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Lochlan
Bay
STRATHLACHLAN

Ardrishaig

LOCHGILTHEAD

Lochgarra

Lephinchapel

KILMODAN

Silbercraigs

Other Ferry

Kilmodan Church

Brenfield

Kilfinan Bay

Loch Riddell

Anchagowl

KILFINAN

Inberpue

FERRY

Ardmarnock

Tighnabruich

Loch of Butrie

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Kilmichael

Sillaig

Ascog

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Low Sillaig

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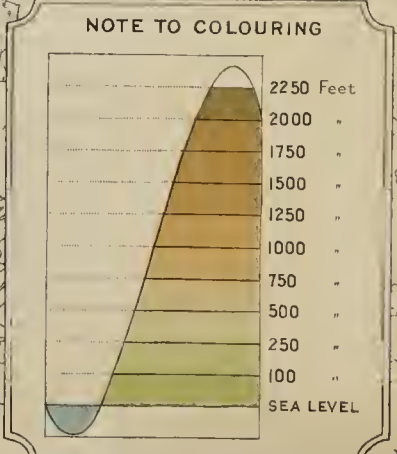
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THE LAMONT CLAN



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THE ARMS OF LAMONT OF LAMONT

THE LAMONT CLAN

1235—1935

SEVEN CENTURIES OF CLAN HISTORY
FROM RECORD EVIDENCE

BY

HECTOR McKECHNIE

B.A., LL.B., ADVOCATE

With 27 Pedigrees and 36 Plates

EDINBURGH

PRINTED FOR THE CLAN LAMONT SOCIETY

BY

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1938

*This Edition is limited to 400 copies
of which this is No. 245*

1134277

DEDICATED

TO

THOMAS W. LAMONT, WALL STREET, NEW YORK

AND THE LATE

HARRY A. BLACK, GALVESTON, TEXAS

IN TRIBUTE TO THEIR GENEROSITY

4 Standard Journal 15.00

OFFICIAL CERTIFICATE

WE, ALEXANDER HAY LAMONT, A.R.I.B.A., 25 Barnton Gardens, Davidson's Mains, Edinburgh (*Convener*), the Very Reverend DANIEL LAMONT, D.D., 27 Cluny Gardens, Edinburgh, and Miss MARGARET ROUGVIE LAMONT, Achalater, Burntisland, Fife, the Members of the History Publication Committee of the Clan Lamont Society, duly appointed by Resolutions of the Council thereof on 29th December 1929 and 25th March 1931, HEREBY CERTIFY that this is the OFFICIAL HISTORY of the LAMONT CLAN, written for the Clan Lamont Society.

(*Sgd.*) ALEXANDER HAY LAMONT.

(*Sgd.*) DANIEL LAMONT.

(*Sgd.*) MARGARET ROUGVIE LAMONT.

WE, SIR NORMAN LAMONT of Knockdow, Baronet, and the said ALEXANDER HAY LAMONT and DONALDSON TURNER, Writer, Glasgow, *President* and *Joint Honorary Secretaries* of the said Clan Lamont Society, hereby certify that the above persons are the duly constituted members of the said Committee, and hereby corroborate the above certificate.

(*Sgd.*) NORMAN LAMONT of Knockdow.

(*Sgd.*) ALEXANDER HAY LAMONT.

(*Sgd.*) DONALDSON TURNER.

EDINBURGH, *November* 1938.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

FOR this story of their forefolk all of the Clan must give honour first and foremost to their Society, which has cherished from birth the notion that their past should be written as best it might after long years of travail. In the Dedication tribute is paid to the two of the tartan (one alone now remaining) whose open hands have enabled this ideal to be realised, whether well or ill is for the reader to say, but at least with some show.

Many members, from the President downwards, have provided their traditions and their writ, if any, the late Mrs Lamont Campbell setting the example by her aid in regard to the *Inveryne Charters*. My Committee, whose Certificate is to the fore, have responded to my every request, and my relations with them have been cordial, though their patience has been tried to its bounds by the delay in completion.

But to one above all must I pay my respects for his part in this book—Sir Norman Lamont of Knockdow, Baronet, now President of the Society, last of the old *duine uassail* on his own heather. His early researches embodied in his published *Lamont Papers*; his later researches in manuscript at Knockdow; his constant counsel over eight years; his reading of the whole proofs; his fertility of suggestion of new sources and of improvements in my text; his hospitality by the Ardyne Burn; and the rumour of the past clinging to him and his treasures—all these things gave more pith to my elbow than can well be conceived.

To some of other tartans also am I grateful. Only once have I met in the flesh the one man of my time in whom the old Highlands lived again—Neil Munro, once a boy in Inveraray, then a man in Glasgow, but always with an eye on the heather though his feet were on the causeways. Through the eight years of my labours on this history I have lived with his writings at my elbow, and have made them wellnigh the only reading of my leisure. My debt to Neil Munro is too deep for

words. His works are not fiction to me—they are the spirit of Argyll re-embodied.

No Lamont had ever a quarrel with a Munro in the old days, for their ways never met, but with the Campbells it was not so. Clan Diarmaid was the unfriend of the centuries gone by. So it is a pleasure to record courteous assistance in these pages from *MacCailein* himself, whose knowledge of Highland genealogy and tradition is unrivalled. The present Duke of Argyll has ransacked his charters in aid of the history of another green tartan, and Campbell though he be, when his day comes (may it be far off!) the Lamonts will lay a stone on his cairn.

Many others have assisted in my task, by giving access to their titles and manuscripts, and by telling their traditions. Most of their names will be found on pp. xxi-xxii below—mostly lairds and law agents. The omitted, it is hoped, will forgive the oversight. Twice only were facilities refused—in each case by a lady. Some are dead to scholarship, and *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. By contrast I have to thank for their kindness two other ladies, Mrs Campbell-Wyndham-Long of Dunoon and the late Countess of Strathmore. As always in a work of this type, credit is due for many details to the heads and staffs of the Historical Department of the Register House, the National Library of Scotland, the Advocates' Library, the Signet Library, and the Library of the Solicitors before the Supreme Courts.

Of the discoveries during my work one was the original of the Indictment and Forfeiture Process against Argyll in 1661, which had got among the Civil Processes in the Register House, and is now restored to the Parliamentary Papers. Another was the manuscript at Stonefield, giving the Diarmaid version of the massacre and its causes. For the latter I am indebted to Knockdow and MacCailein, and to Colonel George Campbell for his Highland hospitality. The source next of moment after the printed *Lamont Papers* and the new *Inveryne Charters* was the Sheriff Court Records at Inveraray, for the examination of which special facilities were kindly given by the Sheriff Clerk at Dunoon. For access to Church Records I am obliged to the Synod Clerk of Argyll and the Presbytery Clerk of Dunoon. Lastly, my thanks are due to searchers in the Vatican, in Paris, and in Dublin.

So much for the text: for help with the illustrations further tribute

is due. The following have either taken or provided photographs, or given facilities for them: Sir Francis Grant, K.C.V.O., Lord Lyon King-of-Arms; the late chief EDWARD LOUIS XXII; Knockdow; Rev. G. J. Edwards, minister of Scoonie; Dr H. W. Meikle, Librarian of the National Library; the late Canon R. C. MacLeod of MacLeod; A. Hay Lamont, A.R.I.B.A., joint honorary secretary of the Clan Lamont Society; the Duke of Argyll (*MacCailein mor*); the Board of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland; Mrs Coats of Toward Castle; A. M. MacIver Campbell, Esquire (Ballochyle), and his law agents, Messrs Dundas & Wilson, C.S.; Captain A. K. Jones, R.N., London; the late Mrs Lamont Campbell; Lord George Nigel Douglas-Hamilton; the Clan Lamont Society; and Miss Elizabeth Lamont, Altamont, New York.

Credit must be given also for their artistry to these professional gentlemen, Mr A. G. Law Samson, herald painter (plate 4), William Anderson & Sons, Ltd., tailors, 14 George Street, Edinburgh (tartan), Messrs Chas. Sweet & Son, Rothesay (Lamont country), and Messrs Vicars Bros., fine art dealers, 12 Old Bond Street, London (4 portraits).

Lastly, I have to thank the printers, Messrs Neill & Co., Ltd., 212 Causewayside, Edinburgh, for the care they have devoted to a difficult subject in the press for nearly four years.

PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt at a history of one clan over seven centuries, based on record evidence. If one chapter be written of the past of the Highlands with some certainty as to the facts, who knows but it may point the way to the whole story of the tartans? Yet, if record is the basis, no tradition is neglected, and all threads have been wound into the skein as best they might. If all clans of Argyllshire could be studied on these lines, some master craftsman thereafter could weave the whole tapestry of southern Gaeldom. Here is therefore a challenge in some sort to past tales of the tartan, based too largely on supposed tradition, embroidered by undoubted imagination.

But the writer is as conscious as any of his own short-comings, a lawyer with no Gaelic "at him" and the Lowlands for his pillow. Yet for the business in hand the technique of the lawyer was a qualification wellnigh essential. The *Inveryne Charters* are a waste of apprisings and adjudications, of wadsets and reversions. The ideal clan history would be by Cosmo Innes and Neil Munro. If the former did the research and wrote the outline in the jargon of parchment, the latter would refashion it, bringing the lump to the throat and peat-reek to the nostril. But it can never be now, for these giants are no longer and the poor best of lesser men must needs serve.

If this writer has some training in the law, he has little in letters, and to-day the two crafts are diverse, regret it as he may. As none can escape the hall-mark of his profession, apologies are here tendered for the frequency with which the pedantic mars the rhythm of the tartan on the march. The venture had to be essayed alone, for good or ill, no author at elbow. "As bold as Eachan" was a byword in the old Highlands—so here's for it!

64 GREAT KING STREET,
EDINBURGH, 3.
November 1938.

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ABBREVIATIONS IN REFERENCE NOTES

(1) GENERAL SOURCES.

- A. & D.* } Early Supreme Court decisions, in Reg. Ho.
A.D.C. (et S.) }
- **A.P.S.* *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 1124-1707* (record edition by Thos. Thomson and Cosmo Innes, 12 vols., 1814-1875).
- Decrees* Later Supreme Court decisions, in Reg. Ho.
- Deeds* Recorded Writs, in Reg. Ho.
- **E.R.* *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1264-1600* (H.M. Stationery Office, 23 vols., 1878-1908).
- G.R.S.* General Register of Sasines (*i.e.* land registers), in Reg. Ho.
- **H.P.* J. R. N. Macphail, *Highland Papers* (Scottish History Society, 4 vols., 1911-1934).
- *Nicolson Alexander Nicolson, *Gaelic Proverbs* (2nd edn., 1882).
- Processes* Papers in litigations, in Reg. Ho.
- Reg. Ho.* H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.
- **R.M.S.* *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, 1306-1668* (Record publication, 11 vols., 1862-1914).
- **R.P.C.* *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545-1689* (Record publication, 37 vols., 1877-1933).
- **R.S.S.* *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, 1488-1548* (Record publication, 3 vols., 1908-1936).

(2) PARTICULAR SOURCES.

- Ardmarnock Writs, penes* Blair & Caddell, W.S., for Nicols of Ardmarnock.
- Argyll Charters, penes* Duke of Argyll at Inveraray Castle.
- Argyll Inventory*, in Reg. Ho.
- Argyll Justiciary*, in Sheriff Court, Dunoon.
- Auchagoyl Writs, penes* Rankin & Nimmo, W.S., for Rankins of Auchengray.
- Bannatyne Writs, penes* Sir Malcolm MacGregor of MacGregor, at Edinchip, Balquhidder.
- Bute Inventory, penes* J. & F. Anderson, W.S., for Marquis of Bute.

- **C.L.J.*, *Clan Lamont Journal*, see above, p. 484.
Coustoun Writs, penes J. & F. Anderson, W.S., for Marquis of Bute.
Crawford MSS., in National Library (ref. 31.2.3).
Cumlodden Inventory, see "*Stronalbanach*."
Dewar MSS., 17th century at Inveraray Castle.
Dumbarton Protocols, Notarial Records, penes Town Clerk, Dumbarton.
Dunoon Charters, penes Campbell & Lamond, C.S., for Mrs Campbell-Wyndham-Long of Dunoon.
Dunoon Deeds, Recorded Writs Register, penes Sheriff Clerk, Dunoon, originals in Sheriff Court House, Inveraray.
Glendaruel Charters, penes Stewart & Bennett, Writers, Dunoon.
Glenstriven Writs, penes Davidson & Syme, W.S.
I.C., Inveryne Charters (old titles of barony), penes Davidson & Syme.
I.C.(A.), Inveryne Charters, formerly penes J. & F. Anderson, W.S., presented by late Mrs Lamont Campbell to National Library (reference Acc. 179).
I.C.(L.-C.), Inveryne Charters, formerly penes J. & F. Anderson, W.S., presented by late Mrs Lamont Campbell to National Library (reference Ch. 263-410).
I.I., Inveryne Inventory, see p. 291, and *L.P.*, pp. v, x-xi.
Inveraray Processes, etc., all in Sheriff Court House, Inveraray.
Lamont Cartulary, penes Blair & Caddell, W.S., for Nicols of Ardmarnock.
**L.P.*, *An Inventory of Lamont Papers, 1231-1897*, collected, edited, and presented to the Scottish Record Society by Sir Norman Lamont of Knockdow, Baronet (Edinburgh, 1914).
L.P.(L.-C.), Lamont Papers presented by Mrs Lamont Campbell to National Library (reference MS. 545).
Maclachlan Charters, penes J. & F. Anderson, W.S., for Maclachlan of Maclachlan.
Orderly Book, Letter Book of General JOHN XIX, penes Mrs Lamont Campbell.
Robroyston Titles, penes Town Clerk, Glasgow.
South Hall Charters, penes J. & F. Anderson, W.S., for Marquis of Bute.
Stonefield MSS., see p. 518.
Stronalbanach Titles, penes Tait & Crichton, W.S., for Capt. Campbell, yr., of Succoth.

* Those marked with an asterisk are in print, the others in manuscript.

THE LAMONT CLAN

PART ONE

THE CLAN AND ITS CHIEFS

CHAPTER I

THE CLAN'S PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS, 1235-1935

THE Lamonts were always a namely people, descended from the *Lamon mor* of tradition, the Sir LAUMON of history, the benefactor of Paisley Abbey. They were the bearers of the lion arms (as on the frontispiece) and the green tartan, and were lords of all Còwal in the days when it was virgin forest. But they did not long tarry on "the Gael's breathing place, the summit," and never after the Wars of Independence did they bulk so large as the McDonalds, the Campbells, or the Mackenzies, who all straddled several counties, had many branches, and were definite political forces. A dignity unequalled attached to the proud McDonalds under the Lords of the Isles, although they split into factions later. Thereafter unrivalled success attended the sleekit Campbells, who combined claymore and parchment as never Celts before, and encroached on all neighbours including the Lamonts. They were copied in the north by the greedy Mackenzies, who could pass the fiery cross from sea to sea through the lands they had grasped from others, but who lost their grip by loyalty to the exiled Stewarts.¹

Still and on, if the Lamonts were neither so lordly, nor so crafty, nor so romantic as their more notour rivals, they had their own ploys in their own airts that brought them fame, especially in the Montrose campaigns of 1644-46. After times had taken many a change, and they had been nearly exterminated and beggared by their unfriends, and had at length recovered, they were finally ruined by the improvidence of their chiefs, who are now landless (except for two burying places), and of their *duine uassail* or gentry, who were all formerly lairds and not merely tacksmen. One cadet family alone has its estate to this day, and it lacks an heir male. A mere handful of clansmen resides in the Lamont country, and they have little of the Gaelic among them. The glens are cleared and the clan as a territorial unit is on the point of extinction. It seems only a matter of time before it is all by with the Lamonts in Argyllshire, if nothing is to be done, and what can be done will be suggested on the last pages of this volume.

But there is another side to the story, for *is treasa tuath na tighearna,*

“the tenantry are [now] stronger than the laird,” although they have passed the bounds of Cowal and indeed many have gone furth of Scotland. The clan is assured of its place in God’s highlands, because of its people the world over, and because of the record it has left behind it. The Lamonts were compact; they were not greatly isolated; they were law-abiding; they were colonists; and for these reasons they have made a mark upon the face of the earth out of all proportion to their numbers. They were a small and united body, which gives coherence to their history. In Cowal they made their home, between Fyne and Clyde, and in Glàssary too athwart the ferry of Otter. Tucked away among their foothills they were just clear of the world out-by, and yet they were early in touch with the Stewarts, afterwards the royal house, and with the civilisation of the lowlands. They thus figure in the records of the country, both public and private, to a remarkable extent, and the chiefs’ descent from the eponymous ancestor in the 13th century is established in detail by virtue of writ, while the pedigrees of the cadets are almost completely documented. It has been possible to write their saga without relying on tradition, but no tradition that accords with the evidence has been rejected. As the Gaelic has it, although “their lineage and nobility were no trifle to trace,” it has been done, and the result is “no lie but a tale well proven.” In this they are by-ordinary, and by the record evidence they table they have provided a standard for assessing the value of the normal sources of clan histories. An intensive investigation of limited stocks over a limited area for seven centuries is bound to establish some canons of general application. Thus all clans have an interest, albeit of a secondary nature, in the vouched chronicle of the Lamonts.²

Apart from a hereditary feud with the Campbells (or Diarmaids), in which the Lamonts had to use the targe more often than the dirk, they had few tribal wars, although many incidental tuilzies. There is little word of the treachery and barbarism that so disgraced the north-west highlands. They engaged in a number of the greater political movements, and at times in the less romantic interest. They did not fight for the Bruce at Bannockburn in 1314, nor for Prince Charlie at Culloden in 1745. They were definitely opposed to the Bruce, as were many others with a Norse connection, and they suffered in consequence. They were formal supporters of the government in the ’15 and the ’45, by which they preserved their integrity. There is no record of their tartan on the fields of Flodden or of Pinkie in 1513 or in 1547, and they never rendered military service to the State beyond the bounds of the highlands. But unlike the north-western and island clans they were

never in arms against the Crown from the 14th century onwards. In the civil commotion of 1644-46, when they were so decimated by the Campbells who were hotching around them, they came into the public eye, and they are generally regarded as among the staunchest of the King's adherents. Research has proved, however, that their chief Sir JAMES XIV was in the earlier phases not only a turn-coat but a spy, though at the end his devotion to the royalist party brought ruin on both self and kindred. Apart from this they held aloof from the more riotous of the clans, and in the early 18th century the historian Buchanan of Auchmar remarks that "the Surname of Lamond did not upon most Occasions associate with most others of the more remote Clans." It was no little achievement that their chiefs were able to restrain from excesses a people who like all their kind at heart preferred the isolation and discomfort of a rugged independence to the sweets of a regimented civilisation.³

"Nevertheless," he continues, "upon very solid Grounds it hath been always accounted a Surname of great Antiquity and Esteem; the same for diverse Ages being in Possession, and the Chiefs thereof Lairds, or rather Lords of all lower Cowal, a very fertile Country, and of a large Extent, tho' most part thereof, at several Junctures and Occasions (of which the Circumstances cannot in this Age be discovered) was wrested out of their Hands." (In this history a good many of them are now revealed.) What was left was first Kèrry, that is the district from Kilfinan to Ardlàmont, and second nether Cowal, as it was called, from Tòward to beyond Loch Striven. "The Surname of Lamond is asserted," he proceeds, "to be descended of Lamond Oneil, a son of the great Oneil, provincial King of North Ulster. The chiefs of this Surname were allied with very honourable Families both in Scotland and Ireland, as with the Families of Argyll, MacDonald, Luss, Buchanan, Okyan, lord Dunseverin, and other Families in Ireland." He might have added, from the Scots names that have survived, but a fraction of the whole, McDougall of Lorn; McGregor of McGregor; Campbell of Auchenbrèck, of Càrrick, of Ballochyle, of Barbrèck, of Ardkinglas, of Duntròon, of Èderline, of Strachùr, of Ardentinny, of South Hall, of Ross, and of Possil; Robertson of Lude; McNaughton of Dundarave; Maxwell of Nèwark; Maclàchlan of Maclachlan; Kennedy of Càssilis; Semple of Castle Semple; Stewart of Ardgòwan, of Bute, and of Castlemilk; Macfarlane of that ilk; Mackenzie of Cromarty; McAllister of Loup; and Keith of Dunòttar and Ràvelston. The number of lowland names is remarkable. After Auchmar's day the chiefs of the early 19th century returned to Ireland for their wives, and married into the families of

Hobbs of Barnaboy, and Massy Dawson of County Tipperary. He might have added also, if he knew it, that they were sib to the Lyons of Glàmis, now Earls of Strathmòre.

The spelling of Lamond with a "d," as in Auchmar, is medieval. "Lagman" was the original version, which is pure Norse and suggests that Sir LAUMON's mother was a daughter of Somerled. "Lawmond" was the next, and was the type from 1400 to 1600. Then "Lamont" came in and that prevailed in Cowal, but not always in the world out-by. Their colonisation was begun as broken men about 1400 as a result of the King's displeasure at the "Ardÿne raid" as it was called. Some sons of ROBERT V, the then chief, had to fly the country, and even to change their names, and CELESTIN VI, the eldest, apparently never succeeded. One became a "Bourdon" and from him were descended the Bourdons lairds of the Fèddal in Perthshire, who are now extinct, and perhaps also the Lamonts of Skye. Another went to England as a "Lamb," and a third to Paisley as a "Land(l)ess." The last was the progenitor of the McInturners or Turners in Luss of Loch Lòmònd. About the middle of the century there were perhaps Lamonts in France (who were afterwards the Barons de Lamont), and by the end of it they were certainly in the Braes of Mar in Aberdeenshire, having gone there as an escort to a Lamont lady's marriage. The latter assumed the name "McIlleduie," or Black, until about 1700 when they reverted to "Lamond," then out of fashion in Argyllshire, and they spell it with the "d" to this day. The Blacks were a sept of the clan from an early but unknown date, and were throng in Glèndarùel. In Bute too there was an early settlement of Lamonts, but no details are known.

The going foot for long persisted, and they took the world for their pillow, though often no doubt with a loch of tears beneath it when they thought of the heather at their father's door. In 1527 Mr Allan, a younger son of DUNCAN IX, went over to St Andrews, and the Fife branch he founded achieved distinction in diplomacy and in the church. A few years after a sept of Lamonts appeared across the Firth in Ayrshire, and the Argylls are supposed about the Reformation of 1560 to have induced some Lamonts among others to migrate to the isle of Tiree. In 1582 Mr Allan's son Henry crossed over to France, and he has probably descendants in that country and in Holland to this day. It was one of his kin no doubt, to whom Shakespeare referred in 1602 as "Lamond, the brooch indeed and gem of every nation," who had come from France on a mission to England. There was also a Captain Lamont in the English navy at the time of Armada of 1588, and namesakes were settled in Bedford in 1628. In 1609 the first Lamont was admitted a

burgess of Glasgow and in 1624 of Aberdeen, having exchanged the heather for the plainstones to the grief of their brogues. In 1613 the McClymonts are discovered in Ayrshire. Before the civil wars the Fife Lamonts had sent a colony to Yorkshire, and as a result of the oppression of the Campbells in 1646 many clansmen were scattered to join their fellows in different places, and some went to Mull and some perhaps to Ireland. Since then there have been no definite migrations in this country, except from Fife to Kirkcudbright in the 18th century, but as in other clans a spreading to the reek of the towns and the fat straths of the lowlands, and to the colonies and America. In every one of the districts above mentioned there are Lamonts yet, and in many they are thicker than in Cowal.

This catalogue is remarkable, and no clan of the size has the same record in colonisation. These four characteristics, compactness at home, accessibility to civilisation, obedience to law and order, and capacity for migration, distinguished the Lamonts from the majority of their fellows, but tended also to make them scatter earlier than almost any of the others. This happened under JOHN XVIII between 1767 and 1819, when, as if some impish piper had created a want by the playing of "the lost pibroch" (which is the tune of parting), they steeped the withies and they went, and they have not returned.⁴

Originally their sway was as extensive as the bounds of Perthshire and encompassed the pith of Glassary. Their story has its start in the dark of time, but meanwhile be it said that Sir LAUMON, the 13th century eponymus, represented one of two branches of his family. By virtue, it seems, of his prowess he secured the lion's share when it came to a division, and his name was adopted by posterity. The other branch withdrew to Glassary, where they adopted a different patronymic, McSòrley, or the sons of Sòmerled (who was apparently an early ancestor, although not mentioned in record). Sir LAUMON's stronghold was at Inverÿne (pronounced Inverèen), looking over Loch Fyne to his kin. He was succeeded by his son MALCOLM II, who was perhaps a crusader, and his grandson Sir JOHN *mor* III, who opposed the Bruce and was after Bannockburn much spoiled by the Campbells. In the latter's time one first hears of the "barons of Argyll," assailing the family afterwards the Lamonts of Ardlamont. They were probably all feudally independent of the local chiefs, and in particular the Ardlamont cadets were vassals of the Stewarts, who had appointed DUNCAN IV their baillie in Kerry by 1356. A little later when the Stewarts had ascended the throne the McSorleys, who took their designation from Monydràin by Lochgilphead, and two other cadets were reckoned barons, and presumably all held of

the Crown direct. These had also their own patronymics, after the fashion of the time, although they were Lamonts to the world at large, the McGorries of Inverchàolain and Knockdòw (pronounced Inverhùllen and Nock-dòo), and the McPhadricks of Coustoun (pronounced Cowston), all on Loch Striven. They appear respectively in 1431 and 1498, and the latter were the coroners of nether Cowal, a hereditary office which they sold to Argyll. But by 1472, when JOHN VIII had the first recorded Crown charter, these were probably all his vassals, as were also the Lamonts of Àscog in Kerry, who were bound to furnish a galley for transporting the chief in his forays. The position of these last is not clear. They are on record in 1477, although their keep (plate 29) (the only one in the clan apart from the chiefs') is much older. They were perhaps cadets of the McSorleys or of the Ardlamonts. They seem to have borne the patronymic McInnes, or sons of Angus, but it was not often used.

The relationship of chiefs and cadets in early eras is not easy to determine, but in 1410 the McSorleys admitted the blood bond and the feudal superiority of ROBERT V, and in 1433 the Ardlamonts acknowledged him as their chief of kin and entered into a bargain as to becoming his vassals, which was not effective for some time. The McGorries' first charter from a chief was apparently that in their favour by Sir JOHN X in 1540, and only in their next some twenty years later are they described as beloved kinsmen. In 1540 the representatives of Ardlamont and Ascog were termed *consanguinii* by the same chief. There is no record evidence that the McPhadricks of Coustoun were sib to the chiefs, but all their early charters are lost, which may explain its absence. It seems natural to conclude that in the Lamont clan the whole early cadets were related by blood to the chiefs, or at least that they so asserted. It may be, of course, that the assertion was not true, and that the kinship was only by adoption, but until there is evidence of that the presumption must be against it and *pro veritate*.⁵

At first it was to Inveryne that the clan came when it would pay its respects to its chief, and Loch Fyne on which they looked as they keeked through lozen and portal while waiting their turn with the horn and the shell in which the heather ale glistened. But in the time of DUNCAN VII or his son JOHN VIII a move was made towards civilisation and the Clyde, and Toward Castle was built within ken of Ròthesay Palace. It was there by 1472, when the Crown charter of entail was granted (in order to prefer his brother to his daughters), and in its walls when they spoke of the days of Fingal there often resounded the Lamont harp

depicted in plate 9, which survives to this day. These were the times of feuds with Clan Diarmaid under *Macian Riabbach*, the Grey Flesher, and it may perhaps have been his close attentions that proved the deciding factor in this shifting of the *bratach*. Under DUNCAN IX, who married a Buchanan and sent his son to St Andrews, there was quiet, and his son Sir JOHN X was the first chief who was able to enlarge the estates. He allied himself with Argyll and did service to the Crown, with the result that he prospered, was knighted and on a day of days received Her Majesty Queen Mary (*A'Bhanrigh Mairi*) within his walls of Toward in 1563. His sons were the founders of the new cadet families of Stillaig (from which Auchìnshèlloch is descended), of Silvercraigs across the ferry of Otter, and of N. Auchagoyl (pronounced Auchòil) beside Kilfinan. His daughter seems to have taken to her husband the Ballochyle brooch in plate 12. The feuds revived under DUNCAN XI the stolid (1568-79), whose skull was all but shattered by the claymore of the baron *ruadh* of Knockdow at his own yetts. JAMES XII, no son like the father, was namely throughout the proud highlands for a ploy with the McGregors of Glenstrae, but at the end of his days he supported King James VI in a campaign of reform and civilisation. Sir COLL XIII was knighted for his services to the State, and collected the resources which were soon dissipated in debt. He had his portrait painted (plate 15), and he built the vault at Kilfinan, where the chiefs were still buried, before his death in 1634 (plate 16).

The last chief to hold state beneath the black cabers of the hall of Toward was Sir JAMES XIV, whose story is well known. After many vacillations he adhered to Montrose and King Charles, who had knighted him, brought fire and sword to the Campbell country in the civil wars, and was finally beleaguered by them in Toward and Ascog keeps. He surrendered his castles on promise of life and liberty for the garrisons in June of 1646, but his foes, to their everlasting dishonour, broke faith, and he saw his clansmen either butchered or driven from their homes. There was many a fire smooed in the Lamont country in those days that was never lifted. After years of imprisonment he was released and Argyll beheaded, as a result of a historic trial, the latter's guilt being "probable if it were not true," as the Gaelic has it (*b'ambuil mur b'fhìor*). But the Lamonts were never the same again, and some of the estates were never recovered. Sir JAMES retired to Ardlamont, which lairdship Sir JOHN X had acquired in 1554, and he himself without conscience annexed the bulk of Ascog from the child heir (although the late laird had both fought for him and lent him money), while his creditors took over the barony and the Silvercraigs cadetship under apprisings.

Ardlamont was the home of the chiefs until "the end of the auld ballant" in 1893. Toward Castle, like the residency at Lucknow, stands still pock-marked and battered as its unfriends have left it (plate 10). The noble house that was is a brave shrine to its defenders, but alas is tended by two Campbells at the moment of writing.⁶

Sir JAMES was hopelessly insolvent at his death in 1670, and left ARCHIBALD XV (plate 19) to redeem the estates by years of self-denial and careful administration. The young chief (he was never laird) was the first who is known to have entered London, and as usual he got no good of it. As retribution for the eviction by his father of the hereditary physician of the clan (so it is said) he was fated to have no lawful son, and cousin DUGALD XVI of Stillaig, who had married a Stewart of Bute, succeeded in 1712. The latter got rid of the remaining apprisings, and was full proprietor, but of a diminished estate, for some lands were now lost for ever, as was the Silvercraigs estate, whose last laird had died in 1700 without heir. As Dugald had no son he astutely arranged a marriage between his eldest daughter and John Lamont of Kilfinan, a bastard of Archibald. On the issue of this marriage was settled the barony, with the lairdships of Stillaig and Coustoun, the latter having been acquired by Kilfinan in 1700 (when its last laird had departed to Newcastle in England, where he set up in trade and was lost to view). This involved the breaking of the ancient entailed destination, which however was not legally enforcible, and the brushing aside of the heir male, who was Auchinshelloch, a cadet descended from Sir JOHN X. It was not a transaction in accord with the best traditions, but old standards were now changing, and it was as important to be laird as chief of kin, which was precisely the position of ARCHIBALD XVII, the child of Kilfinan and Dugald's daughter.

This state of affairs is described by the historian Buchanan of Auchmar (the first *seannachie* of the Lamonts who is in print), in 1723, some six years before the death of Dugald. He gives interesting information as to the septs then recognised, which, as Kilfinan was a subscriber to the book, may be accepted as accurate. They were the "McLucases or Lukes, McInturners or Turners, McAlduies or Blacks, McIlwhoms, and Towarts." He knew also of the descent of the Bourdons of Feddal. But as regards the cadets he is inaccurate, as he mentions only Silvercraigs (then extinct) and Auchinshelloch (by then "Willowfield" as the Gaelic was on the wane). In fact the families of Monydrain, Knockdow, N. Auchagoyl, and Stronàlbanach (cadets of Ascog) were all then bien, though the first was soon to be represented by a branch sometimes known as the second family whose precise relationship, if any, is not

known. This change took place about 1740, and next year whenever old Auchinshelloch was under boards the *de facto* chief ARCHIBALD XVII annexed his lairdship under pretence of collecting the rents for the heir who was abroad. Despite later claimants it was always retained by his descendants. The absorption of the cadetships of Ardlamont, Ascog, Stillaig, Coustoun, and Auchinshelloch did much to balance the losses of the civil wars.⁷

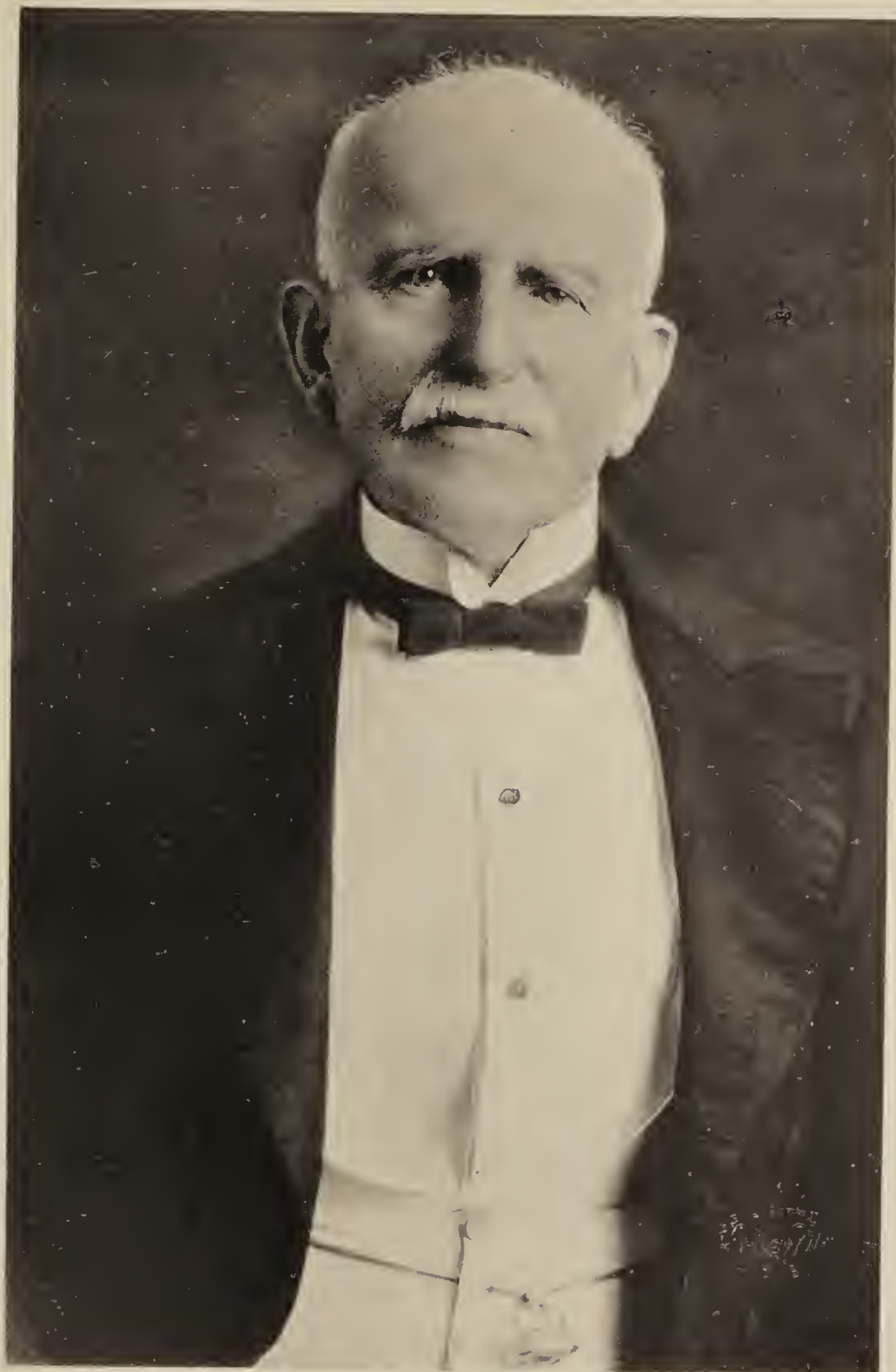
Thus ARCHIBALD XVII (plate 21) was very far from being the impecunious and foreboding "Baron Lamond" depicted by Neil Munro in this period as in *Doom Castle*. By his marriage about 1740 to Lady Amelia Mackenzie (plate 22), the sister of the Jacobite Earl of Cròmarty, he enhanced his social position after a decline as the result of poverty for two generations. Having restored the prestige of the clan under difficulties he was not to risk it again at Cullòden, and by siding with authority he secured the estates so nearly lost a century before. He was the first to owe money to a London tailor, and he brought up his sons to have extravagant ideas and bought them commissions in the British Army with which they served in both India and America. In his time there is evidence of depopulation and of smuggling, but he lived on his estates and was a real highland laird with dirk and pistol. By his death in 1767 the last cadet of Stronlbanach was under the clods, and fifteen bottles of liquor in the gullets of his mourners. N. Auchagoyl was soon after taken over by its creditors on the death of its last laird across the Atlantic. Monydrain and Knockdow were alone remaining of the cadets. It was all by with the others.⁸

Ardlamont was too small for JOHN XVIII, who had other notions than a quiet and useful existence among his people. He was an absentee and a spendthrift; he preferred sheep to his clan; and he lived with his wife's people at South Hall in the Kyles of Bute, or at his town house, No. 7 Chàrlotte Square in Edinburgh. He squandered all that his three forebears had saved from the wreck, and in an attempt to move in high society as he thought befitted a chief he left his heir bankrupt. He could not pay for the Raeburn portraits he so lavishly ordered (plate 23), although he sold Toward for £40,000. In his time his brother Hugh acquired Robròyston (to the north-west of Glasgow) by marrying the heiress of the Landesses, who by tradition were early cadets of the clan. JOHN XVIII was the common ancestor of JOHN HENRY XXI on the one hand and of the two late and the present chiefs on the other, by virtue of his two sons General JOHN XIX and Captain Norman. The latter succeeded to Monydrain, under an entail in favour of the second

branch of the chiefs' family, on the death of the last of the old cadets. The former and elder, after a distinguished career in the army, rebuilt Ardlamont House in its present form (plate 26) for £1900, although he had been forced to dispose of Inveryne for £13,000 to discharge his father's obligations. He lived among his people till his death; he led them at the great gathering of the clans on the King's visit to Edinburgh in 1822; and he revived and preserved the true pattern of the tartan. By careful economy he was able to keep out the creditors, and for auld lang syne and in reward his cousin bequeathed to him Robroyston in the year before his death in 1829.

The young ARCHIBALD JAMES XX was the last of the chiefs who was at home in Kerry, which he loved. He wore the kilt and had his portrait painted as a highland sportsman (plate 27). Alas he had not good health, and by 1853 he wished to disentail as he feared he would have no son. But when he died in 1862 he had two, and his widow Harriet Campbell of Pòssil did no service to the clan when on remarriage she removed her boys from their home to the south of England, at risk of their losing all love of the Lamont country. Major JOHN HENRY XXI (plate 28) was a soldier who had few ties with his tartan, which he refused to put on. As is well known and much regretted he sold the whole of the remaining estates in Cowal in 1893 for £70,000, of which £30,000 was required for the repayment of debt (his own in the main), and the rest had soon vanished. From then he had the name without the profit, as they said in the old highlands (*an t'ainm gun an tairbhe*). On his death in 1929 he had no assets at all. Robroyston had been sold by the trustees for his mother and sisters in 1906. The tail had gone with the hide.⁹

His heirs male were the descendants of Captain Norman of Monydrain, who had retained that estate until 1873, although they had emigrated to Australia in 1854. Both EDWARD LOUIS XXII (plate 2) and COLL ANDREW XXIII, who died in 1934 and 1935 respectively, were second cousins of JOHN HENRY. It is no fault of theirs that they were "far furth from fortune, sundered from their lands." But by the sale of the estates their claim to the chiefship, and of course the seller's also, was unfortunately much weakened. Since the death of DUGALD XVI the lairds of Ardlamont have not been heirs male of Sir Laumon, and were only accepted by the clan as *de facto* chiefs because they were of the blood (although through a bastard and a female) and actually in possession of the remains of the barony. Now that is gone, and if a person were to be discovered who was an heir male, he would have strong claims to recognition as the chief *de jure*. Such a person might



EDWARD LOUIS XXII, 1929-1934

[To face p. 10

well be found in the families of Auchinshelloch or of the Fife cadets, but he is not known at present.

If for almost a century no chief has had the tartan on his hurdies, it is not so with the clan. There is one of the old cadets in existence who maintains the old standards, Sir Norman Lamont of Knockdow (plate 33), a keen member of the Clan Society, founded in 1895 under the shadow of the sale of Ardlamont, to cherish the old memories and relics, and to organise the new forces which have arisen. *Na cumain bheag a' seòladh, 's na luingeas mhór a' sìoladh*—"the little cogs sailing and the big ships sinking"—is no new notion among the Gaels. The clan's strength is no longer in its lairds, who are few, but in its men of business and profession, who are many. They have gone their ways through the world and made good, and it is they who have promoted and financed this book, although the spirit of enquiry which underlies it is largely the creation of the cadet referred to, whose researches have provided so much of its material. Never before, however, has a systematic enquiry been instituted for all record of the clan. If the bone had been broken its marrow had not yet been sucked.¹⁰

The task has not been easy. Of the clan's relics, forbye its two ruined castles, there are few, but the harp and the brooch are outstanding (plates 9 and 12). The old rants are not known, though probably not gone for ever. There is some later bagpipe music (plate 5), but there is no poetry. There is thus no "wise owl who remembers" the by-gones of the Lamonts. These have to be reconstructed from arid legal records, which are all that exist, and their evidence is often circumstantial. Most histories of the clans in the past have overstressed the sentimental aspect of their heroes; in what follows it is the legal aspect that is all too large. Hard fact has here precedence, and soft story has to recede before it. Chapter and verse is given for every statement, for "*cha 'n fhiach sgéul gun urrainn*"—a tale unvouched is worth nothing. In turning these pages it is as well to remember alike the limited nature of the material and the wide scope of the book, which has to deal as faithfully with the humblest who wore the tartan as with the chiefs who figure in history. It is a bold man who would seek to revive the reputations of the swordsmen and targe-bearers whose very tombs have long ceased to commemorate them. But unless in such a work as this "what is there of fame and valour to the fore, when the threshing rain and the crumbling frost have worn the legend off the freestone slab"?¹¹

But in his effort, be it ever so bold, the historian of a clan has a right to expect more than usual co-operation from his readers, who are all of one blood and of one country in their beginnings, however far they may

be sundered now. His task is indeed to conjure the spirits of the past, and it cannot be done without something of the arts of the magician, and without a receptive subject. No man can see the old highlands who has not the mind to see them, and all those who have the mind must take the blue barge (*an birlinn ghorm*) of Neil Munro's story into the fairy land that is now gone for ever. And so to that part of it that is still called the Lamont country, where there are still mist on the mountain and deer in the corrie, and where there always will be until hills meet and the sea is drained with a creel.¹²

CHAPTER II

THE LAMONT COUNTRY

THE proud title "*MacLaomain mor Chombail uile*," or "Great Lamont of all Cowal," is said to have prefaced the grant of a grave at Kilmùn to the Campbell chief in his hour of need as a last resting place for his beloved son. If the inscription has long vanished from the tomb of the Argyll family the tradition is undying. But upper Cowal, the northern section, has not been in the clan's possession for many a century. The southern half, or nether Cowal as it was called, has always been the Lamont country proper, with the addition of the outlying district of Glassary beyond Loch Fyne, although there were also lesser clans within these areas, as for instance the Maclachlans. The Lamonts' little kingdom forms part of the modern Argyllshire—the ancient *Oirthir Ghaidheal*, or sea-coast of the Gael—and is thus purely highland in contrast to its hybrid neighbour Bute. It is completely sea-girt except as to its northern boundary, being washed in turn from west to east by Loch Fyne, the Kyles of Bute, and the Firth of Clyde.¹

The last is the gulf which is set betwixt the Lamont country and the lowlands. In the past it was a gulf not lightly crossed, dividing two civilisations. Until a century ago the whole eastern shore of Cowal was as desolate as Loch Striven is now, and as forbidding as the Sahara to the eye of a world which had not learned to appreciate heather. All this has altered beyond measure. It is to-day more populous and thriving than the opposite coasts of Renfrew and Ayr shires. This strange inversion has been due to several causes, but in the main to a revolt from over-civilisation, to the desire of the merchant princes to escape from the gloom of the industrial cities to the beauties of the hinterland whence many of them had come. It has been helped by the local invention of the steamboat, and the reluctance of the lowland lairds to develop their riparian lands. But under a lowering sky, and when viewed from the battlements of ruined Leven Castle over Ashton, the Cowal coast resumes its ancient sternness. Thus has been finely pictured the "tamed and trousered Scots pedestrian" of the present in such a situation "fronting that barrier of cold, sounding sea, which cuts [him] off from the mystery and danger of a highland world," and investing

the far shore in his imagination "with all the dreads and the forebodings associated with [a country] from which came frequent narratives of tribal war, pillage, fire, and massacre."²

"The lenth of Cowel," in the words of its earliest cartographer in 1600, "is threttie myles betwixt the poynt of Towart and a craig on a hill upon the head of Glenfyn," named *Clach an Toiseaich*, or the stone of the beginning. Toward light is familiar to the Gòurock gazer, but it is not easy to identify the other. The ancient and modern maps which are the end and front papers to this history depict the district past and present.³ The land march is from Arrochar by Glen Lòin, and makes a circuit through the hills adjoining Perthshire (in which upper Cowal was once reckoned) till it returns to Loch Fyne a little below the old Macnaughton castle of Dundarave. The Lamonts' world, it has been said, was thus bounded "by the snout o' Cowal and the pass of Glencroe," the former being probably the Strone at Cairndow.⁴ In the 17th and 18th centuries Inveràray itself was included, but it is not so now.⁵ The northern limits of nether Cowal were the water of Glenkin by the Holy Loch, the well of Tober-fòwar at the head of Glendaruel, and the water of Lindsaig ayont Kilfinan. This is the clan's calf-country.⁶

Cowal may be likened in form to Neptune's trident, extending seawards the three prongs of Ardlamont, Strone, and Toward Points, in which extremities were the vital parts of the Lamont country. Within its bounds are compassed an almost infinite variety of scenery. The three southern promontories are separated by Lochs Riddon and Striven, and from the Firth there are the lesser indentations of the Holy Loch and of Loch Goil. Cowal is scored across by many burns and waters, and penetrated lengthways by two famous straths, Loch Eck and Glendaruel. In the main it consists of hill pasture, with intervals of fertility and desolation. The parishes in which the clan has always flourished most are those of Dunòon and Kilmun around the Holy Loch, Inverchaolain about Loch Striven, and Kilfinan or Kerry⁷ extending northwards from Ardlamont. If their chief in historic times was never master of *all* Cowal, he was at least the Colossus of the Kyles, with one foot firmly planted upon Toward and the other upon Kerry.

To get the best impression one should make the round in part by land and in part by water. It is a full day's task to see the southern half alone. The traveller from Glasgow, the empire's second city, should keep a look-out for Paisley Abbey. From railway or road he may catch a glimpse of the west end, which dates from the time of Sir LAUMON, the original ancestor who has given his name to the clan. No doubt the building fund was swelled by the fruits of his benefactions.



KNOCKDOW

On stepping from the train into the steamer at Gourock pier the shores of Cowal are at once before one's eyes. Midway across the firth the vista of the Holy Loch becomes compelling. There under the wooded slopes of Kilmun hill keen sight can discern the ancient tower of the church (plate 17) gifted to the monks of Paisley by the first chief in the time of King Alexander II, the invader of Argyllshire, and according to one view the scene of an outrage by Sir JAMES XIV for which retribution followed at Dunoon, now also in sight. Not far from the latter's pier but invisible from the water is the memorial erected in 1906 to the clansmen who were massacred by the Campbells in 1646 (plate 18). There is little doing to the eye to-day on the old castle hill of Dunoon—"only a clammy, inefficient statue of a dream," Burns's Highland Mary.⁸ On rounding Toward lighthouse, erected in 1811, one passes close by the scene of the capitulation which was a prelude to this butchery. The mouldring walls of the old castle (plate 10), raised perhaps in the 15th century, stand out within the wooded policies of the modern mansion of the merchant princes. The entrance gateway is a beautiful piece of work of the time of Mary, Queen of Scots (plate 11). Toward never recovered from the ravages of the Diarmaids and has remained in ruins for three centuries without light or lowe. This part of the estate was all sold by JOHN XVIII in 1806.

From the steamer's call at Rothesay, which was the clan's market town, its course is towards Loch Striven, the longest and the most picturesque of the Cowal fiords, and the one least altered by the passage of time. The confronting hills are in memorable form from the ramp of Buachailline through a hump-backed range and then (across the loch) to the snout of Strone. On the starboard bow from off Ardbeg in Bute is a littoral group of cottages in the distance, Port Lamont by name, the last relic of the clan's dominion appearing on the map on this peninsula. Abeam and among trees is the modern Knockdow (plate 3), the home of the last native Lamont laird, which is still cherished by an ancient cadet family. Their original seat was farther up the loch by Inverchaolain, and it was reached by a bridle-path across the *bealach* from the burgh of Dunoon. As the name signifies it sheltered beneath a *cnoc dubb*—a hillside which is black to this day. Athwart the loch from Inverchaolain *clachan* is Coustoun (plate 34), a minor Lamont lairdship, to which led a ferry and whose beaches ran with blood in the March before the Dunoon massacre. Loch Striven's upper reaches have long lost their people, and there is nothing of the old homesteads "but the lowly *laroch*, and the nettle over all." On Strone point was Invernèilbeg, till lately the seat of the Campbells of South Hall, but in the past the

retreat of the Lamont coroners of Cowal, and further on at Rudhbòdach in north Bute there was an early Lamont outpost to secure the crossing to Colintràive.

When the narrows of the Burnt Islands have been safely passed one is allowed a rapid glimpse of Loch Riddon and of bonny Glendaruel, to which later in these travels one returns. This storied glen once carried a great population, including a large number of Blacks. At Tighnabrùach all clansmen should leave the steamer, for one gets no idea from the water of the innate charm of the Ardlamont district. Along the coast is a private road, but with the proprietor's consent one may make the circuit of the peninsula. Skirting the wooded shores one comes at once to Kames, a resort of summer visitors to-day but once noted for its wild boar hunting. It was granted in the 13th century to the ancestor of the present Duke of Argyll to be held of the Lamont chief for homage and help in warfare. Attached to it was Achadachoun (pronounced Auchith-ewen), which nestles so closely in the hills as to be only visible from across the ferry to Kilmichael in Bute. All along by Carry beacon and Kildavàig gate the green and friendly countryside is in marked contrast to the westward Skipness point, which is grey and desolate with only one dwelling on its whole eastern front. But it cannot boast the smiling farms of Bute, which are soon seen over the waters of Ettrick Bay on the old route to Rothesay.

After passing several homesteads the environs of Ardlamont House are reached (plate 26). This was in early times the seat of an independent cadet family, and after Toward was despoiled it became the retreat of the chiefs until they settled in England. It means more to most clansmen than they care to admit. As Neil Munro⁹ has it, "to stand on the broad clanging steps that lift from the hunting-road to the great door—that is a thinking man's trial." It has a want there is no doubt. As if providence was angered by the chief's desertion a dreadful tragedy occurred in the plantation to the east of the house in the last generation, which is known in criminal annals as the Ardlamont mystery. This is indeed a sanguinary spot, for at the point in 1530 a party of Diarmaids were laid low by the laird of Knockdow who was passing in his birlinn. A beautiful garden with an antique sundial adjoins the rambling mansion, whose large windows and outside entrance stairway suggest the 18th century, although it was certainly reconstructed in 1819. Hard by is a private burying place, with three recent graves of members of the chiefs' family. Perhaps because of the lost spirits haunting it the policies have a slight air of melancholy, and seem to await the return of their former lords to restore them to vitality.

The peaks of Arran are viewed at their best across a series of lovely bays which stand out from both land and sea. If the rhododendrons in the Ardlamont grounds are memorable, so are the daffodils of the dower house, Craig Cottage, on the shores of Osdè bay. From here onwards the advantages of the land route are made manifest. From the water this country has the appearance of being all hill pasture, whereas much of it is fertile farm land. The names are all ancient and have associations to the historically minded. Ardlamont, Còrra and Kilbrìde are the very first mentioned in the earliest Crown charters, and Stillaig was a cadetship whose laird DUGALD was the XVIth chief. An exception is the new Millhouse (old Mècknock), where the now disused powder factory is situated. The Kilbride kirkyard, which is still Lamont property, had a very ancient shrine, with a sister chapel at S. Auchagoyl, now only noted for its reservoir supplying Kames with water. Across the way behind a knoll which hides it from the road lies little Loch Ascog, with the battered remnant of its castle just visible on the far margin (plate 29), the second stronghold of the clan which was also besieged and surrendered in the civil wars. By its walls there winds a path to Port-a-vaìdue and Derybrùich and the deserted ferry athwart Loch Fyne to Tàrbert and the McAllister country. Among the victims at Dunoon were two nephews of Lamont of Ascog, and some Lamonts from both Corra and Carry in this neighbourhood, which has no great liking for clan Campbell.

The road to Kilfinan winds up past long lost Auchinshelloch (a forgotten lairdship) and the chiefs' former cattle ranch of Craignafeich, between crags that are picturesque in their irregularity. Those on the left shut out Loch Fyne and form a noble setting for the modern war memorial. In Loch Melldalloch (pronounced Mèldroch) are wooded islets, which may once have housed a Lamont stronghold. On dropping from the moorland heights a road crossing is reached. The left fork runs by the valley of the Aùchalìck to Ardmàrnock, an old Stewart pertinent, and the right to Acharòssan among the foothills, a frequent subject of litigation among various claimants (Auch-alèeck and Ach-ròsson are the pronunciations). A little beyond is a loaning to the loch by the farm of Inveryne. Not far from the steading are the mounds denoting the site of the more ancient Lamont fortress, from which the clan estates were named the barony of Inveryne. But there is nothing left to-day of this and many other "nobil touris" with which Loch Fyne was "decored round about" in the early days. There is the same lovely view, however, "salt Fyne of the fish before" and the grey hills behind of Glassary and Knapdale, indented by Loch Tarbert and Loch Gilp. There are also

monoliths at a little distance which are called the Lamont stones, but their history is to-day unknown. This is said to have been the most fertile of the Kerry farms, in Gaelic "*Innerinn Balla grinn Mhic-Laomuin.*"¹⁰ It was sold a generation later than Toward by General JOHN XIX under pressure of debt. The main road again rises, and passing on the left the modern Ballimòre and the site of the forgotten lairdship of N. Auchagoyl, it arrives at the sanctuary of Kilfinan. On the westward side of the kirk, itself an old building, is the ancient vault where the Lamont chiefs lie sleeping (plate 16). It was refashioned in 1633 by Sir COLL XIII and his lady Dame Barbara Semple, whose initials are over its entrance to this day.

The stones in it are mostly nameless as a result of time and weather. They take one back at a glance to the earliest period of clan history. Sword hilts and knights in armour can barely be made out on those hardier or more fortunate than the majority. They are perhaps the tombs of MALCOLM II and Sir JOHN III (plate 7). In the centre of the floor is the first dated slab of 1708, in memory of a sister of the Lady Lamont of the time, who had also the lion arms in her own right but with the crest of a paw (not a hand). On mural tablets in the mirk around are enshrined the names of more modern chiefs, from her brother-in-law ARCHIBALD XV (plate 20) to the late JOHN HENRY XXI. The vault was formerly covered by the laird's gallery, but when that became ruinous it was opened to the winds and rains of heaven. After lying thus for long it was roofed in by the Society's President (Mrs Lamont Campbell) in a way which will preserve its sanctity for many years to come. In the yard without are the bones of generation upon generation of clansmen. Peace be with these "quiet folk sleeping sound and snug among the clods."

At Kilfinan, where accommodation is available in the little hotel, one has almost reached the bounds of the Lamont country proper, the water of Lindsaig, a tributary of the Kilfinan burn. Here was an area of McEwen territory, and the foundations of their ancient stronghold are still visible on the north of the bay. In the 15th century they were replaced by the Campbells of Otter. To reach Glendaruel, the next objective, one must continue by the same indifferent route to the inn which formerly served Otter ferry, by which the Lamonts of Silvercraigs and Monydrain so often crossed to their lairdships in Glassary. One is here not far to the south of the Maclachlan country and near Evanachan (pronounced Eye-nachan) a corruption of the old *Eoganach*—of the McEwens—which was acquired by the Lamonts in the 16th century.¹¹ Across Loch Fyne from Castle Lachlan, which was shelled by the govern-

ment frigates in 1745, was Stronalbanach in the foothills, an offshoot of Ascog. The best view of all these places is from the Inveraray steamer. At the inn commences an old highway to the east and to the most beautiful glen of all Cowal. It climbs over 1000 feet, with lovely vistas of Jura, Mull, and Arran peaks, and descends to Ballochandràin, the farthest point to which the Lamont lands extended in Glendaruel in historic times. One never crosses by this route without picturing in imagination the relief party under the tutor of Auchagoyl which came this way at sudden on a summer night of 1705 to the succour of a clansman who had been concerned in a dirking and was in trouble with authority.

A little to the north is the kirkton of Clachan Glendaruel, with its fishing hotel and grassy burial-ground. There are two roads from here, upon either side of the River Ruel, and from both there are pleasing landscapes of hills levelling into wooded pastures, on which alas the rushes are being allowed to encroach. For clansmen the principal interest is not in the mansions of Glendaruel and Dùnans, but in the farm of Gàrvie which is separated from the latter by a high triple brig. It was for centuries the centre of the Black sept. Proceeding northwards by the *Caol Gleann* pass one arrives at the well which was the limit of the Lamont coroners' jurisdiction in nether Cowal. If one pushes further the road debouches on Loch Fyne beyond Strathlachlan and gives access to Strachur, where Sir JAMES XIV is said to have given further provocation for the Dunoon massacre. Returning to the foot of the glen one steps a mile aside to the ruins of Auchenbreck, an old Campbell keep, which they are supposed to have acquired by a marriage with a Lamont heiress. The Dunoon road leading eastwards across the hills descends sharply on Loch Striven head, but both Coustoun and Inverchaolain are out of view. Ardtàrig is passed, another lair of the Campbells, and by way of Glen Lean one reaches Garrachòran sheep farm, which was an early outpost of Knockdow, and the modern disused powder works at Clachaig. It is now a deserted country this. "The friends are all departed, and the hearth-stones black and cold," but the beauty remains, and it is the fine land to stravaig. By the water of Glenkin one is led to Kilmun or Dunoon and the circuit is ended.¹²

So much for the Lamont country of the present. To see it as it used to be is no easy task, demanding alike the experience of the historian and the imagination of the novelist. Its proud possessors never thought of penning a description in the days when none carried the inkhorn who could help it, and no wayfarer apparently survived (before 1578 at least) to tell the tale for a public which had little interest in so barbarous a topic as the highlands. In the absence of direct sources of information

one can only proceed by analogy from what is known of neighbouring parts and by inference from place names, charters, and old maps. This evidence will be treated chronologically as it arises, but some general remarks may be ventured in advance.

Cowal must have been indeed a poor and barren realm, unrelieved by the bustling townships and dead level of fertility which appealed to early travellers. If Dunoon, Kilmun, and Rothesay were burghs, Innellan and Toward were only farms, and Colintrave but a ferry house, while Tighnabruaich was still a virgin slope. The Lamont towns of Low Cowal (in which Neil Munro imagined that the Maclachlans of the 17th century were wont to purchase their shop provand) had no existence in fact.¹³ The old husbandry permitted of no fences or hedges, and had no notion of tree planting. Thus even in the midst of cultivation the only obstructions to the view were heather hills and native woodland. What ground was under crop was on the brae faces (*airde na daileach is ìsle na b'airde*) and not on the levels, with a view to natural drainage.¹⁴ If the prospect was perhaps bleak on the whole it was transfigured for most clansmen by the few cheerful castles and the many happy homesteads which radiated life and laughter over coast and glen. So Inveryne, Ascog, and Toward would flaunt by day from their battlements the silver lion on the blue field, and by night would be gay with the light of torches, the sound of the harp and the tales of the *seannachies*. About the houses of the lairds and tacksmen the greens and blues of the tartan would reflect the sunlight, which glinted often upon the naked steel which was carried by all men folk. On the lochs the birlinns must have gleamed with targe and banner, the predecessors of the present river steamers. But apart from these oases of civilisation (or at any rate of society) there can only have been a wilderness of moorland and dark waters.

The distribution of the population and the lines of communication were the most cardinal differences between Cowal old and new. While most settlements were then inland, and not on the coast as to-day, the readiest means of transport was always as it is still by water. On the other hand from the earliest times the hill passes were used for the droving of cattle. It must not be imagined that the Lamonts were completely isolated from the lowlands at any time, although their visits were infrequent and perhaps unwelcome. Neil Munro was wrong in saying of the "Baron Lamond" of the later 18th century that "the world for him [didna] gang by the snout o' Cowal and the pass o' Glencroe." The old ferries have now mainly fallen out of use, as for instance Coustoun, Kames, Derybruich, and Otter. So also have many

of the old hill packways, such as the *Bealach na Sréine* from Inverchaolain to Dunoon, but the Rest-and-be-thankful route on the other hand has been opened up for all time, and is now competing actively with the waterway of the Clyde lochs. From improved communications have resulted a dwindling of the inhabitants, and the loss of the Gaelic language, and of the old highland ways. The children no longer flow down the glens and across the lochs to school with a peat in the oxtar and the soft speech on the lips. There are only seven scholars at Kilfinan to-day, and they have not a word of the Gaelic among them.¹⁵

Despite the changes of the centuries, however, the Lamont country has an essential sameness in all ages. The natural attractions of outline and of colour are exactly now as they were ever, although the hand of man has made more mark on them with the passage of time. The strong curves of slope and shore, and the deep tones of mountain and sea, are common to all eras in history. Such were the features of the clan territory in the dark of time; such are they still; and such they are likely to remain "till a' the seas gang dry." Long may they be left unspoiled in tribute to the hosts that have gone out from them—and swart they were to go—across the seven seas of the world, with those bonds in common which have kept them aye a clan.

CHAPTER III

THE INSIGNIA OF THE CLAN

THE principal insignia or emblems of a clan are the coat of arms borne by its chief, the tartan, and the badge. With these are naturally grouped its distinctive pipe music, its slogan, and its patron saint. The two last may be disposed of first. There is unfortunately no indication of the war-cry of the Lamonts, but perhaps one may conclude that they prayed for aid from St Finan, whose shrines were established in the neighbourhood of both Inverlyne and Toward, at Kilfinan and Killèllan. In the same way one finds Kilmuns at important points in the Campbell country, and St Mun was undoubtedly their patron saint.¹

(1) *The Arms*

As is well known the lion rampant is the proper (although not the only) heraldic symbol which has been displayed from the earliest times by Lamonts, whether chiefs or cadets. "Azure, a lion rampant argent" is the registered coat. Since the 17th century at least all arms have been regarded as personal, and thus as the exclusive property of the individual and his direct heirs after his death. It is more than doubtful if such a limitation was recognised in the highlands of long ago. Some people think that originally certain devices were associated with particular districts, as for instance the lion with Glassary, and that any local magnate was free to adopt them, as in fact the Maclachlan chiefs did as well as the Lamonts. It is sometimes even said that the lion was the common badge of all the Celts.² Probably also any substantial clansman could display the bearings later appropriated to his chief, without any such differences of detail as would now be imposed by the Lyon Office. The cadets of Ascog and of Fife most certainly did so.³

The lion is perhaps the most picturesque link with the past which exists. There was, of course, much greater scope for armorial bearings in the Middle Ages when colour values were at their highest than at the present day, and so fortunately more chance of their preservation. The figures and tinctures of a man's shield, it has been said, reappeared on "his surcoat, jupon or tabard, on his lady's mantle, and his daughter's kirtle, on his banner, the housings of his war-horse, and even perchance

the sail of his galley." They sometimes also figured on a "fair painted board" in his castle hall. Thus the chief's coat of arms must have been, as it were, broadcast over Cowal and Argyll by land and sea, from his personal accoutrements as he went his ways, from the tower head of his proud harp-filled castle where watched the *gocaman*, and from the mast of his birlinn which cleft the dark waters to the chant of *iorrams*. In the 13th century it would be flaunted in the cloisters of Paisley Abbey, and all through the Borders to Berwick, where temporary allegiance was sworn to the English King. In the middle of the 15th it would be sported in the royal mile of Edinburgh and within the walls of Holyrood itself, when the Cowal coroner arrived with his tail to render the King's rents to his chamberlain. In the 17th century it would certainly be borne on the chief's *bratach* on its jaunt throughout the length and breadth of the Campbell country.⁴

But such things are transitory and fleeting, and unless heraldic devices had been expressed in more permanent forms they could not have survived after the colour of those stirring times had gone beyond recall. The *bratach* was probably lost soon after its hereditary bearer gave up his holding in 1786. The best and earliest evidence is to be found in the wax impressions of seals, which once dangled from every formal deed, and of signets, which afterwards secured all private letters. Until the 16th century, the art of writing one's own name was the monopoly of royalty, clergy, and official scribes. The best the feudal magnate could do was to affix his seal, which was easily identifiable among his illiterate neighbours by the design, and among experts by the legend or inscription round its margin. Thus when a jury of seven local proprietors was summoned at Inverlèckan by Fùrnace on Loch Fyne in 1355, each one of them authenticated the finding by attaching his seal to one of the strips, into which the extremity of the parchment was divided, very much on the lines of the old Scots taws. Now one of these impressions bears the lion, and if one may judge from the order in which it is affixed, it seems to belong to Alexander McSorley who is naturally assumed to be one of the Lamonts of Monydrain, although the legend is unfortunately now defaced. It had another mark, however, for his contemporaries. The practice was for the owner of a seal to impress into the hot wax on the back the knuckle of the second joint of his first finger as a precaution against the unauthorised use of his insignia. Thus the modern police system of finger-print identification was anticipated by centuries.⁵

Unfortunately, however, owing to the vicissitudes of life in the highlands and in lawyers' offices, no seal of any Lamont (apart from that just mentioned) has been found of earlier date than 1516, a little after

Flodden. That the original Sir LAUMON had a seal is quite clear, for he used it in his grants to Paisley Abbey about the year 1235. The same is true of his cousin Angus in 1270, and of his son MALCOLM II in 1295. Then also the latter's son John, afterwards Sir JOHN III, authenticated his grant of Kames (see plate 8) to the Campbells by his own device.⁶ The next such reference is in 1433, when both the chief ROBERT V, and his cousin and cadet Finlay of Ardlamont "set thar selis" to their agreement. Then again in 1497, a Lamont of Inverneilbeg is recorded to have "hungin his proper seal" to a bargain with Argyll.⁷ In the early part of the 16th century there is evidence of at least four deeds by various chiefs, of which the seal has been lost. The explanation of the absence of early examples is, of course, to be found in the destruction of Lamont charters in the sieges of Inveryne by the McDonalds in the 14th century, and of Toward by the Campbells in the 17th. But there must be examples of Lamont seals in the charter chests of other Argyllshire families, if only they could be brought to light. In the Crown charter of 1539 there is the usual formal reference to heirs bearing the arms and surname of Lamond, which, curiously enough, does not appear in its predecessor of 1472, but no details are given.⁸

The seal of 1516 above referred to is that of Robert Lamont, 1 of Ascog, affixed to a bond among the charters of the Bannatynes of Bute. It is in red wax and displays the undifferenced lion and an indecipherable legend. Precisely similar is the earliest survivor of the chiefs' seals, that used by Sir JOHN X in Glasgow in 1548 on a deed resigning the barony of Inveryne in favour of his son Duncan. This is in the hands of the former family lawyers in Edinburgh, as is another example of Mr Archibald Lamont, 1 of Stillaig, Sir JOHN's second son, in 1560. This is unfortunately in bad condition, though a photograph reveals the broken outline of the royal beast, and a fragment of the legend reading "LAVMVND." A charter of four years later, preserved in the library of Edinburgh University, shows that the Fife branch were not using any difference. It displays the lion just as if its user Mr Allan, brother of the same chief, was the head of the family, and a similar seal was used by the latter's son Henry in 1583 on a charter belonging to the University of St Andrews.⁹

These are the only seals which are known to be in existence belonging to any person of the name of Lamont in England or Scotland. The disappearance of the many others which must once have lain in the family charter chests is easily intelligible to lawyers. In the first place a seal is apt to be torn off by mistake as it hangs down from the deed and gets entangled in others. But less worthy motives have also played

their part. Many a seal has been detached to add to a collection, or to melt down to get wax for other purposes. There are no other sources prior to 1603 which cast any light on the subject. No arms appear on Toward or Ascog Castles, as they were erased by the Campbells in 1646, or on any of the early tombstones or on the vault at Kilfinan, and none attributed to the Lamonts in the earlier heraldic manuscripts in the Lyon Office. But on a boss in the hall of Towie Castle, Aberdeenshire, dated 1610, appears as the coat of an unknown Lamont lady a lion rampant.¹⁰

In addition to the definite evidence of the seals and boss just mentioned, there is also the inference to be drawn from the seal of 1355, supposed to be that of a Lamont of Monydrain, and from another source. If later tradition may be believed, the ancestor of the Lyons who became Earls of Strathmore was sib to an early Lamont chief. When trouble overtook him, the story ran, he left the district and assumed a new name based upon his father's coat of arms. His descendants were known by it as early as 1368, and bore the lion at any rate from 1423. But apart from any such corroboration it seems clearly proved that the Lamonts were constant to that device in the period between Flodden (1513) and the execution of Queen Mary (1586), with some indications of a much earlier use. There is nothing, however, which would explain the adoption of this symbol. It may be, as has been suggested, that it was territorial in origin and was connected with Glassary, but this is in the meantime a mere hypothesis.¹¹

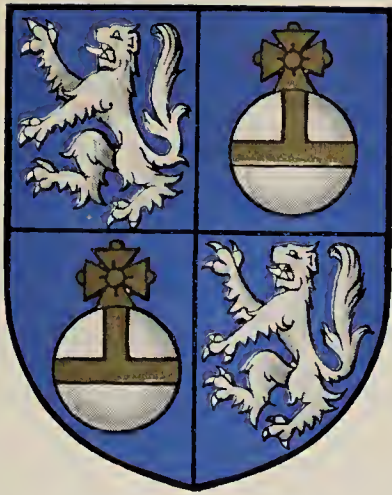
In the 17th century confusion arose as to the derivation of the name Lamont, which had an unfortunate reaction upon the heralds of the day. The peculiar notion was started that the good Norse word Lawman was French in origin and equivalent to "*La Monde*," in other words "the world," a grandiose idea which flattered because of its suggestion of general supremacy (despite its obvious disregard of grammar—the word *monde* being masculine). Probably two factors contributed to this view, which is almost certainly erroneous. The first was a contemporary tendency to foreign analogies of a punning nature, and the second the presence of many Frenchmen in Scotland owing to the influence of Queen Mary. A few La Monts no doubt may have appeared here, and would not unnaturally be hailed by enthusiastic but ill-informed Franco-Scots as members of the clan.

The way was thus paved for an alternative coat of arms to be invented by some ingenious but unorthodox philologist on these lines. Towards the end of the 16th century the practice of sealing deeds was discontinued, and they came to be executed by signature alone as they are to-day. There was thus less occasion to be particular about heraldic devices,

although of course signets were used for letters in default of envelopes throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. In the earliest armorial manuscript in Scotland which refers to the name about 1624, the new theory is expressed. "Lamount" is still represented in general by "a lyon ramp.," but "Lamond of that ilk" is given "ane mond or globe." On the other hand, there is no evidence whatever that this strange device was ever actually used. In another similar source compiled just after the Restoration (1661), the sole entry is "Laumonth of that ilk . . . a lyon rampant."¹² When the cadets of North Burton in Yorkshire, who were descended from the Fife branch, came to record their arms in England in 1665, they returned them as based upon the lion, and when the Scots Parliament in 1672 insisted on the registration of all coats in the Lyon Office, it was the royal beast which was officially approved as the mark of the chief of Clan Lamont.¹³

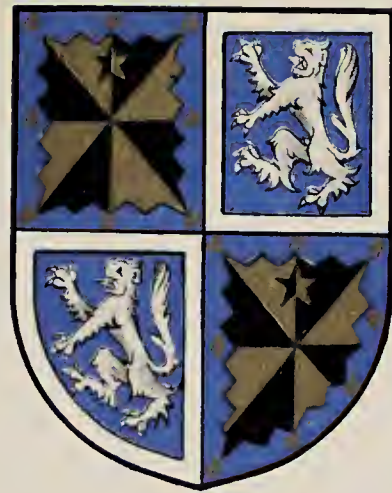
If matters had been left thus, the false tradition of the globe would have soon died out, but unfortunately it was perpetuated by an account left for posterity in the last year of the century by the very chief—ARCHIBALD XV—who had thus formally adopted the lion. "Our ancient armorial bearing," he wrote, "was relative to the name La Mond, *i.e.* the glob of the World or Glob imperial, in an blew field, which my predecessors of late hath chainged to a whit lion, being ignorant of Heraldrie, and fearing affinity with the kings of Ireland [might be challenged] unless they were concerned with the Lion." For his own part he would have been inclined to go back on this and to have "taken my honourable Glob, but the Lamonts of France and England carried the Lion befor my time, so that I had no will to differ in coat armour with them least a denyall in after ages." As to his kinsmen in Yorkshire, who were cadets of the Fife branch, this was true enough, but as to the Barons de Lamont in Lorraine Longwy, whose connection is obscure, it is a curious misapprehension. Their arms were put on record a few years before as the mond (1st and 4th) quartered with the lion (2nd and 3rd), but the latter mark was apparently introduced in virtue of an inheritance from a lady of title, who had married into their family. In 1621 their ancestor Robert, an ensign of the Scots Guard to the French King Henry IV, was admitted to the status of a French nobleman upon the narrative of an honourable Scots descent and upon condition of quartering his arms with those of his mother "Jeanne heritière de Cassels." It seems to follow, therefore, that the Lamonts of France bore the mond and not the lion, and that ARCHIBALD XV had misconceived the true position. It is possible, however, that there may have been other Lamonts in France, whose arms conformed to his description,

LAMONT CADET COATS OF ARMS



1

LAMONT OF MONYDRAIN



2

LAMONT-CAMPBELL OF POSSIL



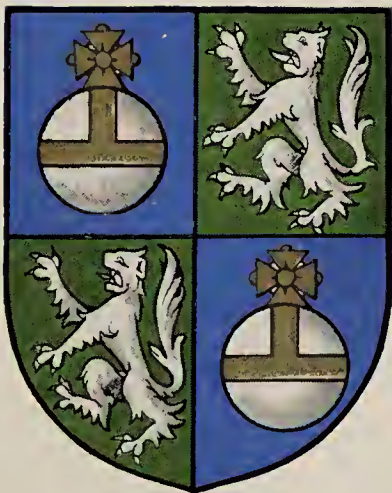
3

LAMONT OF NEWTON, FIFE



4

LAMONT OF N. BURTON,
YORKSHIRE



5

BARON LAMONT OF LORRAINE
LONGWY, FRANCE



6

LAMONT OF KNOCKDOW

such perhaps as the descendants of Shakespeare's Lamond, gentleman of Normandy, "the brooch indeed, and gem of all the nation."¹⁴

The chief's view that the mond was correct was endorsed by the senior herald of the time, Alexander Nisbet, but of course in ignorance of the 16th century seals. It was immediately denounced by an independent antiquary, who had identified in the cartulary of Paisley Abbey the ancient grants of Sir LAUMON and his uncle Duncan. In a letter to the "Laird of Lauman att Aird-Lauman" in September 1706 he wrote as follows: "I find that by the Seal Signetting your Letter to me our modern heralds are hugely mistaken in your Coat of Armes, particularly Mr Nisbet. . . . This I'me sure you can mend, and give a better reason for your Lyons, nor he has done for Monde or Mont, as La Monde is ill French, so his globe is but canting Heraldry; and your sirename being Lauman Sapps the very foundation of that Story." It could hardly have been better put, and ARCHIBALD XV must have felt reassured in using a lion signet, of which at least two impressions have survived, while in Nisbet's final and authoritative treatise of 1722 both versions are given as alternatives.¹⁵ It should be noted that the arms on the flat slab of 1708 in the vault at Kilfinan are not those of the chief but of his wife's family the Urrys of Pitsligo, who bore the lion also but with the crest of a paw in place of a hand. John Lamont of Kilfinan, his natural son, was employing a non-heraldic signet with the legend ACORDON.¹⁶

In 1723 there is further evidence on the subject. In response to a query by a Black, who had settled in Belfast, as to the "coat-of-arms, which pray afford me by the impression of your seal within a letter," DUGALD XVI answered that he had parted with his seal at the moment, but that the arms were "a white lion rampant in a green field," without any mention of the globe. Buchanan of Auchmar, whose *Ancient Surnames* was published in that year, expressed the view that "Lamond for armorial bearing carried sometimes azure, a mond or globe argent; but the most ancient and more ordinary bearing of that family is azure, a lion rampant argent." The cadets were of the same opinion. Thus Lamont of Newton in Fife had inscribed on the communion cup he presented to Scoonie parish, in memory of his ministerial great-grandfather Mr Allan, a lion with a suitable difference, an orle of mullets or stars. Unfortunately the armorial stone he put above his door was removed a century ago and replaced by an alien one. In 1739 the last Lamont of Stronalbanach was using a lion signet.¹⁷

But before discarding altogether the mond view there is one point in its favour which must be weighed along with the French evidence.

Tradition, again depending only on the chief's version of 1699, relates that about 1400 the family of Bourdon of Feddal, near Muthill in Perthshire, was founded by a son of Lamont of that ilk. Because of an unfortunate incident to be unfolded in due course he was forced to fly from Cowal, the story runs. Now the arms of these Bourdons are recognised to be based upon the globe, although they have the lion as a crest. This influenced Nisbet towards the view that the original Lamont arms were on the same lines. On investigation, however, there seems now to be no evidence beyond his own works as to the nature of the Bourdon coat, and accordingly the point loses force. This argument is also more than counterbalanced by the inference to be drawn from the use of the lion by the Strathmore family, who diverged from the main stock, if tradition is aright, at an even earlier date. It may therefore be concluded that during the important period prior to 1800 in which seals and signets were in use the correct bearing of the Lamonts, whether chiefs or cadets, was always the lion, and that the mond or globe was erroneous.¹⁸

In the time of JOHN XVIII, however, the true bearings were forgotten, as he displayed on his signet in his earlier days a non-armorial device like his grandfather Kilfinan's, and latterly only the (wrong) crest and the motto. There is no decipherable impression of General JOHN XIX's signet, but it was probably the same. The latter's younger brother Captain Norman of Monydrain, the ancestor of the present RONALD COLL XXIV, quite properly employed the mond as a difference appropriate to a younger branch of the family, by quartering it (2nd and 3rd) with the lion (1st and 4th), as may be seen in the tablet to his memory in 1834 in the cloisters of Wells Cathedral in England. But young ARCHIBALD JAMES XX mistakenly adopted this coat as his own for the purposes of his portrait of 1835, which has recently appeared in the *Journal*. His error was reproduced in Browne's *History of the Highlands*, which was published a few years later, but the correct version was given in Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland* in 1836, and in Logan's *Clans* in 1845. Ideas had become even worse confused when the Lamonts first appeared in Burke's *Landed Gentry* about the time of Archibald James's death. His arms were surprisingly rendered as within a bordure of argent, whereas Alexander, xv of Knockdow, was credited with the undifferenced coat. This was a reversal of both law and practice, and these cadets had in fact been using on their signets a bordure in the form of an orle of monds, which they formally matriculated in 1898. Evidently no one had been to the Lyon Office for many a long day, or these mispractices would have been speedily corrected.¹⁹

So much for the marks of the coat. As to the tinctures, or colours,

there was formerly doubt, as the seals were of no assistance. In the register, which is now the sole authority, is "azure, a lyon rampant argent," or in plain language a silver lion on a blue field. This tallies exactly with the account of ARCHIBALD XV in 1699 and of Buchanan of Auchmar in 1723, but in the heraldic manuscripts of 1624 and 1661 these colours were reversed. In 1723, for some reason, the family were using a green background, but from Skene onwards the tinctures have been correctly rendered. The cadets of Yorkshire were differencing their coat as early as 1665 by using a green lion on a white field, and the French Barons de Lamont in that century had quartered *d'azure à un globe d'argent orné d'une croix d'or* with *de sinople à un lion d'argent*. One wonders if the tartan was the source of the green.²⁰

The chief of 1723 was also wrong as to the crest, for he conceived the idea that there could be none, as such things were the perquisites of the nobility. Perhaps the explanation is that his predecessor ARCHIBALD XV had incorrectly displayed on his signet a crest coronet, which was the mark of nobility (and was so rightly assumed by the French barons), and had been checked for so doing. The real crest in the register was a right hand, which has since been acclaimed as a fellow of the red hand of Ulster, and thus as an argument in favour of an ultimate Irish origin. It is hardly old enough to sustain this interpretation, and seems more likely to have been selected because the Gaelic for hand was *lamb*, which ignorantly pronounced reproduces the first syllable of the name Lamont. JOHN XVIII wrongly employed a hand grasping a dagger on his signet, which was copied into Browne's *History* and is now the Knockdow crest. The correct form was given in Burke's *Landed Gentry* in 1863. The paw on the slab of 1706 at Kilfinan is, of course, Lady Lamont's family crest. The cadets of Newton in Fife were using a *left* hand in the early 18th century, which was probably an intentional difference. It is perhaps significant that the crest of the Lamonts was an open hand, and of the Campbells a boar's head. It is only natural that the latter should have gained at the expense of the former.²¹

The first mention of the time-honoured motto "*ne parcas nec spernas*" is in the register of 1672, but it was doubtless earlier known, as it was in use in France in 1696 and in Fife in 1733, by which dates there was little connection between the chiefs and the cadets concerned. There are no variants of this (except the entirely erroneous *pereas* for *parcas* in some sources), and it was repeated by DUGALD XVI in 1723 to his Irish correspondent. Like most Latin phrases it is capable of more than one interpretation. The commonest is probably "neither stint nor

spurn," or "don't be either mean or extravagant." Unfortunately this wise saying has not always been put into practice by the clan, or many broad acres which are in alien hands would be still theirs. A more heroic version is "neither spare nor spurn (an enemy)," which is more in keeping with history. A third alternative is "never despise nor despair," which seems bred of unfortunate experience, and if genuine at all must be of late date.²²

There only remains to discuss the question of supporters, to which every highland chief is now entitled. They were not allowed in 1672, but probably because of royal interference with the Lyon of the time, which accounts also for Cluny Macpherson being refused. At any rate they had been assumed by 1723 in the form of two wild men, although they are not given by Auchmar. The French Barons de Lamont were displaying two lions as supporters as early as 1696. The wild men are depicted in the seal with which General JOHN XIX authenticated in 1817 a specimen of the clan tartan deposited by him with the Highland Society in London, in his successor ARCHIBALD JAMES XX's portrait of 1835, and in Browne's *History* shortly after. The arms were not again matriculated—except in the person of a younger son, the late Celestine Norman Lamont Campbell of Possil—until 1909. By that time, however, the unfortunate illegitimacy of ARCHIBALD XVII's father had come to the notice of the Lyon King. He felt himself precluded from accepting anyone who was only an heir female (which character the present chiefs undoubtedly possess in virtue of a marriage) as representing the earlier chiefs in the matter of right to supporters. The present line, of course, depends for its supremacy on the fact of acceptance by the clan, for strictly speaking its title in point of blood is defective (as there may well be an heir male in existence), and having now parted with the estates it can hardly lay claim to the chiefship *de facto*.²³

It was possible, however, to qualify another title to this heraldic mark of dignity. The Inveryne family in the 15th and 16th centuries had been made territorial barons under their royal charters, and this gave them a right to a seat in Parliament and to supporters. Such a status was transmissible through females, and so it came about that on this alternative ground the chiefs succeeded to what they had missed in 1672 when the barony was in their hands. The correct heraldic description is as follows: "Two savages wreathed about the middle with laurel, each holding in the exterior hand a club resting on the shoulder proper." No doubt they are modelled upon the primitive bodyguard which once attended them in the wilds of Cowal. It is still an open question whether

the present representatives of the "Barons" McGorrie and McPhadrick would be entitled to claim supporters. There is certainly evidence that one of the latter held lands in free barony in 1525, which seems to point in that direction.²⁴

The late chief's younger brother did not matriculate arms until he had succeeded under an entail to the estate of Possil, and in consequence assumed the additional name of Campbell. In his shield the Lamont lion, differenced by a silver bordure, was quartered with the Campbell gyronny of eight, and the alien crest of a boar's head was introduced with the motto "*fac et spera*" (or "dare and damn the consequence").²⁵

As mentioned above the Lamonts of Ascog disported the undifferenced lion, and in this they were followed by their cadets of Stronlbanach. The arms of the Lamonts of Fife are engraved on the communion cup of 1733 as the lion surrounded by mullets or stars, with the crest of a *left* hand, and those of their cadets of Yorkshire were as above described. The present Sir Norman Lamont, Bt., at the time yr. of Knockdow, matriculated arms at the end of the last century. He took as his coat the silver lion on a blue field surrounded by an orle of monds, which had been used by his forebears in their signets for some time before. His crest is a right hand holding a dagger.²⁶

So much for the historic families of the clan. Of the branches which have recently risen to position the only one which figures on the register is that represented by the late Henry Lamont of Greenlaw in Ayrshire and of Gribton in Dumfriesshire, who did not trouble to trace his descent from Archibald McPatrick or Lamont who flourished on Loch Striven side about the time of the 1745 adventure. It is curious that he was the first of any of the name to apply to the Lyon Office since the matriculation of 1672. His coat consists principally of the lion with the colours counterchanged. The lower part of the shield is divided into two, and one side bears half a silver lion on a blue field, and the other half a blue lion on a silver field. Above is a lymphad, or galley, in black, with oars extended and red flags flying, reminiscent of the craft of ancient days. His crest is a hand holding a fleur-de-lis. The six principal coats after the chief's (for which see plate 1) are reproduced in plate 4.²⁷

(2) *The Tartan*

While the arms were the individual perquisites of the clan's leaders, the tartan and badge were the common property of the rank and file. Thus the silver lion on the blue field has less intimate significance for the average member than the white sprang on the green sett, which was

the readiest way to ken a Lamont at kirk or market in the old days, when the tartan duds were reckoned the gallantest of all (as indeed they should be yet). Most people's ancestors had no seals, but every one had his plaid. To the eye the pattern is predominantly green and black, but a momentary inspection shows that dark blue is entitled to pride of second place. The clan tartan is thus one of the so-called green and blue group, which also includes the Campbell, the Farquharson, the Gordon, and the Sutherland. These four are identical except for their distinctive stripes of white, yellow or red. The Lamont is often confused with the Black Watch tartan, and it has been assumed in the past by the Forbes and the 74th Highlanders. Probably in this way it became one of the commonest tartans sold in Glasgow about the end of the last century. It is now worn by the Baillies of Dochfour and by the Liverpool Scottish Regiment.²⁸

The history of the military patterns is known because they are modern, but the origin of the clan setts is lost in the mists of antiquity. It is curious that the Lamonts were in close touch with the Campbells in Argyllshire, and with the Farquharsons and Gordons in Braemar, though they had no apparent point of contact with the Sutherlands. In the earliest written description, the *Vestiarium Scoticum*, the date of which is matter of controversy, one reads that "Clan Lawmond hath settis lyk vnto ye Cambels, quham near to thai haue ye lyuand." In the 13th century Sir LAUMON and his cousin actually used the name McFarquhar, which is of course the same as Farquharson. But no doubt these are mere accidents, and there is no real ground for suggesting that Inveryne and Toward set the fashion to Inveraray and Braemar. If these different tartans have a common origin it is probably to be found in Ireland, at a date previous to the settlement of Sir LAUMON's forebears in Scotland.²⁹

There is a most interesting passage in a MS. source compiled in that green land just about the time when the clan's traditional ancestor flourished. This is the "Book of Ballymote," dating from the 9th century. It reads as follows:—

"Ordo Vestimentorum per colores:
(Regulation of vestments according to colours)

"Mottled to simpletons; blue to women;
Crimson to the Kings of every host;
Green and black to noble laymen;
White to clerics of proper devotion."

Now there is no doubt that the Lamont tartan is to the eye green and black, although, of course, it has other constituents. The door is thus opened to the view, imaginative though it may be, that the clan pattern

is simply a modification of the general dress of the nobles of Ireland, and was introduced into Argyllshire in the 12th century by Sir LAUMON's forebears from across the sea-gait. As time went on, local modifications would be imposed, until the present style was evolved. It may well be that the two remaining colours, blue and white, have been imported from the tinctures of the arms. Whether the Lyon Office had any reaction upon the weaver's shop is a subject which has never been adequately developed. But it would be eminently natural to blend the tones of the lion and its field with those of the primitive warp and weft. As mentioned above the arms of the Yorkshire Lamonts are here in point, as they used a green lion on a silver shield, and the French Lamonts counterchanged these tinctures, which are surely no coincidences. One cannot help feeling that they must have had a notion of the white sprang on the green sett which graced their kinsmen's shanks in far-off Cowal.³⁰

There is no history attaching to the Lamont tartan, so far as is known, and probably because, in contrast to the arms, there has never been any doubt of it. The records have no word of it, with the exception of the source referred to, which is ascribed by some to 1571 but denounced by others as a later fabrication. In a brochure on "*The Lamont Tartan*" a spirited defence of the early date of the *Vestiarium Scoticum* is made by Colonel William Lamont, V.D., Ardrishaig, and there is much to be said for his view although it is not generally accepted. The writer is very much influenced in its favour by the spelling of the words "Lawmond" and "Cambell." The former is typical of the 16th century. He has only noticed ten instances in the *Lamont Papers* of the use of both "w" and "d" after 1600, the last of which was in 1639. As regards the name Campbell the spelling without the "p" would be very unusual after 1600. In 1689 an alleged Lamont chief, who has never been identified, is supposed to have attended the mustering of the Jacobite clans around "Bonny Dundee" in Lochaber, with his shoulders "girt in Tyrian purple." If this is to be taken seriously, which is doubtful, it indicates that the blue element was then stressed, whereas there is an evil modern tendency to obscure it. From the Jacobite rising of 1745 until 1782 the tartan, which was then essentially a military dress, was proscribed, as were all weapons of war, but they were never forgotten. The claymore and the dirk were hidden in the thatch; the targe concealed as the lid of a butter keg; and the kilt secreted in the bottom of a kist. All readers of Neil Munro will remember his tale of the "Baron Lamond" of the time, whom he imagined extricating his old panoply at dead of night in "Doom Castle," and feeling again that he was his own master as he put on "that gallant gear."³¹

“He drew them out hurriedly upon the floor,” the story runs, “but yet with an affectionate tenderness, as if they were the relics of a sacristy, and with eagerness substituted the gay tartan for his dull mulberry Saxon habiliments. It was like the creation of a man from a lay-figure. The jerk at the kilt-belt buckle somehow seemed to brace the sluggish spirit; his shoulders found their old square set above a well-curved back, his feet—his knees—by an instinct took a graceful poise they had never learned in the mean immersement of breeches and Linlithgow boots. As he fastened his buckled brogues, he hummed the words of *MacMhaister Allaster’s* song:

‘Oh! the black-cloth of the Saxon,
Dearer far’s the Gaelic tartan.’”

As a matter of fact the chief of the time, who was ARCHIBALD XVII, was neither cowed by government nor enthusiastic over Prince Charlie, but he was doubtless, like everyone else in the highlands, annoyed beyond measure at the proscription of a dress that had been his people’s ever since they came from Ireland in the days of yore, and throughout the centuries in which a man’s hand instinctively went to his side on being crossed.³²

Unfortunately for the clan at large the penalisation of their old dress really sounded its death knell. It was probably never resumed except by the lairds and by those who enlisted in the regular army. The Lamont tartan thus became more a national than a territorial possession in the time of the absentee and militarist JOHN XVIII. His son and successor JOHN XIX, who rose to be a major-general, recorded a sealed pattern in 1817 with the Highland Society of London, which is now the standard for the future, but when he retired to Ardlamont he cannot have seen any more kilts than claymores on the hips of his people. One is glad to find that his interest in tartans, unlike so many other highland chiefs’, was evidently independent of its sudden return to fashion five years after. This was, of course, when King George IV appeared in Edinburgh in a kilt (to which his form was most imperfectly adapted) in 1822 at the first gathering of the clans ever held in honour of a Hanoverian. The General and his family, and no doubt numbers of his retainers, were all present at the various ceremonies. It was about this time that the Forbeses, in ringing the changes on their own pattern, inadvertently adopted that of the Lamonts.³³

A little information as to the wear of recent chiefs is to be had from portraits and from photographs, but in these the tartan is almost invariably incorrect in one particular or another. The two earliest depict

ARCHIBALD JAMES XX in 1835 in highland garb. The tartan in one bears little resemblance to the approved design, and is presumably a special dress tartan, which he is known to have worn. But the second is the most careful representation of any, although the arrangement of the black sprangs is not quite correct. In a third picture of the same chief later in life the black borders are over-exaggerated to the exclusion of the sprangs of that colour, while in photographs of his children the horizontal black borders are omitted. There was also in the hands of the late chief in Australia a miniature of an uncle of his wearing the kilt as a boy. But the details are not clear enough to be of any assistance. In every instance, however, the white sprang is the most marked feature, thus showing that at any rate the essence of the clan pattern had been successfully impressed on the artists.³⁴

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It only remains to describe in detail the official tartan as it is now known. In the original *Vestiarium* there seems to have been a slightly different arrangement of the black stripes, but this may be due to the method of treatment adopted by the author. He does not give a substantial account of it, but merely says that it is like (though, of course, not identical with) the Campbell. At any rate, he insists that the main point of difference is that “yn the mydward of ye ylk greine sette thair haue ane quhite sprang allanerlye [only].” Since 1817, at any rate, there have been no material variations. The pattern is divided into green and blue portions or setts. Through every green sett runs a white stripe or sprang. Every blue sett has black borders, and is crossed in each direction by two black sprangs. Every alternate blue sett is marked by having a second pair of black sprangs crossing it vertically. This is, of course, a simplified description, as in reality the black borders and sprangs are prolonged across the whole piece, green as well as blue. (Reference to plate 13 will make this clear.) A tartan pattern is very difficult to reduce to writing, as each narrator is apt to seize upon a different unit as a basis.

While the colours which may be employed and their sequence are fixed, there is room for a good deal of variation in points of detail. So long as the dominance of the green and blue is maintained to the eye, the relative proportions of the whole may be altered. Thus in the dress tartan worn by the XXth chief the white stripe was broadened out so as to become a leading feature, and a ladies' tartan suggested by Colonel William Lamont is on the same lines. The size of the check is also a matter of taste, but exact squares are essential. Shades of colours were as changeable as the tinctures of arms, and in early times brighter tones were fashionable than are now usual. As has been well said, “there

has always been enough sunshine in Cowal to make the fixing of these impossible, and a Lamont has always enough imagination to make it undesirable.”³⁵

A note of warning should be added against common faults, for the tartan is by no means always properly produced. The difference between alternate blue setts, sometimes called male and female, must be strictly maintained. The blue must not be so dark as to merge with the black borders and sprangs. Exact squares and not oblongs are essential in the weaving. It is incorrect to throw out the white by “fieldings” or narrow borders of black. Lastly, the white must really be white, and not pale yellow, though perhaps this is an unfair criticism of old pieces which may have been subject to fading and discoloration.

