Cléireach by Eòghan mac Dhonnchaidh mhic Ghriogair of Roro on 22 September 1552.<sup>42</sup>

After 21 December 1552 Cailean Liath made no further bonds of manrent until 6 May 1555. Such a silence seems extraordinary given the intensity of his activities and the felicity of the circumstances in the latter half of 1552, but other sources are equally unforthcoming. However, there were two significant developments, both with implications for the MacGregors: Alasdair Menzies of Rannoch granting Cailean Liath (in whose retinue he figured constantly in this period) a liferent tack of the 12 merkland of Rannoch lying west of the River Ericht on 10 June 1553, thereby making him a neighbour of the MacGregors, who held the lands to the east of the river of Menzies of Weem;<sup>43</sup> and Cailean Liath's acquisition of the superiority of Glen Strae and ward and marriage of the MacGregor heir Griogair Ruadh, from Gill-easbuig master of Argyll on 26 April 1554.<sup>44</sup> The former need have held no sinister implications, for it merely saw Cailean Liath reasserting the pattern which had prevailed before 1513, and been disrupted between 1513 and 1550, of MacGregor and Campbell of Glen Orchy expansion going hand in hand; and indeed he subsequently established MacGregors

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42. Chron. Fortingall (for the correct form of Eòghan's name cf. *ibid.*, 16 January 1555. Griogair Cléireach was mentioned in the testament of Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy, and witnessed the reconciliation between Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Làdasach on 2 May 1552.

43. *Supra*, p. 197.

44. *Supra*, pp. 268-9.



as his subtenants here.<sup>45</sup> The acquisition of the superiority of Glen Strae, however, was the feudal corollary of the kin-based attack on the MacGregor ruling family through the bonds of manrent of 1552. In 1552 Cailean Liath had intruded himself as chief between MacGregor kin-groups and their ruling family; in 1554 he intruded himself into the land-holding pyramid between the earls of Argyll and the MacGregor ruling family. In each case the effect was to create a much more explicit form of dependency, intensified in 1554 by the further acquisition of ward and marriage. The contrast with 1528, when, on the death of Eoin mac Eòghain mhic Alasdair, Argyll granted the ward of Glen Strae to another member of the MacGregor ruling family, and the marriage of the heir to Donnchadh Campbell captain of Carrick,<sup>46</sup> tells its own story.

Let us pause and take stock of the MacGregors' position in 1554. The ruling family of Glen Strae was obviously in disarray. There is no evidence to show who if anyone, acted as tutor to Griogair Ruadh until he came of age in late 1562.<sup>47</sup> Thus any leadership which the slaying of Griogair Cléireach on 22 September 1552 (assuming it was politically motivated) may suggest the MacGregors of Roro provided, could only have been temporary, and the killer himself died on 16 January 1555.<sup>48</sup> The kindred of Donnchadh Làdasach was obviously cowed, its head and two of his sons dead, and Cailean Liath, acting on the gift of the escheat of their lands and goods,

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45. *Supra*, p. 197.

46. MacGregor, *Clan Gregor* i, 86.

47. *Infra*, p. 309.

48. Chron. Fortingall.

in possession of Wester Ardchyle for certain,<sup>49</sup> and doubtless their Glen Lochay lands as well. The lineage of the MacGregors of Wester Morenish had presumably come to an end with Alasdair Odhar, in which case Cailean Liath would be in possession of his lands and goods. Of the family of the dean of Lismore, the dean himself was dead, Griogair mac Dhubhghaill had been expelled from Balloch, and Griogair, the dean's son, had renounced his own chief and accepted Cailean Liath in his place. The septs in Fearnan and Ardeonaig, the Brae of Weem, and Rannoch, had all done likewise. The MacGregors of Brackley continued as before in the service of the Campbells of Glen Orchy: Eoin mac Dhonnchaidh mhic Ghriogair and his son Donnchadh witnessed delivery of sasine to Cailean Liath in Glen Strae on 2 June 1554.<sup>50</sup> So far apparently unaffected were the southern MacGregors, in Strathearn, Balquhider, Menteith and Strath Gartney.

Between 1554 and the end of 1561, while the extent of the dependency of the MacGregors on both Cailean Liath and the earls of Argyll is clear, their relationships with both seem to have stabilised, and in the case of that with Cailean Liath, even thawed a little. The only signs of trouble came at Ardeonaig in November 1558, when two MacGregors, Alasdair mac Néill and his brother Eoin Dubh, along with two MacPhilips, attacked and destroyed the house of one of the MacThearlaich Campbells in his absence, and were also said to have intended his death;<sup>51</sup> and at Donnchadh Ruadh

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49. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/96 (printed Taymouth Bk., 199).

50. Ibid., GD112/2/81/1.

51. Ibid., GD112/1/3/162.

Campbell of Glen Lyon's lands of Kilmorich in Strath Tay, which were laid waste by MacGregors in 1561.<sup>52</sup> Neither action would seem to have been directed against Cailean Liath (the former would rather have antagonised the earl of Argyll, whose "tender freindis" these MacThearlaich Campbells were) or to have had immediate damaging consequences, although tensions would resurface at Ardeonaig in 1562.<sup>53</sup>

The strongest indication of a degree of relaxation in Cailean Liath's attitude to the MacGregors is a bond of manrent made to him by Donnchadh mac Alasdair mhic Eòghain in Drumcastell in the lordship of Kinclaven below Dunkeld, on 3 August 1555.<sup>54</sup> Donnchadh became Cailean Liath's servant and disposed to him his calp, but, in contradistinction to the bonds of late 1552, excepted his allegiance to MacGregor his chief rather than renouncing him. In the summer of 1558, sir Dubhghall MacGregor became chancellor of Lismore through Cailean Liath's patronage.<sup>55</sup> The earliest recorded action of Griogair Ruadh, described as son and heir-apparent of umquhile Alasdair MacGregor of Glen Strae, was as the earl of Argyll's baillie, delivering sasine to the attorney of Donnchadh Dubh, son of Cailean Liath, in the lands of Glen Orchy in late 1561.<sup>56</sup>

The explanation for this apparent shift may simply be that Cailean Liath was satisfied with the degree of dependency to which he had succeeded in reducing the MacGregors by 1554. Indeed, as our

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52. Thirds of Benefices, 114.

53. Infra, p. 308.

54. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/97 (printed Taymouth Bk., 200).

55. Chron. Fortingall, and cf. supra,

56. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 24 August, 14 and 15 November.

survey of the clan's condition at that point suggested, it is difficult to see what more he could have done short of launching a full-scale military campaign, and clearly this did not figure on the agenda at this stage. What he wanted was the unquestioning obedience and service of a clan whose capacity for independent action had been neutralised; and the superiority of Glen Strae in particular would be a potent weapon to invoke should his hold over the MacGregors be challenged in future.

Furthermore, Cailean Liath was heavily involved in rebuilding and expanding his lordship in other areas between 1554 and 1561. A contract of 6 May 1555<sup>57</sup> saw the reassertion of the authority of the Campbells of Glen Orchy over the Lawers branch of the kindred, and the acquisition of the tacks of the Charterhouse lands of Ardtalnaig which the Lawers branch had held, and which the Charterhouse itself went on to confirm to Cailean Liath on 4 July 1556.<sup>58</sup> On 24 May 1555 Cailean Liath traded off his claim to Wester Ardchyle in return for the bond of manrent of Iomhar Campbell of Strachur, whom Cailean would enter and defend in these lands in future.<sup>59</sup> On 3 May 1556 and 21 November 1557 respectively, he received crown grants of a tack of the lordship of Breadalbane and the office of chamberlain of the lordship of Kinclaven in its widest sense.<sup>60</sup> The building of the castle of Balloch probably began in the summer of 1557<sup>61</sup> and was completed

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57. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/2/95 (printed Taymouth Bk., 198-9).

58. Ibid., GD112/1/2/100.

59. Ibid., GD112/1/2/96 (printed Taymouth Bk., 199).

60. Ibid., GD112/1/2/98, 107.

61. Chron. Fortingall.

by late 1559.<sup>62</sup> Through transactions of 14 July 1558 and 8 April 1559, representatives of the Macnab ruling family assigned to Cailean Liath their right and possession of the lands they held in tack of the Charterhouse.<sup>63</sup>

Between the summer of 1559 and 1561, Cailean Liath was active in his support of the Reformation at both the national and local level, as one of the Lords of Congregation who occupied Perth in June 1559, a member of the reforming Parliament of August 1560, and establisher of a reformed minister at Inchadin after 28 May 1561.<sup>64</sup> The same period saw the dramatic expansion of his lordship southwards into Balquhiddel and Strathearn. The prelude to this was the grant by the joint-heiresses of the late Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy, of Ardveich and Derrie to Cailean Liath in liferent and to Cailean, his second son by Katherine Ruthven, in heredity, in late 1558:<sup>65</sup> the essential trigger, as apparently it had been in the case of Cailean Liath's MacGregor policies between 1550 and 1554, was the sanction of the earl of Argyll. On 8 November 1559 Gill-easbuig, the fifth earl, transferred to Cailean Liath the manrent of Clann Labhrunn (the MacLarens) in Balquhiddel.<sup>66</sup> On 21 November nine MacLarens gave Cailean Liath their own particular bond.<sup>67</sup> This was the first of six or seven bonds of manrent made to him by kin-groups in Balquhiddel and Strathearn between that point and 3 June 1561, the last of these being given by Clann Labhrunn in its entirety.<sup>68</sup> At the same time, 1560 saw the

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62. Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), f. 9 r.

63. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/45; GD112/1/2/110.

64. Supra, pp. 249-50.

65. RMS iv (1546-80), p. 351, n. 1.

66. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/112 (printed Taymouth Bk., 201).

67. Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), f. 9 r.

68. Ibid., ff. 9v-11r, 13r, 14r-v.

first step in the process which would eventually lead to Argyll's granting Cailean Liath Glen Ample in Balquhiddel,<sup>69</sup> while he also acquired Edinchip there under reversion after 1 February 1562.<sup>70</sup>

This southern expansion now brought the southern MacGregors, who had apparently been unaffected by the events of 1550-1554, under the influence of Cailean Liath. The two principal divisions of these MacGregors were the septs in Glen Lednock, and Clann Dubhghaill Chéire, based mainly in Balquhiddel. They were responsible for three of the bonds of manrent given to Cailean Liath between 21 November 1559 and 3 June 1561: four Lednock MacGregors along with Gille-Coluim MacDubhghaill Chéire from Balquhiddel on 9 March 1560, and Pàdraig MacDubhghaill Chéire and Donnchadh MacDubhghaill Chéire both from Balquhiddel, on 11 March 1560 and 17 April 1561 respectively.<sup>71</sup> In each case those concerned took Cailean Liath as their chief "by all persone or personis, the authoritie and service in ostyng to the masteris of quhom thai hald thair landis except". Nor should we forget that Glen Ample had briefly been a MacGregor possession in the late 1540s before being granted to a brother of the earl of Argyll;<sup>72</sup> while we have suggested that the marriage contract involving Glen Lednock MacGregors drawn up on 12 May 1561 may have been intended as a defensive mechanism to protect the lands of Kingarth from possible encroachment by Cailean Liath.<sup>73</sup>

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69. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/65.

70. Ibid., GD112/1/3/116.

71. Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), ff. 9v-10r, 13r.

72. Supra, p. 101.

73. Supra, p. 216.

None of this need imply that Cailean Liath's relationship with Clann Griogair as a whole had deteriorated again. His southern expansion took place on a broader front which affected other kin-groups, especially MacLarens, apart from MacGregors. All these kin-groups accepted Cailean Liath as their chief, and in fact, in the case of the MacLarens, the bonds granted by two smaller groups on 21 November 1559 and 11 March 1560 were followed by that of the kindred as a whole on 3 June 1561.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, the most prominent of the southern MacGregors, like the majority of their northern counterparts, had now been brought into explicit dependency upon Cailean Liath, and that can only have increased a sense of encroachment and pressure operating on the kindred as a whole, and in particular on the ruling family.

We saw that Griogair Ruadh MacGregor first appeared on record in his own right in late 1561. 60 years before, another earl of Argyll had similarly addressed a precept of sasine to the then MacGregor chief, Eoin Dubh, as one of his baillies.<sup>75</sup> Eoin Dubh was then in his prime, presiding over the dramatic expansion of his kindred eastwards in tandem with the Campbells of Glen Orchy: in late 1561 Griogair Ruadh was approaching the end of a minority which Cailean Liath had exploited to achieve unparalleled influence over his kindred. Indeed the fact that Argyll's precept addressed to Griogair Ruadh on 24 August 1561 was given at Achallader may be the earliest evidence that that

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74. Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), ff. 9r, 10v-11r, 14r-v.

75. AT, 21 June 1501.

fortress, like Balloch, had now been lost to the MacGregor chiefs.<sup>76</sup>

By the end of 1562, when Griogair Ruadh attained his majority, the peace which had prevailed between his kindred and Cailean Liath for a decade had been shattered, to be replaced by a feud of exceptional bitterness and violence which would last for almost as long. The flashpoint occurred late in the year, but tensions had already been created by two earlier incidents, one of which was to be a key factor in the outbreak of the feud proper. On 21 May, Alasdair mac Eòghain Dhuibh, a Rannoch MacGregor and a servant of Cailean Liath's, was slain in the forest of Schiehallion in the Brae of Atholl.<sup>77</sup> The killers were two brothers, Pàdraig<sup>78</sup> and Pàdraig Geur, of the Mac-Gille-Choluim Ghlais sept of the MacGregors in Rannoch; Eoin Odhar mac Eòghain Mhoir, also of Rannoch but of unknown kin-affiliations; and Eòghan mac Eoin mhic Ghille-choluim MacRaibeirt and his brother Dubhghall, from Badenoch.<sup>79</sup>

The identity of the two last named requires further comment. The fact that MacRaibeirt is in the nominative rather than the genitive would seem to suggest that it was their surname. But if so, it was not their only one, for other sources make it certain

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76. Supra, p. 232.

77. Chron. Fortingall; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/118, 122.

78. Chron. Fortingall presents him as the sole killer, and describes him as Patricius M<sup>c</sup>Ayn Vyc Olchallum alias M<sup>c</sup>Gregor Killejiese, presumably implying that he had a residence at, or connection with, Killiechassie near Aberfeldy.

79. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/118.



that Eòghan and Dubhghall belonged to a kin-group called Clann MhicGille-Cheallaich, and used MacGille-Cheallaich as a surname.<sup>80</sup> In origin Clann MacGille-Cheallaich was apparently an offshoot of the MacLarens.<sup>81</sup> Politically it was identified very closely with the MacGregors, forming a dependent sept of the clan. In a memorandum headed, "The number of ky and horses taken out of Breadalbane by Clan Gregor which were reset in Atholl in 1565", Clann MhicGille-Cheallaich is named along with the MacGregors of Roro and the MacGille-Coluim Ghlais sept in Rannoch.<sup>82</sup> These three groups had in common a connection with the earl of Atholl.<sup>83</sup> The fact that the MacGregor chief was considered to be responsible for Clann MhicGille-Cheallaich was to become an issue of great importance in late 1562, while the latter's tie with Atholl came to the fore in 1565.

According to Queen Mary's precept addressed to her sheriffs of Inverness and Perth on 30 May, the killing was committed "upon ald feid".<sup>84</sup> How long the victim (whose first appearance on record seems to be on 23 June 1550)<sup>85</sup> had been a servant of Cailean Liath, and whether this had any bearing on his death, and hence might justify comparisons with the death of Alasdair Odhar, we do not know. The killers were put to the horn at Perth mercat cross on 24 June.<sup>86</sup>

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80. Ibid., GD112/1/3/122 (the two M<sup>C</sup>gillehellis eldaris); RSS v (1556-67), pt. i, no. 1194 (M<sup>C</sup>G-chellycht); Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/40 (M<sup>C</sup>gillehellit).

81. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/40. Hence it may be necessary to posit a connection through marriage or fosterage to explain the fact that Griogair Ruadh seems to refer to Clann MacGille-Cheallaich - or at least Eòghan and Dubhghall - as his kinsmen in late 1564 (infra, p. 339).

82. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, document filed under 1 December 1564.

83. Infra, pp. 348-9, 350-1.

84. Ibid., GD112/1/3/118.

85. ER xviii (1543-56), 497.

86. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/118.

Meanwhile trouble had resurfaced at Ardeonaig in Tuath-fhaire. Through letters written by Gill-easbuig fifth earl of Argyll to Cailean Liath on 27 and 29 June,<sup>87</sup> we learn that the MacGregors had recently obtained tacks (presumably from either Napier or Haldane, the proprietors) of the lands occupied by Argyll's friends and kinsmen, the Sliochd Thearlaich Dhuibh, and intended to act upon them. Argyll reminded Cailean Liath that he had been granted the service of the MacGregors by the fourth earl:

to that effect thay suld serve him and you in all guid actionis and nocht to reiff wranguslye thair just possessionis and landis fra our tender freindis, quhilk thay do now in deid nocht onlie to the hort of our saidis freindis, bot also to our contempt ...

He made it clear that while he would be reluctant to act against the MacGregors (partly on the grounds that, "Makgregour [i.e., Griogair Ruadh] be cum of our hous"),<sup>88</sup>

gif thay proceid in thair said wrangus actioun ... we in lyk manner sall nocht fail to support and help thame that sall tak thair awin possessionis owir thair heddis, quhilk we wald be leathe to do, gif nocht thair proudnes quhilk we man suppress in our freindis just actioun compellit us nocht thairto ...

Cailean Liath himself did not escape censure:

we think ... that ye suld nocht suffer our tender freindis to be wrangit be the Clangregouris in sa far as thair ar under you ... nor can we stand stent that ye or any uther defend the Makgregouris aganis our saidis freindis ...;

and was instructed to inform the MacGregors in Argyll's name of the dangers of their current course of action, and cause them to restore some cattle taken from Dubhghall MacThearlaich.

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87. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

88. For discussion, see *supra*, pp. 29-30.

These letters seem to be clear evidence for a MacGregor resurgence, apparently nearly coinciding with Griogair Ruadh's assumption of the chiefship. The events at Ardeonaig were certainly not directed against Cailean Liath (whose alleged reluctance to intervene may indeed have been because he felt he stood to benefit should the MacGregors get possession).<sup>89</sup> We do not know if the same was true of the slaying of Cailean Liath's servant, Alasdair mac Eòghain Dhuibh. Certainly Cailean Liath's response was neither immediate, nor when it did come, direct. What he did was to use that killing as a bargaining factor with regard to a much greater issue.

By 24 November 1562 Griogair Ruadh, already chief of his kindred, had clearly attained his majority. By an obligation made that day at Balloch, Cailean Liath promised that he would infeft his "belovit cousyng" Griogair in the lands of Glen Strae (described in the draft version as "pertenying to the said Gregor conformeyng to the ald chartaris that the McGregouris had of umquhill erleis of Ergyle") within twenty days after being required thereto, at which time Griogair Ruadh should pay him 600 merks for the marriage and relief of the same. Two conditions were attached. The infeftment would contain, "sik restrictionis as my lord of Ergyle, Colyne Campbell of Ardkinglas and I [Cailean Liath] with the aviss of men of law sall thynk necessair for quyatnes of our soverane lady liegis to be had, [and] faithfull homage and service to me and my successoris". Secondly, the precondition

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89. Cf. Taymouth Bk., 248, for Donnchadh Dubh of Glen Orchy giving his clients, the Clann Donnchaidh Campbells of Inverawe, possession of part of Ardeonaig formerly possessed by a MacThearlaich Campbell in 1591.

to infeftment was that Griogair Ruadh should deliver to Cailean Liath ("qwyk or thair heidis", in the draft version) the two M<sup>C</sup>gillehellis eldaris who had taken part in the slaughter of Alasdair mac Eòghain Dhuibh, and who were still at the horn.

In addition to infefting him in Glen Strae, Cailean Liath would procure for Griogair Ruadh the queen's remission for the "taking of the saidis M<sup>C</sup>gillehellychis" and would see to it that Duncane M<sup>C</sup>Ane Dew young was relaxed from process of horning brought about by his failure to find surety to underlie the law for his part in the killing of Alasdair mac Eòghain Dhuibh. Finally, the obligation would take effect only if the two MacGille-Cheallaichs were delivered to Cailean Liath before 1 January 1563.<sup>90</sup>

A letter written by Cailean Campbell of Ardkinglas to Cailean Liath, probably on Monday 30 November,<sup>91</sup> sheds valuable light on

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90. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/122, 123 (both copies of the original), 125 (a draft version). Duncane M<sup>C</sup>Ane Dew young presents something of a problem. We saw that in 1552 Donnchach mac Eoin Dhuibh MacGregor of Rannoch, and his sons Donnchadh and Gille-Coluim, gave their bond of manrent to Cailean Liath (supra, p. 297), while elsewhere we have argued that mac Eoin Dhuibh in this instance is a patronymic rather than a surname (supra, p. 175). After 24 November 1562 we hear of Duncane M<sup>C</sup>Ane Dow yongar (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/124); Duncan Makandoy elder and Duncan Makandoy yongar (RSS v (1556-67), pt. i, no. 1194); Duncane M<sup>C</sup>Anedoy M<sup>C</sup>Gregor and Duncan Oyg M<sup>C</sup>Gregor (RPC i (1545-69), 257), and - most significantly, and with specific reference to the terms of the document of 24 November 1562 - of Doncan M<sup>C</sup>Ane Dow and his son (infra, p. 312). If we accept that we are dealing with father and son here, this must imply that in the younger Donnchadh's case M<sup>C</sup>Ane Dew is not a patronymic but a surname, in use only two generations beyond the eponym. Hereafter we shall refer to them as Donnchadh mac Eoin Dhuibh elder and Donnchadh Mac Eoin Duibh younger.
91. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1. The letter is dated, "Ardkinglas, Monday". It must have been written after the obligation made at Balloch on Tuesday 24 November, and subsequent events make it unlikely that it was written as late as Monday 7 December.

the circumstances of Griogair Ruadh's minority, and the background to this obligation and its immediate impact. It makes it clear that Griogair Ruadh had very recently been, and was perhaps still, at Ardinglas; as were M<sup>C</sup>Nachtan - Alasdair MacNaughton of Dunderave - and Jhon M<sup>C</sup>Alister, who (since a later source describes him as, John M<sup>C</sup>Alestar M<sup>C</sup>Nachtain)<sup>92</sup> was presumably Alasdair MacNaughton's son. According to The Black Book of Taymouth, Alasdair MacGregor, Griogair Ruadh's father, married, "ane dochter of the laird of Ardinglass, being widdow to McNachtan of Dunderaw".<sup>93</sup> Cailean Campbell of Ardinglas was most probably Griogair Ruadh's grandfather,<sup>94</sup> while we know for certain that Alasdair MacNaughton of Dunderave was his brother uterine.<sup>95</sup> It seems feasible to argue that on her second husband's death Griogair Ruadh's mother returned to Ardinglas, and that some or all of the years of his minority were spent in the neighbourhood of the head of Loch Fyne where both Ardinglas and Dunderave are situated. It is within precisely this milieu that we find him in the letter of 30 November.

The letter suggests that the obligation of 24 November had been preceded by a meeting, attended by Argyll, Cailean Liath, Ardinglas and Griogair Ruadh, at which Cailean Liath had made a promise to Griogair Ruadh - presumably to infeft him in Glen Strae - for the fulfilment of which Ardinglas went caution. After drawing up the obligation itself on 24 November, Cailean Liath had sent it<sup>96</sup> to Ardinglas, and it was in response to

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92. MacGregor, Coll (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 9 July 1565.

93. Taymouth Bk., 64.

94. Supra, p. 83, n. 64.

95. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 12 November 1570.

96. Perhaps the original, which would explain why only copies and a draft survive in the Breadalbane Muniments.

this that the latter now wrote. Ardkinglas had "talkit wyth McGregar at lynth in all punctis contenit in your wryttyngis afoir M<sup>C</sup>Nachtan and Jhon M<sup>C</sup>Alister", arguing for acceptance of Cailean Liath's terms. He urged that the remission promised to "Doncan M<sup>C</sup>Ane Dow and his son" be delivered to them, "for tha ar abillast to fortefe M<sup>C</sup>Gregar of ony of the surname" - apparently implying that once remitted they too would advocate acceptance of Cailean Liath's terms. The letter finished as follows:

... the Clangregar ar sa wyckit of natur that ane geifis na confidens till ane wen and thai haif schawin me that thai will get nane confyderit togidder wythout tha fyile thair handis in pert of your graytht and M<sup>C</sup>Nachtan and Jhon M<sup>C</sup>Alister schew me that ye wald be contentit wyth the sam, therfor ye sell advertteis thame quhar tha sell put to thair handis to the skaytht of fyif or sax merkis and to send your ramit of the sam quhilk skaytht ye will nocht do bot geif neid beis.

The remarkable implication seems to be that the opportunity to inflict damage upon Cailean Liath would be the precondition to general MacGregor acceptance of the terms contained in his obligation, and that this was a price Cailean Liath was perfectly willing to pay.

For Griogair Ruadh, at the commencement of his chiefship, the dilemma could not have been more acute or the conflicting pressures more intense. Glen Strae was the dùthaich of the MacGregor ruling family and in feudal terms its only heritable possession. For at least 150 years they had held it of the earls of Argyll without incident or interruption. Now if Griogair Ruadh wished to retain Glen Strae, it would be at the price of accepting conditions - unspecified legal restrictions, and the surrender of dependants, in addition to homage and

service - which would reduce him to a degree of vassalage unknown to any of his predecessors, and manifestly compromise his authority as chief. This would apply particularly, as we saw elsewhere, to the surrender of the MacGille-Cheallaichs.<sup>97</sup> It may well be that Cailean Liath had always intended to use the superiority of Glen Strae in order to impose conditions upon the MacGregor chiefs; but in late 1562, in the wake of the slaying of Alasdair mac Eòghain Dhuibh in May, he was in an ideal position to do so.

The stark choice facing Griogair Ruadh was submission or defiance, and it would have to be made before 1 January. His relations on his mother's side, Ardkinglas and the two MacNaughtons, worked hard on him, urging the former course. Ardkinglas informed Cailean Liath that after long discussions they had driven Griogair Ruadh "to syk ane pas that I beleif, God willyng, he sall fulfill your desiris wythin schort dayis geif he ma".<sup>98</sup> This suggests that Griogair Ruadh had required a great deal of persuasion; that Ardkinglas was not certain the persuasion had been successful, and (in the last three words) that even if so, another factor (opposition from within Clann Griogair?) might yet intervene.

Ardkinglas' qualifications proved to be well founded. One week after his letter was probably written, on the night of Monday 7 December, Griogair Ruadh (described as "Gregor M<sup>C</sup>Gregor of Glenstray alias Iard M<sup>C</sup>Gregor"), Donnchadh MacGregor in Roro, Gille-Coluim MacGregor alias Ceann Mór, Donnchadh Oig MacGregor the grandson of Donnchadh Làdasach, and Donnchadh Mac Eoin Dhuibh younger,

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97. *Supra*, p. 280-3.

98. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, document filed after 24 November 1562.

along with an estimated 120 men, all "bodin in feir of wer", with coats of mail, steel bonnets, bows, arrows, swords and axes, rode to an inn by Allt Girnaig in the glen of that name just above Killiecrankie.<sup>99</sup> They seemed to have been acting on the intelligence of Anndra MacGlashen, apparently the owner of the inn.<sup>100</sup> Lodging there for the night, "beand in Athoill upone thair Iornay returnand fra the fair of our burgh of Perth to Glenlyone", were nine men, including five Campbells: Tearlach, Alasdair, son of Eoin Campbell of Oib, Lachlann, Eoin Odhar, and Alasdair, son of Aonghas Campbell of Barbreck. These men "wer preparand thame to pas to thair beddis, thair claythis beand lowis", when Griogair Ruadh and his accomplices arrived. The inn was besieged and set ablaze. When the occupants came out, of the nine men bound for Glen Lyon, Campbell of Barbreck's son was wounded in the stomach by an arrow.<sup>101</sup> The other eight were slain. The MacGregors then rode south, to Kinraigie near Kindallachan in Strath Tay, where Pàdraig, brother of Donnchadh Ruadh Campbell of Glen Lyon, and several others, mainly MacCormicks, who were probably also en route to Glen Lyon from Perth, were asleep in a barn. Again the building was set ablaze and the occupants driven out, but on this occasion Pàdraig and his companions were taken prisoner, although the MacGregors subsequently killed a Lachlann Campbell, "eftir he wes takin, breakand thair promis maid to him of assurance and salftie of his lyiff".<sup>102</sup>

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99. "Aldgerenaig within the boundis of Faschalze": Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/142.

100. Ibid., GD112/1/3/127r.

101. According to *ibid.*, GD112/1/3/127r, the wound proved fatal.

102. Ibid., GD112/1/3/141, 142. These documents are dated 13 December in the 21st year of Mary's reign. They definitely belong to 1562 (cf. *ibid.*, GD112/1/3/124, 124a). Hence they in fact fell within the 20th year of Mary's reign. The 21st year began on 14 December 1562.



part ii: 1562-1566

Although the Campbells of Glen Lyon had borne the main brunt of the attacks of 7 December 1562, the sons of Campbell of Oib and Campbell of Barbreck had also been killed, while the scale and ferocity of the onslaughts must mean that they were tantamount to a declaration of war on the Campbells in general. The Campbell reaction confirms that they were understood as such. On 26 February 1563 Argyll referred to, "the cruell murthor and slauchter of our freindis and servandis in Athole in the moneth of December bipast".<sup>103</sup> Cailean Liath would later claim that he only became involved in the pursuit of the culprits at Argyll's request,<sup>104</sup> yet this was to overlook the connection between the events of 7 December and the obligation of 24 November,<sup>105</sup> while it was Cailean Liath who was granted the escheat of the goods of Griogair Ruadh and his allies on 14 January 1563.<sup>106</sup> Domhnall Campbell of Lerags and his brother Niall witnessed the public denunciations of the latter as rebels at Perth on 31 December 1562.<sup>107</sup>

The events of 7 December could hardly be anything other than a direct consequence of the obligation of 24 November. Griogair Ruadh, against the advice of Ardkinglas and the MacNaughtons, had rejected the terms laid down by Cailean Liath and chosen the path of defiance. At some point shortly before or after 30 November, when Ardkinglas' letter was probably written, he had gone from Loch

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103. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/126.

104. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to Argyll, 4 October 1563.

105. Infra, p. 318.

106. RSS v (1556-67), pt. i, no. 1194.

107. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/124, 124a.

Fyne to the territories of his own kindred. Between then and 7 December he had been able to raise around 120 men. Later sources<sup>108</sup> enable us to add to his four principal supporters already cited several other names: his own brother Eòghan; Donnchadh mac Eoin Dhuibhelder (whose importance, along with that of Donnchadh Mac Eoin Dhuibh younger, had been made clear in Ardkinglas' letter); Pàdraig mac Eoin mhic Ghille-Choluim Ghlais and his three brothers; Gille-Coluim Cam mac Dhonnchaidh; Eòghan MacGille-Cheallaich and his brother Donnchadh; Uilleam mac Ghille-Choluim of Rannoch and his two sons. Comparison of this list with that of the MacGregors who had made the bonds to Cailean Liath involving renunciation of their chief in 1552,<sup>109</sup> demonstrates that in the case of the Rannoch septs at least (Donnchadh mac Eoin Dhuibh elder and Donnchadh Mac Eoin Dhuibh younger; the MacGille-Choluim Ghlais lineage; Uilleam mac Ghille-Choluim and his sons) those bonds had now been disregarded. All this suggests that Griogair Ruadh had been able to command an immediate and high level of support from his kindred for the course of action begun on 7 December, while the presence of Eòghan MacGille-Cheallaich, one of the two men whom Griogair Ruadh had been asked to surrender in the document of 24 November, helps to confirm the direct connection between the two events.

The brutality of the attacks of 7 December guaranteed the MacGregors the united hostility, at least initially, of Clan Campbell and central government, and inevitably obscured the causes which

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108. RSS v (1556-67), pt. i, no. 1194; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/145, 146, which reproduce more accurately the names cited at RPC i (1545-69), 257.

109. Supra, pp. 296-7.

had led to their taking place. Thus it may well have been an outburst of violence born of desperation, and in direct proportion to the pressure being imposed upon the MacGregors, especially Griogair Ruadh, by Cailean Liath. If the latter had intended that the demands embodied in the document of 24 November should provoke a crisis, he had succeeded only too well.

7 December 1562 was the effective starting-point of a feud which persisted, with the exception of an interval between late 1565 and mid-1567, until 1570. It was exceptionally bitter, bringing violence, suffering and destruction to much of western Perthshire. Its development was conditioned by several factors: internal politics within the Campbell and MacGregor kindreds; the attitudes both of local society and of central government; fluctuations in the interaction of the local and national dimensions brought about by the vicissitudes of Mary's personal reign; and the added presence of an Irish dimension.

Against such a background, and in the face of all logical probability, there developed the relationship between Griogair Ruadh and Marion, daughter of Donnchadh Ruadh, Campbell laird of Glen Lyon, which gave the feud its most poignant and ultimately tragic aspect. The two surviving songs composed by her are both a unique source for the nature of their relationship, and an intensely personal if fragmentary commentary on the feud between the Campbells and the MacGregors from the viewpoint of a woman caught between the two. Griogair Ruadh and Marion Campbell most probably married in the interval between the two phases of the feud, namely between late 1565 and c.30 July 1567.<sup>110</sup> The earlier of the songs probably belongs to the first phase. Its content makes

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110. *Infra*, p. 359.

it clear that the feud was now well-established,<sup>111</sup> and that Marion and Griogair Ruadh were still unmarried, largely because of the opposition of Donnchadh Ruadh, who was keeping his daughter separated from Griogair Ruadh against her will.<sup>112</sup> We do not know whether the relationship was already in being by 7 December 1562, and if so, whether it had any bearing on the fact that the Campbells of Glen Lyon suffered particularly in these attacks.

Having failed both to find surety to compear at the Tolbooth in Edinburgh on 29 January 1563 to answer for the killings committed on 7 December, and, apparently, to release the prisoners taken that night, Griogair Ruadh and his principal supporters were declared rebels at Perth on 31 December.<sup>113</sup> The dominant theme of the ensuing six-month period was the degree of solidarity both between central government and the Campbells, and between Argyll and Cailean Liath. Argyll's influence at the centre - he had been a member of the Privy Council since Mary's arrival in Scotland in 1561, while his first wife was the queen's half-sister<sup>114</sup> - enabled him and Cailean Liath to acquire an array of legal weapons with which to deal with the MacGregors. On 14 January 1563 Mary granted the escheat of the goods, tacks and possessions of those involved in the slayings of 7 December to Cailean Liath.<sup>115</sup> At St. Andrews, on 25 April, he was granted royal commission to apprehend those responsible and bring them to justice, incorporating a guarantee that he would

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111. Duncan, MacGregor Songs, 22-3, ll. 79-86 (there may be a reference at ll. 85-6 to the events of 7 December 1562).

112. *Ibid.*, 22, ll. 71-5; 23, ll. 93-102; 25, ll. 121-4.

113. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/3/124, 124a, 141, 142.

114. SP i, 341-2.

115. RSS v (1556-67), pt. i, no. 1194.

not be held legally responsible for any acts of violence, including the killing of MacGregors, committed in the process.<sup>116</sup> Argyll probably received a similar commission at the same time, for at Inveraray itself (where Mary was engaged in deer-hunting)<sup>117</sup> on 26 July, Mary charged her subjects living in those areas where Argyll, Cailean Liath and their companies were actively pursuing the MacGregors, to provide them with meat and drink at their own reasonable expense. The inhabitants had until now been refusing to co-operate, and if they continued to do so Argyll and Cailean Liath were given permission to take the supplies themselves, "providing alwayes that na gudis be takin quhill the awnaris refusis the samin for payment, and that the personis, serchearis of our saidis rebellis, remane of na lang tyme in ane place".<sup>118</sup> At the same time, Argyll was able to use his own status as Justice General of Scotland in order to strengthen Cailean Liath's position, appointing him as his deputy in that office at St. Andrews on 24 April - the day before Cailean Liath received his royal commission there - and as his Justice Depute within the specific bounds of Glen Orchy on 15 May. In each case Cailean Liath was granted the full powers to hold courts, and apprehend, punish and justify malefactors.<sup>119</sup>

In addition to commissions and offices, Cailean Liath was also actively acquiring allies, again, it would appear, with Argyll's assistance. In a letter of 3 April 1563, besides assuring Cailean Liath of his support, Argyll enclosed a letter

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116. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/129 (printed Fraser, Lennox ii, 425).

117. SP i, 341.

118. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/134 (printed Fraser, Lennox ii, 426-7).

119. Ibid., GD112/1/3/128, 133.

to M<sup>c</sup>Ranaid.<sup>120</sup> The meaning of this is made clear by a contract made at Balloch on 25 April 1563 between Cailean Liath and Ragnall mac Ragnail mhic Dhomhnaill Ghlais, chief of the MacDonalds of Keppoch. By virtue of the fact that he held the 12 merkland of Rannoch west of the river Ericht of Menzies of Weem in life-rent, and had acquired, as a result of the gift of the escheat made to him on 14 January, the tack of the 18 merkland to the east of the Ericht formerly possessed by the MacGregors, Cailean Liath set to Ragnall the entire 20 poundland of Rannoch, including the loch and isle. Entry was to be immediate, and to endure so long as Cailean Liath had title to these lands. Once the present tacks and liferent had expired, Cailean Liath and his heirs would still endeavour to maintain Ragnall and his heirs in possession. Ragnall was to cultivate Rannoch, make it his principal residence, bring it to peace, allow no MacGregors "to haif entres or intromissioun" thereto, and command the inhabitants to obey Cailean Liath. He also bound himself to pursue the MacGregors, now the queen's rebels, and either bring them to Cailean Liath or kill them, "conforme to our Soverane Lady commissioun given thereupon for stanching of sik malefactouris".<sup>121</sup> Clearly Cailean Liath was well aware that his royal commission, granted that very day at St. Andrews, was pending.

Eleven days later, Cailean Liath took out a similar contract with Eoin Og MacEoin Abraich, chief of the MacDonalds of Glencoe. In return for Eoin's bond of manrent Cailean Liath would defend him in his possessions, especially Glencoe: "in case the said John mak nocht service upon persone or personis of the Clangregor

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120. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

121. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/130 (printed Taymouth Bk., 206-8).

instantlie, this present contract to be denunsit and of no avaiill and expyrit of itself".<sup>122</sup>

The final element of Campbell policy evident in this period is that of "divide and rule", designed to create divisions both between MacGregors who were out and those who were not, and within the ranks of the former group. At Perth, on 26 February, Argyll issued an assurance "to all and sundry the hail surname of the Clangregor within this realme now being our soverane ladeis liegies and remanand sua", that they would remain unharmed in body and goods, "fra all ... danger and scayth of ws our kyn friendis servandis and all that we may stop", until Palm Sunday [4 April]. Griogair Ruadh and those involved with him in the killings of 7 December were excluded from the assurance, as were any MacGregors who lent any kind of assistance to them.<sup>123</sup> At Balloch on 27 May, Cailean Liath bound himself that if Eòghan MacGille-Cheallaich and his brothers, Dubhghall and Donnchadh either slew any of the MacGregors who were out, or delivered them to Cailean Liath to be tried, then the latter would ensure that the MacGille-Cheallaichs were relaxed from all past process of horning laid upon them within 15 days, give them his letters of maintenance, and "be thir gud maister and cheiff siclik as I am to the rest of thar freindis the Clanlaurant thai remanand gud servantis to me and my airis".<sup>124</sup> Eòghan and Dubhghall had of course been involved in the killing of Alasdair mac Eòghain Dhuibh the previous May, and Eòghan and Donnchadh in the killings in Atholl in December.

What meanwhile of the MacGregors themselves? We possess very little precise evidence concerning their movements, actions and

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122. Ibid., GD112/1/3/131 (printed Taymouth Bk., 208).

123. Ibid., GD112/1/3/126.

124. Ibid., GD112/2/117/57/1/40.

attitudes from December 1562 until the summer of 1563. Argyll's assurance of 26 February makes it clear that by no means all MacGregors were out, but we have no means with which to gauge whether the assurance elicited any response, or whether, on the contrary, Griogair Ruadh and his allies were gaining support. In Cailean Liath's commission of 25 April their strength was estimated at around 120 - merely a reiteration of the estimate made in December. On 20 April Reddoch of Cultybraggan went surety for three Glen Lednock MacGregors, who would enter themselves in ward within the bounds of the sheriffdom of Berwick before 10 May, and remain there at their own expense until freed by the queen - the first indication of the conciliatory stance which was to characterise the behaviour of this kin-group throughout the feud.<sup>125</sup> On the other hand, subsequent events make it clear that Cailean Liath's attempt to win over the MacGille-Cheallaichs was a failure.<sup>126</sup>

The document which recorded the putting to the horn of Griogair Ruadh and four of his supporters on 31 December 1562 revealed that the royal messenger had failed to apprehend them on the 21st, "for nane [of] the saidis personis with thir complecis abone rehersit hes n[a] dowlling pleas excepe ... Duncane in Roray alanerlie".<sup>127</sup> Clearly these MacGregors were out from 7 December itself. Thereafter, Rannoch seems to have been the earliest scene of conflict. It was almost certainly between 7 December 1562 and 25 March 1563 that the entire parish was laid waste.<sup>128</sup> Cailean Liath's commission

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125. *RPC i* (1545-69), 236; *infra*, pp. 369-70, 388-9, 395-6.

126. *Infra*, pp. 348, 354, 364.

127. *Breadalbane Muns.*, SRO GD112/1/3/124.

128. *Thirds of Benefices*, 149, 160-1. The reference occurs within an account for the year 25 March 1562 x 25 March 1563 (*ibid.*, 120). It seems highly unlikely that the herschip of Rannoch could have taken place before 7 December 1562 without leaving its mark on the government documents of 13 and 31 December.



of 25 April 1563, clearly referring to the period since 7 December, stated that Griogair Ruadh's forces, "continewand in thair perversit purpoiss, hes ... committit new slauchteris, murthuris and raisit fire in the cuntre at thair plessouris ... quhairto gif remeid be not provydit in tyme, the hale cuntre is habill to brek, and thevis murtheraris and tratouris uss thame thairin at thair plessours".<sup>129</sup> Subsequent documents of 27 May and 26 July - by which stage the MacDonalds of Keppoch and Glencoe were presumably in action against the MacGregors - employed similar terminology.<sup>130</sup> "Ane gud symmr and gud harist pece and rest except the lard of Glenurquhay wryrth aganis Clangregor", was the contemporary if laconic observation of the compiler of Chron. Fortingall. There may already have been conflict in Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire.<sup>131</sup> Certainly, before the end of the year, the MacGregors had attacked Balloch itself, burning the kiln and barns, killing some of Cailean Liath's servants, and possibly taking some of his horses at the same time.<sup>132</sup>

For all the backing of central government, and the recruitment of local hit-men of undoubted calibre in the MacDonalds of Keppoch and Glencoe, it seems clear that by the late summer of 1563 the feud was growing beyond the control of Argyll and Cailean Liath, and, as the commission of 25 April had anticipated, was threatening to develop a general destructive momentum all of its own. This helps to explain the new developments which took place between that point and c.6 June 1564. At Stirling on 22 September 1563, the scope of operations against the MacGregors was of necessity widened, and assistance brought to the Campbells. On the

129. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/129 (printed Fraser, Lennox ii, 425).

130. Ibid., GD112/2/117/57/1/40; GD112/1/3/134 (printed Fraser, Lennox ii, 426-7).

131. ER xix (1557-67), 254-5.

132. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/127v.

grounds that:

the Clangregour ... hes nocht onlie massit thame selfis in greit cumpanyis, bot als hes drawin to thaim the maist part of the brokin men of the hale cuntre, quhilkis at thair plesour birnis and slayis the pouer liegis of this realme, revis and takis thair gudis sornis and oppressis thame in sik sort that thai ar hable to lay waist the haill boundis quhair thai hant, and to bring the samyn to be inhabitible, without the haistier remeid be providit thairfoir ...

commissions of fire and sword were granted to James earl of Moray (for Brae Mar, Badenoch, Lochaber, the Brae of Moray, Strathnairn and Strathdearn), John earl of Atholl (for Atholl, Strath Ardle, Glen Shee, and Dunkeld), George earl of Errol (for Logiealmond), James Lord Ogilvie (for the Brae of Angus), Patrick Lord Ruthven (for Strath Braan), Daibhidh Lord Drummond (for Strathearn), and Eoin Grant of Freuchy (for Strath Spey, Strath Avon and the Brae of Strath Bogie), as well as to Argyll (for Argyll, Lorn, Lennox and Menteith) and Cailean Liath (for Breadalbane and Balquhidder). Within a 20-day period commencing on 20 October, these nine were charged to expel these malefactors from their own specified bounds, or bring them before the law if actually apprehended.<sup>133</sup>

Meanwhile lines of communication had been opened between the Campbells and the MacGregors in an attempt to negotiate a solution. A letter of 1 October reveals that Argyll had written Griogair Ruadh asking him not to pursue Cailean Liath, at the latter's own request. Griogair Ruadh's reply was that he would continue in his course since he saw no chance of relief from Argyll or Cailean Liath; and indeed, even before Argyll had received that reply, Griogair Ruadh had burnt part of Glen Orchy.<sup>134</sup>

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133. RPC i (1545-69), 248-50.

134. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath.

A letter by Eoin Campbell of Skipnish on 13 October refers to a settlement which the MacGregors had offered Cailean Liath, and which the latter had shown to Argyll at Perth. It would appear that Cailean Liath's reaction had been unfavourable.

Argyll had asked Eoin to write to Cailean Liath:

to se gif thair was ony appoyntment that ye wald  
hair betuix you and the Glengregour, and I sperit  
geif thair was ony speciality or yeit geif ony man  
haid commissioun, and thair said nay for thair ar  
disparit that ye will heir ony appoyntment...<sup>135</sup>

This last letter suggests that, whereas the MacGregors had already offered terms, and Argyll was sympathetic to the idea of a settlement, the main stumbling-block was the apparently uncompromising stance of Cailean Liath. In fact, the common front which Argyll and Cailean Liath had maintained in the first six months of 1563 was now beginning to give way. The divergence in their attitude towards the MacGregor crisis was crystallised by Griogair Ruadh's attack on Glen Orchy, which must have taken place between 22 September and 1 October, and by a dispute concerning two MacGregors of the Clann Dubhghaill Chéire division.

Argyll raised both issues in his letter to Cailean Liath of 1 October. The letter revealed that prior to the attack on Glen Orchy, Cailean Liath had asked Argyll to send him 40 men: Argyll would now wait to see if Cailean Liath still required them, and would send them to Glen Orchy if needed. Secondly, Argyll would not have Cailean Liath pursue Pàdraig MacDubhghaill Chéire or his brother (the former had come to Argyll stating their fear of Cailean Liath) except by legal means, since they had Argyll's maintenance - "or ellis you know that it will nocht stand

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135. Ibid., GD50/187/1.

with our honour".<sup>136</sup>

Cailean Liath's response, in a letter written at Balloch on 4 October, was furious. He believed that Argyll was largely to blame for what had happened in Glen Orchy:

albeit I haif the scayth, the dishonour is your Lordshipis quhilk I regaird maist be resoun your Lordship take Glenurquhay on hand afor the Secret Cunsale in Streviling [we saw that by the council's act of 22 September, the earl of Argyll had been made responsible for Lorn] quhilk causit me to be mair slouthfull nor I wald haif bene ...

Argyll, he implied had no choice but to send men to Glen Orchy since he had promised as much before the council. And, in a remarkable development of his argument, Cailean Liath suggested that if Argyll would give him the Glen Orchy lands (in which Cailean Liath was Argyll's vassal) held directly of the Crown,

I wald gif your Lordship yit for all the scayth I haif sustenit, mair silver nor all the Clan Gregour may gif, and nevir cummer your Lordship with thame in tymes cuming ...

Argyll's maintenance of Pàdraig MacDubhghaill Chéire and his brother came as news to Cailean Liath, who had, "their bonds vii yeris syne with all securiteis that thai culd gif and nay man exceptit bot the Quene Magestie".<sup>137</sup> In future they and their surname could expect no kindness from him. In angry words Cailean Liath vented his frustration at Argyll's perceived lack of support:

ther is nay thing mair intollerabill unto me nor se your Lordship regard sic commoun theiffis as M<sup>c</sup>doulkeiris mair nor me, and the waisting of my cuntre quhilk I knaw your Lordshipis fader wald nevir haif estemit alik ...

The implacability of his own attitude to Griogair Ruadh and his

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136. Ibid., GD50/187/1.

137. Cailean Liath had received bonds of manrent from three members of Clann Dubhghaill Chéire, including a Pàdraig, in 1560/61 (supra, p. 304), but we have no record of any such bonds from c.1556.

kindred - doubtless intensified by the herschip of Glen Orchy -  
was made clear:

he sall nevir haif the gud that I may hald fra hym  
nor nane of his surname, and I hope in God to se the  
tyme that thai quha culzeiss sik rebaldis and cruel  
tyrantis salbe eschamit thereof.

Cailean Liath concluded with the - we have suggested<sup>138</sup> -

disingenuous argument that he had become involved in the feud  
only at Argyll's request, and in the belief that Argyll was committed  
to revenge; and expressed the hope that:

the eternall God will steir up your Lordshipis mynd  
agane or ellis sum utheris to revenge the gret effusioun  
of blude sched within your Lordshipis bundis and myn ...  
and I take God to witnes that I wes nocht the occasioun  
thereof. <sup>139</sup>

Argyll replied on 11 October. He would send Cailean Liath  
the promised replacements, and would do his diligence against Clann  
Griogair, but denied having taken responsibility for Glen Orchy before  
the council, and rejected out of hand the proposal that he should sell  
the superiority of Glen Orchy to Cailean Liath.<sup>140</sup> Eoin Campbell  
of Skipnish, in his letter of 13 October, was clearly sympathetic  
to Cailean Liath's assertion that Argyll had not been giving him  
full support, but at the same time, as we saw, was acting on  
Argyll's behalf in trying to pursue a peace process which Cailean  
Liath had so far shown no sign of assenting to.<sup>141</sup>

Quite apart from incipient divisions among the Campbells,  
it was now clear that the attitude of wider society was undermining  
the effectiveness of operations against the MacGregors. The precept

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138. *Supra*, p. 315.

139. *MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts)*, SRO GD50/187/1.

140. *Ibid.*, GD50/187/1; cf. *ibid.*, GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean  
Liath, 20 October 1563.

141. *Ibid.*, GD50/187/1.

issued by Mary at Inveraray on 26 July had revealed that the inhabitants of those areas where Argyll and Cailean Liath were pursuing the MacGregors had been refusing to provide the former with meat and drink.<sup>142</sup> This did not necessarily imply MacGregor sympathies, but the existence of such sympathies is attested by other evidence. In a letter to Cailean Liath of 20 October Argyll stated that he would immediately pursue Griogair Ruadh if the latter were in Cowal (which Argyll did not believe), and would rectify any wrongs done by Eoin son of Alasdair MacNaughton - possibly the earliest sign of support for Griogair Ruadh from the relations of his mother's first husband.<sup>143</sup> At Ellan na Mayn on 17 November 1563, Griogair Ruadh, on behalf of his kin, friends and servants, gave his bond of service to Eoin Stewart, son and heir of Stewart of Appin, so long as this would not involve Griogair Ruadh exposing himself to hurt at the hands of Argyll.<sup>144</sup>

By far the most important means of support the MacGregors obtained from society at large was that of reset. Without it Griogair Ruadh and his supporters would have been unable to conduct the prolonged campaign of mobile guerilla warfare to which they were committed after 7 December 1562. In purely chronological terms, our earliest reference to reset is Cailean Liath's condemnation of "thai quha culzeiss sik rebaldis and cruel tyrantis", on 1 October 1563;<sup>145</sup> but a source belonging to early 1564, entitled "Memorandum on thair naimis that hes ressait the Clan Gregour in anno lxi lxiiii

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142. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/134 (printed Fraser, Lennox ii, 426-7).

143. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1; cf. infra, p. 382.

144. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/136 (printed Taymouth Bk., 209).

145. Supra, p. 327.

yeris thai beand the quenis rybaldis",<sup>146</sup> makes it clear that reset had been taking place since the very beginning of the feud. The document gives the names of 96 MacGregor reseters in Atholl and its environs, principally Loch Rannoch and Tummel sides, Glen Errochty, Glen Shee, Strath Ardle, Straloch and Glen Brerachan. A related list adds 19 further names.<sup>147</sup>

To establish the identities and social status of these people would be a major undertaking in itself. All we can do here is point out that the presence of such as Jhone Barrowne Roy - am Baran Ruadh - of Strath Ardle, and his brother,<sup>148</sup> shows that resetting was by no means confined to the lower echelons of society.