On the whole of this most interesting subject the reader is again referred to the standard brochure, in which a swatch of the correct tartan is included.³⁶

(3) *The Badge*

There is no early record of the badge, or *suaicheantas*, which all Lamonts carried in their bonnets, if they were not entitled to the eagle’s feathers of the gentry, when they travelled in the old days. The earliest mention is by a chapman in 1790, who is said to have ascribed the trefoil to the McNeills and Lamonts in common. It is not clear if he meant the yellow bird’s-foot trefoil (*lotus corniculatus*), which is so frequent in the highlands, or one of the many clovers (*trifolium*), and the Gaelic equivalent *luibh nan tri beann* which is given by Colonel Robertson (of Lude) in 1866 is inconclusive. The trefoils on the 16th century Ballochyle brooch (plate 12) are conventional and do not support this view. But the views of these writers need not now be regarded, as for a century it has been settled that the true badge of *Clan Laomainn* is the wild crab-apple (*pyrus malus*, or *craobh ubhal fhiadhain* in Gaelic). It is not a particularly highland tree and there is no apparent reason for its adoption by the Lamonts. When King George IV was in Edinburgh in 1822 a list was made of the badges in evidence during the “invasion of the Celts,” and their crab-apple is included. As General JOHN XIX was on parade and had already shown his care as to the tartan one naturally presumes that he was accurate as to the badge also. This is the emblem assigned to the clan in Skene’s *Highlanders of Scotland* in 1837, and it has always been worn by the members of the Society since its inception. There is little doubt of its correctness.³⁷

A third alternative, however, is given by some authors, including Logan in his *Scottish Gael* of 1831, namely, the white dryas (*dryas octopetala*

or *luibheann*), again also attributed to the McNeills, which is very much like a *geum* (avens) except that the petals are larger and the plant and leaves smaller. This plant is now almost confined to the north of both England and Scotland, as it thrives upon limestone soils, and thus does not seem as probable a choice as the crab-apple, which still grows in Glendaruel at least. On the other hand the white dryas may perhaps have been indigenous in Cowal and only destroyed by the voracious appetites of sheep during the last 150 years. The Campbell badge is generally held to be the fragrant bog myrtle (*myrica gale* or *rideag* or *roid*), and that of the Maclachlans the lesser periwinkle (*vinca minor* or *faochag*), or alternatively the charmed rowan (*pyrus aucuparia* or *caorann*), a near relation of the crab-apple.³⁸

(4) *Clan Music*

The original instrument of highland music was not, of course, the pipes but the harp or *clarsach*, which is known to have existed in almost prehistoric times, and one of the earliest surviving examples is the famous *clarsach Laomannach* (plate 9), brought about 1460 to the Robertsons of Lude in Perthshire by a Lamont bride from Cowal. Again, in 1530 a Dugald Harper, in 1560 another Dugald his son, and in 1569 a Finlay roy Harper, appear in the chiefs' retinue. The last was very likely the *Fionnladh am bard ruadh* whose poems are in the contemporary *Book of the Dean of Lismore*. The pipes were not introduced into the highlands until the 16th century, and there is no actual record of a Lamont piper until the 18th. As late as 1646 there was another Dugald Harper, alias McAllister, in the tail of Sir JAMES XIV, and he was duly hanged at Dunoon, no doubt as being an inciter to defiance of the Campbells. It is curious that there is no evidence of a piper among the slain, for there must surely have been a number in Toward. "A great house without noise is worth nothing" is an old Gaelic saying (*cha 'n fhiach tigh mòr gun straighlich*), and there were certainly "bagg pypperis" in Argyllshire in 1628 if not long before. The first piper mentioned in the Inverryne charters is one Alexander Lamont "*fistulator*," who was established by JOHN XVIII in Corra by Ardlamont in 1784. Dunoon had a "pypar" in 1546.³⁹

Of what tunes were once played on the *clarsach Laomannach* and its fellows one can have little notion now. The harp music of the Lamonts has been lost for ever, but of the pipe music there are at the least five tunes of which the air is preserved, with three more of which the memory survives (or did in the last generation). Its value is immense for the recapture of the spirit of the old highlands. As Neil Munro has said,

the piper who can fill the bag at a breath may "have parley with old folks of old affairs. Playing the tune of the 'Fairy Harp,' he can hear his forefolks, towsy-headed and terrible, grunting at the oars and snoring in the caves; he has his whittle and club in the 'Desperate Battle,' . . . where the white-haired sea-rovers are on the shore, and a stain's on the edge of the tide; or, trying his art on Laments, he can stand by the cairn of kings, ken the colour of Fingal's hair, and see the moon-glint on the hook of the Druids!" And now for the tunes which should move the Lamonts to have converse with their past.⁴⁰

The first to be printed was "Captain Lamond's March," which appeared in a collection by a Black Watch pipe-major in 1869 (plate 5). It was but eight years since the officers of that regiment had renewed the inscription on the tomb at Winchester Cathedral to Captain Colin Lamont of Monydrain, who had served with it from 1787 till his death in 1802. It is thought to have been in his honour that the "*Spaidsearachd Chaiptein MhicLaomainn*" was composed. In the *Cowal Collection of Modern Highland Bagpipe Music*, which is undated but was probably produced about 1900, appear a further march, "Ardlamont House," and a quickstep, "Lamont of Knockdow," both self-explanatory. To the latter family relates also a march, "Toward Point," by Pipe-Major Brown, 1st Gordons, in Henderson's *Tutor for the Bagpipe*, which seems later in date, and a "Knockdow," by Pipe-Major John McColl, Glasgow, which was published in a Cowal collection of 1932. Of unpublished tunes there is reference to a lament "The Exile's Lament," or "*Cumba an Fhògraich*," commencing "*Sa Mhic Laomuinn tarruing t-aonar*," and a salute, "A Thousand Welcomes to thee, Lamont." At least some of the words of the latter in Gaelic are as follows:—

"Mhic Laomainn ceud fàilt' dhuit,
 'O Thollart gu d' àirde,
 Inbhirinn 's an Cùl-tràthach,
 'S a' Mbealach nam pàisdean.
 O hururaich o, hererich,
 O hururaich o, hererich!"

The translatable portion may be rendered somewhat like this: "O son of Lamont, a hundred welcomes to thee, from Toward to thy Ard (*i.e.* Ardlamont), from Inveryne and (?) Colintrave, and from Melldalloch of the children," the latter epithet being now unintelligible. It is of the utmost importance that the tunes of these should be recorded before they perish. Somewhere in the wide world must be ears that have heard one or other, and it is to be hoped that someone will commit them to script and communicate them to the Society.⁴¹

CAPTAIN LAMOND'S MARCH.

65

The musical score is written on a grand staff with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. It begins with a 9-measure introduction. The main body of the piece is divided into two parts: the first part is labeled "1st time" and the second part is labeled "2nd time". Both parts consist of two staves of music, with the upper staff containing the melody and the lower staff containing a rhythmic accompaniment. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

COMPOSED c. 1802

All Lamonts are indebted to the late Mr Henry Whyte (*Fionn*) for preserving some details as to the ancient pibroch "Stillaig," of which he has recorded the words if not the air. According to him the martial music of Clan Lamont was in the course of collection when he wrote in 1904, but this has never been accomplished. "It seems," he says, "that Lamont in a fit of generosity had granted his piper the farm of Stillaig—and to his descendants after him. The piper was so pleased with his chief's gift that he composed a pibroch to which he attached Gaelic words, setting forth the qualities of the farm—each verse ending with the refrain "*S leam fhéin Stiallag*"—"Stillaig is mine." The following is a translation of the lines (of which he gives the Gaelic), no doubt composed as usual after two days' fast without bite or sup:—

"'Tis mine, 'tis mine (three times
 Stillaig is mine, repeated)
 And to my heirs,
 Stillaig descends.

Stillaig—little and narrow,
 With hill and little heather,
 With hillocks and hollows,
 With mounds and with rocks,
 Stillaig is mine.

How happy for me,
 'Tis happy for me,
 And for my heirs,
 That Stillaig is mine.

Without brushwood or tax,
 Without briars or cess,
 How happy am I,
 That Stillaig is mine.

'Tis mine, 'tis mine,
 And also my heirs',
 'Tis mine, 'tis mine,
 Stillaig is mine."⁴²

"Such was the tune Clan Lamont's piper played to waken his master and his young bride on the morning following their bridal. It appears the young chief of Lamont had married a daughter of Lochiel, and on hearing the pibroch 'Stillaig,' it sounded strange and new to her. She asked Lamont about the tune, saying she had never heard it before. Her husband told her he was so well pleased with his piper that he had made him a gift of a farm called Stillaig. He also told her how the

piper had composed the tune in honour of the event, and repeated the words to her. She reproached him for giving the farm to the piper's descendants, saying it was quite enough to let him have it during his own lifetime, and that at his death it should revert to the chief. When Lamont found time, he informed his piper that he could only grant him a liferent of Stillaig." One fears that no such lady could have been popular with her adopted clansmen when the first effect of her counsel had been the inducing of so singular a breach of faith, although the improvidence of pipers was proverbial (*cha mbinig a bha mòll aig sabhal pìobaire*).⁴³ The piper could not recall his pibroch from the winds of heaven and the ears of men, but he probably took care that the tune was not recorded, for it is the words alone that have been thus perpetuated. So far as the music is concerned it ranks among the lost pibrochs of the old highlands whose number is legion.

This picturesque tale must surely have some element of truth, although it is hard to reconcile with known facts. For instance, there is no record of any marriage with a Cameron. If it was a chief who was concerned the incident must be postponed to 1712, for Stillaig was in the hands of cadets almost continuously from 1554 to 1712. But the doings of the clan in the 18th century are well documented, and it is difficult to see how all trace of the piper's interest could have been lost. However, if one substitutes South Hall for Lochiel, it may be possible, as is suggested below, to attach the story to JOHN XVIII, who was not altogether a lovable character. This is all that can be readily discovered of the music of the clan. It completes the account of their insignia. In the knowledge that a Lamont could be kenned in the old days by his plaid and bonnet badge, or by his shield and signet if he were *duine uassail*, or by the tunes he put on the pipes if he had the art, one turns to the eponymous ancestor, from whom these things were inherited in some part at least. His story is all we hear. The old ancient history of the Lamonts now takes its start.⁴⁴

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST LAMONT AND HIS FOREBEARS, 1100-1293

THE clan name is derived from a certain Sir LAUMON who lived in the troubled times of the 13th century, some fifty years before the activities of Sir William Wallace. He first comes into the limelight of history in the reign of Alexander II (1214-49), though he had doubtless more to do with Lords of the Isles and Viking leaders than with Scottish kings. Laumon was, of course, his Christian name, which was the only one he had, for there were no surnames in those days. To distinguish him from others he was referred to, as he would be now in a fishing village, as the son of Malcolm and the grandson of Ferchar (or Farquhar). This grandfather is the earliest definite ancestor of the present Chief RONALD COLL XXIV. Nothing certain is known of him except his name, and that he had two sons called Malcolm and Duncan. Judging from their dates he must have flourished in the 12th century, when Scotland was hardly a nation in the modern sense at all, and Argyll was almost independent.

In 1222, however, King Alexander made an expedition to that wild region, which is supposed to have subjected it to some extent to his authority, and he must have come in contact with the clan. In four years' time, if one may credit the traditions of the neighbourhood, there was an invasion by the Lochlanners under Olave the Black, the King of the Isle of Man, who attacked and took Rothesay Castle but lost four of his galleys by wreck on the opposite coast. Their drowned are believed to have been buried in the mounds on the Lamont lands of Ardyne and Achavùlin. What part was taken in this ploy by the then chief is a matter of speculation, but he must obviously have been concerned in some way.¹

The first authentic evidence of the clan relates to about the year 1235, a little after this dual disturbance, and a little before the whole kingdom was consolidated by the famous defeat of the Norsemen by the Scots at the battle of Largs in 1263. It is to be found in the records of Paisley Abbey (a 16th century manuscript in the National Library at Edinburgh), which contain all deeds of interest to the Cluniac monks who dwelt there. Duncan, son of Farquhar, and Laumon, Duncan's

nephew, combined to gift to them the churches of Kilmun and Kilfinan, and the chapel of Kilmòry on Lochgilp with the fishings and the lands attached to them. So evidently Farquhar's family had been confirmed in their estates and not dispossessed by the royal visit. There is no mention of any consent by the clan, which makes it plain that by then (if not always) the chiefs were the sole and unfettered proprietors of the Lamont country. The idea that "there is no partnership in women or in land" is of long standing in the highlands (*cha bhi bràithreachas mu mbnaoi no mu fbearann*). The only condition of the grant was that the monks should pray for the King's soul, and no doubt for the donors' also. It was quite the fashion in the Middle Ages for territorial barons to bestow such gifts, as it is now for city magnates to subscribe to charity. Some cynics will always doubt whether the motive is piety or a troubled conscience, which must have been very common in those days of bloodshed and of literal belief in "the hot ash showers of the devils." But in any event it was a good deed, and has been fittingly rewarded by the preservation of the benefactors' pedigree (see p. 45), which would otherwise have perished from the face of the earth. "Felicity follows generosity" is an old Gaelic by-word (*bithidh sonas an lorg na caitheamb*). Their descendants were not always so piously minded, for one of them two centuries later attempted, although unsuccessfully, to revoke the gift on the ground that Laumon had been under age at the time.²

This marks the emergence of the clan from barbarism and their entry into the society of Scotland, such as it was. One wonders why Paisley should be preferred to the local Cistercian abbey of Sàddell in Kintyre. The latter had been opened as a centre of culture in Argyllshire by the Lords of the Isles in 1220 (although founded previously), and in later years the bells of its sea-girt chapel of Inchmàrnock (just off the west of Bute) must often have been heard across calm waters in Kerry, where also the "grey" habits of its monks must have been known. The reason is now lost in the mists of antiquity. Perhaps the chiefs were influenced by the Stewards of Scotland, afterwards, of course, the royal house, who were the founders of Paisley Abbey, and must have been in touch with the Lamonts about that time as having a general supremacy over both Cowal and Bute. There is no doubt that the choice was a wise one. It associated the clan with centralising instead of with disruptive forces.³

In any event it would be most convenient for a highlander to have an outpost in the lowlands, where he could count on hospitality. The connection with Paisley was maintained, for when the grant was con-

firmed in 1270 by Duncan's son Angus for his part, among the witnesses was one "Sir David, chaplain, son of Ferkar." So evidently another uncle of Laumon's was a member of the chapter, no doubt serving some church belonging to it. The title "Sir," of course, in those days was one of learning as well as of rank. It seems also, if one may trust to later information, that Inverchaolain kirk was given in the same period to the red friars' monastery of Failford in Ayrshire, but all contemporary record is lost and no details are available. One must not, however, regard the clan as being primarily (or indeed to any great extent at all) concerned with lowland civilisation. Their main interests were the chase and the foray in the wilds of Cowal and Glassary, where they were wont to roam with hawk on wrist and bow in oxters.⁴

This is the first appearance in history of the clan's founder. It was doubtless he who was referred to by Sir Walter Scott in the *Antiquary* when Captain Hector McIntyre remarked to Jonathan Oldbuck, the laird of Monkbarns, that he "used often of an evening to get old Rory McAlpin to sing us songs out of Ossian about the battles of Fingal and *Lamon mor*, and Magnus and the spirit of *Muirartach*." But unlike most other originators of highland clans, Sir Laumon is not merely a traditional and mysterious figure. He is a historical fact, well vouched by record evidence, and undoubtedly his blood is in the veins of the present RONALD COLL XXIV. The rest of the story of Sir Laumon will be unfolded later, but in the meantime some effort must be made to go further back and to penetrate the darkness enshrouding his ultimate ancestry. One knows nothing certain of his father Malcolm (or Callum), although it is probably his name that is on "Callum's *Skeir*," the charter rock at Silvercraigs, and in Ardcàlmisaig, the adjacent district (the point of Callum's bay). If so then Malcolm must have lived in Glassary alongside of his brother Duncan. It has been conjectured with much probability that Malcolm must have married a daughter of the great Somerled, who held himself out as an independent monarch and cared little for the so-called Kings of Scotland. This theory has the merit of explaining the purely Norse name Laumon of their first-born, which is otherwise puzzling. If the mother was Somerled's daughter she had already an uncle and a brother of that name. It also explains the occurrence of the name Sorley (another form of Somerled) among the descendants of Duncan, who actually adopted "McSorley" as a patronymic.⁵

It has further the merit of tallying with the earliest account of the undoubted relationship of the family of Lyon of Glamis, now Earls of Strathmore. In a genealogical collection by a Lyon who was a Lord of Session under Charles II one reads that "Jon de Lyon, who lived in the

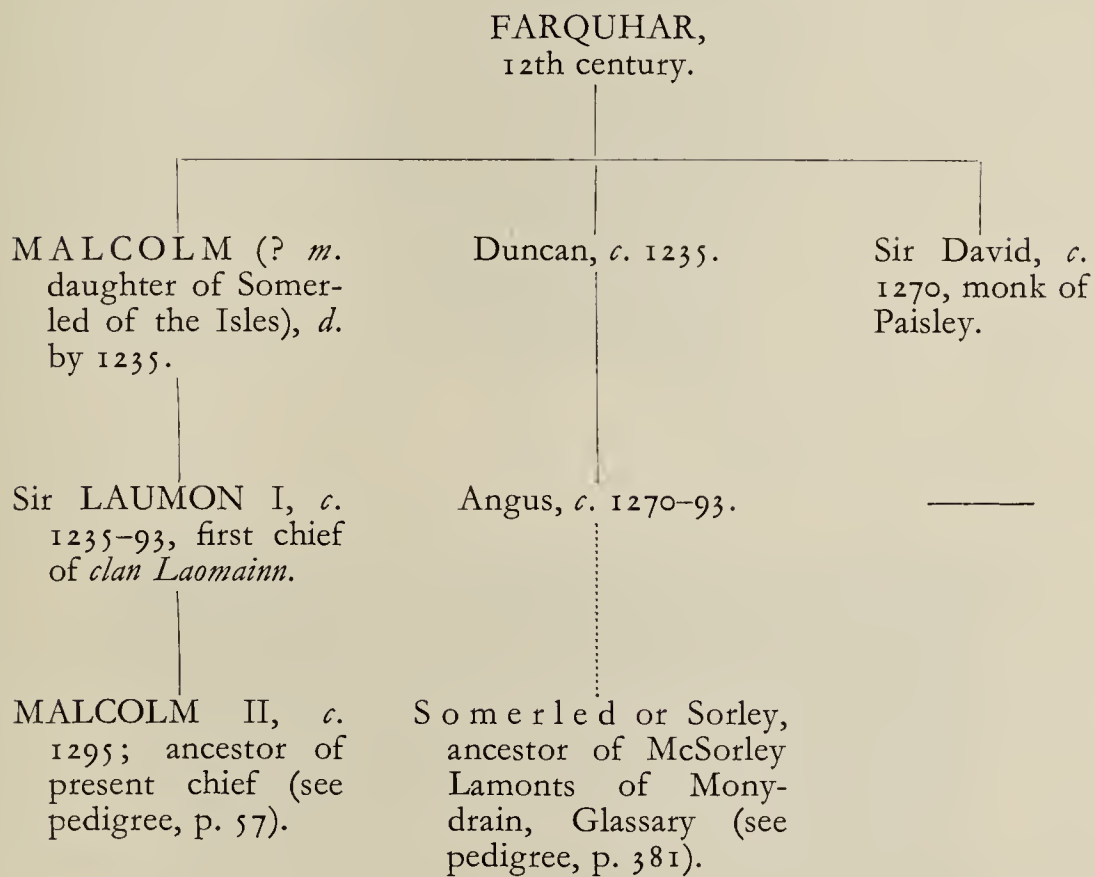
reigne of K[ing] D[avid] 2^d [1329-71] and got from that K[ing] (various lands), maryed Lymon alias Laumond, great-grandchild to the famous Sumerledus who in the reigne of K[ing] Malcolm 4th aspired to the Croune." Now if this lady, as one naturally assumes, was a daughter of Sir Laumon, she would also be a great-grandchild of Somerled upon the above hypothesis (namely, that Sir Laumon's mother was a daughter of Somerled). The son of this Lyon-Lamont marriage seems to have been the first historical ancestor of the Strathmores, John of the white Lyon, who appears in record in 1368.⁶

On the other hand the tradition of both Campbells and Lamonts suggests a male descent, and it is possible that "Jon de Lyon" himself, and not his wife, was Somerled's descendant. In the margin of a genealogical work of 1682 at Inveraray Castle is written, in the hand of the Argyll who was executed in 1685, "John of the white Lyon, a son of the Laird of Lamont." There is no reason to think that this is a mistake for "a son of the Laird of Lamont's daughter," for one finds the same idea in the missive letter of ARCHIBALD XV in 1699. In that source it is said that an early chief (who must apparently have been Sir Laumon himself) was married to a daughter of McDonald of the Isles. A son of this marriage was responsible for the death of his mother's brother, and had to fly from the district. Being forced to change his name he adopted the alias Lion from the Lamont arms, and his descendants became the Lyons of Glamis (who certainly used the lion on their shields as early as 1423). That there was some relationship between the two families, whatever its exact degree, is vouched by the fact that in 1537, when Lord Glamis had to find surety in 20,000 merks Scots for his good behaviour, Sir JOHN X was one of his four guarantors. Such an obligation would never have been undertaken for a man over whom he had no control unless there had been kinship. Although these old traditions are all now forgotten at Glamis, it seems certain that the present Duchess of York has Lamont blood in her veins.⁷

Returning to Sir Laumon's grandfather Farquhar and his forebears there is no record evidence available of them, and one has to rely on the uncertain medium of traditional accounts. These were, however, reduced to writing at any rate as early as the 15th century, and probably before.

The pedigree is detailed in two independent MS. sources, which lose none of their value by being in some slight respects conflicting. The first is a Gaelic genealogy of 1467 discovered in the Advocates' Library (as it was then) by that great Celtic antiquary Skene. So stained and faded was it that the vital part relating to the Lamonts was

PEDIGREE OF EARLY LAMONTS



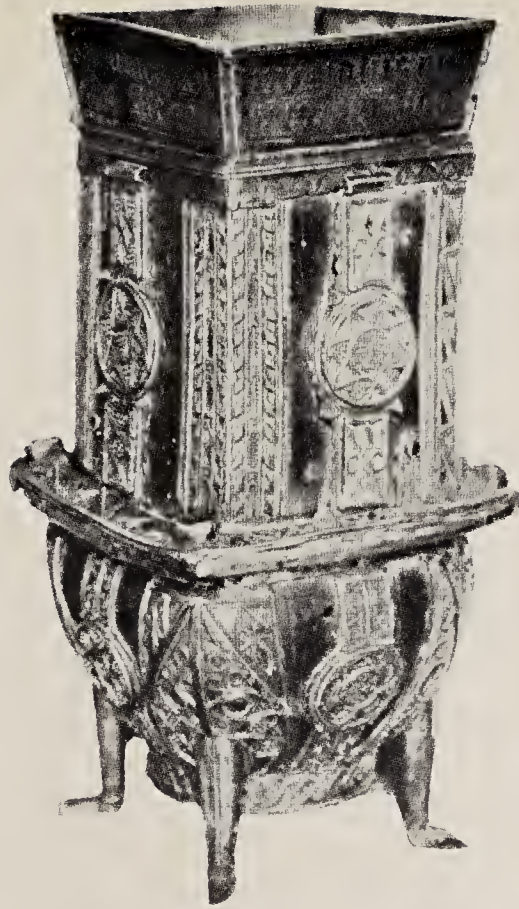
indecipherable until treated by experts with chemicals which ultimately ruined the original.⁸ The other consists of two Irish MSS. in Dublin, which have been specially examined for the purpose of this history. They date from the 17th century, but seem to be based upon much older authority.⁹ By collating these two lines of evidence, a result may be reached which probably contains a good deal of truth, though not, of course, more than approximately accurate. It has certainly one great point in its favour, namely, that the first seven generations which are there given, from ROBERT V who flourished about 1400 back to Farquhar, are all separately vouched by the records, which, as a lawyer would say, sets up the credibility of the whole. If it was then possible in the 15th century to trace descent for 300 years, which is of course far beyond ordinary memory, there must have been some definite source now lost from which the information was derived, and there is no reason to suppose that it is unreliable for still earlier periods. Skene scorned the ancestors suggested by these MSS. for Farquhar as mythical, but his criticisms when analysed only go to show that there are some omissions, which is a common fault of all early genealogies, and is no doubt due to oral transmission. The exact degree of accuracy is probably immaterial here, as after all these people were not Lamonts, but only forebears of the first Lamont's grandfather.¹⁰

The pedigree is as follows, translating the Gaelic names: "Genealogy of the Clan Lamont. Robert, son of Duncan, son of John, son of Malcolm, son of Laumon, son of Farquhar, son of Farquhar." So far it is certainly correct because it is proved by the charter evidence. It then proceeds, "son of Donlevy, son of Hugh the Splendid of Boirche" (near Dublin), followed by six generations of Irish names of little interest to the clan (which are detailed at the foot of the page *), and finally ends up with "son of Neil *glun-dubb* or black-kneed." Now this Neil is a well-known historical character, who was King of northern Ireland and died in battle in 919. His wife Gormlay, the daughter of Flann, remarked of him in her lament (which is preserved) that,

"Fair was he all except the knee,
Great were his beauty and his fame,
Soft were his locks, and grey his eye."

In Dunvegan castle, Skye, the chief of the MacLeods still treasures an ancient wooden cup (plate 6), which is believed to have belonged to him. It was gifted to the MacLeods several centuries after his death in

* *Anrothain; Aodba (Hugh) Athlambuin; Flaithbhertaigh an Trosdain; Muirchertaigh Midhigh; Dombnuill Arda Macha; Muirchertaigh na ccochall ccorcenn.*



[By courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries

NEIL GLUNDUBH'S CUP (10TH CENTURY)

[To face p. 46



reward for help rendered in Ireland to his descendant Shane O'Neil against Queen Elizabeth of England.¹¹

Some such tradition was cherished also by clan Lamont *seannachies*, of which there are two separate lines of evidence of 17th century date preserved respectively in the National Libraries of France and of Scotland. These may be reckoned together a third independent source. In letters patent by Louis XIV of France in 1621 a certain Robert de Lamont, as mentioned above, was admitted to the status of nobility upon a narrative of his ancestry. Although he alleged that his forebears had been in France for a century (which reaches back to the time of Flodden field), he traced his descent through twenty-seven generations (unfortunately ill specified) to "*Oneille bark roy d'Irlande.*" Again in 1699 in the genealogical letter of ARCHIBALD XV to a cadet one reads, "our descent is from Ireland a sone of the house of Oneil," and in proof of that he referred to "the old records that is extant in the Colledge of Feale [*i.e.* Peel] in the Island of Man, or to the old tradition of Ireland." Unfortunately the former of these two cannot be verified to-day. Auchmar recorded in 1723 that "the surname of Lamond is asserted to be descended of Lamond O'Neil, a son of the great O'Neil, provincial king of North Ulster. The chiefs of this surname were allied with very honourable families both in Scotland and Ireland, as with the families of . . . Okyan, Lord Dunseverin, and other families in Ireland." This view of the ultimate origin of the Lamonts has been tenaciously preserved, and at the beginning of the last century was enshrined in verse by a Cowal pedlar who had evidently been entertained at Ardlamont. Among his rather stilted stanzas is the following:—

"Blood royal of Ulster is in his veins still.
The first of his line was brave Lamont O'Neill.
The son of O'Neill was once Ulster's famed king.
Ye Kerry boys hail him till echoes will ring."

At a time when it is fashionable to bewail the influx of Irish into Scotland, it is as well that the Argyllshire clans should remember that their own ancestors hailed from that green land in centuries gone by, and that until recently the Gaelic tongue was referred to in the highlands as "Irish."¹² The circumstantial evidence of the descent from the Irish Kings is as convincing as any evidence which is not of the first class, and one need have little hesitation in accepting it as at least raising a presumption which has not yet been rebutted by any counter evidence. It is suggested that this descent may be regarded as provisionally proved, which is as high a standard of proof as can be expected at that date.

Another interesting feature of these genealogies is that they deduce

two other Cowal clans, the Maclachlans of Castle Lachlan, and the McEwens of Otter from the same stock, as shown in the table on p. 48. The latter are said to be descended from a certain Sween (or Suibhne), who was a brother of Farquhar, and thus a son of Dunsleve (or Donlevy), and the former from Lachlan More, grandson of Gilchrist, who was a son of Hugh the Splendid. Skene credits the relationship and the Irish origin, although he rejects the particular ancestors ascribed. In his view the names were merely filled in by some *seannachie* in order to provide corroborative detail to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative. As the Maclachlan pedigree is given in very great detail, he suggests that one of that clan was the compiler. In that case there is all the more reason for accepting the account of the Lamonts, as the two have always been closely inter-related. On the whole, it is thought that the sceptical attitude of Skene is unnecessary, and that there is no good reason to discard altogether the forebears provided by the MSS., although, of course, there must inevitably be some inaccuracies.¹³

Almost nothing is known of the Lamont country before the events of 1222-35 above referred to. There are two traditions, however, among the Campbells, which should be quoted for what they are worth. Some time in the early 13th century a reputed ancestor of the present Duke of Argyll had a natural son called *Taius Coir*, or in other words "strange Thomas." It is said of him that "he conquest Cowall from the Lamonds, being a man of great valor and couradge." This anecdote must certainly be taken with a pinch of salt. There is no evidence of the Campbells in Cowal at such an early date, or of any dispossession of Farquhar or his son. Besides the clan name Lamont could obviously not have been adopted before its originator was born. In another Gaelic manuscript at Inveraray a similar story is ascribed to a later date. One is also inclined to discard, although with more reluctance, the statement in a 16th century pedigree compiled by a Campbell *seannachie* to the effect that a certain *Beag* or Beatrice of the same stock "was mother to blind Arthur called *Art doll McGorrie*, of whom the Lamonds are descended." As he seems to have flourished about the time of *Taius Coir*, it is impossible that he can have been the progenitor of the only Lamonts who adopted the patronymic of McGorrie, the Lamonts of Knockdow whose eponymous ancestor was alive in 1431. While any suggestion of a male descent for the early chiefs from an alien stock cannot be entertained in the face of the other evidence, it is possible that a daughter of *Art doll* might have married, say, MALCOLM II, which would explain (if explanation is needed) the introduction of the name Godfrey to the clan Lamont.¹⁴

It is not easy to define the area over which the forebears of Sir Laumon held sway. The gift to Paisley of the churches of Kilfinan and Kilmun and the chapel at Lochgilp, with a little land attaching to the last two, is often assumed to imply supremacy over the whole of Cowal and Glassary. But this can hardly be right, as there were other clans then established in Cowal, such as the Maclachlans and McEwens already mentioned, who have as good a claim to rank as native possessors. On the other hand, it is quite true that the patronage of kirks belonged almost invariably to the local laird. It is safe to say then that Farquhar, from whom these subjects were evidently derived, must have owned property centering round each of these three places, and very probably the whole of nether Cowal. Even in the tradition of the Campbells "the Lamonts built Dunoon Castle, which they held till the Wars of the Bruce." Mr Archibald Brown, the historian of Argyllshire, in his enthusiasm for the clan gives it a much wider sphere of influence. Unfortunately there is no evidence whatsoever for his grandiose ideas. "The family of Lamont," he says, before the death of Alexander III, in 1285, "possessed all Cowal and part of Argyle proper, the latter bounded in the south by Lochgilp and Lochcrinan, extending northward by east of Lochawe to Braevallich and across to Braeleckan on Lochfyne."¹⁵

He also imagined that a part of Bute came under the influence of the Lamonts, but the evidence he gives is unconvincing. The real significance of the place name "Kerry-lamont" south of Mount Stuart is surely only that an offshoot of the clan at one time settled there. It is extravagant to regard it as a relic of past dominion. But, of course, they would naturally have dealings with Rothesay through the medium of the Stewards who later resided at the royal castle there. The Ardlamont family, for instance, had a property in the burgh in the early 15th century. There is no evidence, however, of their presence in the island before 1385, when DUNCAN IV was witness to a charter there. It is, of course, the most flattering account of the chief's position which has found its way into verse. Thus a liberal allowance for poetic licence has to be made when reading the following rather hackneyed lines:—

"To hail him all Cowal at one time prepared,
Of Toward, Dunoon, and Kilmun he was laird,
Across deep Loch Fyne it is said he had ground,
His rights are in Silvercraig still to be found.

Kilfinnan was his with rich green Inveryne,
From head of Loch Ruail to that of Loch Fyne,
Ard-lamont and Kerry in Cowal, to suit,
Besides Kerry-Croy, Kerry-Lamont, in Bute."

In point of fact he can have had little say in Dunoon, or in Kerry-croy, but of Loch Fyne he was as much the admiral as any man, and his birlinn its flagship, for there were no Campbells at Inveraray, and perhaps no Inveraray at all.¹⁶

At some time after Farquhar's death, his two sons and their families seem to have separated, as was to be expected. In 1235 they apparently still held the whole of their lands in common, but soon after a division was probably agreed to. At any rate in 1270, the grant of the Lochgilp subjects was confirmed by Duncan's son alone, expressly saving Laumon's interest, and in 1295 that of Kilfinan by Laumon's son alone. This indicates, what is borne out by later evidence, that Glassary fell to the descendants of Duncan (who adopted the patronymic of McSorlie, and were acknowledged as sib in 1410), while Cowal passed to the Lamonts proper. The history of the former branch is treated separately later.¹⁷

Even the most enthusiastic champion of the clan has to admit that by the early 14th century they had yielded a large part of Cowal to others. It is significant that the gift of Kilmun kirk was not confirmed by either branch, thereby suggesting that it had already fallen into alien hands. This has been accounted for in the following way: Skene, writing in 1836, remarks that "there are few traditions more universally believed in the Highlands, or which can be traced back to an earlier period, than that the Lamonds were the most ancient proprietors of Cowal, and that the Stewarts, Maclachlans, and Campbells, obtained their possessions in that district by marriage with the daughters of that family." He implies that this was before the end of the 13th century. The same account is given by the parish minister a few years later, and it seems to have a great deal of truth in it.¹⁸ In the first place it is very probable that the Stewart Earls of Menteith may have acquired Kilmun through a Lamont lady, and passed it on to the Campbells more than a century later. Unfortunately the romantics will not rest content with this, but go so far as to insist that it was Walter, the first Steward, who married into the clan as early as 1165, an event unknown to history. Old tales, however, like old soldiers, die hard, and at the Dunoon historical pageant a few years ago the fabulous ceremony was actually re-enacted in flesh and blood. Again the MS. genealogies mention that about 1275 Patrick, chief of the Maclachlans, took to wife Elizabeth, daughter of the lord of Cowal, presumably Sir Laumon himself. About 1270 also Janet, "a daughter of Lamont's," married Dugald Campbell of Craignish. Thus tradition seems to be supported at any rate by *prima facie* evidence. On the other hand one must not press things too far, for a story of this sort was commonly invented by *seannachies* to gratify the natural vanity of

their hearers, or by usurpers anxious to assume some kind of moral right to their ill-gotten gains.¹⁹

It is pretty clear, however, that there was a decline in the fortunes of Farquhar's family at the close of the 13th century, and that it was due in part at any rate to politics. Scotland was at that time divided into two rival camps, each of whose champions claimed the throne. These were the nationalist party under Robert the Bruce, and the legitimist or Anglo-Scottish party under John Balliol, who succeeded in being crowned first. From an old Gaelic manuscript at Inveraray it appears that Sir Laumon, like many chiefs with Norse connections, unwisely sided with the latter, and that his descendants paid the penalty. "Lamont of Cowal," the story goes, "was one of the chiefs who rose with MacDougall [of Lorne] against Robert the Bruce." The first stages of the new allegiance stand revealed in various State Papers which have been preserved. When the new sheriffdom of Kintyre was carved out of Argyll in 1293, express mention was made of the lands of Laumon and his cousin Angus. Then a few weeks later King John Balliol sent a royal precept to his retainer Alexander [McDougall] of Argyll calling on him to summon these two, along with Sir Angus McDonald of Islay, to do homage to him.²⁰ Apparently they complied, and thus incurred the permanent hostility of the Bruce and his faction, as will later appear. The alliance was already forecasted when in 1290 Laumon married his younger son Malmory to the daughter of the Anglo-Scottish Alexander. This son was sent in 1297 to pay his respects to the English King, Edward I, along with his cousin Angus. For some peculiar reason Mr Brown in his *Memorials of Argyle* ascribed the diminution of the clan estates to an exactly opposite cause, namely, to having sided with the Bruce and against John Balliol. This is, of course, quite out of the question, for had it happened, the result would have been a gain and not a loss.²¹

Very little else is known of Sir Laumon, except that he seems to have been knighted by King John Balliol, as he is styled not only "Sir" but also "*miles*," and that he was dead by 1295 and had at least two sons and apparently two daughters.²² His heir and successor MALCOLM II will be dealt with in due course. The younger brother Malmory, whose marriage was referred to above, appears first as a witness at Paisley in 1270. He seems to have lived in the steading now known as Achadalvòry, near Ascog in Kerry, and he may indeed have been the ancestor of the cadet family of Ascog who are the earliest known owners of it. In early charters it is uniformly called "Auchety Malmory," or in other words "field of houses of Malmory." It is probable that he was the same as

the Malmor, called Hobolan, who as perpetual vicar of Kilfinan resigned the penny land and chapel of Kilmory on Loch Gilp to the abbey in 1268. He must, of course, have retired from the church before his marriage. The daughters were the Janet and Elizabeth who were mentioned above. There is no evidence of Sir Laumon's dwelling. It may have been in a wooden stockade at Inveryne, or more likely in a *crannog* in Loch Mell-dalloch or Loch Ascog, which he would reach by a skiff fire-hollowed from the solid trunk, and whence he would emerge with his hounds to pursue the wild boars of *Kames-na-muklach* or the wolves of *Port-a-vaidue*. He must presumably have given his name to Ardlamont, which was so called at least by 1433, when it was in possession of a branch whose descent is a mystery.²³

It is interesting to speculate upon the part Sir Laumon may have taken in the epic struggle between Scots and Norse, which culminated almost within his ken at the battle of Largs in 1263. But there are no real data to go upon. It is clear, of course, from the place names Ascog, Ormidale, and Osde that at one time there were Norse settlers in Cowal, but probably at a very early date. King Haco must have gathered his forces within sight of Inveryne and Toward, but doubtless the connection with the Stewarts and with Paisley would make for loyalty to King Alexander. After all it was for his soul that prayers were to be offered by the monks in return for the Cowal kirks. If there is any truth in the tradition of a combat against the "Lochlanners" in Glendaruel in 1263 Sir Laumon probably participated. It is said to have been contested between "Meckan, son of Magnus, King of Norway, and the Albuns or Gails, where . . . the Norwegians were slaughtered on each side of a river called Ruail, which runs through the middle of the glen, and their bodies being thrown into the river gave the colour of blood to it. Hence the parish got the name of Glendaruel, which signifies the Glen of Red Blood." It was supposed to have been formerly called "Glenduisk, signifying the Glen of the Blackwater." The grave of Meckan is still indicated on a rock at the roadside about the head of Loch Riddon.²⁴

But whether he was there or not there is no doubt that Sir Laumon was among the great ones of Argyllshire, and earned his traditional title of *Lamon mor*. Apart from the facts that are known, the thousands of Lamonts the world over are witnesses to that. Had it been otherwise their ancestors would not have chosen his name as their common bond. For some time, however, it was doubtful if they would call themselves after him or after his grandfather Farquhar. In fact in two royal documents of 1293 he and his cousin Angus are both referred to as McFarquhars, as is his son Malcolm in an Argyll charter a little later. But, of course,

at that date such a designation was not used as a surname, but merely as a patronymic or "father-name." Perhaps the rarity of "Lamont" told in its favour, but it seems more likely that Sir Laumon's distinction was the deciding factor. Those were the days when a leader was all important. *Is fhearr duine na daoine* was the by-word—"a man is better than men."²⁵

If his father Malcolm had been a younger son this might have explained matters, because the elder branch would naturally have clung to the earlier style and a new name would be needed for the younger. But the evidence is pretty clearly against this, for the bulk of the estates passed to Lamont's descendants, and Angus's stock adopted the patronymic of McSorley (probably from his son), and not that of McFarquhar. Ultimately, too, they held their lands of the Lamonts and even reverted to that name. One can only say that it was in fact Sir Laumon, and not Farquhar, whom history shows to have been accepted as first Chief of the Clan, and to use the technical term as the "eponymous ancestor," meaning, of course, the one who "gave his name." All the same, the Lamonts were very nearly Farquharsons, which is all the more curious because the two clans later lived side by side in Braemar.²⁶

There are unhappily few visible memorials at the present day to remind one of Sir Laumon and the times in which he lived. The old kirk at Kilfinan is no more, but the tower of Kilmun (see plate 17) may still boast some fragments of 13th century masonry though most of it dates from much later. At Kilmory, by Lochgilphead, one could see as late as 1845 the mouldering ruins of a chapel of uncertain age, and the burying-ground was still used. But that is gone now. It may be that Sir Laumon once worshipped within those very walls, but one cannot be certain. To get some idea of what these sanctuaries were like in their prime, one has to cross the water to St Blane's in the south end of Bute, which is a fine example of Norman architecture of the early 12th century, or to the more primitive Celtic types of earlier date in Knapdale, such as Keils or the sister Kilmory. Sir Laumon's original grants to Paisley Abbey are all lost, and only a later copy of the monastic cartulary is now to be found. But some parts of the Abbey church are undoubtedly of his time, notably the western doorway with its flanking lancet windows. How often must he and his successors have passed through these portals to mass, when under the hospitable roof of the monks during their journeys in the lowlands. He may even be buried in these sacred precincts. Three bays of the south wall of the nave next to the south transept are also early 13th century work, but the greater part of the building is, of course, 200 years later. This stately edifice

contrasts strangely with the simple style of the Cathedral of Argyll which was built on the island of Lismòre, by Oban, shortly after 1235, the year of Sir Laumon's first grant. If all memory of the monastery has now perished from modern Paisley, its two patron saints have each secured a permanent niche in the town. St James has been perpetuated in a railway station and St Mirren in a football team.²⁷

But there is one tangible memorial of Sir Laumon *oe* of Farquhar. In the public record office in London is still treasured the royal precept of 1293, commanding him to do homage to John Balliol. It is one of those documents which should by rights be restored to Scotland at the first possible opportunity. A copy may be seen in Edinburgh endorsed on the earliest surviving roll of Parliament, which is preserved in the Register House. If these are at the best but poor reminders of the earliest chief, his real memorials are the Lamont clan which is world-wide and undying, and the Lamont country whose beauty is indestructible.²⁸

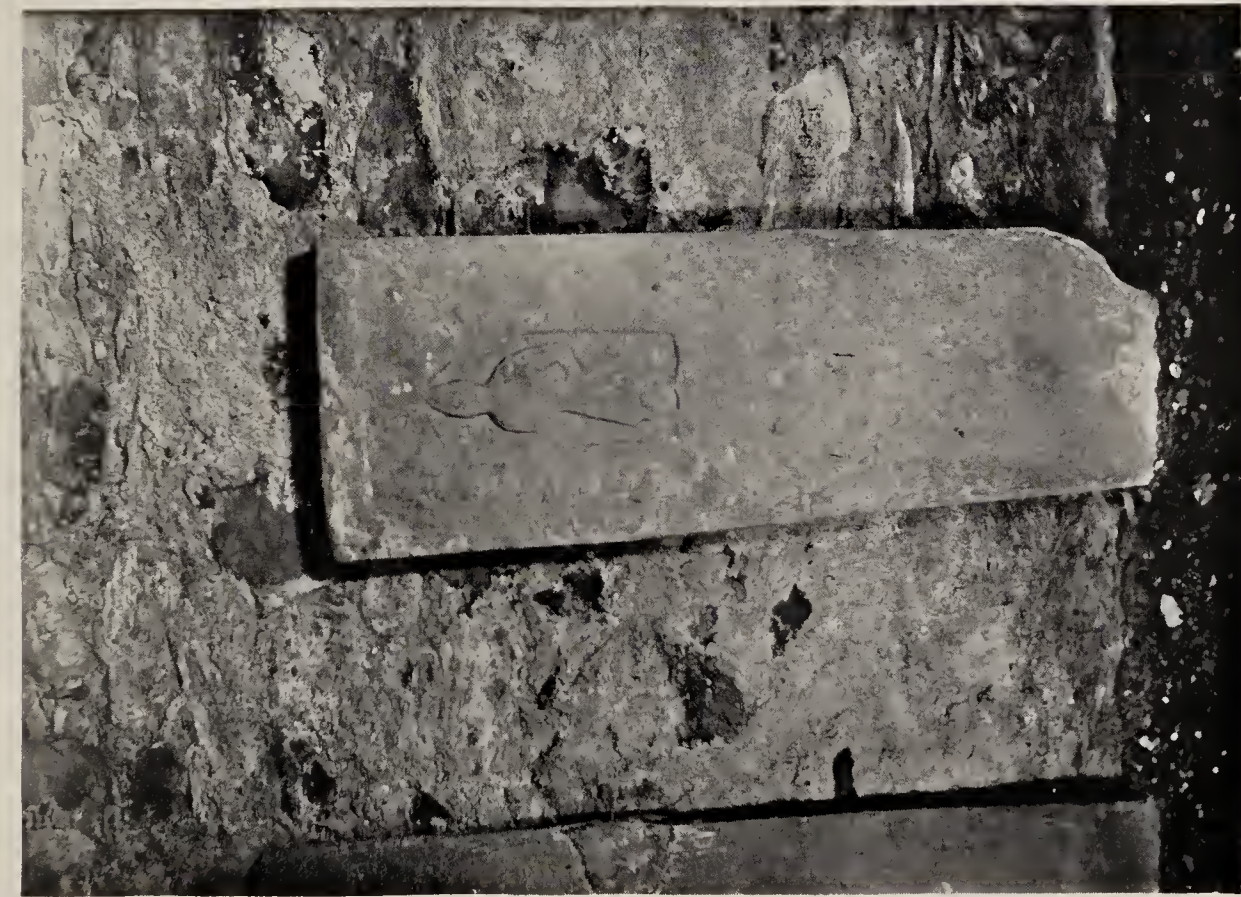
CHAPTER V

THE EARLY CHIEFS AFTER SIR LAUMON, 1293-1433

As the Gaelic pedigrees bear the next chiefs were MALCOLM II, Sir JOHN III, DUNCAN IV, and ROBERT V, and each one of them was the eldest son of the last. Although little is known about them they are not mere ghost-like forebears, for their existence and descent are established by documentary evidence. Of every one at least something definite has come down to posterity.

In accordance with the custom of the Celts Sir LAUMON's successor was called after his father's father, and was thus MALCOLM II. His only recorded action was a good one, but he is then lost in the mists of antiquity. He voyaged in his galley, by way of Clyde and Cart no doubt, to Paisley in 1295 to confirm the family grant of Kilfinan kirk to the monks, which was perhaps defective because Sir LAUMON had been a child at the time. Lochgilp had apparently passed to the other branch (Angus and Duncan), as that part of the gift was ratified by them in 1270 (reserving to Sir LAUMON any rights he had). With regard to Kilmun one is left in the dark. It was not confirmed by any Lamont, and one can only hope it was not as yet in the hands of the Campbells. There is no record of the wife of Malcolm, but it is possible, although unlikely, that she may have been a daughter of the mysterious *Art doll* McGorrie who was referred to above.¹

It must be to Malcolm, if to anyone, that the following tradition attaches. An early Lamont chief is said to have made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to have carried back earth and sand for a burial place at Kilmun. Elsewhere, however, this piety is ascribed to a Campbell of Lochow, which is unlikely at such a date. But the earliest of the "crusaders' stones," as they are called, in the Kilfinan vault may well be in memory of Malcolm (and the next of Sir JOHN his successor), although it is impossible to put a date on them with any certainty (see plate 7). If Malcolm essayed the voyage one may be sure he would do it in the manner of the time with his *duine nassail* "on board his brown-sailed ship, each with a sheaf of warriors' spears, shields on their hooks hung round the sides, . . . wattled baskets full of swords, with shields

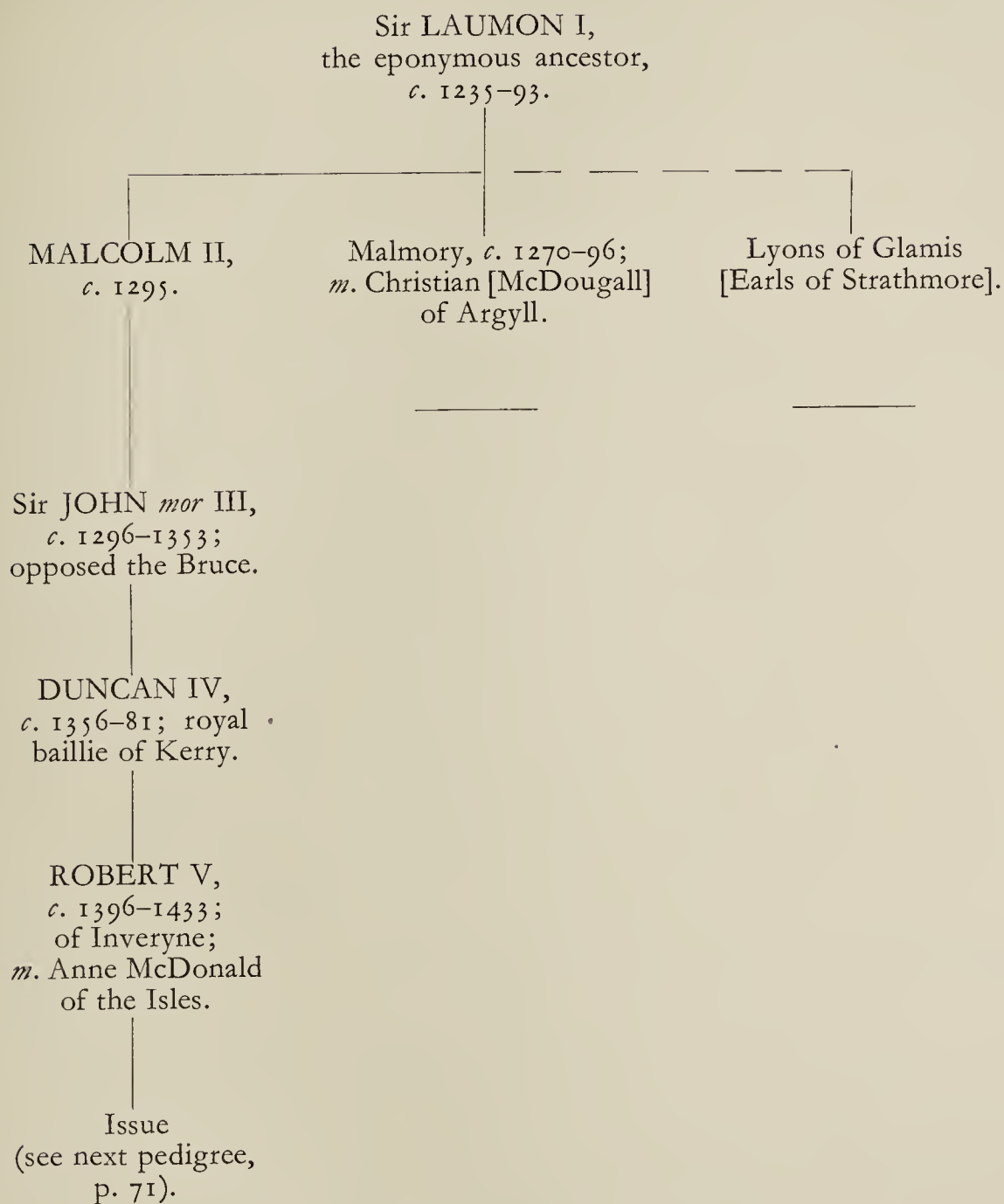


(a) ? MALCOLM II, c. 1295.



CRUSADERS' STONES IN KILFINAN VAULT

(b) ? Sir JOHN III, c. 1296-1353



Note: last pedigree on p. 48.

all brought on board the bark," and Gaelic *iorrams* would be heard in Mediterranean waters. His reign was a short one, and his son appears as his successor in 1296. Perhaps he was an early victim of a *tuilzie* with his neighbours, or maybe Sir LAUMON had survived so long as virtually to exclude him from his due position.²

Sir JOHN III, the eldest son of MALCOLM, is a more kenspeckle figure on the stage before he has done with his short part. He was a man often agait and was known even to his unfriends the Campbell *seannachies* as "Sir John *mor*," or "Sir John the great."³ In 1296 he did homage to Edward, the English king, at Berwick along with a party of Argyllshire folks, including Alexander [MacDougall] of Argyll, three Campbells and a Maclachlan. It must have been a weary journey, but it was safely accomplished on the 28th of August, and no doubt in both coming and going he would sorn on Paisley Abbey. His uncle Malmory had already sworn in March, and his grand-uncle Angus. But within a year Argyll and Ross were the scene of a nationalist revolt, and Alexander was imprisoned in Berwick, but apparently released upon promise to be loyal to Edward. Shortly after, according to the Gaelic manuscript at Inveraray, arrived the turning-point in the history of the clan. "Lamont of Cowal," as was remarked above, "was one of the chiefs who rose with MacDougall [of Lorne] against Robert the Bruce," when the latter was asserting his claim to the throne about the year 1306. He was doubtless among the barons of Argyll, including McNaughton of Dundarave, whom John of Lorne "had in-till his cumpany" when he defeated the Bruce at Dalree in Glendochart in August, and whom Barbour describes as being the only people on the north of the Scottish sea who were still in opposition in 1308. They were subdued, however, in that year, and as soon as the English faction was finally defeated on the field of Bannockburn in 1314 the retribution came. In the words of the old scribe "after King Robert the Bruce had won the crown of Scotland, he was taking the lands from the clans that rose with MacDougall, . . . and he gave authority to the Black Knight of Lochow" (who was, of course, the ancestor of the present MacCailein, Duke of Argyll) "to take part of his lands from Lamont. The Knight of Lochow claimed the lands which were confiscated by the King, but Lamont refused to give them up." A dour struggle naturally followed between the two clans, the aftercome of which was that the Campbells, with letters of fire and sword in their sporrans, succeeded in annexing a large part of the original Lamont country, including the whole of the Kilmun and Loch Eck districts. It was a black time for the clan, and the fiery cross would be continually on its rounds.⁴

It is therefore obvious that if the chief was at Bannockburn at all he must have been on what is generally now considered to have been the wrong side. It seems likely, however, that the Ardlamont cadets, who were vassals of the Steward on condition of providing a bowman in the common army of the King of Scotland, were in the opposite camp. They would thus be among the men of Carrick, Argyll, Kintyre, and the Isles who were in the Bruce's personal command. This would explain an agreement of c. 1321-23 between the Steward and the barons of Argyll (including Maclachlan) relating to the killing of certain of his vassals, of whom Ewen the son of Finlay, who was ancestor of the Ardlamont cadets, was alone specifically mentioned. One cannot tell, however, if he had met his end at the battle of Bannockburn or in Argyll, but the latter is more probable. It was not long since the Stewart Earl of Menteith, who was established at Ardmarnock, had resigned to Ewen the lands of Lindsaig and Doire-nan-Corach to the north of Kilfinan.⁵

Skene was then right in remarking, although with little real understanding of the position, that "their great antiquity could not protect the Lamonds from the encroachments of the Campbells, by whom they were soon reduced to as small a portion of their original possessions in Cowal, as the other Argyllshire clans had been of theirs." But this seems to have been a gradual process. The whole of Sir John *mor*'s term of office was probably spent in contesting every inch of the ground with such tenacity as to earn him his title. The quarrel went on for centuries, and the Gaelic manuscript gives picturesque details of later battles and sieges which will be narrated in their turn. From now on, alas, the gale was as a rule above the crab apple, whereas before they had been side by side.⁶

Few facts of domestic interest have been preserved in this period. One should, however, mention that about 1295 Sir John had granted a charter to Sir Colin *mor* Campbell, the eponymus of the Argylls and soon his enemy in the Bruce campaigns, a copy of which is to be seen at the Register House (plate 8). Its subject was the lands of Kames, in the Kyles, and of Achadachoun, a remote steading to the north of the modern Ardlamont House (pronounced Auchith-ewen and perhaps named after a previous Ewen who had preceded Finlay). The deed refers to Sir John's court of "Ardrorkynryke," where his vassal was bound to pay his respects three times a year. Unfortunately no such place is now known, and so one cannot be sure where the moot-hill of the chiefs was situated. The vassal in the manner of the time was obliged, instead of paying a money tribute as he would to-day, to provide two armed men with their keep whenever the military were called out in Argyllshire. Sir John's last

public appearance was in 1353, when he witnessed a charter for the Earl of Menteith and Sir Archibald Campbell of Lochawe. It is clear from its date that he held the chiefship for the long period of fifty-seven years, which confirms the view that his father MALCOLM II must have met with an untimely end.⁷

The difficulties of compiling highland pedigrees are well illustrated in the three references to John afforded by contemporary documents. When he does homage in 1296, he is styled shortly and simply "Johan Laumansone," in other words "John son of Laumon." No doubt this represents the result of a rigorous cross-examination by English officials, during which each Celtic patronymic had to be reduced to simple terms which were intelligible to Saxons. When he designs himself in his own charter, however, he is John son of Lagmann son of Malcolm McFarquhar. There are two points of interest here, each showing the importance attached to ultimate ancestry. He passes over his immediate father, and he traces himself to Farquhar and not merely to Sir LAUMON. In 1353, he is named John son of Gillekalum (*i.e.* Malcolm) McLawmane, that is strictly by reference to his father and grandfather. It is only by reading all three together along with the earlier evidence that one is able to make out the correct sequence of John son of Malcolm son of Laumon son of Malcolm son of Farquhar, which one is glad to find confirmed in the crabbed hand of the writers of the genealogies. The trouble is, of course, that the expressions "son" and "Mc" are used in two different senses, either literally as denoting the next generation, or generally as indicating ultimate descent. One has always to be on the look-out for a link or two omitted.

Sir John had one son Duncan who succeeded him before 1356, and a daughter Isobel (or Mary) who married the same Sir Archibald Campbell of Lochawe—*Gillespuig mòr*—son and successor of his old enemy Sir Colin the swart. This seems for a time to have stayed the feud. In fact, according to tradition recorded about 1700, it actually involved the Lamonts in war with the McDonalds of the Isles, the hereditary enemies of Clan Campbell. In the course of this new campaign, it is said, their early titles were destroyed when their "house of Toward was brunt." But there is no evidence whatever of Toward Castle before the 15th century, and it seems more likely that Inveryne was the scene of this outrage. Tradition also points to this marriage as the origin of the Argyll family's possession in Cowal, and in particular in Glendaruel. It may well be that, though the Campbells already had a legal title (by grant from the Bruce), the Lamonts were still in possession, and that the latter ceded their rights finally in the marriage contract. It is certainly

between 1360 and 1370 that the Campbells appear for the first time as proprietors in the district about Kilmun. Curiously enough it is again by reason of a good deed that permanent evidence of this alliance has been preserved. In 1440 Sir Duncan Campbell (*Na-adh*) of Lochawe made mortification to the kirk of Dunoon of the sum of 6s. 8d. a year from the rents of Ardinslate (above Kirn) for the repose of the souls of his grandparents Archibald and his wife "Isabelle Laigmanni." ⁸

It was in 1356 that DUNCAN IV is first heard of as baillie of the Steward of Scotland in Kerry, which is, of course, the district south of Kilfinan. This office was a medieval one, something between that of Lord-Lieutenant and factor, and involved duties of a miscellaneous nature. The appointment marks the beginning of a profitable and lasting bond between the Lamont chiefs and the Stewart family, whereby the clan was able to regain a little of what had been lost through their unwise opposition to the Bruce. It was fortunate indeed that circumstances threw them in the path of the house which was destined to ascend the throne in 1371. To this accident their future prosperity was in large measure due. They might otherwise have been reduced to the status of the Maclachlans. There is, however, no trace for more than a century of any charter of the clan estates from the Stewards who were probably the legal superiors (for King's Cowal has been reckoned a part of the Principality of Scotland as far back as the records reach). This is no doubt due to the conflagrations mentioned above. The duty which brought Duncan into the sphere of legal record was one connected with the Ardlamont cadets, which will be detailed later. He was called upon to enforce the verdict of a jury and formally to put a certain lady in possession of S. Auchagoyl, by the modern Millhouse. The facts have been preserved by means of an official copy of later date among the Inveryne charters. The succession of a female in clan territory is clear proof of an advanced state of civilisation.⁹

A transcript from the National Library throws later light upon Duncan. In 1358 one finds him binding himself to support Gilbert, Lord of Glassary, against Campbell of Ardskeodnish in Kilmartin. What induced him to enter into unnecessary collieshangies of this sort one does not know. Perhaps he was related by marriage to Gilbert. At any rate, it shows that his area of operations extended beyond the bounds of Kerry, and probably that he was looked on as the chief of the Glassary branch of the clan, which was then represented by the Alexander McSorley above referred to, the user of the lion seal. His last appearance is in 1385 when he witnessed a charter in Bute. He left one son Robert, who succeeded him, and two daughters. Of these, one learns from incidental

sources, that Catherine was married to John Maclachlan of that ilk, and Alice to Malcolm Campbell of Craignish.¹⁰

The last of the chiefs to be mentioned in the Gaelic manuscript genealogies was ROBERT V. His first appearance in record is in 1397, when he married Anne, daughter of Donald, Lord of the Isles, who was afterwards the hero (or the victim) of Harlaw (1411). It is as usual because of an accident that the details have been preserved. As they were distantly related to each other, in what way one does not know, a dispensation had to be got from the Church to put them on the right side of the law. Industrious antiquaries have dug out the facts from the Papal registers in the archives of the Vatican at Rome. The object of the alliance was "to assuage the wars and fell hostilities which had been in time past between their ancestors and allies," which seems to confirm the tradition as to the sack of Inveryne by the clan Donald. The dispensation was said to be granted on the express request of King Robert III, who was, of course, Lamont's old superior turned sovereign. The chief is styled "son of Duncan MacLagmayn" in this document, and similarly in another of 1410, but it is not clear when he succeeded his father.¹¹

Robert seems to have laid himself out to consolidate his position as chief by establishing his claims to be feudal overlord of his prominent kinsmen. In 1410 he is first designed "of Inveryne" in the earliest charter to a cadet of which there is record, namely, that granted by him at Ardcalmisaig to his "kinsman" Celestin McSorley upon the latter's resignation (at Carrick the out-gait of the ferry) of what seems to be the Monydrain estate to the north of Lochgilphead, *salvo honore domini sui principalis de quo tenet terras in capite*. It is thus clear for the first time that Inveryne had become the centre of the clan's dominions, that the chiefs had acquired the superiority of at least some of the Glassary estates which had passed to the stock of Duncan and Angus, and that they held them of the Crown. The lands had as yet no "old extent," their values being still given in terms of pennylands. No doubt the retainers enjoyed the refreshment which the kirk at Kilmichael was bound by custom to afford to all comers. The vassal was highly favoured by the conditions of the grant, for the sole return was an annual duty of five merks which must have been far below their fair value. (The vicarage of Glassary, for instance, was worth 15-20 merks, and that of Kilfinan 25 per annum.) It was most unusual at that date not to insist on military service. No doubt it was wise to allow to press lightly a suzerainty perhaps newly acquired over independent kinsmen. To keep the lands in the family for the future a clause of return was added, providing that on failure of the limited class of heirs called (legitimate heirs male of the body) they

should revert to the grantor and his heirs, although as it happened it never took effect.¹²

Robert's claim to be feudal overlord of Ardlamont and Ardcalmisaig (a large area in Glassary) was disputed by one Finlay, the son of Ewen (who was perhaps one of the Ewens above mentioned), and they met to settle the question at Kilfinan in 1433 in presence of eight of the leading men of the district, including Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe, and a representative of the Glassary branch of the Lamonts. It is narrated in the old faded notary's copy, made fifty years after, how agreement was reached "betwyx an honerabil man Robert Lawmanson, lorde of Inneryne, on the ta party, and his deyr cosyn and man Fynlo Ewynson, lord of the Ardlawmane on the toder parte." Clearly this cadet family was well established in Kerry. Robert bound himself to be "leyl and a gud lorde as his lorde and cheff of kyn acht for to be to thar neyr cosen and man," while Finlay "is becumyn man to [him] aganis all dedlik [*i.e.* mortals], our mast dred soueran lorde the Kyng and the Stewart of Scotlande outan alanerly [*i.e.* excepted only]." This meant, of course, sworn friendship against all comers, saving only the one mentioned in accordance with the fealty due to him as king and as feudal superior. It was arranged that if Robert could get royal confirmation no further objection would be raised by Finlay. He would be "chartered" by Robert, and would render the usual military services in return. But if that confirmation was withheld, then Robert would drop his claim for all time. The bargain was sealed by a sacramental oath—"the haly ewangelistis twechyt." The superiority was thus acquired by the chief, but the Ardlamont family were not ousted from the property until their extinction in 1554. That the deed was in Scots is probably evidence that its signatories had that speech as well as the Gaelic. If they did not understand Scots they would doubtless have employed the more usual Latin. "Not good is an Earl without English" was an ancient maxim in the highlands (*ni maith Sarla gun Cheurla*). But the people of course had no word of the lowland tongue, and had complained bitterly ten years ago when a Brechin rector was appointed to Glassary parish "*linguam et ydioma parrochianorum ipsius rectorie non intelligens.*"¹³

Throughout this period the growth of the bond with the royal house is manifest. The Lamonts were gradually strengthening their legal position. Unlike some of the northern clans they could not afford to snap their fingers at authority, as they lived within striking distance of two such citadels as Rothesay and Dunoon. While there is no evidence that they supported the Regent Albany in his campaign against Donald of the Isles (the chief's father-in-law) after Harlaw in 1411, it seems likely

enough that they did so. The recollection of the burning of Inveryne (or Toward) by the McDonalds would urge them to the field, and as some fighting apparently centred around Lochgilp the McSorleys of Monydrain could hardly afford to hold back. No doubt the chiefs were Crown baillies all the while in Kerry if not in the whole of King's Cowal, which extended as far north as the Holy Loch, the head of Glendaruel and Kilfinan kirk. Kings Robert II (1371-1390) and III (1390-1406) were constantly in residence at Rothesay Castle, just over the water from Toward. One of the most cherished traditions of the clan relates to this. The story of the "Ardyne raid" is to be found in an account written by the chief of 1699 for the benefit of an enquiring cadet upon information he attributed to his grandfather.¹⁴

About the year 1400, when the King was on holiday in Bute, three courtiers came over to Toward to hunt. They were Bannatyne of Kames, Houston of Houston, and Fleming of Wigton. Unfortunately they seem to have been of dissolute habits, and are said to have interfered with the girls on the estate. This not unnaturally "gave offence to the Laird of Lamond, who stirred up his four sones (the oldest being happilie at court) [and] these four sones killed the foresaids" courtiers in a sharp fight on the shore at Ardyne. But as so often happens, their action was misrepresented to His Majesty, and he would not accept their explanations. ("*Is sleabhain an leac aig doras an taighe mhòr.*") And so, according to the chronicler, "our familie was rent, and our lands given in requitall of their blood whose successors obtained neu charters from the king of our lands; the most part of which lands my predecessors since recovered, and their charters are nou [1699] in my hands narrating their names and the cause of the king's grant." This is a very circumstantial story, and it is corroborated in an independent source about a century later. Although none of the documentary evidence has been preserved, it must surely have some element of truth. Some lands were certainly known from an early date as Toward-Houston and Toward-Fleming, but by 1472 a part of Toward at least had been recovered by the chiefs, as appears from the crown charter of that year. There is some reason to suppose that Acharossan beside Kilfinan was ceded to the Bannatynes as a result of the Ardyne raid. But there is no warrant for the statement in Mr Brown's *History of Cowal* to the effect that the Campbells "easily got the superiority of the lands in Cowal which King Robert III confiscated from the Lamonts."¹⁵

To this calamity there was an important sequel, the first disintegration of the clan. "The four bretheren were forced to flee and to change their names for ever, for the forsaid slaughter." It was "bundle and go,"

as the Gaelic has it. One was the progenitor of the family of Bourdon of Feddal near Muthill in the shire of Perth. There is also reason to infer that his immediate refuge was in the Isle of Skye, among his mother's kin, and that he founded the Skye Lamonts (who appear on record as early as 1507), although this does not altogether tally with the account which is here quoted. Another of the four assumed the name of Lamb and had descendants in England; a third was settled by the Abbot of Paisley as a "Landless" man; and the last was the ancestor of the McTurners of Luss. It was not only Cowal no more for them, poor lads; it was Lamont no more, and doubtless it was the hundred dolours for them to part. Misfortune seems also to have descended on the eldest, although he was safely in Rothesay all the time. It is a significant fact that he never succeeded. His name was Celestin, or Gillespie in Gaelic, and in Scots Archibald. He witnessed a charter at Dunoon in 1402, perhaps before the trouble arose, but thirty years later his son Duncan appears as heir apparent, and no more is heard of Celestin.¹⁶

Robert V had also daughters, of whom one Christina was married in 1396 by the Bishop of Argyll to Colin *og* "the young MacCalen," in other words Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas, the third son of Sir Colin *ionganlach* the chief of the Clan Campbell. The bride was a second cousin of the bridegroom, as her grandfather DUNCAN IV and his grandmother Isabella had been brother and sister. Their Papal dispensation is recorded in the Roman Vatican archives. It may well have been a tactical move on the part of the Argyll family to reinforce their blood tie with the Lamonts and thus seemingly to justify even further invasions of Cowal territory.¹⁷

If one may credit the Gaelic verse collected by Sir James McGregor, the Dean of Lismore, in the early 16th century, it was about this time that a Mary Lamont, who must have been another daughter of Robert, was married to Malcolm MacGregor "of the three glens," the chief of that clan. He succeeded to office in 1418 and died in 1440.

"In his court [was] many a horn-blower,
Many a fair wrought helmet and thin blade;
Gold gleamed red on the hilts,
The weapons of the lion of Loch Awe."

In early times it would seem that the two clans had been neighbours, and "if a stag was laid low from Kerry to Balar's cairn the picked ox of the team of six was [McGregor's] in requital." The lady was evidently a favourite with the bard as he described her as follows:—

“Triumph of bounty to poets
 Lamond’s daughter wins,
 Her tribe’s fame has been enlarged
 By what her [generous] hand has gifted.

Mary, the bard’s foster mother,
 Whose side is smooth and white and shapely;
 The poet bands unite in praising her;
 Brighter her cheeks than raspberries.”

Some lines of untranslated Gaelic poetry on a moral theme by a Robert McLamont are preserved in the same manuscript. This Robert was probably the chief’s bard, for the chief himself would be unable to write, although *seannachies* of course could do so as they were trained in the “schools” in Ireland.¹⁸

In the charters of this period a number of clansmen are referred to, whom it is difficult to identify.¹⁹ Also in 1431 there emerges a Godfrey the son of John Lamont who was lord of Inverchaolain. He was almost certainly the eponymous ancestor of the Knockdow cadets, from whom they adopted the patronymic of “McGorrie.”²⁰

CHAPTER VI

CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT,

1433-1515

As his son Celestin had died or disappeared before him, in a way they had in the old days, the successor of ROBERT V was his "nevo" (*i.e.* his *œe* or grandson) DUNCAN, who became the chief at some time between 1433 and 1448, and probably nearer the latter date. But as Celestin has always been numbered among the chiefs it seems better to allow him to retain his accustomed designation of CELESTIN VI, and his son that of DUNCAN VII. To do otherwise would involve altering the numbers of every later chief. When ARCHIBALD XV remarked in 1699 that he could instruct fourteen predecessors in the lairdship of Lamont he must obviously have been including his namesake Celestin in the reckoning. Almost nothing at all is known of the short life of the seventh chief. No doubt he was anxious to be inconspicuous until the Ardyne raid had been overlooked. Duncan Lamont, the son of Celestin, is first mentioned in 1431, when he witnessed a charter at Inverchaolain along with the Godfrey who was the forebear of the McGorrie Lamonts of Knockdow. In two years' time he is referred to as ROBERT's heir in the agreement with Finlay of Ardlamont. He must have married before 1437, as his eldest son John was then born. But there is no record of a single action of his as chief. Later evidence inclines one to the view that he did not long survive his grandfather, but perished young amongst the sturt and strife of the old highlands. The first definite indication of the extent of the clan's territory is to be had from the entries in the royal accounts at his death about Pentecost of 1448, and one sees how terribly it had shrunk since the days of Sir LAUMON.¹

Death duties were then assessed at a year's rent according to an early valuation, which as time went on became more and more inadequate and thus favourable to the vassal. As they were not regarded as taxes but as feudal dues they were not necessarily paid to the Crown but to the immediate superior whoever he was, as in the case of feu-duty to-day. No doubt the theory was the same, that some tribute was owed to the authority which ensured the peaceful succession of the heir, and prevented predatory neighbours from seizing the estates. In early periods,

of course, a local magnate was a much more present help in time of trouble than a distant monarch, who could not make his weight felt for months or perhaps years. As the bulk of the lands were held of the Crown direct, it was in the royal Exchequer Rolls that the sum of £32 was entered "being the rents of the lands held by the late Duncan Lawmondsone, both in property and tenendry [*i.e.* superiority], in the lordship of Cowall." This implies that they had not at that date been granted out by Duncan to any sub-vassal, although no doubt they were leased. £5, 6s. 8d. was also paid for the lands of Donald McSorley, held in tenendry by Duncan, in the lordship of Argyll, which of course relates to the Monydrain estate. The chiefs only retained the superiority of this, the property being vested in the McSorley Lamonts.²

It is not easy to say what were these lands which were rentalled at £32 in 1449. They can hardly have included all those which enter the earliest Crown Charter of 1472, as the official valuation of the latter is known as early as 1519, when it amounted to almost £80.³ Now it seems in the last degree unlikely that a land boom should have descended upon Cowal at that date, which raised the assessments by 150 per cent. in seventy years (*i.e.* between 1449 and 1519). In order to explain the discrepancy, it is not necessary to assume that the clan estates were materially smaller in 1449 than in 1472, although there may well have been some acquisitions in that period. It has to be remembered that the royal accounts only record payments in respect of lands held of the Crown direct. Probably Duncan held some part of his estate from a subject superior (that is from some one other than the King), who was most likely the (Boyd) Earl of Kilmarnock on whose forfeiture in 1469 a large part of Cowal was annexed to the Crown.⁴

It seems clear that the chiefs had not yet made good their claim to the superiority of Ardcalmisaig in Glassary, for a distinction is drawn between Argyll proper and Cowal, and only Monydrain is referred to in the former. There is little trace of any title to Ardcalmisaig until 1519. The position as regards Ardlamont is obscure. It was certainly not held of the Crown by the successor of Finlay, and was probably held by the chief of the Earl of Kilmarnock (whose intervention must have complicated the agreement of 1433). Its superiority would thus pass to the Crown in 1469, which would explain its inclusion in the Crown charter of 1472. If one may judge from later evidence about one-half of the £32 lands were in Kilfinan parish (25 merks worth), and the other half in Inverchaolain (23 merks). The former or Kerry estate had its centre at Inveryne, with Drum to the north, Achanaskioch to the east, Meldalloch and Craigna-feich to the south-east, and then Auchinshelloch and Dowglennan

curving westwards to Loch Fyne. These properties would thus encircle Ardmarnock on its three landward sides. The other or Nether Cowal half was probably comprised of Troùstan, Strondhàraig (with Gortanloisk), Kilmarnock (with Brackleys), and Kilmichael, the Toward lands being still forfeited. One assumes that no part of the Knockdow or the Coustoun cadetships was included in the chief's holding. As their lairds were always designated "barons" they were presumably original Crown vassals. The position of Ascog, which was the other ancient cadetship, is not clear. Its castle must by then have been built (plate 29), but its lairds were never "barons" and were perhaps vassals and even cadets of Monydrain or Ardlamont.⁵

In this view, of the five already existing cadets, Monydrain alone was certainly a vassal of the chief, and Ardlamont was under obligation to become one. But the lairds of Knockdow, of Coustoun and perhaps of Ascog were all feudally independent, and remained so until 1472. The coroners aftermentioned and the Ascog family had adopted the surname of Lamont, but the others were still using their own patronymics. No doubt they all displayed the lion on their shields and seals, and the white sprang on their green setts. Of the kinship of Monydrain, Ardlamont, Ascog, and Knockdow there is record evidence, but as regards Coustoun it is a matter of inference from the general basis of clanship. "Blood of my blood, brother of my name," was to say the same thing twice over in Gaelic, for all clansmen were generally reckoned "cousins" (although a cynical Campbell has maintained that "not blood inherited, but blood shed in common" was the bond). It is difficult to tell how far the clan was an organised unit at this date, but it is probably safe to say that these were the principal *duine uassail* who would be welcomed at the board of the great hall of Inveryne when DUNCAN VII was feasting with his harper and his bard at his elbow, and who were his main supporters in the field with the claymore and targe. That all five were actually lairds is a remarkable feature, as in many other and more important clans the cadets were never more than mere tacksmen or tenants at any date. Such was the clan which the old bard *Maoldomhnaich* referred to about this time as among his kin and friends—"Clan Lauchlan and Clan Lamont, Clan Neil who learn feats of war, friends of mine are Clan Tavish, 'midst their green bens and their braes."⁶

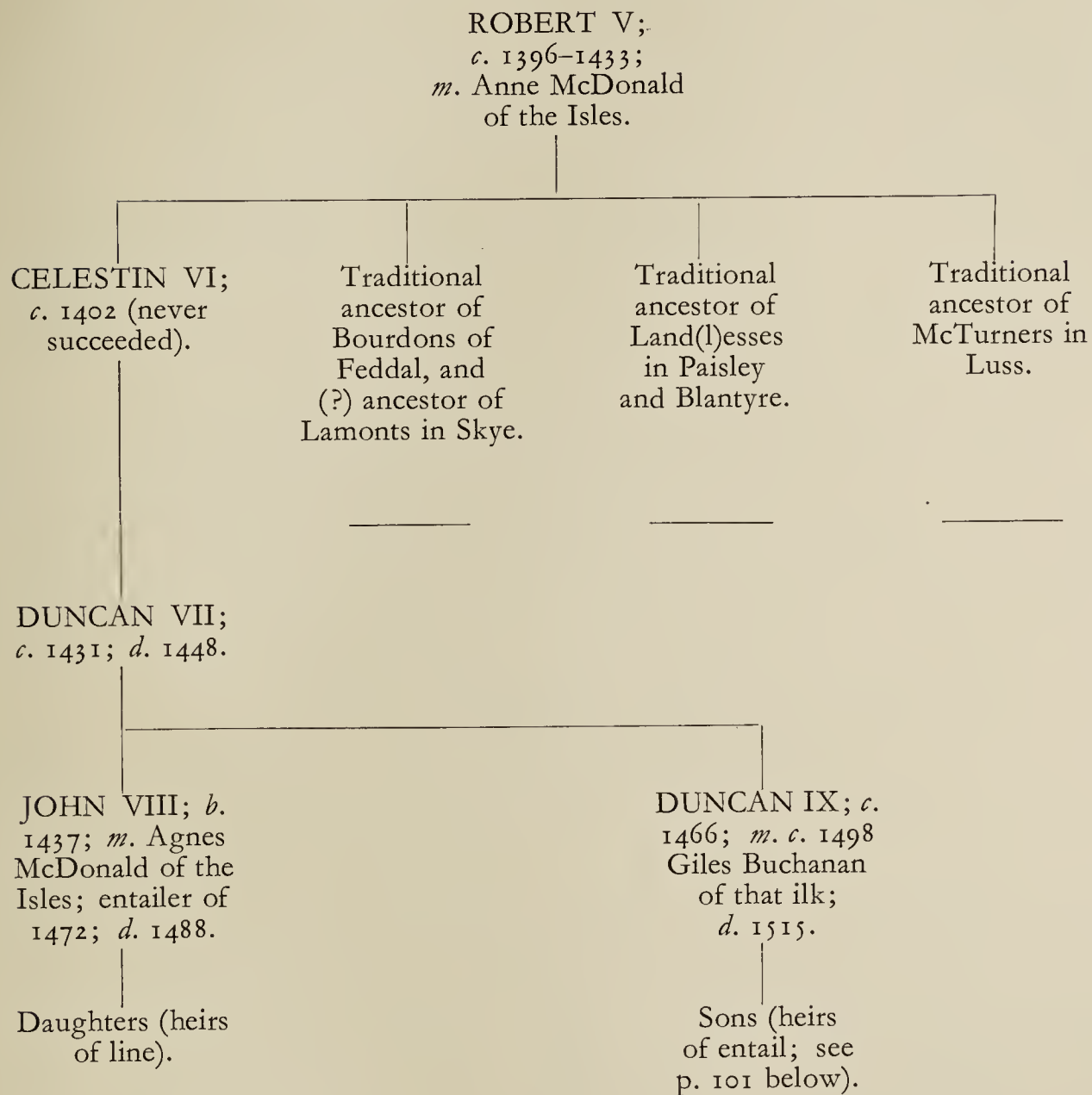
The family of Coustoun which had not yet appeared in the records was probably founded by, or at least owes its origin to, one Patrick Lawmonsone who figures from 1443 as coroner and baillie of Cowal, and as baillie of Glendaruel. His jurisdiction was extensive and reached northwards from Toward and Ardlamont Points to Glen Kin at the

Holy Loch, a now forgotten well at the head of Glendaruel, and a water ayont Kilfinan. What were his functions is not known, but they involved acting as receiver of royal rents and of death duties, and did not include the modern coroner's holding of inquests into suspicious deaths, which would have been an interminable task. This office was as a rule hereditary in one family for generations. It may well have been a development of the baillieship of Kerry which had been enjoyed by Duncan VII's great-grandfather and namesake in 1356.⁷ His accounts reveal that the lands of Dunoon and Glendaruel were directly administered by the Crown, being presumably leased to various Campbells and Lamonts. The former were already proprietors of the Ormidale which is now known as Otter, and they soon acquired Kinlochruel. They were slowly but surely extending their sphere of influence to the prejudice of their neighbours. It was "the way of the wild ash" they had, which "grows well but kills the tree that's near it." Dunoon castle was held for the Crown by them, and almost every year the coroner was ordered to make provision for its maintenance.⁸

The antecedents of this Patrick are mysterious, but he must have been a man of weight before he could be trusted to convey the King's monies to Stirling and to Holyrood. He was perhaps descended from a younger son of DUNCAN IV. He was able to establish himself as a Crown vassal in Inverneilbeg, near where South Hall is now, in which he was succeeded by his son Gilchrist. In 1451 he demitted office in favour of a John Lawmondson, who was probably another son. But he was still to the fore, as in 1468 he was appointed by Parliament as one of two assessors to compile a new valuation roll of Argyllshire for the revenue authorities. It was a formidable task which would require the utmost tact. In the deeds of this time he is more prominent than the chief apparent who was another Duncan, a younger brother of JOHN VIII to whom Patrick was very likely tutor.⁹

It seems right to attribute to this period one of the most famous episodes commemorated in local tradition. The *sgeul* is that a son of Campbell of Lochawe died in the Lowlands, and that the funeral procession to Inveraray was held up at Kilmun by a snow-storm, which made it impossible to proceed. As an act of grace, the Lamont chief allowed the burial to take place there, and on that site the Argyll family vault still stands. A hundred years ago, the following inscription, said to have been still legible upon it within memory of man, was reduced to printed form: "I, Great Lamont of All Cowal, do give unto thee, Black Knight of Lochawe, a grave of flags, wherein to bury thy son, in thy distress." The original was, of course, in Gaelic, and was as

PEDIGREE OF 15TH CENTURY CHIEFS



Note: last pedigree on p. 57.

follows: "*Tba mise MacLaomain mor Chombail uile; tobhairt dhuiste, rídireadh dubb Lochó 'adb uaigh lic thiolaca do mbic 's thu an airc.*" This account fits in very well with the undoubted facts that Celestin, eldest son of Sir Duncan, first Lord Campbell, died between 1431 and 1440, and that in 1442 the father endowed Kilmun Kirk and made it into a collegiate church for all time.¹⁰ It is the tower which was built then which still lingers by the loch side (plate 17). If this is correct, it must have been Duncan, VIIth chief of Clan Lamont, who gave his consent. At that date, however, it is not easy to see why it should have been required. Since about 1360 the Campbells had been the principal proprietors in this part, and they did not hold of the Lamonts. The actual kirk lands, of course, had been gifted to Paisley Abbey, without any reservation of an exclusive right of burial. But it may be that the monks of courtesy allowed their benefactors some say in matters of detail. At any rate, it was obviously impossible to get in touch with Paisley in time.¹¹

Duncan's wife is not known to posterity by name, but she was alive in 1459, when the Crown was still allowing her a widow's rights out of the rents of the estate. They had apparently two sons, a John and a Duncan, who each succeeded in turn as chiefs, and two daughters. Of these Lillias is famous as the possessor of the Celtic harp now treasured in Edinburgh as one of the few relics of a melodious past, and Mary had much to do with the settlement of a Lamont colony in Braemar about 1483. The story of each will be unfolded in its turn.¹²

JOHN VIII, the successor of Duncan VII, and presumably his eldest son, was still a child when Duncan died in 1448. So he could only claim a meagre allowance out of the family rents, which were the perquisite of his over-lord King James II. In ten years' time he came of age, and was at last his own master. He is the earliest of the chiefs with whom one feels definitely in touch. Some others before him may seem prominent in certain aspects, but he is the first to stand out as a living entity. The main facts of his life are known. His birth can be dated with certainty in 1437, and his death in 1488. He thus lived to be 51, a fair age for a highlander in the 15th century. Agnes, Donald's daughter, was his wife, presumably the same person as the Agnes McConnel of the Isles, daughter (by the second marriage) of Donald Balloch of Dunnyveg in Islay (who died in 1476), and widow of Thomas Bannatyne of Kames in Bute, who was living in Melldalloch in 1491-92, but which was her first husband is not clear. It was the great disappointment of his life that she had never a son to succeed, for "better no cow than no son" (*is fhearr a bhi gun mbart na' bhi gun mbac*) was a Gaelic byword. This may be read between the lines of the charter which he induced the



LAMONT HARP (15TH CENTURY)

young King James III to grant him, in 1472, entailing his estates on his brother Duncan and his issue, to the exclusion of John's own daughters and their stranger husbands. That he had good reason to anticipate a disputed succession was later proved. The original parchment is unfortunately lost, but the contemporary official copy in the Register of Great Seal writs has survived. To read the crabbed script and finger the worn vellum is the best way to revoke the centuries, to reincarnate John VIII, and to revive the thoughts which troubled him four hundred weary years ago.¹³

But there are other links with him besides his charter. It was in his time that his sister Lillias was married to Charles Robertson of Lude, near Blair Atholl, and bore away with her from the bonny banks of Clyde that Celtic harp which is still cherished by antiquarians in the capital as the earliest native specimen. Plate 9 depicts it. "The following description may be taken as accurate. For the sake of brevity the sounding board or body of the harp or *com* is simply called the box. The upper arm or cross-tree or harmonic curve or *corr* is named the comb, and the fore-arm or pillar or *lambchrann* is termed the bow. The extreme length of the Lamont harp is 38 inches and the extreme width from front to back $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The box, which is hollowed out of one piece of wood, is 30 inches in length by 4 inches in breadth at the top, and 17 at the bottom, the depth of the sides throughout being 4 inches in breadth, with a swell of the front from sides and ends to the centre of 1 inch under the projecting band through which the thirty-two string holes are pierced. The string holes have each an ornamental mounting of brass of peculiar form, all of the same pattern, except those of the three upper and two lower holes, which are of horse-shoe shape, terminating in quatrefoils. There are four sound-holes, of $1\frac{1}{3}$ rd inches diameter in front, and the original back is gone, having been replaced by a new one."¹⁴

How often must its strings have sounded in the ears of John and Duncan as they sat in the great hall of Toward keep. Though silent now for ever, it remains a visible memorial of the melody of the Lamonts in those dim ages. The harp was, of course, the native instrument of the Gael. The bagpipe was only introduced in the 16th century by way of the lowlands. After being carefully housed in the north it was bought for the National Museum in 1914 for 850 guineas, and is so assured of a permanent home in Scotland. As one gazes at the stout frame of this precious relic, standing over three feet high and well clasped with metal, it resumes again in the mind's eye its old accoutrements of jewels and sinews. One conjures up the scene in Cowal when its

mistress set out on her shaggy mount along the bridle path through Glendaruel by Loch Fyne head to "Broad Albain" as it was then called, and fancy invests her as did the bards "with voice which the harp strings excel, and teeth that are dazzlingly white."

Most solid monument of all to John is the tower of Toward Castle (plate 10), which is probably of his creation. The shattered walls outstanding a little from the shore bear signs of construction at the end of the 15th century, when he was consolidating his position for the future. It was probably he who shifted the centre of gravity from the wilds of Inveryne to within ken of the royal palace of Rothesay. But no doubt he was swart to leave "the noble house that was." This move appears to represent the final realisation that only by submission to authority, and not by a barbarous independence, could the best interests of the clan be served. The total forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles twenty years later must have proved to his tartan the sound sense of thus making a virtue of necessity. While Lamont retained to the last his full status in Cowal, the island lord spent his declining years in retreat in Paisley Abbey, where no doubt the two foregathered on occasion.¹⁵

Standing within the massive framework of the castle it is not difficult to picture it as it was when its four stories rose up unbroken and braggart to the battlements, when the look of throng life was on it, and when they spoke of the days of Fingal within its echoing walls. Still almost intact is the vaulted basement, which was devoted to salt provand and to gallows-ripe reivers. On the next floor, also arched over before the recent fall of masonry, was the great hall, once harp-resounding and ale-rich and blazing with wax even to the door post, for into it opened the main doorway at the height of 15 feet above the ground. How many times must John have passed through these portals, and down the narrow twisting stair to the cellars below. The rush-strewn floors on which he paced have long since mouldered into dust, but the slots of the cabers are still to the fore. Nothing is left above but a high window with stone seats on either side, where no doubt he often sat with his wife Agnes and looked across the wide waters of the Firth to Ayrshire. The top-most part of the walls is now featureless until the corbelling is reached beneath the one-time parapet where stood the sentinel or *gocaman*. Of smaller rooms there is little trace, except for a garde-robe in the west wall. Plain as the plan now seems, there may originally have been a projecting wing to the south-east. This L-shape was the fashion of the time, and it would be easy to get masons from Rothesay Castle who would be up to all the latest modes in stone and lime. The architecture of the 15th century certainly showed an advance on the more primitive



TOWARD CASTLE (15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES)

[To face p. 74

styles of the 14th. Toward would be a vast improvement on Inveryne, which is now all vanished. From "ground wa' stanes" to *bratach* it was a noble house. The whole country was beginning to recover from the effects of the struggle for independence, and some degree of comfort was at last achieved by her people.¹⁶

Besides the charter which John treasured, the harp to which he listened, and the keep which was his home, there is one other relic of his time. In the National Library in Edinburgh is the almost obliterated Gaelic manuscript referred to above.¹⁷ From this the traditional pedigree of the earlier chiefs could barely be deciphered with the aid of chemicals before it faded for ever. It starts with John's great-grandfather ROBERT V and goes right back beyond Sir LAUMON and Farquhar into the legendary past. One wonders if he was consulted as to its composition. He must have known many a tale which is now lost for ever. If he could reveal them the historian's task would be easy, but they are buried with him (one may presume in the graveyard of Kilfinan).

So much for the period in general; now for the evidence in detail. One hears of John first in 1465 as a man of affairs. The family's donations to the monks of Paisley had apparently increased in value, and he decided to challenge their validity on the ground that LAUMON had been under age at the time and that they had been made by the latter's tutor (presumably uncle Duncan) without authority. Long legal proceedings were begun in the church courts, and the chief finally appealed to Rome for a Papal commission to determine the matter. His petition has been recently rediscovered in the Vatican archives. It was granted, but it did him little good. He had overlooked the fact that all monks had cartularies while highland lairds had not. What happened as to Inverchaolain one is left to infer from later events as the registers of Failford Abbey are lost. But the Paisley cartulary discloses that the claim to Kilfinan was abandoned within a year. It was obviously negated by the fact that the deeds there reproduced bore to be authenticated with LAUMON's own seal, and it was impossible to prove after two centuries had come and gone without repudiation that it had been affixed without consent. The Inveryne family had long parted with their rights as to Kilmun and to Lochgilp, and so Kilfinan remained the only bone of contention. As soon as the titles were explained to him John had the sense to admit that he had no case. A long agreement was adjusted with the abbot, *ad sopiendam . . . questionem absque strepitu judicii*, they being both, as it narrated, anxious not to make themselves miserable and weary with too much labour and expense. This happened on the 5th of August 1466 within the walls of the monastery whose church is now restored to

its ancient glory and stands majestic amid the hubbub that is modern Paisley. As it is not to be supposed for a moment that the chief could handle a pen, the vicar of Renfrew was the intermediary. Among the witnesses were (the coroner) Patrick and Duncan, John's brother, and doubtless many others of the "tail" which had sailed up the Cart from Cowal in a birlinn displaying the lion rampant on its accoutrements.¹⁸

But John had sterner tasks on hand than this. The feud with Inveraray was still rife, and in his time there lived a certain MacLain *Riabbach* (or grey MacLain), one of the Campbells of Glencroe and Ardkinglas, whose main interest in life was the carrying on of the old enmity which had arisen in the days of the Bruce. Evidently he thought that there were still lands in John's possession to which John had no right. According to the Gaelic manuscript of the Campbells above quoted he "was more frequently the commander of the force against the Clan Lamont than the Knight of Lochow. The traditions of Nether Cowal relate that MacLain *Riabbach* was more disposed to kill the Lamonts than the Knight of Lochow, and he was the more unmerciful person. They called him the Grey Flesher."¹⁹ He was apparently the third Campbell laird of Ardkinglas, and thus a second cousin of John VIII, being a grandson of Christina the daughter of ROBERT V.

Interesting details follow, and the next paragraph maybe applies to this period (though there was a parallel later). "There were many battles of which there is no account between Clan Lamont and the Campbells. At one time the Campbells were victorious, at another the Lamonts." This prelude inclines one to believe that the account given is reasonably impartial. "At one time," it proceeds, "there was a battle at some place in Nether Cowal, and fifteen lairds of the Campbells were taken prisoners, and brought to Inveryne Castle. They were put in a place in a high part of the Castle, and a watch was placed at the bottom of the stair to prevent their escape. There was a window hole through the gable of the Castle, large enough to let a person out through it; but it was so high that the Lamonts took no thought that any person should attempt to go through it.

"One night the Campbells made up among themselves a plan of escape. They began to sing songs, and they continued to sing until it was far on in the night, and some of the prisoners tore the blankets in which they slept and made a rope of them. The watch gathered at the bottom of the stair to listen to the songs, and did not see what the prisoners were doing. The prisoners tied the one end of the rope inside the hole, threw out the other end, and one after another of the Campbells went out through the hole, descended by the rope and fled. The watch

perceived that one after the other ceased singing, but they thought that they were going to bed. At last they heard but one singing, and this one had a very sweet voice, and was an exceedingly good singer, and the watch were delighted listening to him, and when he had sung the song to the end, he said, 'Since you have all gone to bed, I shall go to bed also!' He then went out through the hole, descended by the rope, and fled after the rest. The next day, when the Lamonts went to see their prisoners, there was not one of them to be found."