On 8 and 10 January 1564, the privy council, explicitly acknowledging that the measures so far taken against the MacGregors - including presumably the major co-ordinated initiative planned for the 20-day period commencing on 20 October - had proved abortive, passed two new acts which revealed that resetting was not a phenomenon restricted to Atholl. The preamble to the act of 8 January confessed that the MacGregor situation remained unchanged:

the maist part of the caus quhairof is that in all partis quhair thai repair and hant, thai ar resset be the inhabitaris and induellaris thairof, and furnissit with vitallis and uther necessaris, and in sik wyse fosterit and nurissit as gif thai wer the Quenis Majesteis trew and faithfull subjectis and nevir had committit cryme or offence in ony tyme bigane ...

Accordingly commission was granted to Cailean Liath to seek out

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146. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/127.

147. Ibid., GD112/1/3/157a.

148. Ibid., GD112/1/3/127v.

MacGregor reseters in any part of the realm, with powers to arrest suspects, present them to justice, and, if found guilty, use their goods to facilitate his pursuit of the MacGregors.<sup>149</sup> Two days later it was enacted that justice courts be set up in the relevant localities to try reseters, and that general proclamation be made that the rebels were not to be assisted, but actively pursued. Failure to comply would lead to trial before these same justice courts.<sup>150</sup> On 13 January, in confirmation both of the strength of Campbell connections and influence at court, and of the new spirit of action, James earl of Morton and James MacGill the Clerk Register, who had both been present at the council meetings on 8 and 10 January,<sup>151</sup> wrote separate letters to Cailean Liath, informing him that Mary had been persuaded to go directly to Perth with the intention of holding a justice court principally to pursue MacGregor reseters.<sup>152</sup>

Cailean Liath's relationship with Argyll may have deteriorated, but at this stage he clearly still enjoyed the support of central government. It was now, however, that a new and complicating factor began to assert itself, in the person of John earl of Atholl. Atholl, in religious terms a conservative who according to Knox had voted against the reformed Confession of Faith in 1560, had been Mary's lieutenant in the defeat of Huntly at Corrichie in October 1562, and was like Argyll a member of the council.<sup>153</sup> In his father's time, in the 1530s, we saw that there had been

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149. RPC I (1545-69), 255-6.

150. Ibid., 256-8.

151. Ibid., 255-6.

152. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1. MacGill's letter revealed that he had spoken at length with Katherine Ruthven, Cailean Liath's wife, about the MacGregors. Katherine's brother Patrick Lord Ruthven was also present at the council meetings.

153. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 44-5, 50, 53.



severe local tensions with the lairds of Glen Orchy. So far there had been no sign of such tensions being repeated between Cailean Liath and John, and it is worth noting that the latter had restored good relations between his own family and the Menzieses of Weem - which again had been particularly bad in the 1530s - through a contract made in 1556.<sup>154</sup>

Atholl had attended the council meeting of 8 January 1564. Clearly he was worried by the implications of the far-reaching commission granted to Cailean Liath, particularly, no doubt, since the MacGregors had been receiving extensive reset within his earldom. On the 10th Atholl came before the council, and obliged himself to answer for all MacGregors, or MacGregor resetters, within his bounds whose names he would give in writing to Cailean Liath.<sup>155</sup> Consequently his territories were to be exempted from Cailean Liath's commission.<sup>156</sup>

At Perth, in late March, there was a further reorganisation of the government's MacGregor strategy which involved the elevation of Atholl to a central role, and the first sign of a rift between the government and Cailean Liath. On the 18th, the privy council renewed the commission of the previous September against the MacGregors, but now to be held by Argyll and Atholl alone. Argyll was made responsible for the sheriffdoms of Argyll, Tarbert, Dumbarton, and Bute; all of Menteith, Breadalbane and Balquhiddy; and that part of the sheriffdom of Stirling lying west of Buchanan; Atholl for Badenoch, Lochaber, Strath Spey, Strath Avon, Brae Mar, Strath Don, the Brae of

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154. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vi/22.

155. Presumably this is the origin of the lists of MacGregor resetters in Atholl in the Breadalbane Muniments.

156. RPC i (1545-69), 256-7.

Angus, and the sheriffdom of Perth excluding Breadalbane, Balquhiddy and Menteith.<sup>157</sup> On the 22nd, the council discussed a complaint which had been lodged by the lords, barons, landed men, gentlemen and inhabitants of Strathearn, asking that Cailean Liath's commission against MacGregor ressetters be discharged, at least in so far as it affected Strathearn.<sup>158</sup> The council's decision makes clear the nature of the allegations against Cailean Liath. His commission was to remain in force until the suppression of the MacGregors, but for the duration of Argyll's and Atholl's commissions was only to be used in cases where there was no doubt that reset had taken place. If it were merely suspected, Cailean Liath was to take no immediate action beyond notifying Mary and the council, and was then to await their instructions. Moreover, Cailean Liath would be held legally responsible for crimes committed by himself and his servants. This was in sharp contrast to the commissions granted Argyll and Atholl, which had guaranteed them legal immunity for any violent actions carried out in the pursuit thereof, and decreed that all actions currently before the Lords of Council and Session in which they were involved be continued until 28 May.<sup>159</sup>

Henceforth, in theory at least, Argyll and Atholl would be responsible for pursuit of the MacGregors and Cailean Liath for pursuit of their ressetters. The latter's indiscretions would mean that he would be under closer scrutiny in future, while he must have been unhappy that Argyll, and not himself, was now responsible for Breadalbane and Balquhiddy. He may also have had misgivings

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157. Ibid., 269-70.

158. Ibid., 271-2.

159. Ibid., 269-70.

about Atholl's elevation, which was cemented further in April by the grant of a commission of justiciary covering the earldom and adjacent territories such as Weem, Appin of Dull and Rannoch.<sup>160</sup> Nevertheless, in a letter written by Atholl to Cailean Liath on 31 March - our first evidence for direct contact between them - he agreed to comply with Cailean Liath's requests that all ferrymen on the Tay and Tummel be prevented from transporting the MacGregors within his bounds, and that the MacGregors be kept out of his earldom should they be set upon so sharply in the west as to compel them to come east.<sup>161</sup>

Atholl's letter gives us our first information about the movements and actions of Griogair Ruadh and his supporters since his rumoured presence in Cowal in October, and his bond with Stewart of Appin's son at Ellan na Mayn (Eilean Munde in Loch Leven?)<sup>162</sup> on 17 November. The MacGregors had recently inflicted damage on Cailean Liath and Eoin Campbell of Lawers in Glen Lochay,<sup>163</sup> and then fled, clearly to the west, where a major offensive was now being planned against them. This probably has some bearing on the next and perhaps most remarkable development of the entire feud: the flight of the MacGregors to Ireland. This must have taken place between c.31 March<sup>164</sup> and 6 June 1564, on which date Seumas MacDonald of Dunivaig informed Cailean Liath that:

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160. Ibid., ii (1569-78), 698-9.

161. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

162. For late-medieval renderings of this name see OPS ii, pt. i, 170.

163. Marion Campbell's song, Rìgh gur mór mo chuid mhulaid, refers to an unidentified Beinn Lòchaidh: Duncan, MacGregor Songs, 22, l. 80.

164. According to CSP Scot. ii (1563-69), no. 110, p. 88, the MacGregors left at the start of spring.

at my being in court last, Makgregour and his cumpany past to Ireland and feid theamselfis with ane brother of myne, Sorle M<sup>C</sup>Conaill, without ony command or directioun of myne, quha undirstude na freindis to be offendit thairto be reasoun of my absence of the cuntre for the tyme.<sup>165</sup>

Seumas would respond to Cailean Liath's wishes in the matter once the MacGregors' term had expired.

Ireland had of course long been a refuge for fugitives, and a magnet for mercenary soldiers, from Gaelic Scotland,<sup>166</sup> and the circumstances of the MacGregors' sojourn there may suggest that they were acting as "redshanks" - professional soldiers who were usually hired for one fighting season only before returning to Scotland.<sup>167</sup> In a letter written to Cailean Liath probably in late 1564, Griogair Ruadh gave two reasons for his flight to Ireland:

I left Scotland at the command of my lord Earl of Argyle beleifing of the setting of your gud mynd toartiis me and throych your dredar ...<sup>168</sup>

We have already seen signs of the intransigence of Cailean Liath's attitude, while there may also be a reference here to the projected offensive mentioned in Atholl's letter. The role of Argyll requires fuller discussion. Jane Dawson has recently shown that between 1560 and 1565 the services of Argyll were available to the English government in respect of its policy towards Ireland, which at this point had shifted from attempts at liberal reform towards more radical ideas of conquest and colonisation of Gaelic Ireland, particularly Ulster. Argyll's willingness to co-operate stemmed from his gratitude to Elizabeth for the part she had played in ensuring the success of the Scottish Reformation, and had been

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165. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

166. Bannerman, "Lordship of the Isles", 216.

167. J.E.A. Dawson, "Two Kingdoms or Three? Ireland in Anglo-Scottish Relations in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century", in (ed.) R.A. Mason, Scotland and England 1286-1815 (Edinburgh, 1987), 115.

168. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, filed after a document dated 27 November 1564.

formalised in a contract drawn up by 19 July 1560. It was envisaged that Argyll would provide military assistance against the O'Neills, and through his marriage ties with An Calbhach O'Donnell and Seumas MacDonald of Dunivaig (whose kindred had acquired the Glens of Antrim in the late-fourteenth century and had been an expanding force in Ulster since then) would try and ensure the co-operation of both men and their kindred with the Dublin administration and against the O'Neills. The proposals also involved Seumas' youngest brother Somhairle Buidhe - the Sorle M<sup>C</sup>Conaill of the letter of 6 June 1564. If he became an English subject and Seumas' deputy in Ireland the English would accept the MacDonalds' right to their territories in Antrim.<sup>169</sup>

We can probably accept that in sending the MacGregors to Ireland Argyll was concerned to defuse, even if only temporarily, a major domestic crisis. It is much more difficult to decide if he was also using them as an active element within his Irish strategy, principally because the English government seems to have failed entirely to take up Argyll's proffered military service between 1560 and 1565, after which point the offer of service was withdrawn.<sup>170</sup> If this further motive had been present it would also seem strange that Seumas MacDonald had been kept in ignorance of it - if his profession of ignorance in his letter of 6 June was genuine.

Unsurprisingly, both crown and Campbells wanted to keep the MacGregors in Ireland. At Glen Tilt on 4 August, acting on information from Cailean Liath that:

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169. Dawson, *op. cit.*, 114-22.

170. *Ibid.*, 122-5.

now quhen the nycht growis lang [the MacGregors] intend to return agane within our realme to use and exerce thair wonted and accustomat crueltie, specialli on the puir tenentis duelland on the rowmes and possessionis pertenyng to the said Coline and his freindis,

Mary instructed those sheriffs whose sheriffdoms covered the west coast of Scotland to ensure that no-one transported the MacGregors back to Scotland.<sup>171</sup> On 11 September Agnes Campbell - Argyll's sister and Seumas MacDonald's wife - wrote Cailean Liath informing him that Griogair Ruadh had ended his term of service, and planned to leave Ireland. Her husband (obviously acting on behalf of Argyll and Cailean Liath) had refused to grant Griogair Ruadh licence to return to Scotland from the Glens of Antrim, but Agnes believed the MacGregors would go to Knockfergus, where Captain William Piers would see them transported.<sup>172</sup> In Edinburgh on 6 October, Argyll "was suirlie advertiest that the Clengregor landit into sum part of Carrik ... to the number of four scoir of men ... and thai past to the town of Air, quhaye refusit to lat tham enter the town, and we are assurit that thai will mak fordwairt to your [Cailean Liath's] boundis als son as thai maye".<sup>173</sup> On 24 October, Thomas Randolph informed William Cecil that the MacGregors had returned from Ireland very poor, and had sued Mary for mercy.<sup>174</sup>

In the MacGregors' absence there had been one or two interesting developments. At Inveraray on 9 July, Argyll and seven other Campbell lairds had made a contract of manrent and protection with

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171. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/150 (printed Fraser, Lennox ii, 427-8), 151.

172. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), GD50/187/1.

173. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath. Cf. ibid., GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 11 October 1564.

174. CSP Scot. ii (1563-69), no. 110, p. 88.

Cailean Liath, directed especially against Griogair Ruadh and his adherents, presumably in anticipation of the return of the latter from Ireland.<sup>175</sup> More significantly, there had been further signs that Mary was not prepared to tolerate any overstepping of the bounds of their commissions by the Campbells. On 1 August she ordered Donnchadh Ruadh Campbell of Glen Lyon to deliver to her (she was at the Lunkartis in Glen Tilt on a hunting trip) within 48 hours Donnchadh Cléireach MacGregor, whom Donnchadh Ruadh had captured and imprisoned despite his innocence of any crime.<sup>176</sup> On 3 August - the day before she issued her precept to the sheriffs on the west coast - she sent a sharply-worded reprimand to Cailean Liath concerning his conduct in Rannoch, following a complaint made directly to Mary by the proprietor, Seumas Menzies of Weem.<sup>177</sup> Menzies' complaint was that, not content with expelling the MacGregors from Rannoch, Cailean Liath had used his gift of Griogair Ruadh's escheat as a pretext to fortify the Isle of Loch Rannoch, and to occupy parts of Menzies' lands there to which Griogair had held no right with the MacDonalds of Keppoch, Camerons, and:

utheris maisterfull clannis quhilkis being anis  
sufferit be quhatsumevir cullor or titill to possess  
the samin will never be removit thairfra Bot claime  
kyndnes thairof and lay the samin waist To my greit  
hurte I being your magesteis fewar thairof and maist  
willing that na brokin men duell upounis my saidis  
landis bot sic as I may anser for unto your majestie...<sup>178</sup>

Mary ordered Cailean Liath to cease both his unauthorised fortification of the Isle of Loch Rannoch (which had been destroyed, as we

175. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/148 (printed Taymouth Bk., 209-10).

176. Ibid., GD112/1/3/149.

177. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 706, no. 204.

178. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vii/4.

saw, in the reign of James V, and more recently by Cailean Liath himself in the process of ejecting the MacGregors; and which had always been, "a receptacle and refuge to offendouris") and "the inbringing of strangeris of uther clannis and cuntres ... For to output the Glengregour and impute uther brokin men of the like conditioun ... we jugeit nocht mete nor expedient to be done".<sup>179</sup> Cailean Liath failed to comply, or to compear to answer for that failure as charged on two subsequent occasions, but finally managed to appease the council on 27 November by the delivery of obligations by MacDonald of Keppoch and the tutor of the Glen Nevis branch of the Camerons that they would keep good rule, with Cailean Liath as cautioner.<sup>180</sup>

For the second time government had been compelled to take action against Cailean Liath for abusing the powers with which he had been invested against the MacGregors. On each occasion that action had been mild: in the main, he still enjoyed central support. It was on 27 October 1564 that Mary granted him the feuferm - charter of the remaining crown lands on Loch Tayside,<sup>181</sup> while the MacGregors' attempt to win her pardon, referred to by Randolph on 24 October, clearly failed. Between that point and the summer of 1565 the feud simply resumed, in all its essential aspects, as if the MacGregors had never been away.

Argyll renewed his attempts to promote a settlement, a prospect which continued to receive more support from the MacGregors than from

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179. HMC vi, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 692, no. 34.

180. *Ibid.*, 706, no. 204; RPC i (1545-69), 289-90, 291-5, 301.

181. RMS iv (1546-80), no. 1559.



Cailean Liath. On 25 November 1564 Argyll was able to report to Cailean Liath that Griogair Ruadh seemed willing to fulfil some of their demands, and asked that mutual assurances be given for 15 days to see if further progress could be made.<sup>182</sup> It is probably to this period that we should attribute a letter written in the name of Griogair Ruadh himself, to Cailean Liath.<sup>183</sup> Besides giving the reasons for his leaving Scotland, and expressing his belief in the necessity of their relationship to which we referred in Chapter II, the letter is a precious insight into what Griogair Ruadh considered to be the basis for any future settlement, and hence into what he considered to be the origins of the feud. If Cailean Liath would allow him and his kinsmen to possess their, "awin kynd natife rummis", then they, their friends and servants, would obey and serve him in future against all except the authority and Argyll. Griogair Ruadh would also as far as possible make amends (by means of his "service and geir") for the damages done to Cailean Liath, so long as this involved no concessions on his part concerning his heritage or the lives of his kinsmen. This last was an unmistakeable reference to Cailean Liath's attempt, as expressed in the document of 24 November 1562, to make Griogair Ruadh's infeftment in Glen Strae conditional upon, among other things, his surrender of the two MacGille-Cheallaichs.

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182. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

183. Ibid., GD50/187/1, filed after a document dated 27 November 1564. Since we know that Griogair Ruadh was illiterate in Scots (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/136), we would need to assume that the letter was written on his behalf by one of his supporters. A further letter from Griogair Ruadh to Cailean Liath's wife Katherine Ruthven, asking for her support in winning her husband's favour, probably belongs to the same period (MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, filed after document dated 1 February 1565).

In the wake of a major meeting of Argyll and other Campbells held at Balloch on 20 February 1565 in order to improve the effectiveness of their actions against the MacGregors,<sup>184</sup> Griogair Ruadh tried again. Through the medium of Dubhghall Campbell of Auchinbreck, he asked for letters of assurance from Cailean Liath and Argyll for himself and his men for 20 days, to give him time to speak to his council about a settlement with Cailean Liath.<sup>185</sup> Cailean Liath refused to give an assurance, but along with Argyll was willing to sanction the giving of one by Auchinbreck and by Seumas Campbell of Ardkinglas.<sup>186</sup> We hear nothing more of this initiative.

Within this period, the Campbell strategy of "divide and rule", which seems to have been completely ineffectual before the MacGregors' flight to Ireland, did achieve one success. Alasdair mac Alasdair mhic Ghriogair agreed to "fyill [his] handis upon sum pert of the personis of Glengrigour", if Cailean Liath would procure for him a remission from the crown, and defend him in his "awin kind landis".<sup>187</sup> In terms of the actual pursuit of the MacGregors, MacDonald of Keppoch seems to have been particularly active.<sup>188</sup> On 24 January Argyll mentioned to Cailean Liath the possibility of sending him 200 men.<sup>189</sup> At the meeting at Balloch on 20 February Cailean Liath

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184. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/158.

185. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Dubhghall Campbell of Auchinbreck to Cailean Liath, n.d., filed after document of 24 February 1565.

186. *Ibid.*, GD50/187/1, Dubhghall Campbell of Auchinbreck to Cailean Liath, 14 March 1565; Cailean Liath to Argyll, 16 March 1565.

187. *Ibid.*, GD50/187/1, 5 March 1565. This arrangement, which seems to have been made after Cailean Liath had captured Alasdair (*ibid.*, GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 22 April 1565), also involved the latter's brother. They belonged to the Fearnan MacGregors (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/196a), who had fostered Cailean Liath.

188. *Ibid.*, GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 1 February 1565; Dubhghall Campbell of Auchinbreck to Cailean Liath, n.d., filed after document of 24 February 1565.

189. *Ibid.*, GD50/187/1.

was given the services of Alasdair Ciar, brother of Dubhghall Campbell of Auchinbreck, and Domhnall Og Campbell, along with 24 men.<sup>190</sup> That force was already in operation by 5 April, by which time it had also been decided that Lorn, Argyll and Cowal should each provide 120 men to serve with Cailean Liath for successive periods of 20 days or a month.<sup>191</sup> But the pursuit continued to be hampered by the twin problems of reset, and of divisions among the Campbells, especially Argyll and Cailean Liath.

We have a partial record of the reseters of Griogair Ruadh and his supporters between November 1564 and 26 January 1565.<sup>192</sup> At some point in November, they were in Menteith; in early December, Strathearn (Cultybraggan, Glen Lednock, Dalchonzie, Clathick, Monzie, Glen Almond) and thence north-east to Strath Braan; in early January, Atholl (Glen Errochty, the brae of Atholl, Strath Tay) and, by the end of that month, apparently near Dunkeld. Of the reseters themselves two things need to be said. One is that, because of the legislation which had now been implemented against reseters, these people were running a substantial risk. This would seem to undermine the possible argument that they were giving reset only because of the fear of MacGregor reprisals should they refuse. The other is that the identities of some of those directly or indirectly involved - Reddoch of Cultybraggan, the lairds of Callander, Monzie and Tullibardin, the earl of Errol, the baron

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190. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/158.

191. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 5 April 1565 (but filed under 5 April 1564).

192. Ibid., GD50/187/1, 1 December 1564.

of Findowie in Strath Braan, the gentlemen in the brae of Atholl, and the baron Cunnisson - provide confirmation of our earlier assertion that reset was by no means confined to the lower levels of society.

From Atholl it would appear that the MacGregors moved west to Argyll. Such a move seems to have been anticipated by the Campbells as early as 24 January;<sup>193</sup> and probably the most prominent theme of Campbell correspondence and resolutions between that point and 11 May was how to prevent the giving of reset, particularly within Argyll.<sup>194</sup> The very fact that the MacGregors could find shelter there, when viewed in conjunction with the earl's continued willingness to contemplate a diplomatic solution, suggests that for all the latter's strong utterances in favour of aggressive action,<sup>195</sup> his attitude towards the MacGregors remained more equivocal than that of Cailean Liath. Relations between the two men were strained in March, although the pursuit of the MacGregors merely provided the context, the real issue being Cailean Liath's alleged treatment of some servants of the chief of the Buchanans, who was now a dependant of Argyll rather than of the earl of Lennox.<sup>196</sup> The previous month it had even been rumoured that Argyll had ordered the MacGregors to lay waste Glen Orchy, presumably with reference to the attack which took place there between 22 September and 1 October 1563. Donnchadh Ruadh Campbell of Glen Lyon told Argyll that he himself had heard this from

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193. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath.

194. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 1 February 1565, 7 May 1565, 11 May 1565; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/158.

195. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 25 November 1564, 19 March 1565.

196. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 11 and 19 March 1565; Cailean Liath to Argyll, 16 March 1565.

Cailean Liath and some others; but he did not know, or would not say, with whom the allegation had begun.<sup>197</sup>

By the early summer of 1565, the situation, apparently, was one of stalemate. Pursuit of the MacGregors and their resisters was making little headway, while Cailean Liath remained resolutely opposed to a settlement. There seemed to be no alternative to a prolonged war of attrition. Yet by March 1566, the MacGregors had made their peace both with the Campbells and the crown.

The reason for this extraordinary transformation was that the feud became subsumed by national politics. The good relationship which Argyll and Cailean Liath had previously enjoyed with Mary, and which had assured them her support against the MacGregors, began to break down from the spring of 1565. That summer and autumn, Argyll and Cailean Liath supported James earl of Moray and the Hamiltons in their rebellion against Mary known as the "Chaseabout Raid". Threatened by external dangers, the Campbells closed ranks.<sup>198</sup> As part of that process, it became imperative to reach a settlement with the MacGregors, not only to end a damaging source of internal division and dissension, but also in order that the MacGregors might be used again in their traditional role as servants of the Campbells, and hence lend support to the rebellion. But the Campbells now had rivals to the MacGregors' loyalties. Mary revoked Cailean Liath's commission of 8 January 1564, and offered the MacGregors other concessions in an attempt to win them over to her party. Thus the MacGregors found themselves courted by the

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197. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 24 February 1565.

198. Although Campbell of Loudoun supported the queen: Donaldson, Queen's Men, 75.

very elements - crown and Campbells - which had previously acted in tandem against them. Despite all that had happened since 1550, and especially since 1562, most of the MacGregors took the Campbells' part, which says much for the strength of that hereditary bond. When Argyll was finally reconciled to Mary as a result of fresh political developments in March 1566, these MacGregors were included in his remission, and the revolution in their fortunes completed.

The origins of the "Chaseabout Raid" lay in the rehabilitation of Matthew earl of Lennox, who returned to Scotland in September 1564 after a 20 year exile, and whose forfeiture was revoked by Parliament in December; and in the relationship between Mary and Matthew's son, Henry Lord Darnley (who returned to Scotland in February 1565) which led to their marriage on 29 July 1565.<sup>199</sup> This posed a particular threat to the policies and personal status of Lord James Stewart, earl of Moray, who left the council in May, was promised support by Elizabeth in July, and, following the marriage itself, was in open rebellion by August.<sup>200</sup>

The Hamiltons were the backbone of the rebellion, while Argyll had signalled his support for Moray as early as March.<sup>201</sup> Apart from personal friendship and shared Protestant sympathies, a local consideration may also have been uppermost in his mind. We have argued that Campbell influence within the earldom of Lennox had been a long-term factor since 1424. The fourth earl of Argyll had been granted extensive lands there following the forfeiture of earl Matthew in 1544,<sup>202</sup> while we have seen that,

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199. Donaldson, James V-James VII, 116-7; Diurnal of Occurrents, 77-80.

200. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 71.

201. *Ibid.*, 71, 73-4. See also CSP Scot. ii (1563-69), no. 141.

202. RMS iii (1513-46), nos. 3173, 3291, 3300.

apparently not long before 11 March 1565, the chief of the Buchanans - who had followed earl Matthew in 1544<sup>203</sup> - had renounced that allegiance and come to depend on Gill-easbuig, fifth earl of Argyll.<sup>204</sup> With Matthew's restoration Argyll stood to lose his lands and influence in the Lennox.

The possibility of an attack by the earl of Lennox was one of the external threats faced by the Campbells during the "Chaseabout Raid".<sup>205</sup> Another, even more serious threat, particularly where Cailean Liath was concerned, stemmed from John earl of Atholl. Atholl was one of Mary's key supporters during the crisis of 1565, becoming her lieutenant in the north on 23 August.<sup>206</sup> In February it had been believed that Atholl would support Lennox:<sup>207</sup> in March it was reported that he was a member of a Lennox faction.<sup>208</sup> On the 22nd of that month Mary granted him the non-entries of the earldom of Lennox, a gift which under normal circumstances Argyll might conceivably have expected to receive.<sup>209</sup> On 23 June Atholl was granted lands in Lochaber, including the fortress of Inverlochy, forfeited by the earl of Huntly.<sup>210</sup> On 31 July, two days after her marriage to Darnley, Mary granted Atholl all the fruits of the abbey of Coupar Angus, in the hands of the crown following the death of the last abbot, Domhnall Campbell, who as we saw was the fourth son of Gill-easbuig, second earl of Argyll.<sup>211</sup>

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203. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 18.

204. Supra, p. 342.

205. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 10 October 1565.

206. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 94; RPC i (1545-69), 357-8.

207. CSP Scot. ii (1563-69), no. 141.

208. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 72.

209. RSS v (1556-67), pt. i, no. 1986.

210. Ibid., no. 2139.

211. Ibid., no. 2229, and cf. no. 2284; supra, p. 81.

In the last instance at least Mary was diverting patronage from Argyll (who had received an earlier grant of two-thirds of the fruits of Coupar Angus)<sup>212</sup> to Atholl for political reasons.<sup>213</sup> Atholl was ideally placed, if necessary, to take military action against the Campbells to the west, where there had been tensions between his father and the lairds of Glen Orchy in the 1530s. In 1564 he had acted swiftly to have his earldom exempted from the bounds of Cailean Liath's commission against MacGregor reseters, and had assumed joint responsibility with Argyll for the pursuit of the MacGregors themselves. How actively he had done so we do not know. But it could be significant that the MacGregors had often found reset in Atholl; and it is undoubtedly significant that the Clann Donnchaidh Liobhunnaich component of the kindred already had a connection with the earl of Atholl.<sup>214</sup> All this helps to explain why, when the queen's party made its attempt to detach the MacGregors from the Campbells, it was to the earl of Atholl in the first instance that it was hoped they would transfer their allegiance.

The first signs that events at a national level had resulted in a shift in Mary's attitude towards the feud between the Campbells and the MacGregors came shortly after 11 June 1565. On that night two MacGregors including Griogair mac an deoin, son of Seumas MacGregor the dean of Lismore, were slain at Stix by a group led by Seumas mac an stalcair, who was almost certainly a servant of

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212. Ibid., no. 1199.

213. See also J. Goodare, "Queen Mary's Catholic Interlude", Innes Review xxxviii (1987), 155-6.

214. Supra, p. 130, n. 329.



Cailean Liath.<sup>215</sup> Mary's response, made before the end of June, was to order that the acts of surety for the good behaviour of ten MacGregors recorded in the books of privy council and adjournal be deleted, to allow them to take revenge on the killers, "for persequition of quhome nane ar mair mete nor the above namyt personis, having thair neir kynsman slane".<sup>216</sup> The slaying of Griogair mac an deoin had almost certainly been an illegal act, for although he had had contact with Griogair Ruadh and the outlawed MacGregors on at least one occasion,<sup>217</sup> he was not of their number, and indeed was himself under surety.<sup>218</sup> But that the crown was prepared to encourage the exaction of revenge in this manner seems quite extraordinary, and we can only conclude that Mary's intention was to foment the feud between the MacGregors and Campbells in order to embarrass and encumber the latter. Retribution was duly carried out on Seumas mac an stalcair and his associates by a party led by Griogair Ruadh, at Ardeonaig on 27 July.<sup>219</sup>

On 16 June Argyll was still advocating pursuit of the MacGregors.<sup>220</sup> By 5 July he had decided that the feud must be ended,<sup>221</sup> and by 9 July Cailean Liath had assented.<sup>222</sup> This

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215. Chron. Fortingall; Coll. de Rebus Alban., 32. Seumas mac an stalcair witnessed a bond of manrent to Cailean Liath on 9 September 1552 (Manrent Book (Cailean Liath), f. 4v). Eoin mac an stalcair and his son Fionnlagh gave their bond of manrent to Cailean Liath on 4 November 1552 (Ibid., f. 6v).

216. Coll. de Rebus Alban., 32. On the MacGregors involved see infra, pp. 395-6.

217. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 1 December 1564.

218. Coll. de Rebus Alban., 32.

219. Chron. Fortingall. The entry suggests that mac an stalcair was Seumas' patronymic, not his surname.

220. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/159 (printed Taymouth Bk., 211-2).

221. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath.

222. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to Argyll.

rapid volte-face stemmed from the fact that the threat from the earl of Atholl had now become explicit, overshadowing that from the MacGregors. Writing to Cailean Liath on 5 July, Argyll stated that the MacGregors

are not your hail partie that would wraik you onlie bot oderis of your nyctbouris siclyk as my Lord of Atholl quhom we thynk better dettouris onto you for the skaytht ye haif gottin nor the Clan Gregour ...

He went on to offer Cailean Liath support to the tune of 1000 men should he wish to be revenged upon his "neighbours".<sup>223</sup> In his reply, Cailean Liath acknowledged that Atholl was against him, and wished that it had been Atholl who had inflicted damage upon him, "rather than tham that hes doin". If he had received the 1000 men "in an quyat maner", and Argyll had been with him at Balloch, then Atholl "suld have had grettur displesour than evir he did to [Argyll]", but Cailean Liath went on to outline the rapid steps which Mary had taken to forestall a major outbreak of violence.<sup>224</sup>

The damage inflicted upon Cailean Liath probably refers to two plundering raids by MacGregors in June, on Glen Lochay, Crannach and the brae of Balloch.<sup>225</sup> Both may have been reprisals for the murder of Griogair mac an deoin.<sup>226</sup> What also seems significant is that the three MacGregor elements involved - Donnchadh MacGregor of Roro, the MacGille-Choluim Ghlais lineage in Rannoch, and Clann MhicGille-Cheallaich - were Atholl

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223. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath.

224. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to Argyll, 9 July 1565. See also TA xi (1559-66), 375.

225. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, document headed, "The number of ky and horses taken out of Breadalbane by Clan Gregor which were reset in Atholl in 1565", and filed under 1 December 1564.

226. The date of the first raid is not specified. The second took place on 30 June.

dependants, while the cattle and horses taken in the second raid on 30 June were reset in Atholl. Taking into account also Mary's response to the killing on 11 June, then is it possible to argue that an attempt was already being made to create a crown-Atholl-MacGregor alignment directed against the Campbells? Perhaps not, given both that Argyll and Cailean Liath did not seem to hold Atholl responsible for the raids in June (implying that Atholl's hostility to them had manifested itself in some other way), and that Mary was still prepared to be conciliatory, and clearly anxious to prevent a major irruption between the Campbells and Atholl.<sup>227</sup> Nevertheless, the prospect of such an alignment may have strengthened the Campbells' desire to settle with the MacGregors.

Such a desire had been evident on Argyll's part from autumn 1563, but it took the specific political pressures operating in the summer of 1565 to make him finally assert his authority as chief of his kindred, and, in his letter of 5 July, spell it out to Cailean Liath that the time for intransigence was past. Adroitly he sweetened the pill by hinting that, if won over, the MacGregors could then be used to take revenge on Atholl:

as to the Clan Gregour, seying now quhat cumir we ourself ar intill and ye baytht, we wald be rycht glaid that ye wald lait wit overcum will in that matter, quhilk is that ye wald submit yourself to the jugement off us and our freindis anenttis the saidis actioun. For we thynk gif ye wald be contenttit to do the samyn that we mycht yit fynd ane waye that the Clan Gregour mycht becum guid servanttis to wair thame selfis aganeis oderris witht us and you baytht, and this we thynk wer the best to be done, for and thai ware ouris we mycht caus tham till wair thame selfis fardare nor otheris.<sup>228</sup>

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227. On Mary's conciliatory line see J. Goodare, *op. cit.*, 156.

228. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1.

With bad grace and bitterness, Cailean Liath gave way:

now sen I have submittit myself to your Lordship  
and freindis the dishonour of it will evir stand  
upoun your Lordshipis house and your Lordshipis  
freindis, albeit that I have gottin the skayth  
without that ane manifest mendis be maid to me.  
In gud faytht war nocht the confidance that I  
have onlie of your Lordship onder God, for all  
the geir that evir I had or hes I wald nocht  
submit me to freindis in this caussis ...<sup>229</sup>

With his letter Argyll had enclosed a memorandum outlining possible peace-terms, "in consideratioun off matteris as thai stand in the realme presentlye". His proposals were very close to those put forward in Griogair Ruadh's letter of the previous winter. In return for the services of Griogair Ruadh and so many of his kin and dependants as he would "put in bill" - that is, be answerable for - Argyll and Cailean Liath would "mak thame suir off thair lyiffis and M<sup>C</sup>Gregouris heretaige [Glen Strae] and his kyndlie roumeis". Griogair Ruadh was to pay Cailean Liath the feudal casualties relating to these lands. Cailean Liath was to be a "guid and kyndlie maister to [Griogair Ruadh] and his dependeris on according to thair good service". If Cailean Liath accepted these conditions, he was to give the MacGregors his assurance that they would be unharmed until negotiations were completed.<sup>230</sup>

Cailean Liath's response - a blend of grudging concession, equivocation and hostility - revealed that much ground remained to be bridged. He wanted the names of those for whom Griogair Ruadh would be answerable. With regard to Glen Strae, he stood by his obligation of 24 October 1562, with the vital difference that he would no longer demand the surrender of the two MacGille-Cheallaichs, since they were Atholl's servants. This last

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229. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to Argyll, 9 July 1565.

230. Ibid., GD50/187/1, 5 July 1565.

demonstrates clearly how the specific circumstances of 1565 were operating in favour of a settlement: presumably Cailean Liath was willing to forego this condition in order to avoid provoking Atholl. The MacGregors would need to specify what their kindly rooms were, since they alleged that many of Cailean Liath's own lands fell into this category. As for being their "guid and kyndlie maister", Cailean Liath would promise nothing to them, "bot the thing I sall keip". He refused to assure the MacGregors himself, but would keep any assurance Argyll gave them in his name, notwithstanding that the MacGregors had broken such assurances in the past. He would need to know details of any assurance given by Argyll, particularly whether it covered Atholl's dependants, the MacGregors of Roro.<sup>231</sup>

We hear no more of the matter until 28 August, by which time the local and national pressures on the Campbells had greatly intensified. Mary married Darnley on 29 July. Two days later Atholl was granted the fruits of Coupar Angus Abbey. Moray and his associates were in open rebellion by early August.<sup>232</sup> On the 7th, Argyll and others were charged not to assist him.<sup>233</sup> By the 14th, the rebels were in Argyll or its environs, and measures were taken to prevent supplies reaching them.<sup>234</sup> On the 23rd, it was proclaimed that Argyll and his friends, servants and tenants in Breadalbane, Lorn and Argyll, who had been openly supporting the rebels, were to be regarded as rebels themselves, and hence liable to pursuit by Atholl, who was constituted lieutenant in the north that same day.<sup>235</sup> On the 24th, the lieges

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231. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to Argyll, 9 July 1565.

232. RPC i (1545-69), 349-50.

233. Ibid.

234. Ibid., 353-4.

235. Ibid., 357-8.

from specified areas were commanded to meet the king and queen or Atholl in Lorn on 20 September, to pursue the rebels.<sup>236</sup> On the 26th, the day Mary and her forces left Edinburgh,<sup>237</sup> she revoked Cailean Liath's commission against MacGregor reseters:

Quhilk commissioun the said Colene hes nocht onlie allutirlie abusit, bot als under cullour thairof hes, be himself and utheris wickit personis his complices in his name ... committit sensyne diverse and sundry sorningis, oppressionis, herschippis, spulyeis, yea and crewell slauchteris, upoun diverse our saidis Soveranis liegis, nocht being rebellis...<sup>238</sup>

Mary had been notified of misdemeanours committed by Cailean Liath in 1564 and taken only moderate action. Now it was the same political expediency which had finally moved Argyll to push for a settlement, which persuaded her to revoke the commission. Argyll was trying to end the feud with the MacGregors, Mary to foment it: their common motive was self-preservation.

Writing to Cailean Liath from Lochgoilhead on 28 August,<sup>239</sup> Argyll referred to two meetings, one between Moray and Cailean Liath, and the other, more recently, between Argyll and the rebel Lords, at each of which Moray had pressed hard for a settlement of the MacGregor feud. On the second occasion:

the eirneist desyir of me Lord of Murraye and the rest of the nobilite beand present movit us trewlie fardar to travell in that matter nor we thocht necessar eftir resett of MCGregouris inoportoun desyris as the lard of Ardkinglas schew to you, and the saidis nobilite haifand in mynd the greit guid that your being at liberte mycht do to your haill brether gif ye war nocht at cummys witht your awine ...

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236. Ibid., 359-60.

237. Diurnal of Occurrents, 82.

238. RPC i (1545-69), 361.

239. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1.

Argyll had since pursued matters further with Griogair Ruadh (currently with him at Lochgoilhead), who had clearly agreed to the terms which Argyll now put to Cailean Liath. They were modelled closely on those of early July, with some additions, changes, and clarifications. There was to be mutual forgiveness of all damage inflicted on life and property. The MacGregors' kindly rooms were defined as those they had held at the beginning of the feud. Argyll and Cailean Liath would maintain Griogair Ruadh and his friends in any rooms they obtained from others, receiving in return their service "upon the samyn rowmis". The most important clause concerned the MacGregors, such as the Roro branch, who had ties with the earls of Atholl, and might refuse to accept the renewal of the traditional bond with the Campbells. They could present a major obstacle to the achievement of a settlement, given the current relationship between the Campbells and Atholl. In their case, as Argyll explained to Cailean Liath, Griogair Ruadh would,

tak ane schort daye to get thair myndis and gif that thai will nocht be content to cum with him in your serwyis and owris in that kaiss he wilbe content to persewe thame as ye and I will command him ...

It would seem that political expediency was by no means the sole preserve of the Campbells or the crown. At the same time, Griogair Ruadh would not pursue any of his "maist speciall ... kin or brether" who refused to come with him, and whom, indeed, Argyll and Cailean Liath would nevertheless be expected to maintain in their possessions. The distinction being drawn would appear to be that between a branch of the clan, such as the MacGregors of Roro, which in the prevailing highly unusual circumstances was seen to be expendable, and the ruling family of the clan, which must remain inviolate.

Argyll concluded by again proffering the inducement that with Griogair Ruadh's help, "God willing we sall find the waye that ye sall lawecht your tyme about at your nychtbouris schortlie nochtwithstanding that thai think thameselffis afoir the hand". Cailean Liath's reply two days later, accepting the terms with some minor reservations, made it clear that it was this factor which had weighed most heavily with him:

quhair your Lordship writis, that gif I be contentit with the hedis that your Lordship writis, that your Lordship sall gar me lauch my tyme about at nychtbouris, I assur your Lordship that is the thing that movis me mair to accept M<sup>C</sup>Gregour in favouris nor any geir that evir he may gif me ... I am feirfull for my Lord of Athole invasioun quhowson he cummis and gif he puttis at me I man transport my guidis to Glenurquhay. And gif your Lordship levis M<sup>C</sup>Gregour at hame I pray your Lordship causs him ... to be reddy in cace I send [him] word to cum in my support, and let M<sup>C</sup>Gregour be assurit that I sall nocht brek ane word of my promeiss to him.<sup>240</sup>

The queen's party responded swiftly and dramatically to the prospective Campbell/MacGregor settlement. On 15 September Argyll informed Cailean Liath that

thair is gret and earnest perswasions maid unto [Griogair Ruadh] be the Erle of Athollis conwoy for we assuir you that we haiff gotten intelligens that the revocation of your few of the Kingis landis in Braidalbane twgidder with all the Chartrus [i.e. Charterhouse] landis in that cuntre is promisit unto him be the Quene to cum and depend upon the Erle of Atholl at her command ...<sup>241</sup>

At this point a substantial part of Clann Griogair had not yet come over along with Griogair Ruadh.<sup>242</sup> The groups which depended on Atholl almost certainly never did, and indeed carried out another major creach on Cailean Liath on 11 October, taking 140 cattle from Port of Loch Tay.<sup>243</sup> Thirdly, it seems to have taken some time

240. Ibid., GD50/187/1, 30 August 1565.

241. Ibid., GD50/187/1.

242. Ibid.

243. Ibid., GD50/187/1, document filed under 1 December 1564.



before Griogair Ruadh's reconciliation to Cailean Liath (as opposed to Argyll) was made good and translated into active service.<sup>244</sup> Nevertheless, Argyll's stated confidence on 15 September that the MacGregors' traditional allegiance to the Campbells would hold, despite the blandishments proffered by the government, proved largely correct. Griogair Ruadh may well have begun serving Argyll between 7<sup>245</sup> and 15 September. On the latter date Argyll, Cailean Liath and their dependers were charged with having carried out a major assault on the territories of two Marian supporters, Daibhidh Lord Drummond and Sir Uilleam Murray of Tullibardin, in Strathearn.<sup>246</sup> This attack may be one of the several referred to by the compiler of Chron. Fortingall, in his general commentary on the summer and autumn of 1565:

gret hayrschypis in mony partis of Scotland in  
Stratherne in Lennox in Glenalmond in Braydalbin  
bayth slatty and oppressyon beand mayd in syndry  
udyr partis be the erll of Ergill and M<sup>C</sup>Gregor and  
ther complexis.

At some point in September, Griogair Ruadh was among Argyll's followers who assisted Châtelherault in continuing to occupy Hamilton and Draffen Castles after being ordered to surrender them.<sup>247</sup> Finally, Griogair Ruadh had clearly begun to serve Cailean Liath by 25 December, given that it was then necessary for Argyll both to request Cailean Liath's prior permission in order to secure Griogair Ruadh's services, and to pledge that this would not interfere with any service Cailean Liath might require of Griogair Ruadh.<sup>248</sup>

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244. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 17 October, 20 October, 25 December 1565.

245. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath.

246. Ibid., GD50/187/1. For the ties of Drummond and Murray with Mary, see Donaldson, Queen's Men, 74, 76; RPC i (1545-69), 389.

247. RSS v (1556-67), pt. ii, no. 2702.

248. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1.

Ironically, the MacGregors were to have few opportunities to assist in the rebellion which had been responsible for bringing about their reconciliation with the Campbells. In late August, at the very juncture when Argyll and Cailean Liath had agreed to end the feud for the benefit of themselves and Moray's party, the national tide turned decisively in Mary's favour. The rebel Lords entered Edinburgh in Mary's absence on 31 August, but the enterprise proved so unsuccessful that they had withdrawn to Dumfries by 5 September. On the 24th England refused to help them: on 6 October Moray sought asylum there.<sup>249</sup> In mid-September the Campbells, confident of substantial assistance from the Western Isles, were still hopeful that the rebellion could be sustained,<sup>250</sup> and as late as 10 October Argyll felt English support might materialise.<sup>251</sup> But by then he cut an isolated figure, threatened with invasion on all sides:<sup>252</sup> Huntly (the fifth earl, who had been restored to Mary's favour)<sup>253</sup> to the north, Lennox (royal lieutenant in the west since 6 September)<sup>254</sup> to the south and west (Argyll feared he would attack by sea), Atholl to the east. On 29 October Argyll was ordered to appear before the council within six days of being charged, or be declared a rebel.<sup>255</sup> On 3 November steps were taken to prevent supplies reaching him and his dependants (who would have included Griogair Ruadh and those MacGregors adhering to him) in Argyll, Lorn and Breadalbane, who were carrying out punitive raids on Lowland

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249. Donaldson, James V - James VII, 119.

250. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/161b. This memorandum is undated, but from its references to Tullibardin can probably be placed c. 15 September (cf. supra, p. 355). It includes a reference to Mary as "The lady that blawis wther men blynd".

251. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath.

252. Ibid.

253. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 74-5.

254. RPC i (1545-69), 364.

255. Ibid., 386.

areas.<sup>256</sup> On 7 November Argyll gave permission to the heads of the three branches of the Glen Orchy Campbells, Cailean Liath, Donnchadh Ruadh of Glen Lyon and Eoin of Lawers, who would be in the front line if reprisals were made for these raids, to make their peace with Mary if they could,<sup>257</sup> and by 27 December it was felt that it would be safe for Cailean Liath to come to her.<sup>258</sup> But only a few days previously, Argyll and some of the other principals in the rebellion had been summoned to appear before Parliament on 14 March 1566 to stand trial.<sup>259</sup>

As a result of a fresh conspiracy which centred on the murder of David Riccio on 9 March, that month saw not Argyll's trial, but his rehabilitation. In the immediate aftermath of the murder, Mary "split the opposition by offering pardons to the leaders of the Chaseabout rising as distinct from the murderers of Riccio".<sup>260</sup> A precept of remission in favour of Argyll and his followers was made on 21 March, and Griogair Ruadh was among their number.<sup>261</sup>

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256. Ibid., 388-9. These must be the raids referred to in Chron. Fortingall (supra, p. 355). For MacGregor deprivations in Menteith in this period, see RPC i (1545-69), 418.
257. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/161.
258. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, William Maitland to [Katherine Ruthven], Lady Glen Orchy.
259. Diurnal of Occurrents, 85-6.
260. Donaldson, James V - James VII, 122.
261. RSS v (1556-67), pt. ii, no. 2702.

part iii: 1566-1571

The rebellion of 1565 had ended in a series of reconciliations. Griogair Ruadh and his immediate supporters, through coming to terms with the Campbells, had shared in the rapprochement between the latter and the crown; while Argyll and Atholl were again together in government.<sup>262</sup> How genuine would these reconciliations prove? There was no doubting the swiftness or completeness with which Mary forgave Argyll, who was pretty consistently one of the most prominent of the Queen's Men between 1566 and 1571.<sup>263</sup> But in every other respect the legacy of 1565 cast a long shadow. It was responsible for shaping the next phase of MacGregor political history. This phase was quite distinct, its termini being the remission of 21 March 1566 and the execution of Griogair Ruadh on 7 April 1570.

The period's essential themes were: the resumption of the antagonism between the MacGregors and the Campbells; the creation of an apparently new antagonism between the MacGregors and the earl of Atholl; the reconciliation of Atholl with Cailean Liath and subsequently with Argyll; and finally, the creation of a united front consisting of a Campbell grouping (Argyll and the Glen Orchy kīndred), an Atholl grouping (the earl, Seumas Menzies of Weem and Uilleam Stewart of Grandtully), and one or two others - notably Sir Uilleam Murray of Tullibardin, who had been on very hostile terms with the Campbells in later 1565<sup>264</sup> - aimed against the MacGregors. While so much is clear, it is not always easy

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262. Donaldson, James V - James VII, 122.

263. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 92-3; cf. *ibid.*, 81, 85-8, 90, 118, 120, 122.

264. *Supra*, p. 355.

to explain why some of these factors came into being or how they interacted, and this partly reflects the more limited range of source material we possess for the period.

After later 1565, the earliest indication we have that relations between the Campbells and Griogair Ruadh's immediate supporters were breaking down again comes on 30 July 1567.<sup>265</sup> If it was in the interim that Griogair Ruadh and Marion Campbell of Glen Lyon married, then that, along with the military service rendered by the MacGregors to Argyll and Cailean Liath in late 1565 and early 1566, and a period of truce between them, were apparently the only positive outcomes of the rapprochement, for it is virtually certain that the peace terms discussed in late 1565 never came into operation. There was no forgiveness of damages inflicted;<sup>266</sup> Griogair Ruadh was not infeft in Glen Strae; and it seems quite clear that there was no general restoration to the MacGregors of kindly rooms such as Rannoch, Morenish or Kynnaldy.<sup>267</sup> Indeed, it may rather have been the case that Cailean Liath continued to exert territorial pressure

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265. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/167a.

266. As shown by two memoranda, one dated 12 June 1569, detailing MacGregor deprivations in Breadalbane and elsewhere, and relating in part at least to 1565 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/178, 178a); and by the terms of the agreement of late October 1570 (*infra*, p. 390).

267. The MacGregors are not found in these lands until after the termination of the feud in 1570: *infra*, p.393 (Rannoch); MacGregor, Coll. (Menzie's Writs), SRO, GD50/186/II/vii/14 (Mornish); AT 28 February 1578 (Kynnaldy). On 26 February 1566, before he was restored to Mary's favour, Argyll did ask Cailean Liath to ask Iomhar Campbell of Strachur to set the lands of Wester Ardchyle in Glen Dochart to Donnchadh Og MacGregor, grandson of Donnchadh Ladasach, who was then in Argyll's service (MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1). But the context suggests that this was out of the ordinary, caused by the fact that Argyll could not, "satisfie thame all that dependis upoun our service at this present", rather than being an agreed restoration of the MacGregors to their kindly possessions. Indeed the kindred of Donnchadh Ladasach was not restored to Corrycharmaig until after late October 1570 (*infra*, p. 389).

upon the MacGregors. Perhaps we should not interpret his acquisition, in November 1566, of the superiority of the lands of Kingarth in Glen Lednock, previously held directly of the crown by a MacGregor kingroup, in this light, for that action took place within the context of a resumption of Cailean Liath's expansionist activities in Strathearn and Balquhiddel,<sup>268</sup> while throughout the feud the Glen Lednock MacGregors seemed to have adhered to a conciliatory and cooperative line.<sup>269</sup> But on 15 April 1567, Cailean Liath set to Gill-easbuig Campbell the fortress and lands of Achallader (then waste, obviously because of the MacGregor feud) for five years, which must mean that Achallader, once a residence of the MacGregor chiefs, had now been lost to them.<sup>270</sup> On 12 March 1569, once hostilities had recommenced, he granted his servant Pàdraig, brother of Donnchadh Ruadh Campbell of Glen Lyon, a five year tack of seven of the ten merklands of the former MacGregor holding of Wester Morenish.<sup>271</sup>

The plain fact was that in later 1565 the Campbells had sought a settlement with the MacGregors not for its own sake, but in order to use them in their rebellion against the crown, and to stem the threat from the earl of Atholl. Once these particular circumstances disappeared in March 1566, the prospective settlement itself was doomed. Certainly Argyll's reconciliation to Atholl hardly bore comparison with his reconciliation to Mary, for inevitably a residue of personal and local antagonism remained

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268. *Supra*, p. 218.

269. *Infra*, p. 322 and n. 125.

270. *Taymouth Bk.*, 408-9; *supra*, p. 232.

271. *Taymouth Bk.*, 410.

between Atholl and the Campbells.<sup>272</sup> Indeed that legacy may explain why between May 1567 and early 1570, despite his previous support for Mary, and indications that he continued to sympathise with her, Atholl was in the king's party and hence in theory at least in opposition to Argyll, who for most of that period was on the queen's side.<sup>273</sup> But in the immediate aftermath of March 1566 any attempt by the Campbells to exact retribution on Atholl would have endangered Argyll's pardon, which after all had been secured in fortuitous circumstances. Argyll demonstrated his sensitivity on that score in a letter to Cailean Liath on 7 April 1566, forbidding him from using Griogair Ruadh to avenge the murder of a servant of Cailean Liath by certain MacFarlanes on the grounds that "I have Makgregour includit in my remissioun and thairfoir ye [sall] nocht lat him mell with that mater for spilling of ane gretar mater".<sup>274</sup> If it was now impolitic to use Griogair Ruadh's services against Atholl or anyone else, then there was little prospect of a full and formal settlement between the former and the Campbells being achieved, or even of peace between them being maintained.