One is glad to see that the Lamonts were so indulgent to their enemies as, first of all, to provide them with blankets, and, secondly, to put up with their yodelling into the small hours. When the tables were turned in the 17th century, the treatment meted out by the Campbells to their captives was very different. The Lamonts who surrendered Toward to Argyll in 1646 were butchered with few exceptions. One has no means of knowing whether these little tiffs with the Campbells in the 15th century were deadly feuds, or merely ordinary incidents in the lives of two jealous and powerful clans. It may well be, however, that one of the factors leading to the transference from Inveryne to Toward was the hope that the attentions of MacIain *Riabhabh* would be less pressing when the Lamont headquarters were established within easy range of the royal palace of Rothesay. At any rate it was in this period that the King's courts in Edinburgh are first found to be intervening in Cowal.²⁰ The reign of law had already begun in the Lamont country, which was thus sharply differentiated from the north-west highlands for at least a century and a quarter.

Of all the events of John's term of office the granting of the new charter in 1472 was fraught with most significance for the future. He had no surviving sons but five daughters, and the children of two laid claim in 1541 to the Lamont estates as John's heirs of line.²¹ Of these two the one was married to Donald, the chief of the clan Maclachlan, and the other, Agnes, to Dugald Campbell of Auchencbreck at the head of Loch Riddon. It is sometimes said that this was how the latter acquired his seat, and certainly he seems to have been the first of his family to use that designation.²² Of the other daughters, Jean married Gilbert McNaughton of Dundarave, and one whose name is not known was the wife of Robert, second son of James Stewart the ancestor of the present Marquess of Bute. From her are descended the Stewarts of Kilchattan and Ascog in that island. Lastly, there was an Isobel, who was alive and unmarried in Inverneilbeg in 1497.²³

In this state of matters something had to be done to keep the family patrimony out of the hands of his grasping sons-in-law. So John, who

had not previously made up a title,^{23a} had all his lands entailed by the Crown on his brother Duncan and his heirs male in 1472, no doubt on payment of a handsome fee. At the same time they were erected into the barony of Inveryne, including the superiority of the four cadet lairdships of Ardlamont, Ascog, Knockdow, and Coustoun. Thus the chief took his place, perhaps for the first time, among the feudal magnates of Scotland, with a right to a seat in Parliament if he chose to claim it. Probably like most other highlanders he did not feel that his prestige had been in any way enhanced. But this step was very important to his descendants, as it afforded them a claim to attach supporters to their arms, which was transmissible through females.

This charter affords the first detailed evidence of the area of the Lamont estates, which were now referred to by the general name of "the lands of Inveryne and Ardlamont." The special mention of the latter is indicative of the importance attached to the fact that it was now for the first time that the chiefs had acquired a title to the superiority of the Ardlamont lairdship in terms of the agreement of 1433. The Inveryne lands were those in Kerry and Nether Cowal above described, which may be taken at 25 and 23 merks worth respectively, although the official valuations (or "old extent") are not given in the charter perhaps because they had not yet been assigned to some portions. The Ardlamont cadetship proper, as later defined, included Stillaig, Glennan, and Achourk-beg (19½ merks in all), and the Ascog cadetship, which may well have been reckoned a part of "the lands of Ardlamont," included Corra, Kilbride, Achadalvory, Derybruich and Achourkmore (30 merks). Baron McGorrie of Knockdow had 6 merks (with Inverchaolain), and Baron McPhadrick of Coustoun had 5 (with Strone), although neither is known to record at that particular date. Then last of all, as if it had been recently re-acquired, was mentioned the 6 merks of Toward. The total was thus 114½ merks of land, which is equivalent to £76, 6s. 8d. Scots. Of this only 48 merks (or £32) was held in property as well as in superiority and was thus available for letting. The most important omission is Glassary, comprising both Ardcalmisaig and Monydrain. It may be that the dispute with the Ardlamont cadets had been settled by the latter ceding Ardlamont to the chief, but maintaining their independence in Ardcalmisaig. It is difficult to see, however, what reason there was for the absence of Monydrain. The Ardlamont cadets and the McPhadrick coroners had, of course, other lands which were held of the Crown direct and not of the chief at all. These were in the case of the former Lindsaig, Doire-nan-corach (their new headquarters) and S. Auchagoyl, and of the latter Glaic, Inverneilbeg, and Invervegain about Loch Striven, and

Conchra and Kildalvan in Glendaruel. The remainder of Glendaruel was apparently in the hands of the Campbells, and Bannatyne of Kames was owner of Acharossan, just north of Inverryne, perhaps as a result of the Ardyne raid of c. 1400.²⁴

The new charter is the earliest of which there is any definite trace, and was issued from the royal chancery in 1472, while King James III was still a child. It bore to be granted as a sequel to the resignation by John of the same lands made in person at Stirling. No one seems to have raised any objection at the time, but in Queen Mary's reign the whole transaction was challenged by the sons of two of his daughters, who were, of course, excluded by it from the succession. But that story will be unfolded in due course.

Practically nothing more is known of John, except that he appears in a formal capacity at Toward in 1478 and again at Kilmun in 1481. He died in 1488, the year of King James IV's defeat at the hands of his rebellious nobles at Sauchieburn. Who knows but that the Lamont chief, loyal to the family with which he and his had such long associations, may have met his death on that field in June? If he espoused that cause he would be following the example of his kinsman of Glamis and setting himself in opposition to Argyll.²⁵ The latter took over about 1460 the office of baillie of Cowal, which had been held for ten years by another John Lamont who was continued as deputy. This John is found later also as Sheriff Depute, and was probably a son of Patrick, the late coroner, which office remained in the family till the end of the century.²⁶ A number of other clansmen emerge from obscurity in this period. For instance, Robert Lamont of Ascog, an important cadet, appears in 1477. Again the records of the Tower of London contain an interesting safe-conduct conferred on one "Downkane Lawmande" and some other Scottish merchants two years before by King Edward IV of England, who had recently allied himself with the island chiefs in a scheme for dispossessing by force King James of Scotland. These much more peaceful clansmen were allowed to trade for three years throughout the realm of England and other parts subject to His Majesty's allegiance in their good ship the *Trinity* of Dumbarton, the leading Clyde port of the day. One learns incidentally that she was rather different from the modern tramp steamer, as being of the burden of 100 tons or under, manned by 24 mariners with 2 mates, and armed with weapons of war for defence. It is to be hoped that the adventurous merchant amassed a fortune and was not captured and fleeced by pirates. He was obviously a person of importance, but probably not the chief's younger brother who succeeded as DUNCAN IX. At so early a date it would have been

unusual for one of the latter's position in the highlands to be engaged in trade. He may perhaps have been descended from one of the fugitives at the time of the Ardyne raid about 1400.²⁷

To this dispersion one is also inclined to attribute the origin of a family of Lamonts which attained distinction in France. According to a manuscript in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, which dates from 1621, there was then evidence (*bon et vallables tiltres*) that *en l'anée mil quatre cents soissantes Jammes baron de Lamont épousa Jeanne de Perth, dont issent Jean baron de Lamont lequel fut marié a Isabelle de Blacart*. This James, of whom there is no record in Cowal, is perhaps one of the clan who assumed the name Bourdon of Feddal, and from his date 1460 was presumably a grandson of the exile of 1400. The earliest appearance of a Lamont in the Braemar district was in 1483 when an Archibald was in trouble for cattle lifting. Tradition insists that the first of the clan in that airt was a daughter of a Laird of Lamont who was married about this time to a McGregor of Inverey. Following the old Celtic custom of *leine-chneis* she took her retainers with her, and so was founded a new branch of the clan still to the fore to this day.²⁸

DUNCAN IX must have been much younger than his brother John, as he was still a bachelor when he succeeded in 1488. He was the first who definitely abandoned the suffix "son," and stereotyped the family name as "Lawmond" or "Lawmont" until modern times. His first appearance in record is in 1466, when he witnessed the agreement with the monks of Paisley. He was made heir to the estates, which would otherwise have passed to John's daughters and their alien husbands, by the entail of 1472. In six years' time he was a witness at Toward, when he is described as the "carnal" brother of John. (This does not mean that he was illegitimate, but that he was a full brother.) In September of 1488 he was served heir at Dunoon, which was presumably in the sheriff court if that indeed existed at the time.²⁹ Very little is known of his period of office. On his accession he had to pay the usual death duties to the royal exchequer. These were still reckoned at £32 or 48 merks, which is difficult to reconcile with the scope of the charter of 1472. It may be that the same amount was charged as had been paid on the last death in 1448 without any enquiry being made, but it is useless to speculate on the scanty information which has survived. One point is clear, that no Glassary lands were as yet included, which is again remarkable as in 1511 he was acting as superior of Monydrain, and when his son succeeded him in 1515 death duties were exacted not only for Monydrain but for Ardcalmisaig also. This indicates that he maintained the chiefs' claim to the whole of the Glassary estate, in spite of the opposition of the

Ardlamont family, but later evidence shows that he was not successful. On the whole he does not seem to have furthered the clan's interests at all, unless perhaps by litigation with the Houstons which may have resulted in the recovery of another portion of Toward in 1535. No doubt he reaped the benefits of his brother's careful statesmanship, and contented himself with doing nothing that could offend the authorities.³⁰

About 1498 he was married to Egidia, or Giles, the elder daughter of Walter Buchanan xv of that ilk in the Lennox, which would serve to bring him more in touch with the long-coated lowlanders, and also to stay the feud with the descendants of MacIain *Riabhach*, as her sister was the wife of Campbell of Ardkinglas. Her tocher was £100 Scots and 100 "grete ky or ellis 20/ for ilk pece thereof," but this was not generally considered enough for a man in his position, and the marriage avail, or tax, exacted by Argyll (who had a gift of it from the Crown) was £100 and six score of cattle. One may contrast with this the endowment of Ascog's daughter on her marriage a little later, £60 and 90 "gret kou" (or 13/4 a head) together with a "hors wort fowr merks of monze" (*i.e.* £2, 13s. 4d.), and the tocher of Ardlamont's daughter a little earlier (110 cows).³¹ Egidia had four sons to him, of whom John the eldest, who was born in 1498, succeeded as Xth chief and will be dealt with in his turn. The others were Archibald, Robert and Walter, the last of course being named from his maternal grandfather. The chief died in 1515. If he fought at Flodden with "Archibald of the pointed head," the second Earl of Argyll, there is no record of it. But one would not be surprised if Duncan, like MacCailein, had harkened to the *seannachie's* injunction to the men of Argyllshire to

"Suffer not a Saxon hence to live,
 After that thou overcom'st them.
 Burn all their women ugly in form;
 Burn their children every one;
 Burn their black huts, burn them all;
 And crush their enmity to us.
 Drown their warriors in their streams,
 When their accoutrements are burnt.
 Cease not, while a Saxon lives,
 To drown them weakened in their streams."

It was conceived in the unchristian spirit of the age, but it was certainly virile, and one hopes it helped to swell the ranks of the famous band of heroes, even if the burning as it happened was of Scottish homesteads, and the drowning of Scottish warriors.³²

As none of them founded families one may dispose of the chief's

younger sons by Egidia at once. The second was Archibald, who flourished from 1519 to 1548 and was much concerned in the Isle of Bute. With John he organised a foray across it, from Toward to Ardlamont, about 1540, and had to answer in court for some ploys in Rothesay and at Shalunt and Ardroscaidale. He met his death at the hands of the Mac-lachlans in the course of a feud which will be detailed later.³³

The two others first figure together in 1525, when Robert was already a chaplain. They were apparently both educated at the only Scottish University at that date, which was St Andrews, between 1538 and 1542, and thereafter became regular parsons. But undergraduate life had an unsettling effect on Robert, and he had a hand in the Bute business (although Walter was more discreet). He soon embarked, however, on a distinguished career in the Church, and was presented to Kilmodan in Glendaruel in 1542.³⁴ In ten years he was one of the chaplains (and not long after the chancellor) of the royal chapel at Stirling, in 1554 prior of Oronsay (an outlying island off Jura), and in 1557 was made provost of the collegiate kirk at Kilmun which his forebears had endowed and presented to Paisley Abbey.³⁵ He was also a notary and able to draw a legal document. On his decease in 1558 his brother Walter was appointed in his room at Kilmodan parish (though not elsewhere), and that is the last that is heard of Walter, except that he was a witness at Dunoon in 1575. Of Robert's inner history one learns only that he had a wadset of Killellan, by Toward, from his brother John X, which he passed to one Isobel Leitch, (a step-daughter of that brother by the latter's third wife Margaret Smollett) "for luf and favour he had and bure to [her] and for certain uthir gratitudis and plesoris done to him." It was, of course, the eve of the Reformation, but *boni soit qui mal y pense*.³⁶

Duncan IX had also another son of the same name as his eldest, but whether they were full brothers is not clear. This John was likewise destined for the church, and paid his shilling to matriculate at St Andrews in 1531. But if tradition and heraldry are reliable (and there is nothing to suggest the contrary), there was yet a sixth son, Allan, who also put on the black coat and "nuikit bonnet," and was the founder of the Fife branch of the clan.³⁷ He was the pioneer in migrating to that cathedral city, for he was chamberlain of its priory as early as 1527. Something of Mr Allan and his descendants will be told later, but one must say a word of Mr John at this time. After completing his education he returned to Cowal, acquired the N. Auchagoyl beside Kilfinan and was a priest in that kirk where he officiated at least between 1536 and 1549. He was perhaps also for a space the vicar of Inverchaolain. He seems then to have reverted to St Andrews and to have lived and died in the

college of St Leonard. He had no known descendants.³⁸ In 1569 he disposed of N. Auchagoyl to his nephew Mr Walter, who there founded a cadet family which existed for two centuries. He was probably the John Lamont who was acting as a clerk of the royal council in Edinburgh in 1548.³⁹

There was also an Angus Lamont, who appears on occasions from 1534 to 1570, and is described as a brother of John X (although he seems much more likely to have been a brother of John iii of Ascog). In any event he was completely overshadowed by the rest, thus indicating perhaps that he was a bastard. He was laird of Derybruich, in the vicinity of Ascog, and seems to have had a son John of whom nothing is kened. He may also have been the Angus Lamont who was a clerk of Kilfinan in 1536.⁴⁰ How many daughters had Duncan IX one does not know, but there is reason to infer that one of them was married into the family of the Earl of Cassilis in Ayrshire, and that another was the Marion Lamont who became the wife of John Campbell, Captain of Carrick.⁴¹

While few details of any interest have been preserved as to the chief between 1488 and 1515, a good deal can be told of cadets and other members of the clan. One Cristy Lawmond was summoned in 1491 to Edinburgh as a witness for Agnes of the Isles in a dispute about some lands in Rothesay. He and eight other witnesses complained that the pursuer had "garred them travel" in a hopeless case, and were each awarded 6s. 8d. Living must have been cheap indeed when one could get from Bute to the capital and back for that sum, a journey which could not then have been completed in less than two days in good weather. The office of coroner of Cowal had by this time been transmitted by Patrick Lamont of Inverneilbeg, together with his estates, to his son Gilchrist, who was perhaps the Cristy above mentioned.⁴² He must have been a man of influence, for he held the lands of Conchra and Kildalvan in Glendaruel, Glaic and Inverneilbeg on Strone Point, and Invervegain across Loch Striven direct of the Crown. In 1497 he made a bargain with Argyll, that for 100 merks (£66 Scots) he would resign these properties and his office to the King in order that they might be granted out again to him (Gilchrist) and his heirs male, and failing them to the Earl. It rather looks as if the coroner was the last of his line, for there are special provisions to meet the case of his happening to have heirs male, which seems to have been considered unlikely. In that event he was to grant the lands to Argyll for a nominal duty, subject to a right to redeem them on repayment of the 100 merks "upon the hie altar of the Kirk of Killmon betwixt the rising of the Sone and the downe passing thereof." If he broke this entail, he agreed to pay a sum in

name of damages, part of which was to go to the repair fund of Iona Cathedral. But for some reason the terms of this arrangement were not properly carried out. Argyll immediately got a Crown grant of Conchra reserving only a liferent to Lamont, and next year he obtained all the others and the coronership out and out. What was the explanation of this remarkable turn of events it is impossible to say, and one does not wish to be uncharitable.⁴³

Among the witnesses to a sasine in favour of Gilchrist in Inverneilbeg appears "Angus Ladman," no doubt of Monydrain, and "Jhon, son of Patrick Ladman of Calfay" (or Coustoun), which is the first express mention of that cadet family. To it the Baron Duncan McPhadrick of Killellan by Toward, who was dead by 1522, was probably related, as the lairds of Coustoun were later the Barons McPhadrick. About the same time there are two mysterious entries in the Exchequer Rolls of payments to "Donald Lawmond," as fee and for horse fodder, but upon what royal commission he was engaged or who he was one cannot tell. In 1507 a William Lowman appears in Trotternish in Skye, which is the first definite evidence of that branch of the clan.⁴⁴ The sphere of influence of the Lamonts had been greatly widened in the period 1433-1515, as their legal status had been strengthened. They were ready to resume the position they had held in the state before the Ardyne raid of c. 1400, and in half a century they had surpassed it and were well set upon the road to fortune.

CHAPTER VII

FROM AFTER FLODDEN TO QUEEN MARY,
1515-68

SIR JOHN, Xth chief (1515-68), was a child of his father's later life, but he was one of the most effective leaders that the clan has ever had. At an early date he had the gumption to put an end to the old feud with the Campbells. In his time there was no kindling of the fiery cross in Cowal, but much transaction of disputes by agreement and by legal process. By alliance with the 3rd, 4th and 5th Earls of Argyll he was almost as much benefited as his ancestors had been by their adherence to the Stewarts. He was also in constant touch with Holyrood, and rendered various services to the Crown which earned him a knighthood in 1546-47 and the distinction of entertaining Queen Mary at Toward in 1563. But his political activities were not allowed to interfere with his domestic matters. His forebears had made certain of the allegiance of the clan, and he set himself to extend his territory with the instinct of a Campbell, and was able to add largely to his patrimony. By sound and progressive business methods he gained enhanced prestige for his people. It is surely no accident that the first Lamont signature, the first impressions of Lamont seals, and the first recording of a writ in Edinburgh, all marks of an advancing civilisation, are found in his time.¹ After much negotiation he induced the royal exchequer to confirm his title, which was of doubtful validity, and after long litigation succeeded in defeating the claims of the Maclachlans and Campbells of Auchencbreck to wrest from him the barony of Inverryne. If this decision had gone the other way it would have meant the virtual extinction of the Lamonts as a territorial family in Argyllshire. When Sir John died in 1568 he left a bien concern behind him. He was as good a chief as ever trod the heather, and all clansmen should be adding a stone to his cairn.

He was born about 1498, and was married while still a minor to the youngest daughter of the 2nd Earl of Argyll who had fallen on the field of Flodden. She is referred to as Massa or Marjory Lady Toward or Lamont, or as Moir Campbell, and had several children, including a Robert who died young, the Duncan who was afterwards the XIth chief, a "Mr" Archibald who was trained to the law and was laird of Stillaig, and a number of daughters who will be referred to later.² John X was

too young for the campaign of 1513, but two years after it, when only 17, he was out with his brother-in-law, the third Earl (Colin), in suppressing a revolt in the Isles. In this tuilzie they created a reign of terror in Bute and even around the royal castle of Rothesay, and had to get a special pardon from Edinburgh for their herschips. As already mentioned, he repeated this ploy in 1540 with two of his brothers. His reputation was such in the island that some of the bonnet lairds undertook allegiance to him in return for protection by formal bonds of manrent.³

In 1520 one finds him at Inveraray, supported by Ardlamont and Ascog, and ten years later he was politic enough to enter into the same relation with the next (4th) Earl of Argyll, who was Archibald "Roy," when they met at Garvie of Glendaruel of which he was appointed baillie. He was the first of the chiefs who could write his name, no doubt instructed by his hereditary physician, an Archibald Leitch, who was also a notary. The original document, signed "Jhon Lawmont of Invernyn witht my hand," may still be seen at Inveraray. Its terms are curious enough to justify quotation. First of all, it is provided that he and his heirs "is and salbe leill, trew, and stedabill men and seruandis to the said Erle (and his heirs) for ever." Then Lamont was to "gang and ryd wytht all and syndry our kyn" with MacCailein in the latter's "supple help and defence to quhat place or quhat tym" he was "lauchfully warnyt thareto aganis any persoun or persounis in his . . . gud and honest querellis and actiounis, excepad the Kingis grace." Further, John undertook that he would not even "heyr nor se apperand hurt na skaitht be word nor deid of the said lord na his airis persone na guddis behynd his bak na odir wayis," and much more in the same strain. It was understood, of course, in these agreements that the overlord should support and protect his henchmen when they were in straits. At various dates Lamont witnessed a number of such bonds to Argyll by other people, including the Maclachlan chief, and in fact the two were in touch throughout their lives. They were together, for instance, on a jaunt to Iona in May of 1543.⁴

About 1532 John X had the "misfortune" to dirk a laird in Glendaruel, called Baron McGibbon, in some tuilzie. But instead of there being any troublesome criminal proceedings the whole matter was remitted to arbitration. It was ultimately decided that "Johnne Lamount sall . . . cum in his hwmile maner and . . . ask forgeifnes of the slachter." More substantial amends were also to be made by paying first £10 a year for two years "to ane prest that salbe choesin . . . for prayng for the saull of the said umquhill," and second 100 merks to the bereaved relatives. An occasional homicide was not of much account in those days of sturt

and strife. In the same way the "accident" of the slaughter by Knockdow of a pickle of Campbells at the Rudha of Ardlamont was arranged at Toward between the chief and MacCailein in 1531.⁵

In six years' time occurred an episode of interest. Lady Glamis had just suffered at the stake for the supposed crime of attempting to poison King James V, and her son was in custody in Edinburgh Castle as a mild encouragement to good behaviour. Not being content with this the government insisted on his finding security for the future in the sum of 20,000 merks (£13,333, 6s. 8d.). This guarantee was shared by four people, and one of them was "the Lard of Lawmond," which certainly supports the tradition of the kinship of the Strathmore family with the clan. Another was Robert Douglas of Lochleven, later to become world-famous as Queen Mary's custodian, and if he had likewise a tie of blood with the chief it would explain the appearance in 1539 of some Lamonts on his estates in Ayrshire, who were soon to multiply and become a regular sept of the clan. A John Lawmond was a baillie in a charter of Robert's in 1546, and he was probably the chief. If his sister or daughter had taken a dowry of men athwart the Firth of Clyde upon her marriage it would have been quite in keeping with the customs of the time.⁶

During the whole of this early period of his life John managed to find means in the intervals of his escapades to add many acres to the family patrimony, for he believed in the maxim that "bad is the property that gets no addition" (*is olc maoin gun leasachadh*). First of all in 1520 he bought Ballochandrain, a property on the west bank of the river Ruel just where the hill road takes off to Otter. His superior here was the unfortunate McGibbon, whose relatives afterwards claimed that according to strict law the lands should be forfeited for such disrespectful conduct on the part of a vassal. But matters seem to have been somehow adjusted. John was also baillie or factor of Argyll's lands in Glendaruel.⁷ Two years later he acquired Killellan from one of the McPhadricks Lamonts, and a wadset of Ardyne and Achafour from the Houstons redeemable for £800. These three were adjacent to Toward and he held them of the Crown. In 1524 by arrangement with MacCailein he secured a wadset of Toward Fleming redeemable for 180 merks, which he surrendered in 1540 to his cousin of Knockdow.⁸ By 1527 he had leases of the teinds of Strathlachlan kirk, and of the lands of Acharossan beside Inveryne. He had a squabble over these with Maclachlan, but it was adjusted for the time and they agreed that for the future they should "continew and persevoir in perfytt luv," a sentiment as lasting as "fire of peats and love of boys" (*teine chaoran 'us gaol ghiullan*). In these transactions his agent

or "doer" was John Colquhoun of Kilmardinny (beside Milngavie), by whom it was afterwards alleged he was "done" and his titles "falslie stowne & abstractit." If so it was a lesson to him for going outside of his native county for a lawyer.⁹

In three years' time he had a grant from Argyll of the same lands of Kames and Achadachoun in Kerry, which had been alienated to the latter's forebear by Sir JOHN III about 1295. It is interesting to find his sasine witnessed not only by his harper Dugald but also by one of the Robertsons of Struan, which shows that the connection with Perthshire originated by his aunt Lillias and her harp had been maintained. Again in 1535 he purchased other Crown lands at Toward, and next year he acquired both S. Auchagoyl, beside Millhouse, which was an ancestral possession of the Ardlamont family now in its decline, and Evanachan to the north of the ferry of Otter.¹⁰ At the same time he took the opportunity of settling the long-standing dispute as to the superiority of Ardcalmisaig. John Lamont of Ardlamont had espoused his daughter Isabel, and apparently they had no issue. It was agreed that the cadet should accept a charter from his chief, thereby of course acknowledging his vassalage, but that if he had no child the entire cadetship was to accrue to the Inveryne family. This duly happened in 1554, though the chief took the additional precaution of buying up any rights which might have passed to Lamont of Ascog, who was somehow the heir of Lamont of Ardlamont. As regards Ardcalmisaig this bargain was not so good as might be thought, for the lands had already been feued for £24 a year to the McPhersons, and so only an estate of that annual value with incidental perquisites remained to be transmitted. In 1540 John also purchased Roweintraive (now called Rudhabodach) in Bute, no doubt in order to secure the ferry to Colintraive, and feued it to his son Mr Archibald for £4.¹¹

After this he had no more money available for investment for some time, owing to the troubles in connection with the title to the barony, but by 1558 he was able to take a feu from the abbot of Paisley of the kirk lands of Kilfinan with their garden and barn and of Strathlachlan at the rate of £5 a year, together with a lease of the parish teinds of the former, although he had to borrow to pay for them.¹² Next year he re-acquired from his vassal McPherson the property of two farms in Glassary, Kilmichaelbeg (which is better known as Silvercraigs), and Lingartane. Again in 1563 he took over ten acres in the county town of Rothesay which had belonged to the Ardlamont family. Lastly, by 1565 he had secured a lease of the teinds of Inverchaolain parish.¹³

The management of a large estate is always a troublesome business,

and this was no exception. He was far from enjoying uninterrupted possession of these properties. In fact throughout his life he was hardly out of the law courts in Edinburgh, and he reared Mr Archibald to be a lawyer. Every few years some new litigation was begun, in which he was involved in some capacity or other. His main troubles, however, were over the barony of Inveryne, and that story is all to hear.

As soon as he came of age in May 1519 he applied to be formally served heir to his father in the lands of Ardcalmisaig and others in Glassary. Now these had never entered the Crown charter of 1472, and there is no trace of any subsequent title to them or any exercise of rights of superiority over the vassals. In these circumstances, a rival claim was naturally put forward by the Maclachlan chief in right of his wife, who was a daughter of JOHN VIII, the uncle of John X. Apart from the entail, the whole of the VIIIth chief's estates would have been divided among his daughters in preference to his brother Duncan who actually succeeded him. But while the entail barred Maclachlan's claim to the barony of Inveryne, it could not affect his right to the Glassary lands. Somehow or other, however, in spite of the protests of his cousin, John got his way, and on presenting his service to the royal officials secured a Crown charter in December 1519. The lands detailed in the entail of 1472 were only valued at about £80, but with the addition of Ardcalmisaig, and Monydrain, this was now increased to over £100. Evidently the rates of taxation had gone up as the dues were £200, which was probably a nearer approximation to the true annual value of the estate. John, having been under age for four years since his father died, had to pay up £800 before the exchequer would allow him to take up his inheritance. It is difficult to see why Maclachlan did not press his claim in the courts, but in fact he allowed his rival to exercise his rights of superiority without interference.¹⁴

Everything seemed to be going well for John, when some lang-nebbit person in the exchequer, a type existing even in those far-off days, brought up a question as to the validity of the entail, which was of course the basis of his title to the barony. Who clyped one cannot tell, but it was some unfriend. In 1472 King James III had been a child, and Parliament had subsequently revoked all his acts as a minor which were in prejudice of the Crown's rights. There was a reference in this statute to entails which seemed to strike at this one.¹⁵ The theory was, of course, that any charter which opened the succession to heirs who would otherwise not have been called was giving up the chance of extorting dues from them before accepting them as vassals, and so was hurtful to the revenue. The chief's advisers must have warned him of the force in

this contention, and that it was prudent to secure a ratification at once in case Maclachlan should jalouse it. If the title was not confirmed before action was raised at the instance of the heirs of line (the daughters of JOHN VIII) there was a risk that the estates would be carried off by them, and that John X would be put out of his patrimony and have only the properties acquired in his own lifetime (technically his "conquest").

So it came about that he appeared in the King's chamber at Holyrood on New Year's day of January 1539 (according to our reckoning), and "personally on his bended knees" resigned his lands to His Majesty. In two days' time they were re-granted as a personal favour, and the charter of 1472 confirmed "notwithstanding that (it) was made while the King was in his less age." The lands were again erected into a barony, now destined to "heirs male bearing the arms and surname of Lawmond," and to be held of the royal family as Stewards of Scotland, thus maintaining the old tie which had existed before they rose to the throne. All this was not effected without some *quid pro quo*. First, John was debited with the sum of £2000, or ten years' rent of his whole property, as a fee for consenting to grant a good title. But in respect of services (which are afterwards noted) His Majesty discharged this payment, but Mr Archibald collected at least half of it from the vassals on the estate.¹⁶ John did not escape so lightly from another imposition. If the entail of 1472 was bad, as JOHN VIII had apparently made up no previous title, it followed that the lands had been possessed without any legal warrant ever since the death of DUNCAN VII in 1448. Technically, therefore, the estate had been in "non-entry" for 90 years, and the Crown was entitled to the rents for the whole period. To pay up this demand in full would have made the entire clan bankrupt, and instead of enforcing his claim the King sold it, upon easy terms no doubt, to Mr Archibald, who took steps to exact from the vassals their respective proportions, at the rate of ten merks for every merk land, and probably had a handsome profit at the end of the day on the transaction. A new charter was soon granted, in accordance with the practice of the time, to John in liferent and to Duncan, his son and heir, in fee. But in 1553 a sum of over £13,000 was still owing to Archibald by the cadets of Ardlamont, Knockdow, and Coustoun, and McPherson of Ardcalmisaig, and he formally "apprized" or took over in security their whole estates which were redeemable within seven years.¹⁷

It took about that time for the Maclachlans, who were evidently not unco gleg, to realise how they had been outwitted. But at last in 1546 they came into court, along with the Campbells of Auchinbreck, who were in exactly the same position. Each family demanded its portion

of the barony of Inveryne on the ground that the entail was now admittedly invalid. It must have been an anxious time at Toward, for there was a good deal to be said for the plea that if the title was bad against the superior (the Crown) it was equally bad against the heirs of line whom it excluded. There was so much bitterness of feeling that resort was had to bloodshed and to violence. The chief's brother, the elder Archibald, was killed in a tuilzie by Lachlan Maclachlan, with the active assistance of Archibald Campbell and his son Dougal, and the chief's son Mr Archibald was forcibly evicted from his seat of Auchnahall and from his office of baillie and steward of the neighbouring lairdship of Ard-marnock. The Campbells even managed to induce the Lamonts of Ascog to despoil their chief of 18 horses from the lands of Ardlamont and the adjacent Auchagoyl and to hand them over to the enemy.¹⁸ It was fortunate for the clan Lamont that their chief's claim was upheld. The Lords of Session decided, in what is still a leading case in the books, that the entail was not struck at by the statute, and that in any event the royal confirmation was retrospective and cured any vice in the title as it had been obtained before that title was challenged in court. And so as it happened the non-entry dues for 90 years had never really been incurred at all, though it was now too late to demand repayment. If the result had been opposite, the estates would have passed into alien hands, the lairds' families would have disappeared from the records, and this history would have been ill to write. The decret in *Maclachlan v. Lamont* is among the most cardinal of the clan's charters, and was confirmed expressly by Queen Mary. The crab apple had topped the gale and the periwinkle.¹⁹

But even after the question of legal right had been determined, there were further proceedings. The disgruntled heirs of line considered that they had at any rate a moral claim to compensation. So six arbiters were chosen to settle the dispute once and for all, with Archibald Roy the 4th Earl of Argyll as "odman." On 10th May 1548 their findings were issued in Dunoon Castle. They first of all declared that John X was perfectly entitled to the estates, because of the unbroken possession enjoyed by himself and his father, and because of the legal decision. At the same time they thought that Maclachlan and Campbell should get 1000 merks each as a sop to their feelings. Then as to the killing of brother Archibald, "because the said Judges consider it was done through hasty motion, and for sober causes, they ordain that the said Lauchlan Maclachlan, principal striker and committer of the said slaughter, to pass furth of this realm within one month after the date hereof, and be banished during the will of my Lord Earl of Argyll. The said Arbiters ordain

also that the said Lauchlane Maclachlan and Dougal Campbell shall come in presence of the said Earl and other noblemen in the parish kirk of Dunoon on the 11th of May instant, and there in their most humble manner ask the said John Lawmont's forgiveness and deliver to him their swords by the hilts as use is for their assythment [*i.e.* satisfaction]." They were also to restore all manner of "habershunnis" [*i.e.* habergeons] which they had taken, thus showing that the Cowal clans had regular coat armour at this date.²⁰

If judged by modern legal standards such findings are very remarkable. Strict feudal law was still evidently a novelty even in this settled part, and sharply differentiated local customs were still being respected in practice. Continuous possession of lands, for instance, was allowed some weight even against a good title, and an heir at law had a moral claim against an heir of entail who had forestalled him. It was *còrdadh a réubhas reachd* with a vengeance—the compromise that rends the law.²¹ It seems hard indeed that Lamont, who had won his case, should have to pay substantial damages to the losing parties, and it seems grotesque that people who at the very least were guilty of culpable homicide should escape with an apology and the temporary exile of one individual. One would have expected that the frequent contact with the lowland law courts which is disclosed by the records would have instilled more regular principles into the minds of the lairds of Cowal.

Ardcalmisaig was the third bone of contention. It was found to belong to John, which is again surprising, as it did not enter the entail at all, and he seems to have no legal right to it, as of course he was not the heir of line of his uncle the VIIIth chief. Campbell, who had been wrongfully drawing the rents for eight years, was ordered to repay them, amounting to £72 in all. It also appeared that he had "absorbed," in a way the Campbells had, the teinds of the kirk of Glendaruel, which should have gone to John's younger brother Sir Robert the parson there, and also those of the kirk of Strathlachlan, which belonged to John as the tenant of the abbey of Paisley. Both points were decided as one would expect, and Auchenbreck had to disgorge a sum of £284 for a period of six years. A sixth question as to the title to Evanachan was postponed for the time. Strictly speaking John X could claim to hold this of his cadet John Lamont of Ardlamont, who held in turn of Maclachlan.²²

A further dispute as to Ascog was referred to Argyll's adjudication, but there is interesting mention of a tenant in what seems to be Achourkmore "callit Mcilwon," which confirms Auchmar's tradition that the McIlquhams are a sept of the clan. Eighthly, Maclachlan was ordered to hand over to John the titles of Melldalloch and Stillaig, of

which he had got possession. The dispute as to Auchnahall was only settled by litigation some forty years later. The last clause is quaint enough to justify quotation. They also ordain the said John Lawmont to discharge all rancour and unkindness, with all manner of herschippis [ravages] and slaughter made upon him by the said Archibald and Lauchlane in times bygone; and decern the said parties "to stand at perfit unite and concord, and ilk ane of thame to tak ane trew plane and afauld [honest] part with others in all thair lesum actions but fraud or gile." Evidently it had been a bitter quarrel, but, though as will be seen a marriage was arranged with each adversary's family, as regards one at least it was not over. The Lamonts were to have every reason to challenge the saying that there was "a hidden nobleness in the Clan Lachlan" (*tha uailse fo thuinn an Clann Lachlain*).²³

John paid up his 2000 merks within three months, and the discharge he got from Maclachlan and Campbell is still among the Lamont charters. By it they abandoned their pretensions to his estates. He raised at any rate a part of the funds he needed by borrowing. Being friendly with the Campbells of Ardkinglas (who were his kin by his mother although descended from Maclan *Riabbach*) he got from them 200 merks on the security of Toward Houstoun, and 160 from his cousin Knockdow on the Brackleys and Kilmarnock, and amounts unknown from Baron McGibbon on the adjacent Strondharaig, from the Campbell provost of Kilmun on Killellan, and from a Kenneth Maclachlan on Inveryne.²⁴ For the future he exercised his rights of superiority without opposition in Ardcalmisaig, and he completed his title to Evanachan by agreement with Maclachlan in 1557. So much is definitely known, and no doubt the other points were adjusted in their turn. A new charter of the Knockdow estate was granted (to avoid challenge of the old) to his "beloved kinsman" John Lamont McGorrie, who was bound to attend the chief's courts at Kilmichael, which had replaced Ardyne as the seat of justice perhaps on the occasion of the "raid" and forfeiture of 1400.²⁵

John X had another good plea as to the possession of Acharossan, a farm just north of Inveryne, of which he and Maclachlan were the joint tenants from the Bannatynes of Kames in Bute. The latter family had been landlords under a Crown grant for nearly a century (perhaps ever since the Ardyne raid), and about 1537 they raised an action of eviction before Argyll in the Dunoon sheriff court. They also removed the cattle of seven of the occupiers, including an Archibald Lamont (who was perhaps the chief's son), and Duncan the chief apparent replaced them in the name of his clan, of which his brother the chaplain Robert was a witness. Argyll was evidently friendly with the Bannatynes, and John

managed to have the case transferred to Ayr, by inducing King James V (then living at St Andrews) to intervene to that effect. No doubt it was all arranged by the other brother Mr Allan, who had been long settled in that cathedral city, and was at the moment an official of the royal household, being steward to the infant Prince and Princess. At any rate, formal instructions were sent to Argyll that he was not to hear the case, "forsamekle as ther is feud and inimite as ye knaw betwixt zow and Johnne Lamont of Inneryn for the quhilk he and his frendis dar nocht compeir befoir zow and zour deputis in zour shiref court of Argile haldin in Dunnowne." A regular procession of Lamonts ascended the castle hill to present this application to Argyll in person, including Duncan, the chief's brother John, who had been priest of Kilfinan, and the heads of the cadet houses of Ardlamont and Ascog.²⁶

Argyll had to obey, but he protested before a notary that the suggestion of a feud between them was all nonsense, and so it probably was. John X had too much to lose in a quarrel with Argyll, and in the very next year Argyll discharged an alleged claim against him for a substantial sum "for gude deidis done to ws be the said John Lawmound, and Archibald his second son, and for the favours and love which he bare towards them." The dispute proceeded before the Sheriff of Ayr, and was remitted to arbitration, when Maclachlan surrendered and had to pay 20 merks for each of two years' wrongful occupation of half. But John continued, and soon reached the Court of Session on appeal. At long last in 1558 he was ordered to quit, and the question of damages was held over. No doubt he had felt all along that his case was hopeless, and that Argyll who knew the facts would not have allowed him to continue in possession for 18 years as he had contrived to do. That much he gained, but no more.²⁷ In 1565 the claim for "byrun profits" was still current despite Sir John's protests at the delay. Whether it was ever finally concluded is not known. At any rate, it was not until 1623 that the inevitable happened and the Bannatynes disposed finally of their interest in favour of the Lamonts. It is a little extraordinary that a highland chief should have had such love for litigation in an age when it is generally supposed that the clans lived in a state of complete barbarism untroubled by authority. John perhaps was ahead of his time in being in constant touch with Edinburgh. This was no doubt a lesson he had learnt from his association with the Argyll family, which has always had the happy knack of keeping in with the powers that be. On the other hand he was also in touch with a clan which had very different standards, for John McGregor of Laggary was about Toward in 1562.²⁸

John did not, of course, retain the whole of his broad acres in his

own hands. As was the usual practice at the time, the greater part had been granted out to cadets of his house who enjoyed the status of lairds. The first complete account of this arrangement dates from 1541, when the chief was recovering from them their proportions of the royal dues exacted for confirming the title. His two principal kinsmen in Cowal (although never ranked "barons") were John Lamont vii of Ardlamont and John Lamont ii of Ascog. Their exact relationships to him are not now known. The former (apart from his claim to Ardcalmisraig) was lord of Ardlamont, Glennan and part of Achourk, and the latter of Ascog, Achadalvory, Kilbride, Corra, Derybruich (the seat of Angus) and the rest of Achourk. These estates were rated at $13\frac{1}{2}$ and 30 merks respectively, thus showing that Ascog was much the larger, although Ardlamont was probably the more ancient and perhaps even the parent stem. They were both jealous of their independence. Another of the chief's kinsmen, John Lamont of Knockdow, the Baron McGorrie, had received a charter in 1540 of the 6 merk lands of Knockdow and Inverchaolain, held by his predecessors, which was confirmed as above mentioned in 1560. About the former date he had also a feu of Strondharaig (4 merks) for 80 merks a year, and afterwards acquired full right to Kilmarnock and Brackleys. He held, too, of Argyll, Innellan and Toward Fleming, to which were soon added Inverneilbeg and Glaic (12 merks in all), thus making him in a measure independent. A fifth John Lamont, who was Baron McPhadrack, held Coustoun and Strone on Loch Striven, and perhaps Troustan as well, of 10 merks value. There was a division of Glassary between Donald Baron McSorley of Monydrain, who was vassal in lands worth 12 merks, and Walter McPherson the lord of the remaining 24 merks of Ardcalmisraig, and 8 merk lands of Blairbuie, which by agreement held of Lamont of Ardlamont. The 5 merk lands of Achanaskioch had apparently been granted to a family of Leitchs, who were the hereditary physicians to the chiefs, but they resigned them in security of a debt in 1550. This distribution was the same in 1553, but ten years after McSorley acquired for a younger son the 2 merk lands of Auchinbreck in Glassary. The lairdships in Cowal proper were all held on condition of military service, or in the case of Ascog of naval service (by birlinn). This tenure was known technically as ward holding. It involved no annual duty in money or kind, except that when the vassal was in minority the superior could absorb the whole rents. Such an arrangement was considered gentlemanly, but it was unsatisfactory in that neither party could forecast his income for any given year.²⁹

The whole of the chief's patrimony was reckoned for death duty purposes at 160 merks in 1519. What remained in his own hands was

thus only 57 out of that total. These were made up of the lands around Inveryne (26 merks); Stillaig (6), which he erected into a lairdship for his son Mr Archibald; lands on the east of Loch Striven around the modern Knockdow (18); and Toward (6). Of these he was proprietor in the fullest sense, but of the others he was only superior. He had a son Robert by his second wife (to be referred to later), whom he established across the ferry at Silvercraigs, by buying back the property right from McPherson. The northern Auchagoyl was the seat of a bastard son Walter, but it was not held of the chief. Achadachoun, which was temporarily a lairdship, was among the properties acquired in his own lifetime. The latter included altogether 18 merks worth beside Toward, 17 in the Ardlamont peninsula, 6 in Glassary, 3 in Glendaruel, 9 in Strathlachan, and 2 in Bute, or 55 merks in all. In addition to this, he obtained 10 acres in the town of Rothesay, which were valued on a different basis, he finally secured Ardcalmisaig (32) and he succeeded to Ardlamont (13½). Allowing also for the leases of teinds which he obtained, he seems to have increased the family patrimony by considerably more than one-third. Even if the decision as to the barony had gone against him, he would still have had a substantial estate, though no doubt a good part of it must needs have been sold to meet the expenses of unsuccessful litigation. If every chief had followed in his footsteps, the Lamonts would soon have regained their proud position of lords of all Cowal, and the clan name would have become as common among the lairds of Argyllshire as that of Campbell is to-day.³⁰

So far attention has been confined to John's doings as a Cowal chief, but it is now time to stress the part he played in national politics. He entered this arena before he was of age by taking a hand in the expedition to the Isles of 1515. Then about 1537 he came under the notice of King James V himself. In that year His Majesty appointed an attorney to look after Lamont's affairs, a sure sign that he was destined for furth of Scotland on a royal errand. Two years later the new charter which saved the estates from dismemberment proceeded on a narrative of "the gude trew and thankfull seruice done to ws be oure louit Johnne Lawmond of Innerin baith in the partis of France and within our realme." What exactly these services were one cannot tell, but it was fortunate indeed for posterity that he had the opportunity to establish a claim to royal favour.³¹

There is no direct evidence that he supported Scotland's cause on the fatal field of Solway Moss in 1542, but that seems to be fairly indicated by other circumstances. He was not among the Argyll men who had to purchase pardons for their treasonable absence, and he appeared at

Holyrood shortly after, no doubt to pay his respects to the new regent appointed to the young Queen Mary. In 1544 he was actively engaged against the English party who were in open rebellion in the west. With Argyll he was ensconced in Dunoon when the Earl of Lennox was forced to retire from the siege of Dumbarton Castle, which was held for the Queen. As the hostile fleet fell down the Firth they somewhat rashly opened fire upon it. The result was that a strong landing-party drove them out of the town, which was burnt and plundered. His son Duncan, however, managed to get some fun out of this ploy, as he and a number of others, including Bannatyne of Kames, were sued soon after for having "away-taken" some goods from houses in Dunoon during the disturbance which followed. The court ordered these to be restored. No doubt the defence was that they were anxious to keep them out of the hands of the enemy. In January Argyll was a guest at Toward with Ardkinglas, when he agreed to assist the men of Bute in the event of an English invasion.³²

In the winter of 1546-47 the laird of Lamont was created a knight, but there is no record of the occasion. No doubt this honour was conferred in recognition of many services to the state of which all trace is lost, and no doubt the bale-fires blazed for it from Buachailline above Toward to the hill of Carnesirie in Kerry. There are several entries in the royal accounts between 1541 and 1549 of special envoys having been despatched to Toward, but unfortunately their duty seems only to have been to collect debts due to the Exchequer.³³ Sir John witnessed deeds in Edinburgh in 1550 and again in 1555, and two years later he seems to have been commissioned to go abroad as the Queen appointed Knockdow to be his attorney. The latter's marriage to a related Campbell lady in 1559 was the occasion of the new Argyll's undertaking to defend the legitimacy of the issue, which is the only indication of the Reformation in Lamont record with regard to Cowal. The chief in 1561 was again in the capital, and in July of the next year Toward received a visit from one of the heralds who bore, instead of the usual final demand note, a personal command from her Majesty. This took the form of "clois writtingis of the Quenis grace to" a number of Ayrshire and Renfrewshire lairds including "Lawmonth" to the effect that he was to meet her in Edinburgh "the first day of August nixttocum to pas with hir grace in England."³⁴

Upon this expedition he seems to have established himself more deeply in her favour. In July 1563 Toward Castle was honoured by a visit from Queen Mary and her train. After passing through various parts of Dumbarton and Argyll shires, she arrived from Inveraray and

Strachur at Dunoon where she spent two days in the royal castle. The Register House still treasures a manuscript account book in old French showing the expenses of this trip. It contains the following curious entry: "*Jeudi xxix^e jour de Juillet 1563. La royne & partye de son train disner a Denung & coucher a Trouart.*" This when interpreted means, of course, that the royal cavalcade had its mid-day dinner at Dunoon, and spent the night at Toward. What plate there was would be taken out of the aumries for the occasion, and the whole castle would be resplendent with rowth of cruisie and candle. One may picture the party around the high board in the great hall at the birling of the wine beneath the guttering lights of fir-root torches what time the harper Dugald recited the old rants of the clan. It adds a very real interest to the "auld dun rickle" of to-day to remember that its walls have housed Queen Mary at the height of her fame. The beautiful entrance gateway (in plate 11), which now lacks its keystone owing to the depredations of the Campbells in 1646, is of this period, and who knows but that the new range of buildings on the south-east of the original keep may have been hastened to receive her Majesty in state. They are so shapeless now that it is impossible to identify particular apartments, except the kitchen whose vent still gapes to heaven.³⁵

Next day the Queen departed, and so far as is known Toward has never since been graced by royalty. But before she went tradition has it that she planted a tree, which lived to a great age. When it eventually fell about 1818 the then proprietor, Lord Provost Finlay of Glasgow, had a crown made from the wood (plate 24). This he presented to the tenth Duke of Hamilton, and it is still preserved in the dining-room at Dungavel in Lanarkshire. The entry relating to her departure is: "*Vendredi xxx^e et penultime jour de Juillet 1563. La royne & partye de son train disner a Trouart & coucher a Soudanen.*" Her destination was Southannan on the Ayrshire coast just south of Fairlie, which means of course that she sailed across the Firth, and no doubt in Lamont's birlinn to the chant of the clan *iorrams*. It would have been just as easy to make the crossing from Dunoon, so it is clear that she was specially anxious to see Sir John in his home and was not merely using him as a convenience on her journey. That Thursday and Friday were days to cut a notch in the doorpost.³⁶

This is the last record of him as playing any part in public affairs, though he was again in Edinburgh in 1565, when he rashly became a cautioner for the irresponsible McLean of Duart in Mull. But doubtless Sir John's influence in court circles was of assistance in securing protection for the rapidly growing trade of cattle-dealing by highlanders. In that



TOWARD CASTLE GATEWAY (16TH CENTURY)

[To face p. 98

year it was reported to the Privy Council that "according to thair accustomed maner thay brocht certane ky furth of Ergyle to be sauld to thair Hienessis liegis in the Lawlands." But there was so much provincial rivalry in the country that the beasts were being seized as the goods of rebels. It was ordained that this was to cease at once, and next year official encouragement was given to highland stock raisers to bring their cattle into lowland markets, with the result that ready money began to pass into the hands of clansmen in considerable quantities for the first time. They had hitherto paid rent and plaid and provand in kind and not in cash, and hence the saying *far nach bi nì, caillidh an rìgh a chòir* ("where there are no cattle the King will lose his dues"). The *bealachs* had always known the silent night passage of stolen beasts from lowlands to highlands, but they now resounded every autumn to the hoof-beats of great droves in the opposite direction. It was by Lochgoilhead and Glencroe that the Lamont herds were throng on their way to the boat of Balloch and the money marts of Scotland.³⁷

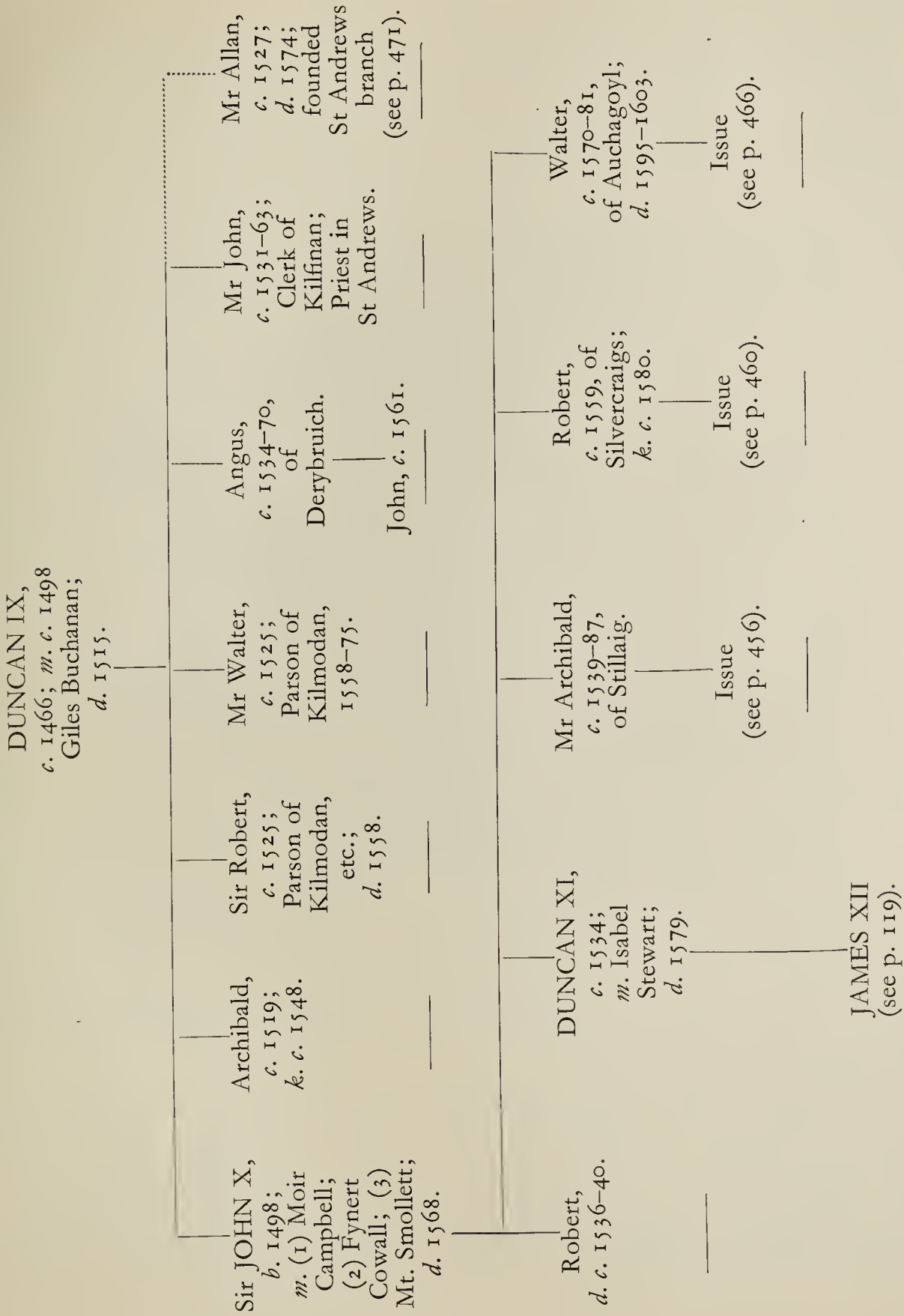
The result was an all-round increase in incomes and in prices throughout the highlands. £4 was regarded as the value of a "great kow" in the Lamont country in 1555, but this had risen by 1613 to £10. The annual value to the laird of Innellan in 1561 of a "mylk kow" "in stirk, butter and cheese" was reckoned at 13s. 4d., and the grazing rent for "ilk yeld kow" at 2s., whereas by 1587 the corresponding figures for Auchnahall in Kerry were £2 and 13s. 4d. The ox had by the earlier date been superseded for ploughing by the "wark hors," whose "profit" was reckoned at 20s. (which was perhaps what it earned by hiring out). "In fole bering, wark and labour" a mare was worth 13s. 4d. and £3 a year at these respective dates. They dragged the rude sleds that served for carts. Another feature of primitive farming, the milk ewe, was for long retained, the profit of "ilk in lam, woll, butter and cheese" increasing from 3s. 4d. to 18s. in that period. They were so precious as to be tethered by day and housed by night. The proportion of the different stocks was as follows: on Innellan in 1561 there were 60 cattle (24 milk), 30 milk ewes, 6 stud mares and 6 work horses; and on Auchnahall in 1587 40 cattle (20 milk), 40 milk ewes and same number of horses. There was thus little change in that respect, but in the values of grain crops there was a marked rise. In 1561 each boll of oats sown, which was reckoned to produce a crop of three times as much (*i.e.* "to the third corne"), was worth 10s., and each boll of bere (an inferior barley), reckoned to produce four times as much, as worth 16s. There was no improvement in the ratio of seed to crop until nearly 1800, but in 1587 the corresponding figures were £2 and £2, 13s. 4d. The peas

and beans which their kinsmen were growing in St Andrews were as yet unknown to the Cowal Lamonts, who had no green crops at all.³⁸

There is no evidence as to whether this obvious increase in wealth was accompanied by any raising of the standard of living among the people in general. The housing conditions continued to be very primitive for long after this date in the highlands. The *duine uassail* alone had turf walls to their dwellings, but clansmen as a whole had only "the traditional habitations made very much of rough sticks and branches taken from the nearest brushwood—with timber frames, wattled walls, and an external covering of mud or of some kind of plaster." Within there was only one apartment, with no windows but with the peat fire in the centre of the mud floor, and always smoking. The people "slept upon piles of heather on the [ground]; of furniture there was hardly anything beyond a keg of butter, a tub for salting the very little meat they used, and a kist for meal. There would be wooden bowls and horn spoons, and the poultry would roost in the rafters, and the cattle would be housed behind a partition at one end of the cottage." But poor though its exterior it stood in glorious surroundings. The highlander had not many possessions in his home, and yet, whatever the wealth he amassed, when he went abroad he always wondered in his heart "is not my fortune poor with one thing wanting—the heather at my door." He was content with his lot, and swears indeed to exchange it for any other.³⁹

In the last five years of his life Sir John seems to have bided at Toward, where he was visited by Archibald 5th Earl of Argyll in the summer of 1564, regaled of course by young Dugald Harper the bard. His family by this time consisted of at least four lawful sons, one bastard, and three daughters. Probably the first-born was Elspeth, or Elizabeth, who was married as early as 1534 to Mungo Maxwell of Newark (now incorporated in the modern Port Glasgow). She was dead by 1562. Another daughter Isobel appears in 1530 as the wife of John Lamont of Ardlamont. The eldest son Robert seems to have gone overseas in 1536, when he must have been still under age, and is never heard of again.⁴⁰ Four years later his brother Duncan appears as heir. He eventually succeeded, and an account of his doings will be found in the next chapter. By 1565 he had a marriageable son James, who was able to heal the feud with the Maclachlans by a politic union with a daughter of that house. The second surviving son, Mr Archibald, is first mentioned in 1539. He founded the earliest of the cadet families of Stillaig (near Ascog), the parent of the Row and Auchinshelloch branches, which were of great importance and will be dealt with later. He also acquired an interest in the neigh-

PEDIGREE OF 16TH CENTURY CHIEFS



Note: last pedigree on p. 71.

bouring estate of Ardmarnock. He was probably a lawyer and certainly a University man who used the lion on his seal.⁴¹

The other daughter was Egidia or Giles who was engaged with all formality to McNaughton of Dundarave at Loch Fyne head in 1548. As they were distantly connected they had to delay to obtain a Papal dispensation. Meanwhile she was given a liferent of some lands, and in return her father was to "hold and honestly sustain [her] in meat and clothes with the reasonable repair of her said spouse until the Feast of Beltan in the year 1550." This was, of course, in May, when all fires were extinguished and rekindled from the communal neid-fire. Alas! the bridegroom died before the marriage could take place, but the Lamonts insisted on retaining the lands, no doubt in satisfaction for the trousseau. As the law was not then settled there was a second leading case, which is reported for posterity in the law books as *MacNathane v. Geils Lawmond*, 1554. The pursuer was successful, and Sir John had to disgorge.⁴²

Probably these were all children of his first wife, Argyll's daughter. But the next son, another Robert who first appears in 1559, was of another mother. She was Fynert Cowall, a sister of a James McCowall who was perhaps a MacDougall of Lorne—for they were old allies of the Lamonts—with whom Sir John was friendly. One learns little of her except that she left at least £3000 worth of estate, which was a good sum for a woman in those days. Robert founded the family of Silvercraigs, across Loch Fyne from Otter and north-east of the modern Ardrishaig, and thus secured the crossing by the ferry to Carrick.⁴³ He got the kirklands of Kilfinan in addition, and the size of his portion is clear evidence that his mother must have been a woman of importance. His bastard brother Walter, who was legitimated in 1581 after his father's death, succeeded his uncle and namesake as the minister of Kilmodan in Glendaruel, and was the ancestor of the cadets of N. Auchagoyl, hard by Kilfinan. Both will be dealt with in detail on a later page. In his declining years Sir John was again married to a Margaret Smollett, who was probably the widow of old Archibald Auchenbreck. When he was dead she went to live at Ardinslate above Kirn, and not to be outdone herself enjoyed a fourth husband. This is all that is known of her. She was doubtless of Dunbartonshire.⁴⁴

If tradition is to be trusted it must have been another daughter of Sir John who married a Campbell of Ballochyle, and brought him as a gift the beautiful early 16th century brooch which is illustrated in plate 12. The original is in the National Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh. "The brooch is silver-gilt, set with a rock crystal in the centre, and bearing the inscription around it, somewhat rudely cut, in Roman characters,

“DE . . . SERVE . . . AND . . . HAIF . . . THE . . . HEVIN . . . BABAIF.” It measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in greatest diameter. The initials M.C., and also a shield bearing the gyronny of the Campbells in its first and fourth quarterings, the second and third being blank, are twice repeated in its ornamental border.” It is of the same type as the Glenlyon brooch, and of the same period as the Lorne, Lochbuy and Lossit brooches. “The Ballochyle brooch,” it has been said, “has the same hexagonal form [as these], with trefoil projections at the angles; but its sides are concave not convex, and the trefoils have more the form of conventional fleurs-de-lis than natural leaves.” They can thus hardly be used as an argument in support of the view that the trefoil was the Lamont badge instead of the crab apple.⁴⁵

In the closing years of his life Sir John had the same fondness for litigation, no doubt encouraged by his son Mr Archibald. At any rate six separate actions in the courts in Edinburgh have come to light, and there may have been many more. One is bound to sympathise with him, however, when he claimed restitution in 1555 of “xxxii ky, price of the piece sex merkis (£4) money of the realme,” which had been lifted by Campbell of Barbreck from Ardlamont and “Skeldoch” in the December before. It was perhaps at the same time that Ascog drove off 18 horses from Ardlamont and Auchagoyl and delivered them to Campbell of Auchenbreck, a matter which was amicably arranged some years later. But it is not so good to find that the abbot of Paisley had to sue the chief in 1562 for £52, being three years’ rent of the teinds of Kilfinan, which evidently had not been paid, and that in 1565 his goods were being pinded for the rent of the teinds of Inverchaolain. Then again in the last year the sheriff-clerk of Bute, who was also town clerk of Rothesay, cited Sir John along with a number of local magnates for forcibly taking from him the records pertaining to his office. Lastly, in 1567, his goods were once more being seized by order of the court for failing to implement an award in an arbitration by Argyll. All the time the good old cause as to Acharossan was still going on. One cannot help feeling that some of these disputes at any rate might have been settled amicably. Perhaps his victory in the one case which really mattered had given him a permanent liking for the law. But it is obvious that he must have considered himself wealthy before indulging in such expensive pastimes. It is peculiar that the scanty information now available does not disclose the result of a single one of these six actions, and perhaps they were all compromised in the end.⁴⁶

Sir John duly reached what is now considered the allotted span, and died in the summer of 1568. He was too old to be present at the battle

of Langside in May of that year, when the swooning of Argyll was so disastrous to the Queen's interests. But no doubt the defeat and exile of the sovereign, whose cause he had so often espoused and who had slept within his walls, would be a sore blow to him. It may even have helped to bring about the end.⁴⁷

Like his namesake and uncle the VIIIth chief, he stands out prominently in the long line of Lamont lairds. While the former undoubtedly laid the foundations of the clan's prosperity, the latter built upon them well and truly. He was the first who applied sound business methods to estate management. Without solid assets one cannot go far in Scotland in any age. Sir John filled the family coffers, and invested the proceeds in the one good security available, broad acres. His second title to fame lies in his judgment in associating himself definitely with Argyll. Many people simply loathed the Campbells—"O children of Diarmaid! O litter of swine!"—and perhaps he did, but there is no doubt that they were the most powerful family in the highlands and always had the ear of the court. Within their own sphere they were allowed an almost regal sway. The 5th Earl, for instance, sent over to Ulster for a private end an armed force with his own cannon in 1560 and exacted an annual tribute in return. He was hereditary Justiciar of Argyll and the Isles, and hereditary Commissary of the former.⁴⁸ By his alliance with MacCailein Sir John contrived, while still a youth, to get entry to Holyrood, and to render services to the Crown which afterwards stood him in good stead. Thirdly, he seems somehow to have encouraged the settlement of his clansmen in other and more fertile parts than Cowal. No doubt he financed the education of his black-coated brothers at St Andrews, and used his influence to get them benefices. It is in his time, too, as above mentioned, that the first Lamont colonies were established in Ayrshire and Tiree. If they were swart to turn their heels on their own fine country, still and on they were preparing a lair for their kin's refuge in the troubles that were to come. It is curious also to find the tartan in the Peebles district in 1567. But most interesting of all is the first definite evidence of scattered Black clansmen on several occasions between 1516 and 1568.⁴⁹ The name McIlleduie was a link with the Braemar Lamonts, who had adopted it also. The clan had now indeed its shielings over Scotland from the North Sea to the Atlantic, and there they will remain, it seems, converted into homesteads—*cho fad 's a bhios muir a' bualadh ri lic*—as long as sea beats on stone.

CHAPTER VIII

OLD STANDARDS AND NEW,
1568-1614

ELEVEN years was the limit of the XIth chief DUNCAN's office from his succession in 1568 to that of his son in 1579, and indeed he is not heard of any later than 1576. He was alike eclipsed in the minds of his people by his distinguished father and by his adventurous offspring. Himself a grandfather, it was too late to escape from the lowland cantrips to which Sir JOHN X had accustomed his household. The "young laird of Toward," as he was the first to be called, whose earliest appearance was in 1533, had been brought up in an atmosphere of law and lawyers, of parchment and of inkhorns. He employed a lowland "doer," Colquhoun of Kilmardinny, and espoused a lowland lady, a Stewart of Ardgowan. He saw his native county first mapped and then described in print, and it was perhaps in his time that the pattern of the tartan was recorded. If he maintained the family harper, who was Finlay *ruadh*, he did his best to evict from their hereditary holding his physicians, the Leitchs. There is little that is original to his credit, unless that he seems to have allowed his lawyers to introduce feu-holding, an agricultural and monetary tenure, which helped to develop the estate. In settling his brothers in their lairdships he was only completing what his father had planned, and yet he did not follow in his father's footsteps by engaging in the public service, but was content to see his cousin Henry employed as the envoy of the Regent and the Queen in exile. It was the ingle neuk for this chief and not the going foot. Despite his inclinations, however, he had perforce to mingle in the tuilzies of the time. He was the victim of a queer onsetting by his "beloved kinsman" of Knockdow at his own castle yetts, and his cousin of Silvercraigs was slain by the Maclachlans for a fancied insult *en route* from Castle Lachlan to the ferry of Otter. His children reacted to these sturts and strifes and turned their faces from the lowlands altogether. Three daughters were married to Campbells, and James their brother was a wild spark who owed his life to the hospitality of a McGregor of Glenstrae, whose only son he had just dirked in a brawl beyond Black Mount.¹

Their mother was doubtless the Isabel Stewart, of "the race of kings

and tinkers" (*Stiùbbhairtaich, cinne nan rìgh 's nan ceàrd*), who is first mentioned as Duncan's wife in 1568, when she was infeft in Melldalloch and in Kilmichael, upon which £4000 was lent to the chief by James Stewart of Ardgowan (by Inverkip across the Firth), presumably her father. As there were no Jameses in the family before, one imagines that the heir was so named from his maternal grandfather. But Isabel was not necessarily the only wife of Duncan. In the same year a Robert Stewart, who was probably her brother, was established as feuar in Achanaskioch near Inveryne, for a return of 4½ merks money, 8 bolls of bere (a coarse form of barley still grown in the Long Island), a cow, "ane mittone," a stone of butter, and 100 loads of peats.²

Apart from Monydrain this is the earliest of the chiefs' grants in feu as opposed to ward or military service. It was the holding of the Leitchs, or hereditary physicians, who had borrowed £40 from Duncan upon it, and when they attempted to redeem it they were obstructed by him in a way which "would wrench the heart of a stone," as the saying has it (*bbeireadh e snìomb air cridhe na cloiche*). He seems to have maintained that it belonged to him absolutely instead of merely in security, and the mediciners having tendered repayment in the kirk of Kilfinan (quite contrary to New Testament standards), and having consigned the money with Campbell of Otter (who was married to an Isobel Lamont) as a neutral party, had to resort to the Courts in Edinburgh before they could regain possession. One wonders if some ailment had been beyond their skill, or if it was merely the inconvenience of having to send to Kerry for potions that had resulted in the estrangement. But as the Leitchs retained their office for nearly a century it is clear that the differences were adjusted, and no doubt the sale of Achanaskioch was effected that their home might be transferred to the precincts of Toward, where as it proved their services were to be essential in a few years' time. Another officer of the household was the chaplain, who was, strange to say, a Campbell of the house of Achavoulin, beside Toward, to be referred to later. One does not know the exact site of the bard croft of Finlay roy Harper, who was very possibly the same *Fionnladh am bard ruadh* whose poems are to be found in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, by Sir James McGregor (*d.* 1551).³

The harper was a witness for Duncan when he was completing his title to Achadachoun and Kames in Kerry in January of 1569, and very likely his holding was thereabouts. If these were held of Argyll he had to enter with McGibbon in Ballochandrain of Glendaruel,⁴ and with the Crown in Evanachan, where he was opposed both by Argyll and Mac-lachlan but unsuccessfully.⁵ This chief does not seem to have added

at all to the family patrimony, although he figures in an extraordinary number of writs. They were rendered necessary by the complicated condition of the barony title. In order to "mak siccar" his lawyers, who included his brother Mr Archibald and two separate John Lamonts who were notaries, insisted as early as 1547 in his taking an assignation from that brother of the non-entry duties. Then a new grant was obtained from the Queen, reserving Sir John's liferent. Many other steps followed, which are of no interest whatsoever, and everything seems to have been done twice over. There was to be no such error as had been committed in 1472 when the entail was not properly validated. As a result Sir John and his two sons were all tolerable penmen, as they had to handle the black quill so often. It must have been hard indeed to discover such a trio anywhere else in the highlands at that date. They must also have been able to read, and it was in 1567 that the first book was printed in Gaelic—(it was only the sixtieth in Scotland)—John Knox's liturgy translated by Bishop Carswell of the Isles, which made letters possible for clansmen who had no English.⁶

Duncan had seen his brothers established in their new lairdships in 1554. Mr Archibald's portion was Stillaig, S. Auchagoyl, Glennan, and a fraction of Auchinshelloch, a £10 land in Kerry, together with 5 merks a year from the Coustoun lairdship, to which Lingartan (3*m*) in Glassary was added later. Except the last, whose return was nominal, these were all held by military service. Failing heirs male of the body of the vassal there was a clause of return in favour of the chiefs, and the whole lairdship was in fact recovered in the next century by Sir JAMES XIV. Robert's cadetship of Silvercraigs (with its ferry to Otter and its Kilmi-chaelbeg mansion) and the kirklands of Kilfinan has been mentioned above (32 and 3 merklands respectively). The bastard Walter was laird of the £4 land of N. Auchagoyl beside Kilfinan by 1569, but he was no vassal of the chief's. The cadetship of Ardlamont had been absorbed into the barony in 1554, but Monydrain, Ascog, Knockdow, and Coustoun were all bien concerns whose estates have been already indicated.⁷

Such was the distribution of lands within the Lamont country when it first figures on the map of Scotland. Two charts were prepared in this period by draftsmen from abroad who had glimpsed its shores from passing craft. Their observations are undoubtedly inaccurate, but they are valuable at this early time. If the actual appearance of old Cowal cannot be gathered from them, one can elicit the prominent features which impressed these first surveyors. In the earliest detailed map of Scotland, which was printed in 1571, the general outline between Loch Long on the east and "Fin Lacus" [Loch Fyne] on the west is recognisable although

imperfect. It is all loosely included under the old title of "Argadia," which should rightly be restricted to the district between Cowal and Lorne. "Loch Heke" [Eck] is shown as an arm of the sea, while Loch Striven is omitted altogether. "Kylmay" [Kilmun] is on the wrong side of the Holy Loch, and "Donuayn" forced over to Ardlamont in order to make an even distribution of the few names at command. "Loch Rebinsay," the old style for Loch Riddon, goes inland as far as Loch Eck (which it should not because of Glendaruel). No Lamont centres are depicted at all. The same faults are present in a chart of 1578 in the British Museum, but they are forgiven when one finds in large letters on Toward Point the word "LAUMOND," with a sketch of an imposing castle with two towers. The clan was on the map at last. Her Majesty's visit had been fruitful. Although Ascog Castle must have been built a century before, the first record of it is in the next few years.⁸

The great Mercator's Atlas (he died in 1593) is a slight improvement on these earlier efforts, and has three names of interest although they are all corrupt and barely identifiable. In the Strone peninsula is shown "Ymuse" about where Glaic is now, but no such place is elsewhere heard of. Again, "Duglyn" appears on a point projecting into Loch Fyne nearly opposite Tarbert. This must be Dow-glennan, a steading referred to in early charters but now vanished. Its ferry across the loch was its title to fame, and would of course impress the surveyor on board ship. To the north of this and forment Lochgilphead is marked "Nadayn." If Kilfinan is intended, as seems most likely, it is almost unrecognisable, but perhaps the word is a lesser distortion of Eva-nachan. Inveryne is hardly a possibility as it lies well to the south. One must allow, of course, for the difficulties of reducing to print the guttural murmurings of the Celtic deckhands who gave the information to the draftsman. Another map published just after the Union of 1603 is based on the last, but it is of value because it plots also a track leading up the margin of Loch Fyne from "Duglin" through "Nadayn" and "Killcran" (St Catherine's) up Glenfyne to "Broad Albayn" (Breadalbane), where it forks north to Lochaber and south to Loch Long.⁹

As this cartographer provides quaint sketches of a Highland man and woman of the period, he had probably some first-hand knowledge of the country. But a few years before, an industrious clergyman called Timothy Pont had undertaken an elaborate personal survey of the whole kingdom on a scale differing in kind from any previous attempts. The results are in manuscript in the National Library, and have only been imperfectly published. One drawing entitled "Coull, Lorne, and Lochaw," for instance, is reproduced as an end paper to this book

for the first time after having remained hidden for some 300 years in the murky light of the Laigh Parliament House. It contains a detailed representation of the parishes of Dunoon and Kilmun, Inverchaolain, and Kilmodan (Glendaruel), but unfortunately Kilfinan is only outlined, no names being given between "Calow" (Caladh in the Kyles) and "Kilmalash" (the old name for Strachur kirk). In a pencil jotting quite out of position appears Drum Farm, but not Inveryne. The rest of the map is almost too full for the present purpose, as so many place-names are given that none stand out with emphasis, but a few points call for notice.¹⁰

The configuration of the countryside is not quite accurate, but it is wonderful considering the difficulties which had to be surmounted. One is reminded that it was after all only a rough draft to be perfected later by the occasional notes scattered about in ordinary script, such as "put these hard together" or "this 3 m. moir neir." "K. of Kill-mund" figures prominently depicted as of collegiate dignity. Across the Holy Loch "Aldnaskein" establishes definitely where lay the N.E. boundary of the Lamont jurisdiction over Nether Cowal. "Castell of Towart" appears peculiarly in duplicate rising above wooded policies. The east-most tower is in much the same style as "Dunuyne Cast.," of stout but simple build with penthouse roof and battlements. It is evidently the 15th-century keep erected by JOHN VIII. The reverend gentleman has accurately recorded the four stories, though he had mistakenly placed the entrance on the ground floor. To the west is a more elaborate tower with a divided roof and many windows standing in a courtyard. Probably this is the 16th-century mansion of the Campbells of Achavoulin or Auchawilling, to be referred to later.

There is no sign of "Ymuse." The old Knockdow is correctly depicted opposite "Cowston," well to the north of the modern house on Kilmichael. The only two mills shown are at "Innercheulan K." and "Ardgaltrach," and the only substantial woodland appears around Loch Striven and on the east side of the Kyles. This suggests that what is now a barren district was then more thickly populated (which is corroborated by the fact that the teinds of Inverchaolain (as will be seen) were more valuable than those of Kilfinan). Otherwise the map-maker's work does not call for comment, except that Glendaruel is filled with names. Most prominent of these is the handsome mansion of "Garuy" (Garvie), the traditional home of the Blacks. At its very head is "Towbyrfowar," the icy well, which was the northern extremity of Nether Cowal and can only be identified in this source. The Loch Eck district is also given in detail, but it is of less interest to the Lamonts than the remainder. As

well as the note quoted above that "the lenth of Cowell is threttie myles," one is told that its "bread" is "betuix Loch-Lung and Lochfyn" 12 miles. There is also a good sketch entitled "Part of Cowel, comonlie called Cowl, to witt Glastree and Ardskeodnish, all this in Argyll," which is valuable for the light it casts on the extent of these various districts.¹¹

But there is also in existence a description of the county as a whole in this period, for in 1578 the Bishop of Ross, John Lesley, had the courage to publish, in Rome of all places, an account of his barren and unprofitable calf-country. His remarks upon Argyllshire in general no doubt apply to Cowal. Of Loch Fyne he narrates that "in the gudness and multitude of herring it hes a gay commend, decored round about with nobil touris, as with Argyle selfe, and utheris potent worthie and honorable barounis nocht few." The keep of Inveryne would be among the towers and Lamont among the barons. By this time, of course, MacCailein had come to control Loch Fyne from his headquarters at Inveraray, which had replaced Dunoon and Kilmun as the head burgh of the county, having been created a royal burgh in 1554, with right to a tolbooth (now represented by the court-house) and to the market cross that still exists. "Quhair Argyle lokes to the sey, evin to Lochfyn, [it] is full of hiche craigs, and black barren mountainis; but nocht unmeit to feid hart and hyne [hinds], cattel and wyld beistes: bot to beir kornes, except in sum glenis or vallayes neir the sey syde, is verie unmeit." Probably Glendaruel was the typical exception, but there were many farms in the Lamont country which also yielded a crop. The details as to Innellan and to Auchnahall have been given above. On the whole, however, one may believe that the country was still infested with the wild boars and wolves which gave their names to Kames-na-muklach and Port-a-vaidue in Kerry, and roamed over by the herds of deer which provided merry occasions of clan huntings with the hounds and bows.¹²

"In the mountanis of Aargyl," the learned author continues, "ar fed ky (cattle), nocht tame, as in utheris partes, bot lyke wylde hartes, wandir- ing out of ordour, and quhilkes, throuch a certane wyldnes of nature, flie the cumpanie or syght of men: as may be seine in winter, how deip saeuir be the snawe, how lang saevir the frost ly, how scharpe or calde how evir it be thay nevir thair heid sett undir the ruffe of ony hous. Thair flesh of a meruellous sueitnes, of a woundirful tendirnes, and excel- lent diligatnes of taste, far deceiues the opiniounis of men, that nevir tasted thame." The good bishop had happy memories, it seems, of sumptuous repasts on the bonny bonny banks of Loch Fyne, and as appears in a moment of Clyde also. One fears somehow that the clergy of to-day would not be so enthusiastic about a roast from a highland

steer. The best cattle, he proceeds, are reared in Carrick about Loch Goil. "Thair herdis keipis the ky: bot the oxne not, except ane with ilkie drave: for thay tile the ground with horses." After being fattened "through all partes of the realme thay ar sent to be sauld: and being slane, thay ar poydret, or with salte ar seasoned unto the neist summer, to be keipet frome corruptione to thair commoune use of daylie fude, as swyne fleshe is uset in uthir cuntries, of quhilke our cuntrie peple hes lytle plesure." The Clyde lochs were then as famous, it seems, for their salt beef as they are now for their salt herring. In the lowlands the Lamont cattle were no longer regarded as goods of rebels, as they had been in 1565, but as good feeding.¹³

There is no hint in this description of an important innovation in Cowal, the erection of corn mills to replace the old querns in which the grain was ground by hand, and which remained in use in the poorer parts of the highlands until recently. The two Lamont mills in Kerry to be often after referred to were Melldalloch to serve the Inveryne district, and Mecknoch (now called Millhouse) for the southern district. The former is known to have existed in 1568, but it was almost certainly quite recent. Mr Archibald had put up a mill in his lairdship by 1581, which was known as the mill of (S.) Auchagoyl and was probably Mecknoch, although one cannot be certain. No doubt they were the old type of "black mill" well known in Argyllshire, with one wheel only lying horizontally under the mill stone. Where the meal for Toward Castle was ground is not known, for the later mill of Achafour was not in existence, but Dunoon or Rothesay were always open, and Knockdow had erected a mill at Inverchaolain by 1600. In Glassary there was a clan mill at Fernoch. Whenever they were built the whole tenants would be thirled to use them, and efforts made to destroy the hand querns, though many an *òran bràthan* has been preserved to this day. A monopoly was essential to success. Cowal was far in advance of the north-western highlands. In Mull and Skye, for instance, they had no mills till 1723 and 1730 respectively. But in Fife they were of long standing, although the mill which was leased by Duncan's uncle Mr Allan in 1550 was still known as the new mill of St Andrews.¹⁴

This passed to his elder son Henry, who took his family abroad in 1582 to France and Holland on a military errand from which they never returned (although perhaps he did). The younger son, Mr Allan junior, was a churchman and a "regent" of the University, and carried on the family traditions in Fife. A later chapter gives an outline of their story. By a curious coincidence the patron to whom Henry had attached himself, the Regent Moray, was also the superior of the Lamonts who had

settled in Braemar in 1483, and no doubt he acted as a link between them. These northern Lamonts were in a good position, and had acquired, perhaps by marriage, the lairdships of Allancaich and Inverey by this time. But about 1576 they lost the former to the Farquharsons, who seized their opportunity when circumstantial evidence had implicated the young laird in a murder of which he was afterwards acquitted. The estate was never recovered by the Lamonts.¹⁵

The bonds between these scattered branches of the clan were but slight in those days when it was ill to meet, but they were lasting, as later events were to prove. Allegiance to Duncan XI was, of course, the most important. One knows also that the Lamonts in Fife were using the lion on their seals, although there is no evidence of that in Braemar. Argyllshire Gaelic would be another feature in common, for even in Fife the highland speech persisted till long after. Crab apple was a native of each district. But lastly the tartan would be the most kenspeckle of all badges, although as one of the green-blue group it was not unlike that of the Farquharsons. Despite the prevailing impression to the contrary, it seems likely that the earliest description of the setts in the *Vestiarium Scoticum* may be attributed to this time (c. 1571). The common clan traditions and the tales of old enmities with Campbells and Maclachlans would be anxiously treasured by all Lamonts Scotland over. These were preserved by the bards, such, for example, as Finlay *ruadh*, whose function has been described as follows.¹⁶

“One of the most purely native and the most characteristically Celtic habits of life which prevailed in the country, and which in itself might appear to be the most harmless, as it certainly was one of the most poetic and the most attractive, . . . was the habitual entertainment of travelling bards who by harp and song handed down the stories and traditions of the clans.” Experience showed, however, that “evil lay in the deathless animosities between clan and clan, and the cruel passions which were developed in the prosecution of them. It was the very business of the bards to carry these on from generation to generation, and by all the incitements of voice and of stringed instruments to keep every offence from being forgotten, and every deed of barbarous revenge from being repented of. Sitting in the hall of some strong keep, built upon a stormy headland or a sheltered islet—or in the one long undivided apartment which occupied the whole of a house built of turf and wattles—the bards kept up round roaring fires, and in the midst of still more uproarious companies, the unquenchable flames of hatred and revenge. Thus a barbarous past was prevented from ever becoming a past at all. Time was not allowed to have any effect in softening manners, or in bringing

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ACHAVOULIN (OR AUCHAWILLING) (LATE 16TH CENTURY)

about the oblivion of injuries. . . . Of all the causes which led to this condition of things, and kept it up, the bards were the incarnation." These words of the eighth Duke of Argyll are true of the Lamont country in this period. In Duncan's time there were two instances of such animosities, one between the Lamonts and the Maclachlans, and the other between the chief and one of his cadets at the instigation of Argyll. As the latter was the first to occur it may be first treated. The cadet was the Baron *Ruadh* of Knockdow, the representative of a house which was red-handed as well as red-haired, and which did not scruple on this occasion to ally itself with some of the traditional enemy the clan Campbell.

Before unfolding the event in which the Baron *Ruadh* was the villain a word has to be said of the Campbells of Achavoulin, from whom he hoped to obtain assistance. Their dwelling was almost at the yetts of Toward Castle in the mansion of Auchawilling, whose ruins still stand, including a beautiful little chapel, in the gardens of modern Castle Toward, a bowshot to the west of the keep (plate 14). It was built about then, between the Reformation and the Union of the Crowns. These Campbells had been received in the heart of the Lamont country as early as 1536, and Sir JOHN X had no doubt imagined that they would become loyal friends and adherents. It is not proved that they were feudally his vassals, but presumably that was so. The story shows, however, that one at least was faithful, but "tod's whelps are ill to tame," as appeared two generations later. Duncan himself had infest them in an annual rent of 20 merks from the rents of Toward Houstoun, which was never redeemed by the chiefs until 1714, but remained as a penance for the folly of this harbouring the enemy at their own throats. Achavoulin was a cadet of Ardkinglas, and the two were under the thumb of MacCailein, who was then Colin the 6th Earl, "called by the highlandmen *Caleine Teah* . . . of fair complexion, tall of stature, modest and just," who had succeeded his brother Archibald, *Gilleasbuig Donn*, in September of 1573. The tradition that is preserved is as follows, and is dated some 300 years before it appeared in a local paper in 1898.¹⁷

"At the time when the Earl of Argyle had his residence in the Castle of Dunoon he often had occasion to assemble the Barons on *Tom-a-Mhoid* (viz. the 'knoll of the court'), now misnamed *Tom-na-Bhoid*. The Barons of the district performed the duties of jurymen on *Tom-a-Mhoid*, and did duty also on the Gallowhill when required to carry out the extreme penalty of the law." Among these was the Baron *Ruadh* of Knockdow, and one day "the Earl of Argyle despatched a messenger to Inverchaolan commanding (him) to appear at the Castle of Dunoon without delay. The Baron accordingly did appear before the Earl, who informed him

that he had a feud or quarrel with Lamont of Lamont, who at that time lived in Toward Castle, and says Argyle, 'Baron, you go and take off his head and when you bring it here, I will give you the lands of Toward-in-Uilt as your reward.' The Baron cheerfully undertaking the duty imposed upon him, left his blessing with Argyle, and departed for Inverchaolan. Thereafter the Baron paid several visits to Nether Cowal to become acquainted with the movements of the laird of Lamont and arrange his plan of attack. He having learned that the laird of Lamont had been in the habit of having a daily ride over his policies on a favourite steed which he kept for that purpose, ordered the swiftest pony in Inverchaolan to be saddled, and set off to Nether Cowal.

"The chaplain to the laird of Lamont had been a member of the Clan Campbell and one of the family of Ardkinglas. The chaplain had his residence at Auchawillen. The Baron gave the chaplain to understand that he had the compliments of our Lord Argyle to convey that day to the laird of Lamont, and said the Baron, 'You proceed to yonder eminence and signal to me when Lamont passes yonder bend in the road.' The chaplain complied with the commands of the Baron, but instead of signalling to the Baron, he made signals to the laird of Lamont to escape for his life. Lamont made tracks for the castle with all possible speed. The sentinel on the castle wall having seen the pursuit and his master in danger of his life, had the gate closed against the approach of the Baron. So near had the Baron come to the laird of Lamont that with a stroke of his sword he cut off the tail of his horse before his pursuit was put a stop to by the officials in charge of Toward Castle.

"After the foregoing experience and with the certainty that two enemies had their dwelling so near his Castle, Lamont's peace of mind can well be imagined. He contrived, however, some means by which he became reconciled to Argyle, who directly sent a messenger to Inverchaolan commanding the Baron to appear at Dunoon without delay. On arrival he was shown to an apartment where he found Argyle, who informed him that peace and friendship had been made up between himself and the laird of Lamont, and that he (the Baron) was not in any way to trouble or interfere with the laird thereafter. 'Thy will be done, Argyle,' replied the Baron, 'but I shall have the lands of Toward-in-Uilt.' 'You have rendered me no service to entitle you to those lands,' replied Argyle. 'Be that your opinion, Argyle,' replied the Baron, 'but remember the contract. If you give me the lands without the head Lamont may keep his head, otherwise I will be here within a week with the head under my arm.' 'Begone, Baron, you are a covetous man,' replied Argyle. 'I promised you the lands and you shall have them, but I did not promise

you titles to these lands, and you shall never have the scrape of pen from me as long as you live.' ”

Unfortunately, however, for the story the Knockdow family have a complete progress of titles to Toward-nuilt (or Toward Fleming) from 1540. But it may well relate to Innellan, which Argyll perfidiously granted to two different people, first to the McKessaigs and then to John v of Knockdow. The narrator was evidently ignorant of geographic detail, as he did not ken that Knockdow was in Nether Cowal as much as Toward. The basis of the tradition is established as true by record evidence, which fixes the incident as in November 1573 (thus indicating Colin as the Earl), and involves John younger also. King James on the chief's petition appointed a commission of three lairds from the lowlands to inquire into the claim that the lairds of Knockdow, elder and younger, should forfeit their whole heritage for “invasion of their said lord superior with hagbuts [hand guns], culverings [18-pounders] and other invasive weapons for his murder by a most cruel death.” If this was proved in strict feudal law the forfeiture inevitably followed. One can hardly credit the allegation that the cadets had artillery, but maybe fire-arms had by then been introduced into Cowal, although they did not reach the north-west highlands until 1600 at the earliest. The court was to be held in the calm atmosphere of the tolbooth of Dumbarton, and the reason assigned is interesting. It was “because the parts in which the said lands lie are rude, and the people there are perverse, and prone to be stirred up to convocations and turbulence, neither will men of intelligence be judges, nor will advocates compear, to sit and continue in the courts held on such lands, which by occasion of the dangers of the sea, and the uncertain bounds, and the iniquity of the people, behoved to remove.” This was said to be especially advantageous to the defenders, as they would be ensured of an impartial bench. The alternative was to try the case in the baron court of Inveryne before the chief's own baillie. Conditions are different to-day, and counsel do not hesitate to attend the sheriff court at Dunoon. In modern eyes the criminal aspect would be considered completely to outweigh the civil, but then apparently the assault was disregarded and the insult was the basis of the proceedings.¹⁸

The result is not recorded, but by 1576 the case had reached the Court of Session in Edinburgh. No doubt the elder defender would lose his liferent interest in favour of the chief, but by 1601 the estates were confirmed to Knockdow's grandson, and the matter was forgotten. Most similar cases were remitted to arbitration, as happened when Duncan's brother Robert, i of Silvercraigs, was killed by Maclachlan of Dunamuck (beside Kilmichael Glassary) in 1579. The story is as follows,

and it is told to-day in the district. The Lamont laird had dinner at Castle Lachlan, and kail was on the board. "*Cal fada MacLaomin,*" commented Maclachlan, and Lamont answered, "*Agus cal leobach Mac-Lachlainn.*" In English this is, "Lamont's long kail" and "Maclachlan's untidy kail." The answer was apparently resented (although for no very obvious reason), and when Lamont departed for the ferry to return to his lairdship in Glassary he was followed or accompanied by Dunamuck determined to avenge the insult. They came to blows at a place near Inver called Bealach-an-Rioplach, the pass of slaughter, and there Silvercraigs was worsted. The matter was adjusted, however, between the chiefs without further bloodshed.¹⁹

It is not clear if that happened in the lifetime of Duncan, as it was the young JAMES XII who signed the agreement in January of 1581. He had married Moir daughter of Maclachlan in 1565, and was therefore anxious to stop the feud. She brought him £1000 of tocher, and he had her infest in Drumnaglas, Achanaskioch and Auchinshelloch (a £10 land), and undertook to redeem from their wad-setters Toward Houstoun, Strondharaig, Killellan and Inveryne, the rents of which were to maintain the spouses. There was another son of Duncan, an Archibald, who seems to have perished in a similar tuilzie as he only appears between 1569 and 1575 in Kerry. Two daughters of the chief at least were married to Campbells, and the two clans were on good terms for a while. Elisabeth's husband was Archibald of Otter, and he got 500 merks with her in 1569, while Isobel brought 700 to John Bishop of Argyll in six years' time. It was evidently a rising market, or else the churchman had driven a harder bargain.²⁰ It was probably a third daughter Marion who was the wife of John Campbell of Carrick by 1567.²¹

Of the decline of Duncan there is no word in the records, but he was alive in 1576 and had died by 1579. His litigations are his last traces, although they were but slight as against his father's, for "*cha mbac mar an t' athar thu,*" they said. He had inherited, however, from Sir JOHN X a reluctance to support the kirk's finances, and in 1575 was sued by the vicar of Inverchaolain for non-payment of teinds. This anti-clerical attitude is peculiar in one who had five uncles and a brother (Auchagoyl) in the cloth. It contrasts strangely with the piety of his forebears, who had been so handsome to the monks of Paisley. It was also against the spirit of the motto "*ne parcas.*" But perhaps his balance had been upset by the robust and primitive attentions of his kinsmen from Knockdow, to which his end may even have been due, although the documents do not disclose it.²²

The stolid Duncan XI was succeeded by the more dashing JAMES

XII, who had been nurtured in an atmosphere of unrest and with enemies at the yetts. He was the last of the old type of warrior chiefs among the Lamonts, who did not stop to think before they acted, "a perfect specimen of" the historian Tytler's "Scoto-Hebridean barons, who so often concealed the ferocity of the highland freebooter under the polished exterior which they had acquired by an occasional residence in the low country." In consequence his policy was always vigorous but often irresponsible. He shed his share of blood, but atoned for it later. He shunned the feather bed and the cosy nook for the heather and the mountain. His "bliss 'twas to be with the hunter, or crossing the hills in the spring." When young he fancied a revival of the ancient independence of the highlands, but wiser considerations in the end prevailed, and he co-operated with his namesake King James VI in strengthening the bond with the lowlands. On the whole he led his people safely through the perils of increasing governmental interference, and left them a well-ordered unit in the new United Kingdom which after 1603 extended from Land's End to John o' Groats.²³

Between his marriage in the summer of 1565 and his succession in 1579 he became namely as a result of a cantrip which reflects alike the best and worst in Celtic character. As the tale was not reduced to writing until 1817 there is room for some difference of opinion upon points of detail, but the broad outlines are unvaried.²⁴ With some of the "lads of the belt" in attendance the "young Laird of Lamond was travelling from Cowal towards the King's castle of Inverlochy" in Lochaber. His mission is differently stated,²⁵ but no doubt he was scouring the forest for game and following the arrow's flight. He rode north with his retainers at his stirrups till he met by accident or by design a hunting party under young McGregor of Glen Strae (beneath Ben Cruachan). His name is said to have been Evan, only and dear son of Alistair, but it is not easy to identify him in that family. They supped together "at a little inn or change-house near the Blackmount at the mouth of Glencoe," no doubt the forerunner of the present King's House Inn so well known to modern wayfarers. A sinister spot it is, where "none should pluck the beard of a stranger," as is the saying, and so it proved on that occasion. If it existed at all before the statutes of Iona it would be a smoky den with no windows and a roof hole for chimney, ill equipped for lodgers of their rank, but stocked with the French wine which was the staple liquid of the highland gentry until Government's restrictions incited to distilling.²⁶

When horns had passed from hand to hand a while a quarrel arose, and James at sudden embedded his dirk in Evan across the board at

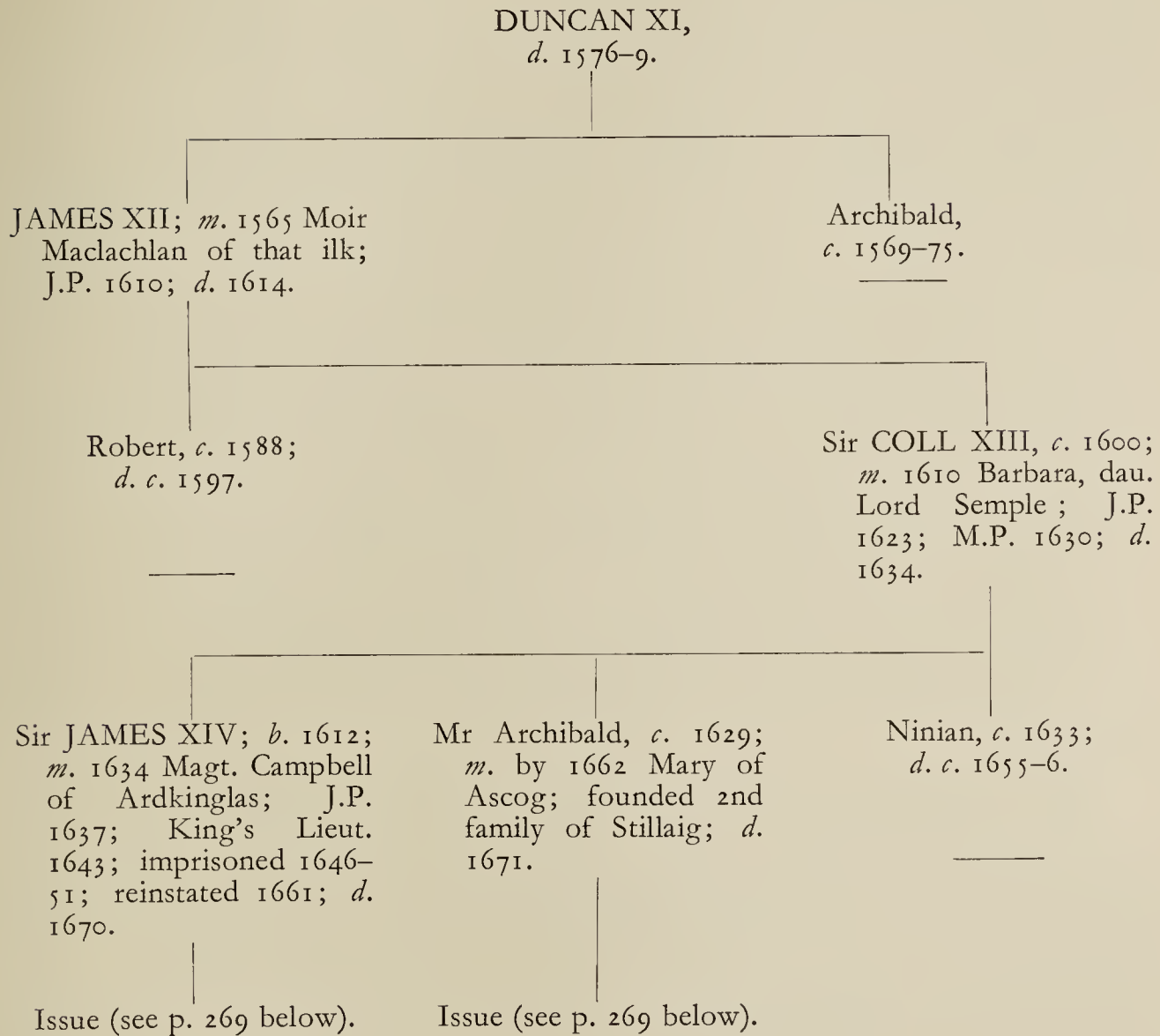
which they drank. Appalled at his deed, and hotly assailed by the other's ghillies, he made rapidly for home and safety as he thought. In the dark waste of night, however, he missed his way, and striking too far west came hot-foot down Glen Strae to Stronmelochan. Arriving in extremity beneath the lighted walls he pomelled on the oak and claimed that hospitality which was the due of the forlorn throughout the old highlands. The father of Evan himself was at the doorpost in a moment, "with the heat of the fire in his legs" (*tha teas an teine 'n a luirgnean*). Although Lamont disclosed that he was wanted by the McGregors for blood his host assured him on the naked steel that there he would be safe. "I would give him a night's quarters though he had a man's head under his arm" was a byword in those days. This oath the old laird kept although instantly confronted with the corpse of his beloved son, and deaved with the imprecations of his clan. "McGregor's lady and his two daughters," it is said, "filled the house with their cries and lamentations. 'Be quiet,' says the chief, with his eyes streaming with tears, 'and let no man presume to touch the youth, for he has McGregor's word and honour for his safety, and as God lives, he shall be safe and secure whilst in my house.'" ²⁷

Next day the old laird with some dozen of his henchmen escorted his ill-omened guest unskaited across the hills towards Cowal, "far past clan Alpine's outmost guard." At the shore of Loch Fyne his duty was at an end, and they took their breath at

"Dundarave of the tower, of the turrets,
Behind the trees on the edge of the current;
Dun of hospitality, of cups, and of brave men;
Dun of the battlements, and of the scarlet banners,
Where heroes were wont to dwell."