That it took as long as it did for serious hostilities to recommence seems to have been entirely due to Mary. Down until the crisis precipitated by the murder of Darnley (10 February 1567) and her marriage to Bothwell (15 May 1567), which culminated in her imprisonment at Loch Leven where she abdicated on 24 July 1567,<sup>275</sup>

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272. *Infra*, pp. 374-5.

273. Donaldson, *Queen's Men*, 93-4. For Atholl's attitude to Mary after May 1567 cf. *ibid.*, 86, 118.

274. MacGregor, *Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts)*, SRO GD50/187/1.

275. Donaldson, *Queen's Men*, 81-5.

she was the conciliatory means by which the different antagonisms created within our area by the events of 1565 were held in check. Atholl and Argyll were in her government until they joined the confederacy against her on 1 May 1567,<sup>276</sup> while the need to safeguard Argyll's remission would presumably preclude any major Campbell action against the MacGregors as well as against Atholl. Three actions of Mary's suggest the extent of her forgiveness of the MacGregors. In June 1566 she pardoned two Murrays who had assisted the MacGregors while the latter were the queen's rebels.<sup>277</sup> On 31 August she asked Seumas Menzies of Weem to restore to the MacGregors the lands (presumably meaning such as Rannoch, Morenish and Kynnaldu) they had previously held of him and from which they had been evicted during the recent troubles, on the grounds that she had now received them to her peace, and that, "thai cannot leif without sum rowmis and possessionis". As in 1558, Menzies would be exempted from answering for the MacGregors or their subtenants as the General Band required.<sup>278</sup> Mary's third measure straddled the divide which the "Chaseabout raid" had created within the ranks of the MacGregors themselves, between Griogair Ruadh's faction and the Atholl grouping. These last presented a particular problem. Firstly, the raids they had carried out against Cailean Liath in 1565, some at least of which had been sanctioned by Atholl,<sup>279</sup> must have made them an obvious target for Campbell retaliation. Secondly, the fact that

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276. *Ibid.*, 81.

277. *RSS v* (1556-67), pt. ii, no. 2902.

278. *HMC vi*, pt. i (Menzies MSS), 692, no. 35. This supports our argument (*supra*, p 359, and n.267) that the peace terms of late 1565 never took effect.

279. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 17 October 1565.



the MacGregors of Roro, the MacGille-Choluim Ghlais sept from Rannoch and Clane M<sup>C</sup>gillihellie had all been out with Griogair Ruadh before 1565, but had adhered to Atholl in that year, presumably meant that Griogair Ruadh's remission did not apply to them, and hence that they were still technically rebels after March 1566. These two points may well explain why, at some juncture shortly before 14 December 1566, Mary issued royal letters of protection to the kindred and partakers of Donnchadh MacGregor of Roro, forbidding Cailean Liath or any others to molest them on the pain of being dealt with, "as gif thay offendit against oure awin domestik servandis".<sup>280</sup>

With Mary's downfall in the first half of 1567, the various elements she had held together gradually came apart. At Kilchurn Castle on 30 July, the day after the coronation of James VI, Argyll gave permission to Dubhghall MacDougall of Dunollie and Donnchadh Campbell of Duntrone to assist Cailean Liath against the MacGregors, "and that becauss that Makgregor and his fryndis hest not kypit the thingis that was promest in our presance in to Strafellane".<sup>281</sup> Strath Fillan had been one of the venues proposed by Argyll for finalising a settlement in late 1565,<sup>282</sup> but we do not know if the reference is to a meeting held at that time or subsequently, nor what Griogair Ruadh's promises were, although we might surmise

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280. Ibid., GD50/187/1, 14 December 1566; (edd.), G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum iii (Oxford, 1921), 288, no. 409. This document, the precept charging the sheriff of Perth to proclaim the letters, was issued in the name of Mary and Darnley (who died on 10 February 1567), and dated in the 25th year of Mary's reign (which began on 14 December 1566).

281. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/167a. MacDougall had given Cailean Liath his bond of manrent on 27 March, a document witnessed by Duntrone, his brother, and brother's son (ibid., GD112/1/3/167 (printed Taymouth Bk., 213)).

282. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 17 October.

that they involved assurances as to the good behaviour of the clan, particularly with regard to the well-being of Cailean Liath's lands and possessions.<sup>283</sup>

By 13 March 1568, pursuit of the Atholl MacGregors was also under way. At Glasgow on that day, Argyll, in his capacity as Justice General,<sup>284</sup> and acting with the consent of four other prominent Campbells including Cailean Liath, promised his servitor Eoin Stewart of Appin that should he kill either Donnchadh MacGregor of Roro, Pàdraig mac Eoin mhic Ghille-Choluim Ghlais, or Eòghan MacGille-Cheallaich - described as "commoun murtheraris ... and rebellis to the auth[oritie of Scotland]" - while pursuing them on behalf of Argyll and Cailean Liath, no legal action would be taken against him. Eoin's motives are made clear by the provisions that, on successful completion of his service, Argyll would restore to him his fortress of Dùn Stalcair and accept him again in friendship, "as he haid nevous falit to [us] in tymes bypast".<sup>285</sup>

The Atholl MacGregors could not hope for protection from Mary, still imprisoned at Loch Leven; but what of the earl of Atholl himself? It soon became clear that his attitude to them in 1565 had, like that of the Campbells to Griogair Ruadh's faction, been largely conditioned by political expediency. In 1568 he showed them a limited degree of support,<sup>286</sup> but not such as would stand in the way of his desire to achieve a reconciliation with Cailean Liath. Such a process could hold only the most ominous of implications for the MacGregors as a whole. In 1565

283. A clue to the nature of these promises may lie in the terms of the document drawn up at Ardeonaig on 31 July 1568: *infra*, pp. 366-7.

284. At this point Argyll was co-operating with the regime of Regent Moray (Donaldson, *Queen's Men*, 86-7). He attended a council meeting in Glasgow on 15 March (*RPC* i (1545-69), 614; cf. *ibid.*, 596, 599, 602, 615-7, 619-21).

285. *Breadalbane Muns.*, SR0 GD112/1/3/172. The document is damp-affected: the words in square brackets have been taken from the transcript in *MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts)*, SR0 GD50/187/1. On the dispute between Argyll and Stewart, cf. *RPC* i (1545-69), 457-8.

the division which had opened between Atholl and the Campbells had caught the MacGregors in the middle, and worked to their advantage in so far as it had helped to suspend, albeit temporarily, the activities against them. If that division began to close, the MacGregors would be squeezed. Even worse, a joining of forces against the MacGregors might be one means of closing and sealing the division.

Atholl and Cailean Liath were reconciled at Balloch on 6 May 1568 by means of a defensive alliance (made for the preservation of peace within their bounds, and for "observatioun of the auld allians and proximate of blude betuix the saidis partiis and thair houssis"), whose timing may have been a response to Mary's escape from Loch Leven on 2 May,<sup>287</sup> and which was directed specifically against "Gregor M<sup>C</sup>Gregor callit Lard M<sup>C</sup>gregor" and his associates, should either party be attacked by them. They also renewed the contract made between Atholl's father and Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy and the laird of Tullibardin on 26 June 1532.<sup>288</sup> Significantly, as we shall see, the witnesses to the current contract included Sir Uilleam Murray of Tullibardin, Seumas Menzies of Weem, and Uilleam Stewart of Grandtully.<sup>289</sup> For a time Atholl was far more reluctant to condone action against the MacGregors who depended on him, and indeed the issue strained relationships between the two men in late November, when, before setting out to Edinburgh, Atholl asked Cailean Liath to leave Donnchadh MacGregor of Roro (whom Atholl had commanded not to take action against Cailean Liath) unharmed until his return.<sup>290</sup> Yet

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287. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 87.

288. *Supra*, pp. 120-1.

289. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/173.

290. *Ibid.*, GD112/40/1, Stewart of Grandtully to Cailean Liath, 24 November 1568; [? Cailean Liath] to [? Stewart of Grandtully], 1 November 1568.

that final phrase suggests that in certain circumstances Atholl would be prepared to sanction pursuit of these MacGregors, and this is borne out by a fresh contract made between him and Cailean Liath on 6 May 1569. They and their adherents (Menzies and Stewart of Grandtully with Atholl; Campbell of Lawers and Campbell of Glen Lyon with Cailean Liath) agreed to pursue Clann Griogair - with no distinctions drawn now between its internal factions - in accordance with the General Band made by James V and recently approved by the government; nor to negotiate with any members of the clan until they had been reduced to obedience, "or else bannisit the realme or wrekit within the samyn".<sup>291</sup>

The reference to the General Band may suggest pressure from central government as one reason why the contract of 6 May 1569 was so much more radical than that made one year earlier. The other reason was a rapid and severe deterioration of the MacGregor situation itself. As late as the summer of 1568 we possess remarkable evidence of a major attempt by the clan to put its own house in order. On 31 July, Griogair Ruadh and his friends convened at Ardeonaig, and agreed on two measures for the sake of "the commoun weill, that is to say to ses broken men fra sorning and oppressing". Firstly, the territories inhabited by the clan were divided into seven zones - stretching from Rannoch in the north to Strath Gartney and Craigroyston on east Loch Lomondside in the south - for the maintenance of order within which specified local MacGregors were made answerable. Secondly, it was enacted that no-one within these territories should give a night's meat to

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291. Ibid., GD112/1/3/176 (printed Taymouth Bk., 213-4).

"ane lymmer or a thief or any ydle man pertaining to M<sup>c</sup>gregour or to any of his kin" (this was not to apply to a servant on an errand who had already travelled 16 miles that same day) under the pain of life, lands and goods.<sup>292</sup>

The fact that a document of this nature could be drawn up a year after Argyll's licence to MacDougall of Dunollie and Campbell of Duntrone to assist Cailean Liath against Griogair Ruadh and his supporters, suggests that relationships between the two last-named parties had not yet returned to the depths of 1562-65. In that connection it is obviously significant that it was not the clan per se, but the broken and lawless elements within it or on its fringes, and for whom Griogair Ruadh was nevertheless responsible, who were highlighted as the primary source of disruption. From the names of those MacGregors made answerable for their own bounds, it would appear that the kindred was acting with a high degree of unanimity. The only notable absentees were the Atholl MacGregors (who may conceivably have been included in the ranks of the "broken men" at this stage), which explains why Griogair Ruadh and his immediate friends would answer for Glen Lyon, home of the MacGregors of Roro, and Rannoch, home of the MacGille-Choluim Ghlais sept, as well as for Glen Orchy.

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292. Ibid., GD112/2/117/57/2/7. The wording of the second measure is rather obscure, and other interpretations may be possible. It seems to distinguish between the legitimate and illegitimate exaction of sorthan, which is explained in The Dictionary of the Irish Language (Royal Irish Academy, 1913-76), as "free-quarterage" or "maintenance"; which according to Skene originally meant, "a night's meal upon land passed through" (Skene, Celtic Scotland iii, 234), and whence the Scots verb sorn - to extort free board and lodging - was derived.

The scanty information we possess about the escalation of violence which clearly took place between 31 July 1568 and 6 May 1569 seems to suggest, as Argyll's licence of 30 July 1567 had done, that the MacGregors were the aggressors; and we should remember that the motives for the bond between Atholl and Cailean Liath on 6 May 1568 had been ostensibly been defensive. But we should also remember that, as Mary's letter to Menzies on 31 August 1566 had recognised, the intense economic pressures to which the MacGregors must have remained subject in the continued absence of a settlement and a restoration to their hereditary and kindly possessions, may ultimately have left them with no alternative to the path of banditry and violence. In December Griogair Ruadh and several other MacGregors mentioned in the Ardeonaig document, in company with a considerable number of men of other surnames, principally MacFarlanes, MacLarens, Stewarts and MacIntyres, were involved in the murder of two Stewarts in Balquhiddy.<sup>293</sup> Much more significantly, it was around this time that the relationship between Griogair Ruadh's MacGregors and the earl of Atholl became explicitly hostile in a way which, to judge by the lack of any evidence to the contrary, it had not been before. The only specific details we have relate to a creach carried out by Griogair Ruadh's brothers Eòghan and Donnchadh on the earl's tenants in Urlar, south of Aberfeldy, in December 1568 or January 1569,<sup>294</sup> but the extent of the animosity created (which was resolved only by a peace treaty distinct from, and later in

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293. RSS vi (1567-74), no. 737.

294. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/198. The endorsement describes the tenants as the men of Bolfracks (by the Tay west of Aberfeldy), while another document specifies Bolfracks and Rannoch as the areas affected (*ibid.*, GD112/1/3/195).

date than, that ultimately made between the MacGregors and Cailean Liath)<sup>295</sup> must mean that there were many more such incidents. Whatever pressures or reasons may have been impelling the MacGregors, in purely political terms such a strategy was exceptionally dangerous since it could only worsen their plight by cementing the bond between Atholl and Cailean Liath. As the contract of 2 May 1569 demonstrates, this is precisely what happened.

Apart from provoking what was effectively a declaration of war against them, the raids on Atholl's tenants held another and clearly related consequence for the MacGregors, namely the emergence of a new and serious division within their own ranks. We noted that the only prominent MacGregors not involved in the measures enacted at Ardeonaig on 31 July 1568 were the Atholl dependants, while by the time of the contract of 2 May 1569, that distinction too had apparently been lost, in the eyes of Atholl and Cailean Liath at least. But at Perth on 2 August, five representatives of the Glen Lednock MacGregors, acting on behalf of themselves,

and the rest of thair freindis of thair branche quhilkis ar nocht presentlie with the lymaris quhay hes offendit my Lord of Atholl, bundis and oblisses thame faithfullie and trewlie to my Lord erle of Atholl and the laird of Glenurquhay, to sute and persow be way of deid to the death at the utermost of thair poweris the wickit men of thair surname, and salbegin thairto instantlie and continew in the samyne sa lang as the said erle and laird continewis of ane mynd for thair persewit in lyk maner.

Two other MacGregor elements - Clann Mhic Eoin Ruaidh of Glen Lochay, and Niall mac Eoin Mhalaiche and his brother in Ardeonaig, were

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295. *Infra*, pp. 391-2.

willing to act along with the Glen Lednock branch. All three groups (each of which had been involved in the first measure enacted at Ardeonaig on 31 July 1568) would enter pledges as guarantees for the fulfilment of their bond. Once their service had been accomplished, Atholl and Cailean Liath would defend them from any repercussions. The fitness of that service was to be judged by Atholl, Cailean Liath, the Earl of Mar, Tullibardin and Grandtully, while Seumas Menzies of Weem was among the witnesses to the contract - a striking demonstration of the strength of the coalition now ranged against the remainder of the clan.<sup>296</sup>

We have precious little information about the movements of Griogair Ruadh in the years following his inclusion in Argyll's remission of March 1566. On 31 July 1568 he was at Ardeonaig. On 10 September 1568 he was at Carnbane Castle in Glen Lyon, where his wife granted her father letters of reversion to the lands in Glen Lyon which he had granted them in conjunct fee;<sup>297</sup> and it may be that these lands had sustained them from the time of their marriage. Griogair Ruadh and his adherents were most probably out again by December, which saw the slaying of the Stewarts in Balquhiddy, and the apparent commencement of hostilities with Atholl. From the terms of the contracts of 6 May and 2 August 1569 we can deduce that within that period pursuit of the MacGregors was exceptionally intense. Before midday on 1 August - Là Lùnasd or Lammas - in the company of his wife at a place unknown, Griogair Ruadh was captured. Those responsible definitely included

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296. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/34. It is worth noting that this contract was in contravention of the clause in the bond between Atholl and Cailean Liath of 6 May 1569 which precluded negotiations with any part of the clan until it had been reduced to obedience.

297. AT; cf. ibid., 7 December 1575.



representatives of the Campbells of Glen Lyon, and some form of treachery or deceit seems to have been involved.

The unique source of this information is the later of the two songs composed by Marion Campbell, now generally known as Griogail (or Griogair) Cridhe.<sup>298</sup> The apparent difficulty in reconciling 1 August as the date of Griogair Ruadh's capture, with 7 April 1570, the known date of his execution,<sup>299</sup> has led one critic to resort to emendation of the text of the song,<sup>300</sup> another to doubt that it was either contemporary or the work of Griogair Ruadh's wife.<sup>301</sup> More recently, 1 August 1569 has been accepted as the date of capture on the grounds that political factors may have dictated that Griogair Ruadh remained imprisoned and unexecuted for eight months.<sup>302</sup>

We can now confirm the accuracy of the last interpretation, and remove any doubts about the contemporaneity or authorship of Griogail Cridhe. At St. Andrews on 6 August 1569, Regent Moray charged Cailean Liath to present Griogair Ruadh, who iam apprehensus et captus est, to be tried before a justiciary court at Perth for his various crimes, particularly fire-raising, committed within the bounds of Glen Orchy, Breadalbane, Balquhiddy and Menteith.<sup>303</sup> On 20 November, Cailean Liath was again charged to present Griogair Ruadh, "presentlie being in his handes and keping", before the Regent

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298. The earliest extant text is in Paruig Mac-an-tuairneir, Comhchruinneacha do dh'orain taghta Ghaidhealach (Edinburgh, 1813), 286-9. For a critical text and commentary see Duncan, MacGregor Songs, 18-21, 67-80.

299. Chron. Fortingall.

300. D.S. Thomson, "A Disputed Reading in 'Cumha Ghriogair Mhic Ghriogair'", SGS x (1963-5), 68-70.

301. (Ed.), W.J. Watson, Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig (Inverness, 1976), 334.

302. Duncan, MacGregor Songs, 69.

303. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

by the 28th of that month at the latest, under the pain of treason.<sup>304</sup>

Moray was clearly anxious to prevent Cailean Liath executing Griogair Ruadh himself, probably for two reasons. Since Griogair Ruadh had been fully pardoned by Mary, and there is no evidence to suggest that he had been subsequently declared a rebel again, he would need to be tried and his guilt established before any action be taken against him. Secondly, the most likely outcome of Griogair Ruadh's execution at the hands of Cailean Liath would surely be an intensification of the feud, and of local disorder, rather than its resolution. Moray had already demonstrated an active concern for the promotion of law and order in the Highlands, and seems to have been planning to do more.<sup>305</sup>

Cailean Liath refused to surrender Griogair Ruadh. His motive, simply, was the desire for personal vengeance, but various hurdles stood between him and his objective: the opposition of Moray; the possible legal implications; the threat of a MacGregor backlash. He would also require the sanction of the earl of Argyll. Argyll's support might help to remove or mitigate some of the other obstacles facing Cailean Liath, but how readily would that support be forthcoming? Seven years previously the earl had expressed a reluctance to take action against Griogair Ruadh because he was "cum of our hous",<sup>306</sup> and for him the feud had never been the personal crusade it became for Cailean Liath. After 30 July

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304. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/180.

305. Maurice Lee, Jr., James Stewart, Earl of Moray (New York, 1953), 258 and n.24.

306. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 27 June 1562.

1567 there is no evidence that Argyll took any part in the renewed hostilities, almost certainly because of the increasing involvement therein of the earl of Atholl.<sup>307</sup> While Atholl and Cailean Liath had now sunk their differences, various antagonisms remained between the earls at a local level, which seem to have been responsible for the opposing stances they had adopted with regard to national politics since 1567. Subsequent events make it clear that at the least, Argyll had done nothing to prevent the difficulties the MacGregors were causing his eastern neighbour.

The murder of Regent Moray on 23 January 1570<sup>308</sup> meant the end of central opposition to Cailean Liath, and created the circumstances which led inexorably to Griogair Ruadh's death. For the next five months the Regency was vacant, "the de facto government without a focus", and the queen's party, including Argyll, in the ascendant.<sup>309</sup> Nationally and locally, Argyll and Atholl now came into close alignment. Atholl attended Moray's funeral in Edinburgh on 14 February. A faction which wanted Mary restored was already evident within the king's party. Atholl was certainly in that faction on 6 March, and doubtless already so-minded in February.<sup>310</sup> On 25 February Argyll and Lord Boyd met with Morton and William Maitland of Lethington at Dalkeith, staying there "the space of tua dayes or thairby".<sup>311</sup> Atholl

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307. Argyll also had to deal with the breakdown of his marriage within this period: (ed.), R.L. Thomson, Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh (SGTS, 1970), lxxxiii; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1, Atholl to Cailean Liath, 28 June 1570; SP i, 342-3.

308. Diurnal of Occurrents, 156.

309. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 118.

310. Diurnal of Occurrents, 158-60, 163, 165.

311. Ibid., 160.

was also present, for on the 26th he and Argyll each gave assurances that the kin, friends and partakers of the other would remain unharmed until 20 June. Atholl, however, was to be allowed to honour his bond of 6 May 1569 and assist the Glen Orchy Campbells if the latter were attacked by the MacGregors during this period.<sup>312</sup> In other words, the MacGregors were not to be regarded as part of Argyll's following.

Full reconciliation between the earls took place at Weem on 24 March,<sup>313</sup> through a contract overseen by the earl of Huntly, a Marian and brother of Atholl's first wife.<sup>314</sup> The MacGregors were the first issue dealt with. At Atholl's behest, Argyll agreed to banish from Scotland those of the clan mainly responsible for the recent troubles before 8 May, and ensure that they did not return.<sup>315</sup> Neither party would defend, but rather take appropriate action against, MacGregors or any other broken men who antagonised the other party. The abbey of Coupar Angus had been a source of friction between the two men ever since Mary's grant of its revenues to Atholl, and the latter's securing the commendatorship for his own nominee, Mr. Leonard Leslie, in 1565.<sup>316</sup> Argyll now agreed not to trouble Leslie in his possession, while Atholl would show consideration to Argyll's friends who held teinds of the abbey lands. Similarly, when the bishopric of Dunkeld became vacant Atholl would not mount a challenge to any nominee of Argyll's, so

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312. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/181a.

313. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1; Wormald, Lords and Men, Appendix B, 389, no. 59.

314. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 92, 119; SP i, 445.

315. That this clause was in response to Atholl's wishes is made clear by the other document drawn up on the same day (AT).

316. Supra, pp. 345-6; Coupar Angus Chrs., ii, 279-80.

long as he and his friends remained secure in the lands they held of the bishop. Finally, the legacy of the recent troubled past was dealt with by a general amnesty, while both men would pursue a policy of co-operation and friendship in future.

The fact that, once Atholl was no longer present, Huntly gave an obligation to Argyll that he would work on Atholl to try and limit the banishment of the MacGregors to one year only,<sup>317</sup> casts an immediate shadow on the sincerity of Argyll's conversion to the cause of MacGregor repression. Yet he had shifted his position sufficiently to remove any scruples he held about the execution of Griogair Ruadh. At Balloch on 29 March, in his capacity as Justice General of Scotland, Argyll gave Cailean Liath licence to carry out the execution, and promised to assist him in the event of MacGregor reprisals.<sup>318</sup>

The fear of reprisals was now all that stood between Cailean Liath and his goal, and helps to explain a document he himself issued that same day. We should point out that by this time Griogair Ruadh and Marion Campbell had one son, Alasdair Ruadh. Their second son, Eoin Dubh, was probably already born, although on the assumption that his parents remained separated after the capture of Griogair Ruadh on 1 August 1569, then his latest possible date of birth would be early May 1570. Cailean Liath bound himself that, should he execute Griogair Ruadh, within the 40 days following he firstly would give the ward and non-entry of the 20 merkland of Glen Strae (excepting six merklands) in equal shares to Alasdair

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317. AT, 24 March 1570.

318. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/182.

Ruadh and his mother. Marion's share was made dependent on her not re-marrying without Cailean Liath's advice, which could confirm the statement in the earlier of her two songs that her marriage to Griogair Ruadh had initially been opposed.<sup>319</sup> Secondly, Cailean Liath would infest Alasdair Ruadh heritably in Glen Strae, to be held in ward and relief, "with all securitie neidful as sall pleis my Lord of Ergyle to deviss".<sup>320</sup>

The document reveals, cynically and unequivocally, that it was the hatred which Cailean Liath had developed for Griogair Ruadh which had prevented a settlement. He was now prepared to concede the issue which had lain at the heart of the feud, but only at the price of Griogair Ruadh's life. Like Donnchadh Làdasach before him, Griogair Ruadh had become a talisman of resistance for whom there could be no forgiveness. At Kenmore on 7 April, "in presens of the Erle of Atholl, the justice clerk, and sundrie uther nobill men" he was beheaded by Cailean Liath himself.<sup>321</sup> The latter must have been nearly 70 years old.<sup>322</sup> Griogair Ruadh was in his late 20s or early 30s.<sup>323</sup>

Despite the likelihood that he was a MacGregor himself, the compiler of Chron. Fortingall passed no comment on the death of Griogair Ruadh. In the Black Book of Taymouth, Mr. William Bowie included the execution among the achievements of his patron.<sup>324</sup>

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319. Duncan, MacGregor Songs, 22 ll. 73-5; 25, ll. 121-4.

320. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/3/182a, where Alasdair Ruadh's name is left blank, and Marion is called Marie. In her later appearances in record she is called Mariota (AT, 7 December 1575), and Meriorie or Marjorie (MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/2, 13 December 1597; GD50/187/2B, 25 July 1601). On the interchangeability of these names see Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 149 and n.2.

321. Chron. Fortingall; Taymouth Bk., 23.

322. Supra, p. 284.

323. Based on the fact that he was of an age to be considered for infestment in Glen Strae in late 1562.

324. Taymouth Bk., 23-4.

Griogair Ruadh's kindred answered killing with killing by waging a six-month reign of terror.<sup>325</sup> But the epitaph which was to outlast all others was the song composed by Marion Campbell. At once a lament for her husband and a lullaby for their infant son (almost certainly Eoin Dubh), it has been described by Sorley MacLean as, "surely one of the greatest poems ever made in Britain",<sup>326</sup> and will endure as long as Gaelic is known and sung:

Chuir iad a cheann air ploc daraich  
'S dhòirt iad 'fhuil mu làr;  
Nam biodh agam-sa 'n sin cupan  
Dh' òlainn dìth mo shàth ...