Having secured him a boat from the McNaughtons, McGregor parted with this admonition: "Lamont, now you are safe; no longer can I, or will I, protect you; keep out of the way of my clan. May God forgive and bless you." No doubt they little thought to meet again, but meet they did and later in life young James was able to protect and succour his former saviour at Toward. One may be sure he felt much safer when salt Fyne was between him and the clan he had bereaved. But as he came by Loch Eck side he would be in no mood for "taking joy of the forest" of Benmore, and in future when he hunted, "and sweet was the hounds' eager baying, driving the wild herds in flight," it would be within the bounds of Cowal, or at least beyond bowshot of the McGregor country.²⁸

PEDIGREE OF XITH-XIVTH CHIEFS



Note: last pedigree on p. 101.

But even as chief his wild and reckless spirit was still in him, and he found new outlets in Kintyre and Islay. In the very year of his succession, as if to mark his freedom from restraint, he formally allied himself with the McDonalds of Dunnyveg in Islay, against all comers, "the authority and my Lord of Argille only excepted." This was a sinister move, for these island chiefs were the stormy petrels of the highlands, and the prototypes of the Scoto-Hebridean freebooter barons above referred to. Their house was descended from the Lords of the Isles, whose power had rivalled that of the throne, and had throughout the century been constantly engaged in intrigue or rebellion against government. In 1544, for instance, they had been on board the hostile fleet which had driven out Sir JOHN X and the royal forces from the shores of Dunoon. When James threw in his lot with the clan Donald of the south it was only natural to assume that he intended to reverse his predecessors' studied policy of loyalty to the Stewarts. It will be noticed that "the authority" to whom allegiance was reserved was very conveniently indefinite. Both parties put pen to paper at Toward on the 1st September 1579 before witnesses who included a couple of McDonald's henchmen. The island lord and his retinue were receiving the hospitality so recently accorded to Queen Mary. As there was no anchorage there for the birlinns they would be beached for the night, while all repaired "to the tall battlemented tower that was the resting-place of bards and makers of song . . . to the dwelling that was not niggardly, wherein was the roar of pipes, and anon the sound of harps, with the gleam of silver cups, making wine flow free, and pouring it into the goldsmith's handiwork."²⁹

The connection was not confined to the chiefs, for in the next year Ascog, and again in the last year of the century young Silvercraigs, were in touch with Dunnyveg. When James invested the latter cadet in his lairdship in 1580 he was accompanied on the jaunt across the ferry by the young Knockdow, who had attempted the murder of his father. In furtherance of the policy of no malice he assuaged the feud that would otherwise have resulted from the slaughter of old Silvercraigs his uncle by Maclachlan of Dunamuck, and secured in satisfaction for the slight to the clan the Kames beside Loch Gair for the cadet and for himself a renunciation of the assailants' last pretensions to Evanachan, which in future the Lamonts held undisputedly of the Crown. In 1590 there was some trouble over this property with the Campbells of Otter, who were encroaching on it, but after litigation they were received as vassals on condition of military service.³⁰ By 1582 the ill-feeling with the Mac-lachlans seems to have died down and James was acting as executor

to their chief, his father-in-law. But looking to the past the friendship cannot have been deep. A little later the shadow of "the grey flesher" falls again across the page, when one finds the hereditary enemy, in the person of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas, having to find caution that he would not molest the lairds of Inveryné and Monydrain, who were maintaining together the old traditions of the common descendants of Farquhar grandfather of Sir LAUMON.³¹

But despite these opportunities for trouble in Cowal there was in fact no serious *tuilzie*. The clan appears to have lived peaceably enough throughout the critical years in which the young King James VI, "of wise warp and foolish woof," as the Gaelic has it, was gradually tightening his grip on the outlying parts of the realm. His most famous measure was the Act which is known as the "General Band" of 1587 "for the quieting and keeping in obedience of the disordourit subjectis of the Bordouris, Hielandis, and Ilis." Within twenty years there was "not a single chieftain in the Highlands and Islands who [did] not either speak or at least understand English," and when in 1596 the McNaughtons repaired their castle of Dundarave they carved upon its lintel no Gaelic but an admonition in Scots and their motto, "I hoip in God." In the "General Band" McNaughton and "the Laird of Lawmont" both figured expressly as "landislordis" who were to be responsible for the "brokin men" uncharitably assumed to be harboured on his territory. It was not until the year after James's death that the power and independence of the Islay McDonalds were destroyed, and meantime there must have been many a day for the Lamonts in that green isle when "sweet was the horn of the hunter, heard on the rugged hill crest."³²

The clan was kept in touch with Edinburgh, however, by a number of litigations. In 1587 Mr Archibald of Stillaig, the chief's uncle, at last recovered reparation for his eviction from Auchnahall in Kerry by the Maclachlans some forty years before. But James was simultaneously worsted over Ardyne and Achafour beside Toward. Sir Patrick Houstoun induced their Lordships to decide that the title his ancestor had given to Sir JOHN X in 1522 was in security only, and that he might redeem it on payment of a loan of £800. His case was founded on a contemporary acknowledgment of this position by Sir JOHN, which he produced. To this the Lamonts answered that the Houstouns had been bought out long ago and their letter surrendered, but that the clan's late "freind, doar and agent," Colquhoun of Kilmardinny, had "craftelie and surreptiouslie abstractit it" from the Lamont charter chest, and his son had then sold it to Sir Patrick. As usual, however, the Court shrank from convicting one of their own profession of what was

nothing less than fraud. James had to settle with his adversary, and it cost him £1333.³³

He seems, however, to have fallen out of touch with the Crown, although his cousins in Fife were well known in state circles. For instance, on "Moninday, the fyft of Julij 1585, the King of Danmarkis embassatouris came to St Androis, and luigeit in Henrye Lawmonthis hous in Sanctandrois, and thair abaid fyve oulkis, upon the King of Scotlandis anser of thair commission, for the redemption of the landis of Orknay and Zeitland," which had been set in pledge to Scotland in 1468-9 (as Ardyne and Achafour had been set to Sir JOHN). The host himself had gone abroad in 1582 to the wars, and he was perhaps the *Sieur de la Mont* deputed by the King of France as envoy to both England and Scotland in the end of that year. It is not clear if he had returned by this time, but evidently his home was stately enough for the reception of an embassy from overseas. His Majesty, one is told, "came to St Androis with his nobilitie to that effect on the 28 day of Julii 1585, and maid to them ane gryt bankcat on Sounday the 8 day of August 1585, and gaif thame thair anser in wrytt." As everyone knows it was a negative answer, and the isles are Scottish to this day. No doubt the black-coated Mr Allan junior would tell the incomers in the best manner of John Knox that it was their own fault for thus desecrating the Sabbath. When Shakespeare wrote in 1602 of Lamond, a gentleman of Normandy who had been "here" on a mission, it was perhaps Henry that he had in mind. "The brooch, indeed, and gem of all the nation" is an epithet which none but a diplomatist could earn.³⁴

"Mr James Lawmounth of Sanctandrois," the son of Henry and a very different person from the chief, was carrying on the diplomatic traditions of this branch of the family. In June of 1586 he was among those "quha wer in companie with my Lord Bothwell at Berwick at the meeting of the Commissioners" for ratifying the league between England and Scotland, and one hopes he echoed his leader's sentiment upon the execution of the captive Mary Queen of Scots in the spring, to the effect that a coat of mail was the best suit of mourning. But there was one member of the clan, and the first of whom there is record in England, who had gone beyond Berwick and taken service with Queen Elizabeth, his own Queen's executioner. He was a captain in the Navy, and one may be sure he played a gallant part in the repulsion of the Armada of 1588. It is the year before, however, that he emerges into the limelight. In a summary of ships of Fécamp which were taken and spoiled by the English in 1587 is one the *Neptune*, "taken and boarded off the Isle de Baz on the eve of St Barnaby by three pataches and one great English

ship which took it into" Plymouth. "The captain of the great English ship is named Captain Lamont," but who he was is not revealed. One wonders if he had learned his trade in the lochs of the Clyde, and how much larger his vessel was than the flagship birlinn of clan Lamont.³⁵

Meanwhile in Cowal waters there was no thought of the Armada, or indeed at all of the great world that lay furth of Scotland, but folk were busy on their heather and their tideways. In the intervals of his pursuit of stag and black-cock with hounds and hawk, and perhaps with powder and shot as well, the chief was administering the estate. On his succession in 1579 to the barony he had paid the Crown dues of £239 (being twice the old extent valuation of 182 merks), which was somewhat heavier than the last assessment, and on entry to Kames and Achadachoun he had settled with Argyll.³⁶ Young Silvercraigs was received in Ardcalmisaig as above mentioned, and young Stillaig, who was a Robert, in his lairdship, reserving the liferents of his parents Mr Archibald and Christian Campbell, in each case upon the old condition of military service.³⁷ In Ascog's case, however, it was naval service that was provided. The details are first given in James's charter of 1581, which is also the earliest mention of the castle of Ascog, witnessed by Lamont Lamont of Ballochandraine, a new cadet. As well as giving presence at three annual courts of justice in Kerry Robert iv had to supply a well-found galley for himself, and, if required, to accompany his chief on board the flagship with its lion *bratach* at the masthead. These stately craft, which were known as birlinns, were once familiar in highland waters, and were used as the readiest means of transport. They had raised decks aft for the laird, and forward for his pipers, between which the gunwales were enriched with his crest, and perforated for some ten to fifteen oars a side. (Alas! they have long syne vanished from the Clyde, although one lingered in a disused boathouse in South Morar till 1919, when it was sold as an odd lot for 15s.³⁸)

The now fashionable feu-holding was adopted in granting Auchinshelloch for £10 a year to his cousin John, elder of Rudhbodach (or Row in the Kyles of Bute), a son of Mr Archibald of Stillaig, and to John yr. he later granted the Kames by Tighnabraich on the same tenure for £16. These were the first vassals (excepting the favoured Monydrain and Stewart families), for whom the customary ward holding was abrogated. Evidently the advantages of a fixed rent roll were at last appreciated, though of course there was another side to the question. As time went on the returns from all old feus became inadequate in view of the great rise of land values and prices. Late feuing was thus in the end beneficial to a superior, and early feuing the reverse. Some time before 1608

James granted to a family of McCloys the farms of Kildavaig (now separated for the first time) and Achadachoun. As an oldster he saw his clan expanding into the territory of others, when Ascog acquired Barpuntoog in Ardmarnock and settled his son Duncan beyond Loch Fyne in Stronalbanach on the heights above Crarae.³⁹

For himself the chief obtained new leases of teinds from the church, a half of those of Kilfinan and the whole of those of Inverchaolain. For the former he paid £26, and undertook to furnish a corresponding proportion of the stipend and communion elements and the "reparatioun, beiting and uphalding the half of the quire of the said kirk." This brought him into the ken of the abbey of Paisley, whose representative was still patron in right of Sir LAUMON's grant. For the second the rent was 10½ bolls of oatmeal and 140 merks (or £93). It seems peculiar in the light of modern conditions that the endowment of Inverchaolain should have been so much the greater, but there are other indications that it was then well populated. The first of these tacks was shared by Moir his lady, who shortly after was given a liferent charter of certain fertile lands by Inveryne and Toward, the latter including Killellan, which was leased to the Campbells of Achavoulin. By agreement with Argyll the chief also secured a quarter of the teinds of Dunoon.⁴⁰

Moir bore him two sons, a Robert and a Coll, and a daughter, Isobel. The heir was at least fourteen by 1588, when his father passed on to him the barony (reserving his own liferent) under a new entail limited for the first time to those bearing the name and arms of Lamont. But sad to say, within ten years Robert was dead, one knows not how, and the chief formally succeeded him under the entail, as the second son had for some reason been omitted from the destination. This, of course, involved a second payment of Crown dues (now increased by £10 to £249 by the inclusion of Evanachan). Why Coll had not been called on the failure of Robert and his line is a mystery. It may have been due to a lawyer's blunder, but it was as probably deliberate, for like his father he had his excesses in youth. It was an expensive precaution, however, and when Coll was eventually put in his brother's place in 1600 the royal dues had to be met a third time. Some risk was always involved in the practice of "propelling the fee" of estates before the death of a father in days when conditions of life were unsettled. But this was a peculiarly unfortunate case, and must have pressed hardly on the family finances. It is probably the reason why he did not increase his patrimony at all.⁴¹

Shortly before the daughter was married to Lachlan Maclachlan of that ilk. Her tocher was £3000, a large sum for those days, which

was guaranteed by Silvercraigs, Ascog and Stillaig. On his side the husband gave his bride a liferent of his properties of Inens, Auchenlochan and Caladh on the Kyles, and a yearly annuity of 36 bolls of good and sufficient oatmeal, two bolls of bear, and 10 stone of cheese. They must have had good provand at Castle Lachlan, but it rather suggests that the Lamonts, as more in touch with the lowlands, were using a currency of money and the Maclachlans of grain. Isobel was still alive and in enjoyment of her portion in 1634.⁴²

After this interval of quiet the clan was involved in further troubles. Shortly before King James succeeded to the English throne in 1603 a complaint was lodged with the Privy Council by the Sheriff of Bute (the ancestor of the present Marquis). Stewart narrated that Campbell of Auchenbreck in pursuance of his "accustomat wicked trade" and accompanied among others by Silvercraigs and a younger son of Auchagoyl and by some hundreds of "brokin heyland man," was threatening the island of Bute. In fact some of the "maist disordourit lymmaris of his haill oist [host]" had actually raided the Kames at Port Bannatyne, Ardmaleish, the home of the complainer, and Inchmarnock, the isle towards Ardlamont. No particular ploy was assigned to the Lamonts, but they were formally denounced rebels, and no more is heard of the matter. There were several of their clansmen on the island at the time. The chief was related to the Spences of Wester Kames, although how is not known, and a John Lamont was sergeant and officer to the Bannatynes.⁴³

About this time, if one may accept the tradition, McGregor of Glen Strae was requited for his hospitality and protection at an earlier date by being received at the ingle neuk of Toward in his own hour of need. After the famous herschip upon the Colquhouns at Glen Fruin the clan Gregor was proscribed, Stronmelochan reduced to ashes, and the old laird declared outlaw. It was James's opportunity. Some of his clan had no doubt been butchered and pillaged by McGregor, for the first record evidence of the McInturners around Luss (who are supposed to have been there since 1400) is in this period, when they figure as wad-setters of the Colquhouns. But their chief had a debt of honour to discharge, and despite the risk of royal displeasure he gave garth at Toward to his former benefactor. They must have broached many a firkin of wine together ere the oldster unwisely surrendered to the Campbells, after which his end was not long delayed. To have "a wide house liberal and welcoming, . . . a haunt of kinsmen in distress," was always a title of honour in the highlands, but few have extended their hospitality to outlawed strangers. Corroboration of the story is provided by Argyll's undertaking to discharge Lamont and some others a little later

“of all paynis for the resset [receipt or harbouring] of the Clan Gregor, ather upoun ony convictione alreddie maid or ony convictione to be maid in ony time herefter.”⁴⁴

So far it accords with the facts as they are known. Not so with the concluding portion preserved (and no doubt embellished) by the parish minister of 1845 and that Jonathan Oldbuck, Hugh MacDonald. According to the latter “old MacGregor never afterwards left the shelter of that hospitable roof [Toward], until he was carried thence to the neighbouring burying ground. . . . On the lands of Toward . . . there [were] still to be seen [in 1857] a few faint vestiges of an ancient chapel, which in its day was dedicated to the service of the Virgin Mary. The edifice was originally surrounded by a tiny field of graves. All traces of this have nearly passed away. It is a quiet, a lovely, and a secluded spot. . . . In this green nook are laid the bones of old Glenstrae, and until lately—we know not how it is now—the old people of the district could point out the very grave.” The site of the shrine can still be identified on the Knockdow estate in the feu of the Messrs Couper, but unhappily it is well settled that the passing of MacGregor was on the gibbet in Edinburgh, where he was hanged his own height above his retainers as befitted a chief. It is possible, however, but unlikely that his remains were interred at Toward.⁴⁵

His fate was not uncommon in those times of primitive justice, and it is said to have been shared by the last Lamont laird in the Braemar district in 1591. He was Lamont of Inverey and took part with the McIntoshes in a foray against the Farquharsons, who had so evilly evicted his kinsmen from Allancaich a little before. But when law and order were restored again they invoked the criminal authorities, instead of treating the matter as one between gentlemen, and contrived to have Lamont hanged for sheep stealing on a pine tree to the west of Mar Lodge bridge, thereby deservedly incurring a curse which has never left them. If it was literally true that a sheep had been lifted this was a breach of etiquette in the highlands, as these tender animals were still housed at night and so regarded as legitimate private property as compared with cattle which were the gift of God to the first comer. It is only too likely, however, that mere cattle lifting was differently viewed in the braes of Mar and in the wilds of Cowal, and that the full rigours of the law had been enforced for this alone. Elsewhere, however, retaliation was the only redress, “and stolen flocks from reivers bold recaptured by embattled might” was the beau ideal of the efficient clansman. If there was indeed one law for all Scotland, as some believe, it was alike in enactment only and diverse in enforcement. It is strange to find by contrast that when in

1605 a son of Stillaig was done to death by a John Boyle of Doire-nan-corach (an old haunt of the Lamonts of Ardlamont), only a cash payment of £1000 was exacted instead of the "dule tree." It was paid by Argyll (Archibald *gruamach*), who had no doubt assumed responsibility for his vassal under the "General Band." There seem to have been no serious feuds with the clan Campbell throughout this period.⁴⁶

Life quietened for the Lamonts in Cowal as in the country at large. James was being pressed by his creditors at least from 1608, no doubt as the result of the heavy death duties above mentioned, but he was able to borrow in Edinburgh and in Rothesay, which was probably becoming the clan's market in preference to Inveraray, as it was nearer and was better supplied. He reached the summit of his respectability in 1610 when he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for his county, a new and strange office in the highlands if not in Scotland. This happened just after the King's famous treaty with the turbulent island chiefs in Iona, and was no doubt a step in the new policy of pacifying the highlands. It was there agreed, on paper, that for the future disputes were to be settled by law and not by the sword; provision was made for the regular establishment of religion, for travellers' accommodation in inns, and for the education in the lowlands of all owners of sixty head of cattle. The last point was the only novelty in the Lamont country; the others were already settled practice. Among the duties of the Justices of the Peace was "the helping of the King's heichways," but in Argyllshire there were no ways but bridle paths and no wheeled traffic at all.⁴⁷

In the beginning of 1613 James made his last public appearance, on the plainstanes of Edinburgh town, when he complained to the Privy Council, along with the Campbells of Auchenbreck and Duntroon, of some ill conduct by the grim Argyll. They settled the matter, however, upon conditions by which they were appointed his Lordship's "bailzies of iusticiarie," with a right to half fines, they being "oblist [on sixty days' notice] to hold courtis vpoun all malefactoris." As already mentioned, Argyll agreed to say nothing about any awkward associations with the McGregors. "For the quhilk premisses," the articles conclude, "the forsaid gentlemen sall willinglie serve my Lord as they and thair predecessoris hes bein in vse of befoir." No doubt it was thus usual to make a virtue of necessity, for Argyll was too big a man to be openly thwarted, and was soon to be known as the "King o' the hielands." All the same, he was not so regarded by James's namesake and grandson. The chief's end one does not know, but he was soon "under boards." By 1615 Moir Maclachlan was being sued as his executrix, and soon after was remarried to Colin Campbell of Ormidale. The clan had lost its last

leader of the medieval type. In future its chiefs were champions of law and order from the start and not mixers in sturt and strife. They had to be diplomats as well as warriors. In the north-west highlands a man still took his life in his hands, but not in the south-west, where feuds between clan and clan were now unknown, although isolated examples of bloodshed were still occurring on occasions. But civilisation was only skin deep in Cowal, and all the old primitive passions were again unloosed in the civil wars of the next generation.⁴⁸

Two points of interest remain to be noted in this era, the first a relic of the past and the second an omen for the future. In 1606 appears the only fosterage contract among the Lamonts of which there is record. This was an ancient Celtic institution, whereby the son of a laird of standing was sent for his upbringing to the household of a neighbour. It was the primitive equivalent of the public school system, but the ties thus formed were much closer and in fact were almost indissoluble. "Dear is a kinsman," as the Gaelic has it, "but the pith of the heart is a foster brother" (*is caomb le fear a charaid', ach 's e smior a chridhe a chomb-dhalt*). Young Silvercraigs was thus entrusted, apparently at birth, for seven full years to the care of McSorley of Drumtecmick by Lochgilphead.⁴⁹

The second topic of comment is that in 1609 the first Lamont became a burghess of Glasgow, the third city of Scotland (whither came Mr Allan from the sixth in the next year for a general assembly). By this means alone, of course, he could do business in the burgh as a native. He was "John Lawmund, fisher," and no doubt he traded with the herring secured by his clansmen in Loch Striven and Loch Fyne, and brought in their skiffs as far up river as its undredged state permitted, and therefrom pack-horsed to the causeys. If they could be assured of a market for their fish they would enjoy another source of regular money income beside the cattle traffic. It was not long after (in 1624 to be exact) that the first of the Braemar Lamonts received the freedom of Aberdeen, but as it was only in an honorary capacity he may not have been in business at all. Already in 1610 an unknown Lamont lady of good standing had become the wife of Sir Patrick Barclay of Towie (to the north of Turriff in Aberdeenshire). On a boss in the vaulting of the hall his arms are impaled with a lion rampant accompanied by the legend "Patrick Barclay and . . . Lamont." In 1613 is the earliest mention of the McClymonts as farmers in Ayrshire, and by that time at least one of the Lamonts in that county was a bonnet laird, although only of a 5s. land.⁵⁰

These diverse features, the fosterage contract and the movement to the towns and lowlands, are typical of this period of interaction of the

old and of the new. Between the deaths of Sir JOHN X in 1568 and of JAMES XII in 1614 many standards were changing. By the union of the Crowns, it has been said, "the epoch of the clans" was ended.⁵¹ The general pacification of Cowal and the influence of the lowlands and even of England all point to the beginning of a new era, in which the Lamonts have left their native heather and gone into the world out-by to secure their share of the sweets of a new civilisation.

CHAPTER IX

THE DAWN OF THE MODERN ERA,
1614-1634

IN the year 1614 old JAMES the irresponsible was succeeded by young COLL the astute, who led the clan till 1634. Times took a change, and from now on this story is more modern in its outlook. His is the earliest of the family portraits treasured in Ardlamont till 1893, when the XXIst chief dispersed his patrimony. In it Sir COLL XIII, as he was then, appears as a dark man with a pointed beard, wearing the white ruff and black doublet of the long-coated lowlands, as is well represented in plate 15. It is probably the work of the celebrated Scots painter George Jamesone, a pupil of Rubens, for whom sat all the prominent persons of his time, including King Charles I and the Marquis of Montrose. The picture does not tally with one's preconceptions of a chief in the early 17th century. It has none of that callous indifference and haughty independence which Raeburn found in Glengarry two hundred years later. Instead appears the face of a man who had mingled upon equal terms with the world of culture and refinement. Among its features are a high forehead, a twist of the eyebrows, delicate ears, and contemplative lips. The prominent nose alone provides a note of resolution. This shows, no doubt, one aspect of Sir Coll. Perhaps he would have seemed quite strangely different if he had been depicted stravaiging in his bens and glens, in belted plaid and feathered bonnet, with dirk and Doune pistol at his hand.¹

His canvas is one link with the present, but there is another as binding, for he has left his mark in stone and lime at Kilfinan (if not also at Toward). Above the lintel of the burial vault attached to the kirk to-day (see plate 16) stands out in bold relief the legend, "1633. S. C. L. D. B. S." It signifies that in that year he and his lady Dame Barbara Semple rebuilt the long home of his forefathers on the eve of his own "changing." This is the first definite message to posterity from any of the clan's early champions which has been transmitted. On sight of his features and of his inscription the mist of three centuries is lifted, he lives again, and one fancies that he yet harkens to the keening of his kinsmen.²



SIR COLL XIII, 1614-1634

[To face p. 130]

The succession of Coll marks the coming of a new era of peace and of rowth. King James VI, with all his faults, had a good way with the highlands. His policy was to take the chiefs into his counsels, invest them with authority by delegation, and welcome them at court. In this way he succeeded, where all before him had failed, in reducing the wild west to some degree of order and in swelling his scanty revenues. The immediate results were the spread of letters, the advance of presbyterianism, the reign of law, the rise of land values, and, as "each peat end has its own smoke," the beginning of direct taxation. The outcome was the embodying of the highlands into a corporate United Kingdom. As leader of a clan which had long (if not always) been law-abiding, Coll readily co-operated. By taking the road against the rebels in Kintyre and Islay, by executing royal commissions, and by partaking in local and national government, he established himself and his clan definitely on the side of authority, and thus earned the right to future favours. He was able also to encourage learning, to support the kirk, to develop a bond with the lowlands, and to keep his tartan namely in the highlands. He kept wisely on terms with the Campbells, believing in 'the old-word, "keep the ill man on your side; the good man you'll always have" (*Cùm an dò-dhuine air do thaobh; bidh an deagh-dhuine agad daonnan*). But MacCailein himself, who was Archibald *gruamach*, was abroad from 1618. Coll was thus a worthy successor of his great-grandfather Sir JOHN X, and if his achievement was slighter it was more intensive, as fate only allowed him twenty years in which to bring his ploys to a head. Although its thirteenth leader he brought the clan the best of luck.³

Of Coll's birth there is no record, but he was still under age in 1604. Four years before at Largs his father had passed on to him the barony, which seems to imply that he was then over fourteen. From the look of him one would imagine he was schooled in the lowlands, thus anticipating the royal ruling of 1609. The tendency to cross the firth no doubt contributed to his marriage in 1610 to Barbara, second daughter of Robert fourth Lord Semple of Castle Semple by Lochwinnoch. On the 19th of January a settlement was signed, under which the bride-to-be was to have a liferent of Inveryne and Achanaskioch in Kerry, of Killellan and Auchafour by the modern Knockdow, and of 17 bolls of victual from Toward, where they made their home.⁴ After one unchancy lapse on his part he seems to have settled with her. Two years later he had need of a royal pardon for adultery. This was no little matter in those days: if notorious it was a capital offence, and people were occasionally executed for it in Edinburgh up to the end of the century, though standards at Inveraray were much laxer. Dame Barbara bore him a large family,

consisting of James his heir, who was born in 1612, two other sons, Archibald and Ninian, whose births are undated, and five daughters, Anna born in 1619, Grissell in 1622, Jean in 1623, Isobell in 1626, and Barbara in 1627.⁵

His baptism in blood was not long in coming, if indeed he had kept his dirk unstained in his boyhood. In May 1615 Sir James McDonald of Islay, his father's old ally, escaped from ward in Edinburgh Castle and was again in open rebellion against the throne with his allies. Argyll, the Lieutenant of the Isles, came posting from the town of London to put them to the sword. In September he mustered a force of some seven or eight hundred of foot at Duntroon (beside Crinan), whose Campbell laird had married a Lamont lady. The word went round, "Quit feather bed and cosy nook, March, march! All thought of peace away," the claymores were all out with a rush, and it was *air t-adhart*—feet for it. Among those who followed the royal standard were Coll, Campbell of Ardkinglas, who was his brother-in-law, and Maclachlan of that ilk, who was his cousin. A second party was stationed at Ardrishaig, no doubt including Monydrain. The delicacy of the situation was apparent to the authorities, and special instructions were issued to MacCailein not to press the Lamonts too hard. The Lieutenant was told "to use the Laird of Lawmond and his tennentis kyndlie in this service, and in sic forme and manner as the remanent gentlemen of the countrie who ar in lyk caisis with him ar usit, and that the Lieutenent haif a cair of the suirtie of the Laird of Lawmond and his freindis, and that thay ressave no harme nor skaith in this service, as he wil be answerable to his Majestie upon the contrairie at heichest perrell." There seems to have been a suspicion also that the clan Diarmaid might allow their hereditary enemies to occupy the front line of battle to spare their own ranks. But there was little occasion, as it happened, for such precautions, as there was only a few months desultory fighting, and then the resistance crumpled and Sir James took refuge in Ireland. Unfortunately the result was to invest the Campbells with Kintyre, which they little deserved. The three lairds were all mentioned in despatches laid before the Privy Council, and instead of the material and permanent gain which was Clan Diarmaid's, the Lamonts appear to have received an honourable but evanescent knighthood. When their chief is on record two years later, in an attempt to evade some new impost which had been laid on a part of the estates, he is designed "Sir Coll." No doubt their respective characteristics suggested their rewards, for *cha bhi gean air Caimbeulach gus am faigh iad lite*—"the Campbells are never gracious till they get their porridge."⁶

Apart from this Sir Coll figures little in the highlands outside of Cowal,

although he was one of the tutors of the Campbell laird of Inveresrigan in Benderloch. It was in 1616 that the island chiefs agreed once more to mend their ways, to reduce the numbers of retainers in their households, to settle in one home for good, and to let their estates upon fixed rents. Except for the last this probably involved no innovations in the Lamont country. Whatever his father may have done Sir Coll, just man, was too canny to entertain at his expense the hordes of armed ghillies who accompanied the northern chiefs on their peregrinations. Although he still sometimes styled himself of Inveryne, there is no record of his living there, or at the place of Ardlamont, though both would be convenient centres for consuming the produce of the barony. No doubt it was he who laid out the "plantings in and about the . . . hous of Towart, orchzairds, parkis & walkis therof" (a novelty indeed, for gardening in the country was in its infancy), and built the horse-drawn mill, which were altogether obliterated by the Campbells after the capitulation of 1646. Absence of fixed leases was a common complaint in all Scotland, and not till his grandson's time did written tacks become the rule, but at least one of his granting has survived. Probably the rents were yet fixed by custom. One may picture him dining in state at the high board in Toward hall by the guttering light of a resin-fed fire, oil cruises and tallow candles, with his kin and friends beside him and any of the *duine uassail* who chanced to be at hand. On their wooden trenchers would be the fresh meat and white bread and in their horn goblets the red wine. At the long tables on the rush-strewn floors would sit first of all the principal hereditary officials. The piper and bard, of course, lived on the premises, but such others as the physician and the smith would come in from their steadings for the evening. Next were the rest of the regular staff, and then the "lads of the belt," but the bulk of the fighting-men would be dispersed over the countryside beneath their own black peat-smoked cabers, whence they could be rapidly summoned by the fiery cross if need arose.⁷

At the same time Sir Coll made permanent provision for an escort of his principal vassals when he crossed in his birlinn to the lowlands, which he was wont to do. For this purpose he took new bonds from them to be recorded in Edinburgh. As an example may be taken one of 1630 by Campbell of Evanachan, expanding the clause of "hosting" in his charter. The latter and his heirs were thus bound to serve and obey the lairds of Lamont in all time coming and to "attend await and pas with (them) to Ed(inbu)r(gh) or ony vther pairt of the lawlandis of Scotland, weil furnisd with horse, claithis, and arrayment, as becumis our estait, and sall serve, convoy, and attend thame thair the space of fourtene

dayes upoun our awin proppir charges and expensses at two sundrie tymmes in the yeir . . . q(uhe)n it sall happin (us) to be desyrit and requyrit thairto." In case of failure or refusal £20 Scots was to be paid as a fine. Similar duties were undertaken by Ascog and by Silvercraigs. No doubt it was his appearances in the capital with this tail that made his arms known to the heralds of the day. Possibly these bonds may have been accompanied by some relaxation of the old military service obligation, and so represent a step towards a more settled order of life. He does not seem, however, to have substituted feu holding for ward, which was well for his successors. Too early a conversion fixed the return for all time at a primitive valuation. His own cadets would naturally be glad to support Sir Coll, but the bond by Evanachan resulted in litigation, with what outcome is not known. It was certainly not long effective, for in 1646 the vassal's son had a hand in the massacres at Strone and Dunoon, and the ravishing of Toward.⁸

In return for their allegiance Sir Coll had to be aye ready to take up his clansmen's causes. As will be seen in 1613 he had to act for some Kerry drovers against three burgesses of Linlithgow. A year later, too, he had to claim redress for some cows which had been lifted out of Lindsay, a loss which would have been accepted as inevitable in the north-western highlands, where *creachs* were common. This was, no doubt, during his earliest trips to Edinburgh, that reeky city of the tall lands and the ill smells. While there he and Maclachlan formally undertook to assist his hereditary unfriend Ardkinglas to keep order in Cowal. The bond they signed can be seen yet in the Register House. His only tiff with the clan Diarmaid was in May of 1632, when he supported his kinsmen of Silvercraigs in a complaint against Auchencbreck for molestation in the Ballimore in Glassary, but they were chief again by autumn.⁹

Later in life royal commissions were showered upon him, and he contrived to be as favoured as any Campbell. First in 1623 he was made a Justice of the Peace, as his father before him. Five years after he was chosen to carry out in his county the first step in that settlement of the troublesome teind question, which was one of the best things Charles I ever did for Scotland. In the course of these duties his name was often before the Privy Council, the real governing body at that date, and he had sometimes to appear in person at their sittings at Holyroodhouse. The reports which were the outcome of his work are still the basis of teind valuation to this day. He seems by this time to have begun to use the designation "Lamont of that ilk," to which his successors adhered in preference to their former style. In 1630 he was returned to Parliament as member for the lairds of Argyllshire.¹⁰

One finds him also acting as a stoup of the kirk. For instance in 1629 when the Bishop of the Isles, who was one of the Crown's chief instruments of civilisation in the highlands, held a Synod at Iona, Sir Coll was appointed to assist him with his opinion and advice. His last office in this life was conferred on him in the close of 1634, when his name appears among the commissioners for the persecution of the Roman Catholics. His victims were to include the harbourers of Jesuits and seminary priests, disturbers of divine service, and blasphemers. One hopes he kept in mind that his own kinsmen in Braemar still clung to the old faith, as indeed they do to-day.¹¹

Sir Coll also had an interest in education, which was much needed for many even among the gentry were illiterate. In 1627, for instance, Knockdow confessed himself unable to write and employed a notary to lead his hand while he signed a charter on the occasion of his son's marriage. But Auchinshelloch and Row had inherited their father's taste for letters. The chief apparent, young James, was sent to the Glasgow College in the next year, no doubt in response to the royal bidding that all who owned sixty head of cattle should educate their families in the lowlands. It may be, however, that Sir Coll himself had sat at that same seat of learning, for in 1630 he figures as its benefactor. He gave a voluntary contribution of over £50 to its library and fabric. It was a new development for young bloods in the highlands to take University classes, unless destined for professional careers which were then rare. The traditional respect for scholarship expressed in the maxim, *Is e'n t-ionnsachadh òg an t-ionnsachadh bòidheach* ("The learning in youth is the pretty learning"), probably dates from about that time. Owing to the loss of the older Presbytery records one cannot tell if Sir Coll did anything towards endowing schools in Cowal, but certainly he effected nothing permanent.¹²

He was the first chief to do regular business in Rothesay, which he used as a stepping-stone to the lowlands. It was then regarded as the outpost of the Vale of Clyde, "that kisseth the divulgements of the river." His birlinn must have been kenspeckle in the bay, off the old slip, with his crest on the gunwale and his *bratach* at the masthead. Not only did he sign deeds in the town clerk's booth, but he nominated the old kirk, whose ruins still grace the graveyard, as a place for making payment of debts. The custom of converting churches into howffs for lawyers, merchants and money-changers was acquiesced in by the reformed church on the ground of long precedent, but it was an ill practice for a presbyterian worthy like Sir Coll. His ties with his wife's people and his son's college led him across the firth, but alas! he could no longer depend on hospitality from the monks of Paisley, whom the zeal of the

new kirkmen had evicted. On a day of days in May of 1625 he went to Glasgow (which was then about the size of Gourrock now). With his son James and his second cousin Silvercraigs he was admitted honorary burgess of that city. Two months later a more humble clansman was accorded the same privilege on his marriage to a freeman's daughter. This was John Lamont, tailor, but who he was and what his fate are alike unkennd.¹³

The chief's business took him further afield than what was then the garden city of the Clyde valley. He had none of the old Celts' aversion to the towns, contained in the saying, *Cha duine glic a théid tric do 'n bhaile mbór*, "he is not wise who goes often to the city." His jaunts to the capital have already been referred to. In his time also occur distinct traces of that trade in black cattle which became general as a result of more settled conditions and brought so much ready money into toom highland sporrans in the 17th century. Thus in 1613 he raised an action in the Court of Session against three burgesses of Linlithgow, a noted cattle mart, for the price of 85 "ky" and 3 "bullis" purchased by them from his tenants. If the beasts, as appears, were worth £10 a head (as against £4 in 1555) they could evidently still boast their old "diligatness of taste." No doubt with his protection his tartan traded also in salt meat, in hides and pelts of animals, and what would now seem very coarse plaiding and very hairy butter. These they would take to the fairs at Greenock and Dunoon, and there display them from their skiffs drawn up above flood mark. The trade ship is thus no modern product of the Clyde. With the proceeds they would buy things unobtainable in their own fastnesses, such perhaps as iron bars, knives, strong dyes, and fine cloth. Most highlanders had to import grain, and so had some folks in Argyllshire, but it seems likely that the Lamonts grew enough for their needs, for much ploughable land had fallen to their lot. But they certainly imported malt from Glasgow and bought "merchandise" in Edinburgh. From the stress laid on the abundance of herring in the Cowal lochs by an observer in 1630 it is a fair inference that a good trade was done in salt "Loch Fynes" at a time when it is doubtful if fishing was practised in the isles at all.¹⁴

But Sir Coll's main task was not in assisting the traffic with the world out by; it was in the redding of his home country. The death duties having been met in advance he started without a debit balance, and appears less often in the records as a borrower than as a lender. Unlike any of his immediate forebears or successors he was able to disburden the estate to a considerable extent and to add to it materially. Among his first acts were the redemption of an annual charge of 24 bolls of oat meal

and £6 of money upon Ardyne, and the repurchase of the property of Kildavaig and Achadachoun which had been sold by his father.¹⁵ In Glassary he strengthened his position by reacquiring from the McSorley Lamonts the property of Achahoish and of Fernoch with its mill (which seems to have been then known as the mill of Lochgilphead), and by taking over Auchinbreck for a time at least from one of their cadets. As regards Kerry, he bought Acharossan from the Bannatynes of Kames (in Bute), thereby ending an old controversy.¹⁶ Later he paid £3666 for the superiority of some kirk lands at Kilfinan (the property of which belonged to Silvercraigs), and for the teinds (worth £840 a year), half of which he already had on lease.¹⁷ The tack of Inverchaolain teinds was renewed in his favour. He entered with McGibbon in Balloch-andrain, which his father had omitted to do, probably because he could not afford the dues payable, but he still neglected the Crown holding of Rudhbodach, or Row, in Bute.¹⁸

This period in the history of the highlands was marked by an all-round rise in land values, so that it was sound policy to secure as many acres as possible. As it happened it was well for the clan that Sir Coll "gathered his shell fish while the tide was out." Else they had likely been ruined in the unchances that were to follow. This new source of wealth was, however, in part discounted by the new form of taxation which Parliament now began to impose to meet the increasing costs of government, at an average rate of £3 per annum from every £1 land. On the other hand one has to remember two respects in which the burden was less than appears. First, the basis was the antiquated "old extent" valuation, which was far below the true worth. Secondly, the person liable was the proprietor and not the superior, so that Sir Coll would in fact only pay on a small part of the lands which he held of the Crown and of others.¹⁹

It was not sound economics to keep too much of the estate in his own hands. Acharossan had formerly been feued to the Campbells of Kilberry, but their rights had lapsed. They now agreed to pay 500 merks (£333) down and an increased annual duty of £20 (instead of 5 merks) to be allowed to resume possession. But somehow the scheme miscarried, and was not finally put into operation until 1694. A new grant of Evanachan was made to a son of Campbell of Otter, who held by ward with the clause of hosting above referred to and a marriage tax of £400. Ballochandrain in Glendaruel had passed from Lamont Lamont to a Robert Lamont, doubtless his son. They were probably cadets of Ascog.²⁰ As superior the chief renewed the investitures of Stillaig and Silvercraigs. While the heir of this last lairdship was under age, in virtue

of his right of ward, he leased part of it to McAllister of Tarbert for 500 merks (£333), which of course went into his own pocket, the tenant undertaking the "sustentation" of the laird's children. The newly regained Fernoch he set in tack to some friends of the Monydrain family for 160 merks (£106) "by and attour the yeirlye peyment of all stentis, taxationes & utheris impositiones q(uhi)lk sall happen to be imposit vpone the said landis," a clause also appearing in the other. These are the earliest leases by any chief whose terms have been preserved. One doubts, however, if ordinary agricultural tenants (who were not *duine uassail*) would be made to undertake the public burdens. By a fortunate chance all the lands in the county were valued for teind purposes in 1629, and that same valuation has survived. Ascog was one of the commissioners appointed for this work, which was "no indoor journey," so that probably the assessments may be taken as reasonably accurate. According to the custom of the time they are largely in terms of grain, and only to a small extent in money. But if the prices ruling in Dunoon a few years later may be taken as a standard the rentals can be ascertained approximately.²¹

The table below shows the various Lamont lairds of the time and their comparative status. Forbye the chief there were no less than twelve Lamonts (seven in Cowal proper and five in Glassary), and one McLucas, who could cry "the glen is mine." (In 1541, the last date for which details are available, the clan's territory had been divided among five cadet families, of which that of Ardlamont almost immediately became extinct, leaving

TABLE OF LAMONT LAIRDS

	Old Extent	Gross Rental
Sir Coll	76½ m.	£4,850
Robert of Silvercraigs	29¾	1,480
Robert of Ascog	30	1,270
Gilbert of Knockdow	13	670
Patrick of Stillaig	15	460
John of Coustoun	5	260
John of N. Auchagoyl	6	230
Robert of Ballochandrain	6	230
John of Auchinshelloch	6½	205
Donald of Monydrain	4	180
Sorley of Drum	3	130
Duncan of Stronalbanach	2½	115
Duncan of Auchinbreck	2	105
McLucas of Garrachoran	1⅛	27
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	200¾	£10,212

Monydrain, Ascog, Knockdow, and Coustoun.²²) The first column in the table shows the antiquated valuation in merk lands (which was still retained for taxation purposes), and the second the gross rental per annum in Scots money (being five times the amount of the teind). Sir Coll is, of course, only debited with those lands of which he retained the full property (as opposed to those which he had feued or otherwise granted out by charter). He remained superior of practically the whole of the rest.

The first point of comment is the surprisingly large total of over £10,000 a year for the whole, and of nigh on £5,000 for the chief. From these gross totals, there fell to be made certain deductions which are hard to estimate. Teind amounted to 20 per cent., land tax (at £3 per £1 land) to say 4 per cent., and expenses of management, etc. may be put at 10 per cent., amounting in all to just over one-third of the whole. This would leave Sir Coll with a free rental of some £3,200, to which fell to be added his teinds, £840 for Kilfinan, and say £160 for Inverchaolain, less two-fifths for stipend. He must thus have had above £4,000 a year to spend, but of course the equivalent in English sterling money was about one-twelfth, or only £333, 6s. 8d.²³

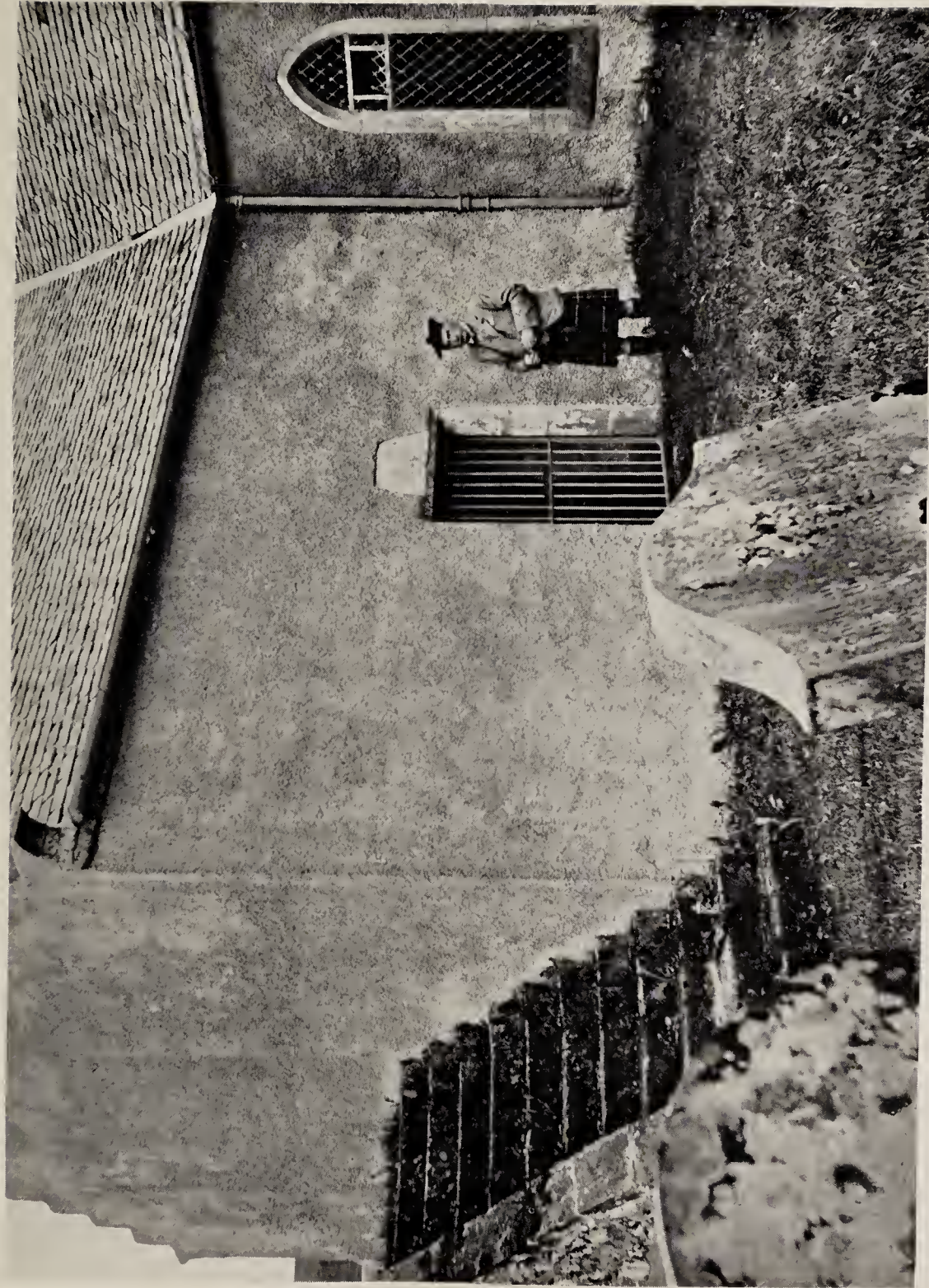
It will be seen that Silvercraigs was now the largest lairdship, having displaced Ascog. It consisted of Kilfinan in Kerry, and in Glassary the two Carricks, Kilmichael, Lingartane, Duncholgan, Ballimore, Blairbowie, Dowpyne, and Kames. Auchnaba and Ardnahellary had been alienated to the McAllisters. The Ascog and Coustoun estates remained the same as they had been before. Knockdow had acquired Strondharaig, and comparing rentals with "extents" had been improved as contrasted with Stillaig, which had been constituted out of the lands of that name, Glennan, and southern Auchagoyl, with some minor pertinents (a quarter of Auchinshelloch and an annual rent from Coustoun and Strone). Auchagoyl and Auchinshelloch (with Kames in the Kyles) had become separate lairdships, and apparently Ballochandrain. Monydrain had been split up, Fernoch and Achahoish having reverted to the chief, and Drum been given to a younger son. The laird himself had spent some time in Ireland. A cadet of this family was established in the adjacent Auchinbreck, while Stronalbanach had been acquired by a namesake who was a younger son of Ascog. What remained to Sir Coll were first, in Nether Cowal, Achafour, Killellan, Toward, Ardyne, Kilmichael (by modern Knockdow), Kilmarnock, Brackleys, Troustan; second, in Kerry, Ardlamont, Achadachoun, Caignafeich, Drum, Inveryne, and Melldalloch; and third, in Glassary, Fernoch and Achahoish. The property of Achanaskioch had passed into other hands. Campbell vassals were settled in Achavoulin, Acharossan, and Evanachan. Beyond Argyllshire there was also Rudh-

bodach in Bute, across the ferry from Colintrave, which did not enter this account.²⁴

Least of the bonnet lairds was Gillepatrick McLugas or McLucas, who had acquired the hill steading of Garrachoran in Glen Lean from a cadet of Knockdow in 1618. It was with his folks for half a century. Their link with the clan is matter of tradition, first finding recognition in print in Auchmar in 1723, as above quoted. But in the Gaelic MSS. at Inveraray there is an earlier account of it, doubly valuable because the Campbells had some means of knowledge and yet no interest to distort it. "The McLugashes," their *seannachie* relates, "were formerly at Dunoon, but were ousted by Clan Lamont, who slew them mostly as they slept: the rest of them fled to the lowlands and changed their name to Yeats. . . . The Lamonts built Dunoon Castle, which they held till the Wars of the Bruce." The fact that there were always McLucas in the Lamont country makes it plain that the Campbell version is not altogether accurate, but they may well be a sept of the clan which dates back to the 13th century, although one prefers to fit them into the story at the date at which they first appear in authentic record. That some adhered to the fortunes of the Lamonts there is no doubt, though others may have preferred an alias in exile. If some who left Cowal took the name Yeats, others Englished McLucas as Luke, as is shown by Auchmar, and among those who lent money to Sir Coll's son in King Charles's interest in 1637 was a George Louk, merchant burghess of Glasgow, and one presumes of the clan.²⁵

That same son, afterwards kenspeckle as Sir JAMES XIV, took over the barony from his father in 1624, when their attornies attended in the laigh Council House (*i.e.* the Edinburgh Tolbooth). To avoid the mischance which had occurred on the untimely passing of his own elder brother, Sir Coll reserved the right to reclaim the lands on three days' notice and payment of an angel of gold (£6, 6s. 8d.). It is more than doubtful if this attempt to "sell the coo and sup the milk" was effective in law, but there was never occasion to test it. The second son, Mr Archibald, evidently a University man, received the chief's interest in the kirk lands and the teinds of Kilfinan in 1633.²⁶

By then ill-health had overtaken Sir Coll, and he began to repair the burial-place and to make provision for his children's future. Ninian, the third son, who was probably much younger than his brothers, never got any lairdship, but a money portion was set aside for him in the hands of his mother. The five daughters, Anna, Grissell, Jean, Isobel, and Barbara, were all under sixteen, but James contracted to be responsible for their welfare. In return he was bequeathed his father's "corns,



KILFINAN BURIAL VAULT, 1633

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cattle, kyne, horses, nolt [black cattle], and debts, except insicht plenishing" [furniture], which was reserved to the ladies, and except "the haille sheep young and ald," probably the most precious possession of all, which went to Dame Barbara. In return he had to pay all creditors and a sum in respect of each sister "for their better advancement to honest marriage and in implement of tocher," on their reaching sixteen. The eldest was to have 6000 merks (£4000), the next 5000, and the lave 4000 apiece, which was to be forfeited "if any miscarries herself in committing of fornicatione or marrying persons not agrieable to their rank." It was well for Sir Coll that his father had not expected so much of him. Meantime their brother was "to intertain, sustain and bring (them) up in meat and drink, at bed and buird, and in vertew learning clothing and all other necessares efferand to their rank and estates, . . . either be keeping of them in household, company and societie with himself, or els be buirding them and ane honest servand with them in some fitt and convenient place, bestowing on them 100 merks (£67) yeirlie for board and intertainment" with clothes, etc.²⁷

Anna soon after became the wife of Crawford of Auchinames (by Kilbarchan in Renfrewshire), who sheltered James when he was a fugitive after the civil wars. Grissel brought her 5000 merks to the chief of clan Macfarlane about 1645, when he gave her in return a liferent of some lands beside Loch Lomond. It is interesting to find that the bailie who performed the ceremony was one Patrick McInturnour in Strone (beside Luss), and that the marriage contract was witnessed by a Duncan McInturnour in Luss. These folks claimed kinship, one imagines, dating back to the Ardyne raid about 1400. She died without issue in 1655, leaving her tocher almost intact.²⁸ Jean married, first, Mr Dugald Campbell of Lagg, and later Donald Campbell of Barbreck, while Isobel remained a spinster and mothered her young brother Ninian until late in life, when she married Silvercraigs.²⁹ Barbara, by some strange chance, in 1658 became the wife of James Davidson, a merchant in Inverlochy. Her dowry had not been paid by 1665.³⁰ Perhaps he was hardly "agrieable to her rank!"

It was towards his end no doubt that Sir Coll had his portrait painted. This was not too much of a luxury in those times for a careful laird. Writing to his patron, Campbell of Glenurchy, in 1635, George Jamesone records his terms as follows: "The pryce quhilk ewerie ane payes to me," he says, "abowe the west [*i.e.* above the waist] is twentie merkis, I furnishing claith [canvas] and coulleris; bot iff I furniss ane double-gilt muller [or moulding], then it is twentie poundis." It was his practice to "go throwe the countrey to maik thir picturis," but the preservation

of the Lamont portrait suggests that it must have been painted and kept in Edinburgh. Had it been at Toward it could never have escaped the Campbells in 1646. Perhaps Sir Coll had a lodging in "auld reekie," although there is no evidence of it.³¹

Another who went through the country also has left an invaluable impression of Cowal in 1630, and although it relates actually to the Campbell portions it is probably as true of the territory of the Lamonts. At the start of "*Ane Descriptione of Certane Pairts of the Highlands of Scotland*," a MS. in the National Library, one finds "Cowell in Ardgyl" regarded as "a verie fertill and profitable Countrie which doeth lye on the Northsyde of Loghloing" (though a modern compass would place it on the west) "and on the south-east Syde of Loghifyne. . . . In this Countrie," it continues, "there is a toune callit Dunoon, whairin there is an antient Castle, and certane Kings were wont to dwell for ane space therein." There is no suggestion in this source that the Lamonts were the builders. "Of Antiquitie and the Bishopes and Ministers of the Diocie of Argyll and Lismore . . . doeth convene and gather themselves together once in the yeare in the same toune of Dunoune being the twentie fourt day of May. . . . Bot in antient tymes of Antiquitie"—Sir LAUMON's day perhaps—"the Clergie Ministers or Priests were wont to (meet) in ane ancient toune thrie miles from Dunoune which is called Kilmoune on the Northeast syde of Loghseant . . . the holie Logh. And it is ane verie antient toune which hath ane prettie Church builded therein where monks friars and Nunns were wont to dwell and inhabite therein being an ancient sanctuarie." Plate 17 depicts its tower as it now is. "There is abundance of herrings taken in that Logh. . . ."³²

"There is ane river running into Loghseant which is called Eagie [Eachaig] and there is certaine lands Lyand on everie syde of the said river which is called Straeaghie [Strathechaig including Benmore]. This Straeagie is one pleasant and profitable countrie being both fertill of Corne, and abundance of milk therein. This Countrey doth Lye South-west [south-east it should be] to Loghfyne, and there is a fresh water Logh betwixt these two sea water Loghes which fresh water is called Loghaik [Loch Eck]. It is rough everie syde with high mountaines and verie profitable to the Earle of Argyll the Master and Superior thereof for it is very fertill of grass, for goods [cattle], goatis and sheep to feed thereon. And there is abundance of milk, butter and cheese in the said Loghaik. And there is another Lands or Stra which is called Straychurr [Strachur and] between this two Strais or litle Countries . . . lyes that fresh water Logh which is called Lochaick. . . . These two countries are verie commodious profitable and most fertill countries both of corne,



KILMUN TOWER (15TH CENTURY)

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milk, butter and cheese. . . . There is ane Church in Strayhurr not far from the seawater and the ferrie of Loghfyne which is called Kilmaglash. There is fyfteen myles betwixt Dunoune and the ferrie of Loghfyne, and three myles betwixt the ferrie of Portchreggan [Creggans] . . . and Inerraray." This was the way from the lowlands to the hold of Mac-Cailein, and these long Scots miles were soon to resound to the pibrochs of Sir Coll's successor, who with his clan and allies swept through these same two little countries with fire and sword, leaving smoking glens from Dunoon to Strachur and again athwart Loch Fyne from Inveraray through Loch Awe into Lorn.³³

In Glassary there was "one Church on the southsyde of the end of Lochow which is called Kilmichaell in Glasrie, [and] is holden of the [Scrymgeour] Constable of Dundee. The [Campbell] Laird of Achinabreck possesses the same. It lyeth betwixt the Westsyde of Lochfyne, and Gnaptill [Knapdale] and it is possessed be that Constable." There is no word in this account of the Lamonts of Monydrain or of Silvercraigs. "It is a verie fertill and profitable countrey, fertill of corne and plenteous off milk. . . . There is one Castle in Glasrie called Duntrun" (where the forces had mustered against Islay in 1613). "There is a logh on the West syde of Loghfyne fyfteen myles from Inveraray called Lochgur [Lochgair]. And there is abundance of fish slaine in this loch and specially herrings. There is another Logh called Loghgailbe [Lochgilp] being out fyve mylls from Lochgur. There is abundance of herrings in this Logh." This harvest of the sea must have been shared by the Lamonts, and so must the sappy grasses that are a feature of the Argyllshire mountains to this day. Glendaruel would be as fertile as Strath-echaig, and so perhaps was Kerry. At Toward one knows there was rowth of cattle, goats, and sheep, and of milk and butter, and so elsewhere within the barony, with some horses and swine (till 1646, though not thereafter), but on Loch Striven maybe conditions were less idyllic.³⁴

But to the sheer beauty of the country this early observer was indifferent. He is silent as to its inner recesses so well described by Neil Munro in words as true then as they are of to-day.³⁵ "I know corries in Argyle," he wrote, "that whisper silken to the winds with juicy grasses, corries where the deer love to prance deep in the cool dew, and the beasts of far-off woods come in bands at their seasons and together rejoice. I have seen the hunter in them and the shepherd too, coarse men in life and occupation, come sudden among the blowing rush and whispering reed, unheeding the moor-hen and the cailzie-cock rising, or the stag of ten at pause, while they stood, passionate adventurers in a rapture of the mind, held as it were by the spirit of such places as they

lay in a sloe-berry bloom of haze, the spirit of old good songs, the baffling surmise of the piper and the bard. To those corries of my native place will be coming in the yellow moon of brock and fougart—the beasts that dote on the autumn eves—the People of Quietness; have I not seen their lanthorns and heard their voices in the night?—so that they must be blessed corries, so endowed since the days when the gods dwelt in them without tartan or spear, in the years of peace that had no beginning.”

The years of peace that the Lamonts had enjoyed under Sir Coll were soon to end, and he himself may have helped, it has been suggested, to make Toward the complete house of war by adding some buildings outwith the keep whose ruins are still standing. It is likely enough although there is no indication of it in the records, except that the designation “Toward Castle” now appears for the first time. When in the winter of 1634–5 he departed this life as pretty a man as ever swung the tartan was beyond the skirl of the pipes. His wife survived him for ten years, and unlike most of the widows of her time did not remarry. They were both laid to rest in the vault at Kilfinan, where they still lie (see plate 16), but the exact grave is unkenned. One cannot escape the feeling that he was the first of the modern chiefs. His sitting for his portrait, and his interest in local government, education, the kirk, the lowlands, trade and estate management all point in the same direction. Still and on he was a true son of his forefolks, in that he kept the *bratach* ever at the masthead among his vassals and neighbours and in the world out-by. That he adapted himself to changed conditions and led his clan successfully through these to prosperity is his title to fame. His knighthood was the outward token of his achievement, and his son’s proud position as King’s Lieutenant in Cowal was its natural consummation. The Lamonts were more namely at his death than for long before or after.³⁶

Some soldiers of fortune in this period kept the clan in credit beyond Cowal. In 1627 when McNaughton of Dundarave enlisted a body of archers with two pipers and a harper for war with France one of his recruits was a member of the Black sept called Malcolm McGilliwie. Embarking at Lochkerran, which is now Campbeltown, on the 11th of December he was lost to record. One wonders if he fought against his clansman Robert de Lamont, an officer of the French royal bodyguard, who in 1621 had induced King Henry IV to rank him with the nobles of France as Baron de Lamont on presenting the pedigree and arms referred to above. The earliest rental of Glendaruel is dated 1633, and discloses a Mcillewie about Garvie, perhaps related to the archer, but there must have been many of the name although none were bonnet lairds. In 1628 there died be-south the border at Reynold in Bedfordshire one

Maria Lamant. Her quaint will reveals details and names which show that her folks had lived long out of Cowal, being perhaps exiles as a result of the Ardyne Raid of c. 1400. "I give to my son William," it reads, "£3: 3/ and a mark; to my daughter Anne (certain lands) also £10, the goods in my chamber, one great brass pan, one brass pot, half the pewter, the table in the hall, six joined chairs, the flaxen sheets, and a potshelf; to my son Thomas 12d; to my daughter Annis (now married) 12d; to my godson Robert Knott 5/; to my son Richard's child 12d. I make my son Anthony sole executor. If any of my children wrangle, I give them but 12d. . . . I give to the overseers of this my will half a quarter of wheat." The names and the proverbial shilling are very un-Scottish, and brass, pewter and wheat were alike unknown in Cowal for many a long day. These far-wandered folks had much comfort as compared with their kin at home.³⁷

There is but little from which to reconstruct a picture of the life of the ordinary tenant and cottar in the Lamont country, and of the bond between him and Sir Coll. One has to rely for this purpose upon material as to the highlands in general at this era. Clansmen then wore a single garment, combining in one kilt, jacket and plaid. A visitor remarked in 1607 that "it was made of fine wool of divers colours; its length is commonly 7 double ells [14 yards]. It is tied on the breast with a bodkin of bone or wood; it is pleated from the belt to the knee very nicely." Their shoes were of long-haired cow hide, attached with leather thongs. Upon occasion they would wear "stockings, which they call short hose, made of warm stuff of divers colours, which they call tartans, with blue flat caps on their heads." As there were no pockets anywhere a sporran would no doubt complete the outfit. One may be sure there was not a pair of breeks among them. Their homes have been thus described. If one could have peeped below the thatch of the low-pitched roofs (for there were no windows), and penetrated the peat reek arising from the central fire to the chimney hole, one would have found "everything very much more simple than in the lowlands. The people merely slept upon piles of heather; of furniture there was hardly anything beyond a keg of butter, a tub for salting the very little meat they used, and a kist for meal. There would be wooden bowls and horn spoons; the poultry would roost in the rafters, and the cattle would be housed behind a partition at one end of the cottage."³⁸

"Nevertheless the people would have beautiful manners," and would receive the chief "as a much honoured relation, with great affection and respect but with none of the servility with which great folk were then treated in other countries." Although ill-equipped with the material

things of this world there is no doubt that chief and clansmen found genuine content in their primitive existence and in their mutual attachment. Neither would have dreamed of exchanging his lot with that of any Sassenach, however mighty. Although there was far more difference between the standards of living of the classes than there is to-day, in the highlands at least there was far more community of interest. At Sir Coll's death all might have said of him, as of another of his time,

“Rare hunter in a forest, without guile to the royal house, and a loyal servant of the crown;

Thy kindred are in gloom, and those of every name around, since thy tomb was made ready in the vault;

Thy mansion is in gloom, without mirth, without pomp, where often we have received a feast.”

Indeed there were but a dozen years more of feasting in Toward, and then it was deserted for ever, and has remained without light or love to this day. His passing was a sore blow for the clan, for his canny hand would have saved them from the disasters of the civil wars had he been spared to lead them. Peace be with him in his share of heaven.³⁹

CHAPTER X

SIR JAMES XIV AND THE CIVIL WARS,
1634-1650

SIR JAMES XIV (1634-70) is the only chief since Sir LAUMON who can truly be said to have figured in history. An adventurer and a soldier, without scruple at worst and throughhither at best, he took Cowal back to its old trade of fighting in the cause of *Rìgh Tearlach I* (as he was to the proud highlands). With him the clan rose to the height of its power and sank to the depths of impotence. That it survived at all was due to his inspiring leadership in the face of an extermination seemingly complete by the hereditary unfriends, the crook-mouthed clan Diarmaid. The herschip of the Lamont country, the beleaguering of Toward and Ascog, the slaughter at Dunoon, and the incarceration, forfeiture and exile from which he emerged in turn triumphant to reclaim his own, are all written large in national record. They were chapters, ill-kenned to-day but namely then, in the eventful struggle between the "malignants" and the "covenanters," when James Grahame, first Marquis of Montrose—the *Gbreumach* to the Celts—kept all Scotland in a pother. Loyal to the tradition of his forefolks Sir James supported in the main the fortunes of the royalist (or "malignant") party. His tartan suffered for it just as deeply as it suffered centuries before for its opposition to the Bruce. Namely stocks were brought to an end; casualties in every walk of life were cruel; and the whole countryside was scorched and blighted. The clan was driven into the heather. Those were the days of tight belts and toom girnels, of fired thatch and lowered lintels. Many a household left Cowal never to return. If the chief's line did not perish it was crippled with such debt that, even after the Restoration of 1660, there was only a bare living to be had for at least a generation.

The main features of the story have for long been known. But research has only now filled in the detail, and unhappily has not enhanced Sir James's reputation. The impression of disinterested unswerving loyalty to a just cause has to be much modified. Adventure and self-seeking stand revealed as motives even more compelling than devotion to King Charles. The hard facts are these. Sir James was irretrievably in debt before he plunged into political intrigue. He vacillated for some

time between the rival parties, and did not refrain from double dealing. *Car 'an aghaidh cuir* (*i.e.* turn against twist) was no new thing in the highlands, and the Campbells were of course as kittle as any. Then he joined the covenanters while they seemed in the ascendant, and the only blows he ever struck outside the Campbell country were in that cause and against the King at Inverlochy. He at last displayed the royalist colours only on condition that they were unfurled in Cowal by a force of Irish sufficient to ensure subjection of his neighbours. Instead of rallying to Montrose's *bratach* in the country at large he pursued his own feuds in Argyllshire and mauled the Campbells without scruple for his private ends. When the wars were over and the family of Ascog helpless through its sacrifices in his cause, he despoiled it of its patrimony. If ever any man's career was open to two interpretations, it was his, and it did not escape the most unfavourable. For the Campbells of his day were loud in protestation that he should not be "respected as one that either acted or suffered for his Majesty, and that he never did any service to his Majesty," but in all things played for his own hand. In their eyes he was an unscrupulous turn-coat who could not keep faith with friends or foes, and who fully merited his fate.¹

The historian with his wide perspective and a notion of contemporary standards may content himself with the remark that Sir James's career is just another illustration of the saying—all too true of many Scots—that "if self the wavering balance shake 'tis rarely right adjusted." There was little to choose between the clans. If the Lamonts were two-faced, the Campbells were crook-mouthed. Many others altered their allegiance in the course of the wars. Sir John Urry, for instance, whose daughter married Sir James's son when it was all over, turned his coat at least three times. In this chief the irresponsibility of his grandfather and namesake was tempered with the caution and culture of his sire Sir COLL. But he was animated also by an independent spirit of self-seeking, fostered doubtless by his Campbell lady. This chapter will narrate the twelve years of drama during which he ruined both himself and his clan in an ambitious effort to regain that lordship of Cowal enjoyed in days long past by his eponymus Sir LAUMON. His magnificent attempt, pursued so resolutely and in face of such heavy penalty until all hope was gone, cannot but command respect and admiration even from critics of his motive.

One knows little of James's boyhood. Born in 1612 he had the barony passed on to him in 1624. He would be reared to be bilingual for, as Glenurchy remarked of the young Argyll in 1638, it was "requisit (he) could speike both Inglis and Erise," and if he was to read the bible it

could not be in Gaelic at that date. In 1628 he matriculated in the famous Glasgow College, and thus early had experience of urban culture. That he appreciated what he learnt here is evinced by later patronage. While still under age he forged, without his father's knowledge, the first link in that chain of debt which fettered him until his dying day. If he followed the fashion of the time he would have a spell in gay France before settling in dour Scotland. In 1634, Sir COLL'S last year of life, a politic marriage was arranged for James with his cousin Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas, the direct descendant of "the grey flesher" and now coroner of Cowal from *Clach an Toiseaich* to the points of Toward and Ardlamont.² Parties met at Corra on 2nd May, and again at Inveraray six months later when the tocher of £3333 was exchanged for a liferent charter of Ardyne and of the rich lands that march with Inveryne. Doubtless both sides hoped to put an end to their traditional enmity, and as Lady Lamont and Lady Ardkinglas were sisters there seemed every prospect of success. But unhappily these good intentions were not long maintained. By 1639 there was already litigation, and soon after worse. Two daughters were born of the marriage, Barbara and Annas, but they had no son before the civil wars, Archibald's birth being in 1646.³

Like his father James supported both religion and learning, and in each case was astute enough to turn his patronage to good account. In the year of his accession he stood surety for the Bishop of Argyll in a sum of over £1000, and in due course he had to pay it. He revenged himself upon the cloth, however, by withholding his teinds at Inverchaolain, and by inducing the minister of Inverkip (across the Firth) to lend him over £1500, which was probably never refunded. In the same way, after borrowing £2000 from the Principal of Glasgow University, he generously contributed £13, 6s. 8d. to the library and fabric of the college.⁴ But he deserves great credit for the "*magister scholæ* in Towart" who appears about 1643. This must have been indeed an innovation, for the only grammar school in the whole synod (which extended far beyond the county) had just been opened at Inveraray. Letters hitherto had been confined to lairds and lawyers. Now tacksmen's sons would no doubt be instructed along with their betters. The chief sat also in the kirk's councils, and whiles between 1639 and 1644 was "rewling elder and choisen commissioner of Assemblie." In 1641 he "obleished him to give fourtie pundis to the bibliothak [library] . . . to be keiped at the Presbyterie seat" in Dunoon. He twice attended the sederunts of the synod of Argyll, even travelling in his birlinn to Iona of the saints for the purpose. But though kirk and state were closely akin in the

days of the covenant it was not religion that forced him into politics at the start of his career. In the spring of 1635 the Privy Council ordained that "for the better preserving of His Majesteis peace and restraining the misrule and insolenceis of the lawlesse and insolent persons in the Hielands, . . . the haild landslords and chiftains of clans in the Hielands sall be putt under caution for making of their men, tennents, and such as they aucht to answer for, obedient to the lawes." Among those summoned to Edinburgh in the following June was the Laird of Lamont, along with his neighbours McNaughton, Maclachlan and Otter.⁵ Evidently James impressed the Council, as in 1637 they made him a Justice of the Peace, "understanding," as they said, "that he was verie reall affected to his Ma(jes)ties seruice, and of good judgement and experience." (This distinction was already enjoyed by one of his Fife cousins, Mr Andrew, soon created a Doctor of Divinity.) He had previously been made by *Righ Tearlach* a member of the new Court of High Commission in Scotland. The good government which this foreshadowed had, of course, to be financed, and along with his appointments may be read the discharges of the taxes for the barony ever increasing in amount. That responsibility was taken seriously by the "barrones and gentlmen of the Shirefdome of Argyle" appears from their assembling at Inveraray next year, when they nominated him to a committee, "to consult vpon all forder matteris for defence of the said Shirefdome." This was a few months after the signing of the famous National League and Covenant, a comprehensive bond of manrent which ranged most of the nation in opposition to the Crown. The King's religious policy had now brought the country to the verge of civil war. In this crisis James was chosen to represent the local lairds in parliament. MacCailein himself, the grim Gillespie, had taken no part in Scots affairs for twenty years, having been "made Popish about the forty-second year of his age" and lived for a time in Spain and then in London. Of him it was written:

"Now Earl of Guile, and Lord Forlorn thou goes,
 Quitting thy Prince, to serve his Spanish foes.
 No faith in plaids, no trust in highland trews,
 Camelion-like, they change so many hues."

He died furth of Scotland in 1638, and was succeeded by another Archibald, eighth Earl and from 1641 first Marquis, in whose honour was composed the well-known salute on the pipes *Failte' Mbarais*. Like his father he is referred to by Sir Walter Scott as Archibald *gruamach*, but probably without justification, although he was grim enough to the *Clan Laomainn*.⁶

Meanwhile Cowal seems to have been quiet and the administration of the estates was steadily proceeding. James was formally served heir to his father in the early part of 1635. Two years after he made up his title to Rudhbodach in Bute, opposite Colintraive, which had not been done since the time of his great-great-grandfather Sir JOHN X. This involved the proof of the family pedigree, and the payment of considerable dues. Between 1641 and 1643 he took formal entry in the separate holdings of Ballochandrain, of Acharossan, and of Achadachoun and Kames. In the last case there was a reason for the delay, for there had been litigation. When the superior, MacCailein, was called upon to receive him a number of technical objections were raised, such as that James's service was irregular in that it "was quietly conveyed and stolen through without lawful warning or compearance of a defender." Evidently, however, they were able at this stage to compose their differences, which, alas, they could not do for long.⁷

As chief and feudal overlord James dealt with his clansmen very much as his father had done. Thus he figures early and late as guarantor for members of the Stillaig and Ascog families. In return he expected his cadets to do the same for him, and so, one after the other, Knockdow, Silvercraigs, Ascog, and Auchinshelloch were his sureties between 1635 and 1639. Stillaig, who was a second cousin once removed, had apparently got into money difficulties, for in 1635 he bound himself to the chief, and to Ascog as the principal cadet, not to alienate any part of his lairdship, which clan sentiment dictated should be kept in the family. Parties met to sign the agreement at the old mill of Ettrick Bay in Bute, which though now long vanished was then no doubt a handy half-way howff between Kerry and Toward. Within a few years James regained the whole of this estate, which was a £10 land, while Stillaig was reduced to the tenancy of the $\frac{1}{2}$ merk land of Kildavaig, by Ardlamont, for his life, and his brother Neil had a grant of southern Auchagoyl to be held by military service.⁸

Mr Archibald, the chief's next brother, evidently a University man, feued for a consideration the bulk of the remainder of the lairdship, including Glenan and S. Auchagoyl mill, worth some £266 net per annum, and he had other interests also which Sir COLL had given him.⁹ Ninian the youngest of the three never had a lairdship, probably because he was still a child when the civil wars broke out and died before the Restoration. But he had investments (or bonds of annual-rent as they were called in the old days) in compensation. James provided for his infant daughters, Barbara and Annas, by securing them a lease of half of Auchinshelloch, which was factored for them by their uncle the new

Stillaig.¹⁰ In 1641 the Auchinshelloch family, who now represented the old Stillaig cadets, entered into some transactions requiring the chief's consent, and parties foregathered at Kilbride (by Ardlamont) to sign the deeds. Rudhbodach was now settled on a younger son, and Kames in the Kyles was made over to Stronalbanach for a motley annual payment which included eighty creels of peats to be carried to the house of Ardlamont. This is interesting as implying that the chiefs were occasionally using the old home of the extinct Ardlamont cadets, which was to prove a welcome refuge in the years to come when Toward was in ruins.¹¹

Shortly after James and McGibbon of Auchnagarran in Glendaruel entered into a "contract . . . for establishing and supporting a friendly amity and correspondence betwixt them and their heirs and successors in all succeeding times," against all comers, "the authority and the Earles of Argyll being excepted." Thus they sought to end the feud arising out of the "unfortunate accident" by which Sir JOHN X had killed the other's ancestor about 1532. McGibbon was to have the right of holding courts of justice at Ballochandrain in return for two-thirds of the fines, which must have been mutually beneficial. James seems also to have feued out Fernoch by Lochgilphead to one of the Maclachlans for 10 merks a year. Just before the storm of the civil wars burst upon the country he granted Ballochandrain and Craignafeich to a family of McCloys, no doubt for a solid cash payment, as it was just at this time that the chief was desperately gathering money for his projected campaigns.¹² This marks the disappearance of the old cadets of Ballochandrain.

Sordid motives, too, would account for his dismissal of his hereditary doctors, the Leitchs or McLeas of Lindsaig, which was contrary to all Celtic standards. This was described a century later by a descendant of the mediciners thus slighted: "There was one McLea a Surgeon," he says, "who himself and his forebears for several generations had been Physician in Ordinary to the Family of Lamont, whose house yeard and kiln (were) where the mansion house of the family of Lamont was at that time at Inveryn; and which Surgeon had also in property the five merk lands of Achnaskioch . . . now possest by one of the name of Stewart. . . . And this present Lamont's [*i.e.* ARCHIBALD XVII's] great-grandfather was the person that turned the then McLea of Achnaskioch off from being his Surgeon and Physician in Ordinary, upon which McLea prophesied that there should never be another Lamont lineally descended after his son to succeed him." If such an ill fate was in fact foreseen it was a remarkable example of the "second sight," for unfortunately it was afterwards realised. James's son ARCHIBALD XV

had no legitimate issue. The narrator was, however, wrong in thinking that the chief was still living at Inveryne and that Achanaskioch still belonged to the McLeas. The latter had passed to the Stewarts in 1568, and it may be that the dismissal had really happened at that date. The curse undoubtedly pronounced at the time may well have remained indefinite until later events suggested a prediction which was likely to be fulfilled. No doubt the ruins of the surgery are among those which can still be seen about the steading of Inveryne to-day. Posterity will hardly blame the chief if he found it impracticable to send all the way from Toward when he needed a cure or a potion, and decided that the time had come at last to make a new appointment nearer home.¹³

A fortunate chance has preserved a rental of the bulk of the estates in Cowal proper for the period 1642-6,¹⁴ thus enabling one to judge of the resources on which James had to rely in his great struggle with the Campbells. The actual receipts in money and kind were less than might have been expected, as many of the vassals held by the tenure of ward, which primarily involved service in the field without any regular annual payment whatsoever. But when the vassal was a minor the superior drew the whole profits of the lands. This was a most valuable perquisite, though, of course, its yield was uncertain. But ward had one disadvantage in the highlands. Custom entitled a chief in any event to the armed support of his clan. Thus in making a grant to a cadet he was really giving away something for nothing, that is the actual rents (reserving only the right of resuming them temporarily during a minority). In fact such grants were probably never made, except to kinsmen, without a substantial capital payment (known as a "*grassum*"), and without a clause of return to the superior on the failure of a very limited series of heirs. The modern tenure of feu had obvious advantages in providing a fixed rent roll, and in it where the vassal was not of the tartan discipline could be enforced by stipulating for "hosting and hunting," a modified form of service in the field.

The barony was thus divided in the rental into three sections: (1) the leases (or tacks), (2) the feus, and (3) the ward holdings. For various reasons there are omissions in each group; yet taking them as they stand they are of considerable interest. As the returns are almost entirely in kind, and as prices fluctuated from year to year, one can only give a rough average estimate of the totals. But adopting values which were current throughout the whole county for the year 1642 the following results are reached. The leased lands produced in money £353, in bere £2455 (263 bolls of 156 lbs. at £9, 6s. 8d.), in oats £1672 (209 such bolls at £8), in butter £152 (45½ stones of 24 lbs. at £3, 6s. 8d.), and in wedders

£127 (95 at 26s. 8d.), or in all £4759. There were also certain minor payments for which no figures are available, namely 306 dozen eggs, 33 dozen fowls, 50 fed veills (fatted calves), 13 fed kids (goats), 1 fed cow, 980 loads of peats, and lastly one quart of aquavita for the ferry house of Ardyne, no doubt supplied in instalments at each crossing of the water.¹⁵ Much less was derived from the feued lands, namely £108 in money and £133 in kind, together £241, completing a gross total of £5000 a year. The most peculiar feature of these details is the absence of cattle, whether for the market or to be salted for the winter (the latter known as "marts"). If it were not that the Campbells were said to have lifted 3000 nolt in 1646, one might have supposed that the Lamonts, unlike most other highlanders, were losing interest in the cattle trade. If to the items mentioned are added horses and some pigs, one has probably a complete picture of a Cowal farm's produce at that date. No turnips or green crops were grown, and no hay was cut, winter feeding being most meagre.¹⁶

After the Restoration Sir James, in petitioning for redress, stated his loss at the lowest at £3000 a year, but this seems to have been over modest as that figure was adopted as the basis of taxation after the ravages of the wars which must have caused a heavy depreciation. From the gross return of £5000 from the leased and feued lands there fell to be deducted, as explained above, one-fifth in name of teind, and perhaps one-tenth for expenses of management and miscellaneous outlays, leaving roughly £3500. It is likely enough that some part of the cess, or land tax (say one-twentieth), may also have been paid by the chief, although the earliest surviving tacks (which are all to *duine uassail*) pass on the whole liability to the lessees. There were no repairs chargeable against him, as till the 19th century the buildings belonged to the tenants, although exceptionally in 1660 he had to contribute. There fell to be added to this about £120 net for his interest in the teinds of Inverchaolain, making the free annual income about £3370. On the basis of twelve and a half years' purchase, which seems to have been the current standard, the capital value of the estate may be put at above £42,000.¹⁷

The lairdship of Ascog was worth on this basis £1000 net a year, and Stillaig with the teinds £766. Their respective capital values would thus be about £12,500 and £9500. No estimate is possible for Mony-drain, Silvercraigs, or the minor cadetships of Auchinbreck, Stronalbanach, Auchinshelloch, Rudhbodach or N. Auchagoyl. That part of Knockdow which held ward of the chief, perhaps a third of the whole, was worth £140 net a year, as were Coustoun and Strone together. The capital values of these lairdships would thus be £5280 and £1750

respectively. Such were the resources in which the clan's leaders had to rely at the outset of the struggle now before them. As they stood poised and ready to plunge into the civil wars the Lamonts were at the height of their power. Never again in their history did they attain the same position. For a while it seemed that they might regain that domination of Cowal which Sir LAUMON had achieved four centuries before. Alas! their high hopes were doomed to disappointment.¹⁸

For long prior to 1642 it had been clear that trouble was brewing in the country at large. No doubt James would encourage his people to return to those arts of war which had been out of use since the campaign against the McDonalds of Islay a generation before. Most people had now definitely adopted the cause of either the King or the Covenant. MacCailein was attached to the latter, and so most highlanders inclined towards the other or "malignant" camp. Unlike many of his forebears James seems to have had no dealings with Inveraray. He did business mainly in Bute and the lowlands, and chafed at any interference by Argyll in Nether Cowal. In the summer of 1639 the Treaty of Berwick effected a temporary pacification in the country at large, and the chief was a member of both the assembly and the parliament which followed, in both of which the covenanters were in the ascendant. His kinsman Dr Andrew was deposed from Markinch, and "took his feet with him" to Thwing in Yorkshire, where he founded a family. James in the same year was carrying on a royalist intrigue with the Earl of Seaforth (chief of the Mackenzies), McDonald of Sleat, McLeod of Dunvegan, McLean of Duart, Sir James Stewart of Bute and Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall. Except Seaforth these adventurers met in and about Edinburgh, principally in the taverns known as "Euphame Wilsones in the Channon-gaite, and Dixones in the Potteraw" (both gone beyond trace to-day). Their idea was to raise forces both in Ireland and the Isles to support *Rìgh Tearlach* against MacCailein and his ultra-Presbyterian allies. But the news got abroad and James was so anxious not to offend the other party that to his shame he made a full disclosure in the form of a most curious document entitled "*Lawmont's Declaration*," preserved at Traquair. From this it appears that he had signed a bond of loyalty and absolute obedience to the King, and that it was intended that a similar undertaking should be given by Seaforth, McLeod, McLean and McDonald of Clanranald, which "should make the Illesmen stand sure to His Majestie, and to his forces, and that they should be directed to come and invaid Lorne, quhile the King's wther forces [*i.e.* the Irish] should land in Kintyre and Tarbette." Sleat had bound himself to assist with 2000 in his tail "to make service against Scotland," if he were supplied with

1000 stands of arms, and he had sworn McLean "having layed the Bible upon his head." The chiefs of the north-west were only too ready to pay off old scores against Argyll under royal sanction.¹⁹

This was where they shared a common purpose with James and with the King. The chief stated his desire, and that of Stewart of Bute, to be quit of MacCailein's criminal jurisdiction. He had spoken to the Lord High Commissioner, the Stewart Earl of Traquair, about this, had been promised that when the country was settled King Charles would "take order" as to the enormities, and had been asked to be ready to speak against Argyll, which one may be sure he was. The latter's offices were to be split up, and he had actually seen a patent appointing Sleat Lieutenant of the Isles, and heard that the Justiciary had been promised to Seaforth. Also Sleat assured him "that he had heard the King swear that if he brookit the Crowne, he should ruin the Earl of Argyll, and all that would stand by him." The document concludes: "I heard the Commissioner say that for the wronges done to his Majestie in this business, that if ever he could overtake him in law or otherwayes, that his Majestie should be equall with him." Old Archibald *gruamach* had warned *Rìgh Tearlach* that young Archibald, the eighth Earl, would "wynd him a pìrn," and so it proved. "*Lawmont's Declaratione*" does its author little credit, for it shows him as two-faced, though he soon reverted to his old allegiance to the King. Meantime, however, his presbytery again returned him as a representative to the general assembly of August 1640.²⁰

Apart from his hostility to MacCailein James's sympathies were influenced by his financial position. From youth he had been always in debt. *Is fhearr sean-fhiachan na sean-fhalachd*, runs the maxim—"Better old debts than old feuds"—but it was ill to have both as did he. In the five years from 1634 to 1638 the evidence which has survived establishes that he had borrowed over £21,000. As early as 1641 his creditors were taking active steps against him to recover payment. By 1645, when they foreclosed on the estates, at least another £33,000 had been added to the total, and probably much more, as by 1656 he admitted that he owed £64,000, which exceeded by one-third the whole value of his estate as estimated above. This huge total obviously requires an explanation, especially as the conditions then prevailing made it an even heavier burden than it would be to-day. Ready cash was always scarce in the highlands; the current rate of interest was 10 per cent.; default involved the addition of a substantial proportion of the principal as penalty; and civil imprisonment would almost certainly follow insolvency.²¹

After the Restoration of 1660, when he rendered his account to the

King for his services, he claimed to have spent all this money in furthering the cause of the malignants. As regards the later portion of his debts this is probably the case, and helps one to understand how a highland chief, who cannot have been listed with first-class investments, could borrow up to 150 per cent. of the value of his estates. Obviously the bulk of his lenders must have been political allies willing to risk fortunes if not lives in the cause of the Stewart monarchs. They had the money and James had the men, and the arrangement was a wise one. A large sum would, of course, be needed to equip and train the clan for war with firearms. The force which a chief could put into the field depended as much on the weapons as on the heads at command. No doubt every clansman had his sword, Lochaber axe and dirk, and the smiths could turn out what defensive armour was needed for the *duine uassail*, but muskets and ball cartridge had to be bought from the lowlands or abroad. Yet James can hardly have required to borrow £20,000 for the public service without reimbursement before 1639. The son of so canny a father, who had paid the whole succession duties in advance, cannot justly be acquitted of the charge of gross extravagance. As the saying is, it had been hard gathering, and it was free spending—*cruinneachadh cruaidh agus leigeadh farsuinn*.²²

How the rest of this money was employed the records do not even hint. There is no evidence of a town house in Rothesay, Largs, or Edinburgh, or of any clan feuds prior to 1645. It may be that the place of Ardlamont was set in order, as in this period it again emerges from obscurity. Perhaps also he kept state in the hall of Toward, and wasted his substance in wine and wassail. He would have to entertain the clansmen, for *ge b'e nach beathaich na coin, cha bhi iad aige latha na seilge*—"he that does not feed the dogs won't have them on the day of hunting." After the long years of peace many musters would be needed ere they were ready to face regulars, although of course the gentry would be already trained in these arts, and the highlander was the finest natural warrior of the time, as will be shown in a moment. But it seems likeliest of all that the money was wasted at court, trying to keep up appearances as against the wealthy English. A chronicler of the time laments that "all the gold of the kingdom is daily transported away with superfluous posting for court, whence they never return any thing, save spend all, end all; then farewell fortune. So that numbers of our nobility and gentry now become, with idle projects, down-drawers of destruction upon their own necks, their children, and their estates; and posting postilions, by dissolute courses, to enrich strangers, leave themselves deservedly desolate of lands, means and honesty for ever. . . . So do

our ignoble gallants, though nobly born, swallow up the honour of their famous predecessors, with posting foolery, boy-winding horns, gormandizing gluttony, lust, and vain apparel." 23

Somehow one fears that James was no exception, and certain it is that his finances were in such a state that he might well decide to make the gambler's throw of civil war. If he could only back the winning side he would be able to ride roughshod over the hated clan Diarmaid, and his loans, in the old highland phrase, "would be sent laughing home," *bu chòir an t-iasad a chur bhachaidh a' gàireachdaich*. What would happen if he lost he did not stay to consider. Thus when James unsheathed the sword it was from mixed motives. An even more unfavourable view was taken by his unfriends. "In anno 1640," says a *Note* prepared in retrospect by the advisers of Argyll in 1660, he "being drown'd in debt made ane fashion to undertake some service for the King as one means to recover his estate, bot how far he heard that there wes any discovery of it, he wreat ane lettir to the Commitee of Estates, swearing by his solemn & great oath, and under all the paynes contained in the law & gospell, that in effect he shoud do no more so, and sent therein the secrets he was upon for his Majesty's service." His Declaration was not lightly forgotten.²⁴

The details of his debts are only of interest as showing the sources of his credit, which were presumably his main spheres of activity. Of the total of £54,000 almost two-fifths were borrowed from various lairds in the counties of Renfrew and Ayr, including his political associate Stewart of Blackhall, who was soon locked up in Edinburgh Castle by the covenanters. The expanding city of *Glascho bheag* (as it still was to the Gaels) provided the next largest quota of over £14,000. £10,000 came from his native shire, the greater part of which was lent by George Campbell, of Kinnochtrie in Angus, the sheriff clerk and sheriff depute of Argyllshire. The latter afterwards exploited his rights as creditor in order to secure possession of the barony, from which it was not possible to dislodge him until after the Restoration. One wonders why he advanced so much to a Lamont, unless he hoped by this means to get James into his power. In the capital city of "Dunedin" the chief also raised £9000, and the lave was from miscellaneous sources, including his fellow-intriguer the ancestor of the present Marquis of Bute.²⁵ It is perhaps remarkable that he does not seem to have drawn upon his own clansmen or relations, except as cautioners, which was either because they had no money or he did not wish to involve them in a risk so speculative.²⁶

Between September of 1641 and the following May the chief was knighted, presumably at the same time that the red-haired and squint-eyed

eighth Earl of Argyll was made a Marquis by *Rìgh Tearlach* in Edinburgh, before his Majesty departed for the south in November of 1641. War was now at hand in three countries. . . In the winter of 1641-2 Mr John Lamont, one of the Fife kin, was chased out of Ireland by a Roman Catholic rebellion, and the new Marquis, himself the son of a Papist, was commissioned by the King to raise a regiment of 1500 to combat the rebels. Eight Lamonts, two of them McSorleys, figure in the muster rolls preserved at Inveraray.²⁷ It was a short-lived alliance, for in a few years Lamonts and Irish had made common cause against clan Diarmaid. Curiously enough Mr John's brother, Mr Walter, took refuge in Ireland in 1643 when it was safer than this country. In May of 1642 Sir James was on the kirk's affairs at Iona, but after the raising of the royal standard at Nottingham in August there is no word of him in the covenanting councils of either the kirk or the parliament. Ministerial activity was rife in the Lamont country, however, for in October Dunoon and Inverchaolain were appointed by the synod to have separate pastors (and to be disjoined from Kilmun and Kilmory in Strathlachlan respectively), while "considereing of the greatnes of the charge & largenes of the bounds of the pearch of Kilfinan and the meanesse of the maintenance of the minister" he was instructed to sue for an augmentation of stipend. On 26th January next the presbytery summoned one "Jonat Lamont to compear . . . at Dunnone the first wedding day of Apryll 1643 (as also) Duncan Lamont in the Tarbert," which is the first indication of the tartan in that airt athwart Loch Fyne. They later applied to the Sheriff at Inveraray for "ane warrand to apprehend Jonat Lamont for sindrie charmes that will be proven against her."²⁸

Witchcraft and immorality were all too commonly detected under covenanting supervision, and Cowal was soon smarting under this unwonted regimentation, which made the clan the readier to favour the King's cause when occasion should arise. But that time was not yet come, and the country as a whole was against him. The rest of the year 1643 Sir James devoted to the raising of money, by borrowing and by receiving new vassals, and also no doubt to reviving those warlike ploys which had been disused since the expedition against Islay thirty years before. Upon the excuse of a hunt it was possible without exciting any suspicion to have a parade of the clan's fighting strength, and from shooting at deer one passed naturally to shooting at butts when no deer were to be had. "In (his) dwelling," to quote the contemporary Gaelic poet, "would be found, ranged upon the weapon-rack, powder-horn and shot-horn and the pick of every armoury. Powder-horn and shot-horn and the pick of every armoury, and sword-blades slender-tapering from hilt

to tip; would be found on each side of them rifle and carabine, and bows tough and sound with their bowstrings of hemp. Bows tough and sound with their bowstrings of hemp, and narrow culverins would be bought though they be dear; a handful of polished arrows thrust down into quivers, fledged from the plumage of the eagle and the silk of Galway. Fledged from the eagle's plumage and the silk of Galway. . . . It would be (his) pleasure to be a-hunting in the peaks, taking joy of the forest and ascending the rough dells. Taking joy of the forest and ascending the rough dells, letting slip the young hounds and inciting the old ones; of that incitement it would come that blood would flow on the bristles of the folk of white flanks and russet mantles. Blood on the deer white-flanked and russet-mantled, at the hands of (his) company of nobles that bear hardly on their weapons; men that well would read the day, and speed over the ocean, and fit to sail the vessel to the haven wherein she would be beached." This was the spirit that had to be fostered if it was to be war for clan Lamont.²⁹

The control of the chiefs was, of course, as yet complete throughout the proud highlands. Clansmen, it was remarked by an early observer, "when they will not stir upon the King's Call, or the beating Drums for Voluntiers, yet on the Call of the Laird, tho' but with a Whistle or a Sounding-Horn, they will come together arm'd in a Moment, ready for any Mischief that the Laird shall command them to do, whether to Kill, Burn, Rob, Ravish, or whatever else comes to hand." The same account gives "some Description of the Highlanders themselves," and although it was written mainly of the wild north-west in 1715 it may be fairly applied to the Lamonts (as it was expressly to the Campbells of Glendaruel), for in 1646 they were probably in the same condition as were their ruder neighbours two generations after. "It is true," so it was said, "that the Manner of their Living in some measure requires it, that these Highlanders are more inur'd to Arms than the Inhabitants of any other part of Scotland, their Way of Living being to get their Subsistance in the Mountains by their Gun, shooting Wild-Fowl, Deer, &c. and by this Means they are not only all furnished with Arms, but as they live sometimes in Enmity with one another, and decide their personal Breaches very often by the Sword, in which sometimes, from the Differences between 2 mean Persons, the whole Families are engaged, and they often come to pitch'd Battles, one Clan against another, so it occasions them to be more acquainted with the Discipline of War, than other men are; and it may be said of them, that they are the best undisciplin'd Soldiers that can be in the World. . . ."³⁰

"The Highlander is always arm'd, the meanest Man amongst them,

even the Dubschalper [dub-skepler or gillie-wet-foot], a Name for those who run at the Horse-Foot of the Laird, is not without a Gun, a broad Sword, a Durk and a Target; and their Dexterity at using these Weapons, their Manner of Fighting with them, their Nimbleness of Foot, and their Courage, are Things which would require (much) room to describe. . . . Their Habit is hard to describe, and is altogether barbarous, yet adapted to the Advantage of their Bodies, and admirably suited to their Way of Living. They wear Pumps for Shoes, so thin, as that they rather tread the Ground than the Shoe, and this is for their Convenience in running. . . . The Highlander garters his Stockings below the Knees, and wears no Breeches in the coldest Season, but his Plaid which is belted about him, and his Trouze hanging from his Wast to the middle of the Thigh and something lower, serves him instead of Breeches, and hangs loose to his Thigh, open below, but plaited and full like the Vallens of a Bed, and not unlike the Skirts of the old Roman Habit, which always hung loose upon the Thigh, as may be seen by our Statues of Princes. . . . By this Dress his Knee is naked for about two Hands Length above and below, and the Hamstrings being thus free from the Garters, they suppose themselves more nimble and easy; nor is the Cold which their other Parts are hereby exposed to any Grievance to them, but they bear it as readily as we do in our Faces or Hands, or other Parts daily exposed, which makes them very hardy.

“They have besides this their Plaid, a loose Garment in the nature of a Robe, which they carry as it were on their Arm; it is thrown over their Shoulder, and tho’ to our Imagination it seems to be very cumbersome yet as they never go without it, they are so dexterous in the casting it about them and handling it, that it is no hindrance to them at all, either in their running or handling their Weapons; on the contrary, they make it very serviceable in their Fighting, by covering one half of their Body with it, especially their left Arm, and Shoulders, in such a Manner as no Sword can cut thro’ it, but that which it is more particularly serviceable to them for, is, that they lodge in it as in a House, or that they may be said to carry their Tents always about them. . . . These Men are strong, large, made hardy and very rugged, rather desperate than bold, and rather furious than couragious; they have one Temper, which whatever it is in them, is in other Men inseparable from a Coward (viz.), That they are merciless, barbarous and bloody, no generous Pity, no true Gallantry of Mind appears among them; but observe, that it is the meaner Sort I am speaking of, for Gentlemen will be Gentlemen in all Nations of the World, but these wild Highland-men may well be stiled wild men, for they act the brutal Part to Perfection, being voratious, cruel, insolent

and unmerciful in their Prosperity, and basely servile or sullen if they are subdued.”

No doubt Sir James would have hotly disputed some parts of this description, and maintained that the Lamonts were all gentlemen in bearing, and never either brutal or servile, but it is quoted for what it is worth and is of interest as showing how highlanders were regarded, rightly or wrongly, in the more settled districts. In any event it is plain that they were ready to take the field in arms at a moment's notice, and that they were hardy and fearless. The chief must of course have had several pairs of breeches in his aumbry, for wear when he went out of his territory. In August 1643 he had left the wilds again and was in Edinburgh. Parliament appointed him a commissioner for war for the county, and no doubt he was well suited for it. Among so many louting Campbells he may well have felt it behoved him to assist in securing recruits for the Scots army which went south against the royalists in January of 1644.³¹

The month before Montrose, who had been in and out of both camps but had now finally adhered to the King, induced his Majesty to adopt a plan whereby the McDonell Earl of Antrim—*Raomull*, *Marcus Umm-druim*—should land with an Irish force in Argyllshire by 1st April of 1644, while Montrose himself with troops from England should march north to effect a junction. On 24th March a royal commission to Sir James was issued at “our Court at Oxfoord,” under the superscription “Charles R.” A contemporary “coppie” is among the Inverryne Charters. After narrating the appointment of the Earls of Antrim and Seaforth as Lieutenant-Generals and Justiciars “with power to invade the countrie and bounds of Archibald, Marques of Argyll,” it proceeds that the King had “thought fit to direct these presents unto you to conjure you . . . to be assisting (them) with all your power”; and concludes as follows: “We would have you confident that we shall ever preserve a livlie memory of your forwardnes and faithfulness, to reward it fully, when ever God shall enable ws soe to doe, and so we bid yow heartily farwell.” If this document had an ill import for Sir James, it had a worse for Argyll, as it was to be the basis of a main count in the indictment which brought MacCailein to the scaffold after the Restoration. The siege and plunder of the two Lamont castles could not be regarded as an ordinary incident of clan tuilzie when they were in fact being held under King *Tearlach's* commission “authorizing and giving express ordor to the said Sir James Lamont to prosecute ane warr and to levie forces in his Ma(jes)tie's name, against those thane in rebelliousne.”³²

Its arrival at Toward is thus described in a *True Relation of Sr. James*

Lamont of that Ilk His actings and sufferings, prepared about 1661 for submission to the restored King Charles II. "His Majesties Commission was sent to the said Sr James by the Marquesse of Montrose, and he received the same at his owne Mansion about the latter end of Aprill In the yeare of the date thereof, with a letter, desireing him to meete his Excellence the said Marquesse, neare to Dumfreize upon the South borders of Scotland about the beginning of May." These orders were, of course, in flat contradiction of the terms of the commission, which instructed Sir James to join the northern party, but in any event it was impossible to do anything as Montrose had almost immediately to retire from Dumfries, his venture having miscarried for various reasons. One wonders if any of a small colony of Lamonts, first heard of about this time in that county, rallied to his colours. As the *True Relation* proceeds, "the rebels, haveing notice of the said Marquese his designes, sent the greatest part of their forces unto the said borders. Whereby (Montrose) being disapointed of the aides of the well affected by reason they were overawed by the said rebels their forces (he) was forced to retyre to his Majestie without any successe. So that knowledge hereof was almost as soon come to the ears of the said Sr. James as his Majesties Commission and his Leivetennents letter to his hands." ³³

The position was made even more hopeless by the defeat of the royalist forces at Marston Moor in Yorkshire on 2nd July, which meant the loss of northern England to the parliamentary armies. The head of the Yorkshire branch of the clan, which was new from Fife, was Dr Andrew Lawmonth, later of Thwing, and his eldest son Allan, who had been in arms for King Charles, surrendered on the 15th to the Scots commander Leslie, no doubt thinking further resistance would serve no useful purpose. The chief was very wise in biding a while to see what chanced before taking the road and leaving his homesteads open to the fire and sword of clan Diarmaid. In May he had been chosen as one of his presbytery's representatives to the forthcoming General Assembly, and on 24th July as a commissioner of war for Argyllshire, so that he must still have been generally reckoned a supporter of the covenant. But in that same month the horizon changed and the royalists again took heart. In the words of the *True Relation* "the Earle of Antrim, cheife of the Mcdonnalds, did send his cousin Sr. Alexander Mackdonnold over from Ireland with fiveteen hundred expert souldiers as forerunners of his owne comeing (who notwithstanding did not come with a residue as was expected)." ³⁴ Thus is described the arrival of *Alastair Mac Colla*, son of *Colla Ciotach* (the ambidextrous) of Colonsay, "a gigantic and ferocious highland chieftain," and his undisciplined horde to whom "there

was no distinction between a man and a beast." He fought with a huge two-handed sword and never needed to strike an enemy more than once with it. They arrived in the sound of Islay on the 2nd July and had wasted the country for forty miles around, including Mingarry and Lochaline, before their presence was known in the south. But the clans were so feared of the Campbells that they would not rise as yet, and young Colkitto would have gone back to Ireland had not his three vessels been burnt behind his back by Argyll's men while on a visit to McDonald of Sleat in Skye. He marched hither and thither but met with no support until he reached the Gordon country of Badenoch, where he raised five hundred recruits.³⁵

Meanwhile Montrose, who alone of the King's men in the north declined to be daunted, "did come throw a great part of Scotland in a disguised maner, having but two in company with him disguised also." He thus penetrated into Perthshire to the house of Tulleybelton near the Tay. There, according to his chaplain, "he staid for some days, passing the day in an obscure cottage, and the night in the neighbouring mountains alone," until by a fortunate chance he received despatches from Colkitto, to which he replied exhorting the Irish to come to the Atholl country not far distant from where he was. They met at last. "And haveing thus travelled by night roads," so runs the *True Relation*, "many a mile he came directly to the said Sr. Alexander Mackdonald, Generall Major to the Earle of Antrim, who was then in an Highland Countrey called Badzenoch belonging to the Marquese of Huntley, chiefe of the noble familey of the Gordons, with whom the said Generall Major Mackdonald most cherefully joined, with the which Marquese (*i.e.* Montrose) the Badenoch people, and the people of Atholl next adjacent thereto, did with loyall hearts ryse and in a body did march towards the rebels, who were then in a great body neare St. Johnstowne, an ancient citty in Scotland [*i.e.* Perth, the second town in the country], whom they defeated att a place called Tippermore [on 1st September], and thereafter went to the farr north parts of Scotland, where they continued for that yeare, 1644, being all the while two hundred miles distant from the said Sr. James his countrey." They would be reinforced no doubt by some Lamonts from the Braes of Mar, for the Farquharsons of that airt threw in their lot with Montrose. It was the start of the dazzling career of the *Gbreumach*, and soon his gathering cry *Latha Allt Eire* was known throughout highlands and lowlands.³⁶

Up to this point one must admit that Sir James had every excuse for not acting in terms of his commission. With so many intervening hostile Campbells discretion was still the better part of valour. The Lamont

estates were completely cut off on the landward side by a ring of these hereditary unfriends. Starting on the west there were Campbell lairds in Ardmarnock, Otter, Glendaruel, Auchencrook, Eilean Greg, Ardtarig (at Loch Striven head), and Dunoon. Further afield Strachur, Stratheck, and Kilmun were all Campbell districts. Besides these independent settlements Campbells had been received as vassals in the immediate neighbourhood of both Inverlyne and Toward, namely at Acharossan and Achavoulin. The only unrestricted outlet was by sea to the lowlands, and as the King's main strength lay in the north, this was not of much avail. Argyllshire's earliest surviving valuation roll relates to this period, and is interesting as showing the relative areas of the tartans. "The compt of the merklandes off Cowal" brings out a total of 844, and of these "the Laird of Lamontes haill landes" [*i.e.* including those in Glassary] amounted to 200, or a little less than quarter of the whole. This was certainly "a sair declension fra the auld," but if Sir James's bold plan had succeeded these proportions would have been materially altered. Even as it was, however, he was still by far the largest individual proprietor in the district. Ardkinglas came next with 80 merk lands, and almost the whole of the rest belonged to his clansmen, including in particular the laird of Otter's 40, and the 30 in the officary of Ardmarnock. The independent exceptions were "the Laird of Lachlans land in Cowal," extending to 50, and Baron McGibbon's 11 in Glendaruel, no doubt including Ballochandrain. In comparing the positions of the Lamont and Maclachlan chiefs one has to credit the latter in addition with 40 merk lands in Argyll proper, in which were reckoned also McNaughton of Dundarave's 30.³⁷

But when in December of 1644 Montrose decided upon his lightning descent to maul the Campbell country there seems no further reason why Sir James should not have taken the road, but alas he did not. One object of the raid on Inveraray was to encourage the clans who had hitherto been awed by the might of MacCailein to take heart and unsheath the claymore for the King. The ploy was conceived by the McDonalds, and Montrose's doubts as to the means of subsistence were set at rest by one from Glencoe remarking: "There is, indeed, nothing like a city, or half a city, in all the western highlands; but I know every farm belonging to *MacCailinmbor*; and if tight houses, fat cattle, and clear water will suffice, you need never want." Through the white hill passes they poured in the dead of winter, and Argyll, surprised, fled to the lowlands in his birlinn without striking a blow. The boar's head was trampled in the dust. Three separate parties "descended on the enemy's fields and ravaged the whole district from end to end. Wherever they fell in

with armed men hastening to the appointed rendezvous, they put them to the sword, sparing none that were fit to carry arms, and did not desist until they had hunted every man fit for service out of the country or driven them into secret lurking-holes. They then gave their villages and cots to the avenging flames and burnt them to the ground, an act of retaliation on Argyll, who had been the first of all to wage this cruel war of fire and sword upon his countrymen. Lastly, they drove all their cattle. . . . These proceedings lasted from December the 13th, 1644, till about the 28th or 29th of January." So wrote Montrose's chaplain not long after this golden time. There was not a crouse Diarmaid in the district. In a corner of Inveraray is still marked a spot, "the wall of old Quinten, where a corps of Campbells, slaughtered by Inverlochy dogs, lie under a Latin stone." MacCailein wished the invaders the back of seven Saturdays when they had gone.³⁸

What ailed Sir James at this juncture will never be known, but to his everlasting disgrace he held back and did not acknowledge his commission and take the road with his clan. The *True Relation* passes over these events in complete silence and does not resume the tale until August 1645, when Montrose had all Scotland at his feet. The vague statement in Argyll's indictment of 1661 that Sir James "in obedience (to the commission) did levie all his freendis and followeris, and . . . acted as became ane gude subject of his Ma(jes)tie's service for promoting therof wntill the year" 1646 is gainsaid (and rightly) by the *Note* prepared by the Campbells. Their account of it was that "Contrare to the Tenor thereof & his profesd Loyalty to his Majesty, He with all he could Command did act just contrare to his Majesty the years 1643, 1644 & 1645, Be sending of Some men to England, & then Joyned with them who persewed the Marquiss of Montrose his Majesty's Commissioner throw the most part of Scotland, And wes much offendit, that in all these Expeditions against Montrose, he wes not advancit above the place of ane Captain. Is not this," concludes the ironical compiler, "brave Execution of the King's Commission, And very Deserving of Consideration?"³⁹

Although there was exaggeration in this, there was truth in essentials, for the evidence is plain that Sir James was a back-drawer, that he now definitely threw in his lot with the Campbells he loathed, and put boot over saddle for the first time in a covenanting army directed against Montrose, who was then in Lochaber. Argyll recalled Auchencree, a seasoned soldier, from Ireland, gathered his clan and 1100 regulars from the lowlands, and approached the royalists from the south, while his ally Seaforth, another back-drawer, hovered with a strong force on the north. A forced march by snowy passes enabled the *Gbreumach* to escape this

vice and to come unawares upon the Campbells at Inverlochy on Sunday, 2nd February. He was in position the night before, and on hearing of the threatened attack Argyll, who had an injured arm, took to his sable-sailed galley, the *Dubblinnseach*, in preparation for flight adown Loch Linnhe, much as he had done at Inveraray a little before. He was as ready to turn tail as Sir James to turn coat. The presence of the great Montrose himself was not kenned until at dawn the hoisting of the tressured lion banner, the perquisite of the King's Lieutenant alone, was greeted with the salute of trumpets which was its due. The Diarmaids—"a strong battaillon . . . with gunes, bowes, and axes," and flanked by the regulars—were soon bested and pursued for miles or driven into the loch whose waters reddened with their blood. The lave made off for the south, as if their hour was after them. "Cruachan, Cruachan" was heard no more: it was all "*Latha Allt Eire*." Argyll's might and reputation were alike destroyed. The glens echoed with rejoicing at the discomfiture of the crook-mouths, but if pibrochs resounded throughout the highlands at large, it was coronachs in the Campbell country. *Ian Lom* McDonald, the bard, who had watched from the hill above, concluded his pæan in Gaelic which has been thus translated:

"Fallen race of Diarmed! disloyal,—untrue,
 No harp in the highlands will sorrow for you;
 But the birds of Loch Eil are wheeling on high,
 And the Badenoch wolves hear the Camerons' cry,—
 'Come, feast ye! come feast, where the false-hearted lie.' " 40

"In this battell," says a contemporary, "the laird of Auchinbrecke was killed, with fourteine barrones of the name of Campbell, tuo and tuantie men of qualitie taken prisoneres, and seauinteine hundreth killed of the (covenanting) armies." Among the 22, alas, were Sir James and Silvercraigs. This damning fact, derived from two different sources, proves that the chief, and some at least of the clan, were in MacCailein's tail. It is idle to pretend that they can have been among those highlanders who were "forced to serve against their will," for they had had their opportunity to join Montrose and had neglected to seize it.⁴¹ The fiery cross must have gone its rounds in the Lamont country and on the Campbells' errand. For them the chief must have donned the "Spanish blade, blue and long-pointed, and good pair of pistols on a spiral embossed belt," which were the wear of his fellows at the time. Still and on they were not long to see the error of their ways, and once under the spell of the great Marquis their loyalty to the Stewart King revived. Whether Sir James was ever imprisoned is not kenned, but his cousin of Silvercraigs was included in a list of prisoners whom the

Gbreumach in May ordered "to be delyvered furth of the Castle of Blair (Atholl)." This is likely to have been the occasion of the chief's meeting with one James Davidson, a merchant in Inverloch, who perhaps financed him and later married his sister Barbara. The cousins were not long detained in the north, which was now all held for the royalists. On 4th August both journeyed to Toward from Glasgow, as they signed bonds in both places on that day. When on the 15th Montrose "totally routed the Rebels whole army at a place in the west called Kylsyth," the King's cause seemed definitely to have triumphed in Scotland. Archibald, as he afterwards admitted to his Campbell captors, was sent to the leager, or camp, at Bothwell in Lanarkshire, with a request for a protection, "whilk (he) brought home to Towart." He heard apparently of MacColla's determination, in spite of Montrose's entreaties, to pay off old scores against Argyll and Ardkinglas, and arranged to assist, for "within a few days thereafter (he) went to Roseneith to see Alexander McDonald . . . and his forces, having gone in company with the Boats whilk (his) said Brother Sent for ferrying of the said Alexander from Roseneith to Cowall" athwart Loch Long.⁴²

From Bothwell, according to the *True Relation*, Montrose "wrote to the said Sr James to make his addresse to him; to which place the said Sr James with all hast repayred, it being but twenty five miles distant from his cheife mannor house, and there his Excellence gave him a new Commission of the date" 26th August 1645, of which there is a contemporary copy in the Inveryne charters. "Being sufficiently informed of your faithfulness & affection to his Majesties service," it runs, "these are to will and require you in his Majesties name and authoritie, that immediatlie after sight hereof you make your repaire to the sherifdome of Arguyll, and there with all convenient diligence raise the whole fensible men in armes betwixt sixtie and sixteen, who will adhere to his Majesties servise, and bringe them alonge with you to the army to joyne with his Majesties forces for assistinge of the said servise; with power to you to raise fire and sword, and use all other kinde of hostilitie against all those who shall be disobedient and refractorie." The receipt of this Commission marks the start of a new era, in which the clan were called on to face defeat and exile, and all but exterminated in the cause of *Righ Tearlach*. The fury of the clan Diarmaid at the defection of their erstwhile allies can well be imagined. Clan Lamont was never compensated either for the debts incurred in the King's interest, or for the loss of life and destruction of property (including Toward and Ascog castles) entailed by the actual fighting. Because of the part they played they were outstripped in the struggle for the things of this world by many of the Campbell

septs. Their own cadets in Fife, who did not draw the sword, for long eclipsed their seniors in wealth and influence. Yet few of the tartan will regret their chief's decision, which secured for them a place in history, and scattered them even further over the length and breadth of Scotland than ever before.⁴³

The Diarmaids were gleg to lightly Sir James's motives. "It is well known," said they in the years that came after, "that when he Joyned with Alexander McDonald in Harvest 1645 (being the first Tyme that ever he made any Schew at all) It wes for twa Reasons, 1. His debts were So great that his Estate would scarce pay his Annual rents, And he had hopes to make up himself throw the Ruine of his friends & Neighbours, 2. He wes glad out of malice to Joyn with the said Alexander to get his help for avenging of Private & unjust quarrels against his Neighbours, quhilk may be proven by his Letters that are Extant. And so it is clear that his Entering in the Service wes not out of any Principle of Loyalty bot meirly for private & Base Ends." Although the letters referred to are not still to the fore (if indeed they ever existed) any impartial person must admit that the hero's motives were mixed. But whatever the cause it was war for the Lamonts, and as Sir James sent round the fiery cross to gather his hearty folks together, his brother was on a herschip with MacColla and the Irish. "I marched alonges in their Company from Roseneith," said Archibald afterwards, "to Glendarowall be way of Strachur." The first part of the "march" was, of course, by water across Loch Long, and they would naturally land in parties about the Point of Strone between that loch and the Holy Loch. Three hundred and fifty-three feet up on the brae face of the Point is a field Auch-enrath, the field of the fort (near the site of an ancient Caledonian fort called *Cnoc nan Fiontan*, the knoll of the Fenians), which legend says was the scene of a battle between Campbells and Lamonts. It seems likely enough that after the first party of the invaders had landed a force of local Diarmaids attempted without success to drive them into the water before the lave were ferried over. At Strachur, reached no doubt by Glen Finnart, "there were some Houses Burnt and other Insolencies Committed by the said Alexander and his forces, and that in my said Brother's absence," so Archibald was later forced to admit, and no doubt all the way it was fire to the thatch and tow to the thrapple except in parts of Glendaruel where the Blacks were of the clan.⁴⁴

Lady Lamont's young brother, also Archibald, a Campbell of Ard-kinglas, made his way to Toward after Kilsyth "to be sheltered . . . from the troubles," but he complained of his usage, and that he was handed over to Colkitto when the latter arrived at Toward. That was

presumably at the close of the Strachur jaunt and in the beginning of September. In that month Sir James and his stout fellows foregathered with the Erse, and no doubt they had many a splore beneath the cabers of Toward hall ere they took to the road to complete the herschip of the Campbell country. But at last it was *air t' adhart*—"feet for it." Alastair had some five or six hundred with him, so they could not long sorn on the Lamont estates without skaith. Sir James had "neir 300," which gives a notion of the strength of his tartan, and the two "with conjoynd forces, did march throw the said Marquese of Argyles and his freinds their territories, none of their enemies dareing to stand in their way." But Dunoon Castle and Castle Lachlan, which were both in Campbell keeping, would of course be unreduced. One can imagine "the pick of swank fellows" as they swaggered up Loch Striven through the clachan of Inverchaolain to the vaunting of the pipes. "*Gabhaidh sinn an rathad mór, olc no math le cach e*"—"We will take the high road, let them take it ill or well"—would be the quick step of the party, the women wishing more pith to their arms. The standard bearer, *am fear brataich*, would be to the fore, and Sir James with the feathers in his bonnet and the ghillies at his stirrup and the lads of the belt at call, followed by the *duine uassail*, including young Ascog, each with his own tail. They would go no doubt across the foot of Glendaruel from Auchenbreck to Ballochandrain, and then, with the sun glinting on the naked steel and the brass prongs of the targes, over the hill track to Loch Fyne, and so to the gathering at Kilfinan, where they met Stronalbanach and the folks from Kerry.⁴⁵

Then leaving their forebears sound and careless in the kirkyard, "they marched in good order," continues the *True Relation*, "throw all the countries of Cowell, Argyle, Lorne, and Kentyre doeing no further harme to any person thereinto then takeing their necessary susteinance; and thus they continued the space of five weekes," by which time their strength had increased to two thousand, Sir James "in every place goeing to the seaverall heads of the trybes, within the saids bounds, all whom hee had perswaded to joyne chearfully with him, for advancing (King Charles's) just cause and interest (for they and their predecessors had always a dependance on the said Sr James and his predecessors)." Those with whom he prevailed included some of the Maclachlans, McNeills and McDougalls. The last had been his ancestors' allies in the time of the Bruce and 500 of them came out, but there is no evidence that even Sir LAUMON had ever the leadership of the others.⁴⁶

If all went well with MacColla and the Lamonts, it was not so with the Commander-in-Chief. On the 13th of September the *Gbreumach* was

defeated by Leslie at Philiphaugh near Selkirk. A Jean Lamont was concerned in this campaign, and was taken and sent for trial. Who she was (unless Sir James's sister) is a mystery. Montrose retreating northwards was in sore need of reinforcements. He sent shortly to recall his lieutenants, who were then in Lorn, but to their shame they did not come. The Campbells maintained later that Sir James "was not only most instrumental before Philiphaugh, to the great prejudice of his Majesties Service, in bringing (Colkitto) from (Montrose) towards Cowall who were then sitting peacably, Bot also in Detayning (the former) in the Schyre of Argyll, Contrare to (the latter's) orders sent to him to Lorn after (that battle)." But Bishop Guthry, whose account is reasonably impartial, puts all the blame upon Colkitto. Before Philiphaugh, in any event, there was some justification for the raid, for the Campbells were not scotched as yet, as later events were to show. But what follows is undoubtedly a grave charge with some probable measure of truth. Sir James, their *Note* proceeds, "for the said Alexander his Encouragement not to obey Montrose his order, Sent to him to go towards Athole for Joyning again in His Majesties Service, did devise a most Cruell herrie and bloody band which he and Several of the Clans Subscribed for rooting out of the name of Campbell and their adherents meirly for private Interests and for base and particular Ends, . . . which accordingly was most cruelly and maliciously performd, Sparing nether young or Old that came in their way, But murdering and killing many of them in cold blood and after quarter and capitulation given." ⁴⁷

In the confession extorted from him by his captors Sir James admitted later that there had been a Bond and some slaughters (which was no doubt the truth), but not what was libelled before and after. "I did," he wrote, "abyd in arms (with MacColla) within the bounds of Cowall, Argyll & Lorn in the fields until the twelfth day of February. . . . During the Whilk Space of time there was many houses and Corns burnt and destroyed, many Hairschipps Committed and many Innocent persons Slayne and otherwayes put to Death and other Crymes and Insolencies Committed by the said Alexander and his forces. . . . And I also Confess that I joyn'd with Sundry others of the Special men of the Clans, Who were in the said Alexander his Company, in making and Subscribing of ane band bearing in plain Terms of Combination among us for the ruin of the name of Campbell, Whilk was Subscribed be the said Alexander and us at Kilmore in Lorn in Winter" (a little south-south-west of the modern Oban). It all sounds likely enough, though one would wish to know the occasion and terms of the Bond before founding too much upon it. He is careful, too, even under duress to

throw the responsibility for the slaughters upon the shoulders of MacColla, while in the *True Relation*, as quoted above, he says that as yet he had done no harm to anyone.⁴⁸

While his guilt in atrocity seems not proven, there is still the grave charge of failing to rally to Montrose when called upon. His excuse was no doubt that "whylst the said (MacColla) and hee were farr removed from his owne lands the whole name of Campbell drew together in a body," apparently under the leadership of Eilean Greg, "and fell upon the said Sr James his countries and baronies, killing all the poore people whom they found without his garisons, and so murthuring man, woeman, and chyld, whom they could overtake, burning and destroying all his land, his kindred and followers their houses and cornes. As also they plundered and carried away all their horse, mares, cows, sheep, goats, swyne, and whatever else of moveable goods they were able to get their hands on: the report whereof being speedily sent to the said Sr James, who was then in the countrey of Lorne bringing into the said service with himselfe the ancient family and name of Mackdowgalls which haveing effected he then began to put his commissions in practice," by stinging the Campbells at every chance. It is not clear whether it was the receipt of this news that led to the signing of the anti-Campbell Bond, or whether it was the news of the Bond that led to the Campbell attack. But there was some reason at least to remain in Argyllshire, for the clan Diarmaid was not broken as he had supposed, and no doubt he felt that his earlier decisions to keep free of battle had been wise.⁴⁹

Unfortunately, however, there is no corroboration to be had of this story of a revival among the Diarmaids within Argyllshire, and it looks as if Sir James was exaggerating in order to justify his abstention from the main force. The indictment contains only the vaguest charges against Eilean Greg in 1645, and the only two specific instances libelled against anyone in that year were outside the county altogether. Of Campbell of Pennymore (by Furnace opposite Strathlachlan), who had served with the chief at Inverlochy, it was said that he "did seize upon and apprehend, in the Yles of Comera [Cumbrae], one Robert Lamont merchant residentar in Ireland, ffrom whence haveing come about his lawful occasionnes, (and) did most cruewallie and villainously murther and shoot (him) to death in the said Yle." This is the first mention of a branch of the clan in Ireland, and one is thus doubly sorry to see Robert cut off in his prime. Pennymore had evidently been out in his birlinn, and was afterwards paid back, perhaps by the garrison of Toward, for the year after he claimed compensation for the "loss & dampnadge

sustaneit be the enemy be burneing & destroying," including certain items "taken be Lamountis men out of (his) boitt, the worthe of £33." ⁵⁰

Most of the Campbell forces had probably been expelled from Argyllshire by this time, although the sheriff-depute remained at Inveraray, and Ardkinglas in particular was in Ayrshire with a party, to which Penny-more was no doubt attached. The former was indicted to the effect that when "accompanied with his regiement in the Lowlandis at the villadge of the Largs, in the moneth of 1645, adding to his former crewalties, one Lamount, a begger, comeing to (him) and craving his charitie, the said James (Campbell) causeit apprehend the said begger, and most crewallie causeit murther and hang him, without any ground or warrand." One is sad to see that an Ayrshire member of the clan had fallen so low as to seek alms of a Diarmaid. One wonders, also, if this incident is not wrongly dated, and if it should not be postponed till February of 1646, when Ardkinglas is known to have been not far away from Largs. When Argyll was at Stirling in that month he "encountered his few Countrey-People (who had out-lived Innerloch and Kilsyth) in a very sad Posture: Whereof the occasion was this; They having at MacDonald's settling in Argile, retired to Corners, and lurked until Hunger forced them to come out; Ardkinglas drew them together (they being about 1200) and brought them down towards Monteith" to live on some royalists' lands in that airt, but they were driven off; and Argyll "not knowing how better to dispose of them, carried them with him to the Shire of Renfrow" (which Largs adjoins), "expecting that in those Parts (where all People were furious in the Cause) they should have been welcomed. But the contrary fell out," and he had to send them back to the Lennox. ⁵¹

But if there is doubt as to the provocation by the Campbells in 1645 there is none as to the herschips on them, for their glens were scoured from end to end with fire and sword. In 1651, before there could be any question of trumping up a case, Achavoulin and Pennymore petitioned parliament on behalf of other gentlemen and heritors in the sheriffdome of Argyll, narrating that "the Laird of Lamount, and Archibald his brother, and the bloody Irish rebels, did in the year 1645 most crueallie, barbarouslie, and maliciouslie burn and destroy all our houses and cornes, robbed and took away all our goods, murdered and killed many innocent people belonging to us, and committed many other most wicked crymes." An endorsement on this paper that nothing was done upon it supports the view that it was exaggerated, but the chief's own *True Relation* is as follows. On hearing of the alleged Diarmaid invasion of Cowal he "began to put his commissions in practice, for he burned all the Campbells, their houses and cornes, and killed all the ffenceible and armed men hee could

overtake of them." It was the old ploy, *Clann Diarmaid nam busa dubha cuiribh riùtha is beiribh oirre*—"The black-mouthed clan Diarmaid go at them and catch them." "Yet never suffered hee any harme to be done to old or impotent people, women and children. But (MacColla) and he fynding that there was no hope of reclayming the Campbells to their dutiful loyalty and obedience to his . . . Majestie they therefore did with such courage and resolution assaile and invade them wherever they could have notice of their being that in short tyme they extruded and expelled them out of the saids countries, except some few who betooke themselves to some castles," including Dunoon and Castle Lachlan, no doubt, "and rocks within loghs and lakes, even as foxes when hard hunted doo to their holes." ⁵²

If Sir James did really observe the amenities of modern warfare, which is doubtful, there is ample evidence that MacColla did not. His brutality was notorious. "O'Brien and the Gael were not alike"—*cha b' ionnan O'Brian's na Gàidhil*. Some charges, however, were detailed against the chief in the beginning of 1646, after he had "returned from the army which was then in Kentyre, under the command of (Colkitto), bringing only along with him five hundred of the specialls of his freinds and followers," which seem to have substance. At this time he "had a resolution," according to his account, that he and MacColla should go to Montrose's assistance "in that ensueing summer" to retrieve the reverse of Philiphaugh, but first he had to think of the safety of his own tartan. Thus "before hee should goe he considered it concerned him in conscience and honour to fortyfye his houses with victualls and ammuni-tione and with strong trenches and fousies [ditches], and also to leave more men within the same then he had left whylst himselfe had occasion to remaine in the countrey [county], and for defense of his wyfe and children, brethren and sisters, and the wives and children of those whom he was to take along with him to Montrosse." ⁵³

It must have been on his way home that he ravaged the "lands pertaining to his good brother and good sister, a poor widow." The brother-in-law was presumably Ardkinglas, then in the lowlands, and the sister-in-law may have been Mistress Maclachlan of Inverneilbeg, although her molestation seems to have been a little later. As he came by Strachur in the month of January he does not seem to have been on his best behaviour. It was said afterwards that "the Laird of Lamont with his associates came to the number of 600 men, when he killed and destroyd and brunt a' the folks of Strachur, their Houses, Barns and Barn yards with corns and Bear, and destroyed their catle both horse and ky, sheep and Goats, slew of men women and children to the number

of 33 persons, and destroyed of Corn and Barley 700 Bolls, and of Ky and Horse 17 score, of Small Goods [sheep] 400, of Houses and Barns 21. Moreover they tyred [stripped] ane honest man called Archibald Mcphun of Driep [at Loch Eck head], who was three-quarters of a year before onhabill to stir out of his own bed Except he was turned with three or four men in his bed, they took all his cloathes from him and left him lying on frost and snow, there he dyed, that same verie night. This shall be proven," the Campbell recorder concludes, "be honest men in the Countrey and be Lamont's own men that served him at that Time." 54

But his accusers had even worse in store, and in specification of their charge that he had murdered after "quarter and capitulation given" they gave the following details: "And particularly his wicked and Damnable Carriage to his pupill the Provost of Kilmunn, To whom he was Tutor Testamentar, . . . not only airt and pairt of the burning (and) Herrying of all his said Pupill's Lands, But some of his pupill's Kinsmen and their Soldiers having renderit his said pupill's Tower of Kilmun on quarters of Life and Liberty, They were all taken thrie myles from the place and most cruelly put to Death, except one who was in the hot fever," and was dirked on the spot. The tower is depicted on plate 17. It has not changed much since that day. Sir James is said to have continued in ill conduct to his own yetts. "And further he brunt and destroyed the houses and possessions of poor widows, orphans, and ministers in the countrey about him, not spareing the Bishop's own house," which was at Dunoon. "Wes not all this Gallant Service done to his Majesty?" concludes the ironical recorder. The incident at Kilmun is a serious charge, and if true, as seems likely, would afford a precedent for the massacre of Dunoon after the capitulation of Toward.⁵⁵

He came home on the 12th of February 1646, after six months "in the fields," to spend the next four months with his brother and those who had kept his castles for him. The garrisons had not been idle by land or sea. Archibald afterwards admitted that he "had the Charge of the Keeping of the House of Towart, . . . Whilk (he) refused Several Times to Deliver to my Lord Marquis of Argyll's forces," though it is hard to see how that could ever have been demanded except in jest while the clan Diarmaid was in retirement. "Fra the Whilk house," he continues, "I sent out parties to bring in provisions, Especially five score of Ky out of (Argyll's) Lands of Strahachie," being that same Strath-echaig above referred to as "very fertill of grass for goods." The further declaration that he "suffered James Boyd, who wes Join'd in the said Rebellion [*i.e.* Montrose's rising] to Shelter in the said House," seems to dispose of the statement that the Lamonts intentionally burnt the house

of that James's father, who was the Bishop of Argyll, and if that is false the credibility of the whole Campbell *Note* is adversely affected.⁵⁶

Others had their cattle lifted for the same end forbye Argyll. Thus the Baron McGibbon of Auchnagarran at Glendaruel foot testified "that where I was going to the Lawlands with thirteen ky in an boat," which he had got at Dunstaffnage in July of 1645 for Argyll's errands, "the Garrison of Towart directed thirteen men of their Garrison and Invaded me most Cruelly, with their Schots forced me to yeild under promise of ane Solemn Oath that they would not Injure me either in bodie or Goods, Quhilk promise they falsify'd, took me Captive and Laid me in prison, and keep'd me there till by God's providence I corded myself over the Wall and Escaped them. They took from me my thirteen ky, my boat, my armes, with the armes of my four men. The names of the Speciall of that partie wes Alexander Lamont, Duncan McWalter Lamont [from Kerry], Neal Lamont, Hew Lamont, Robert Lamont son to Mcphadrick, the Two Duncan Lamonts, Dowgald Harper [alias McAllister], John McKellie, Patrick Bogle [a son of the minister of Rothesay], John Lamont (and) Two of Duncan Kear Lamont's sons [from Kilmarnock on Loch Striven, namely Gorrie and John]." Six of these met their death at Dunoon, including young Coustoun and the Harper, whom one rejoices to see was as handy in the foray as on the music stool. McGibbon's brother, who was taken by a Coll Lamont, perhaps a son of Ascog, was among the party which "slip'd them and brack ward," and indeed the garrison seem to have been feckless over their prisoners, for a certain Neil Campbell also related how he and his men, after being "come upon under cloud of night with ane partie" (including besides those named above John ban Lamont, Duncan Lamont, brother's son of Duncan McWalter Lamont, John McRobert Lamont, and John son of Neil Lamont) "by the Providence of God wee Towed our Selves over the Wall and so Escap'd." If the sound of their departing was deadened by music, which the harper would appreciate, this incident may be the origin of the tale above related of the escape from "Inveryne" of the fifteen Campbell lairds captured at a battle in Nether Cowal, which is generally ascribed to an earlier epoch.⁵⁷

The keep of Ascog had been in the charge of its laird, while his son Patrick was out with Sir James (for which he was afterwards hanged at Inveraray). Stronalbanach, his brother, confessed that he "wes in Company with a partie Comanded by the Young Laird of Ascog who per-sewed the Sojourns of My Lord Marquiss of Argyll's Galey being in the publick Service near the House of Ascog, where two of them were Slayne; and that (he) wes once at Kilfinnan, where (MacColla) and his

forces were for the time," the latter occasion being presumably at the beginning of the campaign in September of 1645. After the chief left him MacColla went south and was at the same ploy. According to the tradition of the Campbells he "stayed some time between Loch Gilp and Tarbat, making boat expeditions to Cowal to plunder cattle. Many houses about Loch Gilp were burned, but there was a gentleman's house at Aird and a townland or village at Airdnahir [Ardnahellary] left standing, and he resolved to destroy these." There follows an account of what seems to be an attack on Silvercraigs, to which he set fire. After reconnoitring Kilmory he proceeded to Kintyre. There is independent evidence that at this time Sir James was still genuinely contemplating rejoining Montrose, for George Campbell, the sheriff-depute at Inveraray, wrote on 3rd February 1646 to Campbell of Dunstaffnage as follows: "The rebellis that ar in Cowall Have beene in trysting with the Bute men, quho ar doeing all they can to put thame off till supplie come, And as I am informeit They have resolveit to martche towardis the Lennox by the head of Lochfine and Lochloyng." But they were delayed by the work to be done at Toward, and then in March there was trouble with the clan Diarmaid on Loch Striven, when Eilean Greg made a sally against the eastern branch of the clan.⁵⁸

"With certane of his accomplices," so runs the indictment, he "came from his owin hous" on the quaint islet at the foot of Loch Riddon, to the "landis of Cowstone and Stroane, and thair did murder earlie in the morneing of men and children the number of ffourtie personnes." The principal victims were Archibald Lamont of Rudhbodach opposite Colintrave, a cadet of the old family of Stillaig, and his only son Coll, a child of ten despatched, according to one witness, by Eilean Greg's own hand. Others put away were Archibald Lamont in Achafour, and two clansmen from the same steading, John and the young son of Ewen, Ewen in Mid Toward, Duncan his brother, and a Harry from it says not where (and it was the strange name in the highlands). So much for the Lamonts' account: the Campbell *seannachies'* is very different, and in some points seems to tally better with the other evidence. According to Gaelic MSS. at Inveraray Castle the root of the matter was that the Lamonts were away taking the harvest of the Maclachlans of Inverneilbeg. So picturesque is the tale as translated that it deserves to be quoted in full. "When battles were fought between the Lamonts and the Campbells," the story runs, "the widow of the Baron Maclachlan dwelt in the Glaic at *Sroin-chille-chnuic* near the bottom of Loch *Stroine* [Striven]. . . . And when the Baron died, the widow and her son were carrying on the farming in the best way they could."⁵⁹

At this point there is interpolated a garbled account of the relationship by marriage of Sir James and Ardkinglas, but there is no mention of any such tie with the widow Maclachlan, as might have been expected. She may have been another sister of Ardkinglas and of Lady Lamont. The bitterness of the hereditary feud is emphasised by the failure of even this bond to assuage it. "The widow . . . had a good crop of corn," the tale goes on, "and part of it was in the barn, and the rest in stacks near it. The Lamonts were coming and threshing the corn and carrying off the grain. They were wont to come in boats to the lower part of the Glaic. They set watch at a short distance from the place where the house of South Hall is now, in case any men should come from (Eilean Greg) to succour the widow," thus evidently anticipating an attack either by water or by the shore track from Colintrave. "After thrashing the corn they winnowed it on a hill, and then carried it off. The success in one party awoke emulation in others, who next day went off to plunder the widow so that day after day the number of plunderers increased. One day they winnowed the corn so hurriedly that much remained in the chaff. After they had gone away, the widow winnowed the chaff and obtained a sack full of corn from it; but the next day, when the Lamonts came, they searched the house and took from her that sack full along with the rest. The ensuing day again the Lamonts came in larger numbers and began to deal in their usual manner with the corn, and every time they came young Maclachlan was obliged to hide himself.

"When Maclachlan's widow perceived that they would leave her none of the corn and that she should be ruined, she went to Sir Neil Campbell in Eilean Gheirg at the lower end of Loch *Ruail* [Riddon] and told him of the manner in which she was used by the Lamonts. Sir Neil listened to her and then said, "Well, if they take their dinner from thee, I will give them their supper." She returned home; and Sir Neil assembled his tenantry, and armed them with guns and swords. He made a person called Mannach of the big shoes commander. There was among these a regular soldier named grey-haired Lachlan, but as he was wont to be merciful when victorious the command was given to Mannach of the big shoes, who was asked to give the Lamonts a good scourging as they were themselves so cruel. The Lamonts had a watch on a hill near South Hall, but Mannach took the way of the moor with his men," by *Meallan Glaic* no doubt. "And when they were ascending the moor near a mountain dike that was there they saw a raven right above them and he croaked thrice. Mannach of the big shoes then said, 'Ha, ha, boys, that is a good sign! You shall draw blood before you return!'

"They then went forward behind the mountain dike, gliding along

towards the Lamonts as if they had been stealthily advancing to get near a herd of deer to fire at them. As they reached the place above the houses of the Glaic, one of the Lamonts was coming out of the widow's house, eating a cake that he had taken from her. He was the same person who formerly took the sack of corn from her. He was ascending the brae above the house. The Campbells fired at him. He turned round to run down the moor. The widow said to him, 'Flee into my house and I will protect thee.' 'I will not,' said he. 'Dost thou not remember what I did to thee yesterday?' 'I would protect thee to-day,' she said, 'when thou art in danger of losing thy life.' He waited not for more talk but fled down the brae, and the next shot that was fired wounded him in the side. He applied a handkerchief to the wound to keep in the blood as he ran down the brae, but he fell in a hollow between the house and the sound [loch]. He was buried there, and the place was thereafter called 'the Hollow of the Man.'

"The Lamonts had their guns and swords with them. They armed themselves, and the fight began. The Campbells fired down from the upper ground on the Lamonts, and the Lamonts fired up from the lower ground on the Campbells. But, as the Campbells were behind the mountain dike which was pretty high, they were well protected from the fire of the Lamonts. The fire of the Campbells therefore had a deadly effect among the Lamonts. The Lamonts were at last obliged to flee towards their boats. The first of them that reached the boats pushed them out, and left their friends and comrades to destruction. Those of the latter that could swim threw away their swords and guns, leapt into the water and swam after the boats, expecting that those in the boats would take them on board. But those who were in the boats paid no attention to any of them; being afraid of the bullets they allowed them to be drowned. Those of the Lamonts that now stood on the shore were but few in comparison with the Campbells, and everyone of them was cut down and killed. There was a little boy of the Lamonts of whom no notice was taken at first. He knew grey-haired Lachlan and ran up to him crying, 'Protect me, Lachlan!' 'I think, my poor boy, that you are not without need of that were there a way of doing it,' said grey-haired Lachlan. Lachlan put the boy in his plaid, folding it round him behind, and drawing it over his shoulder in this manner to hide the boy from Mannach of the big shoes, who was not an amiable man.

"After the Lamonts who had not escaped in the boats were killed, the Campbells went up to the houses of the Glaic, to see what damage had been done to the widow of the Baron Maclachlan. When they reached the houses they stood for a short time. Grey-haired Lachlan felt

the boy heavy on his back, so he leaned against the gable of one of the houses. He placed his shoulders against the wall, extended his legs outwards, and projected the middle of his body so as not to bruise the boy. Mannach of the big shoes noticed him and said to him, 'What burden have you got there?' 'Merely a burden that does not belong to you,' said Lachlan. Mannach went and looked, and when he saw that it was a boy he put his sword through him. 'Extreme fierce, unmerciful, and ungodly art thou, Mannach,' said grey-haired Lachlan. 'Many a day and many a year would pass before that little boy should lift a sword or a gun against thee.' When enquiry was made who the little boy was, it was ascertained that he was a little boy who went to visit an aunt of his who dwelt at a hamlet of the name of *Tambnuich*, which is above *Sroin nam Fiaundainna* [Stronafian] at the lower end of Glendaruel, and who went down through the moors to the Glaic to get home in one of the boats with the Lamonts. Ever after that the Lamonts were friendly to grey-haired Lachlan, since he protected the little boy so long as he could."

The two accounts, though differing markedly in detail, seem to relate to the same occasion. If so Eilean Greg must have been Sir Neil's predecessor Duncan, and the boy Coll son of Rudhbodach, and Mannach and his men must have proceeded beyond the point of Strone towards Coustoun. The boy's route indicates that his folks were at Toward for safety, as if they had been at home he would have crossed the ferry at Colintrave without coming to Glaic at all. There is no other evidence of an aunt at Tawnich, but Mistress Maclachlan of Inens may have been staying there at the time. The Campbell version has the merit of explaining the curious fact that the slain were not from Coustoun at all, but from athwart the loch, which is otherwise unaccountable. It seems likely enough that the Lamonts had transgressed the old saying, *na cuir do spàin 'an càl nach buin dut*—"don't put your spoon into kail that's not yours"—and had brought the trouble on themselves. But the *seannachie* of the clan Diarmaid has added a number of obvious "jury points" to make a good story. There is evidence, for instance, that Inverneilbeg was alive in 1649, and so can hardly have had a widow three years before.⁶⁰

The account proceeds, "The war between the Campbells and the Lamonts did not stop with that. The Campbells were too powerful for the Lamonts. They put up a gallows at the top of a rock, above Eilean Gheirg at the side of Loch Ruel, on which they hanged many of the Lamonts and they threw their bodies from the rock into the loch." That must, of course, have been a few months later. Meanwhile Sir James was busy in fortifying Toward against siege, as the King had definitely lost in England, although of course the *Ghreumach* was yet capable of a

fresh series of victories in Scotland. But when *Rìgh Tearlach* surrendered on 5th May at Newcastle, the Lamonts must have seen the game was up. Their kin in Yorkshire had compounded for their "delinquency" in February upon easy terms. Very soon the old enemy was upon them, a whole clamjamfry of Campbells, and "Ben Cruachan" resounded in their ears once more. Ardkinglas had cocked his bonnet again and returned from the lowlands where he had been skulking. The Lamonts were driven into their two castles. A force was detached under Campbell of Ormsary in Knapdale to reduce Ascog, which housed the clansmen of Kerry and Glassary, including Auchagoyl, Stronalbanach, and Silvercraigs with his son, but Monydrain seems to have stood aloof. In the tradition of the Campbells "there was a dreadful battle in the moor above Loch Ascaig, lasting three days." The eastern section of the clan rallied within Toward, including young Coustoun, aged Auchinshelloch, perhaps Rudhbodach, and certainly Knockdow. The last had a presentiment of what was to come, and arranged with an English officer, who was his guest at the time, to carry his child heir Ninian to a cave near Ormidale, where he lay safely until the Diarmaids had departed.⁶¹ The chief's son and heir Archibald, who was only a few months old, was with his mother in Toward. It was a hard world for him to be born to. With them was the provost of Rothesay. Colkitto, alas, was "out in the farr isles of Loghaber."⁶²

In the words of the *True Relation*, Ardkinglas, "heareing tell of (his) absence with the army, came with all the whole power of the Campbells, with shipps boats and great cannons, and beleaguered the said Sr James by sea and land within his owne principall house," arriving about the 17th of May. Among the *duine uassail* of the invaders were Eilean Greg, doubtless with Mannach of the big shoes in attendance; Dunstaffnage, Lochnell and Inverawe from Lorn, all smarting under recent herschips; Ardtarig, Otter, Ballochyle and Kilbride, all neighbours in Cowal; and Achavoulin and Evanachan, Sir James's own vassals, the latter bound to "serve and obey him in all time coming." This Godless horde had as its chaplain the Reverend Colin Maclachlan, minister of God's word in Lochgoilhead, who regarded himself with presbyterian relish as a chosen instrument of divine vengeance. He was duly indicted with the rest when their hour came. On 20th May the King issued a proclamation to his followers to cease resistance. Shortly after the chief "receaved a letter from his Excellence the Marquesse of Montrosse . . . wherein hee did signifie to him that hee was commanded by (*Rìgh Tearlach*) to lay downe arms and therefore he required the said Sr James to doe the lyke." But the Lamonts did not fancy the look of the Campbells louring

at them out of gun-shot, nor the sound of *Bail' Ionaraora*, that old rant of meanness—"I was at a wedding in old Inverary, most wretched of weddings, with nothing but shellfish." "Severall of the Clans viz. Some of the McNiels, McMillans and some of the McDougalls and others, left Alister and the Irish Rebels, and yet never-the-less Lamont and his friends remain'd in arms." He followed the lead of MacColla and took his chance. It may have seemed but a slender one. Still and on civil war is a desperate game, and having staked all on a victory which would put the Campbells in his power he hoped against hope that the Irish would relieve him in his hour of need. But, alas, it was not to be.⁶³

The bombardment began, after a siege of some duration (a fortnight according to the *True Relation*), no doubt due to the delay in procuring artillery, upon the first of June. If tradition may be trusted, after one futile round Ardkinglas sent to demand the surrender of the castle, to which Lady Lamont (his sister) replied (in Gaelic), "Put — in your crooked gun, and fire again." The next ball was so well directed that it "crashed through the castle wall into the room where the principal people were dining, and knocked the joint out of the butler's hands as he was bringing it in." This gun, a small brass one, is said to have been long preserved at Inveraray and known as *gunna chrom*, the crooked gun. In the confession extorted from him on the 20th, Sir James declared that the enemy "Caused Shoot nine Shot of Cannon at (the castle) Where throw part of the Wall was holed and some within the House Slayne," and this is probably the truth, although the *True Relation* makes a long story of it. "Haveing mounted their said cannons," the Campbells, it narrates, "did continue shooting and battering for two days together. And upon the third day they sent a gentleman to (the chief) offering honourable capitulation, (which) hee did the more readily give eare to" because of Montrose's letter. "Hostiges being given from them for faithfull dealeing the said Sr James sent forth his brother Archibald . . . with instructions upon what terms to capitulate." As he went out amid the greenery of June to hold parley with his unfriends in the adjacent Achavoulin he seems to have forgotten the saying, *cho fad 's a bhios slat 'an coill' bidh foill ann an Caimbeulach*—"as long as trees are in the wood, there will be treachery in the Campbells." Soon terms were agreed. "And in a word they yeilded to all that was required, which indeed were as honourable and brave conditions as were ever granted to any: for the Lamonts were all resolved rather to dye than not to have most honourable conditions."⁶⁴

The terms of the capitulation, concluded on 3rd June in the place of Achavoulin (plate 14), are important, as they establish alike the security of the besieged and the ill faith of the besiegers. By a ruse the chief and

Isobel his sister, who soon saw what was to happen, contrived to preserve a copy. As they sat at a board, the crab apple surrounded by the gale, Sir James signed alone for his clan, styling himself "of Inveryne" on the old model. For the crook-mouths there handled the pen Ardkinglas, Strachur, Dunstaffnage, Inverawe, and Eilean Greg, with one of the Lochnell family and a cadet of the Maclachlans. The material clauses were as follows:—⁶⁵

"*Imprimis*, it is agreed that the said Sir James Lamont shall overgive his house at Toward and shall have libertie to goe himself, his brethren, souldiers, wives and children, towards Sir Alexander Mack Donnald or anie of his quarters [districts], who for that effect shall have a safe conduct, and boates sent along, who shall deliver them without anie harm of any person to bee done to them, under the said James' command, without prejudice to such women as intend to go to the east side [*i.e.* to the lowlands], or the Isle of Boote [Bute] to be safely conducted there with boats.

"Secondly, it is agreed that the said Sr. James shall have libertie to transport out of the said house all baggage belonging to himselfe or anie gentlemen within the same, [excepting] anie such weapones as were gott in anie of the name of Campbells' houses or abroad in the fields.

"Fifthly, it is agreed that the said Sr. James shall be reddie to remove with the baggage aforesaid before to-morrow at eight of the clocke in the morninge, the keepinge and keyes of the house being presently delivered to the said (Ardkinglas), or anie he shall appoynt, and that a speciall man may se the baggage put up that nothings be taken away but what is right."

Upon these terms and no others the Lamonts were willing to hand over their castles, and there was no dishonour in so doing as they secured, in the words of the indictment, "indemnity in their persons and fortunes" and express permission to repair to Colkitto with their arms intact, transport being provided by the enemy. As they sanded the ink Sir James must have felt well pleased at the outcome. But to the lasting disgrace of the seven who signed for clan Diarmaid the agreement was treated as "a scrap of paper," and a campaign of murder, robbery, and oppression was begun, which can have had no other object but the extermination of the Lamonts as a clan. The best excuse they could think of at the time was one alike unChristian and sanctimonious, that "no capitulations should be kept with traytors to God and his covenant," and it was not until the tables were turned in 1661 that they brought up the tale of his having done the same at Kilmun, if indeed that be true.⁶⁶

What happened is generally known. In short, the Lamonts were

treacherously seized and bound; a similar capitulation was obtained at Ascog; both castles were reived and burnt; the estates were scoured and scorched; a number of women and children were murdered in cold blood; thirty-six prominent clansmen were hanged in Dunoon, and many others were dirked just after; the chief, and his brothers and some of the cadets were carried to Inveraray, where they were robbed, imprisoned, and threatened, and young Ascog and Auchagoyl judicially murdered; and finally their whole lands and possessions were taken over by the Campbells, except such as had already been attached by the creditors. A variety of other "insolencies" were also committed against them. The whole story in its most lurid colours appears in the long indictment which brought Argyll to the scaffold in 1661, and led to the forfeiture of Ardkinglas and Ormsary and the outlawry of the sheriff depute, George Campbell of Kinnochtrie.⁶⁷

It has been said that the charges against the Campbells were exaggerated from political motives. This may be true as to Argyll himself, but as to the others they can be proved even at the present day. An attempt was made by the 10th Earl (afterwards first Duke) in 1700, when the pendulum had swung back and his family was in favour, to vindicate his grandfather's honour. He called on the clerks of parliament to produce the forfeiture process of 1661, which the government very sensibly allowed. Thus some at least of the actual dispositions of witnesses, taken down before commissioners who were mainly judges, have been preserved. The atrocities are proved up to the hilt against Ardkinglas and Ormsary, but there seems no evidence of the complicity of MacCailein who was furth of Scotland at the time. Still many will have doubts of his innocence. "The lion is known by the scratch of his claws," and his guilt in the old-word "is probable if not true"—*b'ambuil mur a b'fbior*. At least the indictment is justified in libelling Ardkinglas and his concourse of Campbells as either under their chief's command or "such as he might have stopt or let." Most of the statements are from members of the garrisons of Toward and Ascog, although none were Lamonts for none survived to tell the tale, but some are from independent and substantial persons, such as young Carswell of Carnassary, Mr Ewen Campbell, and McGibbon of Auchnagarran (who had no cause to love the Lamonts), and they are absolutely damning. One wonders if Argyll's heir was wise to stir up old history in this way, but the historian is thankful.⁶⁸

The depositions explain how, as soon as Toward had been given over, negotiations were opened with the garrison of Ascog, facilitated by the exhibition of Sir James's person beneath the battlements, "upon assurance to be frie from danger in their lyves and goods." It was Stronal-

banach who "passit betwixt the persons that keippit out the hows and the said Laird of Ardkingles, as being imployed ffor macking of the said capitulation." Immediately the Lamonts were held fast and carried to Toward, no doubt in their own birlinns. Silvercraigs alone was rescued "along with his sonne and his wreattis" by Mr Ewen Campbell, his good-brother. The Diarmaids were not slow to use their power. Instinctively they "plundered the saidis houses of thair haill furnitor and gudis thairin, and brunt all the houses great and small, and destroyed the yairdis and dykis, and did robb and tak away from the personnes within the same thair haill money and (clothes), did dryve thair wholl cattell of all sortis, which togidder with vastationes formerlie done by them . . . did exceid the soume of £50,000." According to one witness the raiders took 7000 sheep and goats, 600 horses and mares, and 3000 head of cattle, and also broke up and removed the worth of over £60,000 of household stuff. Obviously this last figure was a grotesque exaggeration, for highland homes at that date were but sparsely equipped even if Sir James had been lavish in that respect. The numbers of stock lifted are probably also over-stated, but the omission to mention the crop is peculiar. After a number of young women had been murdered for obvious reasons, Toward and Ascog were fired, and their policies, orchards and plantings were destroyed, leaving only the bare ruins which one sees to-day. Neither was ever restored, and, like the cloth hall at Ypres, they remain as lasting monuments to the perfidy of barbarians, to be seen "morning and night, in the moon and in the full white day."⁶⁹

The extent of the spoliation is brought out in the *True Relation* in more detail. "Amongst other things they carryed away the said Sr. James his charter chist, wherein were the whole rights and evedentes of all his baronies and lands." In reality this was a blessing in disguise, for if they had been left behind they would have been reduced to ashes. Though no doubt a good many fell by the wayside on the treck to Inveraray (*is ioma ni a chailleas fear na b-imrich*), one is thankful to say that the great majority survived. The absence of very early charters cannot be attributed to the civil wars. Also "they spoyled himselfe and brethren of their whole cloaths, yea they were not ashamed to dispoyle his Lady and sisters of their gowns and petticoats, leaveing little more upon them wherewith to cover their shame but their smocks [chemises]; and also the said Sr James his children were robbed of their little garments; and thus they used all his freinds and followers, their wives and children."⁷⁰

"But it was . . . his good fortune, dureing their abode in the garrison, that hee, haveing in the dark of the night slipt asyde from his keepers, did meete with a sister of his to whom hee said: 'I perceave these people

(meaning the Campbells) are most perfidious and not lyke to keepe any artickle of the capitulations sworne and subscribed by them to us; and I fear also ere it be long by violence they will wring the same from mee, therefore be you pleased to receave this same into your custody, and by the best and surest way you can carry the same unto our noble freinds, that you and they may require (in convenient time) reparation for their breach made allready to us therof, or shall make hereafter.' Which she with many sobbs and tears answered and said: 'How shall I be able to hyde it from them, being that already I am divested of my whole garments, even to my smock.' But he said to her: 'There is no remedie but you must take it, for it is not only all the evidences which wee, your brethren and kindred, have for our whole lands and estates, but also all the securitye wee can pretend for our lives and blood, which these wicked people by all appearance are likely unjustly to robb us of.' The which then she accepted of, and retyreing herself to a most secret corner she, disvailling her head, wrapt it up in the platts of her haire, where secretly she kept it dureing the tyme she was detained in the said garisone, and so carryed it to the Metropolitane Citty of Edenbrough," and to her friends.⁷¹

After the plundering was over the prisoners were split up into three parties. "The said Sr. James his lady, children, and sisters, and all the remnant of the woemen, with so many of their little ones as they had left alive, were carryed away by boatfulls to other countries either to get by begging or starve." The chief himself, along with his brothers Archibald of Stillaig and Ninian, Ascog with his son and brother, and Auchagoyle, were "transported twenty myles thence to Inverrarah, the Marquesse of Argyle his cheife mansion house, and from thence disposed upon to severall prisons," such as the castles of Dunstaffnage, Carnassary, Carrick, and Innis Connel, Castle Lachlan, and the place of Duntroon. They were thereafter under the orders of the sheriff-depute, George Campbell of Kinnochtrie in Angus, who as the chief's creditor in £5000 had the best interest in his safe-keeping. But the bulk of the clan was elsewhere destined to its doom.⁷²

On 14th June after being "keept in severall chambers within the said garisons for the space of eight dayes as if they had been galley slaves," the whole defenders of both Toward and Ascog were carried to Dunoon in boats, there being then no road by which they could be marched. They were court-martialled on arrival in the kirk, where a number were allowed to remain while others were held in the town, but the great majority, including all of the name of Lamont, were marched out eastwards in batches to their fate. The echo of volleys, shrieks and groans resounded through the building where the Campbells sat on unmoved

in their council of war. The details are vouched by the survivors from within the kirk, and by a boy of 15 who was very wisely "hoiidding himself wnder ane brea," in other words, taking cover behind the crest of a ridge. Even so this gruesome scene must have been a good test of his nerve. Allowing for some exaggeration as to numbers the account of the *True Relation* is substantially accurate. "There in the church-yard," it reads, "they most cruelly murthered, without assyse or order of law, by shotts, by durks, by cutting their throats, as they doe with beasts, above ane hundreth, and lastly they hanged on one tree thirty and six at one tyme of the cheifs and speciall gentlemen of that name, and before they were half hanged they cutt them downe and threw them in by dozens in pitts prepared for the same; and many of them striveing to ryse upon their feet were violently holden downe untill that by throwing the earth in great quantity upon them they were stifled to death." The names of the dule tree's victims are set out in the indictment, though totalling only thirty-five. Foremost among them were Archibald, son of Baron McPhadrick of Coustoun, three of his brothers, and another of the same stock, Neil McPatrick alias Lamont. The other *duine uassail* who were hanged were Knockdow, his brother John, and two nephews of Ascog. From Nether Cowal there likewise suffered Duncan Ger Lamont in Kilmarnock with his two sons (who had invaded McGibbon), Ewen Lamont in Mid Toward, Alexander and James in Ardyne with John McPatrick there, and six who used the patronymic of McQueen. From Kerry there swung some seven Lamonts from Corra, Hugh, Robert, Duncan, Angus, Donald, Walter, and Duncan, who had doubtless hurled defiance from the battlements of Ascog. There were also a Gilbert, a William, and a Donald, undesigned, the Patrick Bogle and Dugald Harper already referred to, and a Duncan McCloy from Glendaruel. This is the earliést muster roll of the clan. Probably most were substantial tenants, though not of course all gentry as the indictment would have it.⁷³

Of those who fell by the sword the most kenspeckle was the oldster Auchinshelloch, "who being about the aige of ffourscore years, having ane flux upoun him, being also pyned away with hunger and thrist, they most cruewallie and barbarouslie did stabb him with durkis and skeenes at the ladder foote." Five further Lamonts went his way, and twenty-eight others including the provost of Rothesay, "who being shote thryse through the bodie (the Campbells) ffinding some lyffe in him, did thrust severall durkis and skeenes in him, and at last did cut his throat with ane long durk." This final outrage shows that they had lost their head completely in their blood lust, for killing the chief magistrate of a royal burgh

could hardly escape retribution. Truly there was "a harvest of young widows" that day (*foghar nam ban bréid-gheal*). It was a good precedent for Glencoe, except that the principals were spared and vengeance wreaked upon the subordinates, which was Diarmaid justice indeed. None can pass without a pause the simple stone erected to the memory of the fallen by the Clan Society in 1906, which is depicted in plate 18. It stands erect and cherished a little south-west of the now deserted ruins of the Campbell castle of Dunoon.⁷⁴

So ill were these doings that popular imagination was stirred. "The day the Lamonts got their bellyful" was long remembered for its shame. According to the spirit of the times manifestations of divine wrath were immediately expected and as soon discovered. It was specially libelled against the murderers when brought to trial sixteen years after, although to modern lawyers it was irrelevant to the charges, that they had refused their victims "any tyme to recommend thameselves to God, albeit earnestlie desyreit and begged by the saidis murthered persounis." It was a case of "earth, earth on (Lamont's) eye, lest he talk more." "So that the Lord from heaven did declare his wrath and displeasure against the forsaid inhumane cruewaltie, by striking of the tree quhairon they were hanged, . . . being a lyvelie fresh growing ash tree . . . amongst many other fresh trees with leives, . . . so that the hail leives fell from it, and the tree withered, never bearing leiff thereafter, remaineing so be the space of tuo years; which being cutt doune thair sprang out of the verie heart of the roote thereof ane spring lyk unto bloode popling upe, runeing in severall streams, all over the roote, and that for severall years thereafter, till the saidis murthereris or their favoureris perceaving that it was remarked by personnes of all rankis resorting thair to sie the miracle, they did cause holk out the roote, covering the holl with earth, which was full of the said mater lyk bloode." They evidently knew and feared the saying "long lasts the rod whose root has sprung from blood"—*is buan meachdann na folachd*.⁷⁵

One would be sweart to heed much to such a tale, which is often the outcome of a vivid imagination, were it not vouched by a contemporary document drawn up by responsible and independent witnesses. Among the Inveryne charters recently unearthed is a most curious "Declaratione . . . anent the tree wch. grew at the east end of the kirk of Dunoone vpon wch. . . . the gentlemen of the name of Lamont were hanged." Modern tradition is that it stood where runs the roadway now between Douglas's smithy and the church. This was made on 10th August 1661 by the minister and late provost of Rothesay, supported by one of the burgesses. First comes the deposition of the Rev. Mr Johne Stewart



DUNOON MEMORIAL STONE, 1906
COMMEMORATING 1646

that “vpon a tyme being occasionally at Dunoone I saw the sd. tree standing vncutt down wt.out leaues and tending as it were to decay whillas the rest of the trees about bare leaues wch to my judgemt. & view were one grouth and age. further I declare that at ane other tyme after the sd. tree was cutt I and Johne Glas, late proveist of Rothesay subscriber heireof, . . . did both of us see a ridd matter inclineing a little to oriene color [*i.e.* orient or dawn-red] comeing out of the heart of the root of the sd. tree and runeing over, wch. matter did congeale vpon the sydis therof and ground.” The other two corroborated, just men, and as they had no apparent interest to prevaricate it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this really occurred and was naturally accepted as a token of divine displeasure. At least the covenanting historians are far wide of the mark in pointing to these facts as indicative of “the extravagance of the charge, and the fanaticism of the accusers.” No one could have been more fanatical than the Diarmaids and their Godless clergy, such as the Reverend Mr Colin Maclachlan of Lochgoilhead.⁷⁶

But to return from the dead to the living, Sir James and his party duly arrived at Inveraray under escort in ignorance of the slaughter. According to the *Campbell Note* (and to Argyll’s defences) “the Committee of War of the Schyre did most willingly grant him Liberty to go to Kintyre, where (MacColla) wes for the Time, Which he altogether refused and requeisted that he might be keeped Still prisoner.” No jury which knew the Diarmaids would believe this. It is incredible that he can have been ready to trust himself to such gaolers, who had already broken faith in such measure. One may remark in passing that at the trial in 1661 the substance of the atrocities was not strenuously challenged, although there was a formal declaration that they were “meir calumnie and untrewth.” They were sought to be elided on the grounds, first, that Ardkinglas was acting under orders from parliament, the then constituted authority, and not from Argyll, a private individual, and, second, that in any event the Lamonts were rebels and deserved all they got. But there was too much justice in heaven for these defences to prevail.⁷⁷

Soon after his arrival the chief, as was stated in the indictment, was court-martialled and subjected to the “third degree” by George Campbell, the sheriff-depute and his creditor, Ardkinglas, his hereditary unfriend, and Inverawe, the ancestor of a family of distinguished judges. They “being mett in ane kynd of conventicle” in the castle, did enquire of him “whither he would submitt his lyff and fortune to thame or not?” It was indeed *ceist an fhitich air an fbeannaig*—“the raven’s question to the crow.” “Quho answered, that he would not, pleading upoun his

Majesties commissione, the capitulation given to him, and that he being the kingis barrone could not be judgeit by thame, none of thame being such," which was all good law. "Quhairunto the said George Campbell replied, that the said Sir James was ane false knave, and that he would judge him whither he wold or not, and hang him as justice-deput of the said Marqueis of Argyll." This and what follows is quite inconsistent with any willingness of the chief to remain in Campbell keeping.⁷⁸

Simultaneously this officer of justice robbed Archibald of £1000 in cash, and lifted a further 500 merks from his brothers. After an unsuccessful search for the capitulation, which they were anxious to destroy, they daunted Sir James, by disclosing to him the details of the massacre at Dunoon, into signing "a paper penned by the said George, declaring thairin that his quarrell was unjust, and that he repented thairof, as also did pas from the capitulatione." A copy has survived of a "Reference" by the chief, dated 1st June, which is of the nature of a confession of his service with the "rebel" MacColla, though not exactly in these terms and which concludes as follows: "And being Sensible how Grievously I have Sinned and offendit against God Almighty and against this Kirk and Kingdom, Wharefore Wit me . . . to have Submitted and Referred . . . myself Life Lands and Goods and all I have in the world, In the Will of (MacCailein and Ardkinglas) conjunctlie and . . . I am content to remain in Ward untill they Declare their Will and give furth their Sentence concerning me in the premisses." No doubt this is the paper referred to. The like had already been forced from Archibald and Ascog on the 18th and from Stronlbanach on the 19th. "Was not this," remarks the complacent Campbell scribe, "a brave Crowne he put on his Commission (if any he had) and his Imployment in the King's Service to Term his General Major a Rebell and his service Rebellion?" The only alternative seems to have been another Dunoon.⁷⁹

On the 22nd the prisoners were carried off to different dungeons. Sir James sampled those of Dunstaffnage (on a rocky promontory to the east of Oban), where the same oppression was continued. His only visitors besides his gaolers were a melancholy series of messengers-at-arms engaged by the creditors to serve writs upon him, and as the old-word has it *is fhearr ònrachd na droch cuideachd*—"better be alone than in bad company." Meanwhile his sister was doing her poor best in Edinburgh, where "shortly after the murthuring of her freinds above mentioned, The parliament did sitt: To whom she complained of the Rapine murthers and cruelties committed upon herselfe brethren and kindred. But so great was the Overswaying power of (MacCailein) that she not only could get no hearing But likewise could get none that durst assist

or countenance her legall persuite against the Murtherers of her deare freinds, And so was forced not only then But at severall other parliaments to goe away without the least hope of satisfactorie readdress, yea without any hearing at all." Thus the *True Relation* illustrates how completely the atrocities were hushed up. They do not figure in any of the contemporary histories until the Restoration. The others who gave in were treated honourably, and Montrose, for instance, was allowed to take ship for Norway on 3rd September 1646. *Ian Lom* composed on his departure a *Soiridh do 'n Gbreumach*—"Farewell to the Graeme"—in which he heralds the return of the great Marquis in triumph in the cause of *Rìgh Tearlach*. The following is one of his stanzas, rendered into English:—

"May these rise with you, in spite of any who disapprove,
 Clan Lamont, Clan Lauchlan, and every one who comes in their company,
 Descendants of Ilpin, and descendants of Alpin, the goodly company that fails not,
 John Stewart of Appin and MacNab of Glen Dochart."

But this was not much consolation to the Lamonts who were left worse off than any of their associates.⁸⁰

Archibald had been committed to a Duncan Campbell, the bailie of Kintyre, who kept him within "the House of Carnastrie," a gaunt keep to the north of Kilmichael Glassary, whose young Carswell laird had seen the massacre at Dunoon. There he had to bide "till the month of May thereafter [*i.e.* 1647] that Alexander McDonald and the Irishes were expelled," after another infamous slaughter at Dunaverty at the Mull of Kintyre. "About that time the Sickness being in the Country (he was) burdet (with) a Countrey Gentleman who dwelt in the Isle of McCasken," in the adjacent Loch Craginish, "where he remayn'd for half a year" until November. Meantime, while young Colkitto (MacColla) had escaped to Ireland his father old Colkitto was treacherously taken at Dunnyveg in Islay and shared Sir James's prison at Dunstaffnage. According to tradition the captain was lax enough to allow occasional outings to the old man (and perhaps to the chief also), for which he was taken to task by Argyll. But soon at the latter's behest old Colkitto "was hanged from the mast of his own galley, which was placed across a cleft of the rocks on a hill called *Tom A' Chrochaidh* (the hill of hanging)." The spot is on the farm of Saulmore and the road runs through it to this day. "He met his fate," it is remembered, "without fear or dismay, entreating that they would bury him so near the place where *MacAonghais* (*i.e.* Dunstaffnage) would be buried that they might take a snuff from each other in the grave. When his request was told to Dunstaffnage the latter ordered him to be buried under the second step at the door of the

burying place [*i.e.* in the chapel area hard by the castle], and when they would be burying him, that they would step over Colla's grave."⁸¹

Shortly after, in September, MacCailein himself arrived in his birlinn. Now for the first time was he directly concerned with the Lamonts, though still careful to do nothing in person and to leave matters in the capable if bloody hands of his lieutenants, who had staged the Dunoon massacre while he was in England. He sent the captain of the castle, with Lochnell and Inverawe, to make certain infamous proposals to the chief. First of all he was calmly asked to renounce all right to his estates for ever and "under his owin hand also abjure Scotland, and never to be seen thairin. Which being done the said Marqueis said that he wold give to Sr James ane considerdable soume," threatening also that if this was refused as long as he "had ane hous in the world, the said Sir James sould be prissoner therin, and sould torment him with paine and misery, until the marrow sould rott within his bones." His Lordship added incidentally that he had already got possession of the estates and would certainly not give them up in any event.⁸²

"Quhairupoun the said Sr James, considdering within some monethis thereafter, that what ane prissoner did was null of the law, and being most desyreous of his libertie from so miserable and so long prissonment, professed to be willing to grant some of the former desyres." No doubt the sight of old Colkitto as a gibbet's tassel had weakened his resolution. He was removed in consequence to Inveraray, "where (he) did writ some few lynes, the substance whereof bearing the most pairt of the said Marqueis his desires." As he might have lippeden the chief was at once returned to Dunstaffnage, where he remained for some years without recompense for having thus parted with his birthright. Not long afterwards his keeper, at the bidding of MacCailein, made him sign a bond for about £3000 for the alleged cost of his "entertainment," the nature of which will soon appear. On the same pretext Mr Archibald, who about then was transferred to Silvercraigs (whose widow his captor had now married), was mulcted in £1800, and Ninian made to assign a debt of £1333. A similar loan to Sir James by Campbell of Drumsynie (at Lochgoilhead), the master of Argyll's household, seems subject to the same suspicion. There was thus no more than a technical accuracy in the statement of the *Diarmaid Note* that "to this day (*i.e.* about 1660) he has *pay'd* nothing for his five years entertainment" pending regular trial. If judicial proceedings were intended there seems little reason for delay.⁸³

This was the fate in store for young Ascog and for Auchagoyl. The first was held in Carrick Castle on Loch Goil, and the second in Innis Connel Castle in Loch Awe, until January 1648, when they were judicially

murdered at Inveraray on a charge which has not even been recorded. The "assyse, consisting of hielandmen under the power of the said Marqueis," and with Campbell of Achavoulin as chancellor, or foreman, convicted young Ascog but absolved Auchagoyl. The sheriff-depute was annoyed at the verdict, and contrary to all law and justice is said (in the indictment) to have sent them back to reconsider it, "saying that it was not fitt that one young man sould dye alone." George Campbell, however, maintained that this charge was false. In any event Auchagoyl was also condemned, and both were hanged at the old market cross which still graces the salt shores of Loch Shira. Shortly afterwards Stronalbanach was brought from his prison at Castle Lachlan and threatened with his nephew's fate into alienating to MacCailein his property of Kames in the Kyles. His elder brother, old Ascog, was meanwhile a captive at Duntroon. Monydrain, however, kept on terms with the butchers, and was actually among the 700 Diarmaids who were routed at Stirling in the autumn of 1648, when Argyll made yet another of his precipitate departures before the remnant of the royalist forces. This cadet was captured but escaped, and in November, by his new leader's command, received at Inveraray a sword, musket and bandolier to replace the "suord, gun, pistoll and targe" despoiled by his captors.⁸⁴

"As for the said Sr James himselfe and his brethren they were keeped seven years prisoners," says the *True Relation*, "in great want and misery, for (he) had neither shirt nor cloaths for four yeares together but the same hee had upon him when hee was taken, the which in the said space did all rott of him. And at last there was given him one shirt and one suite of very coarse gray cloth." This was probably a belted plaid, serving of course for kilt as well. "Neither had he all the said tyme the comfort of either fyre or candle, summer or winter, his daylie repast being salt fish, barley bread, and water, which was all hee had endureing his seaven years imprisonment." To the ordinary clansman of the time such fare, save for its monotony, might not have been distasteful, but after the wine and beef of Toward hall it must have been extreme privation. That this is largely the truth is very probable, but unfortunately for its credibility there is no doubt that the period of imprisonment was five years and not seven, as it began in 1646 and ended in 1651. Archibald's captor deponed later that he at least "had liberty to go out and in at his pleasure, and to go to his Pastyme if he desired, and had libertie to go to kirk and marcat, and wes not restrayned to converse with any person or Company he pleased, so that in effect (he) while he was with me wes used as an of the own family." Lamonts will naturally believe one account, and Campbells the other.⁸⁵

As he sat huddled in his plaid in the dark and damp of his cell, not far from the rotting remains of old Colkitto, listening to the wash of the Loch Etive waves he could not see, "and never a sound of hope or merriment in all that weary song," the future must have seemed black indeed to Sir James. His clan had been decimated and dispersed; his estates parted between creditors and Campbells; and his goods pillaged and destroyed. He and his brothers were in prison with little prospect of relief. Even should he somehow contrive his escape he had no means of subsistence, and would be liable to immediate re-incarceration for debt. His gambler's throw had failed, and a dyvour's lot alone was left him. If indeed he had neglected the old rule, *gluais faicilleach le cupan làn*—"move warily with a full cup"—he had at least drunk it to the dregs. Meantime he could but trust to the reflection deep-rooted in the Celtic mind, *cha bhi suaimhneas aig éucoir, no seasamb aig drochbheairt*—"wrong cannot rest, nor ill deed stand." There was always a hope that the popularity of the covenanting party might decline, but it grew slighter as first *Rìgh Tearlach* paid the supreme penalty in 1649 and then the *Gbreumach* in May of 1650. Still and on as it chanced it was this that led to his ultimate release, and let him gather his resources against that day of days when the Stewarts should return from their travels to claim their own and Argyll be despatched to that bourn wherefrom no traveller returns.⁸⁶

CHAPTER XI

EXILE AND REINSTATEMENT,
1646-1670

THE reivers had not yet departed from the smouldering policies of Toward when the creditors began to arrive. First in the field were two Renfrewshire lairds, the Brisbanes of Bishopton, connections by marriage of the chief, who had bought up a secured debt of over £3000. They crossed the ferry within two days of the massacre, while Dunoon was still reeking with blood, and took sasine in Killellan, the three Towards, and Achafour. In their anxiety to save their pockets they were bold to risk their skins among the dirks and thirsty swords of the Diarmaids. Ardkinglas, even after he had boated his Godless horde athwart the Firth to the lowlands, was still seeking for slaughter. He is said to have hanged "without any ground or warrand" a certain John McPatrick or Lamont (probably young Coustoun), who was brought to him "from the Yle of Bute to the . . . villadge and toune of the Lairgs." In such company it behoved all folks to gang warily.¹

In the wake of the more powerful marauders came the lesser, to batten on their leavings, for *nuair a bhristeas aon bho an gàradh, theid a-dhà-dheug a mach air*, as the saying goes. Campbell of Achavoulin was best placed for "lifting" any of his neighbour's and superior's possessions which were too weighty to be away taken across the heather. If one may credit the indictment he gave way to wanton malice, evidently in gratification of some personal spite. With his namesake and co-vassal of Evanachan he "did cut doune and destroy the wholl planting in and about the . . . hous of Towart, orchzairds, parkis, and walkis thereof, and did sell, use, and dispoune therupon, burning spealls [shavings] and branches of the said tries, sua cutted upoun the rootis of the same, that they sould never grow thereafter, demolishing the walls of the said house, taking away the great hewed stones thereof, and buylding therwith houssis to himself." This no doubt accounts for the absence of the keystone from the beautiful arched gateway depicted in plate 11, from which he would naturally deface the lion arms. Some of the masonry thus shifted will probably be embedded in the walls of the now likewise ruined and deserted mansion house of Achavoulin (see plate 14). But

not content with this he did "most baislie carie away the furnitor of ane walkmylne [*i.e.* a horse-drawn mill] belonging to the said Sr James Lamont; and also having removed his marches possest himself in severall of (the chief's) landis, . . . having also medled with and destroyed (his) moss." It is hard to see what could be done to injure a peat moss, but altering march stones was, of course, a well-known criminal offence, regarded by all decent people (as is hutch-pinning to-day) as involving the utmost moral depravity. When Sir James heard of it, which was probably not for some time, he may well have echoed the words of Bolingbroke in Shakespeare's *Richard II*:—

"Myself
Eating the bitter bread of banishment;
Whilst you have fed upon my signories,
Dispark'd my parks and felled my forest woods,
From my own windows torn my household coat,
Razed out my imprese, leaving me no sign,
Save men's opinions and my living blood,
To show the world I am a gentleman."

These ill deeds were in fact successful in preventing for all time the re-occupation of the castle.²

That such things could be done with impunity was due to the chaos which prevailed in all Argyllshire at the time. When the synod met at Inveraray on 8th September of 1646 there were many empty benches, and the record commences as follows: "All the absents (were) excused, because of the troubles of the countrey & of ther being scattered & chased fra ther dwellings; the presbytery of Cowall haveing gon for shelter to the Lowlands; the presbytery of Kintyre being under the power of the rebels (*i.e.* MacColla); and none being resident in the presbytery of Argyle & Lorn but such as were sheltered in garisons, and no ruleing elders present." The Rev. Mr Colin Maclachlan, however, was there, and would doubtless regale the brethren with a spirited account of his part in the "crowning mercy" of Dunoon, for which he was later indicted. If ever a district had been scoured with fire and sword it was Argyllshire between 1644 and 1646, and all heritors were exempted from taxation until August 1648 "for the cause of their being wasted, and that there was no rent payed therein, and therefore could not pay maintenance." Even MacCailein uplifted no rents for years, and the parliament of 1646-7 voted £15,000 for his sustenance and double that sum for the relief of the county. The general assembly appointed collections to be taken throughout all Scotland for the destitute and helpless in those parts. To take a specific instance of loss by fire,

Elizabeth Lamont, Mrs Maclachlan of Inens, afterwards recovered seventy merks and ten merks "as pryce of ane boat wt. tuo oires which wes accidentalie burned by" a marauder "in Janry. 1648." This was typical of the ploys of the time, though in truth there was little accident about them and a deal of intention. But loss by sword was worse still, for it could never be compensated. The fell sergeant had stalked through the land and summoned away beyond recall many of the bravest and the best.³

Human summonses also had free course in the Lamont country, and during the year after the massacre the records are swollen with diligences executed in security against chief and cadets. Some dozen pages of the *Lamont Papers* are devoted to these, but they are of no interest whatever, simply consisting of a barren series of processes, technically known as hornings, poindings, captions, inhibitions, and apprisings. Numerous assignations, also, display the keenness of the lenders to limit their losses in a falling market. Still and on every dry legal diligence had in those days some element of the picturesque. It had first to be served personally on the debtor wherever he might be, and then to be openly proclaimed at the market cross in his county town. So in the beginning of October of 1646 a messenger-at-arms went speeding round the dungeons of the Campbell country at the bidding of the sheriff-depute, who was the first creditor to complete his title. On the third he burst in upon Sir James "within the castle of Dunstaffneis," near the modern Oban, and on the 5th had come through Lorn and Knapdale to the laird of Ascog in Duntroon and Mr Archibald in Carnassary. Two days later, and alas, often after, the name "Lamont" was cried beneath the little defaced cross which still stands on the tide's edge at Inveraray, till the echo of it must have been familiar to the waters of Loch Shira and the slopes of Duniquoich. Even as late as 1650 that same pageantry was yet in progress.⁴

Various traffickings collected the chief's debts in the hands of seven different people, who each took the extreme step of "apprising" his estates to the extent of their several interests. This meant that his whole rights, whether of superiority or property, were suspended and vested in his creditors, who had full powers of administration and sale, subject to the obligation to re-convey what was left when their claims had been met. If, as happened here, they were not paid out within seven years, in strict law they became unfettered owners, though in practice the debtor seems to have been allowed an equitable right of pre-emption, which financiers were only too ready to grant on easy terms to be rid of so distant and so desolate a property as the barony of Inveryne.