Is ged tha mi 'n diugh gun ùbhlàn  
'S ùbhlàn uil' aig càch,  
'S ann tha m' ubhal cùbhraidh grinn  
Is cùl a chinn ri làr.

Ged tha mnathaibh chàich aig baile,  
'Nochd 'nan cadaì samh  
'S ann bhios mis' aig bruaich mo leapa  
'Bualadh mo dhà làimh.

[They put his head on a block of oak, and they poured his blood on the ground; had I a cup there I would have drunk my fill ...  
Though I am to-day without apples and all the rest have apples, my fragrant fine apple is with the back of his head to the ground.  
Though other wives are at home to-night, sound asleep, I will be at the edge of my bed, beating my two hands.]<sup>327</sup>

Griogair Ruadh's death precipitated the worst and most concentrated violence of the entire war. Nothing came of the

325. *Infra*, pp. 377-80.

326. (Ed.), W. Gillies, Ris a' Bhruthaich: the Criticism and Prose Writings of Sorley MacLean (Stornoway, 1985), 77.

327. Duncan, MacGregor Songs, 18, ll. 17-21; 20, ll. 41-8.

measures mooted by Atholl and Cailean Liath before 7 April as ways of ending or forestalling that violence. Although Atholl was still clinging to the possibility on 28 June,<sup>328</sup> no MacGregors were banished by the earl of Argyll, while the assistance the latter had promised Cailean Liath in the event of MacGregor reprisals proved ineffectual.<sup>329</sup> Cailean Liath failed to fulfil his obligation of 29 March. On the contrary, on 30 June he granted the Glen Strae lands to his eldest son Donnchadh Dubh, who received infeftment therein on 29 July.<sup>330</sup>

It is again probable that it was segments of Clann Griogair, rather than the kindred per se, which were actively involved. On 2 August Argyll described those who were out as divided into small groups,<sup>331</sup> while in a letter to the earl on 8 October, Cailean Liath expressed his regret that "the Clangregour suld put our cuntrayes to that poynt, consedering thai ar so smale ane nomer".<sup>332</sup> Leadership came from two sources: Eòghan, Pàdraig, Donnchadh a' Ghlinne (i.e. of the Glen), Alasdair Puidearach (i.e. of Balquhidder) and Alasdair Gallda (i.e. from the Lowlands), the brothers of Griogair Ruadh; Donnchadh Og, Alasdair Sgorach (i.e. buck-toothed), Donnchadh Abrach (i.e. of Lochaber), Pàdraig Dubh and Gille-Coluim, the sons of Griogair, son of Donnchadh Làdasach.<sup>333</sup>

The pattern of MacGregor attacks, targetted as they were upon Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Ruadh of Glen Lyon, leaves us in no doubt that their aim was to avenge Griogair Ruadh's death, and hence

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328. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Atholl to Cailean Liath.

329. Infra, pp. 381-3.

330. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/81, Inventory, nos. 8, 9, 10.

331. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath.

332. Ibid., GD50/187/1, filed under 8 October 1566.

333. See e.g., Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/184, 192a, 195. The epithets Puidearach, Gallda and Abrach imply that those so described were fostered at these locations.



help to bear out the evidence of Griogail Cridhe for the involvement of the Glen Lyon Campbells in his capture. By 30 May Cailean Liath's territories were seriously disturbed and he himself had been threatened.<sup>334</sup> Between then and 10 June Donnchadh Ruadh was fortunate to survive a murder attempt carried out near Kilchurn Castle by a large company of MacGregors led by Griogair Ruadh's brother Eòghan, who were believed to have had similar designs on Cailean Liath's life.<sup>335</sup> Immediately before Midsummer (24 June), there was an onset on the brae of Glen Lyon.<sup>336</sup> On the evening and night of Friday 21 July a party of 24 men led by Donnchadh a'Ghlinne and Alasdair Puidearach took 11 of Cailean Liath's horses from Kinchrakine, near Kilchurn; slew them; and then plundered houses on the brae of Glen Orchy.<sup>337</sup> At midday on Wednesday 16 August, Donnchadh a'Ghlinne, Alasdair Puidearach and Alasdair Sgorach, at the head of 40 men, took 120 cattle, sheep and goats belonging to Griogair mac Eoin and other servants of Cailean Liath, from Ardteatle (due south of Kilchurn Castle on the east side of Loch Awe) - the first recorded instance during the feud of an attack by MacGregors on their own kinsmen, the Brackley family, who had remained loyal to Cailean Liath.<sup>338</sup> Six days later, in an encounter near Glen Falloch, 14 of Cailean Liath's men were slain.<sup>339</sup> Graphic confirmation of

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334. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Atholl to Cailean Liath.
335. Ibid., GD50/187/1, William Maitland of Lethington to [?Cailean Liath], 10 June 1570; [Atholl] to [Argyll], 10 June [1570] (filed under 10 June 1582); Eoin Campbell of Lawers to Cailean Liath, 19 [June 1570] (filed under 19 June 1582).
336. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/184, f. 1r.
337. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to Argyll, 23 July 1570.
338. Ibid., GD50/187/1 [? Cailean Liath] to [? Argyll], 18 August 1570; Argyll to Cailean Liath, 28 August 1570. On the MacGregors of Brackley see Taymouth Bk., 429-30.
339. Chron. Fortingall, 22 August 1570.

the cumulative effect of the campaign comes in a letter from Cailean Liath to Argyll on 21 August, in which, by dint of his severely reduced circumstances, he was forced to ask that a venue other than Balloch be chosen for a meeting with Huntly.<sup>340</sup>

As at earlier stages of the feud, the MacGregors' success says as much about their opponents' weaknesses as it does about their own military abilities. The coalition ranged against them, whose most active members were Atholl and Cailean Liath, had vastly superior numbers at its disposal in theory, while at different points assistance, or the promise thereof, was forthcoming from MacDonald of Keppoch, Stewart of Appin, and MacDonald of Glen Coe.<sup>341</sup> But Atholl for one encountered such difficulty in turning out his own men that he was forced to enlist the services of a Cameron sept called Clann Eòghain mhic Eòghain.<sup>342</sup> These Camerons seem to have hindered rather than helped the pursuit, plundering Strath Fillan (out of "luiff of the kye", rather than any desire to assist Atholl and Cailean Liath, in Argyll's estimation)<sup>343</sup> and harrying Lawers in July.<sup>344</sup> A further ugly incident occurred at Ardtalnaig in the early hours of Thursday 27 July, when some

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340. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

341. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Atholl to Cailean Liath, Atholl to Stewart of Grandtully, 17 June 1570; Stewart of Grandtully to Cailean Liath, 28 June 1570; Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/183a.

342. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1. Atholl to Cailean Liath, 28 June 1570, 8 July 1570 (filed under 8 July 1566); Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/43/1/6/27.

343. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 27 July 1570.

344. Ibid.; cf. GD50/187/1, Stewart of Grandtully to [Cailean Liath], 28 July 1570. Nevertheless Atholl and Cailean Liath wanted to retain their services: Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/40/1, Donald M<sup>C</sup>Evyn to Cailean Liath, 2 August [1570].

of Atholl's servants were slain while on night-watch to guard against a MacGregor intrusion, having themselves been mistaken for MacGregors by some of Cailean Liath's men engaged in the same business. Atholl, then en route to a convention of the queen's party in the Lowlands, was forced to turn back to prevent his people - who in this instance were not reluctant to contemplate armed action - from invading Glen Orchy's bounds.<sup>345</sup>

The two key factors which hampered the pursuit were, as before, resetting, and the attitude of the earl of Argyll. Both factors were strongly linked, and influenced by the national political situation. Resetting took place within Argyll, the Lennox, Strath Gartney, Balquhider, Strathearn, Glen Falloch, Strath Fillan and even Glen Orchy, again across a wide spectrum of society. From secure bases within this zone (between which they moved via arteries such as Glen Falloch and Strath Fillan, and Loch Awe, Loch Fyne and Loch Long), the MacGregors were able to launch their attacks on the Glen Orchy Campbells, and return with the livestock which must also have played an important part in their survival.<sup>346</sup>

In the light of his actions virtually from the beginning of the feud, and, in particular, of his agreement with Huntly on 24 March 1570, Argyll's stance after 7 April was unsurprising - the familiar assurances of support which never materialised.<sup>347</sup> Atholl was

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345. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Stewart of Grandtully to [Cailean Liath], 28 July 1570; Atholl to Cailean Liath, 31 July 1570; CSP Scot. iii (1569-71), nos. 388, 389.

346. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/184; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to Argyll, 23 July 1570; Argyll to Cailean Liath, 24 July 1570; [Cailean Liath] to [Argyll], 18 August 1570; *infra*, pp. 381-3, 384-6.

347. E.g., MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Atholl to Cailean Liath, 28 June 1570; Argyll to [Katherine Ruthven] Lady Glen Orchy, 24 July 1570; Argyll to Cailean Liath, 2, 23, 28 August 1570.

already frustrated with him by 30 May;<sup>348</sup> on 4 August Lord Drummond laid the blame for the scale of the problem upon him.<sup>349</sup> The most damning evidence against Argyll is the impunity with which the MacGregors were able not only to launch major attacks upon, but even to find reset within, the bounds of Glen Orchy, for which the earl had (as in 1563) assumed responsibility.<sup>350</sup> Argyll's "kin and friends" seem to have followed his lead, for although the earl claimed that he had ordered them to give military assistance to Cailean Liath, they refused to do so.<sup>351</sup> Some of them - notably Griogair Ruadh's brother uterine, Alasdair MacNaughton of Dunderave<sup>352</sup> - openly backed the MacGregors. Following the attempt on Campbell of Glen Lyon's life by Eòghan MacGregor's company, Atholl informed Argyll that, "it is spokin planelie that thai wer furnessit be men in your awin cuntry to the samyn effect".<sup>353</sup> Resetting took place extensively in Argyll. Even after the MacGregors based there had received warning of action intended against them and left, in July, their wives and children remained there, "resettand my geir & furnesand my enemeis", as Cailean Liath (who asked Argyll to expel them) complained.<sup>354</sup> Argyll himself could only confess and apologise that the MacGregors openly resorted to his country,<sup>355</sup> while he also might be held responsible for the reset the MacGregors found in Iomhar Campbell

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348. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Atholl to Cailean Liath; cf. also [Atholl] to [Argyll], 10 June [1570] (filed under 10 June 1582); Atholl to Lord Drummond, 11 July 1570.

349. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Lord Drummond to Argyll.

350. Ibid., GD50/187/1, [Cailean Liath] to [Argyll], 18 August 1570; supra, p. 379.

351. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/185a.

352. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 8 June 1570; Cailean Liath to Argyll, 18 August 1570.

353. Ibid., GD50/187/1, [Atholl] to [Argyll], 10 June [1570] (filed under 1582).

354. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to Argyll, 23 July 1570.

355. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 8 August 1570.

of Strachur's lands of Glen Falloch,<sup>356</sup> and in Lord Drummond's bounds of Strathearn.<sup>357</sup> On being reprimanded by Argyll for favouring the MacGregors, Drummond retorted that if he had done so it was only out of regard for the earl, "becaus sum men allegit thame to be your servandis".<sup>358</sup>

The single most important source of refuge for the MacGregors was in the Lennox, particularly with the MacFarlanes (Clann Pharlain), who also participated with them in their operations, "takand thair pert and portioun of the pray and spulzeit gudis".<sup>359</sup> It is at this point that the national political situation becomes relevant. In July Elizabeth, who had been asked by the king's party to select the new Regent, chose Matthew earl of Lennox, who had come north with English forces in May.<sup>360</sup> This was hardly likely to conciliate Argyll for one,<sup>361</sup> and indeed the general circumstances - Argyll and Lennox on opposite sides of a political divide, and Cailean Liath at feud with the MacGregors - were very reminiscent of 1565. On that occasion the MacGregors had been courted by both sides before sharing in the ultimate reconciliation. How far would history repeat itself?

The evidence suggests that while parallels can be drawn, it would be dangerous to overload them. The MacGregors and Cailean Liath did reach a settlement, at a time of (temporary) truce between the king's and queen's parties; and subsequently the MacGregors

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356. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to Argyll, 23 July 1570.

357. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Atholl to Lord Drummond, 11 July 1570.

358. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Lord Drummond to Argyll, 4 August 1570.

359. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/193, 184; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 24 July, 2 August 1570; [Cailean Liath] to [Argyll], 18 August 1570; Lord Ruthven to Donnchadh Dubh fiar of Glen Orchy, 23 August 1570.

360. Donaldson, James V - James VII, 163-4.

361. Ibid., 164; Donaldson, Queen's Men, 119-20; supra, pp. 344-5.

and Atholl made a separate peace. But it would appear that in 1570, unlike 1565, Cailean Liath's desire to end hostilities was at least as strong as Argyll's, probably because of the scale of the damage inflicted upon him, and the fact that he had succeeded in taking vengeance on Griogair Ruadh. Nor was there a repeat of the battle for the MacGregors' allegiance. In 1565 Argyll had sought to win them over early because he was in the weaker party and threatened by external danger, particularly from the earl of Atholl. In 1570 Argyll's party was if anything the stronger and included Atholl, who therefore could not be set up as a rival focus for the MacGregors' loyalties as Mary had done. Argyll's failure to act against the MacGregors in 1570 may simply have been because, as one of Mary's lieutenants,<sup>362</sup> it came low on his list of priorities. Before 18 May, for example, he was involved in the siege of Glasgow;<sup>363</sup> in late July and early August, his forces were in readiness to pass to a convention of the queen's party in the Lowlands;<sup>364</sup> while the king's party did conduct operations against him.<sup>365</sup> Hence he may have been able to spare neither the time nor the manpower to assist Cailean Liath. Nevertheless, it could also be true that by not banishing or pursuing the MacGregors Argyll was leaving open the option of reconciliation should any shift in the national situation render their military assistance necessary.

The only possible indication that Lennox was cultivating the MacGregors lies in the reset they received within his earldom. Despite his long absences from Scotland<sup>366</sup> the earl still seems

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362. CSP Scot. iii (1569-71), no. 455.

363. Ibid., no. 250.

364. Ibid., nos. 388-9, 399, 405.

365. Donaldson, James V - James VII, 164.

366. Donaldson, Queen's Men, 119-20; SP iv, 353.

to have been able to command a respectable degree of allegiance in the Lennox, including that of the MacFarlanes whose chief, Anndra MacFarlane of Arrochar, witnessed his election as Regent on 17 July.<sup>367</sup> It is not clear if the earl actively instigated reset of the MacGregors by the MacFarlanes and others: subsequent events suggest that the MacFarlanes may have needed no independent encouragement.<sup>368</sup> Nevertheless Lennox took no steps to discourage the giving of reset until it became politically expedient to do so, and obviously his motive was to foment the feud between the MacGregors and Cailean Liath in order to encumber the Campbells and attempt to minimise the effectiveness of their contribution to the activities of the queen's party.

The process which was to lead to a final settlement between the MacGregors and Cailean Liath began in early September. Between the 1st and the 7th of that month a major convention of the queen's party took place, apparently at various venues in Strath Tay between Dunkeld and Tom an t-seagail near the junction of the Tay and the Lyon.<sup>369</sup> Discussions centred on how best to further negotiations aimed at achieving a treaty between Elizabeth and Mary which would lead to the latter's restoration.<sup>370</sup> On 3 September Mary's lieutenants, Châtelherault, Huntly and Argyll, at the behest of the earl of Sussex, Elizabeth's lord lieutenant in the north, subscribed to articles which included a provision on their part to cease hostilities for two months and further as required.<sup>371</sup> This forms the essential background to the two

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367. CSP Scot. iii (1569-71), no. 363.

368. Infra, p. 386.

369. CSP Scot. iii (1569-71), nos. 438, 447, 52, 461; on Tom an t-seagail see Chron. Fortingall, 2 September 1570, and Macfarlane, Geog. Coll. ii, 599.

370. CSP Scot. iii (1569-71), no. 461.

371. Ibid.

licences issued by Argyll at Balloch on 4 and 5 September.<sup>372</sup>

The first - a virtual replica of that of 7 November 1565 - gave Cailean Liath (along with Donnchadh Ruadh of Glen Lyon, and Eoin Campbell of Lawers) permission to make agreements with the Regent, the obvious grounds for such an accommodation being to end the resetting of MacGregors in the Lennox. This document was granted in specific recognition of the failure of the men of Argyll to assist Cailean Liath against the MacGregors, and in fact the other licence was an attempt to ensure the future service of these same men in that cause, the implication presumably being that with a rapprochement now under way at national level Argyll felt able to spare them.

Although the Regent remained unconvinced of the sincerity of the declarations of the queen's party, and indeed took steps to have Argyll and others put to the horn,<sup>373</sup> he rapidly came to terms with Cailean Liath. By 15 September he was reported to be willing to expel the MacFarlanes from the Lennox along with the MacGregors if the former would not leave the company of the latter.<sup>374</sup> By the 19th he had rejected a request by a group headed by Anndra MacFarlane for permission to reset the MacGregors<sup>375</sup> - apparent proof that the bond between the two kindreds had not been of the Regent's making in the first place. On 27 September the MacFarlanes and other inhabitants of the Lennox were charged to cease supporting the MacGregors - now described as the king's rebels - and join other local officials in apprehending them.<sup>376</sup>

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372. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/3/185a, 186.

373. CSP Scot. iii (1569-71), nos. 468, 500, 519, 529-31; TA xii (1566-74), 217-8.

374. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1, [?] to [Katherine Ruthven] Lady Glen Orchy.

375. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Lord Ruthven to [Katherine Ruthven] Lady Glen Orchy.

376. Breadalbane Muns., SR0 GD112/1/3/193 (cf. ibid., GD112/40/1, Lord Ruthven to [Katherine Ruthven] Lady Glen Orchy, 22 September 15[70]); MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SR0 GD50/187/1, Lord Ruthven to Cailean Liath, 27 September 1570: TA xii (1566-74), 222.



The price which Cailean Liath seems to have been willing to pay, and which Argyll had apparently been willing to sanction, was recognition of the authority of James VI.<sup>377</sup> This was a remarkable indication of the level to which the MacGregors (who presumably could have maintained military operations almost indefinitely from their bases in the Lennox) had reduced Cailean Liath, and perhaps of the need felt by Argyll to provide compensation for the lack of assistance forthcoming from him and his people. It also says much for Cailean Liath's condition that he preferred to build on the support of the de facto government not to intensify hostilities, but rather to push for a settlement. Argyll had already begun negotiations to that effect before 20 September,<sup>378</sup> and Cailean Liath's rapid and positive response<sup>379</sup> was in complete contrast to the reluctance and bitterness with which he had consented to the truce of 1565. The groundwork for the final settlement was laid by Argyll or his intermediaries, through discussions with Griogair Ruadh's brothers and representatives of the kindred of Donnchadh L'adasach.<sup>380</sup> The chief obstacle was the MacGregors' lack of faith in the Campbells, particularly Cailean Liath. On 20 September Argyll had written that, "ane thing I belyf all standis mayst in thair secwrety for thai fear the lard [Cailean Liath] sa sair as thai say it wyll be hard to end that pwnt";<sup>381</sup> by 4 October

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377. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Lord Ruthven to Cailean Liath, 19 September 1570; Morton to Cailean Liath, 19 September 1570.

378. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/187.

379. Ibid., GD112/1/3/188, 189.

380. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Dubhghall Campbell of Auchinbreck to Cailean Liath, 4 October 1570; [Cailean Liath] to Argyll, 8 October 1570 (filed under 8 October 1560).

381. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/187.

they had refused to provide an assurance, fearing duplicity;<sup>382</sup> before 19 October they made an attempt to have the Campbells put to the horn.<sup>383</sup> But on 24 October Griogair Ruadh's brother Eòghan, using the designation, of Glen Strae, granted separate assurances to Atholl, and to Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Ruadh of Glen Lyon, that they would be unharmed by all those for whom he was answerable until 8 December.<sup>384</sup>

Almost certainly within that period, peace was concluded between Cailean Liath and the MacGregors.<sup>385</sup> The final version of the treaty does not appear to be extant, but we do have two earlier versions both dated 26 October, which probably did not undergo much further modification.<sup>386</sup> In what was a period of intense negotiation and counter-negotiation, the key personality on the MacGregor side was Eòghan, tutor of Glen Strae.<sup>387</sup> The probability is that he was acting on behalf of the clan as a whole, and with its consent. Thus, among the witnesses to the assurances of 24 October were two Glen Lednock MacGregors, Pàdraig mac Eoin (who, along with Griogair mac Néill of Glen Finglass by Strath Gartney, seems to have been Eòghan's chief agent in the negotiating process)<sup>388</sup> and Eoin mac Donnchaidh, along with Griogair mac Eoin Ruaidh of Glen Lochay,<sup>389</sup> all of whom had made the contract

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382. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Dubhghall Campbell of Auchinbreck to Cailean Liath.

383. Ibid., GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath.

384. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/27, 33.

385. Infra, p. 390.

386. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/191, 193a.

387. See in particular MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, late 1570, for three letters (two to Cailean Liath, one to Katherine Ruthven), undated but clearly belonging to this period, written in Eòghan's name.

388. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/191, 193a.

389. Ibid., GD112/3/117/57/1/27, 33.

siding with Cailean Liath and Atholl against members of their own kindred in August 1569;<sup>390</sup> while, in a letter to Cailean Liath written perhaps after 26 October, Eòghan asked that the contract drawn up between them, in which reference was made only to his kin, friends and surname - i.e. the clan as defined by blood - be written out again so as to include his native servants, partakers, assisters, resettlers and dependers, as they were variously called - i.e. the clan in its widest possible sense.<sup>391</sup>

The terms of the final settlement, insofar as they are preserved by the documents of 26 October, were as follows.<sup>392</sup>

Cailean Liath, as their true master, would accept Eòghan and all those for whom he would be responsible as his true servants.

He would give the ward and non-entry of Glen Strae to Eòghan as tutor to Griogair Ruadh's two sons during their minority, providing Eòghan maintained them "at the skulis" and made adequate provision for Marion Campbell<sup>393</sup> within that period. He would restore the 12 merkland of Rannoch west of the River Ericht to Eòghan, and the four merkland of Corrycharmaig in Glen Lochay to Pàdraig Geur, grandson of Donnchadh Ladasach.<sup>394</sup> These were 'kindly rooms' which the MacGregors had previously held directly of Cailean Liath: an extra demand made by the MacGregors, that Cailean Liath support

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390. *Supra*, pp. 369-70.

391. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, late 1570.

392. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/191, 193a.

393. In *ibid.*, GD112/1/3/193a, it is stated that Eòghan should provide for "the Ladyis auld and young". The former was presumably the daughter of Campbell of Ardkinglas, mother of Griogair Ruadh and Eòghan; and the latter Marion Campbell.

394. In *ibid.*, GD112/1/3/193a, it is stated that Corrycharmaig would be given to Eòghan who would then dispone it to Pàdraig Geur. It is not clear if Pàdraig Geur is to be identified with Pàdraig Dubh, also a grandson of Donnchadh Ladasach (*supra*, p. 378).

them in their 'kindly rooms' as their chief, was presumably made with reference to 'kindly rooms' they previously had held of others, and may have been incorporated into the final settlement.<sup>395</sup> Finally, Cailean Liath would ensure that the MacGregors were relaxed from the horn as soon as possible; remitted them from all damages done before the death of Griogair Ruadh, "be ressoun the [principal hes sufferit for the] samin as author thairof"<sup>396</sup> (confirmation of the change in Cailean Liath's attitude wrought by Griogair Ruadh's execution); and would procure remissions from any others who might have grounds for pursuing them. For their part, Eòghan and all those for whom he became responsible, at the making of the final contract would make homage and obedience to Cailean Liath and his house. If any of these MacGregors did subsequently act against Cailean Liath, Eòghan and other principals of the kindred would apprehend them and participate with others in their trial, over which Cailean Liath would preside.<sup>397</sup> Finally, Eòghan and his adherents would give Cailean Liath 2,000 merks in compensation for damages inflicted since Griogair Ruadh's death. Each party would find sufficient caution for the safety of the other in future.

Unsurprisingly Argyll was delighted at the settlement, of which he had knowledge before 16 December.<sup>398</sup> At Cailean Liath's request he wrote to Sir John Bellenden of Auchnowle, the Justice Clerk, asking that letters of relaxation from the horn, made in the name either of

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395. Ibid., GD112/1/3/193a, f. 2v.

396. Ibid., GD112/1/3/191. The words lost through damp are restored from the transcript in MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 26 October 1570.

397. This clause is couched more severely in Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/193a, f. 1v, where no mention is made of a judicial role for Eòghan and his kinsmen.

398. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Niall Campbell to Cailean Liath; Argyll to Cailean Liath.

Argyll as Justice General, or of the authorities, be given to the MacGregors until 8 May next.<sup>399</sup> Another reaction came from a brother of Katherine Ruthven, Cailean Liath's wife, asking her,

to be the instrument to labour at the Lairdis hand to accept [the MacGregors] efter ther gud mening, and to be ane patrone and defender of tham in tymes cuming in ther guid caussis ...<sup>400</sup>

This letter, along with those written by Griogair Ruadh and his brother Eòghan to Katherine, strongly suggests that during the feud she had been perceived to be less inflexible in her attitude towards the MacGregors than her husband.

It remained for the MacGregors and Atholl to come to terms. Already on 5 December mutual assurances had been given until 8 May 1571 to allow negotiations to take place,<sup>401</sup> and this explains why that date was specified in Argyll's letter to Bellenden, but in fact the final contracts were not concluded until 24 July, at Balloch, 2 August, at Comrie, and 4 August, at Blair Atholl.<sup>402</sup> The signatories on the part of the MacGregors were Eòghan and his four brothers (including Alasdair Gallda whom Atholl had captured, and now released), and the five sons of Griogair, son of Donnchadh Làdasach, acting on behalf of themselves, their whole surname, tenants, servants and dependants. The MacGregors became Atholl's servants against all excepting the authority and Cailean Liath, in token of which four of their principals along with 16 others of the surname would make homage to him when required. In no time coming would they seek any of Atholl's lands unless they earned them through their good service. They would compensate Atholl's tenants in

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399. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/45.

400. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, 7 January 1571.

401. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/26; GD112/1/3/192a.

402. Ibid., GD112/1/3/195; MacGregor, Coll. (Menzie's Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vii/13. See also Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/195a, 196, 197; GD112/2/117/57/1/29, 30.