And so it came about that at the end of the century Sir James's son, ARCHIBALD XV, was at last able to redeem the bulk of his patrimony, although a part of it had been permanently acquired by Argyll's son.⁵

The total for which appraisings were obtained was only £49,194, 2s. 1d., considerably less than the amount borrowed as set out above. When one allows for the inclusion in that figure of substantial penalties for default, arrears of interest, and legal expenses, it becomes clear that some of the old debts had somehow been discharged. With the addition of 5 per cent. for sheriff's fees, well over £50,000 was still due from Sir James's estate, besides smaller sums from the lairdships of Stillaig and Ascog. Much the largest body of debts was vested in the person of William Home, a Glasgow bailie, who for himself and his associates claimed £28,000. Later these interests were acquired by the Stewarts of Bute, who were friendly to the Lamonts and used them well.⁶ Next in amount, but first in time, was George Campbell, the sheriff-depute and gaoler, who ranked for nigh upon £10,000, followed by the Brisbanes and another Campbell, son of the provost of Glasgow, who were each due above £3000. Forbye three other merchant bankers of that city claimed together about £4500.⁷

Appraisings against Sir James's estate could not, of course, affect his vassals' property rights, which were quite separate from his superiority. Unhappily, however, his brother Stillaig had himself contracted debt on which an apprising had followed, and Stillaig, Ascog, and Silvercraigs (and to a lesser extent Knockdow) had been involved as cautioners in the chief's obligations.⁸ The first two of these lairdships were attached by creditors at once, as the others were later, but they were also pillaged, and Stillaig was seized by George Campbell. As their owners were under restraint they could do nothing to protect themselves from reivers or to discharge their debts. Subject to these limitations the estates of Monydrain, Knockdow, Ascog, Stronalbanach, Coustoun, Auchinshelloch, Row, Silvercraigs, Auchagoyl, and the rest, should in theory have continued in possession of the survivors of their lairds. But in practice very few were so enjoyed, because of the devastation mentioned above and because MacCailein had "ingrossed to him self in this land ane incontrollable power and dominion," which enabled the Diarmaids to disregard all forms of law. Monydrain, of course, had kept chief with the Campbells, while Silvercraigs had been rescued after the capitulation of Ascog by one of them who was his brother-in-law, so that they presumably were free from molestation. But the latter was dead by 1648 and his son lost all benefit in 1650 when his lairdship was apprized (for it was never redeemed).⁹

Very different was the lot of the others. Young Knockdow and his brother had been butchered at Dunoon, and the heir was a child who had to be carefully concealed from his enemies. His neighbour and father-in-law, Campbell of Ardtarig, illegally annexed his lands, including Inverchaolain, Leacan-nan-gall and Toward-nuilt. The family of Ascog incurred the heaviest casualties, for if the laird himself escaped he lost his only son and two nephews, while four of his five brothers are significantly never heard of again. Ardkinglas is said to have possessed the lairdship. Stronalbanach, a man of over fifty, had been terrified into renouncing his feu of Kames in the Kyles in Argyll's favour, but he can hardly have been deprived of his principal estate which he held of the Scrymgeours now Viscounts of Dudhope.¹⁰ Campbell of Eilean Greg seized Coustoun, with Strone, Troustan, and Ardbeg, the holding of the McPhadrack Lamonts, a family which had lost four sons at Dunoon and probably a fifth at Largs. What became of the others is not known, but there is no evidence that they ever again returned to Cowal. When the oldster Auchinshelloch met his fate at the ladder foot his property was detained from his son by MacCailein. With the slaughter of his brother and nephew at Strone that branch of the family became extinct, and some Diarmaid no doubt stepped into their shoes for *cha do shéid gaobh riamb nach robh 'an seòl cuid-eigin*, as the saying is ("no wind ever blew that did not fill someone's sails"). Auchagoyl having suffered judicial murder at Inveraray his estate was shared by Ardkinglas and Argyll. He left "two children behind him, the eldest of thame not two years old, to quhome the sd Marquis did refuis to give any supplie or interteanement, they living . . . upoun the charitie of the people." The younger of the two, Walter by name, as soon as he "wes in capacitie to goe abroad" became a soldier of fortune in the "Earle of Dunbartane's regiment and other forraigne services," but later returned to play his part in the clan's destinies.¹¹

As regards the lave of the Lamont country belonging in property to the chief, it is hard to say how it was divided between Campbells and creditors, but MacCailein made sure of his share. Among the lands mentioned in the indictment are one of the Towards (known as Archibald Roy's), Achadachoun, and Craignafeich, on which last "the said Marquis had his owin bowmen and heardis, keiping thairon ane number of his owin proper gudis [cattle] severall years." In the same way Ardkinglas annexed Ardlamont, while Achavoulin "did pasture severall hundrethes of cattell of all sortis" on Sir James's Nether Cowal domains. The creditors from the cities would be powerless to interfere, but George Campbell by virtue of his tartan was able to collect some rents, and his

intromissions to the extent of some £6000 or £7000 were afterwards reckoned in reduction of his loan. "Two yeare after (the) vastatione (of 1646 he) sett the landis, the first yeare allowing the tenentis free for building; and there after continowing for rent them as he thought fitt, not cairing to raise them to the value because he would not exceed the sume . . . fore which he had apyrised them." So wrote the next chief a generation after. "But God determind other ways that he raised them to better . . . when he thought to sitt as Leard, not hoping that a king would come ether to charge him or pittie me." But one has the notion that between 1646 and 1660 some part at least of the estate would yield no revenue at all, because of devastation and depredation. This was a great misfortune for the clan, as chief and cadets had no need of money in prison or in the grave, and if the barony and lairdships had been well factored the debts upon them could have been almost extinguished in these fourteen years, instead of the interest (at 10 per cent.) being allowed to accumulate until the principal sums were vastly increased.¹²

What befell the tacksmen, or larger tenants, is not kened, but one jalouses that they fared as ill as their betters, if not worse. There was nothing to be gained by locking them up, as they could not pay for their keep and had no assets which could be extorted. In such circumstances extreme measures had obvious merits. It is only too likely that most were dirked, either at Dunoon or Strone, or wherever they happened to fall foul of the crouse Campbells. Ardkinglas, says their Gaelic manuscript, "severely persecuted the Clan Lamont, . . . [and] all of them that [he] seized he put to death without mercy." Dependents of the Campbells would be installed in their stead. The same applies even more to the smaller tenants, who divided many of the modern farms into six or eight separate holdings. Most of the survivors would be completely ruined in the general herschip. When they came out of hiding they would find their crofts given over to others whenever it had been possible to replace them. But for some months they had need to bide in the hills, like wild creatures, sharing the caves and the woods with the badger and the fox. It was little hardship at first for the broken men to sleep in their plaids, or for the homeless women to make heather beds beneath the stars at the burn side. For food they had always the nut, the berry, and the clam, gathered by the light of "Macfarlane's lanthorn," with what fish they could lure, and what hares they could club, and whiles a black-cock or even a hind felled by their old bows and arrows, for of firearms the Diarmaids would have left none. But if the life was not so hard in the autumn they were in constant fear of bloody attack by their unfriends. These were the days of tight belts and tight mouths, of living on the edge of the hide, and of

existence itself. Many a time they must have muttered to themselves in an ill corner, when they saw the glint of steel at sudden through the brown-ing brackens, the *Psalm* of John Roy Stewart, so well known in the old highlands:—

“The Lord’s my targe, I will be stout,
With durk and trusty blade;
Though Campbells come in flocks about,
I will not be afraid.”¹³

When winter was on them, however, they would have to quit the hills and shielings, and if they could not come back to rebuild their little black houses there was nothing for it but to leave the heather at their doors and take boat for the isles where “the threat of ocean is ever in the air,” or the lowlands where MacCailein was not king, as he was in the most of the south-western highlands. Many, it is certain, went into exile, and though it was the hundred dolours to part at the time few, alas, ever returned. No more did they wander in Cowal again, but theirs was the going foot until they made new homes among the “blue-green hills that are far off” (*is gorm na cnuic ’tha fada uainn*), where one hopes they found it true that “there are long horns on the cattle that are seen through the mist” (*adhaircean fada air a chrodh a bhios anns a cheò*), as the travelling chapmen had often told them. “The Lamonts were so much harassed by the Campbells,” reads the manuscript referred to, “that the greater part of them were obliged to flee altogether from Cowal.” It was probably more accurate to say, as it does elsewhere, that “as many of them as could get away from Cowal fled and left the country. Many of them fled to Mull, wherein MacLean gave them leave to dwell.” This resulted in the flourishing sept of the clan that is in that isle to this day. There is also a suggestion that some may have gone to Ireland, whither they had already made isolated visits either as merchants or as soldiers of fortune.¹⁴

More would probably go athwart the Firth to their kin, who had been living the life of the settled districts for over a century. In the very month of the massacre the registers of the Symington besouth Kilmarnock read as follows: “George Lamont perichioner in Cragy had a *puer* baptized, whois name is Paull.” Such an entry would have read strangely in the home country of the Lamonts, where there were no such names or such Latin. A few years before had been born, either in Cowal or on the opposite shore, an ill-fated lass called Mary Lamont, who had made her home at Inverkip. Although only eighteen she was delated for a witch, after order was restored, by a combination of the chief’s disgruntled creditors, namely certain Stewarts and the minister, and eventually burnt alive in the barbarous manner of the time. In her tortured declaration

she made many strange pronouncements, such as that "she had lived long in the devil's service, and that she and [some other women] had taken milk from their neighbours' kine by some develish cantrip." She further described several meetings which she had with "auld Nick," whiles in the shape of a black man, whiles in that of a large brown dog. Naturally, a number of her exploits related to her native Firth of Clyde. With her colleagues, it was rumoured, she had held conclave at the Kempoch monolith in Gourrock, "where they intended to roll the long stone into the sea, and thereby to destroy boats and ships." Sometimes also they for-gathered "to raise stormy weather and hinder the boats from fishing. She confessed that she and the same party went out to sea, betwixt the land and Arran, to do skaith to boats and ships that sould com alongs. They caused the storm to increase greatly, and did rive the sails of Colin Campbell's ship." Like Tam o' Shanter's Nannie she had "perished many a bonny boat"—in the imagination of her accusers. The anti-Campbell complex in her case may well have been due to some ill deed done to her, just woman, in the troubles of 1646. Many other wanderers to lowland airts never returned to their native heather. Out of thirty occupiers of lands about Toward in 1662 only two were Lamonts, with one Black forbye. As the old *seannachie* has it, "when the Campbells and the Lamonts made peace with each other, Lamont of the Aird had not enough of men to till his land, in consequence of which he found it necessary to get tenants from other places." His own folks had gone beyond recall.¹⁵

The chief's family had no choice but to fly from a country which was either deserted or hostile. "The deplorable conditione of his Lady and childreene, the tyme of his imprisonment" are thus described in the *True Relation*. "She was with hir 5 childreene, 3 of them boyes and two girles, the eldest of them not being above six yeirs of age, sent to feed on the sea ware, (the Diarmaids) having commanded the wholle countrey under the paine of death not to assist them with any thing necessar." Incomers naturally took no risks when they were not of the tartan. Shell-fish were, of course, a common article of diet among cottars, but ill fitted for the sole food of a chief's bairns. Yet this was the treatment meted out to Lady Lamont by her own brother Ardkinglas and his horde. In the result "three of hir childreene dyed of meere famine, two boyes & a girle [Annas]. The youngest of hir sones being as yett upon the brest was stollen away by a poore countrey woman, and concealed by hir for many yeirs, otherwyse he had lykewyse perished." The survivors were Barbara, so named after her grandmother, and Archibald, afterwards XVth chief, who was hardy and fortunate enough to see his enemies under the ground and his estates

restored and redeemed. Where exactly he bided is not known, but no doubt he grew up to ken the braes and corries as no chief before or after.¹⁶

Mention was made above of the abortive efforts of Sir James's sister to secure justice against odds in Edinburgh, but two and a half years had to pass before all of a sudden the clouds began to lift. On the 31st of January 1649 the English beheaded *Rìgh Tearlach* at Whitehall, and all Scotland was aghast. Malignants once more took heart, and his son was proclaimed in Auld Reekie within a week. From now on, whether he knew it or not, Argyll's "hour was pursuing him." Ten days later the chief was appointed by parliament a commissioner for war for his county, though, of course, the news would never penetrate the dank walls of his dungeon at Dunstaffnage. Lady Lamont was specially empowered by the Estates to enjoy her marriage portion, namely Ardyne and the rich lands that selvedge Inveryne. In law she needed no such warrant, as her infestment was prior to that of the creditors. But it was a wise precaution, as the Marquis had his hands on some of them, and had put in lowland tenants. Unhappily the new turn of events was not immediately beneficial, and many sorrows were yet to endure. If it was true that "what is got by guile will disappear with the wind" (*an rud a thig gu dona falbhaidh e leis a ghaoith*) she must have felt that the wind was long of coming.¹⁷

Meanwhile there was no change for the better, though the monotony of Sir James's imprisonment was varied (after April 1650) by his transference to Innis Connel castle on an islet of Loch Awe, the water that "has enchantment for the galley of a king." Ill though his lot at least he was never out of scent of heather or sound of loch. The move was doubtless about the time of Montrose's execution in May after his futile attempt at Carbisdale. But if MacCailein and his covenanters were hard masters one has to admit that they made a real effort to civilise Argyllshire. In May of 1649 the synod had decided that a school be established at Kilfinan, and it certainly existed seven years later if not at once. As the parish had always been ill served by one church at the northern end it attracted the attention of the new parliamentary commission "appoynting Plantatione of Kirkis." In December of 1650 they "ordaine(d) ane new kirk to be erected on Dalnamein upone the ground & landis of [S.] Auchagoyle qlk. sometyme pertained to the gudman of Stelag," and now presumably to his creditors. In this case, however, the plan was never carried into execution. It was not till modern times that a chapel was erected in that district at Kilbride.¹⁸ Kirk sessions were probably not yet re-established in Cowal, but they were to the fore in Bute and their registers reveal a permanent colony of the clan in that island. One Keir Lamont represented

Kingarth parish at the presbytery meetings, and in his home session a certain "NcLamont" was in trouble for unladylike behaviour. It was found that both she and a neighbour (a Margaret Nckeachen or McKechnie) "was guiltie of slander and flyting: therfor the session ordained them both to stand upon Sunday next in the place of repentence, and thereafter to come doune before the pulpite and in face of the congregacione to crave God pardon and the ane of the other mutually." Such was the practice of that austere Presbyterianism which produced the covenant, and is not yet extinct in the far highlands.¹⁹

It was the signing of that same covenant by the young Charles II that led to his being crowned at Scone on new year's day of 1651. Shortly Sir James's sister contrived to gain his ear. "The capitulations were presented to him, with a narrative of the breaking thereof and of the evill useage and hardshipps (the chief) then endured for his loyaltie to his Majestie and his father of ever blessed memorie." It was enough to make any heart stound, and his was no hard one. He received her graciously, and on 25th June MacCailein was ordered to produce his prisoners at once. The game was up, for the command was enforced, and after five miserable years in the rock-hewn cells of Campbell castles Sir James and his kinsmen saw the light of day once more. They were brought from their different dungeons to Stirling in July and at long last reunited though not instantly set free. In that month a newspaper reported that "Argile is gone down the winde; nobody takes any notice of him." "A Kiss of the King's hand," composed in May, resounded from every chanter. Charles was just leaving with the Scots army on the ill-fated expedition to Worcester (where he was finally defeated in September), and they remained in the fortress "for security from the tyranny of Argyll," as the Lamonts expressed it, but according to the Diarmaids "till they should be brought to a tryall." Certainly Achavoulin and Pennymore, acting for the rest, petitioned parliament that the Lamonts should be tried for certain alleged enormities committed in 1645, and should meantime be kept under lock and key. Ardkinglas's young brother also complained of his ill treatment in Toward, and of being handed over to MacColla, in that year or the next. Sir James retaliated by launching a process against Ardkinglas and his captains in respect of their breach of the capitulation. They had the audacity to describe this action as "a great discouragement to honest men," and complained that it was "extremely hard that men, who had," as they said, "faithfully served the public, should be called in question by the public for anything they had done against the rebels." However, the Estates thought otherwise, and they were cited to appear and answer on unusually short notice.²⁰

Before any progress could be made Stirling castle surrendered on Thursday the 14th of August to General Monk, Cromwell's lieutenant in Scotland, and the capitulation provided for the release of all prisoners therein, over 30 in number. "They had hard usage there" was the deliverer's comment. "Upon examination of Sir James," proceeds the *True Relation*, "he being then willing & ingageing not to act any how prejudiciall to the common weall of England," he was "inlarged," together with his brothers and presumably Ascog, who did not long survive. And so on a day of days they took horse and left for the west country, which they had not seen since 1646. It would not have been safe, however, to return to Campbell-ridden Cowal, for the Marquis had vowed vengeance, knowing full well that if the chief survived just retribution was inevitable. "He often threatned," if one may credit the indictment, "that if ever the said Sr. James came in his power, the world sould not saiff his lyff, and that he repentit nothing more thane that he took not that bloodie knave his lyff whilst he had him in his power."²¹

And so "not darring to repair to his owne lands (Sir James) did leive with freinds near adjacent therto in a peaceable & privat way." He found a quiet refuge with his mother's people, the noble family of Semple, at Southannan by Fairlie between Largs and the modern Ardrossan, touching the fire for sanctuary, no doubt, on his arrival, in the old highland manner. There he settled to recuperate from the ravages of five years of dungeon misery, and to forget the hunger, dark, and cold which had been his lot for so long. It was a convenient centre from which to attempt the restoration of his fortunes. As they said in the Gaelic "if a man can't get to his country it's good to be in sight of it" (*mar faigh fear d' a dhùthaich, 's math leis a bhi ma 'coinneamb*). Whenever he had the notion he had only to ride a few miles until clear of the "big Cumbrae" to see athwart the Firth the shattered walls of his old home. This was the very spot at which Queen Mary had landed after her visit to Toward. No doubt he would whiles venture in a borrowed skiff within close range of the Cowal shore, and gaze on the scene of his triumphs and disasters.²²

But he was not allowed to rest long in peace. Before the end of the year (1651) Ardtarig's son came hot foot from Loch Striven head with some 20 or 30 of a tail, "all armed with gunnes, swordis, pistollis, and utheris weaponis invasive," and hunted him for his life. They first searched Southannan, but finding the bird flown proceeded southwards into the hills to Crosbie, whose lady was Anna, wife of Crawford of Auchinames and sister of Sir James. Arriving at the mouth of day the young Diarmaid was seen "runneing upe the stair with a drawin durk and bendit pistoll in his hands, making search throw the wholl hous and

bedis, to have murdered" him. Providentially the chief had been forewarned and was gone. His disgruntled unfriends withdrew to their boats and made off. But his escape had been narrow enough to suggest further precautions. The next day he set sail for Arran to put himself under the *bratach* of Anne, Duchess of Hamilton. Even there, however, during the "wholl winter (he was) forced to leive with his friends under the wods shelter for securite of his life," though the folks had no love of Argyll. But he could hardly have found a more pleasant retreat than among the birks about the castle of Brodick beneath the shadow of Goat-fell. Many a broken man before and after had learned that "anyone can laugh on a hillside" (*faodaidh duine sa bith gair' a dheanamb aic cnoc*), and no doubt Sir James's shattered health would now start to recover. There he bided for some months, hiding by day, but roving abroad with the dusk to hear "the song of the night, the bustle of the half world that thrives in shade and star-shine."²³

On the 6th of April a detachment of troops arrived from the mainland, and probably they got him a safe-conduct from General Lambert, but he petitioned parliament in vain for reparation and protection. According to the Campbell *seannachie* Sir James "was obliged to flee from the kingdom and go to Ireland," but there is no corroboration of this, and it will hardly fit in with what is proved. The Rev. Mr Walter of the Fife branch had by now returned from that country and was being held prisoner in Yorkshire, for what reason is not apparent. His brother Dr Andrew (with two sons Mr Allan and Andrew junior) had been forced to come home to Fife in September of 1650 by the edict expelling all Scots from England, but had been able to return to Thwing after thirteen months. In July of 1652 young Andrew paid another visit to the north, but they must have had difficulty in paying their respects to the chief. These facts one learns from the well-known *Lamont's Diary*, a chronicle of 1649-1671 on which historians rely, compiled by one of the Fife branch (probably a son of the Mr Thomas who had succeeded his father the second Mr Allan as minister of Scoonie parish). Dr Andrew also served as chaplain to the English garrison in the castle of Dumbarton, but when is not clear though it was probably some time in 1652, the year in which Argyllshire was invaded by Major-General Deane.²⁴

Sir James on his return to the mainland, apparently in the summer of 1652, "was agane laid wait for to be murdered," says the *True Relation*, "so that hee was forced to flye to the east parts of Scotland, where he stayed five years together with his noble cousin the Earle of Wintoune" (presumably at either of the houses of Seaton or Winton in Haddingtonshire), "to which place (the Diarmaids) failed not to send men to murder

him, but they being detected hardly gott their owne escape made." The chief might well have been excused if he had now reached the boundary walls of valour. But this was not all he had to endure. His unfriends had more subtle methods of getting him once more into their power. Having failed in 1651 to elicit a warrant from parliament to apprehend him, MacCailein essayed to have him civilly imprisoned at Inveraray, where of course Campbell justice was enthroned.²⁵ Already in 1649 and 1650 the Marquis had thoughtfully bought up some Lamont debts, and he next got from Dunstaffnage an assignation of the bond extorted from Sir James for his "entertainment" in prison. Argyll then charged upon these together for payment of some £7000, which he knew could not possibly be raised.²⁶

The chief from his retreat drew up a dignified petition (dated 1653) to the new English justices for Scotland. He narrated "with how hard measure it hath been mette to me by the M. of Argyle," whom he described in Biblical language as seeking "for a ginne to catche me, and a snare wherin I may fall." He explained that he had no means either of making payment or of vindicating his legal rights. Finally, he besought them not to allow the rigour of the law to prevail over equity and work his total ruin. This plea was successful, MacCailein's diligence against him was suspended, and this ploy of the Diarmaids had been frustrated. Meanwhile the chief was still pursuing his claim for breach of the capitulation, and he now asked their Lordships on behalf of his family "to modifie ane competencie for their aliment to be paid by" Argyll, the sheriff-depute, and Ardkinglas, "that in the meantyme we sterve not." The deliverance is not recorded, but one infers that he succeeded from that part of the Campbell *Note* which reads as follows: "He did still comply with the usurpers all the time they were in Scotland, & had great favour by them as is notourlie known, which may be instanced in particulars; and he did nevir offer to join with these in the hills in his Majesties service, albeit he was at his liberty twa years before that undertaking but remaind still in his compliance with the usurpers." It was hard indeed to blame one who had suffered so much for the King's cause for not aiding in the guerilla warfare of 1653-4 instigated in the royalist interest by Glengarry, Lord Lorne (the Marquis's own son), Auchenbreck, McNaughton, and others. Cowal as a whole was sitting quiet.²⁷

From now on for the first time in this history there is detailed evidence of the actions of the chief's family. But if the facts are full they are also dreich, though owing to the intricacies of the situation they have to be fully stated for the sake of clearness. There was no doubt that the Lamonts had a good case against the Campbells, but they were desperately

short of the funds to fight it. As Sir James's credit was already pledged up to the hilt he decided to annex the Ascog lairdship, to which he had no right at all, and handed the titles to his brother, Mr Archibald of Stillaig. The latter in return for this security did what he could to finance operations. He seems to have been a man of some resource, as even in 1649, while still confined, he had managed to borrow money in Edinburgh. By calling up three small bonds, in which he had invested before the troubles began, he raised a working capital of a few hundred pounds, and with the help of Ninian and their sister Isobel had contrived by February of 1653 to clear off the principal apprising on his own lairdship, and to arrange a substantial loan upon it of about £1700.²⁸ But he could not yet legally obtain possession, as it was still affected by the sheriff-depute's apprising upon bonds for which he had been cautioner. To keep his assets from his creditors he later passed them on in trust to Stewart of Bute, to whose "true and unspotted love & freinschip" the chief was already appealing with success. Sir James, too, discovered a French merchant from Dieppe, who was optimistic enough to lend him £1000, and a Glasgow merchant who would supply his needs on credit. At the same time his sureties were being actively pursued on the allegiance that he was "now ane man of small fortune," which was, alas, too true. Thus endowed the brothers bent their whole energies towards the recovery of their old status.²⁹

While they were overcoming the obstacles interposed by Argyll's influence, they gradually made their way back to Cowal. Ninian was the first publicly to appear in it, when in June of 1653 he witnessed a sasine at Over Inens by Tighnabraich. By yellow Michaelmas in the next year the chief and his family were making good their rights to Lady Lamont's portion around Inveryne and Craignafeich. Along with their tenants they got the courts' protection against the Campbells of Ardkinglas, Ardtarig, and Kildalvan, and the ministers of Dunoon, Inverchaolain, and Lochgoilhead (the last their old enemy the Rev. Colin Maclachlan). Their summons alleged that the defenders "haweing conceaved ane deadlie hatred rancor malice and envy causles aganis the (Lamonts), daylie and continuallie boastis minasses inwadis and persewis (them) for ther bodilie harme and slaughter, lyis at waitt and wnbesettis" them. Further, this ungodly alliance of Campbells and clergy, it was said, "cutis and destroyis the cornes grass and pasturage thereof with ther guidis and bestiall, pasturis herdis and feidis the samen therupoun, maks gates wayis and passages therthrow for horse or foot where there wes none wont to be of befoir, hounds and chassis thair gudis beastis, and minasses ther servandis and herdis etc." It was a black day for

Clan Laomainn when they were not able to put a stop to that sort of cantrip at their own hand, but similar steps had to be taken soon after against another neighbour, which shows the weakness of their tartan.³⁰

The names of the chief's tenants are also eloquent of a "sair declension fra the auld." They were as follows: Archibald McConnochie, alias Lamont in Melldalloch; Johne Mcneill there; James Zuill in Drum; Archibald Mcneill in Craignafeich; James Bogs in Drum; and James Leiper and Donald Mckurrie in Craignafeich. Many of these must have hailed from strange airts. But the two elder brothers had each a servitor who was of the name, a James and a John respectively. This James figures in the presbytery records in the same year (1654) in connection with an unsavoury story anent Lady Lamont which seems to have been current over a period of years, perhaps ever since she became what would now be called "a grass widow" upon her husband's imprisonment. On 11th January a certain reprobate appeared before the assembled brethren and "confessed that the scandall which he raised of the Ladie Lamont and James Lamont was out of invie he caried to the said James." They found him "guiltie of scandall and appoint(ed) him to stand three severall Lords days, the first at Kilmodan [Glendaruel], the second at Straquhur, the third at Kilfinane, and upon signes of repentance then to be absolved." The reason given for the slander seems hardly adequate, and the same sculdudry matter crops up again some years after, leaving one wondering whether there was not at least some ground for suspicion.³¹

The scheme for building a new kirk at S. Auchagoyle is often mentioned in the church records in these years, but nothing effective was ever done about it. This is made clear by a complaint from the parishioners in 1657. Evidently so many long-coated lowlanders had crept in to the northern half of the parish that the principal service had come to be held in English, which was unintelligible to the natives. So they petitioned the presbytery that morning worship might be in "Irish" (*i.e.* in Gaelic) as formerly, instead of only evening worship. Those hailing from the south end declared that owing to "ther distance from the kirk, in winter they want the benefit of the word for many days." If they did attend in the evening they could not be home the same night. One imagines that the teaching in Kilfinan school must have been bilingual. The church records also indicate that Mr Archibald was on his Stillraig estate by the spring of 1655. He had already attempted to vindicate his right to the teinds, which he had derived from his father Sir COLL XIII.³²

Ninian also figures in ecclesiastical circles, but unhappily because he seems to have been sowing his wild oats to some purpose. In May of 1655 the synod directed the minister that if "Niniane Lamownt persist

in his refractoriensesse to give obedience to the kirke sessione of Kilfinane for his fornicatione, to processe him with excomunicatione." Alas, it was unnecessary for he died within a year! and no doubt his pastor would say it was the pace that killed him. He seems to have had at least two children, whether legitimate or not is unkenned. A son John appears as a witness in 1662, while a daughter Margaret married the then Stronbanach in 1694. His kin in Yorkshire, though not as yet restored to fortune, seem to have at last escaped from the toils of both kirk and state, for in November of 1655 "Mr Allane Lamont, Doctor (Andrew) Lamont's sonne, came downe from England about his father's and vncle's (Walter) business, (and) returned to England from Edenbroughe, December 1655." There is, however, no evidence that he ever had inter-communing with his cousins from far Cowal. (He was north again from April to July 1659.³³)

In December of 1656 Sir James took advantage of the first measure of relief for bankrupt lairds ever devised in Scotland, which was introduced by the Protector Cromwell. A register of debts was set up, in which a sworn schedule of obligations could be recorded by those willing to resign their heritage to a trustee for creditors. Strictly speaking after seven years had elapsed from the date of an apprising without payment the land became irrevocably vested in the creditor, so that by 1653 the chief should have been completely divested. It was no doubt because the injustice of enforcing this in such unsettled times was brought to Cromwell's notice that he initiated the new procedure. It may well be that the clan has to thank him for the preservation of the barony, which under the full rigour of Scots law might not have been possible. But by this time the sheriff-depute was already entering vassals as if he were full owner. Sir James now acknowledged that he owed the vast amount of £64,475, 50 per cent. more than the pre-war valuation of his estates as estimated above, and considering their wasted condition repayment must have seemed almost impossible, though by 1659 the gross rental had recovered to £2666. Most of the loans disclosed were known in other ways, but some points appear for the first time. For instance £10,000 was now due to a certain Robert Campbell, a merchant of Glasgow, and to his father a former provost, and they later finally took over the Silvercraigs lairdship in satisfaction. What relief, if any, was got under the new procedure is not kenned.³⁴

In the spring of 1657 Sir James's five years in the "east parts" had almost expired. A year later he was at "Kilmoir," presumably the Kilmory in Glassary which his forebears had granted to the abbey of Paisley, and MacCailein was still pressing for his debts, but the latter's influence began to decline upon the death, on 3rd September, of Cromwell,

that "leader of heroes, sure shield of defence in the fight." The Lamont tartan became kenspeckle again in Rothesay bay, where the chief had now settled his headquarters. He was safe enough there, for, apart from the protection of the Stewart sheriff, the burgesses had no love of the Diarmaids who had butchered their provost in 1646 at Dunoon of all places. The latter's successor, John Glass by name, acted as factor for the family in these difficult years. From there Sir James renewed the infeftments of Auchinshelloch and of N. Auchagoyl, adding S. Auchagoyl to the former.³⁵ The property of these was not affected by the apprisings, but only his own superiority. There is no evidence that his brogues ever stepped in his own heather until December of 1659. Toward, of course, could not have housed him, and the red point of Ardlamont (as it was called in a map of the time) was too distant a retreat from which to prosecute revenge. But from Bute he looked into the heart of his own country. They must all have lived on Lady Lamont's portion, out of which he was even able to grant Drum and Melldalloch to his sister Jean on her marriage to Mr Dugald Campbell of Lagg. The creditors had all the rest. Barbara, his sister, in November of 1658 was married in Edinburgh to John Davidson, the merchant from far Inverlochy, and with the hand of Barbara his daughter the chief promised £1333 to John McAllister of Ballinakill (by Clachan in Kintyre), though most of it remained unpaid. Prospects must have been improving when husbands could be found in such numbers. No doubt they were all asked to help a little financially to tide over the ebb in the clan's fortunes, and the same would be expected of his brother Stillaig, his other married sisters, and the cadets.³⁶

It must have been a sad blow to Sir James's pride to have to accept the charity of the synod of Argyll to send his son and heir Archibald, still a bairn of eleven, to learn wisdom at the College of Glasgow, where the fellow-students included one Robert Landess, to be later referred to. About the same time he fell foul of the lower courts of the church, and the unsavoury story above referred to anent Lady Lamont was again to the fore. By December of 1659 he had actually returned to stay in Kerry for a while, but had left scandal behind him in Rothesay. The matter was raised in the kirk session there when one Walter Stewart, a bailie of the burgh, complained that the chief and Lady Lamont had slandered him. The slander took the very peculiar form of having accused Stewart of making statements which were themselves slanderous. The whole story is so quaint as to justify a full quotation. On the 29th of the month Stewart "gave in a clame to the Session against the Laird of Lamont compleaneing that (Sir James) did scandaliz his name odiously in sayeing that the said Walter did give him counsell to separat from his ladie, and to cause his

man ly with her, and thervpon to bring in witnesses and therby to get ane divorce; also that the said Laird Lamont did declare before fameous witnesses that he hade the said Walter his letter wryten to Edinbrugh to his sister which wold testifie against him that he called the Lady Lamont the greatest whore in Scotland excepting one; and that the said Laird called him a notorious knave and that he wold prove it; as lykewise the said Walter complemed vpon the Lady Lamont that she did say to her brother, the Laird of Ardkinglas, that the said Walter called him and vtheris his frendis blood-thirstie murdering traitouris." Reading between the lines of this it looks as if Walter, just man, had no great opinion of either Lady Lamont or Ardkinglas, as he was certainly right about the latter he may well have had grounds for his suspicions of the former, particularly as the rumour about her had been current as long ago as 1654.³⁷

The entry concludes that "the Session does recomend to the minister to wryt to the Laird Lamount, who is for the present in the Kerry, in ane civill maner desyreing him to come before the Session to mak answer to the said clame and to endeavour the purging of the said scandall." One is not surprised to find that although by March he had been given three formal summonses to attend Sir James had not complied, nor did he ever, although the case was referred to the presbytery. His reasons are not hard to jalouse. In the first place it was no time to quarrel with his lady for any strange carry-on in his absence. If she was "fairly honest when the wind was in that airt" she was as good as most, and they needed each other's counsel too much to quarrel. Then on his first visit to his own country for a dozen of years he had no wish to think on things so unpleasing as these sordid matters. It would be enough for him to seek the tide's edge and lie "dozing to the music of the salt loch that made tumult and spume north and south in the hollow of the mountains." But last and most vital of all in the spring (of 1660) King Charles II was recalled to the throne of his forebears. The Stewarts had come into their own; the Lamonts could not be long behind. The Yorkshire branch were at once busy in petitioning for redress. Dr Andrew became rector of Thwing, while his son Mr Allan secured lucrative leases of lands in that manor. The chief had been acting on the maxim *mar comas dbuit teumadh, na ruisg do db' eudadb*—"if you cannot bite, do not show your teeth," but the way was now clear for him to spring.³⁸

In June the sheriff-depute, scenting danger, transferred his apprising to his son. Next month MacCailein, who had optimistically gone south to pay his respects, was thrown into the Tower of London by the King's command. The Diarmaids' hour had come. It was shame on Mony-

drain when in November he stood surety for Campbell of Ormsary, who had beleaguered Ascog, in a bond to the new grammar school of Inveraray. Parliament met in Edinburgh in January 1661 for the first time in nine years, and though not a member Sir James was in attendance. He was soon appointed a commissioner of supply for his county, and asked to allocate the local taxes. On the 18th he presented a petition on behalf of his tartan for authority to cite Argyll, Ardkinglas, the sheriff-depute, and certain others of the murderers. "Some opposition was made to this; but it was carried by a vast plurality to grant warrant." According to Wodrow, the chronicler of the covenanters, "This gentleman (Lawmont) was hounded out, by the managers, to bring in this charge of severities against the Marquis." The truth is that no encouragement was needed. For this the whole clan had been biding its time for fifteen years of bitterness and disillusionment. "He who waits long at the ferry will get over some time" was an old saying (*am fear a bhios fad aig an aiseag gheabh e thairis uair-eigin*). At last the ship of fortune was in sight.³⁹

Proceedings were conducted with a haste which, in view of the gravity of the charges, was certainly unfair even to clan Diarmaid. Within five days the indictment was laid before the estates, and answers ordered within a like period. Meanwhile "terrible stories were buzzed about of the Marquis's horrid barbarities to the gentlemen of the name of Lawmond" and to others. MacCailein's defences were that, first, he himself had been furth of Scotland at the time of the massacre, and that his tartan acted under parliament's orders and not under his, and, secondly, that the Lamonts were rebels and had brought their fate upon themselves. Independent charges were laid against him by the Lord Advocate on a variety of grounds, including that of 'compassing *Rìgh Tearlach's* death, of which there is ample evidence in the depositions preserved in the forfeiture process. There the details can be read at length, including a recital of the atrocities already here detailed.⁴⁰ In Knockdow's *Lamont Papers* they are shortened to some fourteen printed pages. Meanwhile Mr Archibald was pursuing George Campbell, the late sheriff-depute, now in the castle of Edinburgh. Parliament, on 22nd February, after much discussion, ordered the instant restoration of the Stillaig estate, reserving certain other questions. Prompt measures of enforcement were taken, officials being ferried over from Bute for the purpose. Thus at last some part of the clan territory was rescued from the unfriends, although it was still affected by George Campbell's apprising. But, as the amount Mr Archibald had guaranteed was far less than that now claimed for illegal possession, that was not of great moment.⁴¹

Throughout April and the beginning of May Sir James brought

between twenty and thirty witnesses to Edinburgh at heavy expense to have their depositions recorded in preparation for the great event. (It was then the practice to take evidence in advance before neutral commissioners to save time at the trial, although this seems definitely unfair to the accused, whose chances of cross-examination were thereby materially restricted.) Thus on 2nd May the Kirk Session of Rothesay recorded that "ther was no meiting . . . thir 6 weeks bygone, by reasone of the ministers absence, being sumonded to Edinburgh at the instance of the Laird Lamont." The reverend gentleman's testimony was, of course, peculiarly valuable in a superstitious age "anent the tree vpon wch. the gentlemen of the name of Lamont were hanged." The Diarmaids complained that the chief's conduct was in some respects oppressive. "He caused cite," they said, "ane number of poor innöcent cuntrey people eftir he came from the hielands, and the messenger as he gave them copies, whether as pairties or as witnesses, desired them all to goe to Boott [Bute] and agrie with Lady Lamont and John Glass the baillie, so they neidit not come a field. Quherupon it is informed that the poor people for meir feare have gone to Boott and transacted ilk ane of them to give so many kowes or so much money to get libertie to stay at home." A trip to the capital seems to have had no attractions to them. Prior to this he seems to have had a jaunt in the Campbell country, during which he agreed to drop proceedings against many of the crook-mouths in return for substantial money payments. At Inveraray there is preserved a "Note of the names of certane persones that are called upon in Lawmont's processs the last weick, notwithstanding that he had componed and setled with them, And if he call them now, to alledge the satling and to referr it to his oath." Among a list of fifteen of "My Lord Lorne's tennents" appear Otter's brother "passed from" for 800 merks and 5 ky, Ardtarig for £1200, and Ballochyle and his two brothers for an unspecified amount.⁴²

In some cases also he sought to restore his old ascendancy in Cowal by taking "the parties discharged (contrare to the laws of the countrey) obleidged on silence & high oaths for them & their successors in a perpetuall band of manrent to him & his successors, whereof severals are extant to be shown." So says the *Diarmaid Note*, "clearing that Sir James ought not to be respected . . .," but none of these interesting writs have come to hand. They were indeed a late survival of a primitive practice in King's Cowal. This source provides ample evidence, if any were needed, of the material outlook of the clan Campbell, for in it the chief's "complaint for the loss of some few of his kinsmen," was answered as follows. If one considers the acquisition of the Ascog lairdship, and the sums obtained as compositions, "it will be found that he has no cause to

complayne for the loss of these kinsmen, their deaths being so lucrative to him, and means and money being the thing that he is aiming at and getting for that matter." If Sir James was ruthless with folks of these notions who can say it was undeserved? It was about this time that the Diarmaids prepared the *Note* which is so valuable to the historian, either for use in preparing defences to the criminal charges, or for submission to his Majesty to procure remissions or to prevent the Lamonts from getting justice. It was perhaps a retort to the *True Relation of Sr. James Lamont of that Ilk His actings and sufferings In His Late Majesties service since the year 1643*, so largely referred to above.⁴³

Towards the end of May the trial came on before parliament, it being a case of treason. The result was a foregone conclusion, though one is bound to admit that the depositions now existing do not establish the personal complicity of the Marquis in the atrocities against the Lamonts. Montrose, the son of the *Gbreumach*, honourably declined to vote, owning he had too much resentment in the matter. Argyll was condemned, and suffered on the scaffold on the 24th. No doubt Sir James saw him go down the High Street of Auld Reekie for the last time, as he in his day had watched the *Gbreumach*, but one hopes with a better grace. As soon as MacCailein was in his grave a plague fell on his country, which was long remembered among the people. All who had suffered at his hands, and they were many, combined to ask King Charles II not to dispose of his forfeited estate without hearing their representations. The chief petitioned both as baron of Inverryne and as laird of Ascog (to which last he had no right whatever). As he was but one of some two dozen of noblemen and lairds it was clear there would be keen competition for the spoils.⁴⁴

Among his rivals were a contingent from the north country, including the Earls of Mar and Airlie. They seem to have had in their tails a number of McGillivies or Blacks, who greeted Sir James as their chief of kin, though their forefolks had left his country more than a century ago. Their meeting was the occasion of the namely *Declaration of the True Extraction* of the Braemar sept of the clan, in which they were officially recognised as "kinsmen and cadets of my hous." It was penned in Edinburgh on the 2nd of May and was witnessed by young Archibald and old Stronalbanach. Perhaps this was the origin of the next chief's interest in the old ancient history of his people. In the same year the Lamont arms again attracted the attention of the heralds. There was already a little colony of the tartan established in the wynds and vennels of the capital, as appears from the registers of banns and burials,⁴⁵ and a William, perhaps from Fife, was a student at the University. For

many moons now Sir James was fully occupied in "following forth his bloodie persecuters," to use his own expression. On 12th July his process against Argyll and the rest was remitted by parliament to the ordinary courts, where it now proceeded as a civil action. Most of his time would be spent in Edinburgh, where, being at last in funds, he bought an outfit of £385 worth of "good and sufficient merchandise" at one establishment evidently of a comprehensive nature.⁴⁶

He was in Rothesay, however, with his son in the spring of 1662, where he could stay more cheaply than in a lodging in auld reekie. There he found, forbye his Lady and sister Isobel, his brother Stillaig, who served his Cowal interests while he was from home, and John son of the late Ninian. In March he made over the reversion of the estates in trust to a wealthy Edinburgh merchant, James Hamilton, who now became the clan's financier and friend. It is to be hoped they were all on better terms with bailie Walter Stewart, and that Lady Lamont's reputation stood higher. Certainly the chief had now discarded his old servant James in favour of another Archibald, also, of course, a Lamont. Mr Archibald had now taken to wife a daughter of the late Robert iv of Ascog, and in security of her tocher (which Sir James had guaranteed), he had a grant of the kernel of that lairdship, including the castle, despite the protests of her cousin who was entitled to succeed to it under an entail of 1581. The lave was conveyed by the chief to Isobel and Barbara, Mrs Davidson, in security of their portions under the family agreement of 1634, which had apparently never yet been implemented. This resumption of Ascog was a gross abuse of power on the part of Sir James, which can only be explained (though never excused) on the ground of absolute necessity. *An ràmb a's faisg' iomair*—"the oar that's nearest at hand row with it"—is the motto of desperation. It was on the chief's behalf that this old cadet family had suffered first the apprising, and then the wasting, of their estates, and finally the terrible loss of life above indicated. To deprive them thus of their inheritance was both an insult and an injury, which they were not slow to resent. The titles were doubtless all lost, but their terms must have been notour. Once more the unscrupulous adventurer in Sir James had become uppermost.⁴⁷

This was all done, or arranged, in the summer, and a little after, on 3rd September of 1662, Ardkinglas and Ormsary were forfeited, and Kinnochtrie, the old sheriff-depute, was outlawed. In answer to Sir James's petition for his kin parliament recommended that the Lamonts should be compensated out of the forfeited estates which were in the gift of the King, and ordered the restoration of the lands usurped by Ardtarig, Eilean Greg, and Kinnochtrie, reserving to the last any rights

he might have as a creditor.⁴⁸ The chief seems to have set out at once for London, with the faithful Isobel, to gain the ear of Charles II, who, having recently returned from his own travels, was likely to be sympathetic. Now for the first time did the tartan appear on the causeys of the metropolis. Former chiefs had paid their respects at Holyrood, but for the future it had to be at Whitehall. They were encouraged and no doubt financed in their project by James Hamilton. The objective was twofold: first, to prevent the sheriff-depute from getting a remission; and second, to secure a royal grant of Ardkinglas's estate (which his lawyers had ready in draft), and a royal recommendation to the commissioners appointed for "recognoscing the debts and oppressions" of MacCailein. In the last he was successful, but anent the others he had powerful rivals, and anyhow *is math a' chùirt 's am faighear rud ri iarraidh* ("it's a good court where a thing can be got for the asking"). However, Hamilton encouraged Isobel "to keep him allwayes to the waiting one at court ffor the obtainning something in his own favoures, for you and he had nued to be urgent in that, knoing how little money yow have to keep your attendants there." In fact the Duke of Hamilton secured Ardkinglas's 80 merk lands with the coronership of Cowal from *Clach an Toiseaich* to the points of Toward and Ardlamont.⁴⁹

Meanwhile in Edinburgh the clan's actions of reparation were proceeding against Kinnochtrie, Lochnell, and Dunstaffnage. In Cowal Stillaig was appointed factor by all parties interested, as also joint bailie for holding of baron courts (along with John Glass, the provost, who died soon after). In the end of October of 1662 the first regular courts of which there is any record were held in three different parts of the estate. The vassals and tenants in Kerry (*i.e.* Kilfinan parish) were summoned either to the mill of Melldalloch or to that of Mecknoch, according to whether they belonged north or south of "the hill callit Carnesirie," a name now unkenned in the district. All duly met at these howffs and "gave obedience," "except swa many who war at sea," in other words at the herring. The legal position was explained to them, and they must have found it somewhat confused, but at least it was clear that Hamilton was, in the first instance, entitled to the rents. Estate regulations were made, such as that Ardlamont and Stillaig grain was to be ground at Mecknoch. Tacks were renewed, but probably not in writing, and small debt disputes were decided. Such formality was doubtless an innovation in clan country. Another court met in the next week at Ardyne for Nether Cowal (*i.e.* Dunoon and Inverchaolain parishes). In Sir COLL'S time and before such sittings were held at Kil-michael (the modern Knockdow), and one wonders why the *locus* had

been altered. At this a list of the tenants about Toward was compiled showing the amounts of their rents (indicated in parentheses below). It is melancholy indeed to discover so few of the clan names. Out of thirty householders in the lands of Toward Castle (£227), Killellan (£160), Achafour (£213 and 18 boils victual for the mill), Ardyne (£253), Kilmichael (£227), Kilmarnock and Little Brackley (£80), and Meikle Brackley (not stated), there were only two Lamonts (each an Archibald, one in Killellan and the other, who was appointed officer of court, in Ardyne), and one Black (a Jon Mcilzuy in Kilmarnock).⁵⁰

From the substantial rents being paid, and the fact that the folks were at the fishing (presumably for the Glasgow market in salt "Loch Fynes"), it looks as if the country had gone far towards recovery from the havoc of the civil wars. It was sad, however, that in the words of the Gaelic MSS. at Inveraray Castle "when the Campbells and Lamonts made peace with each other, . . . there came from Lowland Largs, Shearers, Mains, and Lucases; and there are some of the descendants of these men in Cowal yet." The Shearers appear in the Baron Court Minutes of this date, but as was mentioned above the Lucases had for long been of the clan, and the account is incorrect in that regard. But it was not only Sir James who was short of tenants. On account of the devastations of the plague of 1661 and a famine which followed young MacCailein himself had to instal incomers on his estates. These formal proceedings were important not only for their legal effect, to which the natives were indifferent, but also because they marked the final end of the domination of the Campbells in any part of the Lamont domains. The crab apple, wellnigh smothered for good and all by the gale, had righted itself, although its growth had been stunted almost beyond remeid. It was indeed a day to cut a notch in the door-post, for the loathing with which the hereditary unfriends were once regarded is hard now to imagine. It finds its best expression in the words put by Neil Munro to the Pibroch of Clanranald, another tartan which had suffered at their hands. They run as follows:—

"God's name! they provoked us, the crook-mouthed, the cunning!
 Sitting so pious and snug in their holds,
 Their eyes shut in prayer till the fat rings rolled o'er them,
 A blame and a boast in each bleat from their folds.
 'Twas not that they spoiled us by sword or by sheepskin,
 Not that they harried or lifted our kine . . .
 They passed us at market like dirt from the lowlands.
 O children of Diarmaid! O litter of swine!⁵¹

Doubtless pibrochs resounded where the tide swings round Ard-

lamont when Sir James came north again, which was before the summer of 1663. The Diarmaids now made a last effort to smoor him by having him imprisoned for debt. He applied to parliament at once, explaining that it was "impossible for him either to mack his address to his Majestie, to attend the judicatories of the kingdome, or to go about his lauffull effaires," and asking exemption from personal diligence for at least a year and a day. Public opinion was in his favour; he was "enlarged"; and his request was granted for the duration of the session and for two years thereafter. In October he was again appointed a Justice of the Peace, as he had been before the wars. Two months later the Court of Session gave its warrant (in supplement of that of the Estates) for his re-instatement in the barony. He had come into his own at last, just man—what was left of it. The evidence has not as yet disclosed the outcome of his claims for damages against the Campbells. But if he had not recovered a good sum it is hard to see how the family could ever have been able, as it was in the near future, to buy out the bulk of the creditors. *Is olc cuid a' cheatharnaich ri 'thasgadh*—"reivers' goods are ill to keep"—says the old-word, and one assumes it so proved in this case.⁵²

The earliest letters among the Inverryne charters were written during the winter of 1662-3 by Hamilton in Edinburgh to Stillaig in Rothesay. These explain the various devices whereby the creditors and the heir to Ascog were kept out of their due. They exhort the factor "to set the land to the best avall that possible can be got for it," and to exact the rents "to the lest grot." They instruct him to evict all hostile tenants, such as "the whol Mcleans . . . for they are no freinds to us, (and) the miller of Auchafour . . . a most base & vnworthie fellow in his carriag to you," for Hamilton "would have none that would doe any service to Georg (Campbell of Kinnochtrie) or his sones kepted in the land." The miller was one John Lyon, who had already undertaken to flit in May. One wonders if he hailed from Glamis and if he was sib. Stillaig was also asked to send details of the estates of Ardkinglas and Ormsary, so that grants might be obtained from the King of some part of them.⁵³

Hamilton was also anxious to hear if the Stewarts had approached him, as they were the principal parties interested in Home's apprising, which was much the largest. The leading families were those of Bute and Blackhall, who as staunch royalists had always been friendly to the Lamonts. A rumour had got about of a "band" among them, to the effect that "whichever lost anything by the engadging in the necessare warr for his Majestie efter the (16)40, 42, or 43 years (it should be shared) by all the thrie." At least they all forgathered at Corra, near Ardlamont,

about Christmas 1663, and an agreement was reached which was distinctly favourable to Sir James. In return for his formal acknowledgment of debts amounting with interest to £39,000, these creditors' rights were restricted to the lands around Toward (excepting the superiorities of the Knockdow and Coustoun cadetships, which being held ward were not of much use as security), with the addition of Ballochandrain, Achadachoun, Kames, and Inveryne (all feus except the last). Special facilities were afforded for redemption at a reduced figure of over £33,000 within three years, of which, unfortunately, funds never permitted. He had still, of course, to deal with Campbell's apprising, but though prior in time it was much less in amount and was soon by arrangement confined in its turn to the Kerry properties. Sir James was gradually getting his head above water, and when a few years after Hamilton bought up the interest of the sheriff-depute the whole barony was under the control of his friends.⁵⁴

This was all to the good, but sad to say at the same time the chief's health, undermined by his sufferings, began to give way. He now settled for his declining years in his own country, but his manner of living had perforce to be different indeed from what it had been before the wars. It was doubtless because he could not afford to keep up his old style that he decided to abandon Toward to its memories and its ghosts, of which there were many, and to retire to Kerry, which was destined to remain the centre of gravity of the Lamont territory till its sale in 1893. For the future he had to figure rather as an impoverished laird than as chief of a powerful clan. No more did he go scouring the glens of his un-friends. No more was he, or any successor, housed in a fortress with ditch at foot and *gocaman* on tower. Like lowland gentry their dwelling was now farm or mansion, perhaps somewhat of both. As the for-gathering with the Stewarts was at Corra, and he was dating deeds from it, he would be biding there with his sister Isobel till Ardlamont was ready to receive him, which was perhaps in March 1664 when she leased Corra to John McAllister his son-in-law. Wherever he was would be a new *bratach* with the old lion above, and the standard-bearer and piper still to the fore. But most blessed of all to a tired man would be the blithe crack at his own fire-end, and if his son ventured afield at times it was Kilfinan parish that had the most of him. For a century the chief of *Clan Laomainn* was not seen at the ferries of Coustoun and Dunoon, where he was once kenspeckle. Toward, erstwhile namely for its board and cellar, was so no more. It was all by with the old and the braver days, and few were the clansmen who "on the call of the laird (could) come together armed in a moment." Most of the lave one jalouses

would follow him from Nether Cowal to Kerry, where Campbells were fewer and less crouse. The Knockdow cadets were left as the western bulwark of the clan, and soon reverted to their former independence of the chiefs.⁵⁵

It was the fat and near lands about Toward, however, that were the subject of another Diarmaid intrusion in the early months of 1664. In the July before Sir James had assisted in allocating among the king's barons and freeholders of Argyllshire the sums due to Campbell of Ardchattan, in the neighbourhood of Dunstaffnage, as one of the local members of parliament. Payment of M.P.'s is no novelty in Scotland. The total was £2350 Scots (about £200 sterling) as fees for attendance for the three years 1661-3 and expenses of "4 days cuming and 4 days goeing at ilk sessioun," of which there was one per annum. (The treck from Cowal would have taken but half that time.) The chief's proportion was £180, as compared with Maclachlan's £120, Auchenbreck's £60, and Eilean Greg's £52. As the basis of assessment was stated to be £4 per every 100 merks of rental, the Lamont estates must have been taken for taxation as worth £3000 a year. When one remembers that this included all the cadetships which held of the chief it is clear that the clan escaped lightly. The real value must have been much greater, or the creditors would have at once foreclosed and there could have been no reversion for the debtor lairds. Campbell of Glenurchy illegally demanded payment from Sir James personally, although he had no commission from Ardchattan and anyhow well knew that the chief was legally divested by the appraisings and so was not liable for one penny. Twenty-four soldiers were quartered, when the money was not forthcoming, upon Sir James's own household at a time when, as he represented, he was "sick and at the point of death." Before the Privy Council intervened, after the Court of Session had failed to effect relief, the troops were said to have consumed £600 Scots worth of provender, an obvious exaggeration. It was only through the good offices of the sheriff of Bute that the officers could be persuaded to decamp. It was changed days indeed, when the clan could not itself put two dozen to short shrift.⁵⁶

Throughout this period the families of Stewart and Lamont were in close touch, and the devotion of the former contrasts splendidly with the perfidy of the Campbells. The sheriff of Bute, ancestor of the present Marquis, who was now the principal creditor, was most accommodating to the chief anent the management of the Toward portion of the estate. "I promise I have no respect," he wrote in January of 1664, "to any tenent ther bot to those ye have a kyndnes for." In a series of letters during the year 1664 he sounded a note of encouragement and support.

“Nobill Sir, be not discouradged,” he said, “for I houpe things shall goe right & we shall yet be able to doe on another that nighbourlye service which have for many years bygone bean performed be our antecessors. Lett sycophants & flatterers speak or think quhat they please, I doe assure you I shall faithfully indeavour the continuance & inlargement of that old amitie as becomes.” No wonder that Sir James endorsed this “a letter of much worth to me.” But his failing health made him imagine that even his best friends had turned against him, and he penned what the sheriff stigmatised as “calumnious & false reproaches of my being accessorie either to keeping your owen from yow or in aplying it to my owen use.” His kindly neighbour, however, was courteous and forbearing, and undertook to realise his debts for him, to lend him money, and to transact his business in London and also gave him free legal advice. At the same time Stewart sagely added, “I should advyse yow, as ye tender your owen weall, ye wrytt no sutch letters to any of your creditors in tyme coming, ffor if I had not mynded your advantage mor than it seames ye mynd it your self, it had proved mor prejudiciall to you than ye ar avar [aware] of.”⁵⁷

Others were not so kindly. A letter from his standing counsel and cousin Mr. William Maxwell in November has also been preserved, which is in very different terms. After regretting Sir James’s ill health and departure to the west more than a year ago it proceeds: “I hear that yow have disposed of the laird shipe of Ascoge, and that yow have uplifted the rents of Cowall & hes put the money in the schirreffie of Buit’s hand to depurse. These things yow have done without my knowledge,” and he considers himself much slighted. “It seems strange,” he adds, “that yow sould have bein disposing upon lands when it is both sine, shame, & skaith to sie your owne frindes ruined for yow without remeede.” This was said with special reference to Silvercraigs, but applies even more to the *de jure* Ascog. In a postscript is revealed the quaint belief of the old-world lawyer in the technique of his craft as a panacea for all ills. “I wish,” he says, “ye myt have had (your poore childe) removed heir, & your selfe also, that the young man myt have learned the laws of the kingdome, & how to manage his owne affairs, for he hes much neede, for since yow are infirme he ought be secured & settled therein, that your familie perish not.” Still and on the lad was already able to engross a legal deed, of which there is an example in his hand among the Inveryne Charters.⁵⁸

At Corra and Ardlamont between 1663 and 1665 the chief colloqued with his cadets, renewing the investitures of Rudhbodach in Bute and of the two Auchagoys, and adjusting with Silvercraigs a complicated agree-

ment. The latter's whole estate had been appraised for a debt of Sir James's guaranteed by Silvercraigs. On a balance of accounts he was found to be due £4000, for which he was given a postponed security over the lairdship of Ascog subject to the prior claims of the portions already mentioned, on his relieving the chief of the responsibility for those same portions. This was probably intended as a deliberate sacrifice of the Silvercraigs estate, which now finally passed into strange hands, that of a Campbell family from the city of Glasgow, a new type of merchant laird not regarded with favour by the lovers of the old order of things. Now that the McSorleys of Monydrain had stood aloof from the rest of the clan it was not so necessary to keep a grip on the ferry from Otter to Carrick, and as the outlook was more towards the lowlands it seemed better to concentrate the active strength of the tartan in Kerry. Silvercraigs had a feu of the kirklands of Kilfinan from Stillaig, and probably lived there, though he transferred it (perhaps in wad) to Auchagoil not long after.⁵⁹

But this ploy left out of account the one person really entitled to the Ascog estate, namely Robert, a nephew of the late laird Robert iv. He naturally objected to the alienation of his patrimony, and forced Sir James in the summer of 1666 to enter him as heir with all the old picturesque obligations of service by birlinn. On the deeds his right was admitted without qualification, although it was later maintained that it was conditional upon his paying out the interests above referred to. Whether he got possession or not is another matter, and the appraisers had undoubtedly a better right to the rents than anyone. About this time the investiture of Knockdow was renewed, and the opinion of counsel taken as to the position of Evanachan, Acharossan, and Achanaskioch, and of the barony in general, for which posterity is thankful, as otherwise it would be ill to unravel the tangled skein of legal technicalities involved.⁶⁰

The years 1666 to 1669 were namely for transactions which resulted in the lightening of the burden of debt. First of all Stewart of Bute bought up the interest of his whole kin in Home's apprising. He then transferred out and out to the new MacCailein, the 9th Earl and third of four Archibalds in succession, a part of his security, comprising Killellan, Achafour, Kilmarnock, and the Brackleys, together with the superiority of Strondharaig, Ballochandrain, and Kames. This represented a further sacrifice mainly of outlying subjects in order to save and disburden the kernel of the estates. By a curious mischance Argyll's chamberlain took possession of Kilmichael instead of Achafour, and as a result of litigation beginning in 1734 the latter was recovered and the former declared to be

Argyll's. In 1753 Knockdow bought up the property of Kilmichael, Kilmarnock, and the Brackleys, and later another clansman took over Killellan. The lave was gone for ever.⁶¹ Secondly, Hamilton bought up the apprising of George Campbell of Kinnochtrie, the old sheriff-depute, as affecting both the barony and the lairdships of Stillaig and Ascog, thus ending the desultory litigation which had been going on for years. The cadetships were now completely freed from alien creditors, and the barony was in a much better position for the future.⁶² Although there is no direct evidence of it one infers from these doings that substantial compensation had been at last extorted from the Diarmaids. In 1669 both Stewart and Hamilton were negotiating for the purchase of the remaining rights in Home's apprising, and though the sheriff succeeded there were virtually no hostile persons still interested in the Lamont estates. Throughout this period Hamilton and George Campbell of Drimsynie (descended of a daughter of Robert iv of Ascog and who had taken a lease of Craignaifeich) seem to have looked to the clan's affairs in Edinburgh. The latter wrote "I confess I find James (Hamilton) his affectioun to yow & yor famelie verie right as it hes evir beine." What exactly was the bond between Hamilton and Sir James is not clear, but it must surely have been by red blood as well as by red gold.⁶³

In January of 1667 Archibald, the chief apparent, reached his majority and the greetings of the clan would for the first time be tendered at Ardlamont. By May he had arranged the "grand tour" which was usual for a young man of his rank, which shows there was some free money in the family by this time. Letters of recommendation were got from the Earl of Rothes, the royal commissioner at Holyrood. "In respect of his intention to goe for ffrance or other fforraigne places ffor Improving his Educatione in the wayes of Learning & vertue," these ask "that all comers may receive him, . . . affording his Securitie To pass and Repass with his servant horses and airmes, he being a Gentleman of good Expectatione, and sone to a ffather deserving well ffor his Loyaltie and faithfull Service to his Sacred Ma(jes)tie and Royal ffather." The style, no doubt invariable, rather overdoes alike the merits of a trip to Paris and the prospects of the heir to the reversion of Inveryne.

"To mak a tour an' tak a whirl,
To learn *bon ton* an' see the world"

was perhaps nearer the mark. One can picture him on his way through Rothesay and Glasgow to the brisker life of foreign parts, with sword at haunch and spur at heel, as pretty a lad as ever went to the beginning of fortune. There is no record of his doings, but he would naturally put up

with his "tail" at North Burton in Yorkshire, the seat of his kinsman Mr Allan, eldest son of the late Dr Andrew, rector of Thwing. The two were distant cousins, their common ancestor being DUNCAN IX, who died in 1515. This branch maintained its connection with the Fife stock, of which it was sprung, if not with Cowal, for they frequently visited their folks about Lundy, as *Lamont's Diary* never fails to mention. Mr Allan's son and namesake, for instance, had matriculated at the "Vniuersitie of St Andrews" (along with his cousin Colvill, Mr Walter's son) in 1664, the year in which Mr Allan's brother Mr Andrew had taken his D.D. at Cambridge, the first Lamont at that seat of learning.⁶⁴

The family of Lamont of North Burton had just given up their pedigree to the itinerant heralds, at the visitation in August of 1665, recording their arms as "argent, a lion rampant vert." Archibald's statement later in life that "the Lamonts of France and England carried the Lion befor my time" suggests both a visit to North Burton and a meeting with Major Claud, the self-styled Baron de Lamont (son of the Robert above referred to as ensign in the Scots Guard), or his brothers Captains Henry and Charles. The major was stationed at Toulon when in January 1669 he got from King Louis XIV letters patent in supplement of those recognising the noble status of his father in 1621. The chief presumptive's knowledge of heraldry, however, was not deep, and he seems to have failed to appreciate that the lion came to be quartered (2nd and 3rd) with the mond as the Barons' coat in respect of a marriage with "Jeanne heritière de Cassels," who was Robert's mother. Archibald's reference in 1699 to a Lamont having married into the family of "Castles" may perhaps refer to this, as there is no record evidence of any such connection with the Scots family of Kennedy of Cassillis. But, though colloquing is likely enough, nothing certain is known of the young man's movements after he left his native Cowal.⁶⁵

Before he returned across the seas to it his father was on his death-bed. But his aunt Isobel died first. Undeterred by her years she and Silvercraigs, her kinsman, had decided to get married, but it proved too much for her and she did not survive for many months. If her husband had no eye to the £3333 which was her portion his creditors had, and he was sued for some debts on the strength of it. But as she came to her end within a year and a day it fell to be repaid, if indeed it had ever changed hands at all. They pursued him, however, with resolution. He spent Christmas day of 1669 in the tolbooth of Rothesay at the instance of the sheriff of Bute, whose forbearance to the chief did not extend apparently to the cadets. Still and on he was in kent company, for there he found a dozen of Inveryne tenants, who had not paid their rents to

Hamilton. Few if any were of the tartan, however, else perhaps they had got better treatment. Their names were Ker, Wood, McLean, Shearer, Leitch, Millar, Scott, and Crawford, with a Donald Mcilwey and a Johne Mcilvreid, probably the only two natives among them. They all got out on Hogmanay, when good fellowship at last prevailed, but it was not long before Silvercraigs was seized in Edinburgh for £400 owed to Lord Semple and clapped into the tolbooth of that city, whence Hamilton was able to affect his release. Stillaig, by contrast, seems to have been comfortably off, as he had secured a good tocher with Ascog's daughter, and inherited some bonds from his brother Ninian. He generously gave up the factorship to Silvercraigs.⁶⁶

But the chief was neither bien nor well. Drimsynie wrote him in the autumn of 1669 as follows: "I told James (Hamilton) that if yor sonne had not a good way of liveing out of the countrey it were fitt he should come home and tak paynes in the effaires of the famelie and live on the bones of the estate till it pleas God that fleshe grow, ffor iff he have no better employment I conceive it was as fitt he should be at paynes & trouble as any freind." The young hero duly recrossed the channel, and reached the London which his father had told him was a weary city of waiting. Putting up at the Royal Oak in St Martin's Lane he did not find it so, and wishing to take his place in society asked Hamilton for cash. That same canny person, however, replied that while his past outlays would be met, "as for money for cloaths I think (that) is not neidfull, because yor pretending to goe to court is unnecessarie." He took the view later expressed by Burns that

". . . would (he) stay aback frae courts,
An' please (himsel) wi' country sports,
It would for ev'ry ane be better,
The laird, the tenant an' the cottar."⁶⁷

It was indeed an ill time for the chief apparent to indulge in the satirist's "posting foolery, boy-winding horns, gormandizing gluttony, lust, and vain apparel," for the father who had sampled all these in his day was at his end. It was in May of 1670, just two months after this sage advice, that they stamped out the fire of which Sir James had no more need, and opened the door lest his spirit should be hampered in its travelling. The inventory of his moveable estate is still extant, but it is sorry reading, showing how his possessions had shrunk since old times at Toward. The total of £990 Scots (or £82, 10s. stg.) has no rich gear in it; his "utinsells & domicells (were) estimat to £40," a slender total indeed for a man who had once entertained MacColla and 500 of his

Irish. The lave is as follows, and it is of peculiar interest as the earliest such list in the Lamont country:—

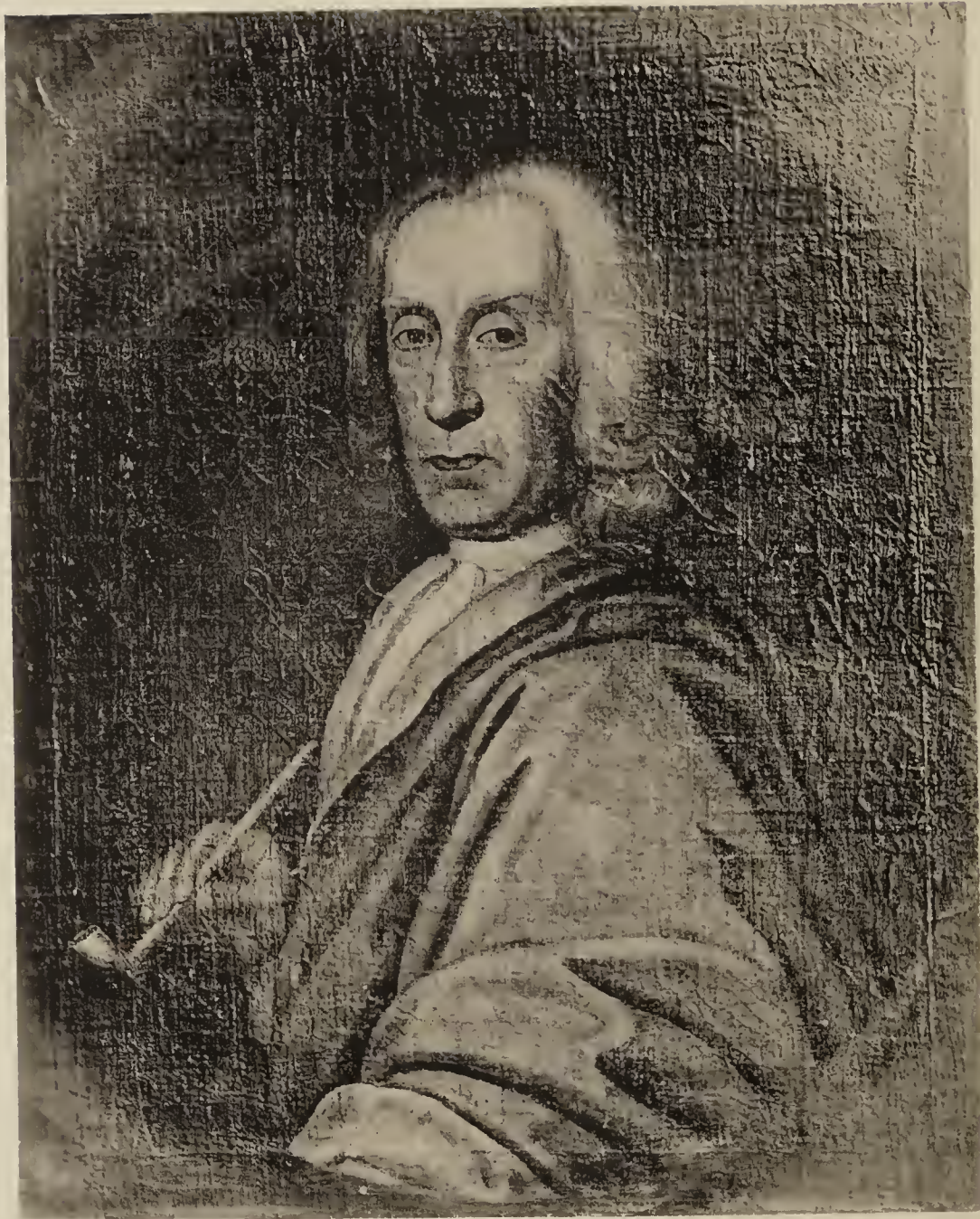
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
“20 great kowis, pryce of the peice	13	6	8	266	13	4
10 stirks	3	0	0	30	0	0
12 pleugh horss	(11	2	2 $\frac{2}{3}$)	133	6	8
sawin of oatts 60 bolls, the encreas qrof. estimat to the third corne is 180 bolls	2	0	0	360	0	0
sawin of bear 10 bolls, the encreas qrof. estimat to the fourth corne is 40 bolls	4	0	0	160	0	0”

If “ky” may be taken as typical there had been an increase in stock values since Sir COLL’S day, for these were worth £10 a head in 1613 as against £13, 6s. 8d. in 1670. The total absence of sheep is peculiar, as the Diarmaids had found plenty at Toward in 1646. Had their been a mount to take the chief afield it would have been worth twice as much as a farm horse (for Duncan Lamont in Ardyne recovered £26 in the sheriff court at Inveraray for “ane browne horse sex yeires old sett for hyre” and not returned in December of 1667).⁶⁸

It seems quite disproportionate that there should have been a dozen horses for ploughing when only twenty cows were kept and ten stirks. But in the primitive practice of the times a team was six, four for the rude wooden plough and two for the “reestle” which made way for it. The ratio of seed to crop is as strange to modern eyes, but it was due as much to the poverty of the soil as to ignorance of husbandry. “The general return of arable land from the grey oat of the country did not average more than from three and a half to four fold,” it has been said. “Nowhere in Europe was equal labour bestowed on such an inconsiderable crop.” The average to-day is to reap ten times what is sown. Even making allowance for the notoriously low values adopted for the purpose of evading impositions upon a death, there must be some explanation not apparent to the writer of the low figures put upon the grain. £2 a boll for oats and £4 for bere is too little. There is record evidence of the average fiars prices struck from 1662-7 in respect of Ascog, and for 1661-8 in respect of Toward. For oats these are £7 $\frac{2}{3}$ and a fraction above £6. One can only conclude that a crop in the ground must have been regarded as a very different proposition from one in the barn. Such were the whole possessions of the erstwhile lord of Toward, who had borrowed £64,000 in his day. And even these same had been mortgaged in security of Barbara’s tocher to his son-in-law McAllister of Ballinakill (who had leased Corra from Isobel).⁶⁹

This sorry list refers incidentally to one John Lamont “phisitian,” who had evidently ministered to the chief in his last illness instead of the

old surgeon McLea. One wonders what murmurs he heard as the end neared. As he lay dying Sir James had many things in the past to think on, but it was as well he had not second sight to read the future. A full life had been his and a brave one. The tides of fortune had been ever at the spring, whether of flood or ebb. He had kenned surfeit and poverty, favour and incarceration, power and impotence, life and death; and perhaps the last was not the worst, for he believed in the saying *an lionn ni duine dha fhéin, òladh e a leòr deth*—"the ale a man makes for himself let him have his fill of." Under his guidance the star of his clan had reached its meridian, and had begun at last to decline. In the civil wars the Lamont tartan had been namely, and the Lamont claymores a force of moment. Now it was all by with that. Their might was broken; their castles shattered never to be rebuilt; and their ranks so thinned that it was only with much care that they could ever be reformed. The chief's family was so crippled with debt and misfortune that it could hardly maintain its old standing in politics and in society. No subsequent member of his house has ever borne a title. His son and brothers could not marry early in life and the succession in the male line failed. It was only by the chance that the two fattest of the lairdships fell in to the chiefs that they were able to elude the creditors at all. Still and on they did recover in time a good position, only to lose it again by their own excesses. Of the cadet families which survived, the lave, excepting Knockdow and Auchagoyl, all disappeared within two generations, extinguished by the load of debt which still clung to them. Of the humbler folks numbers had left Cowal for good and all, and had "wandered mony a weary fit sin' auld lang syne." If the scattered clansmen ever forgathered it was furth of their own corries and glens. "Men may meet, but never the mountains," was never so true as of *Clan Laomainn*. But Sir James had one consolation. Once he had made his final choice he had been staunch to the last to the King who had honoured him, and his loyalty has assured him of a permanent niche in the history of the tartans. Long after his extravagances have been forgotten, his devotion and his sufferings will be brought to mind. His kin have no portrait of him, and his grave is unmarked, but it is safe to say that if his cairn was kenned no Lamont would pass it without adding a stone.⁷⁰



ARCHIBALD XV, 1670-1712

CHAPTER XII

RECOVERY AND REVENGE,
1670-1700

ARCHIBALD XV, who succeeded Sir JAMES at the age of 24, was as remarkable a man. If the father had fallen from wealth to poverty, the son was to reverse this course and to rise from poverty to a modest competency, an achievement which was less striking but more lasting. Sir JAMES had brought his people into battle and his estates into bankruptcy. Archibald rallied the thinned ranks, and compounded with the creditors. If any one person can be said to have preserved the tartan it is he. The record of his time is a full one, and it reveals him as the most versatile leader that the Lamonts have ever had. In what is presumably his portrait as an oldster (see plate 19) reappear most of the features of Sir COLL XIII, from whom he inherited most of his characteristics. Both studied in the college of Glasgow, and had "Irish" and "English" alike on their tongues. Later in life as Sir COLL had kenned Rothésay and Edinburgh, so Archibald knew London and Paris. At their ends the elder left for those to come a burial vault, enshrining the old family tombs, and an inscription, and the younger an account of the traditions of his people.

In ruling firmly the estates and lightly his own morals the grandson again followed in the footsteps of his grandsire. Both guided their folks with wisdom in long years of trouble and transition, when the old order was giving place to something strange and new. But Archibald combined Sir COLL's administrative talent with Sir JAMES's military enthusiasm. He led his vengeful clan with fire and sword against the Campbell insurrection of 1685, and raised a company for service at the revolution of 1689. But they were a new generation, though mindful of "them that's awa'," and he was in command more as a regular officer than as a chief or a feudal superior. In his time fighting became the monopoly of the state, and the Lamonts sent recruits to the first standing army and navy supported out of novel and unpopular taxes. The last clan battle, in which bows and arrows were still to the fore, was in far Lochaber in 1688.¹ Never again was the "Sergeant *mor*" to drive his

booty in the Cowal glens. Archibald changed the holdings of cadets and vassals from military into monetary tenures. As trade developed he encouraged it, and witnessed the emergence of the earliest Lamont merchant laird. As church and state increasingly enforced their jurisdictions he induced his people to submit in the interests of civilisation. When Archibald died in 1712 old Scotland had been welded into new Britain, and the parliament in which he had sat had been shifted to the London he had kenned in his youth. The next chief was to move in a new world.

On his return from his travels the young hero had much to face. For the creditors he had not his father's resources, for he was never laird of Inveryne at any time, and had to content himself with the hollow designation "Lamont of that ilk" or "Laird of Lamont," though he is once referred to (by the Marquis of Atholl) as "the Lamond."² "I thinke I might be a par(liamen)t man," he wrote his lawyer in 1684, "but I am afraid to be afronted because the charter is not in my name." Indeed he had hardly the means to support the then status of an M.P. Though nurtured among the heather "before his memory came to him," he had been educated in the lowlands and abroad, and had few associations and little influence amongst the heritors of the county. But he had one virtue to his clansmen, that with them he had tholed the scourge of the Diarmaids. "God be between him and harm" had been often on their lips in the black years. Together they had learnt what fear was, as the old-word has it (*fhuair iad fios an eagail*). Again, he had to reckon with much governmental interference. Although the Covenanters' rising of 1666 had been at once suppressed, it had alarmed both kirk and state, and these combined in a policy of repression which was now at its height. The highlander became at sudden a "much administered man," and Argyllshire was dragooned by authority to an extent unknown before or after. The sources of this chapter are as much in public as in private record, and now for the first time relate to the clan as a whole as much as to its leaders.³

Archibald was faced at the outset with an imperious body of episcopal clergy, who enforced church discipline by presbyterial penances and excommunication. Unfortunately for him he was the father of an illegitimate child, John Lamont, afterwards of Kilfinan, who must have been born about the time of his succession.⁴ As usual the kirk, which never scrupled to assail the throne, was sweart to discredit the local magnate whose support it needed in the parish. No doubt the condition on which his lapse was overlooked was that he sanctioned for the future a vigorous ministerial offensive. Auchagoyl was the first victim, "being

referred from the Sessione of Kilfinane to the Presbyterie" in the summer of 1670 for what cause is not kened. In due course he reluctantly "compeired and promised to give all obedience and satisfiacione to his minister and session, qrfor he (was) remitted to them." Not long after a John Lamont in Kilfinan was dealt with "for some opprobrious language spoken to him by his M(iniste)r," who seems to have ruled with a rod of iron till his retiral in 1673. The ladies of the tartan were as frank, and this same worthy had already been "scandalized" by More Lamont, while Anne was equally outspoken as to his colleague in Kilmodan of Glendaruel.⁵

The same resentment was felt throughout the proud highlands at the interference of the civil authorities at headquarters in local administration, as appears from the Registers of the Privy Council. Ordinances were issued instructing, for example, the training of militia, the keeping of the peace, the prohibition of Irish imports, the maintenance of highways, and the levying of seamen for service in the fleet. Argyllshire was now treated like any other part of the kingdom. It was even mooted in 1696 that bridges be built over the waters of Lindsaig and of Drum (one on each side of Kilfinan), as if kilted folks were the worse of wet crossings. But if these measures could be justified by obvious public utility wrath was aroused by certain others. Inveraray was astounded at a criminal prosecution for adultery. This was the high-water mark of encroachment upon private life by church and state together. But the jury, of which the experienced Auchagoyl was a member, was equal to the occasion, and devised a verdict as novel as the indictment though it met the justice of the case. They found the accused guilty, but yet quit them of all penalty as they had never known the statute to be enforced before. The court wisely referred the matter to the Privy Council, where it was discreetly ignored.⁶

For some time it had been the practice to secure the payment of taxes by quartering troops on defaulters, of which Sir JAMES had had a taste at Toward. But there was trouble when this method was adopted for exacting excise duties, which were regarded as fundamentally unjust. When threatened by a revenue official in 1675 an indweller in Glassary had at him with sword and dirk, only to be disarmed by a posse of soldiers acting in support of authority. Thirty or forty sympathisers at once "with swords, pistols and weapons beset the Comptroller for his life in the house of James Lamont in Kilmichael [of Glassary]. They threatened the life of the Comptroller and would have killed him had not —— Campbell, wife of Lamont, sat on him and covered him with her clothes." Those were days when skirts were skirts. Officials

and escort were eventually made prisoners, and brazenly frog-marched to Inveraray. There, however, the tables were turned and the assailants tried, some being acquitted but the majority fined. One does not know if Mrs Lamont was rewarded, but she certainly took a risk, for "gaugers" were regarded as fair game.⁷

There was thus "many a wave betwixt him and land" (*is ioma tónn a th' eadar esan agus tír*) when the young captain took command, and he would naturally rely on that very experienced pilot, his uncle of Stillaig. But as the latter died within a year of Sir JAMES, he had himself to steer a course for his young cousins also. In May of 1671 he wrote to Hamilton in Leith "desireing (him) to com to the west anent the afair of (his) vncll children, ther estate being," as he said, "lik to goe to ruine." But the busy merchant could not take to the road at the moment, and bluntly told him that if he and Silvercraigs would properly apply the rents there would be enough for everything. And so it proved with the assistance of Dame Margaret. At Inveraray in November the court appointed Archibald, as next of kin, to be tutor to young Dugald of Stillaig, and to Coll the younger brother. He saw to their maintenance and managed their estates for them, presenting in their name a new pastor to Kilfinan, the patronage of which was vested in the laird of Stillaig.⁸

Few details are kened of the chief's life about this time, except that he recorded arms in the Lyon Office. Their form is now familiar, although as above mentioned he was denied the supporters which were his due as chief, and could not claim them as the owner of a barony because he was not legally infeft. Henceforth there could be no dispute between the lion and the mond. One cannot tell the occasion of his marriage to Margaret, daughter of Major-General Sir John Urry of Pitsligo in Aberdeenshire, an old lieutenant of Montrose, and of Dame Maria Madelena Van Jexhem, but she was certainly his wife within a decade.⁹ Her arms were very like his, except for the crest of a lion's paw (instead of a hand). Unhappily it proved a barren marriage, and the chiefship passed upon his death to cousin DUGALD XVI. His own affairs were improving under careful management, although he had to sell the outlying Rudhbodach in Bute in 1672.¹⁰ In 1675 his mother gave up in his favour her liferent of the dower lands round Inveryne, together with Ardyne by Toward of sad memories. These were the only acres of which he ever was legal owner. The cadets were mostly still impoverished, except for the family of Stillaig, whose debts were met while Dugald went to the college of Glasgow. The next in order of succession was the illiterate Auchinshelloch. Silvercraigs, last of his line, ranked third and was far from bien. Knockdow contrived

to resist his creditors, but poor Coustoun abandoned misty Albion altogether, while the McLucas had to sell Garrachoran in 1673.¹¹

The chief was a supporter of law and order, if not always of the government, and kept his tartan in hand at the risk of offending some of the wilder spirits. From time to time, of course, there was disorder, as in 1676 when he was away in his old haunts in London. This visit was unchancy. He foregathered with McDonell of Glengarry, and guaranteed a debt for him with sad results thereafter, and he offended the Duke of Lauderdale, then all powerful, by taking the part of some Scots recruits who had been shipped to Ostend for service against the forces of France, the auld ally. One or two who were allowed to return reached London and spread a story of oppression which was damning to the authorities. Sympathisers "carried them to a neighbouring alehouse, and there with the Laird of Lamond took severally notes of the narrative (they gave) of their being raised in and transported from Scotland." This came to the ears of the government, and warrants were issued for the apprehension of Archibald and others on a charge of subornation of perjury. Some were committed to the Tower, but as there is no mention of further proceedings against the chief one assumes that he made for his native heather "on the four oars," as the saying is. No doubt the pressgang had been to the fore in Kerry and Nether Cowal, for if no Lamonts had been concerned it would have been odd for him to meddle in the matter.¹²

Meanwhile suspicion was rife at home, and the Sheriff of Bute jaloused ill designs in Silvercraigs, and in the manner of the time had him ordained to find security for good behaviour. On failure to comply the accused made a second visit to the tolbooth of Rothesay. Once there, however, he soon conformed to the requirements of the law. In that same year one Donald Black (McIllezuie) in Garvie of Glendaruel was in trouble for poaching. He was fined £10 "for killing of kepper fish" (*i.e.* salmon in spawn) and the same again "for killing of a rae," or roe deer. These were heavy penalties for light fingers which had never forgotten their own despoiling but a generation before.¹³

The business was even brisker athwart Loch Fyne, and Stronlbanach complained of cattle lifting to the court at Inveraray in 1677. During October, he said, "ther wes six kyne stollen and away taken . . . out of his lands." A lengthy search was needed ere he "found the forsaid goods in the moores of the lands of Sockoch in Glenorchy," near the modern Dalmally, "about — miles distant from the houses of the said toune and without any persons to owne or acknowledge them," and drove them home. This ploy was so common in some airts that a

statutory liability was imposed on any laird on whose estate strange bestial were found, unless he could disprove complicity. This was a clear case for its application, for some of Clan Alpine skulked in the district, and it was proverbial that "when the keen-weaponed household of McGregor . . . sees a way, smooth or uneven, no burden for them would be the cattle." It was suggested in defence that they were never stolen at all, and that Lamont had bought off the raiders by giving them the cattle if they would leave him unmolested. The court did not believe this story of condoning of blackmail—itsself a crime by the name of "theftboot." A fine of £66 was imposed, and a public apology exacted for the imputation. The laird afterwards tried to reclaim the amount paid from one of his tenants whom he suspected, but he failed to prove his case. It was rough justice in those days of unrest. A few years later a John Lamont, who had settled on Loch Avich beyond Loch Awe in Lorne, received £180 in compensation from a reiver of the McDougal tartan. But it was all taken in good part, for the highlander regarded his cattle as God's and nature's rather than man's. By contrast no sheep were ever lifted in the best circles.¹⁴

The Lamont country was less troubled with such *creachs*, but had many petty criminal cases of which the following is a quaint example. In July of 1678 one named McNeillas in Dunoon was absolved in the bailie court there, at which Knockdow's tutor was present, "of the lybell persewed against him att the instance of Donall Black for alledged breakeing up of his doores, because it was made appeir he only opened the doore to lett the sd. Donall's wife in to her own house being by her husband put out in wrath in a frosty night qrby shee was lyke to starve." The tables were now turned upon Black who was fined 5 merks "for drawing of Mary Ure, spouse to McNeillas, throw the fyre" (being, of course, in the middle of the earth floor and without a chimney), "and strykeing and abuseing her because shee wold not leave the house belonging to the sd. Donall qrin her mother, the said Donall spouse"—the lady who had been formerly turned out of doors—"was lying very sick and be all lykelyhood att the tyme was readyer to dee then to live, as made apeir by severall famous witnesses lawfully sworne & interogat." Black, it is only too plain, had his failings both as a husband and a step-father. He will be heard of again later.¹⁵

Conditions of life are reflected also in the church records of the time. A formal visitation of Kilfinan parish by the inquisitorial presbytery in 1677 discloses that the kirk had need of a seat for the reader (or unqualified assistant), a sand-glass as a measure of time, and sackcloth for delinquents' wear when under censure. The school was in good order

with an endowment of £66 a year provided, alas, by Ardkinglas, for the Lamonts were too poor to assist with education in Kerry as they had done at Toward. One teacher in the north of the parish was found to be inadequate, and two boy students were ordered to be sent, the one to Mecknock mill (now Millhouse), and the other to Otter ferry. All persons living within two miles of any of these howffs were told to send their bairns for instruction till they could read the bible. This seems to have been effective, for when Archibald was asked by his law agent some years later to forward the current leases for inspection, he replied as follows: "For takis [*i.e.* tacks] there is none, for the people hes given them as unnecessary papers to children to read, and the discharges alsoe." The mutual confidence of chief and clansmen evidently rendered written obligations altogether superfluous. A draft lease of 1697 is the earliest preserved among the Inveryne charters. The presbytery ruled that parents were to pay 1s. per quarter, and to aliment the teachers, presumably by boarding them in turn. Even those who did not send children had to contribute at the half rate. To raise the status of the principal schoolmaster he was to have also the offices of reader of scripture, precentor (or leader of singing), and session clerk, in return for an additional £13 a year. This pluralist was one Henry Lamont, whose name suggests that he hailed from the lowlands, and perhaps from Fife where the Gaelic was still freely spoken.¹⁶

One hopes that writing was being taught as well as reading, not to mention arithmetic. Some lairds, like Ninian of Knockdow, and Auchinshelloch, could still not sign their names, although the growth of trade with highlands and with lowlands had rendered some letters a necessity for all prosperous people. In 1676, for instance, another Donald Black, a bien merchant in Toward, who was "not a man that needed to wear shoe leather," rode off to "the Martmes fair and mercat" of Laggan in Badenoch—no indoor journey in November. While there he lost his "beld broune horse delyvered to" the inn "in keeping for the space of tuo nights and tuo days," for which he was awarded £24 at Inveraray.¹⁷ There too one Duncan Lamont, a chapman or travelling pedlar in Ascog, had to answer claims arising out of business at Port Glasgow, where he had bought some flax and other things and signed some "tickets" for them. In 1684 he was cited to attend the sittings at Kilmodan, so that Glendaruel was populous enough to justify a special circuit. A John McIllezuie (or Black) in Strathlachlan was selling wedders (worth £1 in Cowal) at £1, 14s. each in Greenock, while meal was widely marketed by a John Lamont in Stillaig. The records thus disclose increasing mercantile activity on the part of the clan. No

doubt they had a hand too throughout the period from 1661 to 1684 in the thriving trade in cattle between Argyllshire and the lowlands which centred in Dumbarton.¹⁸

A few perhaps desired the handsome profits to be gained from smuggling, a pursuit rife at the time. One Walter Lamont was employed by the customs and excise to patrol the Firth of Clyde as a "collector" for Argyllshire. His station was at Campbeltown, and there in 1682 he seized a boat belonging to a "sailer in Comray [Cumbrae] for his Majesties use, on accompt of prohibite goods imported within this kingdome and not entered within the custome house of Glasgow," there being no certificate of exemption. The culprit undertook to square the duties and not to import more contraband "in the said boat," a somewhat equivocal limitation. But perhaps if he had been a Lamont he might have slipped through altogether. The gauger was accused, one hopes unjustly, of taking advantage of the invasion of 1685 to annex to himself in Campbeltown "ane pair of fyne blankets," worth £12, and other items amounting to £65. Another of the tartan on the side of law and order was a John Lamont, in business as a sheriff officer in the county and acting as a tax collector.¹⁹

In 1679 the clan actually mustered in support of authority. The McLeans of Mull defied the Privy Council, and letters of fire and sword were issued to certain Diarmaids, who made no secret of their view that "God has no particular fancy for the clan McLean, no more nor we." A company of fifty men was raised by each of the main Cowal lairds, including Archibald, the Campbells of Eilean Greg and Glendaruel, Maclachlan, and Knockdow (now the eastern bulwark of the clan, and ranked equally, it seems, with the others in point of steel). That the Lamonts could put in the field a hundred claymores shows great powers of recuperation, but one wonders how many wore the tartan by right of blood and not merely by adoption. Two hundred birlinns bore 2647 men from the mainland and from Jura to Mull, with many pipers aboard. "The whole expedition lasted six weeks, and in its course the Treshnish Isles, with their strong fortress of Cairnboulg, were besieged and taken." If the Lamont invaders ever put brogue on the heather of Mull itself they would certainly have a splore with their kin who had gone there in the troubles of the Montrose wars. A few years later (in 1682) the Braemar branch of the clan, realising that Archibald was now a power in the land, applied to him for recognition and protection. Their petition, which is still to the fore in the National Library, is striking evidence of the strength of the bond between chief and clansmen though living beyond the ken of one another.²⁰

“Ther will be in this countrey of the bray of Marr,” it commences, “about fourtie men of our name of MackLamond trewlie come from your honor’s country long since and be reason of some accidents hes turned our right name as is knowne to be verie usuall in highland countreys. Wee all of our race knowes our owine genelogie our selves. Wee live heir honestlie altho’ not rich nor in great power be reison we want on above the rest as a cheiffe to owine us & keip us unwronged.” The bearer of this appeal, which must have been personally presented at Ardlamont, was to explain in detail a particular grievance of which he complained. “Ther was on of thes people,” the document proceeds, “who choosed a Gordone to be his gossop and godfather to his sone the tyme of his Christeneing his chyld; therafter the chyld and all these who descended of him were comonly called Gordones, altho’ the right name is Lamond. Otheres of us be reason of our predecessor’s blackness are called Mcgildui.” Though there is curiously enough no reference to Sir JAMES XIV’s *Declaration of the True Extraction off the McIlzgowies* which Archibald had witnessed as a boy in 1661, the tradition underlying both is the same. “We knoweing the truth,” runs the petition of 1682, “resolves to betake our selfis to our right ancient name if your Honor will owne us in doing thereof as cheife of our name. . . . And to the effect that wee may have the moir confidence to be servants to your Honor wee earnestly desire ther should be a correspondence betwixt yow & us at the least to some writ under your hand showeing ye will owne us in our just ryght in so farr as wee doe noe wrong to any person. . . . Ye shall find us als readie willing & obedient to your service as if wee were your proper tennents or wassalles.”²¹

This declaration and appeal was notarially executed on behalf of a dozen “Lamonds,” none of whom could put pen to paper, “in the name of our haill freinds & clan in this countrey,” at Castleton of Kindrochit on 23rd November 1682. Whether the chief did anything in answer is not kenned, but he must surely have been moved, and it was probably at this date that the Braemar sept finally abandoned their by-names and reverted to the clan name proper. Interest in genealogy was prevalent at the time, and the kinship of the Earls of Strathmore seems to have been still generally recognised. Before he went abroad MacCailein wrote in the margin of a book published in 1682 the note referred to above—“John of the white Lyon, a son of the Laird of Lamont.”²²

All this time Archibald, in the words of his grandson and successor, “stood dispossess’d of his estate [till he had] pick’d up what money was necessary for compleating a transaction with the severall creditors.” This he was able to effect in Edinburgh between the years 1682 and 1686,

despite financial difficulties. There were still two large apprisings in existence: first Campbell's, which had been bought up by Hamilton in 1667; and second Home's, which was transferred to Stewart, the sheriff of Bute, in 1666 and 1669. As was mentioned above, some part of the latter's rights had been passed on to Argyll, and these were never re-acquired by any chief. The lave was all conveyed in 1682 by Stewart to Archibald in return for a bond for £6666 at six per cent. (a much lower rate than Sir JAMES had paid), secured upon the rents of the three Towns amounting to £600 a year, for the surplus of which he accounted.²³ As a further token of friendship the sheriff shared the expenses, and perhaps it was he who induced his uncle to advance one-half as much again to the chief, for which Silvercraigs, Stillaig, Stron-albanach, Auchinshelloch, and Auchagoyl's brother Walter all acted as cautioners. The title was taken in the name of the last, who was his factor and held the estates in trust so that they might be unaffected by the debts of Sir JAMES or of Archibald. It was now at last possible to make legal provision for Margaret Urry, who was secured in £800 a year. Whether she ever drew it or not is another matter.²⁴

These bargains were confirmed by the Crown in 1684, and were financed by borrowing in London, perhaps from some acquaintances that the chief had made there on his travels.²⁵ But there was still the first apprising to be dealt with, and this he got Hamilton to assign to his nominee in 1686 in exchange for a bond for £4000. Two separate dispositions were granted to trustees for his behoof, the first of the barony to his cousin and heir Dugald of Stillaig, and the second of the old Stillaig and Ascog estates to Silvercraigs. Stronalbanach agreed to assume responsibility for paying off 4000 merks due to the latter in return for a certain interest in Ascog. This was a one-sided bargain, as this whole lairdship was Stronalbanach's due as heir male of the old family of Ascog. In any event he did not keep to its terms.²⁶

The result of these transactions was that there were only two insignificant apprisings outstanding, one of which was settled in 1694 and the other in 1714. The only stranger who had any permanent interest was MacCailein, and he was limited to Kilmichael, Killellan, Kilmarnock, and the two Brackleys, together with the superiorities of Balloch-andrain, Kames, and Strondharaig. To these he had never made up a title and Stewart of Bute had included them all in the conveyance of 1682, on which the Lamonts got a Crown charter. But this proved ineffective to exclude the creditors of the late Marquis. Archibald seems to have deliberately sacrificed the eastern half of the estates, leaving the Knockdow family supreme there. As mentioned above, these cadets did

ultimately re-acquire Kilmichael, Kilmarnock, and the Brackleys (in 1753), and another clansman Killellan later. The rest is to this day in alien hands.²⁷

Argyll himself, the 9th Earl, was giving no thought to the Lamonts, for he was immersed in statecraft. The murder of Archbishop Sharp and the defeat of the Covenanting rebellion at Drumclog in 1679 had resulted in great tension, and was made the excuse for introducing a rigorous "test," or oath, to be taken by all holders of public office. This MacCailein, who was unduly scrupulous for his time, refused to swear without a reservation. He was convicted, most probably unjustly, of treason in the winter of 1681, but escaped by a ruse to Holland, and there among the covenanters planned to invade this country. He was naturally expected on his native heather, and it became essential to secure Argyllshire for the government. All lairds were at once chosen for some office which would force them to take the "test," a copy of which is preserved among the Inveryne charters, endorsed "1683," and no doubt swallowed by all without hesitation.²⁸

In June of that year commissioners of militia were appointed, including the chief, Silvercraigs, and young Stillaig. It was good policy to enlist the sympathy of Archibald, who had old scores to pay off against the Diarmaids, and he was recommended to be captain of the Cowal company. A few months later they were all made commissioners of cess and excise, along with Auchagoyl. Throughout the summer government officials went the rounds taking bonds for "secureing the peace of the highlands," under penalties corresponding (it would seem) to the assistance the signatories were able to afford either side in the event of their taking the road under arms. Archibald had to find caution in £2000, which Campbell of Glendaruel guaranteed in return for a like service. Auchagoyl and Stillaig stood surety for one another in £1000 and £666 respectively, while the chief was cautioner for Silvercraigs in the latter sum. Auchagoyl must surely have been regarded as disaffected, for the other cadets were only ranked at half as much (*i.e.* £333 each), namely Auchinshelloch and Stronalbanach, who paired together, and Monydrain and Knockdow, who found independent sureties. Campbell of Glennan answered for the former, while the latter, who was a minor, was sponsored by Stewart of Ascog (in Bute), his curator-at-law, and by Alexander Lamont in Inverchaolain, presumably his old tutor. From their situation these two outlying branches were naturally less inclined to rely on their tartan alone, but it is strange that the chief's cautioner was of Clan Diarmaid. Knockdow, considering his position, was under assessed, no doubt because being under age he was not dangerous. About this time Lieutenant Walter, Auchagoyl's brother, assumed the

style "of Evanachan," in virtue of an apprising which he bought and retained till 1691, but there was no need of a bond from him as will later appear.²⁹

In the spring of 1684 the chief and the sheriff-depute handled £666 of public money, probably over the head of the militia. A few months after some treasonable despatches of MacCailein's were captured and brought to Edinburgh, with the result that the government again became anxious as to the security of the south-western highlands. New bonds were exacted in August from all the Cowal lairds of standing that they would compear before the Privy Council on ten days' warning, and that they would have no parley with, nor reset [receive] or assist the "late Earl" under increased penalties. Archibald's loyalty was guaranteed by Silvercraigs for £6000 this time, and that same cadet's in return by his chief for £2666. Auchagoyl stood surety in the like sum for Stillraig, and Stronalbanach and Monydrain vouched each other for £2000 and £1333 respectively. Auchinshelloch and Campbell of Acharossan, Knockdow and Campbell of Doire-nan-corach, were mutual cautioners in £1000 a piece. Archibald and his tenants had to give up their arms on oath in the next month, and that although he had been instrumental the year before in unearthing a concealed arsenal at Inveraray containing some artillery of Argyll's. Disarming Lamonts was indeed the strange notion for the thwarting of a ploy by the Diarmaids. If forty years had gone by since 1646 it was not long to the men whose fathers had suffered at Dunoon. And when MacCailein did arrive old memories were stirred not to his gain, although in his youth as Lord Lorne he had been in the heather for the exiled Charles II.³⁰

In August of 1684 a comprehensive royal commission appointed the Marquis of Atholl to be Lord Lieutenant of the shires of Argyll and Tarbert. One of the reasons given was that "no justiciary courts have been held in these sheriffdoms since our happy restoration (in 1660), and in consequence rebels, outlaws and fugitives have betaken themselves thither and found shelter." No doubt the latter part was true enough, but not the former, for the registers of Argyll's criminal jurisdiction show regular sittings at least from 1673. However, this proved the excuse for a widespread campaign of repression. A lengthy list has been preserved in the sheriff court house of "persones guiltie of the penall statuts," who were summoned either to "Gerdoch House" (*i.e.* the smithy) in Kilmodan, or to Inveraray. Among these there were some Lamonts and a variety of sept names from about Toward; many McIllezuies in Glendaruel; Coustoun, and Knockdow with his tenants, in Inverchaolain; and in Kerry some Blacks and many Lamonts, in-

cluding the John in Kilfinan who had scandalised the minister and the John, meal merchant, in Stillaig. The majority were either absolved or excused, but opposite some names occur such pregnant entries as "confesses salmond" or "absent £5." ³¹

These were petty affairs, however, as compared with the stealing, away-taking and destroying of one hundred oaks, ashes, elders, sauchs and hazels, of the value of ten merks a piece (£6, 3s. 4d.), by Colin Lamont in Inverhea below Stronalbanach, and a number of others, of which the forfeited family of Auchenbreck complained over a period now current. Even worse was the case of Donald Lamont, alias McConachie, in Strachur, who in June of 1684 had been gaoled at Inveraray for theft. In consideration of an indemnity by two friends, neither of them of the tartan, the sheriff gave him "libertie of the common prison house in the high storie q(uhai)r the courts keeps, and (did) not imprison him laigh q(uhai)r the theves are commonly incarcerat." One hopes acquittal justified such preferential treatment. The grim tolbooth of those days was a very different place to the kindly modern court house, on whose bastions lap the waters of Loch Fyne, and from which escape was never attempted unless on dull Sundays. There is no other instance of a major accusation against a clansman for twenty years. A John Lamont from the Stewarton district of Ayrshire, who was denounced a rebel, was, of course, a Covenanter and not an ordinary offender. ³²

In the lull that preceded the storm the Lamonts had important family business to despatch at Rothesay. In October of 1684 young Dugald of Stillaig married Margaret, sister of Sir James Stewart of Bute, and daughter of the late sheriff who had so befriended the clan in their time of trouble. The husband provided an annuity of £333 a year from his own estate, and received in return an assignation of one-quarter of the bond for £6666 granted to the Stewarts over the barony of Inveryne in the spring of the year. Careful provision was made for the contingency of Dugald succeeding as heir male of Archibald, which was evidently expected. Margaret Urry must have given up hope of having a son by this time. Archibald and Walter (the nominal proprietor) bound themselves not to "alter, innovate, or violate the ancient taylie of the estate of Lamont provyded to the aires maill contenit in the old chartoures and infeftments, (but) to reiterat and renew the samen else oft and sua oft as neid shall require." Thus the Silvercraigs and Auchinshelloch families were confirmed as next in the order of succession if that of Stillaig should fail in the male line (as it did), while Archibald's natural son John, now learning wisdom at the college of Glasgow, was of course excluded. This arrangement, however, was basely broken by Dugald himself, as will be

seen later. In the event of his succeeding under this destination Margaret Stewart was to have a liferent of the whole of the Stillaig estate, while her brother was to hand over a further tocher of £1666 in token of the enhancement of her status, which all happened in due course.³³

Meanwhile Walter the factor was being sought after by the kirk and the state alike. He was now in bad odour with the presbytery over the eloquent charge of a "trelaps in fornication, having fallen this time with Elizabeth Martine servant to Ladie Lamount." In April they excused him from answering "because of his being at Edinburgh about some necessary business," no doubt in his capacity of Lieutenant of the Cowal militia. In September one finds him drawing his company's pay at Inveraray, which shows that some troops were already mobilised. By February of 1685 he had been formally excommunicated, but in the end he seems to have escaped without the usual penalties of delinquents owing to the unsettled times which followed. The heritors of the county had volunteered to defray the expense of 100 men with their officers, and the Privy Council in return restricted their taxation. But Atholl was empowered in March to raise five times that number, to demolish fortifications if necessary, and to draw ammunition.³⁴

An elaborate scheme had already been prepared for the defence of Argyllshire, which was divided into some six lieutenancies. In this the Lamonts were designed for a namely part. The chief, who with Silvercraigs was already a commissioner of supply, represented his county in the parliament which met in Edinburgh at the end of April, and again took the "test." Those lairds who had given bond for their attendance before the Council were warned to hold themselves in readiness, and were called up on 9th May. A week before Argyll had sailed from Holland, and every one was in suspense as to what might happen. The government hastily "agreed with several masters of ships and clippers," including one John Lamont, master of the "*Blessing*" of Leven, "to transport from Rotterdam to Leith the three Scotch Regiments that were over in Holland." Archibald's commission from Atholl as officer commanding in Cowal is dated the 18th of the month. It gives him "power and warrand to . . . convey the wholl fencible men within the divisione of Cowall, and to appoint inferior officeres, and to meet me at Castle Kealchyrn [Kilchurn on Loch Awe] the fourth June nixt, . . . and that they bring with them twenty dayes loan [*i.e.* supplies]." According to plan, he was to have the support of 900 men from other parts contributed as follows: 300 by the Marquis of Montrose, 200 by the Earl of Monteith, 300 by the Earl of Perth, and 100 by the Laird of Luss. Whether they materialised one does not know. He seems to have been in Edinburgh

for the moment, as the next day he borrowed £500 from a merchant there, to be stowed, doubtless, into his saddle-bags as he set out for home.³⁵

Within a few days Archibald was approached on behalf of MacCailein, who, after touching at various points on the west coast without receiving any encouragement, had made Campbeltown his headquarters on 20th May. Two-faced Walter Lamont of the customs seems to have feigned sympathy at first, as he was listed among the rebels, but afterwards apparently thought better of it. Campbell of Kilberry, whose wife was a cousin of Archibald, wrote on the day of the landing that the Earl had "commanded [him] and some other gentlemen, with ane pairty of men, to this countrey, and commanded us to charge you come in to him for maintaineing the Protestante religionne, our lives and liberty . . . otherwise to stand to your hazards; and if in case [perchance] ye come not in, with all your tenents and friends heir, we are also desyred to cale upp the countrey goods [cattle], and drive all before us. Ye need not doubt bot we think this to be hard, and much against our inclination, bot we durst not bot obey orders, soe we wold be content to see you, Silvercraigs, and (? Stillaig) that we might take ane word of it; and if ye goe not condescendingly I doe heirby promise you of my honor, and as a gentleman, that ye shall not be trobled by us, bot shall have free liberty to pass quhair you please. So let me know your answer." The Lamonts, however, had little to gain from friendship with the Campbells, and they remained loyal to the government.³⁶

But the tartan was not above suspicion, as appears from a secret "information" sent to Atholl by the Privy Council. This revealed that at a "consult" of disaffected Cowal lairds on 22nd May "it was resolved that the greatest part of the country should immediately goe to Mr Charles [Argyll's son]. As for Atholl and the power of the Highlanders with him, they knew how much many of those were affected to Argyll, such as McAlaster, some of the McDougalls, Lamonts, etc., but especially my Lord Breadalbine's men. They did not doubt bot they would be made effectual instruments for caryeing on the plott." Archibald indeed cannot have been present at this colloquing, for he had already taken the road with his following. Only a few isolated Lamonts joined the rebels, but none of any standing or who had any eye to the past, for all the old unfriends were out with MacCailein, such as Eilean Greg, Auchenbreck, Otter, Evanachan, Kinnochtrie, and Ardtarig. Ardkinglas was warded in Edinburgh. In the opposite camp were all those who had fought for Montrose in the civil wars, of whom the Atholl men, Stewarts and Lamonts, were the principals.

By the end of the month the whole country, which had sat quiet since then, was back at its old trade of fighting. Claymores were out in all the glens, often in the hands of lads who hardly kenned the smell of blood. Many a one left his ingle to find it blacker than he reckoned on his return, and some of his folks gone for ever. Throughout Cowal and most of Argyllshire neighbour was ranged against neighbour, and when the chief took the road his lady must have wished him with all her heart the luck of "the three charms of island I" [Iona].³⁷

While Atholl was bringing his main force to the west Inveraray was held for him by Stuart of Ballechin (by Ballinluig in Perthshire), who was encamped on the picturesque wooded hill of Duniquoich (Dùn na Cuaiche). The latter wrote on the 24th of May, "I expect Lamond with his men this neight or tomorrow," but when he arrived is not clear. Certain it is that Archibald had duly given "advertisement to the countrey" to meet him at some "place of randevouz with their armes and loans," but one is not inclined to accept entirely the story of some Campbells in Glendaruel, who were afterwards accused of complicity with Argyll, that they waited in vain for him for two days and were "informed that Lamont (who wes persewed with a partie of the rebels) was fled the countrey." At least if they were so informed it was false, though he may well have found Glendaruel too hot for him, and proceeded by way of Loch Fyne side and Strathlachlan to the ferry at St Catherine's. But nothing certain is known of him for three weeks.³⁸

On the 27th of May MacCailein issued a declaration from Tarbert calling on his vassals and all within his several jurisdictions to take arms under his *bratach*. He got many recruits from about Monydrain, Silvercraigs, and Stronalbanach, but only two of the Lamont tartan, a Sorley Lamont from Drum and a Malcolm Black probably from Achahoish, and dearly they paid for their folly thereafter. Owing to indecision and internal differences his forces failed to attack Inveraray when they had a real chance of success. Instead they sailed for Bute and burnt Rothesay castle. Meanwhile a detachment under his son Charles seems to have swept through the Lamont country in the absence of Archibald and his militia, possibly crossing from Tarbert to Derybruich on the line of the ferry. Many joined the rebels in the parishes of Kilfinan, Inverchaolain, and Dunoon, but there were no Lamonts among them and few of the chief's tenants. Some indeed alleged that they were pressed into serving against their will at the dirk's point, as, for instance, one Neil McCallum in "Neither Kames in Lawmond's land" (presumably the Kames on the Kyles of Bute attached to Achadachoun). He afterwards deponed that "he was taken away by force be the rebels after

he had stayed three days in the fields, and threatned to shoot him at a post if he would not take armes." He was, he said, "about twenty dayes with the rebels," who "hunted for (him) & others throw holls, burnes and rocks, and he alwayes being unwilling to joyne they never gave him armes nor put him upon any duty." He added that "when he was taken away from his owne house by Mr Charles they took his whole goods," which one can well believe.³⁹

Another interesting account is that of Archibald Lamont in Kilbryde, who explained that "he and some of his nighbors hade bein in Inverary with my Lord Athole's men," presumably after the arrival of the chief on Dunicoich, "and hade got live to [goe] home for a night, and hade left their armes with a gunsmith on purpose to returne." But Kilberry and his party "hade bein at Inverary with the Marquis people" (Argyll's men in the castle, perhaps), "and in their returne came in be Kilbryde and forced the deponent and many others to goe with them." He added that "he was drag'd out of his bed, and hade endeavored his escape tuyse but wes taken and bound with cords." It is not clear which Kilbride is referred to, for the same name occurs both by Ardlamont and near Kilmichael Glassary (as well as at the head of Glendaruel).⁴⁰

As their prospects in the lowlands did not seem good Argyll persuaded his associates to revert to his old plan of a descent on Inveraray. A base was established at Eilean Greg in the Kyles of Bute, where it was hoped his vessels could lie safe from the deeper draughted frigates of the government. The military encamped in Glendaruel, and pressed the local people to join them. In particular the Blacks afterwards alleged that they were coerced "as they were going to the Laird of Lamont to serve the King under his command." It was only politic to "dissemble compliance," but at the first opportunity they deserted, and "went immediately to the king's standard, where they served under the command of the Laird of Lamont till the forces were dismissed." Presumably Archibald was at Inveraray all this time with Atholl.⁴¹

The only other member of the clan of whose doings there is record is Walter, Auchagoyl's brother and the chief's trusted factor. He was a trained soldier, having "spent some yeares in the Earle of Dunbartane's regiment and other forraigne services." According to his own account he "wes imployed in the beginning of the rebellione by his Majestie's Privie Counsell to command one of the garisones in Argyles shyre, which I carefullie went about, and after Argyle's landing did with a partie of my freinds attend the Marques of Athole, his Majestie's Livtenant Generall, dureing all the tyme of the rebellione; and being imployed on severall parties did apprehend the persones of severall gentlemen

of the name of Campbell and other rebels, of whom some were [later] hanged and others threa(t)ned with death before the castell of Carnasarie [near Kilmartin], which proved ane effectuall mean for the surrender of that place without losse of men or expenss to his Majestie." This was, of course, a repetition of the Campbell's ill-conduct before Ascog keep in 1646. In particular there is evidence that he carried out a raid on the steading of Inverae, beside Stronalbanach, sometime in June, and "boated . . . and brought to Cowall" both cattle and goods. So notorious was he as a scourge of the Campbells that they afterwards referred to him as "an old instrument of oppression" in the country.⁴²

In the meantime Argyll had started for his home town, by way of Ballochandrain, Otter, and Strachur. His advance guard achieved a success by surprising Ardkinglas castle and repulsing a counter-attack. But this was the furthest they got. A threat to his base at Eilean Greg necessitated a retreat, and the game was up in Cowal. "On the 14th (June)," Atholl reported, "I marched to Stralachlan within 4 myles of him, and on intelligence that the enemie was posted at the church of Glenderewall and hade fortified himself in a stronge ground and cast up ditches or trinshes (this the Lamond informed as certain) I sent out (Mackenzie of) Suddie with 400 men to discover what they did and to acquaint me." It turned out that "Lamond's intelligence was wronge," and in fact MacCailein had set out on his inglorious treck to Inchinnan. It was all by with him now, and he was captured on the 18th. Atholl followed in pursuit, leaving behind a force sufficient to overawe the country. Their devastations became proverbial, and not only in Glendaruel was the "Atholl raid" long remembered. To this day there stands a monument in a back garden at Inveraray to the memory of Walter Campbell of Skipness who among others "*evangelicae religionis et libertatis populi tenaces injustae occubuit neci. A.D. 1685.*" Of the injustice of his fate the Lamonts may have had other views. Eighteen Campbells are said to have been "tried" by Ballechin, after a battle where the court house now stands, and condemned to death, for treason or refusal to take the test. Walter, who had probably a hand in the business, also paid special attention to the Diarmaids at Loch Striven head and at Ardtarig, and saw that they had their deserts. With Argyll's execution on the last of the month resistance ended. The Campbells as a clan were disgraced, if not proscribed, and the Lamonts at long last had "both ends of the rope and leave to pull it," as they say in the Gaelic (*dà cheann an taoid, 'us cead a tharruing*). They made the most of their chance, though it was now "at the turning of a tail on them," and if in the contest of the centuries their old unfriends had on the whole the best of it, they

had the satisfaction of being the last to carry fire and sword against the others. This the Diarmaids never forgot or forgave, but changing circumstances prevented their ever returning the mauling they received from the Lamonts in and after the "Atholl-raid." Yet all the time there were one or two Campbell tenants on the Lamont estates, while an Alexander Lamont was "gairdner to the Earle of Argyll," presumably at Inveraray.⁴³

Meanwhile Edinburgh was full of prisoners, including the Malcolm Black and Sorley Lamont mentioned above, who were housed in Paul's Hospital in Leith Wynd. Among those huddled in the Laigh Parliament House were the "conscripted" Archibald Lamont from Kilbride and Neil McCallum from Kames. All were "banished to the King's plantations abroad never to return to this kingdom without license from the King or Council under the pain of death." But in the cases of Archibald and Neil the sentence was "without the stigma or mark," which was having "one of their ears cutt of," so that their plea of compulsion had some effect after all. On 7th August, reads the register, the "Lords, considering that John Ewing hath a ship in readiness in the road of Leith bounding for the plantation of Jamaica in America, doe hereby give ordor to the masters and keepers of the severall prisoners . . . to deliver them to (him), and appoints a macer of Councill to goe alongst with the said prisoners and see them putt aboard as use is, in regaird the said Mr John Ewing hes found caution to transport (them) and to report a certificat of their landing there under the hand of the governour of the place where they land betuixt [now] and the first day of September 1686, under the penalty of 1000 merks [£666] for each of them in caice of failze (sea hazard, mortality and pirats being alwise excepted)." Few would have chosen to make the passage under such conditions. One wonders how many of the horde ever saw their destination. Thus was inaugurated the first settlement of the clan in the British dominions over seas.⁴⁴

But there were still many rebels in the country who were not worth the trouble of rounding up for transportation. Their moveables were inventoried and sold. As early as the 4th of August a list was drawn up for the parish of Glassary, which discloses that Stronalbanach had been engaged in disarming his tenants. Further, Duncan McCorle alias Lamont in Monydram, evidently a suspect, possessed "16 kowes, and 3 horses," and Sorle Lamont in Drum at Edinburgh "foure kowes and ane horse." The latter's assets were bought up by his brother Angus for £37, while both Stronalbanach and Monydram had a flutter in rebel stock. Even a year later the government was still anxious about Glassary,

and Monydrain was ordered under safe conduct to give in a rental of his estate, which he did. Loch Eck side was another danger spot, and Walter handed in a list of some thirty-six alleged rebels from there, though none were of his own tartan. His scouring of the glen, however, was not close enough to discover what is still known as "the paper cave" on the rock face above Coirantee forment the loch, where tradition has it were stored safe from the flambeau the whole charters of MacCailein from Inveraray.⁴⁵

Meanwhile this same warrior and factor, conscious perhaps of strained relations with the presbytery at home, lingered in Edinburgh. About this time he seems to have married the widow of a burgher there, who brought him some £2500, which he needed in order to square his accounts with the chief and with Stillaig. He must evidently have distinguished himself in the suppression of the rising, for the Privy Council specially recommended him to the royal bounty. In a petition dated June 1686 he prefaces his claim by pointing out that he had been instrumental in rounding up a large number of Campbells. "Wherby," he said, "your petitioner is now rendered lyable to the malice and prejudice of the freinds and relationes of these rebels, so as I cannot be in safety to live in that countrey; and I haveing either spent any small stocke I hade in that expeditione, or lost it in the hands of rebels and other broken debtores, and your petitioner's forwardness in that service and his readiness upon all occasiones being such as can be attested . . . may it therfor please your Lordships . . . to provyde for him, . . . or otherwayes . . . to recomend your petitioner to his Majestie for his own and his father's sufferings that he may receive some suitable encouradgement and reward." As a result of this interesting if ungrammatical pleading the Lord High Chancellor was specially asked to represent his case to the King, but there is no reason to believe he was ever rewarded.⁴⁶

The chief also deserved some return for his loyalty, which was no doubt largely responsible for the limited support derived by the Campbells from Cowal. Argyll's estate had been forfeited in 1682 and was at his Majesty's disposal. Archibald, who was again elected M.P. for his county in the spring of 1686, was successful in obtaining royal letters instructing a grant to him of that portion of the barony which the rebel earl had received in exchange from the Stewarts of Bute the year before. Unfortunately, however, he was too late, for even prior to his charter of 1684 these lands had been allocated to other creditors. The superiorities, including that of Strondharaig feued to Knockdow, were in the hands of the Bishop of the Isles for arrears of teinds, and the estate about Toward, valued at 1200 merks a year (£800), had passed to Sir Robert

Gordon of Gordonstown in Elginshire. In an "information" to the exchequer authorities he pleaded vainly for a charter on the following among other grounds. "The vassals," he said, "are Lamont's kyndly men, and not only so but were such as followed his father Sr James in the lait troubles against the Campbells, & who for their fidelity to his Majesty were for the most part notwithstanding of the capitulatione all hanged, and who are the men that Lamont most maik use of to serve his Majesty when called." But hard-hearted revenue officials evidently recked not of the dead, and Archibald again petitioned King James VII direct. Two different editions of his memorandum have been preserved, in which he set out at length the services rendered by his father to *Righ Tearlach* in the late civil wars.⁴⁷

In these his advisers did not scruple to represent his case in the strongest possible terms. It was stated that the estates were apprised for debts contracted in the royal service, that these were multiplied by the burning of his father's lands, and that "both the whole gentry and comons of his name of the age of 12 and upwards" were hanged or shot, saving Sir JAMES and his brother of Stillaig, and they "wes never frie of the hazard therof untill his Ma(jes)ties restitutione." Even then "others were made donators to the (Diarmaids) foirfaulture and he never received nothing." After his father's death, the narrative continues, "this Lamont, his sone, haveing nothing to live upon att home wes necessitat to goe abroad and by his vertew & industry haveing conquished [acquired] a little and considerable soume of money he did employ the samen in buying fra the comprysers of his father's interest a little cottage and a small rent thereabout, which is all the mean livelyhood that he hes." This hardly tallies with the other evidence, and in particular one is inclined to suspect that his home at Ardlamont was more bien than he allowed. He was nearer the truth in referring to "the expression that he made of his loyalty in the late rebellion, being attended with all his name in the whole tyme therof." Sad to relate this appeal was without result, whether because his Majesty had no funds at his disposal, or because it was too highly coloured to carry conviction, one cannot now discover. Still and on *foghar fada 's beagan buana*—"long harvest and little reaping"—was nothing new for the *clan Laomainn*.⁴⁸

It is curious that Archibald did not complain of any herschip of his estates by Mr Charles, for it is plain that Argyllshire as a whole suffered much by the campaign. Perhaps such a claim would have conflicted with his alleged poverty. In the spring of 1686 the heritors petitioned the Privy Council for some remission of taxation. A sorry tale was unfolded that "the countrey (was) dispeopled of men," that "first the

late Earle of Argyll and the Kings forces, and then everie bodie at pleasure, (had) pillaged and robbed" it, and that "neither one farthing of (their) owne rents nor publict dues (could) be gotten in this conditione." The only concession obtained was that troops would not be quartered for default. Among the papers of the commissioners of supply at Inveraray is a letter bearing the signet of the lion under a crest coronet. It is from Archibald, and in it he gently hints to the collector that he is quite unable to comply with his assessment. "Yow know," he says, "oure radynese to pay my Lord Atholle made us to be lawghted at," and suggests a rebate on that account. In September a special commission was issued to Viscount Strathallan to repair to Argyllshire and set matters in order. There had been complaints about inequalities in liability to cess, and he was instructed among other things to draw up a new valuation roll.⁴⁹

At his invitation during harvest of 1687 the lairds of the county came by mount or birlinn to Inveraray to make formal return of their rentals. A list has been preserved, in which appears the item "the laird of Lamont's with the Baron Mcphadricks lands," showing that Archibald was factoring his absent cadet's estate. Coustoun had forsaken the wilds of Loch Striven for the tenements of Newcastle-on-Tyne, where he had gone into business as a glazier. It was the strange notion for a highland laird, who would scarcely have seen a sheet of glass at that date even in the High Street of Edinburgh. His holding was converted into a feu next summer, which looks as if he had the mind to come back, but he never did. Auchagoyl was rentalled at £195, and Auchinshelloch at £158, while Stronalbanach gave up £220 for his part of the Ascog lairdship, including the ale house of Mecknock, the first mention of a "public" in the clan's territory. The rest of the returns are lost, it is sad to say. Judging by later complaints the assessments of the Diarmaids at least were too high, and not altogether impartial, for "the country was obnoxious to the government." They were soon superseded in favour of the ancient basis of taxation, the old extent. Strathallan had also to inspect all title deeds, and Stronalbanach, Stillaig, Auchagoyl, Knockdow, Monydrain, and Auchinshelloch all satisfied production, either in person or by their "doers." Silvercraigs, Coustoun, and Evanachan are not mentioned.⁵⁰

In this period one notices for the first time the emergence of clansmen who do not seem to have been derived from the laird class. When a jury was empanelled in 1687 in connection with the estate of Otter it comprised, as well as four of the cadets, one Henry Lamont in Kilfinan, no doubt the schoolmaster. That year there appears in good circumstances a John Lamont, merchant in Melldalloch, who had occasion to

sue for debts due to him. His claims disclose that he trafficked in horses, and leased the parish teinds from Stillaig the patron. He was able to marry his daughter Barbara to Campbell of Acharossan, and to set up his son Coll as a laird, first in Feorline of Strathlachlan, then in Inverneilbeg, and finally in Monydrain on the passing of the old cadets. This, combined with the absorption of Coustoun into business in England, shows that times were changing, and that status in the country no longer depended solely upon inheritance.⁵¹

One is glad to note that following this example the clan's leaders were not confining their activities to their own estates. Thus Auchagoyl and Evanachan regularly went to Greenock to buy meal. In the beginning of 1689 Stillaig engaged in a little speculation in Loch Fyne herring, when he accepted a commission from Stewart of Bute in that connection. This empowered him to exact certain duties pertaining to the office of Justiciar of the Western Seas, "and that out of the fishing boats, stouts and coupers within the Oter and Carie and all alongs the Lochseid, and by the coast also within the loch of Tarbet, and that for the fishing time of year, 1688, . . . to hold courts and decern betwixt fisher and fisher," and to pursue for fines. A good trade was then being done with the cities, and a fishing boat on Loch Striven in those days was reckoned as worth £66, and its nets £6. The chief also took his part in local administration, and he and Silvercraigs helped to impose the cess. One hopes, however, that he did not use his influence to pervert justice, as is rather suggested by a letter which he wrote to the Sheriff, Campbell of Duntroon, in the summer of 1687. In this he asks for the release of a thief caught by the justices of Kintyre, as he was a retainer of his brother-in-law John McAllister of Ballinakill (by Clachan).⁵²

But Argyllshire had not had time to revert to its normal pursuits when the revolution of 1689 came on the heels of the rebellion of 1685. The new King James did not understand that the Reformation was too distant for the restoration of the Roman Catholic church. Nor did he think that those who fought for him four years ago would now resist him. But when this came about he ignominiously fled from Whitehall about Christmas 1688, abandoning for ever the inheritance of his ancestors. The Lamonts must have been reluctant to support the Dutchman William of Orange, who was never namely among the clans. "King William's years" were long remembered in the proud highlands. From their earliest days they had been adherents of the house of Stewart, whose famous Queen had graced their walls at Toward. In that cause they had sacrificed prosperity for wellnigh two generations. They probably preferred episcopacy to the rigid presbyterianism which pressed so hardly

on their pecadilloes, and Archibald was connected through his wife with the Bishop of Dunkeld, to whose bible he succeeded. Moreover, their own kith and kin in Braemar still held to the Pope. Worst notion of all, a new MacCailein, the 10th Earl, was the promoter of the invasion, and its success meant the restoration of the Diarmaids to their old arrogance. But the Lamonts could not afford to quarrel with the verdict of the nation at large, and were soon eagerly following the fortunes of King William and Queen Mary.⁵³

As civil war now seemed inevitable the chief made further provision for his lady in the case of disaster. She had already, of course, an ample income out of the rents of the estates. But on the 1st of February 1689 he assigned to her all his moveable belongings "aither within his houss of Ardlamont or any other hous," with an absolute power of disposal of everything save the stock which was to be left on the ground at her death. With the delightful symbolism of the times he added the right to claim delivery of "ane horse by the helter, ane kow by the horne, ane sheip, and ane handfull of corne, . . . ane silver cup and ane gold ring, and . . . the keys of the houss with ane serviter of linen, in token of the haill." Evidently his "cottage" was not so sparsely accoutred after all. Public proclamation of the endowment was made at the market cross at Inveraray a month later, but whether she exacted her samples is not known. Strictly speaking he had no title to make such a gift, as all his belongings had been legally attached by his creditors a year before.⁵⁴

In the end of March parliament selected him as an old campaigner to be one of the superintendents of militia. Argyll raised a regiment of highlanders on the spur of the moment, and Archibald accepted the command of a company. On the other side "Bonnie Dundee" raised the standard for the absent King James, and the more unruly clans rallied round him in Lochaber. A poetic narrative of the time, without any apparent warrant, places "Lawmonthius" in the Stewart camp along with McNaughton of Dundarave, Maclachlan, and the Campbells of Craignish. He is represented, at the age of 43, as being in the flower of his youth, and graphically depicted as "striding about in shining armour, his shoulders girt in Tyrian purple," a most inappropriate description if the Lamont tartan was in mind. No doubt the chief's inclinations were in that airt, and the estates were safe as vested in others and not liable to his forfeiture. But the record evidence disposes of this fable. When the highlanders had faded away after Killiecrankie and the Jacobite cause was lost, parliament continued his appointment as a commissioner of supply, and did not treat him as an outlaw and a rebel. It

was perhaps Monydrain who is here referred to, as he had a remission from parliament in 1690 for an offence that is unkennd.⁵⁵

It is curious, however, that while the muster rolls of almost every other company are preserved in the Register House, that of Lamont's following is missing. It may be that he hung back at the last and never took the road at all. This impression is strengthened by the fact that many of the clan served under Campbell of Wester Kames (in Bute). These were in the charge of Archibald's bastard son Ensign John Lamont. They included a Donald Black from Toward (presumably not the merchant above mentioned), Patrick Black from Corra, John Lamont, a maltman, and another Donald, both from Monydrain, Hugh Lamont from Tarbert, a Robert Lamont who was vaguely designed as on furlough, and ten others from the estates but of unrelated names. Among Auchenbreck's men was enrolled an Angus Lamont, a tailor from Glassary. These lists were made up at Perth in August 1689, when the fighting was all but over, and again in the January after (with the omission of Robert who had perhaps deserted). The regiment had moved to Falkirk by May when John the maltman lent his ensign and namesake £53, showing that even in those days "the trade" was able to accommodate the gentry. Thereafter they seem to have been sent for a while to Mull, where the Lamonts at least could hold parley with their own tartan. About this time Walter of Evanachan was a lieutenant in the Earl of Glencairn's regiment, but what part he took in the campaign is not known. The other Donald Black, in Dunoon, who had been in trouble with the presbytery for years, had now escaped them by becoming a "souldier in the army," where his robust methods would be appreciated.⁵⁶

When authority was fully engaged elsewhere the unruly element in Argyllshire was once more in evidence. Some tenants of McArthur of Tirivadich (now Tervin on the west flank of the Pass of Brander) helped themselves to "ffyve great kowes" from Stronalbanach in December, and their master was duly made responsible in the sheriff court. In the spring Knockdow was involved in a brawl "at ane publict mercat" in Dunoon. A local McArthur was fined £50, a large sum, for striking the laird, and the latter the same amount for retaliating "with his staff and drawing his sword," which was no doubt expected of a highland gentleman. This may have been a pure coincidence, but one cannot help wondering if nothing was said as to the fine pastures of Stronalbanach.⁵⁷

In the north the unrest was not kept within such narrow bounds, and the McDonalds of Glencoe, "a damnable sept," were by-ordinarily recalcitrant. Their chieftain (and that of Glengarry) having failed to

take the prescribed oath of allegiance by 1st January of 1692, Argyll's regiment, in its red coats and grey breeks, was sent to take matters in hand. They were chosen, of course, because Inveraray had recently complained of raids from Lochaber, and there were feuds of old standing between Campbells and McDonalds. What followed is well kened. As professional soldiers the Lamonts mentioned above would have no option but to take part in a massacre as infamous as that in which their fathers had fallen at Dunoon in 1646, though they were now the instruments and not the victims of the Diarmaids. At the turn of an icy night (the 13th of February) they helped to dirk the unsuspecting hosts with whom they had lodged. They left that valley of death, as Neil Munro has it, when "the grey day crawled on the white hills and the black roofs smoked below. Snow choked the pass, *eas* and *corri* filled with drift and flatted to the brae-face; the wind tossed quirky and cruel in the little bushes and among the smooing lintels and joists; the blood of old and young lappered on the hearthstone, and the bairn, with a knifed throat, had an icy lip on a frozen teat. Out of the place went the tramped path of the Campbell butchers—far on their way to Glenlyon and the towns of paper and ink and liars—*Muinntir a' gblinne so, muinntir a' gblinne so!* People, people, people of this glen, this glen, this glen," so runs the rant that makes the heart leap back over the generations to that ill deed which will never be out of mind.⁵⁸

The outcry which resulted was perhaps as remarkable as the massacre itself, and showed how greatly civilisation had advanced in half a century. The troops involved were got out of the country at once, and thereafter served honourably in Flanders, where Ensign John was promoted to be Lieutenant, until disbandment in 1697. Meanwhile Walter had been transferred to Lord Murray's regiment, and his nephew Alexander had been commissioned under Colonel George Hamilton. Another Lamont who made the army his career about this time was Captain Robert of Colonel Douglas's regiment. He was first gazetted in 1688, served abroad at Landen in 1693, and finally at the siege of Namur, where he seems to have been killed. Though he little knew it he was fighting against his own flesh and blood, for one of the commanders of the French forts was the Count de Lamont.⁵⁹

The fear of French invasion was used at home as a diversion from the topic of Glencoe, and in May of 1692 all fencible men between the ages of 16 and 60 were called out by the Privy Council. The lists for Argyllshire are preserved and are of great interest, as they reveal the names of those who were left to wear the tartan in the Lamont country. Kilfinan parish was the most populous, with a total of 156 men of fighting

age. Of these only 14 were certainly of the clan, 4 Lamonts (one being Alexander, *fiar* of Auchagoyl), 7 Blacks, 2 McLucases, and 1 McPhadrick. Out of 105 listed in Inverchaolain there were 5 Lamonts, 4 Blacks, 1 McPhadrick, and 1 McInturner—11 in all. Dunoon and Kilmun had 136 fencibles, but only 15 of these were in the Lamont part of the united parishes, and there was but 1 of the 15 of the name (Archibald *yr.* in Castle Toward), 1 McPhorich (which was later converted to Lamont), and 1 McInturner. Not far off, however, there were 2 Blacks and 2 McLucases, while in the definitely Campbell areas were another McLucas, 2 other McPhorichs, and 5 McInturners. Disregarding these last, and 11 Blacks and 4 McLucases (out of a total of 102) in Kilmodan, who were all out of his ken, it would seem at the first gliff as if the chief could only count on 28 of his own flesh and blood to serve under his *bratach* in time of need. These, too, were not fully armed, for Kilfinan parish, for instance, only housed 62 swords and 40 guns among 156 men. Only one person was designed "pipper" and he was in Dunoon, but no doubt there were many part-timers who "could charm the grumbling tide" and "coax tired brogues over the long roads" if need arose.⁶⁰

It is difficult to know how much reliance can be placed on these lists and figures. For a similar area 14 Lamonts and 13 Blacks (to say nothing of the other sept names) were summoned to court in 1684 as suspected of breach of the "penal statutes." Even allowing for the possibility that those who were so summoned may have been the whole adult population, there would seem to have been a shrinkage in the clan between 1684 and 1692, for which there is nothing to account, unless it be that some had been killed in the campaigns of 1685 and others drafted into the regular army. One would naturally have thought, however, that the 1684 list could not be a full one, in which case the shrinkage becomes even worse. One good feature of the 1692 list is that it shows only a small number of lowland names, such as Crawford and Moody. The Mains and Shearers, for example, who had come in after the Montrose wars, had now disappeared.⁶¹

But of the highland names many may have been patronymics and not genuine surnames at all. For instance, there were 4 McConnochie in Kilfinan parish in 1692, who may all have been sons of the Archibald McConnochie alias Lamont who was in Melldalloch in 1654 (and brothers of the Donald Lamont alias McConnochie in Strachur in 1684). The commoner the name Lamont, the more likely were patronymics to be adopted as distinguishing marks. Archibald's father was probably a Duncan Lamont, and to avoid confusion with other Archibald Lamonts

he would be termed Archibald, son of Duncan, which is in Gaelic McConnochie. His sons would thereafter drop the alias Lamont altogether. Five McInneses in that parish may likewise have been descended of an Angus Lamont. That was the patronymic of the old Ascog family. So that on the whole it seems likely that the fighting strength of the clan Lamont was considerably greater than appears at first sight. It is peculiar that there were no Towarts whatever, which rather casts doubt on the tradition put in writing by Auchmar in 1723 that they were of the tartan. While there were no McIlquhams, so spelt, there were two McIlchoanes, which is no doubt the same. It is interesting to find several Houstons and Leitchs still about Toward, perhaps descended from the old owners of Toward-Houston and the old hereditary physicians to the chiefs.⁶²

The disorder which caused the mustering of the fencibles was as marked in the affairs of the kirk as of the state. Many ministers had been "outed" for refusal to conform to the change from the episcopal to the presbyterian system. In March 1690 the presbytery of Dunoon, on Archibald's request, "in regard there are but tuo settled min(iste)rs within the(ir) bounds . . . desyred their brether (the) min(iste)r of Kilmartin [in Glassary] to supply the parish of Kilfinan with preaching Sabbath com a forth night." Frequent complaints disclose that not only was the charge vacant, but the kirk and manse were ruinous, and the glebe insufficient. It was no wonder that no new pastor was inducted until 1698. The task of bringing Walter to book proved too much without an active session at Kilfinan, but the presbytery were able to discipline Campbell of Acharossan for fornication on "handselmonday nyntie five," *i.e.* the first Monday of that new year, "in Lamont's kitchine . . . in Aird Lamont." Alas, even when no Campbells were of the party there were such goings on at the turn of the year in the houses of the gentlemen of the tartan. For instance, in June of 1696 the synod appointed the presbytery to examine all concerned by the story of one Christian Stewart, "who brought forth a child four years ago, . . . that being in Stialaig's house overtaken with drink at Christmas she thinks that in her sleep some person got her with child." The presbytery took up the matter with zest. On 15th December they recorded that among the "unmarried persons who wer in & about Stialliage house that night which answers to the birth" were the chief's bastard Lieutenant John, a Patrick and an Archibald Black. The first purged himself by oath of being the father. Patrick was "said now to live att Greenknock" and Archibald to be "out off the kingdome." Having exhausted the bachelors, who were evidently regarded with the greatest suspicion, recourse was

had to the "married persons," of whom Stillaig and Auchagoyl swore their innocence. "As for Levtenant Walter Lamont," the account concludes, "he is not in the countrey, . . . no body knowing where he is for the p(rese)nt." Thus the paternity of Christian's bairn remained a Christmas mystery.⁶³

Reading between the lines one has the notion that this was all the sequel to a *ceilidh*, no doubt well enough in its beginnings, but at its end degenerating into a debauch like that of the "jolly beggars" in "Poosie Nansie's" a century later. "A custom of all lonely simple races," it has been said, "brings the folk together at night to *ceilidh* . . . in the larger houses of the townships about the central fires of peat. Tales ancient and heroic, of Fingal the brave and Ossian the plucker of harps, are told; songs of sea and pasture-land, and short love and long war, are sung; guesses are put and repartee abounds. Sometimes, too, a gifted man will fill a sheepskin with a gush of pride and squeeze the most marvellous tunes from reeds and drones, expressing, to all who have the ears to hear, the ecstasy that lies in remembrance and regret, till the folk lean forward on their seats, and with blood-red faces look into the peat-flame and the ember, something old and sweetly melancholy and unrecoverable stirring them to tears. Up in the lofts, peeping between the jetty cabars—the peat-stained joists—will lie the children, marvelling, and all eyes and ears, drinking song and tale and pipe-tune thirstily, terrified for the dark spaces of the roof above and behind them when the story is of ghost and sad presentiment, and laughing heartily and uncontrolled when other humours form the entertainment. The men pleat quicken tethers for the cattle, or twine tough heather into ropes to bind the thatch for the roofs of their houses; the women knit, sew, card, and spin. So have they done for generations beyond number, carrying on by word of mouth the poems, the histories of the Gael." And after the tales was "the dancing that might stop for supper but never for sleep," and after that it seems matter for enquiry by the kirk.⁶⁴

The Lamonts had indeed much to remember and regret, but like their fellows no doubt they returned to everyday matters of business with the dawn of the next day. During these years of unrest the title to the clan estates was put at last on a proper basis. Walter, the trustee, denuded in favour of Stillaig, who now for the first time had a charter from the Crown. Another creditor who thought he had still some slender claim on the barony was bought out in 1694, but prolonged litigation was required before the new laird could vindicate his various rights. First of all the legal position of Acharossan had to be determined in the same year, and there was also some doubt as to Evanachan, the property

of which had now reverted from Walter to the original Campbells.⁶⁵ Then Stillaig proceeded to round up his vassals and exact from them arrears of feudal dues, which no doubt poverty had prevented them from paying in the past. A decret of the Court of Session in his favour reflects the condition of the estate. The greater part was now held feu in place of the ancient ward holding, but a survival of the latter was the old lairdship of Knockdow. In the same category were Derybrulich (with its ferry to Glassary, change house, and mill) and southern Auchagoyl, sole remnants of the former estates of Ascog and Stillaig, and now belonging to Stronalbanach and Auchinshelloch respectively. But every one of these was converted into a feu before the end of the century. The formalities in one case are specially recorded as having been "done in the dwelling house of Archibald Lamont of that ilk, and in the parlor or dyneing room, betwixt ane and tuo houres in the afternoon." No such concession, however, was made for Acharossan, a Campbell property, which still owed service in the field.⁶⁶

Among the cadets of the tartan who held by the up-to-date tenure were Monydrain, Coustoun, Auchagoyl, and Auchinshelloch. Knockdow had also a feu of Strondharaig, Stronalbanach of Kames and Achadachoun, a Campbell of Evanachan, and Maclachlan of Craigintervie of Fernoch and Achahoish in Glassary. No reliable inference can be drawn from the random sums concluded for in the action as to the actual rentals of these properties. But a comparative standard is afforded, though it is, of course, only a measure of worldly wealth and not of status within the clan which still depended on priority of descent. Stronalbanach, the representative of the Ascog family, and Auchagoyl, laird of the northern place of that name, came first with an assessment of 600 merks each (£400). Monydrain, Knockdow, and Coustoun followed with 500, and Campbell of Acharossan with 400. At the foot of the scale were Auchinshelloch and the alien lairds of Evanachan and Fernoch, with 300 a piece. As soon as this cause had been determined Stillaig proceeded to call upon all his vassals to produce their titles for his inspection. These included the various Campbells who had succeeded to the Silvercraigs estate under the apprising of 1665, and the Bannatynes of Kames, who had acquired some rights over Troustan, Ardbeg, and Gortanloisk on Loch Striven side, said to be worth £250 a year. Throughout these dealings Dugald's interest was attended to by the Stewarts of Ascog in Bute, who were in the law in Edinburgh.⁶⁷

In spite of the lucrative rights above mentioned, and of £400 due from five of these vassals in name of a marriage tax, Stillaig in his turn was being sued for debt. He extricated himself, however, and in a few

years' time, along with the prosperous John Lamont, merchant in Mell-dalloch, was financing other people. Auchinshelloch's estate was appraised from him by Campbell of Kilduskland (now Brackley, by Lochgilphead), but apparently he was soon able to redeem it.⁶⁸ The chief too was involved in several troublesome litigations arising out of obligations undertaken, in some cases at least, for friends such as the Stewarts of Ascog and the McDonells of Glengarry, and ultimately Stillaig had to come to his rescue. Fortunately, also, his wife Margaret Urry came into a little money about this time.⁶⁹

Once the Crown charter had been safely expedite steps were taken to confirm the marriage settlement made on Stillaig and his bride from Bute, and in 1694 another politic union was arranged, designed in this case to appease the ill-feeling between the chief's family and that of Ascog. Sir JAMES's youngest brother, Ninian the irresponsible, had apparently left a daughter Margaret, and she was now espoused to Stronalbanach, who had just lost his first wife Isobel Campbell. Neither seems to have been well endowed with this world's goods, as he agreed to accept as tocher various debts said to be owing to her, while she was content with an undertaking that his executors should pay her 50 merks (£33, 6s. 8d.) at his death in name of goodwill. A minute of these terms was engrossed by Henry the schoolmaster at Ardlamont in yellow July, to be extended more fully "whenever neid requires," and was witnessed by the chief and Stillaig, her cousins, and by the "outed" minister of Kilfinan. Stillaig and Auchinshelloch saw her infest in a liferent of the Kames on the Kyles.⁷⁰ Among the earliest Argyllshire testaments which are recorded is that of Isobel. The common moveable property belonging to the spouses was booked at £604, the price of a "great kow" being taken as £13, 6s. 8d., and of a boll of "corne in barne and barne yaird" as £2, and of bere as £5. Her funeral expenses were debited at £30, while her household plenishing was only reckoned at £40. Kathrine Lamont in Ardyne and Mary Lamont in Inverchaolain, who both died about this time, were not quite so bien, and their (and their husbands') belongings were assessed at £225 and £370 respectively. In their inventories a boll of great oats was valued at £5, so that the "corne" in Isobel's must surely have been something different. But the typical case was probably that of the wife of Archibald McCaragan alias Lamont in Coustoun, who only possessed "ane kow and ane stirk" and were very properly discharged from payment of dues.⁷¹

The current prices of women's clothes appear interestingly from a letter detailing an outfit Dugald bought for his young wife in the dark months of 1695. Writing from Glasgow on the 16th of October a city

merchant lists the articles he has just delivered to the Campbell lady of Otter, for transference to her near neighbour Auchagoyl and so to Margaret Stewart at Stillaig. The total cost was £122, 5s. 6d., made up as follows:—

		£	s.	d.
Ane ell $\frac{1}{2}$ of fyne striped muslin	@ £4, 16s.	7	4	0
3 ell $\frac{1}{2}$ of reid flowred ribon	@ 18s..	3	3	0
5 ell $\frac{1}{3}$ of leac [lace]	@ 25s..	6	17	6
$\frac{1}{2}$ 1 ell of brod catt gwt gas [gauze]	.	0	8	0
ane comod and tap wair [head gear]	.	0	10	0
ane peper of pines [pins]	.	0	5	0
ane pasbord box costt me .	.	0	18	0
17 ell $\frac{1}{4}$ of silk stwf	@ £5, 8s.	91	16	0
7 ell of fring and gump [gimp]	@ 24s..	8	8	0
8 drap of sad silk	.	0	12	0
2 ell of whyt silk belltin	@ 14s..	1	8	0
ane new fasioned buckell .	.	0	16	0

One notes at once how reasonable was the price of a hat at 10s., and how extortionate a silk dress, whose material alone ran to over £91.⁷²

Reverting once more from private to public affairs it was soon apparent that Cowal would have to stomach even more interference from the new government than from the old. As the Gaelic has it, *an uair a thig rìgh ùr, thig lagh ùr*,—"when a new King comes, new laws come," and so it proved alike with the militia and the poll tax. In January 1694 the Commissioners of Supply at Inveraray were faced with the necessity of raising 75 men for the annual manœuvres. The following entries from the roll show the extent to which the clan was liable to contribute. Two men were to be provided by the "Laird of Lamont, Archibald Lamont of Silvercraigs, and Dougall Lamont of Steillaig for ther own properties and these landes holden of the Laird of Lamont, includeing the Barone McPhadricks interest and a merkland out of Lindsaig joined together; and who shall be found to have most of propertie landes in the paroch of Killfinane of the thrie persones above named to be leaders." In point of fact, of course, the chief would be in command despite his landlessness. Then again one finds one man due from the "Laird of Lamont for his propertie in Nether Cowall [meaning Inverchaolain and Dunoon parishes], adding to him the Earle of Argyll's £10 land there, [Campbell of] Achiwilling's hail lands with the lands of Gartloisken and Trouster." Another warrior fell to be provided also by "John Campbell of Innellane for his whole propertie joining to him the Barone McGorrie's 13 merk land with Knockamillie and Clenletter, Ballochyle's 7 merk lands, and the lands of Corrichaive." At the most therefore the clan's liability was for not more than three men.⁷³

Another roll compiled two years later shows very little change, but gives some further details as to dispositions. Knockdow was to be one of five overseers, "the place of meeting to be at Dunoone the said 10th instant, joining hereby to them the towne and village of Dunoone," which according to the roll of 1692 had only five fencibles within its bounds. "Out of the Laird of Lamontis propperty and superioritie in Cowell" on this occasion only one man was called for. Archibald, "or in his absence Dugall Lamont of Stillag, or Archibald Lamont of Silvercraigs," were to be overseers, and the "place of meeting at the milne of Mecknich" on the same date, "or any other convenient [place] in ther boundis the Laird of Lamont shall appoint." Apparently the whole neighbourhood was summoned to turn out at the given rendezvous in order that one might be chosen for more protracted manœuvres. It is interesting to notice that the older cadets, Coustoun and Knockdow were still styled "barons" by those in authority, a title normally only accorded to those who held of the royal family direct.⁷⁴

In the autumn of 1694 one hears for the first time of two new taxes imposed by Parliament called the poll money and the hearth money. The chief was appointed collector for Kilfinan parish and Campbell of Achavoulin for Inverchaolain. The latter duty was assessed on every household, and the former on every inhabitant. In order to raise the poll tax, which was used to pay the new regular army, lists had to be prepared, and this task was entrusted to the chief and to Silvercraigs for Kilfinan, and to Campbell of Innellan and to Knockdow for Inverchaolain.⁷⁵ The amounts due were determined by a graduated scale according to status, but every one had to pay at least 6s. Scots. Unfortunately there seems to be no record for Argyllshire of the humbler folks, but the assessments of the heritors are preserved at Inveraray. According to the statute £3 was levied upon "all gentlemen, so holden and repute, and owning themselves to be such, and who will not renounce any pretence they have to be such." Such an astute appeal to self-esteem deserved a good response. Modern taxing Acts are not drawn with such respect for human nature. Monydrain, Auchagoyl, and Auchinshelloch pleaded guilty to the charge, and the other lairds were mulcted at a higher rate. As to Knockdow and Stronalbanach there is no evidence, but the remainder were listed as follows:—

	Valued Rent.			Tax.
	£	s.	d.	£
"Archball Lamont of that ilk parichen of Kilfinin . . .	665	15	6	
,, Denoone . . .	488	17	8	
,, Inverchaelane . . .	245	6	8	
	<hr/>			
	1399	19	10	24

	Valued Rent.			Tax.
	£	s.	d.	£
Dougall Lamont of Steillag	524	0	0	12
Archball Lamont of Silvercraiges	391	2	2	9
James Lamont of Achaghyle	103	8	10	3
James Lamont of Achinslioch	100	13	8	3
John Lamont of Monidrairie [between £60 and £200]				3." 76

In districts better organised than Argyllshire the poll-tax rolls give a complete list of the inhabitants. Thus the names of all the Lamonts in Braemar at this date are recorded. So also interesting details are available for Renfrewshire, which show a further spread of the tartan, though almost all of the adventurers were in a humble station in life. Taking that county parish by parish one finds as follows: in Greenock were settled Elspeth Lamont, a servant, Patrick Black, a boatman (who was new from Stillaig), and John Turner, a seaman, with his wife Agnes Lamont. In Inverkip was a John Lamont (perhaps related to the "witch" Mary); in Kilbarchan Elspet Lamont, a cotter; in Lochwinnoch Marion Lamont, a servant; and in Kilmacolm Christian Lamont, also a servant. Paisley housed a Donald Lamont earning £19 as a responsible retainer, and no fewer than seven Landesses, who according to tradition must have hailed long ago from Toward. But no such information is preserved in the home country.⁷⁷

By this time there were also clansmen permanently in Rothesay, having come to it no doubt by the ferries from Ardyne on the east or Achadachoun on the west. The earliest word of them is quaint. "Lachlan Lamont," it runs, "hes wndertaken the herding of the east comon, who is to have eight merks of fiall [fee], the half at St Brux day [29th April], and the other at Halowday [1st November], and one shilling at his entry, and to have his dyat circuitly [*i.e.* to go round] for every kow." In the days before fences were usual the town herd was, of course, a public official with peculiar duties and powers.⁷⁸ One learns further that there were several Lamonts living in the metropolitan city of Edinburgh. Most prosperous of these was one Marie, who paid the substantial rent of £26 for her lodging in the Mid-Baxter's close (beside the still existing Brodie's Close at 304 Lawnmarket). There were also a John and a Neil, who was a tailor, settled there, while another John was in the Drygate of Glasgow. At the end of the century also a Mr William Lamont, an "apothecary" in Larg (on the left bank of the Cree water above Newton Stewart), makes his appearance as a creditor in Kirkcudbright. Probably he was the William who took his degree as Master of Arts in Edinburgh University in 1665, being perhaps of the Fife kin.⁷⁹

During the winter of 1697-8 there was trouble in the Fraser country, in the suppression of which Walter, Auchagoyl's brother, had a namely part. When his commander Robertson of Straloch left him in charge of the gaunt barracks of Ruthven, by Kingussie, he was apparently ready for any ploy which should offer. "When the Athollmen marched north through Badenoch," as emissaries of law and order, we are told that "Lieutenant Lamont, without orders, joined them with his detachment." Next year Argyll was complaining of this, and not ineptly terming Walter "an old instrument of oppression in Argyleshire formerly under the Marquis of Athole's command." Such a restless spirit could not long find outlet within Scotland, and after rendering signal service to that Marquis for a number of years he met his death far over the seas. In the last year of the century the ill-fated Darien expedition was preparing. The Atholl family were actively concerned, and fancied him as their second in command. In a letter of May 1699 this is narrated by their agent, with the addendum "qch. is accordingly done, and qn. [when] the other officers were condescending on there subalterns, I named Walter Lamond for his Livetennant." This is the last that is heard of the profligate professional soldier, who was the trusted confidant of his chief. To the relief of the presbytery he sailed on the first ship ever bound from Greenock to America, and from the swamps of Panama he "came home no way at all to his mother and his mountains." As the Diarmaids had ever hoped, he "died foreign and far from friends." Meantime his nephew Alexander, venturing less, was made a burges of Glasgow, as an Ensign in Colonel George Hamilton's regiment. In the same period one notes the first naval clansman, John Lamond, a midshipman of His Majesty's ship the "*Royal Mary*," whose arrears of pay amounted to some £20 in August 1699. No doubt he worthily maintained the tradition of service at sea, which dated back at any rate to Ascog and his birlinn. The Scots navy, of course, was still in its infancy, having been born but ten years before.⁸⁰

Between 1698 and 1700 there were considerable changes in the ownership of the clan estates. First of all "Cornelius Lamont, glasier, indweller in Newcastle in the kingdome of England," sold his patrimony of Coustoun and Strone to the chief's son John. He signed the deed in Edinburgh, but thereafter so far as is known never set foot on his native heath. What became of his line is a mystery which has still to be unravelled. Then Coll, son of the Melldalloch merchant, gave up his feu of Feorline in Strathlachlan, on being repaid his advances at Castle Lachlan, and for some years he remained landless. Next Silvercraigs, now an old man with no hope of male issue, divested himself of all his property.

The bulk of the Stillaig and Ascog lairdships, which he held under a complicated agreement with the chief, were given over to Stillaig. A new estate was constituted centring round the mansion-house of Kilfinan, which provided a designation for his "welbeloved coosen Levtenant John Lamont sone to Archball Lamont of that ilk." It comprised the kirklands of Kilfinan, Melldalloch, Craignafioch, and Achadachoun with its ferry (to Kilmichael in Bute), 15 merks in all. This new lairdship, with some modification and additions, was converted into a feu by Stillaig in a few years time. In return John was to pay a certain proportion of Silvercraigs' debts, the rest being undertaken by Auchinshelloch, who received as consideration Kilbride, part of Achourk, and the mill of Mecknoch. These arrangements were made at Ardlamont, and the chief's right to use the ferry was reserved to him for life. The end of the century thus marks the end of an era. The two ancient cadet families of Coustoun and Silvercraigs now disappeared. The tenure of the remainder had been converted from a military to an agricultural one. The first merchant laird had arisen. It must have been all very distressing to the purists.⁸¹

As if in recognition of the fact that times were changing and that old memories must fade, Archibald set himself to record for posterity what he could gather as to the descent and history of his family. No one was better qualified than he for the task. His education, begun at Glasgow University, had been completed abroad. Owing to the exigencies of his life he had had ample opportunity of meeting members of outlying branches of the clan, such as those of Braemar, Fife, England, and France. In reply to a communication from Bourdon of Feddal in Perthshire claiming kinship the chief penned a long missive letter, which was preserved by the leading herald of the day. It is of sufficient interest to be quoted in full, for it was in fact the first attempt at a family history. In many respects later research has proved it to be inaccurate, but that cannot be allowed to detract seriously from its evidential value. There is no reason to doubt that it represents the best tradition of his generation, and some slight knowledge of his charter chest. On the whole record evidence has confirmed his account to a remarkable extent.⁸²

"Honoured Cousin," he commences, "I received yours and am satisfied to find that ancient inclination in you that was esteemed amongst all nations evin in the Jewesh families, and as I hate ridiculous vanitie, so I love that men class themselves as fare as writ or true tradition can bring them; and as to my familie I most deall with both, and to my best knouledge it is the methode that all Scotland most use, that is ancient,

and most of all the Highlanders (who, if extant) are the ablest in this kingdome, as you may discern by our tongue, spoken in the land befor the English tongue incrotched, and as you may see by names of places, to this day all over the kingdome, tho' something changed, yet the derivation holds to me knowen in both speeches." Aptly enough it is just two years later that Auchinshelloch is called "Willowfield" for the first time, that being, of course, the literal meaning of the Gaelic. Several chiefs before Archibald, one would imagine, must have been bilingual, Sir COLL and Sir JAMES for instance, but the interest in place-names was no doubt an innovation. It was a controversial topic, however, long before his day, as Pont discusses in 1600 several rival views as to the meaning of "Dunoon." One cannot help recognising that there is a note of scholarship about this opening which belies the unsettled nature of the writer's life.⁸³

Immediately he plunges into history, after first acknowledging in a word his correspondent's kinship. "Your relation to this house," he says, "cannot keep you ignorant of ane late calamitie in Montrosses wars, and that our houses being plundered and fired, our writs behoved to be wronged. Befor that time our house of Toward was burnt by the great McDonald, when Argyl married Lamont's daughter because he [Lamont] took Argyl's part against McDonald and so suffered, by which our evidents are lost; yet some shadows of our antiquitie remain by marriages with Argyls, Castles, McDonalds, Semples their daughter[s], and with severall other honourable families." These last as detailed by an independent writer some years later are those of "Luss, Buchanan, Okyan, Lord Dunseverin, and other families in Ireland." The unions with the Luss and Irish stocks are not corroborated, nor is the story of the sack by the McDonalds; the connection with the "Castles" has been discussed above; and the rest can be vouched by the records.⁸⁴

Archibald next passes to the vexed question of ultimate ancestry. "Our descent is from Ireland," he briefly states, "a sone of the house of O'neil, who had patronymics befor surnames." He might have added that in the parlance of the country Monydrain, Knockdow, and Coustoun were still known as the barons McSorley, McGorrie, and McPhadrick respectively, and many humbler clansmen were also called after their forebears. If only he had set down the current tradition as to the origin of these cadet families it would have been more useful, as the chief's pedigree from Niall Glundubh is otherwise vouched. "Our first predecessor," the letter continues, "was MacLamine, and in time Scotified to Lamont, Lamount, or Lomond, as you will find in the old books of Heraldrie in the Lion's Office." Some research had perhaps been made

when arms were matriculated, and fabulous ancestors such as "Orcanus, Laird of Lamont quha livet about the nyn hundredth zeir of oure Lord," were now ignored. When a few years later extracts from the cartulary of Paisley Abbey were submitted to him Archibald would no doubt modify his views as to the eponymous ancestor.⁸⁵

His informant at the same time corrected him as to the derivation of the name Lamont, and as to the original arms, which he described as follows: "Our ancient armorial bearing was relative to the name La Mond, *i.e.* the Glob of the World or Glob imperial, in an blew field, which my predecessors of late hath chainged to a whit lion, being ignorant of Heraldrie and fearing affinity with the kings of Ireland [? might be challenged] unless they were concerned with the Lion, which I would have altered, and taken my honourable Glob, but the Lamonts of France and England carried the Lion befor my time so that I had no will to differ in coat armour with them least [*i.e.* for fear of] a denayell in after ages." This passage has already been discussed at length, and the conclusion indicated that his forebears knew more of true heraldry and history than he did. The mond is undoubtedly incorrect, though the kinsmen of France, whose pedigree was further recorded in August of 1697, gave it pride of place and only quartered the lion with it in virtue it seems of a marriage. They were now represented by Captain Charles who was stationed at Longwi, perhaps the Count de Lamont above mentioned. His elder brothers, the Claud and Henry above mentioned, had fallen in the wars, and his younger brother Jean had died as abbé of Notre Dame in February of that year. Dr Andrew of the Yorkshire kin, now rector of Bisley in Surrey, was certainly using "a shield with the lion rampant thereon."⁸⁶

Returning to the real point at issue the chief proceeds, "nou cousin for your familie, I am so well versed in it, that to my sad experience I want much land by it, and (? owe to it) the progress of a plea in my hand with the Lairds of Keams Ballantines till this day and but latlie determined in my favours within three years," which plea began as follows. He then recounts the old *sgenl* of the "Ardyne raid" of about 1400, which he gives on the authority of his grandfather Sir COLL, including the generally accepted account of the origin of the Bourdons of Feddal in Perthshire. Another version, which perhaps accounts for the Skye branch of the clan, communicated by one of the Bourdons, was appended by the herald mentioned in a footnote to Archibald's. "This part, I think, behooved to come from your predecessors, but the rest I have all the paper lying by me." If indeed there was record evidence at that date for the Ardyne raid it is not now to the fore. Further, the registers of the Court of

Session disclose that the litigation referred to, between Stillaig and Bannatyne of Kames in Bute in 1697, had its origin in events subsequent to the Restoration of 1660, though the rivalry of the two interests was no doubt of long standing. The chief is on more certain ground when he speaks to having met in England several descendants of the Lamont fugitive who assumed the name "Lamb" as being nearest their own, "as respective as any Lamont would be, whom I though(t) had knouen nothing of it." As regards the brother of the first Bourdon and Lamb, who was given a piece of land by the Abbot of Paisley as "a landless man," he is able to record that he "spoke with the grandchild of him that last enjoyed that land about fortie year agoe," and to add that he knew "a worthie man still of that name minister of Blantyre who is a lover of you all." That same was the Rev. Robert Landess, born in 1630, and educated with Archibald XV at Glasgow. He bought in 1692 the estate of Robroyston to the north-east of Glasgow, which his great-granddaughter and heiress Katharine brought to her husband Hugh, younger son of ARCHIBALD XVII, and which was in Lamont possession till 1906.⁸⁷

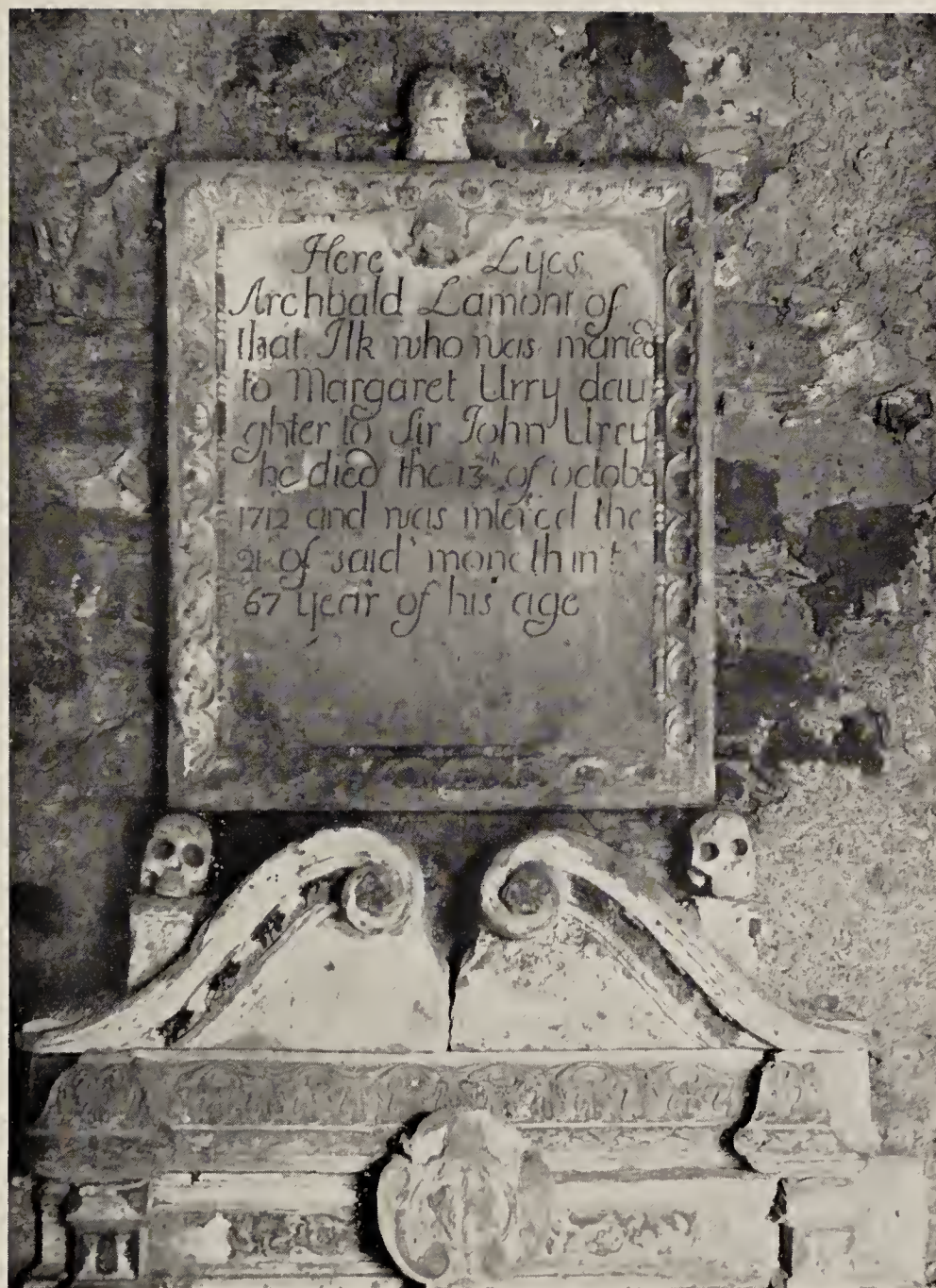
Though he says nothing as to the kinship of the McInturners in Cowal, he remarks that all the country acknowledges how "the fourth brother was the origine of the McTournors of Luss." Passing by altogether the Braemar branch of the clan he mentions the relationship of the Earls of Strathmore, which was recognised in 1671 by one of the Lyons who was a Lord of Session, and naively concludes, "on my conscience I am as near the truth in this relation as I can be and leaves out manie things which old men beleaves which I have not midled with." Evidently therefore what he tells is what he considered the most credible of contemporary traditions. He was, they said, "the threttie third Laird of Lamont. Fourteen (he could) instruct, and the rest is by tradition." Record evidence has now shown that his father Sir JAMES was in fact the fourteenth in succession from Sir LAUMON, if CELESTIN son of ROBERT V be reckoned among the number. If CELESTIN be excluded Archibald (his namesake) was himself the fourteenth, which is perhaps what he means. In either case his information is surprisingly correct. This helps to establish his credibility in general, which is all the more remarkable as he seems to have known nothing of the Gaelic MS. of 1467. On the whole posterity owes a debt of gratitude to the careful compiler of this missive letter, who set himself definitely to preserve his people's memories from being lost in the mists of time. As he sanded the ink in his parlour at Ardlamont he must have felt that his writ was alike an epilogue to the sturt and strife of the seventeenth century and a prologue to the gradual disintegration of the eighteenth.⁸⁸

CHAPTER XIII

OLD FEUDS FORGOTTEN,
1700-1729

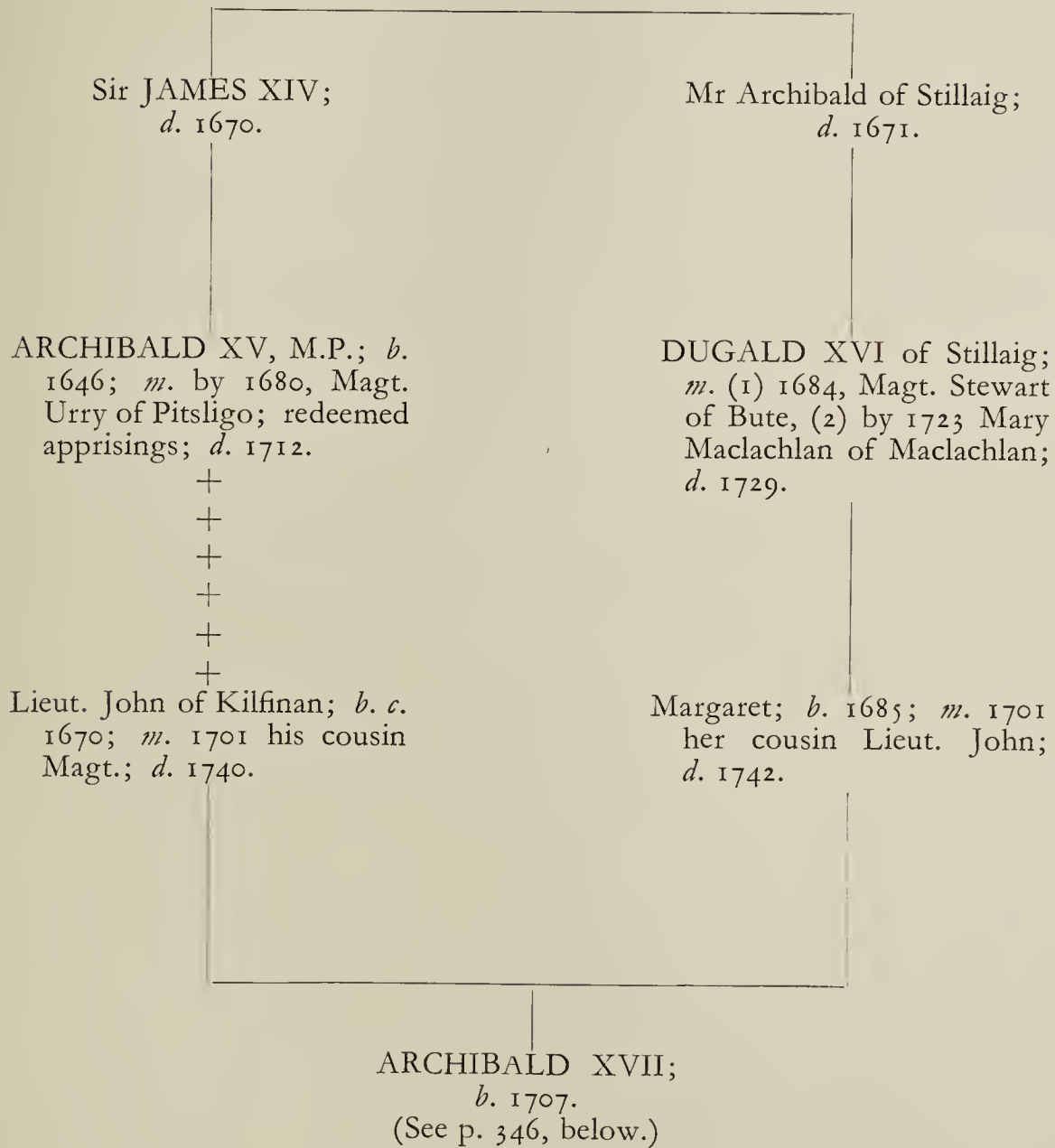
BUT three days before the century was out and the hey day of the clans all by with, His Grace of Argyll—for he was now a Duke—got an order from Parliament for the production of the forfeiture process of 1661, which had made his forebear “short by the head.” Old memories were thus revived, for it contained *Rìgh Tearlach's* commission to Sir JAMES XIV in 1643, the dishonoured capitulation of 1646, and the depositions of the witnesses at the trial of retribution. All these are still to the fore in the Register House.¹ Still and on from then the old feud between Lamonts and Diarmaids was on the wane. Each had known the bitterness of defeat and the emptiness of reinstatement. The events of 1685 had offset those of 1646. In future there was little cause of enmity; differences were adjusted without shedding of blood; and MacCailein's rights in the lands near Toward were settled in the courts of the kingdom. The two tartans even banded together to resist the interference of the hated excise and customs officers sent by Government to tax the ploys of loch and glen. A new era of comparative peace and modest plenty was beginning, the claymore being gradually beaten into the plough iron. Only in the '45 was the fiery cross again alowe in Cowal, with the fell sergeant in its wake.

Till 1712 the Lamonts lived under the guidance of ARCHIBALD XV; thereafter till 1729 of DUGALD XVI. The former helped them to accept the ill-favoured Union of the Parliaments with England in 1707, and the latter to control their Jacobite sympathies in the excitement of the '15. Indeed they could ill afford to squander their substance in opposing the inevitable. By this restraint the chiefs assured themselves of the barony for the future, and the five cadets who still remained were able to preserve their estates for a generation at least. Despite the growth of trade in its home country the clan was scattering man by man, although its numbers were increasing in Scotland as a whole. In Fife, for instance, they were throng, and in this period acquired the lairdship of Newton (between Leven and Markinch) but it was not long in the family. There



MURAL TABLET TO ARCHIBALD XV, d. 1712

PEDIGREE OF XIVTH TO XVIITH CHIEFS.



Note: last pedigree on p. 119.

were thriving offshoots of Lamont craftsmen in the cities, and a pickle wild spirits following the drum and over the ocean. Of the home bidders one kens more than ever before from the records that have survived.²

The first namely event in the century was the settlement of the chiefship and the barony, the separation of which was undesirable as at this date the leader of a clan in Cowal who was not laird forbye would have been at a disadvantage. In theory of course chiefship was in essence a personal and not a territorial position, else Archibald himself could hardly have enjoyed it, but in practice in the south-west it tended to be intimately connected with land ownership, though in the north it continued purely despotic until after the '45.³ It was ill that he had only a natural son, and that Dugald had only daughters, for both the titles and the general practice prescribed a lawful heir male. This character was Auchinshelloch's, as directly descended in the male line from Sir JOHN X, and purists would have said that he was heir presumptive, unless indeed the bastard John (of Kilfinan) was to be preferred, as he would have been in stormier days.⁴ But times had changed and the latter was regarded as excluded by the defect in his birth, and the children of Dugald, albeit females, as having a claim which could compete with that of a remote collateral like Auchinshelloch, who as it chanced had no issue. Margaret, eldest daughter of Dugald did her best at 16 to smooth over the difficulties by marrying within her tribe (as enjoined by *Numbers* chapter 36 lest the inheritance should pass to another), and by choosing as her husband Archibald's natural son fifteen years her senior. When the barony was settled on their issue present and past standards seemed in some measure to be satisfied, though the old entail Dugald had promised to observe had been disregarded. In course of time the son of this union succeeded as ARCHIBALD XVII, and had the dual qualification of being in the eyes of clansmen a male descendant of the old chiefs, and in the eyes of the law an heir female.⁵

As if to justify his new status Lieutenant John in the year before acquired estates, from two of the ancient cadets who now fade into the mist, presumably with money earned in the public service, for his father had none to spare him. From moribund Silvercraigs as mentioned above he acquired the kirk lands of Kilfinan with their mansion, such as it was, from which he took his designation, Melldalloch and Craignafeich to the south-east, and Achadachoun by Ardlamont with its ferry to Kil-michael in Bute, in all 15 merks worth of land. To this he added the 5 merk lairdship of Coustoun and Strone upon Loch Striven, now abandoned by its Newcastle owner, on which he erected a mill. From these his wife was to have £300 a year in the event of his death. In

return the feudal entry dues (one year's rent) were remitted, and Dugald undertook to convey the barony, with teinds and patronage of Kilfinan, if he had no heirs male of his own body (and, if he had, to substitute £1000). Auchagoyl was a witness to the bargain at Ardlamont in May of 1701, but not the excluded Auchinshelloch. The chief soon gave his son in addition the 5 merks of Dowglennan and Achadalvory, and the 2½ merks of Acharossanbeg of which he had a wadset from the Campbell owner.⁶

Kilfinan took his place among the heritors of the county. When new commissioners of supply were appointed in 1704 his name appeared in the roll, though naturally as ranking after the chief, Knockdow, Stillaig, Auchinshelloch, Stronalbanach and Auchagoyl, the only omission being Monydrain. In a few years' time they were joined by Coll of Inverneilbeg. John and his father attended the sederunts at Inveraray, and at times he was the *preses*. Business letters he sealed with a non-heraldic signet, displaying a bow and quiver crossed, with three arrows and two hearts, and the legend ACORDON.⁷ He acted as guardian to the young Auchagoyl, and cautioner to various clansmen, and was able to lend money to his neighbours. In 1712 he had a nine years' lease from Archibald of Ardyne with its ferry to Rothesay, of Achafour with the change house of *Tigh-na-crich*, for which he had to compete with Argyll's vassal Melvill of Kilmichael, and of the three Towards whose rents were pledged to Stewart of Bute, in all a 21 merk land, with power of holding baron courts as baillie. To these attached the right of sheiling in the yellow moss lands of Blairbuie in Glenfyne, which now went out of cultivation by agreement, and probably the old standard bearer's building of *Tigh-na-brataich* with its butts, now mentioned for the first time. Kilfinan paid a rent of £1000 Scots increasing to £1400. This is the only example in the Lamont country of a large area let to a tacksman, although it was a common practice elsewhere in the highlands and led to much abuse.⁸

These scattered possessions would give him interest in highways, one of the subjects which came under his jurisdiction as a commissioner of supply, forbye drovers, thiggers and recruiting, with liquor prices and change houses (of which last there was now another at Kilfinan itself, mine host being a Dugald Lamont). It was ordered in 1710 "that Lamont, Kilmichell and the Capt. of Donoon help the way betwixt Dalinlongart & the kirk of Inverchaolain, and betwixt Dunoon and the Captain's house" (at Innellan). But the former, of course, referred to the mountain track across the *Bealach na Sréine*, for there was no shore road then from Innellan to Inverchaolain by Toward, as there is to-day. The main horse route in the district was from Dunoon by Glen Lean and

Ballochandrain to Kilfinan, 16 miles Scots by the presbytery's computation, but much more by modern standards. The bulk of it was perhaps passable, but Lamont and Otter were bidden "to cause help the way betwixt Oitter and Aird Lamin." The even surfaces which were the delight of the gentry did not, however, appeal to humbler folks, who preferred to tread the heather or the sheep tracks. Even when they had grown used to hard roads they for long would carry their shoes in their hands to save them from wear, and wade the burns instead of crossing by new-fangled bridges, such as now spanned both Drum and Lindsaig waters—the latter the old boundary of the Lamont coroner's jurisdiction.⁹ While the parish had been vacant some of the stipend had been expended by the late Silvercraigs on trying to bridge these. As having succeeded to some of his property Kilfinan was cited to the presbytery to account for this money, as in their view the fund, originally granted by the synod, had been intended to provide also for a manse. The new incumbent was naturally angry and wreaked his wrath on Henry Lamont, schoolmaster and session clerk, who lacking supervision had contracted dissolute habits, including drinking bouts and absences in Rothesay. In June of 1701 the minister reported in the presbytery that "a good whyle after his leaving the parioch" the session minute-book was "found in the sd. Henry's house, all torne & spegled, so that little thereof was extant & the rest useless." Alas, it is not now to be had at all, or one would readily excuse its imperfections.¹⁰

The offender appeared to deny all knowledge of it, but the brethren were unsympathetic and "considering (his) unfitnesse . . . by being supinely negligent, and given to drinking," they recommended a new appointment. Within a month he was in trouble at Rothesay, to whose kirk session he was "delated for perverting money given to him in charity in this place and abusing it to drunkenness." Although he was not living there he was dealt with, and pleaded guilty. "The minister having seriously represented to him the aggravations of his sin and exhorted him to repentence & reformation, the Session thought fit (since the scandal was known to few in the place besides some elders there present) to dismiss him with a rebuke."¹¹ In August he was finally discharged by the Presbytery, it being represented that he "hes rendered himselfe incapable for teaching by being supinely negligent, & given to drinking & company keeping, whereby the school is wholly neglected, and the people not only rendred averse to send there children to him, bot also desyring to have him removed. . . . But in regarde that he is in ane extreme poor conditione, having a numerous familie of tender children, he is allowed to have this year's solary, with the precept of

twenty pounds granted by the Synod for the ambulatory school of the said paroch." One hopes this Christian charity was not abused. He was no doubt the Henry Lamont who soon appears upon Kilfinan's property of Achadachoun, whose ferry must so often have borne him towards the Ettrick change house and the inns of Rothesay. He later settled at Millhouse of Mecknoch with Dugald his son.¹²

In 1703 a successor was appointed, who was versed in English and not in Latin, and was bound to "teach the catechism in Irish," the language of the country. In Scots writ at the time in the district, *e.g.* the presbytery records, "Nc" still appears for "Mc" in the case of ladies, thus showing that the patronymic prefix was being literally interpreted. One fears the library established by the synod at Kilfinan in 1705 would all be in a foreign tongue to most of its readers, save for an Irish prayer book and bible, for only the cadets and merchants would be familiar with the "in-crotching" English. An increasing number of the people were not of the clan, unless by adoption. Among five tenants of Drum and nine of Inveryne, but one was a Lamont and none bore a sept name.¹³

The farming of land in groups was still the principal occupation, and was supplemented as before by herring fishing. The earliest lease whose terms have been preserved was in 1697 of a part of Ascog as formerly possessed by a William Lamont, but its contents shed little light upon the conditions of husbandry. Times were changing and single tenants were now being accepted in the smaller holdings, of which one finds an example in a tack by Stewart of Achanaskioch in 1709 to a Robert Lamont in Kilfinan. The subjects were a merk land "with fourteen great coves hadding with their followers and fourteen sheep," of course of the now forgotten type, small, long-legged and short-coated, "as the custome of the cuntrey." This probably denotes that stock as well as ground was furnished by the landlord, by the primitive practice known as "steelbow." He also undertook "to delyver ane sufficient house with three cuples," or upright pairs of rounded rafters, "and one gavell." To modern ears this sounds unbalanced, but it was an advance upon the original highland dwelling built "hip-ended" without any gables at all, that is with all its walls of equal height and four roof panels instead of two. The pitch of these roofs, which rested on the inside (not the outside) of the wall tops, was low, to economise in timber and resist wind pressure. Following the usual custom the walls would be of turf and wicker, built along the natural slope of the ground, with no window but for a slit or two. The floors would be beaten earth and for chimneys would serve holes in the heather thatch.¹⁴

There were also "lifted" for Robert "a sufficient kiln and office

houses, and a tent or brace therein" (*i.e.* a chimney piece), "with tuo partitions," no doubt of clay and wattles, "with jesting and cabering for both the ends," on which the poultry would roost. In the Ascog lease by contrast there is only a mention of entry to the house, which probably belonged to William. A century later "a custom from time immemorial" dictated that the outgoing tenant was entitled to be paid the value of the buildings. "Originally," it was said, the proprietor had advanced £5 for the erecting of farm houses on each quarter land, and the tenant had paid the rest, and it was thus equitable that each succeeding generation should compensate the last. As Sir JAMES XIV had never the means to finance building after the civil wars, it was probably Archibald who initiated this system. Perhaps from this time also date the customs of leaving a certain proportion of arable out of tillage, and half the straw of the outgoing crop for the use of the incomer. Under this lease the latter was also granted "liberty of mosse and muir and wood leave for the usse of the ground, oak aisse [ash] and allor [alder] excepted." Anxiety for the preservation of growing wood was a common feature of the times, for Scotland was but sparsely forested. Argyll in fact insisted in his tacks on so many trees being planted upon each merk land.¹⁵

That Diarmaids valued other woods than those above reserved is clear when one finds Robert Lamont in Toward-nuilt upon Knockdow's estate "wnlawed" for "saugh and hazell rungs in the captane of Donoones woods," and John from the same steading "for cutting of birks in Knock-amillie's woodis to be bedding for the fisher boat he was in the last fishing." One wonders if he did not use birch twigs for ropes, and tap the firs to produce tar. A Donald Black in Ballochandrain confessed in 1701 at a court in Glendaruel the "carrying away of girthstings [hoops] of oaks," while John admitted "oaken standards and cutting of ash." A namesake in Stronafian tersely acknowledged "all kynd of wood," for which he was fined £10, a heavy penalty but perhaps deserved. No doubt he had handled all covered by the saying, "willow of the brook, hazel of the rock, alder of the bog, birch of the hollow, and oak of the sun-kissed slope." The native fir and pine were seemingly extinct in Cowal, while the sycamore was unkenned. Good timber found a ready market, and the astute Auchinshelloch had ventures in that line of business. In 1701 he and a colleague agreed to buy from Campbell of Kirnan, beside Kilmichael Glassary, the "hail growing woods, both bench and bank, presently standing in his woods of tuo Kirnans, of whatsomever sorts & kynd, of oaks, birks, ashes, allars and asele [hazel], as far as (they) shall cut and clean" in the four years following. He subsequently sold

£200 worth to a merchant in Dunoon. In Glassary at least some wood was probably used for smelting, as a Black on Stroneskir, at the south end of Loch Awe, sued in 1707 for the price of 42 stone of iron bought and received from him.¹⁶

Another trade which occupied many more of the people was that of cattle rearing. From early times there had been a disinclination to produce grain in the highlands owing to the nature of the ground, while cattle were favoured as indigenous and as serving for currency. This was expressed in the saying *is fhearr aon sine na ceathramh coirce*—"better one teat than a quarter of oats." It is remarkable, however, that in the settled Lamont country one still finds beasts as a medium in which some debts were paid and obligations granted. Stronalbanach was sued, for instance, for £20 as the "pryce of ane cow qch. he oblig'd himself to have given" in 1700, and two years later on sending his nephew and heir to school at Kilmichael Glassary, he arranged for the boy to be boarded with a local merchant in return for "two sufficient good tydye cows," the value of which was reckoned at £33. But cattle as a rule were fattened for the lowland markets. In 1704 a party of Blacks from Glendaruel were at the well-known fair at the ferry of Bonhill near Dumbarton, and there they undertook for an immediate advance of £50 "to delyver fiftie three merchandable stotts betuixt the age of three and ffour yeares at Lochgoyllshead on 24th July nixt." The buyers were from the Macfarlane and Colquhoun estates, and would drive the beasts by what is now the Rest-and-be-Thankful pass and so to Loch Lomond side and probably to Falkirk tryst.¹⁷ The scant price suggests that the Blacks were taken advantage of when their sporrans happened to be empty. Auchinshelloch had better terms when in May of 1709 he bargained to receive at Loch Gilp head from the McNeills of Gigha "20 good and sufficient coves from 5 to 9 years old, with 10 stirks whereof the one half bulls the other queys, as also 12 good and sufficient merchandable stotts with ane sufficient 3 year old bull," for he stipulated for £15 for "ilk undelyver'd stirk" and £14 for a stott. Maybe, however, a rise in prices had resulted from the Union of the Parliaments with England in 1707, which certainly developed the cattle trade and the commerce of the country as a whole.¹⁸

The chief was travelled enough to have overcome the average Scot's loathing for England, and doubtless would support MacCailein in seeing that no petition of protest left Inveraray, such as those penned in so many centres. The material importance of the Union—all that appealed to the Diarmaids, of course—cannot be over-estimated, whatever one's views on the gain or loss to this little country in other ways. Compared

with it the '15 and even the '45 were but ploys of a twelvemonth. It may be that the Lamonts of the time accepted closer union because they thought, like many others, that the alternative was greater separation. It is not likely that they remembered their forebears' opposition to the nationalist party led by Robert the Bruce in days of old. Perhaps if they had seen what was to come they would have felt, as many clansmen feel to-day, that provision should have been made for periodic revision of the arrangement to prevent its abuse by the majority to whom they surrendered their liberty of action. The only tangible result to the clan was that the executor of Ensign Alexander Lamont, tutor of Auchagoyl, was able to rank on the "Equivalent," or "hush money" paid by England, for £54 sterling as the arrears of pay owed to the deceased soldier. This is the first occasion on which Lamonts at home came in contact with the English money standard. In ten years' time the more advanced of them adopted it occasionally for mercantile bills and obligations, but in general the tartan dealt only in the old Scots merk and pound. The latter was fixed for the future at one-twelfth of the English pound, and thus the Ensign was due in Scots money no less a sum than £648.¹⁹

This Alexander is the hero of as namely a ploy as any in the later history of the clan. In the autumn of 1705 proceedings were taken by the procurator-fiscal at Inveraray against him and a number of his tenants, including one William Black, for "harbouring, entertaining, concealing and protecting in their households and families Donald McLucas in Tawnich" of Glendaruel, who was wanted for the murder of John McArthur in Stronafian in July. One of them two-facedly turned King's evidence and deponed that "after the first of August last he himself, Archd. McLucass, Jon Mckemie [the Ensign's servitor], and Archd. sone to Wm. Black defender, came to Donald McLucass his house in Tawnich in the nighttime by orders of (Alexander), who ordered him and (as he believes) the rest to bring out of the sd. house provision for Donald McLucass his children and (as he believes) for sd. Donald himself, and also 2 or 3 cows (of McLucas's) in case John McArthur were not dead, but if he were dead to tuch none of them." He further admitted that he "himself took a gown and a coat pertaining to" the panel's "wife and gave them to her being then in Auchagyle." The witness was thereupon fined 100 merks for his pains, and William Black was discharged there being no evidence against him personally. His son had fortunately not been charged, but there is a note that he is to be cited to speak along with an inn-keeper in Auchagoyl who had no doubt given hospitality to the fugitives.²⁰

Next day the Ensign himself admitted having sent for the children,

but said that he forbade them to bring away any of McLucas's goods if McArthur was dead, "and denys the rest of the libell," which the fiscal undertook to prove. At this point the records fail, and one is left to jalousé the result. It would be pleasing to know that he suffered no ill for what he plainly considered a duty. Auchagoyl, which lay close to Kilfinan, was the nearest lairdship to Glendaruel, and he would not tarry a moment before sending aid to his clansman in distress. His brother Walter, if he had been at home, would have gone in person and "as swift as the wave tops," for he was at the head of the brae when courage was given away, as the saying is. The bond with the McLucasés was perhaps more by adoption than by blood, but it was enough to send a relief party scurrying over the hills in their plaids at dead of night. Such prosecutions are not brought to-day; the law of "accession after the fact" is almost obsolete, but if it was good enough to bring MacCailein to the scaffold in 1661, it would serve to hang Blacks and Lamonts fifty years after.²¹

Glendaruel had none too good a repute at this time. That same fiscal had to issue another summons two years later, in which he set forth that in dark November 1707 John Black in Kilbridebeg and an accomplice stole and away-took three sheep from the miller at Garvie, and after eating them rolled the bones in the skins and concealed them. Fresh sheep dung was discovered at John's fire-end, which told its own tale. Archibald Black, who was a sheriff officer for the county, was also charged with suppressing the crime of his clansman. Once more the record does not reveal what happened. If John was convicted he would soon have a withy around his windpipe, for sheep stealing was a capital offence. Besides no Celt had a good word for it. "A fish from the river, a wand from the wood, and a deer from the mountain (were) acts no Gael was ever ashamed of"—so runs the old-word. These were the gifts of God. But a sheep from the fank meant in his code the robbing of a neighbour.²²

Meantime the chief, just man, was living quietly at Ardlamont, enjoying what few gifts providence allowed him, with his wife and her sister Jean Urry, who was buried in the Lamont vault in 1706. Next year was born Kilfinan's son, destined to succeed in due course as ARCHIBALD XVII. Old Archibald could afford to take life easily now. He had done his part, and the future was assured. To him in these years must be ascribed the portrait figuring in plate 19. It shows him, not alas! with the pleated tartan about him, but in a small wig and white Steinkirk cravat emerging from a cloak of some kind. In his hand is a churchwarden pipe, which is odd, for it imparts a *négligé* effect to what should be a formal posture. His characteristic feature is an unusual length of

head, and only in the long nose is there any likeness to Sir COLL XIII, his grandfather, or ARCHIBALD XVII, his grandson (*cf.* plates 15 and 21). Unlike either of them he has the look of one who has been to the ends of fortune, and held his own against whatever should betide. One presumes it was painted in Edinburgh, but otherwise there is no hint that he went further afield than to Rothesay town, where he forgathered with the Earls of Bute and Glasgow, with whom he was friendly.²³

He was also in close touch with the Stewarts of Ascog-Bute, who were heritors in his home parish in respect of Inens, and it seems to have been one of that tribe who was Stillaig's Edinburgh "doer," though Archibald himself employed another for a "pension" of £20 *per annum*. It was a Stewart who wrote from there in 1708 to Dugald in terms of interest. "If yor daughter," he said, "hes not improven her tyme at schools & otherwayes as she ought, it is her own fault allenerlie [only], & neither my wyfes nor myne or the gentlewomans quhair she remained, for she was often told thereof: And for her silk gown & coat it is neither my fault nor my wifes, for quhen Kilfinan wes heir, he made some motion of it, and after that ther wes noe peace till it wes taken off." One gathers that the lass was haughty and her good-brother was tactless.²⁴ She was probably Jean, second daughter of Stillaig, who was betrothed in 1710 to Archibald Campbell of Auchintain in distant Ardnamurchan, the second son of Campbell of Lochnell, when something seems to have intervened to stop the banns. She was unchancy in her affairs as though at Martinmas 1712 she married Dugald Campbell, the fiar of Ederline at the south-west end of Loch Awe, she admitted misconduct to the presbytery in 1724, and there were mutual divorce proceedings in 1727, which provided the first decision that recrimination in Scotland is no defence. Anyhow she failed to prove her case against him, though her father diverted the witnesses with drams and gold. Meantime Kilfinan boated over Loch Fyne with him to Crarae to see her infest near Stronlbanach.²⁵

Not long before, on the 13th of October, the chief had himself "crossed over" beyond the sturt and strife of the proud highlands. In the vault at Kilfinan to-day one is confronted at the first gliff with a tablet to his memory (plate 20). "Here lyes Archibald Lamont of that ilk," it reads, "who was married to Margaret Urry, daughter to Sir John Urry. He . . . was intered the 21st of said moneth in 67 year of his age," beside his sister-in-law, Jean, but his arms were not engraved as hers, one wonders why. The interval of eight days suggests that it was a real highland funeral "worth twelve communions," as the saying is (*is fhearr aon tòrradh na dà chommanachadh dhiag*), at which his folk would gather from afar. His resting place is due the homage of all lovers of their clan, for

it was he who saved the Lamonts from extinction, and led them against the Diarmaids in the "Atholl raid" of 1685 of blessed memory. "*Beannachd leat*" would say many a one standing bonnet in hand, while the chief went to his long home under boards. His seat in the church was not in the modern laird's pew in the gallery above his grave, but on that side below surrounded by his own retainers, and there he would keep his great bible with southernwood or tansy between its leaves. This was bequeathed him by another sister-in-law, the widow of the Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1694, and is still to be seen at Knockdow.²⁶

The arrangement of the benches was as follows, laid down by the presbytery in 1701. "The north syde of the kirk intirely (was) to belong to the Laird of Lamont and his vassals including Achichrossan, with the rounge of one seatt on the south syde [for Evanachan] in the east and next to the Laird of Ottir his rounge, which stands neirest and closse to the east gabill: And the south syde of the kirk to belong to Argyl's vassals, reserving the said seat for Lamont, with a competent rounge for the elders' seat about the pulpitt, & a seat for the Minister to the west of the pulpitt, next to the elders', next to which Mr John Stewart of Askog [Bute] is to have his seat, & the Barron of Linsag [who was a McLea, a descendant of the chiefs' hereditary doctors] at the back of Askog's, next to whom Kildalvan is to have his seat." Acharossan was to take up one of two positions "as the Laird of Lamont shall please to allow him." Unless otherwise mentioned the heritors referred to were all Diarmaids. It is good to see that the Lamonts had still a majority, albeit a narrow one, and that their chief was left to arrange their relative sittings. The ordinary worshipper, of course, would have no seat at all, and had to stand on the damp earth throughout the service.²⁷

The new chief DUGALD XVI was in office for seventeen years from 1712 to 1729. He was familiar to his tartan as laird of Stillaig, and was the elder and now the only surviving son of the Mr Archibald who had shared with Sir JAMES XIV the ill fortunes of the civil wars. What became of his brother Coll is not kened. It was not long before Dugald moved from his home "little and narrow" to the wider policies of Ardlamont, with Margaret Stewart his lady, while the widowed Margaret Urry went to Glasgow, then a city of orchards, roses and plaiding upon a river "purer than amber," so said its people. The dowager agreed to restrict her rights to the household plenishing, including plate, and to £333 a year which was the gross rent of Inveryne, the second farm on the estate. Before she left she wrote in her husband's copy of the scriptures "I giffte die honiret Lerd of Lamont dis Bible on rewiersion to die hus of Lamont die 24 of Mai 1714. M. Lamont Urrye." The

signature was as distinctive as the spelling, for married women generally then signed without reference to their husbands' names at all. She meant to make the book an heirloom. A James of her name became tenant of a quarter of Ardlamont. Perhaps he had followed the old custom of escorting his kinswoman on her marriage and settling among her husband's people.²⁸

The chief's financial standing was now good, as he had the resources of both the Inveryne and Stillaig families, which had been separated since the time of Sir COLL XIII. In particular the teinds of the parish of Kilfinan, which was the younger branch's portion, were worth above £500 a year. On marrying Margaret Stewart one quarter of the Bute loan had been remitted, and on succession to the chiefship the same again was his due as further tocher. The lave, £3777, he was now able to repay. He even redeemed (at ten years' purchase) an annual charge of 20 merks secured upon Mid-Toward created as long ago as 1562 by DUNCAN XI. There was still one of the old 1646 apprisings in existence, but of slight amount, which he also bought up, from the Herbertsons of Glasgow, in 1714. The estates were now without encumbrances of any sort, save for family portions and some trifling debts. But they were not as large as the estates of old, because Mac-Caillein had permanently acquired the section of Sir JAMES's territory above mentioned, namely 11 merks' worth in superiority and 23 merks in superiority and property. Besides the 8 merks of Achafour, the 12 merks of Kilmichael, Kilmarnock and the two Brackleys, later recovered by the chief and Knockdow respectively, the 3 merks of Killellan was destined to be repurchased by the first professional Lamont laird, a Dr George from London, who graduated at the University of Edinburgh in 1723.²⁹ Despite the fact that he was *bien Dugald* petitioned the commissioners of supply at Inveraray for a reduction in his assessment for taxation, and was successful, upon the doubtful ground that his rents were by-ordinarily small. His family of five daughters was perhaps as weighty a reason in the minds of his colleagues.³⁰

A very special meeting of those same commissioners and of the heritors of the county was summoned for the 11th of August 1715, in view of "ane invasion designed by the Pretender upon His Majesties Dominions," for the campaign of "the '15" was on the threshold. King James VIII, as his supporters called him, the "Old Chevalier," was thought to have "encreased his interest in the shire of Argyl," and Duke and government were naturally anxious. Of a total of 225 but 63 attended in Inveraray tolbooth, including Dugald, Auchinshelloch, Inverneilbeg and Knockdow, who doubtless were lodging in Alexander Lamont's

change-house in the township. Auchagoyl was a child, but Monydrain and Stronalbanach had no excuse for absence. Kilfinan was thought to have signed an address of welcome to "the Pretender," and indeed a man excluded from the succession might well have taken the view that "for his share of the grain the kiln might go on fire"—*air son mo chuid-sa de 'n ghràn, leigidh mi 'n àth 'n a teine*. But his abstention may have been intended to safeguard the estates in either event. When called upon to oppose "the pernicious designs of the Pretender and his adherents" by convening "the whole fencible men of the shire with their arms," the said 63, of whom 37 were Diarmaids and 5 Maclachlans, agreed "*nemine contradicente* to stand by and defend his Sacred Majesty King George His Person and Government and the Protestant Succession in his family with their lives and fortunes" in the manner proposed, but meantime they humbly thought it enough that "an sufficient man upon each two-merk land be in readiness as well appointed as their circumstances will allow." ³¹

Argyll wrote specially from London in obvious relief on the 27th, and on the 6th of September the Earl of Mar unfurled the Jacobite flag upon the Braes o' Mar. There can be little doubt that many McGillivie-Lamonds on his own and the Farquarson estates would follow his *bratach*, although there is no record of it. In Cowal, too, there would be many who thought *na'm biodh a' chòir air a cumail, cha bhiodh Rìgh Deorsa 'n Lunnainn*—"if right had been maintained, King George had not in London reigned." But the Lamonts as a clan had suffered enough in the Stewart cause in 1646, and though the ashes of revolt were still smouldering they declined to take the road for the Chevalier. Despite Kilfinan's hesitation at the start he was in command of a company of 65 militia men at Inveraray at least from the 30th of September, for he gave a receipt for 13 cows as their "kitchen subsistence" for the month after. MacCailein, "red John of battles" as they called him, rallied his clansmen to the tune "the Campbells are coming"—*Bail'-Ionaraora* in the Gaelic—and marched them to the centre of Scotland, though some were recalled in October to defend his home town against an attack by 2000 of Mar's supporters, which was unsuccessful. In November the invasion reached its summit on the heights of Sheriffmuir, and then faded away. The lands of the major adventurers were forfeited, including those of Campbell of Glendaruel, but what support he got from the Blacks one cannot tell. It was mainly in the northern highlands that the strength of the Jacobite party lay, and "the surname of Lamond did not upon most occasions associate with most others of the more remote clans," as wrote Auchmar a few years later, with obvious reference to the

'15. In fact it was said that the tartans of the south-west as a whole were "not concerned in this rebellion, but (were) in many parts of quite a different interest." They even helped to "put the retreat on" the others.³²

Still and on some of the clan were out in Mull with the white cockade in their bonnets. A commission for disarming the island in 1716 induced a number to admit having been "in the rebellion." Thus Archibald Black in Icolmkill [Iona] "confesses he was keeping garison in Cairnbulg with the rebels & has no arms," and Duncan Lamont in Ardchiavaig of Ross gave up a gun, a sword and a dirk in similar circumstances. From there no doubt they had spread to Lorne, and a certain Martin Lamont was in service with the McDougalls of Dunolly, old allies of the *clan Laomainn* in its campaigns. From the heather of Mull they came also to the causeys of Glasgow, and there they dealt with the same merchants as their Cowal kinsmen. The sons of those who had parted on the bloody shores of the Firth of Clyde in 1646 now grasped each other by the hand in city booth and market to exchange old memories and traditions. The tutor of Auchagoyl and a retainer of Auchinshelloch were admitted burgesses of Glasgow in the early years of the century.³³ In Edinburgh, too, clansmen from the west met others from the east, and Alexander, a son of Lamont of Newton, was apprenticed to a wright there in 1727. One of the Fife kin seems to have been the first clansman in the Royal Navy, John Lamond sailor of the "*Royal William*" and afterwards in the Company of Scotland's "*Endeavour*" trading out of Greenock to Africa and the Indies. He died in 1707. Some mercantile venture would probably account for the presence in Coleraine of Antrim, in Northern Ireland, in this period of the ancestors of one of the two patrons of this volume. In Ayrshire again they were thriving and Lamonts figure as bonnet lairds in Barnwell parish, and as merchants in the county town. To complete the circle home one finds a Duncan Lamond admitted to the freedom of Rothesay in 1716, while an Archibald, a sailor from Kilfinan, was collector of cess for that burgh. These same were not so bien, however, for the former and the latter's widow and family were soon on the poor's roll.³⁴

If the '15 was soon over and forgotten the country at large was still disturbed, and special efforts were made to curb the notorious Rob Roy McGregor. The Duke of Atholl, as Lord Lieutenant of Perthshire, had lodged him safe in Logyrait prison, but he escaped, and his Grace applied to Dugald, as chief of the clan which had fought with him in 1685, to furnish information in confidence as to the villain's whereabouts. The letter begins "Sir, The regaird that my predecessors has allways had for your family occasion me to desire the favour of you that you wil

acquaint me if Rob. Campbell, commonly called Rob Roy [McGregor], has fled into the country about you." It is more likely, however, that the fugitive had repaired to the cottage in Glenshira by Inveraray where he was born, and where at the end of the last century his *sgian dubh* was unearthed with the initials "R. McG." incised upon it. Meanwhile in Cowal all was as ever. The lairds still rode and ferried to Inveraray as commissioners of supply, and clansmen tilled the soil, put axe to the heritor's woods, and netted the Firth of Clyde, while cattle and timber trades were thriving. More trafficking is indicated by numbers of bills protested in the Sheriff Court books from 1720 either by a Lamont or against one, and particularly by one Robert, merchant in Melldalloch, perhaps the same person as Robert, brother to Auchinshelloch.³⁵

Some light is thrown upon conditions of life by the record of a sitting of the baron court of Inveryne in 1725, the only one of which there is evidence since the Restoration of 1661, although no doubt it regularly sat and exercised full powers, which included in theory the power of life and death. A court was fenced at Ardyne before Kilfinan, as baillie depute of the chief, on a complaint by Donald Black, the procurator-fiscal, against a body of tenants for the familiar offence of "cutting of Ard. Campbell Captain of Dunoon his woods." A Finlay Black in Strondharaig "confessed that he cutted some wands for ker backs and some woodies in Glenkinnie." The withies were, of course, for fastening harness, and the car was the sledge which was the ordinary farm vehicle in days when wheels were not of any use because of the roughness of the tracks. "Two birch trees of the most suitable bends made the two shafts (whose ends were sliced away at the proper angle to slide easily and smoothly on the ground. Two planks, one behind the horse and the other about half way up the shaft ends, were accurately [pegged] to the shafts, and were bored with holes to receive four-foot-long hazel rungs to form the front and back and to keep in the goods, a similar plank on the top of the rungs making the front and rear of the cart surprisingly stable and upright. The floor was made of planks." It is remarkable, however, that this Black, in his determination not to despoil his own laird Knockdow's woods at Brackley, had crossed the hills to the distant water of Alt-na-skein, the extremity of the old Lamont coronership of Nether Cowal. Three Lamonts from Toward and one from Achafour admitted similar excesses.³⁶

Oak trees were in particular demand to another end, the tanning of hides and pelts. To this relates a contract signed at Greenock in 1718 between two sailors there and an Archibald Lamont, a merchant in Auchagoyl, which employs some long forgotten Scots measures and

standards. The latter sold 150 "bolls good and sufficient merchantable well winned and dight [*i.e.* dried and dressed] oak barks not exceeding ten inches long." These were to be delivered "at the burn of Castlelathan within tackle reach of the boats that receaves them dry and in good order" by the 1st of July, with six lay days. A large discount was apparently allowed, as the price was 5s. sterling for each cwt. "at six score per hundred English weight, and alloweing one pound to the hundred and a hundred to the score and three hundred to the bargaine without any gratuity or payment therefore." This is hard reading to modern merchants and lawyers alike.³⁷

The fruit of the sea was in those years as bountiful as that of the earth. It was subject to a tax to the Admiral of Scotland, who farmed it out to MacCailein. First Auchinshelloch and then Kilfinan were his "sub-tacksmen of the admiral and assyse dueties in the western seas and lochs." Their jurisdiction reached from the Pentland Firth to the Mull of Kintyre, then north to Loch Fyne head, and by Ardlamont and Toward Points to the burgh of Dumbarton, a range beyond the powers of one collector. The magistrates of Inveraray tactfully admitted as a burgess and guild brother the local depute, a Dugald Lamont, merchant in Kilfinan, no doubt the inn-keeper. Loch Fyne even then was namely for "a great hering fishery," and was not that the finest of all catches? "The cod and conger," it has been said, "are the churls of the sea, daundering around in singles like the raven of the land; give me the herring of the summer-time, that moves from place to place in jolly bands, and is a king's fish, and was never caught by the greed of its guts with worm or cockle, but went to his death, like the great Macleans in noble armies."³⁸

About this time there are some family events to relate. In the spring of 1718 the chief's third daughter Isobel was married to Neil Campbell, younger of Duntroon by Crinan, and his fourth daughter Mary to Colin Campbell of Strachur. The annuities provided by the husbands were £500 and £600 respectively, and the tochers of the wives £4000 and £5333. Perhaps the difference is due to the latter husband being already a laird, and the former only an heir-apparent. Maybe again special measures were required to refute the hostility of the Montrose war, when Sir JAMES XIV was accused of enormities at Strachur, and Colin's ancestor of a hand in the massacre of Dunoan. The other daughter Grizell never married.³⁹ By 1722 Kilfinan's and Margaret's son, the future ARCHIBALD XVII, had entered Glasgow College, as a fellow student with young Colin of Knockdow, and soon appears at home as Archibald Lamont of Kilfinan, younger. Some time between 1716 and 1723 Margaret Stewart died, as in the latter year the chief remarried.