Bolfracks and Rannoch, who had suffered from MacGregor incursions, with 40 great cattle before next Beltane. Apart from releasing Alasdair Gallda, Atholl would defend the MacGregors in their honest actions, and in "all thair natyve kyndlie rowmis" legally held by them of the lairds of Glen Orchy, Weem, or any other, providing that the inhabitants of Rannoch who depended on Atholl and previously held their lands of Griogair Ruadh were maintained therein by Eòghan. Both parties mutually forgave all past damages inflicted, and appointed cautioners to provide compensation in the event of future recurrences. Should either side commit slaughter on the other then those responsible would be delivered to Atholl, or to Cailean Liath as MacGregor overchief, to be punished.

Caution that the MacGregors would fulfil their part of the contract, and that Atholl would receive compensation for any damages they inflicted, was provided by Cailean Liath. But on 4 August, the same day that Atholl made his concessions to the MacGregors at Blair Atholl, through further documents drawn up at Blair Atholl and Balloch to which the MacGregors were not privy,<sup>403</sup> Atholl discharged Cailean Liath from his role as cautioner on the MacGregors' behalf, so long as he assisted the earl in pursuing the MacGregors should they inflict either damages or slaughter upon him. If Cailean Liath failed to render such assistance then his original bond of cautionry would stand.<sup>404</sup> Such an immediate act of duplicity can only be interpreted as revealing a lack of commitment to the peace process just concluded, and hardly augured

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403. As proved by comparison of the witness-list of MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vii/13, with those of Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/117/57/1/29, and GD112/1/3/197.

404. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/197; GD112/2/117/57/1/29.

well for the future.

If a general restoration of peace were to be achieved, then the co-operation of Seumas Menzies of Weem, of whom the MacGregors held several 'kindly rooms' would be essential. Rannoch of course had been one of the major battlegrounds of the feud, and it is hardly surprising that, on the evidence of a letter probably dating to December 1570 or early 1571, Menzies was then reluctant to sanction the return of the MacGregors to the Rannoch lands east of the River Ericht.<sup>405</sup> It was probably the growing rapprochement between the MacGregors and Atholl, with whom Menzies was then in close alignment,<sup>406</sup> which explains why Eòghan entered possession of these lands on Whitsunday, 3 June 1571.<sup>407</sup> This was actually in advance of a formal written tack, which was not granted until 23 April 1572.<sup>408</sup> On 11 June 1572 Eòghan was discharged by Atholl's tenants on receipt of the 40 cattle specified in the contract with the earl.<sup>409</sup> In diplomatic terms, the feud was over.

Let us draw some conclusions. Above all else, the feud had been shaped by the interaction of the local and national dimensions. The valve between the two worlds was the Campbells, who were deeply involved in affairs during Mary's reign and the subsequent civil war, while simultaneously engaged in a civil war of their own with Clann Griogair. Hence the national situation exercised a profound effect upon the MacGregors, no more so than in 1565 when it reached right into the heart of the kindred and apparently crystallised

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405. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to [? Menzies of Weem], filed under late 1570.

406. *Supra*, pp. 365, 370.

407. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vii/14.

408. *Ibid.*

409. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/198.

a major division between the Campbell and Atholl factions. Before that point, the Campbells had enjoyed Mary's full support against the MacGregors. In February 1565 that coalition broke down, and, in the interests of the crown and through the local agency of the earl of Atholl, Mary firstly fomented the feud and then competed with the Campbells in bidding for the MacGregors' services. Griogair Ruadh and his immediate supporters shared in Argyll's reconciliation to Mary in early 1566, and for the next year the feud was held in check as Mary steered a conciliatory course at the national and local levels. With the queen's fall in 1567 civil war began and the feud resumed. A new local coalition was formed against the MacGregors, but Cailean Liath was only able to execute Griogair Ruadh once Regent Moray had been murdered and Argyll and Atholl had come into close alignment both nationally and locally. After Lennox became Regent the (de facto) government was again prepared, as in 1565, to use the feud as a weapon against the Campbells, as a result of which Cailean Liath was forced, with Argyll's sanction, to cut across party lines and acknowledge the authority of James VI. By this stage attempts were being made to achieve a rapprochement between the national parties, and the existence of that climate may also have paved the way for a final settlement of the feud.

The feud was also shaped by the responses of the Campbell and MacGregor kindreds. Certain bonds transcended that division: the hereditary attachment between the MacGregors of Brackley and the Campbells of Glen Orchy, and, most remarkably, the relationship between Griogair Ruadh and Marion Campbell. Only rarely - the Campbell bonds of 9 July 1564 and 16 June 1565; the MacGregor



acts of 31 July 1568 - does either clan seem to have acted with unanimity. The divergence between Argyll and Cailean Liath became apparent very early. Argyll was more remote and objective, seeing the MacGregor situation not as significant in its own right, but only insofar as it might impinge upon the working of his broader Scottish (and Irish?) policy. Cailean Liath was inflexible and obsessive, only willing to come to terms in 1565 and 1570 because of the strength of external pressures, and because, in 1570, he had now exacted vengeance on Griogair Ruadh. At least some of Argyll's "kin and friends" took their cue from the earl, refusing to support Cailean Liath in 1570, and acting as go-betweens in negotiations for a settlement both then and earlier.

Griogair Ruadh was able to command immediate and substantial support, estimated at around 120 men between late 1562 and early 1564, and around 80 immediately following the return from Ireland in late 1564. Nevertheless, it is virtually certain that at no point were the MacGregors out en masse. The MacGregors of Brackley remained loyal to Cailean Liath, while the responses of other groupings ranged from tacit support of the rebels to at least the intention of acting against them. The outstanding example was the MacGregors of Glen Lednock, five of whom had found surety for their good behaviour by June 1565;<sup>410</sup> who in that period and earlier had sheltered Griogair Ruadh and other of the rebels

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410. Coll. de Rebus Alban., 32.

and reset goods taken by them;<sup>411</sup> who sided with Atholl and Cailean Liath against their kinsmen in August 1569, and who played a key role in the negotiation of the final settlement. Of the six other MacGregors who had found surety by June 1565,<sup>412</sup> we find four - Seumas, Gille-Coluim Cruaidh, Eoin Cam mac Dhonnchaidh and Griogair mac an deoin - passing to and from Griogair Ruadh in the immediate aftermath of his return from Ireland.<sup>413</sup> Another of the six was Niall mac Eoin Mhalaiche, who with his brother also sided with Atholl and Cailean Liath in 1569. So did Clann Mhic Eoin Ruaidh, members of which had assisted their kinsmen by providing reset in 1565.<sup>414</sup>

The major division wrought by the feud in the ranks of the MacGregors, in the very peculiar circumstances of late 1565, was between the Campbell and Atholl factions. What is interesting here is that the Atholl faction - the MacGregors of Roro, and the MacGille-Cheallaich and MacGille-Choluim Ghlais septs - had all been out with Griogair Ruadh from the very start of the feud. Indeed the feud had partly been precipitated by Griogair Ruadh's refusal to surrender two of the MacGille-Cheallaichs as a pre-condition to receiving infertment in Glen Strae, which casts an

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411. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/138; MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, document filed under 1 December 1564. Shortly before 30 August 1565 the Glen Lednock MacGregors did participate with Donnchadh MacGregor of Roro in a raid on Cailean Liath's lands, an action probably to be explained by the deletion of the acts of surety for their good behaviour following the murder of Griogair mac an deoin on 11 June: *ibid.*, GD50/187/1, Cailean Liath to Argyll, 30 August 1565.

412. Coll. de Rebus Alban., 32.

413. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, document filed under 1 December 1564.

414. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/178.

ironic light on his willingness to pursue them in late 1565 if they refused to join him in depending upon the Campbells. Nevertheless, this division within the kindred apparently healed as Atholl and the Campbells came into alignment, and it seems clear that the final settlement was made on behalf of Clann Griogair as a whole.

The third major factor which shaped the feud was the material assistance available to the MacGregors throughout, especially in Perthshire, the Lennox and Argyll. Resentment hampered the pursuing forces severely, while the scale of its provision by all levels of society regardless of the potential dangers makes it clear that, whatever other motives may have been involved, sympathy was certainly one of them. This was especially evident following Griogair Ruadh's death, when the MacGregors were said to have been well-received and well-treated by the Macintyres whenever they resorted to Balquhidder,<sup>415</sup> and when the MacFarlanes and others in the Lennox, and the men of Argyll, were prepared to disobey their respective earls in order to shelter and assist them.

The feud demonstrated the truth of Griogair Ruadh's assertion to Cailean Liath that, "ye are the maister that is maist necessar for me and my freyndis under God and I and my kennisman ar the maist necessar servandis for you under God".<sup>416</sup> Without the MacGregors the Campbells of Glen Orchy were deprived of their most effective strike-force. As at the time of his conflict with Donnchadh L'adasach, Cailean Liath was forced to seek external help,

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415. Ibid., GD112/1/3/184, f. 1v.

416. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, filed after a document dated 27 November 1564.

notably from the MacDonalds of Keppoch, but also from the MacDonalds of Glen Coe, MacDougalls of Dunollie and Stewarts of Appin, as well as other Campbell branches. Individually and collectively, none of these elements proved capable of eclipsing the MacGregors, whose military successes against Cailean Liath in 1570 left him with little choice but to seek a settlement. Without the Campbells the MacGregors were political lightweights whose individual voice - save perhaps in the year following March 1566 - was not heard. From autumn 1563 they were attempting to negotiate with Cailean Liath; in late 1564 they sought Mary's pardon; in October 1570 they tried to have the Campbells put to the horn. But their own initiatives came to nothing. The power to make peace lay with the Campbells and with the crown, who did so when it suited them. The MacGregors' only real outlet lay in armed resistance or aggression. This may have helped to produce the settlement of 1570, but as we shall see, the ultimate price the MacGregors paid for their association with violence was very high.

The peace treaties of late 1570 envisaged the restoration of complete harmony between the MacGregors and the Campbells of Glen Orchy. Cailean Liath forgave the MacGregors all the rancour of his heart, "for that all byganis [tilbe] byganis and haililie remittit and brocht in oblivion . . . to the glorie of God and qwyetnes of the cuntrie".<sup>417</sup> Argyll spoke of the agreement as being, "als

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417. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/3/191, f. 1r; GD112/1/3/193a, f. 2r.

suir als paper and ynk may mak".<sup>418</sup> But rhetorical platitudes could not disguise the fact that the clock could not be turned back. After 1570 mutual trust was never restored (as the private agreement between Cailean Liath and Atholl on 4 August 1571 anticipated), and hence the peace which prevailed was fragile, requiring regular reinforcement, and punctuated by crises.<sup>419</sup> Given that Donnchadh Dubh followed the same policy as his father in refusing to acknowledge the right of the MacGregor chief to Glen Strae, it could hardly have been otherwise.

The other permanent legacy was of wider significance and stemmed directly from the extraordinary degree of destruction and disruption over a very wide area with which the MacGregors had been associated between 1561 and 1570. Menzies of Weem was entirely exempted from paying the rents of Rannoch until 1572,<sup>420</sup> while substantial parts of the rents of Deas-fhaire and Tuath-fhaire were remitted to Cailean Liath in 1564, 1565 and 1566, normality only being restored in 1572.<sup>421</sup> Kilmorich in Strath Tay was laid waste in 1561; there were attacks on the earldom of Atholl from late 1568, while Glen Orchy was repeatedly devastated.

In all these cases the MacGregors were primarily responsible. But the pursuit of the MacGregors generated its own violence which

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418. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1, Argyll to Cailean Liath, 16 December 1570.

419. E.g., ibid., GD50/187/2, 12 May 1584, 28 June 1585 (with photostat); Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/4/225, 245 and 246.

420. Thirds of Benefices, 149, 160-1, 256; MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vii/17.

421. ER (1557-67), 254-5, 286, 351; xx (1568-79), 79-82.

was sometimes only loosely connected with the feud. Into this category would fall Cailean Liath's abuse of his commission against reseters in Strathearn prior to 22 March 1564, and the activities of the Camerons in the summer of 1570. It may have been to them that Atholl was referring in letters written to Lord Drummond and the chief of the Comries on 11 July 1570, warning them of the damage which the "wicked men" pursuing the MacGregors might inflict on their territories should the clan continue to find reset there.<sup>422</sup> Furthermore, even after Griogair Ruadh's faction had made their temporary truce with the Campbells in late 1565, their involvement with violence did not end immediately. As members of Argyll's retinue they were involved in destructive raids over a wide area including parts of the Lowlands.<sup>423</sup> The lordship of Menteith was particularly badly affected.<sup>424</sup>

The extent of the zone affected by those attacks is symptomatic of what we might call the 'national impact' of the feud, evident even before it became directly influenced by national politics from 1565 onwards. On the basis of the provenance both of MacGregor reseters and of those who were involved in operations against the clan, then at one time or another the theatre of operations included the southern, western, central, and perhaps even north-eastern Highlands.<sup>425</sup> Again there was the Irish

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422. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/1.

423. Chron. Fortingall, summer and autumn 1565; RPC i (1545-69), 388-9.

424. RPC i (1545-69), 418-9.

425. See particularly the commission of September 1563, *supra*, pp. 323-4. No independent evidence has yet been uncovered of reset of MacGregors in the north-eastern Highlands.

interlude, the return to south-west Scotland, and the march northwards to Perthshire; and the raids by MacGregors and others in Argyll's service on Lowland areas in late 1565.

The consequence was that by 1570, in the eyes of general Scottish opinion, the MacGregors and violence went together. The origins of the feud were almost inevitably overshadowed by the destruction it had entailed, and contemporaries, rather than distinguishing between destruction caused by the MacGregors and destruction caused by those pursuing them, would identify the MacGregors as the common factor. This trend may already be apparent in the complaint made by the tenants and feuars of the lordship of Menteith on 17 January 1566 against "the Clangregour and utheris evill doaris", who had devastated their lands.<sup>426</sup> Although other of Argyll's adherents were involved it was the MacGregors upon whom attention focussed.

In his pamphlet, Ane Admonitioun to the Trew Lordis, published in 1571 but apparently composed in April 1570, and written in support of the king's party, George Buchanan castigated the leaders of the opposing faction thus:

...the lytill space of rest that crueltie gevis thame they spend in devysing of generall inquietnes throw the hail realme. And not content of it that thame selffis may still reif and brybe thay set out thair ratches [hunting-dogs] on every syde one of thame the Clan Chattan and Grantis ane vther Clangregour ane vther Bukclewch and Fairnyhirst ane vther Johnnestonis and Armistrangis.<sup>427</sup>

426. RPC i (1545-69), 418-9.

427. (Ed.), P. Hume Brown, Vernacular Writings of George Buchanan (STS, 1892), 18, 33. I have modernised the orthography. Since it does not appear that the MacGregors lent military assistance to the queen's party after making peace with Cailean Liath in late 1570 (by which time the pamphlet was in any case apparently written), Buchanan may be referring to the MacGregors' role in the "Chase-about Raid". That rebellion was of course directed against Mary, but its backbone was the Hamiltons, against whom Ane Admonitioun was principally directed (*ibid.*, 19). Alternatively Buchanan may rhetorically have been attributing to the queen's party the evils stemming from the MacGregor feud.

In Lindsay of Pitscottie's Historie and Cronicles of Scotland, written down in the late 1570s,<sup>428</sup> the intensity of the feud between the MacGregors and Cailean Liath earns it two references, under 1564 and 1570.<sup>429</sup> More significant is a passage describing the theft of the crown of England by a servant of the bishop of Dunkeld while the latter was engaged on diplomatic service on behalf of the king of Scots in 1485. Presumably the story is apocryphal, its real and contemporary purpose being to place in the mouth of the servant speeches which satirise the Highland practice of cattle-lifting. What is interesting is that the servant is made a MacGregor whose portrayal as a perfidious sheep and cattle-thief suggests, just as the mention in Buchanan does, that the clan was already becoming stereotyped as a touchstone of Highland lawlessness.<sup>430</sup> That impression is confirmed by an act of council of 26 July 1582, by which James VI, in order to facilitate his intention of holding a court of justiciary at Perth the following summer, ordered all prosecuting parties to follow up their cases before that point, and granted remissions to all those who would find surety that they would satisfy the parties offended and observe the law in future, on the grounds that:

the inhabitantis of the Hielandis and Brayis within this schirefdome throw the lang troubles that wes amang thame during the disobedience of the Clangregour and utheris brokin men of the far Hielandis, could not weill abyde his Hienes lawes, na criminall justice in effect being halden heir thir xxix yeris bygane...<sup>431</sup>

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428. Pitscottie, Historie i, xlviii.

429. Ibid., ii, 181, 233.

430. Ibid., i, 190-9; ii, 366.

431. RPC iii (1578-85), 501-2.



As in 1566, it was the MacGregors who were specified. The clan's reputation as notorious malefactors had been established.

### CONCLUSION

Our study of MacGregor political history before 1571 has revealed a picture which differs radically from, and is considerably more complex than, what has been suggested or assumed by previous commentators. This conclusion will summarise briefly the main findings of our enquiry, before isolating and discussing its predominant themes, and considering the implications for our knowledge of the late-medieval Highlands.

It seems likely that Clann Griogair derived ultimately from a Clann Ailpín whose eponym was quite distinct from the ninth century king of that name, but who became identified as such in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century MacGregor poetry and genealogies, thereby giving rise to the belief in a MacGregor royal descent. In a more immediate sense, the MacGregor lineage was probably a junior branch of the kindred which around 1300 was dominant within the lordship of Glen Orchy. The effective starting point of the lineage was Donnchadh Beag, who must have flourished c.1300, and in whose person the lineage became established in the Glen Strae lands within the lordship of Glen Orchy. The eponymous Griogair was a son of Donnchadh Beag. The clan which bore his name came into being very rapidly. Within three generations of Griogair's death, his name had been adopted by his descendants as their clan name, chief's style and surname.

The termination of the senior line of the ruling Glen Orchy kindred left the MacGregors as the most important lineage within

that lordship in the later fourteenth century. But they soon lost that position to the Campbell lords of Loch Awe, who, as part of the general extension of their authority eastwards to the Argyll/Perthshire boundary taking place in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, acquired the lordship of Glen Orchy. This involved a reduction in the status of the MacGregors, but not their actual displacement. They continued to occupy Glen Strae as the vassals of the lords of Loch Awe, and became a client kindred in the service of the Campbells.

The most dramatic manifestation of that clientship was in the joint expansion of the Campbells and MacGregors eastwards from Argyll after 1437. Hitherto the MacGregors had been confined almost exclusively to Argyll: far from being forced to retreat eastwards thereafter in response to Campbell encroachment, as some historians have suggested, it is clear that both kindreds were acting in tandem. By 1550 the earls of Argyll (as the lords of Loch Awe became in 1457) had established a sphere of influence over a zone extending from Rannoch in the north to the Lennox in the south. An important part of their influence derived from the extensive settlement of MacGregors throughout these territories. Co-operation was at its clearest in Breadalbane, where the pre-eminence achieved by the Campbells of Glen Orchy by 1513 depended heavily on their close relationship with the MacGregors, whose expansion was concentrated predominantly upon this area, and who in certain instances can be shown to have been operating in advance of the Campbells of Glen Orchy, paving the way for the spread of the influence of the latter.

After 1513, it seems clear that the sharply contrasting fortunes of the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors must have imposed increasing strains upon their relationship. The former waned, the latter waxed, in power, while the MacGregors also formed a new bond with Eoin Campbell of Cawdor. By 1550, the MacGregors may well have been regarded as a major potential threat to the continued supremacy of the Campbells of Glen Orchy within Breadalbane.

With the accession of Cailean Liath on 5 July 1550, the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy underwent a rapid and profound transformation. He and his son Donnchadh Dubh launched a major expansionist drive southwards, while within Breadalbane itself their acquisition of new territory, influence and offices left them with virtually absolute control. In effect they created a new lordship whose prevailing ethos was characterised by intolerance of opposition, the introduction of new institutions and ideas (the reformed faith, estate management and improvement, patronage of non-indigenous servitors), often at the expense of established or customary practices, and the bringing of others into explicit forms of dependency upon themselves.

Although the MacGregors were not alone in experiencing reduction and displacement at the hands of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550, the potential threat they represented meant that they were singled out for special treatment, while their own military strength enabled them, uniquely, to mount a sustained resistance. Thus it took the Campbells of Glen

Orchy fifty years to dispossess the MacGregors from Glen Strae, while Cailean Liath's attempts to undermine the status of the MacGregor chief provoked an exceptionally bitter feud which lasted from late 1562 until late 1570, and about which we have already drawn conclusions at the end of Chapter VI. We need merely reiterate here that it was as a direct consequence of this feud that the MacGregors first achieved the notoriety in the eyes of wider Scottish opinion and of central government which would remain attached to them thereafter.

We might begin our discussion of the themes and implications of our enquiry with two very general observations. Firstly, we mentioned in our introduction that most modern research on the late medieval Highlands has been concerned with the Lordship of the Isles. The present study has opened up for consideration a new zone, lying east of Argyll, and stretching from Rannoch south to the Lennox, whose homogeneity lay in its having come to form part of the sphere of influence of the Campbells after 1437. Secondly, patchy and unsatisfactory though it sometimes is, the surviving evidence has enabled us to construct an account of the political history of the MacGregors before 1571 which is reasonably continuous and coherent, while we have been able to analyse certain phenomena - MacGregor expansion into Rannoch, the transformation of the lordship of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550, and the feud of the 1560s - in some detail. This suggests that the common assumption that with the exception of the Lordship of the Isles, Highland history before 1600 can only be reconstructed at best in general terms because of a basic insufficiency of source material,<sup>1</sup> is unduly pessimistic.

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1. E.g., F. Shaw, "Sources of the History of the Seventeenth Century in the Highlands", in The Inverness Field Club, The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands (Inverness, 1986), 16; M.H.B. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1982), v.

It was inevitable that much of the history of the MacGregors before 1571 should be shaped by the fact that they belonged to a kin-based society. Thus their experiences at the hands of the Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1550 cannot be properly understood without an appreciation of the phenomenon of "expansion from the top downwards". Again, our study has provided independent corroboration of several of the features which Dr. John Bannerman, in his work on the Lordship of the Isles, has identified as characteristic of the kin-based society. The rapidity with which the MacGregors came into being as a clan supports Dr. Bannerman's conclusion that, "the emergence of a new style, surname and kindred-name could be a simultaneous process more or less";<sup>2</sup> while the way in which the clan sub-divided into a plethora of distinct septs as it moved eastwards after 1437 perfectly illustrates the connection he has established between rapid territorial expansion and kindred fragmentation.<sup>3</sup> (It is worth adding here that it was largely through genealogical analysis that it proved possible to trace the MacGregor expansion pattern - a useful reminder that genealogy need not merely be an end in itself, but can be used as a tool to demonstrate political phenomena). Dr. Bannerman's contention that expansion often occurred "consequent upon the weakening of the ruling family"<sup>4</sup> of a particular area, is dramatically borne out both by the joint MacGregor/Campbell of Glen Orchy thrust eastwards after 1437 in the wake of the collapse of the authority of the Albany Stewarts and others, and by the MacGregor occupation of Rannoch in the early sixteenth century following the

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2. Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 104.

3. *Ibid.*, 104-5, 202.

4. Bannerman, "The Lordship of the Isles", 213.

permanent weakening of the ruling lineage, the Stewarts of Fortingall, as a result of their feud with Menzies of Weem. Likewise, it was when the ruling Campbell of Glen Orchy lineage was particularly vulnerable in 1536 that the Earl of Atholl made a major effort to acquire territory and influence in Breadalbane, while Cailean Liath exploited the absence of an adult MacGregor chief between c.1550 and c.1562 in order to try and bring the MacGregors to heel.

The principal new contribution which this study has made to our knowledge of the kin-based society of the late medieval Highlands has been the revelation of the role played by the MacGregors in facilitating Campbell expansion outwith Argyll after 1437. In particular, it would appear that the Glen Orchy and Cawdor branches of the Campbells were enabled to come into being as viable political entities largely on the back of MacGregor military power. Much further detailed research will need to be carried out before we are in a position to assess the full significance of the MacGregors' role. It seems probable that analysis of the creation of other late medieval Highland lordships such as that of the MacDonalds in the west, the Campbells within Argyll, the Gordons in the north-east and the MacKenzies in the north, would reveal other kindreds acting in a similar capacity to the MacGregors, paving the way for the expansion of those major lineages: it may equally be that no single instance of the phenomenon as dramatic as that of the MacGregors will be discovered.

Against this kin-based background, two factors were primarily responsible for shaping the history of the MacGregors before 1571. The first was the role of the crown. Some Scottish historical writing still conveys the impression that the late medieval

Highlands were a land apart, insufficiently integrated into the life of the nation to be affected by the actions of central government.<sup>5</sup> Yet during the 1560s the experiences of the MacGregors were profoundly influenced by the way in which their feud with the Campbells of Glen Orchy became embroiled in national politics. Again, we could argue that the expansion of the MacGregors between 1437 and 1550 stemmed largely from the results of crown policies. James I's elimination of the Albany Stewarts and others created the general vacuum of power which enabled the MacGregors and Campbells to extend eastwards after 1437. The pattern was repeated on a smaller scale in Rannoch, where James IV's elevation of Menzies of Weem at the expense of Stewart of Fortingall disrupted what had previously been a stable local situation, and created the breakdown of control from which the MacGregors ultimately profited. It seems clear that the motives of both James I and James IV were economic,<sup>6</sup> and that they failed to give due consideration to the potential local consequences of their actions.

The second shaping factor was the relationship with the Campbells. It could be argued that it was the very success of the joint expansion of the MacGregors and Campbells of Glen Orchy after 1437 which ultimately engendered the tensions which transformed their relationship, and indeed also transformed the relationship between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the earls of Argyll. As long as the MacGregors and the Campbells of Glen Orchy waxed together their relationship was stable, but by 1550 the

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5. E.g., T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (Glasgow, Fifth Impression, 1979), 43; Donaldson, Queen's Men, 112; Donaldson, James V - James VII, 13.

6. On James I cf. L.J. Macfarlane, William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514 (Aberdeen, 1985), 5-7.



continued expansion of the former while the latter stagnated, rendered the MacGregors a threat to the Campbells of Glen Orchy. We can compare the way in which the Campbells of Glen Orchy had grown so powerful vis-à-vis the earls of Argyll by the late sixteenth century as to enable Donnchadh Dubh to make a bid for the chiefship of Clan Campbell.

If, finally, we look beyond 1571 and the specific terminus of this thesis, we find that the crown and the Campbells of Glen Orchy continue to shape the next phase of the history of the MacGregors, which culminated with the proscription of the clan in 1603. The instability of the relationship between the Campbells of Glen Orchy and the MacGregors after 1571, and in particular the continued refusal of Cailean Liath and Donnchadh Dubh to infest the MacGregor chiefs in Glen Strae, does much to explain why, especially between 1580 and 1603, MacGregor elements became embroiled in feuds and cattle-raids of escalating frequency and severity, and over an ever-widening geographical area. At the same time, James VI began to pursue a much harder line with regard to the Highlands. In 1587 Parliament enacted that Highland landlords on whose lands "broken men" dwelt should be answerable for any crimes committed by inhabitants of their lands. Landlords who lived in the Lowlands but who held Highland estates, and whose tenants' loyalties actually lay with the clan chief, should put such tenants to the horn, and thereafter charge the relevant chief to be answerable for them. Again in 1594 and 1595, Highland landlords were required to find very substantial caution that they and all those for whom they were answerable would keep the peace. The MacGregors appeared in the list of clans, "that hes capitanes cheiffis and chiftanes

quhome on thai depend oftymes aganis the willis of thair landis lordis", in 1587:<sup>7</sup> they headed the list of particularly lawless clans in the Act of Parliament of 1594.<sup>8</sup>

In response to "the MacGregor problem" after 1580, and government legislation after 1587, landlords employed various tactics. One was simply to try and remove tenants whose loyalties lay with another clan chief. In the last 20 years of the sixteenth century there was a positive spate of decreets of removal of this sort throughout the area we are concerned with.<sup>9</sup> Many of them - at least 20 - involved MacGregors, including the earliest instance so far discovered - a decret of removal by Menzies of Weem against the MacGregors in Rannoch in 1578.<sup>10</sup> Other responses were to enlist the support of a greater lord in order to control, or if necessary evict, one's tenants; or to sell up entirely.

The Campbells of Glen Orchy were able to benefit substantially from these developments, largely because after 1570, despite the fact that their relationship could never be the same again, they clearly continued to be perceived as the kindred with the most immediate influence over the MacGregors, and as capable of dealing with them militarily. Hence it was natural that after 1580 landowners who had MacGregors on their lands or suffered from their incursions turned to the Campbells of Glen Orchy for assistance. Thus Donnchadh Dubh made bonds with the heads of the MacDonalds of Keppoch,<sup>11</sup> Camerons,<sup>12</sup> Macintoshes<sup>13</sup> and Drummonds,<sup>14</sup> all directed against the MacGregors. It is also very probable that

7. APS iii (1567-93), 466-7.

8. Ibid., iv (1593-1625), 71.

9. MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts), SRO GD50/187/2 and 2B, passim.

10. MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/II/vii/23.

11. Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/24/1 (1538-98).

12. Ibid., GD112/1/5/337 (printed Taymouth Bk., 252-3).

13. Ibid., GD112/1/6/363 (printed Taymouth Bk., 256-7).

14. Ibid., GD112/1/4/240; cf. ibid., GD112/1/4/241 (printed Taymouth Bk., 227).

the bonds made by Donnchadh Dubh in 1586 with the Shaw lairds of Knockhill and Cambusmoir,<sup>15</sup> and with Reddoch of Cultybraggan,<sup>16</sup> were principally directed against the MacGregors. Donnchadh promised to keep the Shaws' lands in Strath Gartney, and Reddoch's lands in Strath Earn, free from sorning and oppression; to punish theft, and to help the proprietors in all actions of removing undertaken against their tenants. As we have seen, Donnchadh Dubh subsequently acquired many of these lands. It is also very likely that his acquisition of lands such as Wester Morenish from Menzies of Weem in 1602, and of Culdairs and Duneaves from Moncrieff of that Ilk before 14 June 1598, stemmed directly from the fact that these proprietors did not want to be held responsible for the behaviour of their predominantly MacGregor tenants. Paradoxical though it seems, then, the Campbells of Glen Orchy clearly continued to use the MacGregors as a means of extending their own influence and possessions even after the breakdown of the relationship between them; and in part this was made possible by the Highland policies of James VI.

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15. Taymouth Bk., 237-9.

16. Ibid., 239.

## APPENDIX I

THE DATING AND COMPOSITION OF MS 1467A. Dating Evidence

a) <u>Pedigree</u>	<u>Headed by</u>	<u>Dating</u>	<u>Source</u>
MacNaughton (f. 1r b29-53)	Muiris m. Malcolaim	1394 x 1413	Undated charter by Cailean Campbell, lord of Lochawe, to Maurice MacNaughton (RMS 1 (1306-1424), App. ii, no. 1940). Some of the surrounding charters bear dates c.1400; Cailean was lord of Lochawe 1394 x 1413 (infra).
MacKenzie (f. 1r d22-4)	Murchadh m. Cainnigh	(?) c.1400	Kenneth Murchison on record in 1414 (TGS I xxxix-xl (1942-50), 197)
Matheson (f. 1r d25-7)	Murchadh m. Donnchaigh	(?) c.1400	Alexander Murchison on record in 1414 (ibid., 197)
Campbell (f. 1r d40-4)	Cailin og m. Gille-easpuig	1394 x 1413	AT, 13 January 1394, 19 January 1413.
Earls of Lennox (f. 1r e11-18)	(illeg.) m. Baltar	1385 x 1425	Donnchadh, son of Uältar of Faslane, granted the earldom on 8 May 1385; executed 25 May 1425 (Lennox Cartularium, 6-8; SP v, 340).
MacLean (f. 1r e42-end)	Laclainn m. Eoin	1390 x 1409	Royal confirmation of charters by Domhnall, Lord of the Isles, to Lachlann (12 July 1390) and Hector (Eachann) (1 Nov. 1409). (RMS 11 (1424-1513), no. 2264).
MacKinnon (f. 1v a16-27)	Niall m. Gille-brigde	1387 x 1409	Steer and Bannerman, <u>Monumental Sculpture</u> , 101, 103-4, 162.

Though we lack precise dates for the MacKenzie and Matheson pedigrees, it is probable that all the above could have been written down between 13 January 1394 x 1 November 1409.

b)	<u>Pedigree</u>	<u>Headed by</u>	<u>Dating</u>
(1)	MacEwen of Otter (f. 1r a9-13)	Baltair m. Eoin	(?) c.1400 (before 29 Nov. 1410)
(2)	Lamont (f. 1r e19-29)	Roibeart m. Donnchaidh	19 June 1396 x (17 Feb. 1433 x 29 August 1448)
(3)	MacLachlan (f. 1v a28-51)	Caineach m. Eoin m. Lachlainn	(?) post 29 Nov. 1410; possibly post 20 October 1436
(4)	MacSorley of Monydrain (f. 1v b11-15)	Domnall m. G(iill) - espuig m. Aengus	4 June 1414 x (6 July 1450 x 12 July 1451)

The principal source for the dating of these pedigrees is a charter involving the chiefs of all four kindreds, dated 29 November 1410 (Highland Papers iv, 233-6). Their names are rendered as follows:

- (1) Eugenius Walteri dominus de Otirinanerayne (witness)
- (2) Robertus Duncani Lagmanni de Inneryne (granter)
- (3) Johannes Lachlani dominus de Straithla(ch)on (witness)
- (4) Celestinus Angusii dictus MakSowirle (grantee)

(1) Clearly Baltair (Lat. Valterius) had died at some point before 29 November 1410 and been succeeded by his son Eòghan - (Lat. Eugenius). Thus the MacEwen pedigree could be grouped with those in section (2) above as far as its dating is concerned.

(2) Raibeart (Lat. Robertus) was chief of his kindred by 19 June 1396 (AT). He last appears as such in an indenture dated 17 February 1433 (Lamont Papers, 13). The next reference we have to

a Lamont chief seems to be to Duncan Lawmondson, who was already dead by 29 August 1448 (*ibid.*, 15). Clearly Raibeart himself died between 1433 and 1448.

(3) Here we are faced with a possible ambiguity, depending on whether we take Lachlani of the 1410 charter as a surname or patronymic. The former might support a c.1400 date for the pedigree, for one could then argue that the Caineach (Coinneach) who heads it could have had a son called Eoin (Lat. Johannes), who had succeeded his father by 1410, and is then styled Johannes Lachlani (Eoin MacLachlan), lord of Strathlachlan.

But on the basis of our discussion of contemporary naming formulae in chapter 1 (*supra*, pp 23-4), combined with the fact that the MacEwen, Lamont and MacSorley chiefs all bear patronymics represented by Latin genitive forms in the charter, it is far more probable that Johannes Lachlani likewise means 'Eoin, son of Lachlan'. This would mean that Coinneach had still not succeeded his father in 1410, and that the pedigree must be later than that date - perhaps, in fact, later than 20 October 1436, if Eoin MacLachlan, lord of Strathlachlan, who issued a charter on that day, is the same man (AT).

(4) Since Celestinus was the normal Latin equivalent for Gaelic Gill-easbuig (Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 119), we can be sure that Celestinus Angusii, MacSorley chief in 1410, is the man whose son Domhnall heads the pedigree in MS 1467. Thus the pedigree must be later in date than 1410. It must also be later than 4 June 1414, when Celestinus McSowerle and his son Donald together witness a charter (AT; Highland Papers iv, 234).

Our next definite reference to a MacSorley chief is to Donald McCowirlee, mentioned in an exchequer account drawn up between 6 July 1450 and 12 July 1451 (Lamont Papers, 16). This might well be Gill-easbuig's son, but we cannot be more precise about when he succeeded his father. The temptation to equate Gill-easbuig with the Gyllaspic Angusson, and Celestinus Angusii, who appear as witnesses to documents of 17 February 1433 and 13 May 1439 respectively (Lamont Papers, 13; AT), should be resisted. They are probably one and the same as Celestinus Angusii Cambell de Barbrek, who is addressed as seneschal of Ardskeodnish and Lochawe in a precept dated 1 December 1448 (AT), for there is a heavy Campbell presence in all these documents.

#### B. Discussion

It has previously been suggested that the "clan pedigrees in MS 1467 all date from c.1400" (Steer and Bannerman, Monumental Sculpture, 104). The foregoing and by no means exhaustive analysis has shown that such a date could apply to the pedigrees of the MacNaughtons, MacKenzies, Mathesons, Campbells, earls of Lennox, MacLeans, MacKinnons and MacEwens of Otter.

As we saw in Chapter 1, this is not true of the MacGregor pedigree as we have it, which comes down to the chiefship of Pàdraig (1440 x 1461) (*supra*, pp 15, 20). To the MacGregor pedigree we can now add those of the MacSorleys of Monydrain, and, almost certainly, the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan. In addition, the pedigree of the Lords of the Isles is headed by Eoin who succeeded as Lord in 1449 and remained as such in 1467 (MS 1467, f.1v d1), while the Clan Ranald pedigrees, although

they have yet to be analysed in detail, certainly come down beyond c.1400, apparently to c.1467 itself (*ibid.*, f. 1v bc53-cl0; W.D.H. Sellar, "MacDonald and MacRuairi Pedigrees in MS 1467", Notes and Queries of the Society of West Highland and Island Historical Research xxviii (March, 1986), 11).

Why then should these pedigrees differ from the rest? Given their status, and the purpose which shaped the original compilation (*supra*, p. 70 ) it is no surprise to find the pedigree of the Lords of the Isles being updated. It may be that Dubhghall Albannach mac mhic Chathail was a member of, or related to, the MacMhuirich bardic family, among whom Cathal was a common forename. If so, this might explain the updating of the Clan Ranald pedigrees, since the MacMhuirichs were by the sixteenth century at any rate in the service of that kindred (D.S. Thomson, "Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland", SS, xii, pt. i (1968), 73).

The MacGregor, MacSorley and MacLachlan pedigrees, however, have not been brought down to c.1467 itself. Hence (assuming that these pedigrees were part of the original compilation made c.1400) the probability is, not that Dubhghall Albannach himself made direct additions to them at that point, but rather that there were one or more intermediate phases of addition, and Dubhghall simply copied a manuscript which itself incorporated these phases. Presumably these additions were made c.1400 x 1461 (the death of the MacGregor chief Pàdraig), although lack of evidence makes the date and number of these intermediate phases very difficult to recover.



It seems probable, however, that one of them was what we might call a "MacLachlan phase". As Skene first pointed out (Coll. de Rebus Alban., 60), the MacLachlan pedigree in MS 1467 is unique in systematically detailing the marriages of several of the chiefs it mentions (f. 1v a39-51). The MacLachlans were not a major Lordship kindred, and it is unlikely that they provided the original compiler of MS 1467 or that the compiler himself would have singled them out for special treatment. Hence we might assume that at some point after c.1400 a MacLachlan genealogist updated and expanded the MacLachlan pedigree and updated that of the MacSorleys also. Since the MacLachlans and MacSorleys ultimately shared a common origin with the Lamonts (Lamont Papers, 31, no. 85; W.D.H. Sellar, "Family Origins in Cowal and Knapdale", SS xv, pt. i (1971), 27-8, 33), one might have expected the pedigree of the latter to receive the same treatment. In this connection, however, we should note that Raibeart, who heads the Lamont pedigree in MS 1467, was not only chief c.1400 but remained as such until 1433 x 1448. Thus the genealogist could have been active within that period without affecting the Lamont pedigree.

Since the MacGregor chief Eoin Dubh apparently married a MacLachlan, and his son Maol-Coluim married a Lamont (*supra*, p. 71 and n. 8), it may be that the additions to the MacGregor pedigree should also be assigned to this phase and explained on the basis of these kin ties with southern Argyll. But they could conceivably belong to a later independent phase, for while they must have been made after 1440, our evidence is insufficient to pin the MacSorley, MacLachlan, and possibly Lamont pedigrees

down to a comparable date.

We might tentatively conclude then, that three or four stages lie behind MS 1467 as we have it. The wealth of detail it contains concerning the various branches of Clann Domhnuill probably points to a MacDonald genealogist as the original compiler, c.1400. At some point a MacLachlan genealogist made a copy, enhancing the elements he was most concerned with. Either at this stage or at a later and separate one, the MacGregor pedigree was *updated*. Finally, Dubhghall Albannach in turn made his copy from a version incorporating these additions, probably in Ireland in, or soon after, 1467, at the same time updating the pedigrees of the Lords of the Isles and the MacDonalds of Clan Ranald.

APPENDIX IIDOCUMENTARY REFERENCES TO ILLUSTRATE THE RELATIONSHIP  
BETWEEN SPECIFIC MacGREGOR GROUPINGS AND THE  
CAMPBELLS 1432-c.1550

w = "witnesses"

n.p. = notary public

i) The Ruling Family of Glen Strae (Stronmilchan)

20 October 1432 (Highland Papers iv, 200)

Griogair mac Eoin w. grant of the Glen Orchy lands by Donnchadh Campbell lord of Loch Awe to Cailean Campbell

2 January 1434 (ibid., 202)

Gille-Coluim mac Eoin mhic Ghriogair w. delivery of sasine in the Glen Orchy lands to Cailean Campbell.

16 October 1434 (AT)

Alasdair mac Eoin mhic Ghriogair w. resignation by Eòghan mac Eòghain MacCorquodale, lord of Phantelan, to his overlord Donnchadh Campbell of Loch Awe.

14 March 1449 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/75/1)

Pàdraig MacGregor of Stronmilchan w. grant by Eoin Stewart lord of Lorn to Sir Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy.

17 December 1470 (AT)

Eoin MacGregor of Stronmilchan is one of six men (described as "our beloved kinsmen") addressed in a precept by Cailean earl of Argyll, to deliver sasine, as his baillies, to Sir Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy, in one third of Lorn and other lands.

21 June 1501 (Ibid.)

Eoin Campbell is one of four baillies addressed in a precept by Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll, to deliver sasine to Donnchadh, natural son of Cailean Campbell of Otter, in the 40 merklands of Otter.

18 August 1502 (Ibid.)

Eoin MacGregor of Glen Strae w. charter and precept of sasine by Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll in favour of Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy, in lands of Knapdale.

4 June 1536 (MacGregor, Coll. (Menzie's Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/v).  
Alasdair MacGregor of Glen Strae w. gift by Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll to Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy of the ward, relief and non-entry of the lands held by the Glen Orchy chiefs of the earls of Argyll.

12 December 1545 (AT)  
Alasdair MacGregor of Glen Strae w. contract providing for marriage of Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll with Katherine, daughter of Eachann MacLean of Duart.

12 April 1546 (Ibid.)  
Alasdair MacGregor of Glen Strae w. bond of manrent by Uilleam MacLeod of Harris to Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll.

ii) The Family of the Dean of Lismore

1 July 1494 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/68)  
Dubhghall mac Eoin is one of four baillies addressed in a precept by Domhnall Cristesone, to deliver sasine to Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy in lands in Glen Dochart.

7 July 1494 (Ibid.)  
Dubhghall mac Eoin, as baillie of Domhnall Cristesone, delivers sasine to Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy in these lands.

9 March 1503 (Ibid., GD112/1/2/31)  
sir Seumas MacGregor, n.p., draws up instrument of sasine in favour of John Stewart of Ardgowan in the lands of Shian, Balloch and Acharn; witnesses include Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy and Eoin Campbell of Achrioch [Lawers].

12 May 1503 (AT)  
sir Seumas MacGregor, n.p., draws up instrument of sasine in favour of Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy, following grant by Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll.

27 February 1507 (RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3223)  
Dubhghall mac Eoin, n.p., w. grant by James Muschet of Tolgarth to Sir Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy, of five merklands of Finlarig; witnesses include Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll and his son Cailean.

1 May 1507 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/3/1/1)  
Dubhghall mac Eoin, n.p., draws up instrument concerning payment of cattle by Sir Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy to Bhaltair Buchanan of that ilk.

7 June 1508 (Ibid., GD112/1/2/34, 35)  
Seumas MacGregor, n.p., draws up instruments of sasine in favour of Sir Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy in the lands of Shian, Balloch and Acharn.

13 January 1510 (Ibid., GD112/1/2/36)  
Dubhghall mac Eoin, n.p., draws up grant by Raibeart Menzies of Weem in favour of Sir Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy, of the lands of Crannach.

10 February 1510 (AT)  
Dubhghall mac Eoin, n.p., w. (and probably drew up) letters of reversion granted by Sir Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy to Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll.

18 September 1511 (RMS ii (1424-1513), no. 3646)  
Dubhghall mac Eoin and sir Seumas MacGregor, n.p.'s, w. grant by Sir Raibeart Menzies of that Ilk to Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy of the lands of Crannach.

19 January 1512 (MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iv/14)  
Seumas MacGregor, n.p., draws up instrument of sasine in favour of Sir Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy, in the lands of Crannach.

10 March 1514 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/75/11)  
sir Seumas MacGregor dean of Lismore, w. precept of sasine by Cailean earl of Argyll in favour of Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy, in one third of Lorn.

29 June 1515 (MacGregor, Coll. (Menzies Writs), SRO GD50/186/I/iii)  
Dubhghall mac Eoin w. obligation by Cailean Campbell of Glen Orchy to Sir Raibeart Menzies of that Ilk.

1 April 1518 (AT)  
Dubhghall mac Eoin w. letters of reversion by Ailean Stewart of Duror in favour of Cailean earl of Argyll.

11 February 1520 (AT)  
Seumas MacGregor, n.p., draws up instrument of assignation of goods by the lady of Grandtully and others, in favour of Gill-easbuig Campbell of Skipness.

30 June 1538 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/48)  
Seumas MacGregor, n.p., draws up bond between Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy and Gill-easbuig Campbell of Glen Lyon.

iii) The MacGregors of Brackley

4 November 1523 (MacGregor, Coll. (Menzie's Writs)) SRO GD50/186/I/iii)  
Eoin mac Dhonnchaidh MacGregor, constable of Glen Orchy Castle [Kilchurn], w. instrument of sasine in favour of Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy in the lands of Glen Orchy, etc.

27 July 1528 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/2/42)  
Eoin mac Dhonnchaidh w. bond of manrent by Eoin MacDougall of Rarey to Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy.

4 June 1536 (MacGregor, Coll. (Menzie's Writs)), SRO GD50/186/I/v)  
Eoin mac Dhonnchaidh mhic Ghriogair, captain of Glen Orchy Castle, acts as cautioner to gift by Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll to Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy, of the ward etc., of the lands held by the Glen Orchy chiefs of the earls of Argyll.

4 August 1536 (Ibid.)  
Eoin mac Dhonnchaidh mhic Ghriogair is one of two baillies addressed in a precept of sasine by Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll in favour of Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy, in the lands of Glen Orchy etc.

20 August 1542 (AT)  
Eoin mac Dhonnchaidh mhic Ghriogair w. precept of sasine by Eoin Campbell of Glen Orchy.

iv) The MacGregors of Ardinconnel/Laggarie

27 January 1480 (AT)  
Pàdraig MacGregor is one of five baillies addressed in a precept of sasine by Cailean earl of Argyll, in favour of Colquhoun of Luss.

1 April 1491 (Ibid.)  
Pàdraig and Donnchadh MacGregor w. instrument of sasine in favour of Cailean earl of Argyll, in lands of Roseneath.

26 May 1501 (MacGregor, Coll. (MacGregor Transcripts)), SRO GD50/187/1)  
Pàdraig MacGregor w. obligation by Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll concerning the lands of Roseneath.

31 January 1511 (AT)  
Pàdraig MacGregor of Ardinconnel w. instrument of sasine in favour of Gill-easbuig earl of Argyll in the lands of Roseneath.

26 November 1526 (Ibid.)

Eoin and Pàdraig MacGregor w. instrument of sasine in favour of Cailean earl of Argyll in the barony of Roseneath.

19 April 1558 (Ibid.)

Eoin MacGregor Cam w. instrument of sasine in lands of Roseneath in favour of Cailean Campbell of Ardkinglas and his spouse Beatrix Colquhoun.

11 August 1560 (Ibid.)

Eoin MacGregor w. bond made to Cailean Campbell of Ardkinglas concerning the assise herring of the western seas.

21 July 1561 (Ibid.)

Eoin MacGregor, as attorney for Cailean Campbell of Ardkinglas, receives sasine in an annual rent out of lands in the bailliary of Glendarvel.

22 July 1561 (Ibid.)

Eoin MacGregor w. resignation by Cailean Campbell of Ardkinglas.

v) Miscellaneous

5 June 1508 (Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/2/41)

Donnchadh and Pàdraig MacGregor are among the baillies addressed in a precept of sasine by Eoin Campbell, bishop of the Isles, in favour of Gill-easbuig, son of Sir Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Orchy, in lands in Argyll.

10 January 1550 (Ibid., GD112/1/2/70)

Eoin MacGregor, officer of the earl of Argyll, is commanded to ensure the compearance of certain individuals before the earl's justice court to be held at Killin on 7 February.

APPENDIX IIIThe Retinue/Servitors of the Campbells of Glen Orchy, 1550-c.1600

The following lists are largely based on an analysis of the witnesses to the documents contained in Taymouth Bk., 190-260, and in Breadalbane Muns., SRO GD112/1/292 - GD112/1/5/397. Where names have been provided by another source, that source is indicated. Hence the lists should not be regarded as exhaustive, but nonetheless the pattern is significant.

The criterion for inclusion has been that an individual should appear at least twice as a witness. Names appear in approximate chronological order. The following abbreviations have been used:

(s)	:	servitor
(n.p.)	:	notary public
(a)	:	attorney
(o)	:	officer
(ch.d)	:	chamberlain depute
(b)	:	baillie

1. Indigenous individualsa) under Cailean Liath

1. Alasdair Menzies of Rannoch
2. Eoin mac Dhonnchaidh Ruaidh mhic Ailein
3. Eoin mac Ghill-easbuig mhic Ailein (o)
4. Fionnlagh mac an stalcair
5. Eoin Ruadh mac an stalcair
6. Eoin MacIver (s)
7. Eoin Mac an deòir
8. Raibeart Menzies of Comrie



9. sir Gille-Coluim mac Ghille-Dhomhnuill
10. Pàl Mac a' chléirich
11. Pàdraig brother of Donnchadh Campbell of Glen Lyon (s) (Taymouth Bk., 410)
12. Domhnall Ferguson (s) (Ibid., 413-4)
13. Gill-easbuig mac Ghille-Dhomhnuill (s)
14. Tearlach mac Eoin mhic Thearlaich
15. Eoin MacLaren (ch.d. of Kinclavin)
16. Domhnall MacLaren
17. Eoin Bàn Macnab
18. Eoin mac Ghille-Mhìcheil
19. Gill-easbuig Campbell in Achallader

Of these, nos. 5, 7, 8, 15, 17 (as (s)) and 19 all appear in the retinue of Donnchadh Dubh

b) under Donnchadh Dubh

20. Donnchadh Mac a' chléirich (s)
21. Dubhghall MacArthur (n.p.)
22. Gille-Crìost mac Dhonnchaidh Dhuibh mhic na cearda (s)
23. Eoin Ruadh Macnab (a)
24. Cailean, second son to Eoin Campbell of Lawers (s)
25. Raibeart Mac an deòir
26. Muiris MacNaughton (s)
27. Pàdraig Dubh Macnab
28. Eoin Dubh MacCairbre (s)
29. Domhnall mac Aonghais (s)
30. Eoin Campbell
31. Donnchadh M<sup>C</sup>Illevollycht
32. Eoin MacThearlaich (b. and s)
33. Daibhidh Toscheoch (a)
34. Iomhar MacGille-Chrìost (s)

2. Non-indigenous individualsa) under Cailean Liath

1. Mr. William Ramsay (n.p.)
2. Andrew White (n.p.)
3. William Ruthven
4. James Ruthven
5. James Pringle
6. Thomas White (s)
7. Mr. George White (s)
8. Hugh Hay and his wife Cristiane Stanness (s)
9. Gavin Hamilton (n.p. and s.)
10. Walter Lindsay (s)
11. Allan Baxter (s)

Of these, nos. 4 (as (s)), 7 (as (s)), 8 (Hugh Hay only), 9 (n.p. and s), 10 (as (s)) and 11 (as (s)) all appear in the retinue of Donnchadh Dubh.

b) under Donnchadh Dubh

12. Alexander Livingston (s)
13. William Paton (s)
14. ? Thomas Nicoll writer in Perth
15. William Bowie (s)
16. Thomas Brown (s)
17. John Jack (s)
18. Oliver Maxton (s)
19. Patrick, son of Gavin Hamilton
20. Kentigern (or Mungo) Lockhart (s)
21. ? Robert Christie dispensator in Finlarig
22. John Gentleman (s)
23. William Forrester gardener in Balloch
24. John Balvaird (n.p.)
25. Thomas Rae (n.p.)

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281-4)

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