His second wife was Mary daughter of the late Maclachlan of that ilk, but she did not produce the hoped-for heir of Dugald's body. When Margaret Urry died in February she left her furniture to the Herbertsons in Glasgow, in the Cathedral of which city she was buried, and her silver plate to Kilfinan along with a debt due by her late husband, a generous bequest to one who was the bairn of another woman.⁴⁰

By 1726 the chief had given up hope of having a son, and he fulfilled his obligation in his eldest daughter's marriage contract of 1701 by settling his whole estate on Archibald. Kilfinan, Archibald's father, to whom a liferent was reserved, in the same year extended his possessions by getting a lease of Evanachan from its Campbell laird for 19 years.⁴¹ As regards the other cadets a word is due of Coll of Inverneilbeg and Glaic, including Corry, who seems to have been anxious to employ his means to acquire estates and to ensure that they remained in Lamont hands. He exchanged these lands, which he had bought by 1712, for Lephinmore and Lephinrioch in the barony of Strathlachlan in 1719. When the chief renewed the investitures of N. Auchagoyl and Monydrain it was natural that in his own interest he should include a clause of return to himself, in the event of heirs male failing, but Coll had no cause, save clan sentiment, to insert in all his titles a destination over to DUGALD XVI. In a wadset of Lingartan he even called as ultimate heirs, in preference to his own heirs female, such as daughters, Stronalbanach, Auchagoyl and Knockdow, omitting Auchinshelloch presumably as an oldster without issue.⁴² The latter's brother Robert, merchant in Mell-dalloch, had a wadset of Monydrain, and Coll in 1721 sold all his properties in order to take over that ancient Lamont lairdship, and founded there the second family of that designation.⁴³

In the earliest account of the south-western clans, to which Kilfinan was a subscriber in 1723, the author, a Buchanan from the Lennox, in treating "of the surname of Lamond," remarks that "the principal gentlemen of that name are the Lamonds of Silvercraig, Lamond of Willowfield [*i.e.* Auchinshelloch], who with some other gentlemen, and most others of that surname, reside in Lower Cowal." His information was a little behind the times, as Silvercraigs, the last of his line, had died in 1700, and very incomplete, as he knew nothing of Auchagoyl or of the independent families. He adds, no doubt from Nisbet's book, "there is also descended off a son of the Laird of Lamond, Burdon of Fedale in Straithern, with others of that name there." But his account is valuable because it is the earliest record of the kinship of a number of the septs. "There are," he says, "of other denominations descended of this surname, the McLucases or Lukes, McInturners or Turners,

McAlduies or Blacks, McIlwhoms, and Towarts.” Of the last named there is no previous indication in the Lamont country.⁴⁴

Perhaps it was a sight of this book that led in the same year to a speir addressed to Dugald by a John Black, merchant in Belfast. He gave details of his family, who were scattered over Europe in business, and explained that one son had been at Glasgow College some years ago, no doubt the Samuel Black, “*Scoto-Hibernus*” who took his degree in 1709. John entreated “the favour to know the original that the Black hath in the honourable family of the ancient family of Lamont,” and of an impression of the chief’s seal. Dugald’s reply has been treated elsewhere, and contains some curious inaccuracies as to the arms. Suffice it to say here that he was gratified “to find that neither absence for a long time from the native country of your forefathers, nor the difference between your surname and mine, which is only in sound, hath made you forget the family and stock of people you are truly descended from.” It is thus clear that the clan spirit was still strong, that mutual affection bound the most distant clansmen to the chief, and that he gladly undertook the trouble, then considerable, of sending a despatch by packet to Ireland in reply.⁴⁵

In August of 1728 he felt his end was near and settled his personal property on Margaret, his daughter and Kilfinan’s lady, except what was provided to Mary Maclachlan by her marriage contract. The former included his “houshold plenishing, silver work, gold and silver, cunzed and uncunzed” (*i.e.* coined and uncoined), of which one hopes there was rowth, with the ground stock of his lands. By the close of the year they had turned the mirror to the wall for him, and so was extinct the line of heirs male of Sir LAUMON, except for old Auchinshelloch, who had been passed over, and the Fife cousins (though their descent is not so clearly established). There is no stone to Dugald XVI in the burying place at the kirk but one jalouses that he went there. With his successor a new era was begun and old feuds with the Diarmaids were forgotten for good and all, though never the new feud between Stewarts and Hanoverians. In 1720 had been born in Rome *Phrionnsa Tearlach*, Bonnie Prince Charlie, an event hailed secretly in Argyllshire as a good omen.

“A change will come o’er barren lands,
No thorn on the ground but will fade,
Every hill will be laid in smooth rigs,
And wheat will grow on the hillsides.”

So sang one of the Maclachlans, little knowing that “that devil’s brood, Clan Diarmaid O’ Duine” was destined to hold the county for the “usurper” King George II, and that the highlanders’ ideal of “the choice of each holding without tribute or taxes” was never to be realised until doomsday.⁴⁶



ARCHIBALD XVII, 1729-1767

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CHAPTER XIV

ASSIMILATION OF LOWLAND STANDARDS,

1729-1767

DURING the chiefship of ARCHIBALD XVII (1729-1767) fortune's wheel turned well for him if ill for the Prince and the Jacobite cause. Unlike his three forebears he was wealthy in a manner of speaking. Allowing for the increase in the value of land in his time he was as rich as Sir COLL XIII, though laird of fewer merklands. He was able to marry a lady of title, and send his sons to college at Oxford, to maintain an Edinburgh lodging, and to owe money to a tailor in London. Albeit his wife was of a Jacobite stock, which came out with *Tearlach og* in the '45, he did not don the white cockade with them. By litigation he recovered from MacCailein Achafour by Toward, and he annexed the whole Auchinshelloch lairdship, and bought the lave of Ascog, upon the failure of these families in the immediate male line in 1741 and 1759 respectively. A third of the cadets, the ancient house of Monydrain, gave place to a new and bien stock of ancestry unkenned though perhaps sib. Knockdow contrived to double his estate by purchasing Kilmichael. Auchagoyl, the only other cadet remaining, eked out a precarious existence by smuggling and trafficking in cattle, the common ploys of the time. Contrariwise the Lamonts of Fife gave off a new ministerial branch by migration to Kirkcudbright, and the first professional Lamont laird appeared in the person of Dr George, the royal physician from London, who was probably one of the Braemar connection, and who acquired both Achafour and the lave of Ascog. In this period were compiled for posterity alike the earliest parish records of Kilfinan by the minister, who was Knockdow's brother and successor, and the *Inveryne Inventory* by the chief's law agent.

Plate 21 shows Archibald as a young hero, but in the fashionable dress of the day and not in the philabeg or little kilt he had round him for ordinary. A white neckcloth and jabot divide a flowered satin waistcoat, on which was worn a bright red flowing surcoat. The left hand grasps a cane, and underneath it is the belt supporting the sword whose hilt is kenspeckle. This is the only sign of the chief, for it was not then carried in the lowlands. One would rather have seen him in the tartan

putting *cromag* to heather. In the face is the family likeness. The shape of the head, the set of the eyes, and the growth of the hair are those of his namesake and grandfather, and the nose is Sir COLL's (*cf.* plates 19 and 15). He has a look of experience and of self-reliance beyond his years. Still and on, as is to be expected, the *oe* has not the wisdom of eye of either forebear.¹

On his accession at 22 Archibald's estate yielded a gross return of £3600 in Scots money (or £300 in sterling). Of this his Kerry lands paid £1860 in rent and £70 in feu-duties. Their teinds produced £530. Ardlamont was the richest steading at £400 a year, then Inverynie at £333, and Corra at £235. His rents in Nether Cowal, that is Dunoon and Inverchaolain parishes, amounted to £1130, and Knockdow's feu-duty was £12. First charges, namely portions (to his step-mother Mary and his aunt Grizel), with interest on slight loans, absorbed £800 per annum. The balance left him was close on £2800. It is difficult to estimate the outgoings, but they would seem to have been small, as under every lease that has survived the public burdens were passed on to the tenant, including in particular both cess, or land tax, and minister's stipend. He would require, however, perhaps £325 for the expenses of management and incidentals (comprising charitable pensions, schoolmasters' fees, and road money).² Deducting this there was a net income of nearly £2475 in Scots (or £206 in sterling). Since his majority his father's liferent was restricted to one-half, and the rest was Archibald's. Upon the death of his parents (in 1740 and 1742 respectively) the whole became his, and he succeeded also to the scattered 22 merk lands of Kilfinan's estate, which had not been in any chief's possession for centuries. The rental of these was £825 gross, and say £750 net. From then his total net income free of charges was £3225 in Scots (£269 in sterling).³

From the start he took an active interest in the development of the estates. The earliest perambulation of marches for the purpose of enclosure was in the summer of 1729, when mutual arbiters (Maclachlan and Otter) delimited the lands of Drum, Kilfinan and Acharossanbeg, by erecting marks and digging holes between such natural features as *cnocs*, white stones and an "arn buss" at the foot of a rivulet (*i.e.* an alder bush). Where these had names they were in the Gaelic, still known as "Irish," which was the language of the people for many a day to come. There was already a dyke in places, but this had now to be completed within seven years, each heritor paying one half of the cost. The object was plainly the enclosure of cattle, in place of the old-fashioned herding. Stock raising, too, was probably behind the purchase from Campbell of Ballochyle, at the other extreme of the barony, of his rights in the moor

and shielings of Glenfyne, which stretched from Ardyne to Glenkin. There was a walking of the bounds, but it did not prevent dispute in after years. Said a witness when examined on the point, "people were not so exact and anxious about the marches of their muirs" as they later became. Curiosity is aroused by a peculiar lease of 1731 to a Glasgow goldsmith of "the lands of the back Isle with the shells thereof," for five years for as many pounds in sterling (or £60 in Scots). Perhaps the object was the provision of mother of pearl.⁴

The year after Kilfinan's second daughter Ann was married to Daniel Campbell of Ardentenny at the mouth of Loch Long. In return for a tocher of £2666 she was provided to an annuity of £333, from which she had to sustain the children "in meat, drink, virtue and learning." One jalouses that her elder sister was the Christian Lamont, described as a daughter of "Lamont of Lamont," who married Charles McAllister of Loup on West Loch Tarbert, and whose portrait is at present at Kennox, that family's Ayrshire seat.⁵ Another relative who appears in the records is Grizel, the unmarried daughter of DUGALD XVI, who lived with her sister Mary at Strachur till 1751, and thereafter with her other sister Isobel at Duntroon at least till 1757. The Fife cadets were again in evidence from 1730, when a younger son of Lamont of Newton, destined later to represent that family, was ordained minister of Kelton in Kirkcudbright, and was at once in dispute with the heritors, among whom he was soon to be numbered himself. His brother Alexander, now in Canongate of Edinburgh, was about to depart to London, where he was in business as a cabinet-maker until his death in 1744. Their father, John Lamont of Newton, presented to Scoonie parish in 1733 a communion cup in memory of his ministerial great-grandfather Mr Allan (cousin german of DUNCAN XI), inscribed with a lion rampant within an orle of stars, with as crest a sinister hand open, and the motto "*ne parcas nec spernas.*"⁶

In 1734 an Allan of the North Burton branch went out to Jamaica as a Lieutenant of Foot, but died a bachelor within a few years. Who knows but he may have encountered sons of the Sorley Lamont from Drum, Malcolm Black from Achahoish, or Archibald Lamont from Kilbride, who had been shipped in disgrace to that island for following Mac-Cailein's instead of their own tartan in 1685. More humble folks who crossed the Atlantic also were the family from Coleraine, county Antrim, above referred to, who were perhaps impelled by the famine of 1740 to put on the shoes of fortune and make their homes in the state of New York. In both capital cities of Britain clansfolk were well doing, and not least in the sphere of medicine. In London Dr George was appointed

in 1741 to be physician to the Hanoverian Prince and Princess of Wales, parents of the future King George III. In Edinburgh in 1765 John Lamont, merchant, espoused his daughter Euphemia to that strange medico John Brown, author of the "Brunonian system of medicine," who had his portrait painted over a bowl of punch with Mr John Lamont, surgeon, and some drouthie cronies forbye. So also in many another city and isle Lamonts were to the fore, as for instance in Rothesay and in Islay. A new profession was that of Surveyor General of Tobacco in Dumfries port from which office one Duncan Lamont was deposed in 1731.⁷

Meanwhile Archibald had taken a notion of law pleas, which none of his recent predecessors had been able to afford. By Christmas of 1734 he had launched a writ directed to evict from Achafour and Kilmichael, both fertile 8 merk steadings, the Melvills to whom they had been feued by Argyll. An alleged defect in the latter's title was the ground of the action, which was successful as regards the first but not as regards the second. His Grace, who was the real defender, as being liable in warrandice to his vassal, had to repay £3000 in Scots in name of rents illegally received in the last thirty years. Kilmichael was left in alien hands until repurchased by Knockdow in 1753. A settlement was reached with Bannatyne of Kames in a dispute as to Troustan and Gortanloisk on Loch Striven, the property in which was now abandoned by the chief in return for a discharge of some old claims dating back to the civil wars.⁸ As titular of teinds and principal heritor in Kilfinan he had many an argy-bargy with the minister, and even challenged the content of the latter's meal measure. The reverend gentleman prevailed, however, upon it being put to the test by arbiters, and was successful also in securing an augmentation of stipend from the Teind Court in 1737. Assisted by Auchagoyl and Stronalbanach the chief was actively promoting in that year the claim of one of two competing Campbell heirs in regard to Evanachan. His protégé, from whom he leased the lands until 1754, won in the end, but his opponent, who was held to be a bastard, was not above suggesting that Archibald had embroidered his evidence! Along with his father he had also a law suit with Acharossan, of which no details are preserved, save that he incurred an account for £44 sterling (£528 Scots) to his law agent, including the postages of 5 London letters at 6d. sterling each (6s. Scots).⁹

In the summer of 1738 Stronalbanach announced the intention of reclaiming the Ascog lairdship. The chief took legal advice and found he had a strong defence. A summons was served on him and on Duncan iv of Auchinshelloch, who was feuar of part. The action took

its course, but it was settled as regards the chief within a year, and Auchinshelloch died within three years bequeathing his share to Archibald. Thus litigation was stayed, and the latter enriched by the acquisition of 7 merk lands with half the mill of Mecknoch. The lairdship of Auchinshelloch itself was administered by the chief by virtue of a judicial factory, as the heir (who was a nephew of Duncan) was abroad. It was ultimately "absorbed" by JOHN XVIII, and the rightful cadet never managed to recover his patrimony. The last of the old McSorleys of Monydrain, descended from Angus son of Duncan (paternal uncle of Sir LAUMON) was also dead by 1740, and the lands had already passed (in 1726) to Coll sometime of Feorline and Inverneilbeg, whose ancestry is mysterious, and who was frequently in touch with Ardlamont. He died, just man, within a few years having executed an entail by which, on the failure of the heirs male of his nephew and namesake (which happened in 1816), the cadetship should become a permanent provision for the second son of the "representative or laird of Lamont." If the word chief is not used, the clan spirit is clear enough. There was no other possible motive but the desire to benefit the principal person of the kin of Sir LAUMON.¹⁰

A brother (and later the successor) of Knockdow was in 1742 appointed minister of Kilfinan, where he renewed his now isolated family's connection with the chief's. He found "a great part of the parish records (to be) unhappily lost," and to him is due the credit of establishing on a permanent basis the registers of baptisms and banns, which are so helpful to-day for the elucidation of Lamont pedigrees, and the kirk session minutes, the earliest of which have somehow disappeared within the present generation. The only endowment for the poor, 10s. a year in sterling, had been mortified by Kilfinan, and he had also contributed £4, 15s. 6d. per annum for the school. A new manse was erected in 1746, and the whole church rebuilt in 1759. In 1739 the chief had instructed the preparation of the *Inveryne Inventory*, which is so invaluable to the historian as many of the originals are now lost. The bulk of the writs were in Edinburgh, but later seem to have been moved to Ardlamont.¹¹

In that same city he kept a lodging in Foulis Close on the north side of the High Street between the Exchange (which is now the City Chambers) and the present Cockburn Street. It was doubtless in Edinburgh that he courted Lady Amelia Mackenzie, a sister of the Jacobite Earl of Cromarty. They were married in September 1740 in the north-east or College Kirk (now Trinity College Church in Jeffrey Street). She was 19, and he 33 and the father of a bastard named after him. He settled on her an annuity of £1800 in Scots money. She had herself a bond

of provision from her father for £2666, later increased to £5000. Plate 22 is her portrait in later life, her piquant features enveloped in a mutch of the period.¹² She had never seen her husband's country, and was escorted to it by her brothers, and some McKellars who are there to this day. Tradition tells how they arrived, no doubt by water, at Ardlamont, wind-sheltered by its woods, which was in readiness for the occasion "with the house thatched and the hall nailed" as the saying is, and the peats aglow. They were dissatisfied, however, with the look of the dwelling, which stood a little to the north-east of the present mansion, and the brothers suggested an immediate return to a more pretentious civilisation. But when bidden to come in and eat they "saw the signs of wealth and grandeur in the silver plate and other family treasures they were quite reconciled." They would be surprised to see on the walls of the dining hall the portraits of such distinguished forebears as Sir COLL XIII and ARCHIBALD XV. One hopes they had been shown on their journey the battered walls of Toward Castle, if not the "ruins and remains of the house yard and kiln" at Inveryne, by this time scarce remembered as the original homes of the house of Lamont.¹³

If maybe they wondered at finding on the board the best brandy from the wall of France the explanation was not far to seek. The main diversion of the west coast folks at the time, and in particular of Kerry fishers, was smuggling, and the ruined Tarbert Castle on Loch Fyne was a noted howff for contraband goods. In this ploy one John Black, a son of the Archibald who kept the inn at the ferry of Otter, was namely, and in 1742 some foreign spirits of his were seized on the coast of Cowal. The smouldering ashes of revolt flamed up again, he "raised the country (and upon) a very sharp encounter" recovered them, "leaving one of the King's boatmen for dead." In the fray His Majesty's Surveyor General of Customs at Greenock "received many wounds with a broad sword, most of them in the head, which disabled him from standing any longer to his defence." This could not pass unnoticed and a prosecution ensued. But the local lairds, who had some sympathy with the smugglers, struck a bargain with the revenue. The proceedings were dropped on their paying expenses and £30 sterling in damages to the boatman, who was not dead after all, and binding themselves under penalty of £100 sterling that no one living on their estates for seven years to come would "be concerned or engage in running or smuggling any kind of foreign spirits, black cattle or Irish meal." They were still free, it seems, to import a vicious drug called tea, which was now coming into favour among the depraved.¹⁴

The signatories at Inveraray in February 1743 included the chief,



LADY AMELIA MACKENZIE, WIFE OF ARCHIBALD XVII, 1721-1801

Maclachlan, the Campbells of Strachur and Otter, Stronalbanach and Auchagoyl. There is some evidence that the last named, with Archibald providing the money, had been extensively concerned in the illicit trade with the Isle of Man, a noted centre, and had a depot at Loch Ranza in north Arran. As late as 1795 the minister insisted that he could still discern the evil effects on his parishioners of "the last generation . . . having carried on a ruinous contraband trade with the Isle of Man to an astounding extent." It had resulted in his view in dissolute habits and a general impoverishment. No doubt it absorbed the spare resources which to-day are devoted to betting. But as well as smuggling there was much illicit distillation, due in part to the well-meant efforts of reformers such as the reverend gentleman in question. Prior to this period, contrary to the general impression, the people as a whole drank little spirits, but kept to the cheap "two-penny ale." Now the double prohibition of the importing of brandy and the distilling of whisky made spirits a profitable venture, and all and sundry acquired a taste for them. Secret stills were opened all over the highlands, and in Glendaruel there were as many as anywhere. "The little black pot" became a favourite toast at all gatherings, and gentle and simple colloqued to outwit the "gauger" and his gang. Highlanders hated all interference with their liberty of action, and the unpopularity of the Hanoverian government encouraged the forces of disorder which were always latent among the tartans. Many a quaich was held before the forehead, and then drained to one over the seas.¹⁵

In these unsettled conditions there landed at sudden in the north-west *Tearlach ruadh*, auburn Prince Charlie, with the merest handful of retainers but a great heart, come to show the world what a man can do to regain the throne of his forebears. The *bratach bhan*—crimson with a silver centre—was raised in the country of Clanranald on the 19th August 1745, and within a month he was in Holyrood Palace. His faithful highlanders swarmed up the High Street to the Parliament Close, and if Archibald had chanced to be in his lodging in Foulis Close he would have heard the vaunting of the pipes and the grounding of muskets on the causeway, as "1400 of the most daring and best militia in Europe" secured the capital of Scotland for the invaders. He would have seen "the dazzling bonfires the streets all alighting, while the markets resounded with 'Great Charles, our own Prince.'" ¹⁶

In far-off Cowal there was no call for a quick decision, but the chief must have been hard put to it to ken the right course. Duke Archie was pledged to the government, and his kinsman and heir General John Campbell of Mamore "kept the country" from Inveraray. The Diarmaids

were so many and so ringed about him that Archibald would be swart to give them the chance of avenging "the Atholl raid" of 1685. It was too late now to restore the old supremacy of the Lamonts from *Clach an Toiseaich* to points Toward and Roy. In a map of 1734 prepared for MacCailein had been writ large upon Cowal "mostly possessed by Campbells and their followers." Alas! it was too true, though more was the pity. Still and on the chief's neighbour at Castle Lachlan, a colonel with regular military experience, was not daunted, and led 150 of his tartan to *Tearlach* in Edinburgh, "a valiant, active company, like red and fiery poisoned darts." Where the periwinkle could go the crab apple could have followed if it had the notion. Tradition tells that Maclachlan was prevailed on by his Stewart lady, whereas his brother-in-law of Achanaskioch, a former vassal of Lamont's, was only restrained by his wife's deliberate upsetting of a pot of boiling water over his legs. So when Archibald saw the gathering fires on the hill-tops to the north, which had now superseded the old fiery cross as the summons to battle, the young hero must have been sorely tempted to espouse the cause for which his forefolk had so suffered in the past, and to which he could have brought double the Maclachlan claymores. The Earl of Cromarty, too, Lady Lamont's brother, was out in October under the *bratach bhan* with 400 of the Mackenzies, while Charles Edward was on his way to Derby in high hopes of reaching London. No doubt Lady Amelia pressed on her husband the opportunity of seeking fortune at the expense of old enemies, though at the time she was ill with "the sickness that's better than health," being eight months pregnant of a daughter that died. But the chief held back, and wisely as it proved, though perhaps ingloriously.¹⁷

His tartan followed suit though some heroes could not resist the white cockade. The family tradition of at least two present members of the clan Society is that their great-great-grandfathers left Glendaruel for Prince Charlie. But the very complete lists available of Jacobite prisoners contain only three Lamonts and not a single Black. An Archibald Lamont attended Maclachlan as his cook, and was seen in arms with the "rebels"; an Alexander was hiring horses to them at Montrose; and a John Lamond from Aberdeen was groom to Lord Nairn, the titular Duke of Perth, who had joined *Tearlach Og* in that city in September. In Argyllshire meanwhile Mamore had called out the militia, equipped in the old dress with muskets of the "Brown Bess" pattern, and bayonets and ammunition brought by sea from the Tower of London. Tradition tells that, though Cowal did not follow Maclachlan, recruits were hard to get "and, had it not been for the authority which landowners still possessed there would have been few highland rank and file available for the support

of any but Prince Charles." In Kilfinan parish Stronalbanach was made captain of 74 men, with a piper and sergeant, but Dunoon parish could only muster 50. These went to Inveraray in their uniform with a red cross in their bonnets, but the country as a whole was sitting quiet. The invasion of England was a failure, and Charles Edward returned to Scotland. Led by Mamore's son the Argyllshire militia, with its Lamont contingent one supposes, joined the main body of Hanoverian troops under General Hawley in time for the defeat at Falkirk by "the rabble of the rough-bounds" in January of 1746. "Then indeed the red-coat soldiers did receive a thorough mauling," so sang one of their number. Though not actually engaged a whole company of the Diarmaids was captured, and the lave was recalled to Inveraray for reinforcements.¹⁸

Mamore maintained that he was ordered to remain in reserve and that the enemy did not dare to attack him. Still and on his action was not above criticism, and an observer wrote in March as follows, after remarking that the governor of Fort William was "a man not much to be relied on. I wish a great deal more could be said for his namesakes and Countrymen the Argyleshire men; they followed the very Colours in Hawley's Army at the Battle of Falkirk that they followed in my Lord Mar's Army in the year 1715." No less than 800 of them he said had since deserted, and two parties had surrendered. "The best affected of the Clans," he continued, "the Argyleshiremen not excepted, tho' I believe, indeed, they are the least to be dreaded, will prove a broken Reed and run into the Hand that leans to them. . . . In all the occasions which they have had to meet the Rebels they have shown no inclination to fight. . . ." The reason was doubtless that their hearts were not with King George and his English. MacCailein saw he must prove the worth of his countrymen, and in that same month he put them again to the field, the burgers of Inveraray among the rest, though little they cared for the cause. As Neil Munro has told, "the Duke and his House would have it that their people must up and on with belt and target and away on the weary road like their fathers before them. Some said it was the old game with the Inverlochy dogs (rive them and seize them!); others, that some bastard was at variance with the Duke about the Papist Stewarts—a silly lad called *Tearlach* with a pack of wild Irishers and duddy Macleans and Macdonalds and Camerons from the Isles and North at his back." The Lamonts did not so regard it. A Stewart was aye a Stewart to them and they had no notion to keep the Prince from his own.¹⁹

"'Bundle and go' it was any way in Campbell country from Cruachan to Cowal, from Cantyre to the march of Keppochan, and that's the fine

rolling land of sappy grasses and thick woods. In the heart and midst of it Duke Archie played dirl on the boss of his shield on a cold March day, and before night swords were at the sharpening from shore to shore. That's war for ye—quicker than flame, surer than word of mouth, and poor's the man who says 'What for?' to his chief." They boated across the loch and so on their journey. Falkirk was the last success of the Prince, and he had fallen back on the north. Montrose town had been taken in February, and with it Alexander Lamont, the horse hirer, who was helping to work the "rebel" batteries. By early April his two Jacobite clansmen were both in dungeons. A frigate from the south came up Loch Fyne and shattered Castle Lachlan with cannon shot, destroying its precious charter chest. "Far up in the long Highlands the Campbells were on their way. Loch Sloy and Glen Falloch, Rannoch's bleakness and Ben Alder's steepness, and each morning its own wet grass, and each night its dreams on the springy heather." But with the militia went neither the Cowal company nor the goodwill of the Lamonts.²⁰

As befitted light troops they skirmished ahead of the main body, which was soon in the Inverness district. On 15th April was fought the battle of Culloden upon the moor of Drummossie, by which the hopes of the Stewarts were doomed for good and all. One need not relate "the mishaps that confounded the heroes." Though Cromarty was too late to take part, a hundred of the Maclachlans with the yellow in their tartan were in the front line of the Prince's army, and their chief fell to a cannon ball. The Campbells helped to win the day for King George, by manning a wall on the left wing and enflading the enemy, but the brunt of the fighting was borne by Cumberland's regulars, who were able to withstand the charge of the dispirited highlanders, though they came over the heather as always with "the strength of fire, the strength of sea, and the strength of madmen" (*neart teine, neart mara, 's neart balaich air bàinidh*). The "rebellion" was at an end, though the "year of the great wasting" was but begun. The Prince took refuge in the Isles, pursued by government vessels. Mamore and his militia were stationed at Mingarry Castle in Ardnamurchan, and engaged in burning the townships of the McLean and Cameron Jacobites in Morvern. On 20th July H.M.S. "*Furnace*" arrived in Applecross bay in Wester Ross to receive despatches expected from the south by way of Mingarry. Next day it is recorded "the 21st, Lamont arrived in his wherrie with letters." One naturally assumes this was Stronlbanach, making the best of a bad business.²¹

In the beginning of August the Argyllshire militia, and he no doubt with his company, was combing the Clanranald country for *Tearlach*

from a base at Strontian in Morvern. One hears of them in Arisaig and in Glendessary, but few will regret that their efforts were vain. On the 17th they all returned to Inveraray, with two or three thousand captured stands of arms and a number of their own wounded. They were in part disbanded, but a memorial was addressed to the government protesting against further disarmament. The Diarmaids in particular resented being "chased off to their homes, like a dog with no collar." They justly feared reprisals from the north-west clans, who were still irreconcilably hostile to King George and hoped for aid from France to continue the struggle. Their protest passed unheeded, and as it happened there was no further trouble. The foundation-stone of the modern Inveraray Castle was laid in triumph on the 1st of October. By July 1747 Maclachlan's cook and the Montrose horse hirer were both freed from their Edinburgh prisons, although the Duke's groom was transported. In the same month one of the last de Lamonts of fair France, to which country *Tearlach* was now safely restored, wrote in his old age from his château of Sauzet, near Nîmes in Languedoc, to give a historiographer who was compiling an armorial of Provence an impression of the arms he had inherited from his father, the Captain Charles referred to above. Alas! he had himself no issue and what became of his line one cannot tell. There may still be folks across the channel descended from Robert, Ensign in Henry IV's Scots Guard in 1621, and his sons Major Claud and Captain Henry. But when one reads the letter signed "de Lamont" it sounds like the end of "an auld sang."²²

Another account of the part played by the tartan at home in the '45 appeared in a Glasgow newspaper in 1894 to the effect that "the chief of the Lamonts mustered his clan, but, possibly from fear of losing his lands, did not accompany them; the Lamonts marched with the Maclachlans, whose chief was a colonel in the Pretender's army," and formed part of the contingent of 150 of the latter clan who joined the Jacobites at Edinburgh. This will not accord with the facts narrated above. Further in the memorial prepared for the government in 1745-46 and generally attributed to Lord President Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the Maclachlans are dealt with at an early stage, as an independent body of 200 fighting men who had to be reckoned with. The Lamonts, on the other hand, are slumped with a number of "chieftains . . . who have the command of many highlanders in Argyle, Monteith, Dumbarton, Stirling and Perth shires," who could raise among them 5400 men, and who seem to have been regarded as government adherents. Perhaps the anonymous correspondent was thinking of the "confession" of that arch liar James *Mobr* Macgregor in London in 1753 relating to an alleged revolt prepared for

that year. "Macdonald of Largie has proposed," he said, "that there will rise from that end of Argyleshire, 2500 men, including the Duke of Hamilton's men from Arran, to wit Macdonalds of Largie, Macneils, Macalisters, Lamonds, and Maclachlans, and what Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck can raise." This statement is entirely unsupported by evidence.²³

The fact was that a century of civilisation and progress had wrought such changes in the south-west highlands that one who had much to do with the suppression of the Jacobites was of opinion that "the Argyleshire men (were) not properly highlanders" at all. Except for the Maclachlans, who still appeared to cherish the older ideals, their standards were now altogether different from those of their north-western fellows. For geographical reasons they were included in the area in which both arms and highland dress were proscribed. But it meant less to them than to the others to be deprived of "broad sword, target, poignard, whinger, durk, side pistol, gun, or other warlike weapons," as this was merely a reiteration of an Act of 1715 already in force in Argyllshire, though in disuse beyond the great glen. Their arms would still lie in the thatch of their roofs for use if need be against the "gaugers." But Cowal folks must have resented the enactment that "no man or boy" might wear "the plaid, philibeg or little kilt, trowse, shoulder belts, or any part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the highland garb, and that no tartan or party coloured plaid or stuff (should) be used for great coats or for upper coats," under penalty of imprisonment for 6 months without the option of a fine. The old Lamont pattern could only now be worn in women's dresses. Such was the law till 1782, and though it was little enforced against the gentry after 1760, the commons never again put on their tartan at any time. Its proscription among the clans who had opposed the Prince caused bitter resentment, and had he come again they would have changed their colours. "Every one in Parliament was wrong, with all their learning, when on the Campbells they did put the tightness of the trousers." So it was said at the time.²⁴

As regards the general reforms applied to all Scotland as a result of the '45, the conversion of military into monetary land tenures had little effect on the Lamont estates, almost the whole of which had for long been held in feu. The abolition of the greater heritable jurisdictions involved the substitution in crimes of importance in the county of the sheriff-depute for Argyll's justice-depute, but as the former was his Grace's chamberlain, Campbell of Stonefield, the change was purely nominal. In civil cases of moment the sheriff-depute at Inveraray, unlike his colleagues in the north-west highlands, had exercised his jurisdiction

throughout the county for many years. All petty cases, civil and criminal, of course continued to be heard in the baron courts, including that of Inveryne, which were not suppressed. Accordingly the practical effect of these supposed reforms upon the Lamont country was quite negligible.²⁵

To exaggerate the consequences of the '45 in the proud highlands as a whole is a common error, so widespread as to induce unsympathetic Victorian judges to declare that the essential features of clanship, if not always contrary to law, at least became so in the latter half of the 18th century, when governmental sanction was withdrawn from what they termed the chief's "independent authority." This finding cannot be endorsed by scholars. It seems to be based upon the theory that chiefs relied for their powers upon illegal oppression of their clansmen, whereas in fact they exercised these powers to a large extent by virtue of contract. One learned judge, himself a bonnet laird in Ayrshire, remarked in 1862 that "when all military character, all feudal subordination, all heritable jurisdiction, all independent authority of chiefs, are extracted from what used to be called a clan, nothing remains of its essential and peculiar features." It seems a satisfactory answer to his Lordship to point out that all these things have equally been extracted from the feudal system of land tenure, and yet that system still prevails throughout the length and breadth of Scotland (with trifling exceptions), and is not regarded in the law as having changed its fundamental character. These things were not in fact peculiar to clanship. The truth is that superiors and vassals, relics of a purely militarist civilisation, retain their legal status because they were universal, while chiefs and clansmen, who were linked by the self-same mutual bond of allegiance, have been outlawed as being confined to the unpopular district of the highlands.²⁶

In any event his Lordship was hardly entitled to imply, as he did, that *all* "feudal subordination" and heritable jurisdiction were taken away from the chiefs in 1745-47. As regards the first, a chief, like any other feudal superior, retained his whole rights as such superior (if he was one), and still retains them at the present day, although they have been increasingly restricted. As regards the second, the really operative jurisdiction, by which the chief, like any other baron, controlled his tenants and enforced his claims to their services, was the baron court, which has never yet been abolished although it has now become obsolete by gradual disuse. It is still quite competent to hold such a court. The diminution in the powers of a highland chief, which has undoubtedly occurred in the last two centuries, is not a consequence of clanship having become illegal but of a gradual alteration in the law of contract in general, and of master and servant in particular, dictated by public opinion. This

change has rendered unenforceable in the courts to-day an obligation to render personal services which formerly was binding alike in highlands and in lowlands.²⁷

To make this clear one must remember that it was common in early times for a man to agree to render personal services for a long period to someone more influential than himself in return for some valuable consideration, such as employment, a lease or grant of land, or an undertaking of protection and patronage. An agreement of this sort might be concluded by verbal bargain, by clause in a tack or charter, or by a bond of manrent. The stipulated services might be agricultural, military or ceremonial. In any event the mutual obligations thereby created were enforceable at law without the slightest possibility of challenge. The real basis of clanship, it is submitted, was simply a contract of this sort. It may be true that the rank and file had little choice with whom they should contract. But the alternative of migration was always open to any who disliked the local chief, and there are many known examples of it. At the present day, on the other hand, no one can claim specific performance of any contract of service whatsoever: the party in breach is only liable in damages, and may perhaps escape scot free on the ground that the restrictions imposed on his freedom are contrary to public policy. In this view then the basis of clanship was not oppression at all, but voluntary contract, and the strictures of their Lordships are wide of the mark.²⁸

In any event, however, it is clear that they cannot be applied to the *Clan Laomainn*. The learned judge above quoted added that "the lapse of time and the progress of civilisation, with the attendant influences of settled government, regular authority, and the supremacy of law, have entirely obliterated the peculiar features, and destroyed the essential qualities and character, of Scottish clanship." If this is true of the island clans, and perhaps of those in the far north-west, it is not so of Cowal, in which the three "attendant influences" were all at work as early as 1400. There is no record of a time at which the Lamont clan were antipathetic to the law of the country, and there is no good reason why it should not still be recognised at law like any other lawful voluntary association, although the mutual bond of allegiance is not now reckoned as enforceable in the courts. The foundation of the Clan Lamont Society in 1895 was thus no more than a reconstitution of the old clan upon the old basis, that is the basis of contract, the only difference being in the extent to which a contract of that type is now binding in law.²⁹

In this clan history, unlike most others, the '45 is thus important, not as a turning-point, but as showing that the clan Lamont had gone

far towards the assimilation of lowland standards, and that without any marked change in its constitution. The 8th Duke of Argyll was right in saying that the real crisis in the history of the highlands was past by 1745, although one may not take his view that it occurred in 1707. Cowal did not even benefit to any extent from the new "street" to Inveraray by way of the Rest-and-be-Thankful, completed by 1757 by General Wade's successor Caulfield, and the approach was still by water. The favoured routes were either by gabbart all the way, or else by crossing a ferry at one or more of Portincaple, Ardentinny, Dunoon, Coustoun, Ardyne, and Ettrick Bay. But it was a landmark whatever. Wade's handiwork has been described in namely words as follows: "Red, level, sixteen feet to twenty wide, and thrown across the country like a string, ascending lesser hills and sinking into hollows, floated on morasses over brushwood, or built up on them with timbers and fascines, it seemed to hurry to the (highlands) impatient to be there, defying nature's quirks to lure it into roving. And yet, of all the men who built it, few looked on it otherwise than as a road worth going on but one way—that was to the end that lay far off in Stirling and the towns." 30

As for the natives it was unsightly in their eyes, though they did not look on it with the same loathing as the northern clans, who would not walk on their new road a furlong. "Parallel beside it there were beaten down already by the clansmen and the clansmen's cattle, trails that both preferred as easier for the feet. Often with amazement would (the workmen) watch men plunging to the knees at icy fords below the very shadow of the bridges they looked on askance as meant for Sassenachs and women. But even their women waded. Doubtless what affected them in some degree was a foreboding of the part the Road would play in times of trouble with the Gall. They saw it used continually by the redcoats and the Watches; standing, wrapped themselves in plaids, on thicket verges or the slope of hills in mist, like figures of some other clime and age, they watched with gloomy brows dragoons pass cantering four abreast, or companies of footmen." But, as government forces had already easy access to Cowal by sloop and frigate, a broad highway had not the same threat for the Lamonts. Still and on it was always a further link with the lowlands, and perhaps in consequence their country was properly mapped for the first time by a surveyor in 1750.³¹

There was forbye another indirect result of the county's association with the Sassenachs throughout the '45, which reinforced the bond forged slowly in the past by intertrading. Upon the heritors' petition to Parliament the antiquated system of assessment to taxation on the basis of an almost prehistoric valuation of land was abandoned, and a new valuation

roll made out in 1751 by local commissioners (of whom Archibald was the third named though he did not act) in which all heritage was entered at half of the actual rent paid after deducting from that rent the public burdens.³² Apart from the figures disclosed one gleans some interest from the nature of the entries in the roll. Beginning on the east of the Lamont parishes the cornmill of Dalinlongart at the head of the Holy Loch reminds one of what was then a common sight all over the country, and is now fast disappearing. Thirlage rights were lucrative too, and this was assessed almost as highly as, for instance, the lands of Ballochyle, the home of the Lamont brooch, not far away. The list of tenements and houses in Dunoon show that building had progressed since 1692 when there were but five fencible men in the "toun." Colin, xii of Knockdow, had a house and garden there. Corn was also ground at Milton in the east bay of Dunoon, at Achafour, where traces can still be seen, and at Achavoulin. That Toward Castle was already a thing of the past may be inferred from its being slumped with Castletown farm. Hugh Black's *Tigh-na-brataich*, the standard-bearer's holding, was worth 26s. sterling. One wonders if he had carried the lion flag before the chief in the manœuvres of the '45. Skirting the coast towards the Kyles the assessors found further mills at Altgaltraig and Colintraive (the latter is still *in situ*).³³

The only Lamont change-house entered was at Mecknock, worth 37s. 6d. a year, and belonging to one Patrick Lamont. No doubt it afforded but cold comfort, with the spoons chained to the tables after the manner of the time. There is no word of the inns at *Tigh-na-crich* (Achafour), Kilfinan or N. Auchagoyl, referred to above. Perhaps the gaugers had put them out of business. Otter inn, a smugglers' haunt, is also omitted. It was on Campbell territory though its tenant was a Black. There was also a mill of long standing at Mecknock, with special acres of ground for the miller and the smith, in return no doubt for services rendered to the whole neighbourhood. Farther north the tenants were thirled to grind at Melldalloch from the 16th century at least, or at Lindsaig where the building still stands. Few features of interest are recorded in Glendaruel. The "Gerdoch House" or smithy, to which so many clansmen were cited for breach of the penal statutes in 1684, is not noticed, though another is entered near Dalinlongart. There were mills at Ballochandrain (to-day a waukmill), Moymore and Garvie (the old home of the Blacks). The days are long by since travellers noted such howffs, and most of the stones, rolled for miles from the hills on their edges by the whole population, are now derelict at the roadside, while Cowal feeds on bread from Glasgow.³⁴

The figures in the roll are also of interest. They show that the gross rents of the subsisting Lamont estates in sterling amounted to £657 (or £7884 in Scots), as compared with the old extent valuation of 136½ merks (or £92 Scots). This was made up as follows:—

	Merks	£
Chief (including Stillaig & Coustoun)	94	468
Knockdow (original)	13	73
Stronalbanach (Kilfinan lands)	11½	36
Auchinshelloch	8	22
Monydrain (proper)	4	29
N. Auchagoyl	6	29
	136½ m.	£657

The lands which had been given out by the chiefs in property (the superiority only being retained) and which had come into alien hands were as follows, being 72½ merklands with a gross rental of £473:—

	Merks	£
Silvercraigs	24	180
Kilmichael, etc. (modern Knockdow)	12	63
Monydrain (remainder)	8	70
Troustan & Gortanloisk	7	18
Achavulin	7½	61
Evanachan	5	16
Acharossan	5	29
Killellan & Achafour mill	4	36
	72½ m.	£473

Stronalbanach proper, it will be noted (a 2½ merk land with a rent of £16), had already been sold by its laird who had now lost his only son.³⁵

While, owing to the changes of ownership and the mixing of estates which had taken place, it is difficult to make a detailed comparison with earlier valuations, these tables are instructive in two ways. In 1629 it will be remembered the total merklands owned in property by the clan were 200, and the total gross rental of these £10,212 Scots or £851 sterling. It now appears, in the first place, that the clan had since lost 30 per cent. of its patrimony, although that loss was soon reduced to 23 per cent. (This happened when in 1753 Knockdow acquired Kilmichael, Kilmarnock and the Brackleys, whereby his estate was doubled, and the 4 merks of Killellan with Achafour mill were bought by Dr George, the physician from London).³⁶ The rest was gone for ever, and in view of the land boom already set in it was a tragedy. The figures show, secondly, that rents had risen much since 1729, as they did later in the north-west highlands.

On Archibald's accession the gross rental of the chief's lands (including his father's share but excluding feu-duties and teinds) had been £318 sterling, whereas it was now £468. Of the additional £150, £60 is accounted for by his acquisition in the intervening years of Achafour and Auchinshelloch's part of Ascog. The remaining £90 represents the increase of gross rental upon £318 in 22 years, which is almost 32 per cent. In Kilfinan parish the public burdens on land on that date amounted to about 5s. in the £ of valued rent (or 2s. 3d. in the £ of actual rent). These burdens were cess (or land tax), teind, schoolmaster's fee, road money, and rogue money (for the administration of justice). On this basis the chief's net income was now £344 sterling, plus his £7 of feu-duties and some small profit on his teinds (say £36), and minus the expenses of management and incidentals (say 7 per cent.), leaving a net income of at least £350.³⁷

This startling rise in rents was due to two main causes, the development of a new system of agriculture, and the growth of the cattle trade. Cowal was now noted for its corn and grass, and Archibald was ready to learn from lowland agriculturists. To the activities of the next half century must be ascribed that transformation of the surface of Kerry and Nether Cowal which is so apt to escape attention because of the difficulty of visualising the district as its contemporaries saw it. The Lamont country in 1700 looked very much like Sutherland to-day, except that the rock outcrops were fewer and the underlying possibilities of reclamation infinitely greater. Moorland was the predominant feature, with patches of cultivation scattered at intervals on the hillsides, chosen then in preference to the straths because of their natural drainage. The task which was now undertaken was the reclamation of the low-lying wet lands and of the miscellaneous intervening wastes of peat and scrub, till cultivation stretched unbroken across the whole of the area open to husbandry. So fertile are the valley of Allt Osde and the littoral of Toward now that it is hard to appreciate the difficulties which have been overcome to make them green instead of russet. "No man can see the tangled woods which have been cleared, the bogs which have been drained, the stones and boulders which have been broken, blasted and removed. Still less can one see the ignorance which had to be encountered, the stiff resistances of prejudice which had to be overborne."³⁸

Two steps were needed to this end, and both were innovations and unpopular. The first was enclosure, and the second unification of holdings. March dykes, as mentioned above, had been in use for some time, but Archibald was extending the principle when he contracted with two Rothesay masons in 1752 to enclose ground at Ardlamont by

quarrying "at the water side along the gardener's house" and building some 900 "exact English yards" of $4\frac{1}{2}$ -foot dyke with coping. It took two years to complete the task, and the cost was between £9 and £10 sterling. The object was, of course, to keep the cattle from the crop without the expense and risk of herding. Such dykes were needed all the more because the chief was taking an active part in the cattle trade, in partnership with Auchagoyl and a McAllister from Ardrpatrick at the mouth of West Loch Tarbert in Knapdale.³⁹

Accounts of their dealings from 1748 to 1755 have been preserved, from which one sees that they bought in Kintyre, in Knapdale and in Cowal, and sold both locally and at Falkirk fair, retaining in their hands a fluctuating stock of some three or four hundred stotts. At first their principal depot, to which the beasts were driven or ferried, was on the lands of Craignafeich and Auchinshelloch, but soon they opened another on Srondoire and Stronchullin in Knapdale (a little south of Ardrishaig). On each of three accountings there was a considerable balance of stock in hand, after paying in cash a share of the profits to each together with interest on one-third of what remained. The first brings out this "gain" at £143 sterling (after allowing to two of them the value in stock of £100 and to the third of £70); the second at £793 (after paying £50 in cash to each); and the third at £825 (after crediting each with £32). The policy of the restriction of dividends in order to increase the reserve fund is perhaps surprising at that date, and certainly deserved success. But even an annual profit of £32 was more than the gross rental of the Auchagoyl lairdship, which was only £29. The trade was a godsend to the clan, and of course enabled the humbler folks to market their few beasts without the expense of a separate consignment.⁴⁰

Among progressive landlords at this date there was a movement towards unification of holdings. The old system of township farming by groups of tenants of equal standing opposed an obstacle to any new development in husbandry, as this could not be adopted without the consent of all, which was rarely obtainable. A greater rent could be secured by letting the whole of a large area to one man with full power to adopt the latest methods, than by continuing the old four or eight joint tenants. On the other hand no chief who loved his people was prepared to evict them in favour of such a tacksman, and what was done in the Lamont country was to superimpose a single tenant upon the existing occupiers. A lease by Archibald in 1758, apparently a mere renewal of an existing one, is an example of this. He thereby let to a Robert McConnechy, the then possessor, the three merk lands of Glennan for ten years for a grassum of four guineas sterling, a rent of

nine pounds and a variety of payments in kind, and relief from public burdens (including the schoolmaster's salary). It was, however, a condition that the tacksman should uphold in thatch, wall and timber four dwelling houses, four barns, four sheep houses and cote houses, and leave the lands tenanted by one tenant upon each quarter.⁴¹

To encourage the production of linen he was bound to render 4 lb. of dressed lint, and to spin it into yarn every year. In the interests of afforestation he had to plant twelve trees, and fence them from cattle, and to take care of all existing wood on the farm. (Later leases also prohibit the use of timber for folding.) For enclosure purposes he had to build march dykes. In support of the three essential institutions of the estate he was thirled to grind all grain at Mecknock mill, to carry all iron work to the smithy there, and to pay the surgeon his fees. There is no word, however, of fox money, which was often due to a killer where that pest was common, as it was in Glendaruel. The Clan Acts of 1745-47 did not exclude the old stipulation for attendance at the baron court, and of service, in this case of four men and eight horses for 32 days "to travel the lenth of Glasgow or any other place at the like distance, upon their own proper charges, or otherwise to pay 18d. sterling for every day's service of each man and two horses," a rate above the normal. By contrast the price of a 9-stone boll of oats was then 13s. 4d. sterling. These services would all be required if the chief and his family migrated at times to Glasgow or Edinburgh, but there is no indication that they ever had more than one residence within the barony, though Stillaig was presumably open to them forbye Ardlamont.⁴²

The agricultural clauses in the tack indicate some progress towards improvement, and are so brief as to justify quotation. McConnechy was obliged "to leave one third of the wintertown lee," that is one-third of the arable fallow, at his outgoing to prevent exhaustion of the soil. He was also "to plant no putetos in said wintertown," as it was thought that this new Irish importation was best confined to poorer ground unsuited to the plough. He was only allowed to graze a limited number of "coves in the infield grass," and was likewise "stinted" as to his sheep, which fed with eight horses and four mares upon the moor grass. Large scale sheep-farming was a development of the future. It seems that the rigs were still being cultivated in common by the four sub-tenants, although more advanced ideas were creeping in. In another lease of 1767-78 there is a prohibition of muirburn, probably to encourage sheep, and of cutting turf for buildings. Presumably stone houses were now the rule on substantial holdings. Tacksman were bound to maintain the buildings, such as they were, and by the custom above mentioned

were entitled on leaving to remove the doors and windows and to be compensated by the incoming tenant for the shells, which they had originally been induced, perhaps by ARCHIBALD XV, to erect at their own expense, the laird contributing £5 per quarter land. Forbye the limited number of lease-holders there were 86 tenants at will on the estates.⁴³

There is little indication in the documents quoted of any displacement of old occupiers by incomers, or of any evictions, but the kenspeckle fall in the populations of the Lamont parishes in the forty years from 1755 to 1795 can only be explained upon the view that new ideas of agriculture and of commercialisation had already begun to lead to dispossession. For example in 1760 a certificate of character was provided by the minister, Knockdow as it happened, for the forebears of one of the two clansmen above referred to on the occasion of their departure for Greenock. It testified that "the bearers hereof, Archibald Black and Mary Lamont, married persons, have lived in this our Parish of Kilfinan almost from their infancy to this date, behaving themselves soberly and discreetly and free from public scandal and church censure, so that there is no reason known to us that may hinder their reception into any Christian congregation where Providence may order their lot." Despite this very lukewarm recommendation this clansman, who had been born in Glendaruel, was well received in his new home, where he traded with Ireland as a merchant and shipmaster, and was one of the founders of the Gaelic chapel. If one may judge from the rest of Argyllshire it is probable that some Lamonts would go overseas in this period. It was in 1762 that the first contingent from the county migrated to North Carolina, and settled there in large numbers.⁴⁴

The exact statistics of the depopulation are as follows:—

	1755.	1795.	Decrease.
Kilfinan	1793	1417	376
Inverchaolain	944	504	440
Dunoon	1757	1688	69
Kilmodan	806	351	455
Totals	5300	3960	1340

The shrinkage in Dunoon was but slight, presumably because its folks were near enough to towns and markets, but in Kilfinan, Inverchaolain and Kilmodan it was 21 per cent., 46 per cent. and 56 per cent. respectively. This was noteworthy at a time when the inhabitants of the mainland of the highlands were increasing slightly, and those of the islands greatly, in virtue of the introduction of vaccination, of the potato, and of the manufacture of kelp. Of the first of these there is some

indication in the Lamont country, of the second much, but of the third very little. According to different estimates the number of fencible men, between 16 and 60, was either one-fourth or one-fifth of the totals given above, but it is impossible to say how many of them were of *Clan Laomainn*. There is no doubt, however, that Archibald could have secured a greater following than Maclachlan, as the figures for Strachur and Strathlachlan parish were only 1193 in 1755 and 1061 in 1795 (a decline of 695 or 33 per cent.).⁴⁵

Another clause in the Glennan lease deserves attention. It bound McConnechy to have "no concern in smuggling or running of prohibit goods from the Isle of Man or any other place." This was the result of further unchancy experience, for on 10th September of 1749 a gauger had come on two little kegs of foreign spirits in a house or barn in his possession in the adjacent Stillaig. Delighted at being able at last to incriminate some definite territory, and that the chief's own family lairdship, the revenue authorities raised action for £100 from each of Archibald and Otter under the bond of 1743. To bring in the latter they added that on 24th August 1747 James Black, the innkeeper's son from Otter ferry, "the most audacious smuggler in all that country," had been caught between Greenock and Gourock in his yawl, along with another "commanded by Angus Lamont residenter in the lands belonging to the said Archibald," in both of which some casks of foreign spirits were found. In defence it was argued that the bond was as illegal as the smuggling, and so their Lordships held (unlike the present Scots judges who exact income tax on bootlegging profits). But the Kerry lairds had learned their lesson. Otter inn changed hands to a Daniel Luke, no doubt a more circumspect clansman, while one finds as a witness at Ardlamont in 1755 an Alexander Lamont, late officer of excise at Anstruther. He was of the Fife kin doubtless, and perhaps not very welcome to the people.⁴⁶

In these arresting years of Jacobite and smuggler alarms Lady Amelia (see plate 22) was rearing a family of five sons and two daughters, with a divinity student as their "governor." The heir and successor, John, had been born in 1741, and an Ann in 1742. There followed at yearly intervals an Archibald and a Norman (who was apparently christened Ninian). A Margaret and a Dugald, arriving in 1745 and 1760, did not survive. Between them came an Elizabeth (in 1749) and a George Robert (about 1753), strangely named perhaps in compliment to the King and his physician, and thereafter a Hugh (the Scots equivalent of Ewen). The last was the favourite son, who received a Benjamin's portion.⁴⁷ The first three boys were all entered in 1755 in the College

of Glasgow. Nothing could be more misleading than to represent (as Neil Munro did in his *Doom Castle*) the "Baron Lamond" of the time as an impoverished and friendless old man. That may have been a fair description of the real denizen of Dundarave, who was of course a McNaughton, and to whom the author of that classic seems to have referred, but it was as false as could be of ARCHIBALD XVII. In 1756 young Archibald and Norman were elected to Snell exhibitions at Balliol College, Oxford, the first of their tartan to study at that University. Their father seems to have posted south with them, as in June of 1756 he opened an account with a London tailor to whom he introduced them with unfortunate results. No doubt they were all feasted by Dr George in his house in Green Street, Leicester Square.⁴⁸

John, the chief apparent, bided in Scotland, and doubtless met among his teachers a namely clansman, Joseph Black from Bordeaux, the discoverer of latent heat, and then professor of chemistry in Glasgow, a grandson of the John, merchant in Belfast, who had paid his respects by letter to DUGALD XVI. From 1759 John, younger of Lamont, served as a Lieutenant in the Argyllshire Fencibles (the forerunner of the Territorial Regiments), and afterwards in the English 114th and 7th Foot till his retirement in 1764. In London he acquired a taste for dress, of which details are preserved in an unpaid bill presented in 1768 for £225 sterling. In the winter of 1762-63, for instance, he bought a blue cloth suit, with a velvet cope and extra pair of breeches, for eight pounds, a livery suit of green for his servant at four guineas, three flannel waistcoats faced with satin for £1, 14s., a pair of best super scarlet shagg breeches at £2, 18s., a scarlet waistcoat with gold lace at £3, 6s., and 21 yards of rich gold binding lace for an old coat for £4, 14s., and this in addition to his military uniform. Plainly he did not echo the words *MacMaighstir Alasdair* had rashly printed in 1751:—

"More I loved the proud plaid,
Beneath my arms and round my shoulders,
Than any coat I could get
Though of the finest cloth from England.

"Thou wast good to hunt the deer in,
When the sun arose o'er hillside,
And I would lightly go in thee
Sunday morning churchward.

"Closely wrapped I'd lie in thee,
And like the roedeer spring up quickly,
Far readier to wield my arms
Than red coat with his clattering musket.

THE LAMONT CLAN

“Tidy, pretty, handsome,
 For wedding or for *mod* the tartan;
 Up the flowing plaid,
 With shoulder pin to fasten it!”⁴⁹

All tartan, of course, was still proscribed—nor could it have been worn in England without exciting animosity—but the government was now alive to the value of clansmen as soldiers. The elder Pitt’s administration was using every endeavour to absorb the surplus population of the highlands into King George’s fighting forces overseas before they again gave trouble at home. There is no record of the progress of recruiting among the rank and file of the clan, but young Archibald and Norman followed the drum and saw little more of the heather. The former at 14 forsook his books to become an Ensign in the Black Watch, and saw service with them in America. Norman purchased at 16 in 1759 a captaincy on the original establishment of the 89th or Colonel Morris’s highlanders, was sent to India next year, and after partaking in the siege of Pondicherry and the battle of Buxar, came home on his corps’ disbandment in 1765. It is not easy to see how he and his brother could keep their Balliol exhibitions till 1767, unless by special indulgence to those on war service. Both were at Ardlamont for a spell in 1765–66. One is apt to confuse with young Archibald a namesake, who was a natural son of the chief. He was an officer in the 87th Foot, which was disbanded in 1763, and thereafter took John’s place in the 7th or Royal English Fusiliers. “For King and country” was no new cry in the highlands, but in the past the King had been a Stewart and the country Scotland. It was changed days indeed when the clans poured out their blood for a Hanoverian and for England in the Seven Years’ War.⁵⁰

While these lads were entering the regular army the veteran militia man Stronalbanach was at the end of his campaigns. He died in Rothesay in 1759, and his funeral was a real highland occasion, no doubt ending at Kilfinan. *Is obair latha duine thiodhlaiceadh* is the saying, and it was a day’s work to bury him. His friends needed 15 bottles of wine to tide them over the crisis (at 1s. 9d. sterling each). The oldster had already sold his patrimony beyond Loch Fyne, and had settled his Kerry lands on his eldest son-in-law, Campbell of Kilduskland (by Lochgilphead), who became liable for portions to the four daughters. One wonders which inherited the signet with the lion arms upon it, of which an impression is in the Register House to this day. Knockdow and Auchagoyl alone remained of the cadets (Auchinshelloch having disappeared), but as Stronalbanach’s daughter Margaret married the chief’s factor Alexander Lamont, their son in a sense represented the old line of Ascog. Kil-

duskland was bought out by the chief in 1762, and the lands transferred to Dr George, thus keeping them within the clan. In token of "regard and friendship" the superiority was included as a gift, entitling the new laird to a parliamentary vote. There is no evidence that the royal physician was ever at Ardlamont, but one supposes that he must have been, though probably there was no traceable blood tie between him and the "chief of his name." Archibald XVII foregathered whiles with his sister Isobel until her death also in 1759 within a few weeks of her husband, Campbell of Duntroon by Crinan. There were convivial scenes there too, for the chief was accused of prevailing on his brother-in-law to make extravagant provisions for the daughters of the marriage, "Lamont and [McTavish of] Dunardry plying him with drink, while Kilduskland prepared the deed." But it would have required a whole cask of smuggled brandy before a highland settlement could be reduced in those days, and the matter dropped.⁵¹

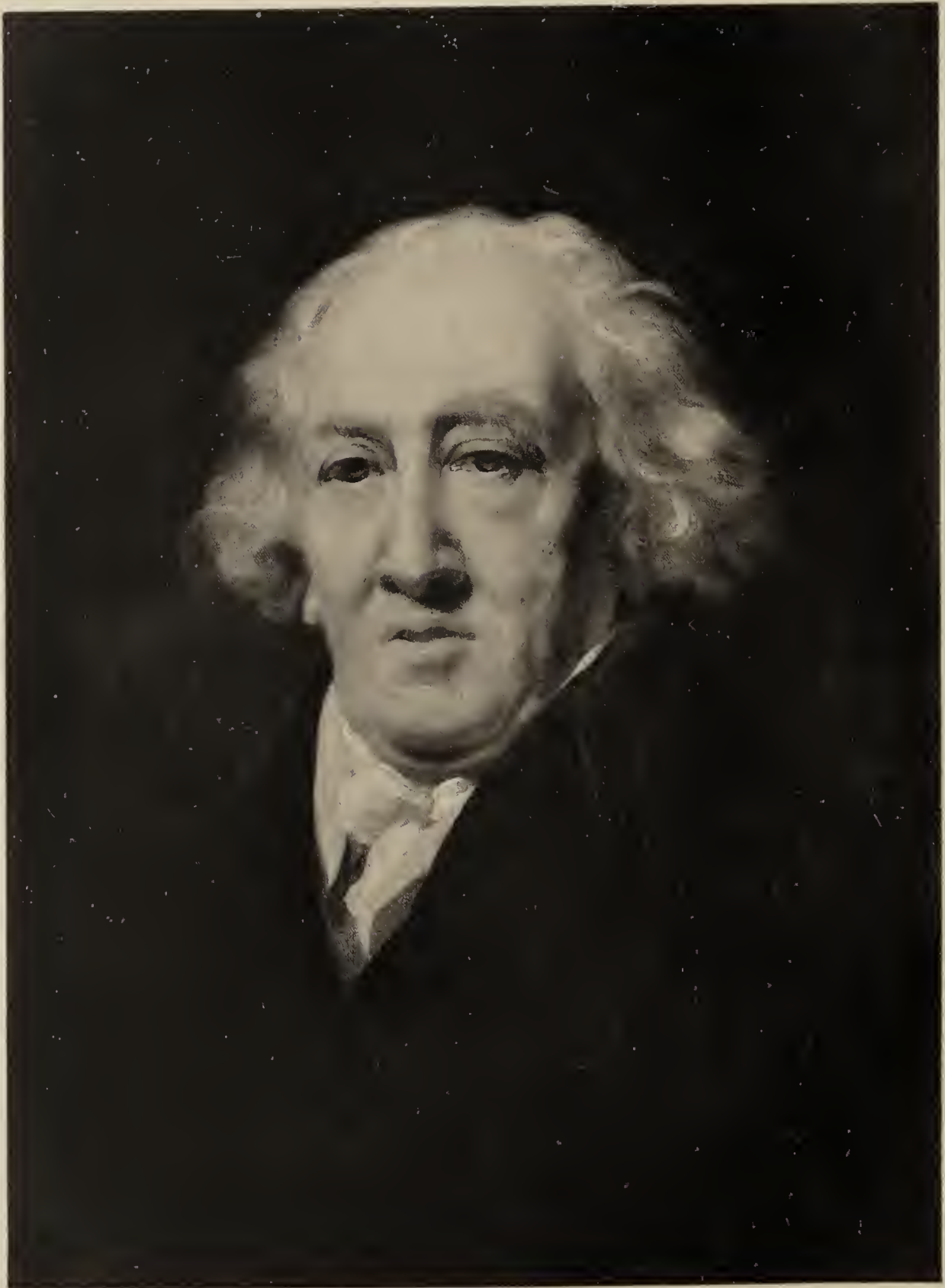
The family of Auchagoyl was nearing its end in the male line in 1765 when its estates were settled by its last laird, on the eve of his departure for Virginia, upon Archibald the second lawful son of the chief. The young man marked the occasion by having a natural son to a Miss McConnechy in Glennan, who was named Norman, in compliment no doubt to his uncle, and would perhaps grow up to be a smuggler, though nothing is kenned of him. Knockdow, as minister, and the kirk session would have something to say in emphasis of the proverb "sain thyself frae the deil and the laird's bairns" (*dean do shianadb bho 'n Diabhol's bho chlann an tighearna*), and the Lieutenant was at home to be disciplined at the time of the birth. There was as yet no relaxation of presbyterian vengeance on offenders, and the civil authorities could be called on to enforce penalties imposed by the church. Thus in 1753 the session of Kilmodan remitted to Duncan Campbell of Glendaruel as a justice of the peace another "incorrigible person named Archibald Lamont, (who) ordered him to be taken to Colin Black, constable, to be put in the jugs [a kind of pillory] at the kirk, and then to stand over quarter of an hour before worship, and the Session appointed him to appear before the congregation to receive a publik rebuke, which sentence was duly inflicted." Perhaps, however, a chief's son would escape more lightly. Auchagoyl was not the only one from Kerry who crossed the Atlantic. A Peter Black, son of Hugh in Portavaidue, was in trouble in the summer of 1765 for an unknown offence, and Archibald XVII got him released on standing bail that he would "take his feet with him" to Grenada in the West Indies. The certificate of his landing in that island is still to the fore. About this time, too, a John Lamont from some airt in

Argyllshire, went to Virginia also, where he made good in the county of Bedford.⁵²

As he had now "seen the most part of (his) sons (reach) man's estate," with varying degrees of satisfaction, the chief instructed the drawing of a strict entail to keep the barony he had been able to re-unite in the family for the future. It was in favour of each in turn of his five lawful sons and two daughters, and the respective heirs male of their bodies. But it was never signed, for before the close of 1767, when only 60, he died at Ardlamont. It was on the 19th of November that they stopped the clock to show that there was time no more for ARCHIBALD XVIIth chief of his clan. He had kept his tartan on good terms with the world. There was no ill-will betwixt him and MacCailein (Duke Archie), who had "crossed over" himself in 1761. From now on the Lamonts were closely in touch with the lowlands, and at Greenock shore or market there was little to distinguish them from Sassenachs, their "pretty, handsome, glorious raiment taken from (them) for ragged black coats." It was a common complaint that

"Since changed has our clothing been,
Each other we'll not recognize
On market days or gatherings."

Till 1782 they could not wear the white sprang on the green sett, and then alas! they did not. Fewer clansmen than ever before would follow this chief to his last resting place at Kilfinan, where the tablet to his memory remains to this day. In due course Lady Amelia (plate 21) came to his side, but not till a generation had come and gone, for she survived him by 37 years till the new century was in and old times were wellnigh forgotten.⁵³



JOHN XVIII, 1767-1816

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CHAPTER XV

OLD TIES ARE LOOSENED,
1767-1816

IN the half-century ensuing, from 1767 to 1816, the old order was changed and gave place to the new at the ruthless bidding of JOHN XVIII, who was the last of the patriarchs and the first of the moderns. He was "Lamont of Lamont" and no more "of that ilk." He cared rather for his family and his tenants than for a clan "of arms and plaid deprived," and his heart was furth of Cowal. As he himself had Sassenach interests, so his folk's ploys were no longer in Britain alone, and they served their country in India and in America outbye. Indeed they were all alike "under the heel of the stranger." He was the first chief since 1646 to be married to a Campbell lady, and the first ever to bide in a Campbell household and to hire a Campbell as factor. At his end many old ties had been unloosed, and whether he kenned it or not he had broken up the clan so lately re-united by the efforts of his father and of ARCHIBALD XV. Still and on for good or ill he is as kenspeckle as any landmark where shears wind and water. As the past reaches down to him so the present reaches back. Through his two soldier sons, John and Norman—*an t'oidhre agus an tanaistair*,—he was the common ancestor of the XIXth-XXIst chiefs on the one hand, and of the present and two late chiefs on the other.

His Raeburn portrait (plate 23), as a bluff oldster in black enlivened by a yellow cravat, is the first from Ardlamont which can be certainly identified. If appearances mattered all and sentiments nothing he was a brave chief, for he kept the state of a wealthy highland laird, though it meant rack-renting his estates. He had all the trappings of the head of a clan, a status then more in the fashion than it had ever been, as the services of the kilted regulars, and the glamour which Sir Walter Scott had cast over the highlands, was soon to dispel the black cloud of the '45. John moved abroad escorted by his piper and standard-bearer, and no doubt he arrayed them in the tartan when its proscription was repealed in 1782. He was elected to the King's bodyguard, or Royal Company of Archers, in Edinburgh in 1770. He was forbye an early member of the new Highland Society of Scotland, in which he was followed by

Knockdow (the sole remaining cadet in Cowal). But alas! he introduced sheep-farming to the grief of his people. His early use of a non-armorial signet in the manner of his grandfather Kilfinan showed some regard for heraldic principle, for till the complete extinction of the Auchinshelloch family in the male line he was not the heir-at-law of Sir LAUMON. But by 1778 he had assumed the crest of the hand (although wrongly clasping a dagger), and the motto *ne parcas nec spernas*, the spirit of which he carried to extremes.¹

But if he bore the lion arms proudly his children were born under the shadow of the boar's head, at his brother-in-law's house of South Hall in the Kyles of Bute. From there in his early married life he attended the county balls at Rothesay. Thereafter he quitted the west and acquired an Edinburgh residence. Albeit he returned to his father's house later in life for a little at least, he was in the main an absentee laird. From his youth he was known in the coffee-houses of Pall Mall, and in the tailors' shops of London, and in a final portrait he is clasping a London evening paper. He was the first chief, one may be sure, who mixed his bitters with spirit on which the duty had been paid. It was the old story of the lure of city life being more seductive than the rough and tumble of a country lairdship. He was the first chief to take interest in the politics of the country at large, and he created a number of votes on his estates to be used in support of the Whigs. But "each peat end has its own smoke," as says the old-word—*tha 'smùideag fhéin 'an ceann gach fòid*—and these ploys emptied his coffers. Himself a son of fortune indeed, he threw to the winds the economy by which his three forebears had redeemed their patrimony, and wasted it by reverting to the unchancy display of Sir JAMES XIV. If he inherited some debts, he ran up so many himself that he had to sell the lave of the Toward portion of the barony, and at his death the estate was bankrupt. This is all the stranger as both Dr George's and the Auchinshelloch lairdships fell in to him, and his brothers were on the army pay lists, while the legitimate Archibald was bequeathed N. Auchagoyl and Hugh espoused the heiress of Rob-royston. Less is known of the people's life in this period, as the old personal ties were being rapidly loosened, and the evidence is more scattered and harder to collect, but one has the first detailed accounts of the Lamont country.²

Thus a traveller records that on the 4th of yellow July in 1768 "from the north end of Bute (he) crossed over the narrow Channel, which separates it from the Continent, to Cowlandtry [Colintraive], from thence proceeded up by the side of Loch Ridan, through Glenderuel, and came to Loch Fine at Yasigan [perhaps Evanachan], from thence to St

Katherine's by the side of the Loch, and then ferried over to Inverary." Thus, starting from the old Lamont lairdship of Rudhbodach, he rode through the heart of the home country of the Blacks to the county town by the ferry the Lamonts so well kenned. His description of Glendaruel and district is probably not inapt of John XVIII's country also. "The ground from Cowlandtry to Yasigan," he continues, "is mountainous & covered with wood, & better adapted to pasturage than corn. The soil in general inclines to clay, in some places it is sharp & sandy, and in others a black moss, the latter dug and dried serves the inhabitants for fuel. Through the midst of Glenderuel runs a large river, not very rapid, except from the fountainhead [of Tobar-fowar] down to Dunan, which is three miles. Near the foot of this river at Armidale [Ormidale], they frequently catch a good quantity of fish. Also on each side of this river from Dunan downwards to where it loses itself in Loch Ridan is much arable ground, which produces good oats, barley, flax, and potatoes, but their principal stock is black cattle and sheep. . . . Goats are all banished from this place, because they prevent the growth of woods by peeling the bark off, and cropping the tops of young trees, of which here are great plenty, chiefly oak. About ten years ago this Country was infested by Foxes, but of late the Gentlemen have entered into an agreement . . . to keep a huntsman, so by this means they have destroyed the foxes, and now their sheep feed undisturbed." ³

Through some such country, and in part no doubt by the same route, John made his way from Ardlamont in the grey track of the spring of that year. He was bound for Inveraray to be served heir to his father in the tolbooth, then new and now old, in which the infamous Appin murder trial had been staged not long before. (It is the red building on the west side of Loch Shira, which is to-day the estate office.) A little to the north "the space between the front of the castle and the water (was then) disgraced with the old town, composed of the most wretched hovels that (could) be imagined" by a Sassenach. "There's naething here but highland pride, and highland scab and hunger" was Burns's view a year or two later, though Dr Johnson owned he "got as good a room and bed as at an English inn," and he was ill to please. Over all was, of course, MacCailein's lordly dwelling and the wooded Dunicoich. The legal dues of the occasion were eight guineas, and the cost of the inevitable "entertainment" £13, 10s.⁴ No doubt the roysterers included the chief's brother Norman, who was transferred to the 15th Foot in June, and George Robert, a student at Glasgow College. These three foregathered in that city in October, but sad to say George Robert was dead within a month of the smallpox. Lieutenant Archibald of the

Black Watch was perhaps at home forbye, while his natural brother and namesake was gazetted to the 37th Foot in 1770. Hugh, youngest of all, was at school, and after returning to Kerry in September he departed for that same university in the autumn of 1769. Their mother, Lady Amelia, and sisters Ann and Elizabeth, were also in Glasgow for a time (and thereafter in Edinburgh), but Hugh was boarded with a Mrs Helen Black, a sister of the ministerial Knockdow, who was married to a city merchant.⁵

It was the practice upon each succession to warn out the tenants at will, of whom there were now 86 on the estate, and this was done in November of 1769, and the steadings re-let at sittings of the baron court at Kilfinan and Ardyne in February and April thereafter. (It was then customary to postpone the collection of the Martinmas rents till Candlemas.) As the Nether Cowal lands were distant from the factor in Kerry, they were mostly leased for the 19 years ending in 1789, and the public burdens were thrown onto the tenants. These same tacks seem to have helped to develop the estate, as a traveller in 1772 described the Firth as graced on this side by "the hills of Cowal, sloping to the water's edge, and varied with woods and corn lands." The current leases over the whole area were dealt with as they fell in, and renewed with two important changes. In almost every case the rent was raised and the number of tenants reduced, thereby increasing the depopulation remarked above. The introduction of sheep-farming from the lowlands had the same effect, as less labour was required for this than for agriculture. About 1770 the first black-faced sheep set hoof in the county at a time when there was a prevalent distemper among black cattle. A new fashion was started, the old white-faced breed was given up, the keeping of black cattle was restricted, and even cropping was neglected. The farm of Inveryne, the most fertile in Kerry, was now all in grass, and the fear was on the people that "the sheep's jaw would put the plough on the hen roost," as the saying was (*cuiridh peirceall na caora 'n crann air an fharadh*). In Dunoon, too, "southland shepherds," it was noted, "altered almost entirely the stock of the mountains, from black cattle to sheep, by which they raised the rents, over all this country considerably, as well as enriched themselves." It was said in jest at Inverchaolain that the name "Cowall" would have to be changed to "Sheepall!" But the outcome was no laughing matter, and many a clansman must have stood before his chief and the Campbell factor, his flat bonnet in his hand, as he pleaded for the homestead of his fathers, against some wealthy lowland dealer with no claim to any tartan. Many a hearthstone has been cold since the time of John XVIII. The attitude of the people

to sheep stealing changed entirely, and, further north at least, what had before been despised by all became widespread.⁶

The incoming of sheep had more deep-seated effects upon the highlands than was ever expected or is generally recognised. For instance, the native wild flowers were practically wiped out, bracken hitherto kept under began to increase, and the practice of summer shieling was gradually abandoned, which robbed the life of the people of one of its most pleasant features. An acute observer describing a glen in the old days when "no sheep had ever set hoof in it (and) only cattle were allowed to bite a blade of grass there," remarks that "the consequence was that the braes and wooded hillocks were a perfect jungle of primroses and bluebells and honeysuckle and all sorts of orchids, including *Habenarias* and the now quite extinct *Epipactis*, which then whitened the ground." In those days, too, everyone looked forward throughout the year "to the time of the summer shealings, when the cattle grazed on the uplands till the corn of the levels should ripen for the hook. On a day in early June the people . . . rose and gathered together sheep and cattle and horses, and drove them to the hill recesses and the tablelands. . . . All the world went—women and men and children, and sang on the way; God's flame, the butter-fly, the *dealan-de*, no airier among the flowers than the bairns that romped in the wayside hollows or clambered up *eas* and corrie, the lark shaking his soul out in the blue." Henceforth the Lamont country was without such relaxation and such beauty.^{6a}

That the new system was applied to excess there is no doubt, as a lease was granted by the chief in 1772 to Fletcher of Dunans in Glendaruel of the whole farms of Craignafeich, Dowglenan, Auchinshelloch and Kilbride for twelve years at a rent of £79 sterling, the tenant being only bound to maintain two steadings on the last named. This is the only known example of a stranger tacksman over a wide area in the Lamont country, though they were common (and much resented) in the highlands by and large. It was maybe this case which induced the minister to remark in 1795 that "by this union of farms, there are possessions in the parish whereon resided formerly from twelve to sixteen families, now inhabited only by one or two." But as regards the tenants who did remain he discerned a marked contrast between the Lamont lands to the south of Kilfinan and Otter to the north. "The greatest number of the inhabitants" of the former, he says, "being obliged to quit their farms, are succeeded by a complete set of new tenants from the neighbouring parishes; while most of the inhabitants of the northern division occupy the same lands upon which their forefathers lived comfortably for many generations before them."⁷

In his zeal for temperance he was inclined to attribute this to the poverty and depravity engendered by smuggling, which he understood to have been more rife in Kerry proper than in Otter. But he was mistaken in his facts, as the king of smugglers is now known to have been a Black from the heart of Otter. It is difficult to escape the conclusion (which the reverend gentleman was too discreet to suggest) that the policies of the respective lairds was responsible for the difference. If there were no "evictions," in the sense of violent and wholesale depopulation, in the Lamont country, it looks very much as if the old clansmen had been gradually squeezed out by economic measures. New alien tenants were accepted, who would pay more rent and employed less labour. It is only fair to the chief, however, to acknowledge that there was a school of thought then prevalent (of which the eighth Duke of Argyll is the most notable later exponent) which held the duty of landlords to lie in improving their land and in raising the standard of living in their districts even at the risk of incurring the hostility of present tenants, as by so doing they were acting in the best interests of all concerned in the long run. *Cha deanar math gun mbulad*, as the saying is. In the parish minister's view there were certainly too many cottars on some of the smaller holdings in Kerry. It may be left to the reader to judge in what proportions were mingled, as the incentives of John XVIII, the ultimate benefit of the Lamont country and the immediate increase of his own rent roll. But it is clear that the resulting depopulation was most dangerous to the state. "If the hour of need should come—and it may not, perhaps, be far distant," was the warning of Sir Walter Scott, "the pibroch may sound through the deserted region, but the summons will remain unanswered." And so it proved, as the chief was to find to his cost.⁸

Another wise prophecy of the time was that of Dr Johnson. "Chiefs being now deprived of their jurisdiction," said he, "have already lost much of their influence; and as they gradually degenerate from patriarchal rulers to rapacious landlords, they will divest themselves of the little that remains." This was true enough of personal influence, but their territorial domination was complete. John XVIII was in absolute control of the whole Lamont properties in Cowal, excepting Knockdow, with whose laird he was disputing as to the marches in Glenfyne, with a view no doubt to putting it also under sheep. Forbye his own patrimony he was commissioner for Dr George and judicial factor on the Auchinshelloch estate, while N. Auchagoyl had devolved on his brother german Lieutenant Archibald on the last laird's death overseas in 1773, albeit it proved a liability on account of encumbrances. An instance of the use John made of his powers is found in a lease of 1768 to Hugh Black in

Port McIlmun by Derybruich, the father of the scamp Peter in Grenada, who was bound to ferry free across Loch Fyne to Tarbert not only his landlord the London physician, but also the chief, and both their families. For an agent to obtain a personal advantage of this sort from his agency was, of course, illegal, unless he accounted to his principal, which is unlikely. It shows that chiefs were still above the law in their own country.⁹

The route by this ferry (and that from Achadachoun to Kilmichael in Bute), although connecting Campbeltown with Rothesay, was "not near so publick" as the route by Otter. The latter gave access by the track along Glendaruel foot and Loch Striven head to Dunoon and so to Greenock. In 1795 both services "were badly attended on either side as to hands and boats." A man was charged 3d. and a horse 9d. Dunoon itself was complaining of loss of traffic through the opening after the '45 of the new military road over the Rest-and-be-Thankful. Although it had never succeeded in maintaining a pier because of its exposed situation, "in former times the ferry at Dunoon was the principal inlet from the low country to Argyleshire. This made it more a place of resort. But now a great road being carried by Lochlomond, round the head of Loch Long, and through Glencroe to Inverary, this has continued to diminish the population of Dunoon," and also no doubt to increase the isolation of the Lamont country which had still to rely on water transport. But with the launch of the "*Comet*" in 1812 a new era of steam navigation was begun. It is interesting to note that the running of motor 'buses over the same "great road" at the time of writing has likewise tended to displace the 19th century route by steamer to the similar disadvantage of the coast towns, whose villas, promenades and piers were undreamt of at the close of the 18th century.¹⁰

John's tacks, of which a number have survived, are on the same lines as his father's. He reserved, however, the rights of working minerals (a new notion in Cowal), of enclosing ground, of altering marches, and of preventing by "sowming" the prevalent abuse of over-stocking with cattle. He insisted on consumption of the fodder on the lands that so "the tail (would) pay the grazing," as they used to say in the highlands, and on the observing of the rules of good husbandry, as defined one imagines by the regulations of the baron court. There was also a special prohibition of smuggling, but probably it was little enforced, as lairds had more sympathy with their tenants than with the customs officers. (It is recorded of Campbell of Ballochyle, for instance, that getting wind of a gauger's raid from Greenock he buried in his garden a whole cargo of claret and planted cabbages above it

till the danger was past. This same laird used to bathe his son, born in 1777, in a tub wherein was the Lamont brooch referred to above as a talisman against all ills.) An idea of a cottar's house of the period may be had from a contract of 1782, by which the chief provided for the erection of a ferrier's house at Coustoun at a price of five guineas. It was to be "16 feet broad within walls, 27 feet to 30 feet long within walls, well thatched with heather. The timber (was) already cut upon the ground, (and) Lamont to pay for cabers wherever they might be found," which was perhaps at some distance. Fox hunter's dues are mentioned for the first time in the tacks, in addition to surgeon's fees and the other burdens in the public interest. John, like the Glendaruel lairds, was keeping a *brocair* to deal with vermin. The prices ruling in sterling money were 16s. for a 9-stone boll of oats of "a very mean quality" and inferior to that of Otter (as compared with 13s. 4d. in his father's time), 5s. for a wedder, 2s. 6d. for a "veal," 6d. for a hen or a dozen of eggs and 2d. for a chicken. Distillers paid round about £1 for a boll of barley. The old personal services were exacted still, although seldom "with such vigour as to do material injury to the tenants." A labourer in the market received 1s. to 1s. 2d. per day without victuals.¹¹

By this time the chief's rights of superiority had become of value (as well as his rights of property), for any estate held of the crown direct (as was the barony) could be artificially split so as to yield numerous voting qualifications for parliamentary elections. To this end he granted liferent infeftments to his brother Norman, who was now a major in the 15th Foot; to Monydrain; to his law agents in Inveraray and Edinburgh; and to his friends the Campbells of Barbreck and Ormidale, McDonald of Sanda, Montgomery of Skelmorlie, and McAllister of Loup. As Dr George had been given the superiority of his estate the clan could muster 10 votes out of a total electorate of 45 in the county, which made them a political force of moment. Argyll himself had only the direct control of 4, although he could have made far more than John XVIII if he had chosen, but his influence was so great as to render this unnecessary. As was remarked at the time, "though Mr Lamont's inclinations and sentiments are friendly to the (Whig) opposition, he has also a personal regard and friendship for the Duke," and would perhaps hesitate to oppose him. Argyll, despite the long association of his family with the Whigs, was finding it advisable at the time to keep in with the Tory administration of Pitt and Dundas in order to secure preferment for his kin. The possession of 10 votes was, of course, a powerful bargaining counter. By arrangement with the Earl of Eglinton John also had a qualification in both Ayrshire and Renfrewshire.¹²

The link with the Diarmaids was strengthened when, in August 1773, he was married in Edinburgh to Helen, only daughter of the late Duncan Campbell of South Hall. In return for a tocher of £2000 he provided an annuity of £350 (or £250 according to the number of surviving bairns), which was to be increased by £50 in the (unrealised) event of his lady succeeding to the South Hall estate. It seems to have been some time before they set foot on the red point of Ardlamont, and there is no suggestion of even a visit until 1785, but they were perhaps disturbed by an epidemic in Kerry in 1772. He was still in "auld reekie" in the spring of 1774 with his brother Hugh, who had just finished an apprenticeship as a Glasgow merchant and left in May for America presumably on a business venture. In Edinburgh, too, was born in the next month the future JOHN XIX, but there was as yet no family residence there, as in the earliest *Directories* of 1773-5 one finds only an Alexander Lamond, grocer at the head of the Pleasance. A few years later is entered a James, shoemaker in the neighbouring Crosscausey, and a Patrick, a lint and flax merchant on the north side of the Canongate.¹³

By 1775 the chief was living at South Hall, and from there he ran a litigation with the heritors of Kilfinan relating to the teinds. It was alleged that "the proof was managed by Lamont, so as to come on in Argyleshire during the great storm of frost and snow that happened in the end of January 1776, so that it was impossible for (the opposing Edinburgh law agent) to go and attend it in the mountains of Cowal," or at Rothesay, to which some Kerry folks were certainly cited on the inadequate notice of one day on the 23rd of that month. His daughter Amelia was born at South Hall on the 20th, and Hugh, who had come back from America to go into the army, was gazetted on the 30th an Ensign in the Royal Scots. At an expense of £200 the chief secured a lieutenancy for him in the 71st or Fraser's Highlanders, and raised the quota of twenty recruits required as a qualification.¹⁴

In this corps he was under the wing of Norman, who had been transferred as senior Major of the 15th Foot. On the eve of their embarkation at Greenock they entered into partnership with John and others in a firm established to trade with British America. The chief was already concerned in business as a stockholder in the Royal Bank, with which he had an account (as well as with the Ship Bank, Glasgow), and trusting to Hugh's report of the prospects would hope for handsome profits. But trade slumped and at the end of the day they lost £300 sterling apiece. Coll Lamont of Monydrain was a witness to the contract, and was at the time engaged in recruiting for his kinsmen. In June he wrote to John for assistance in impressing a man who had been sentenced at Perth to

be whipped and banished. In July Lieutenant Archibald, his full brother, who had just been placed on the strength of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, was forced to sell out by ill health. He died unmarried about 1780. He never troubled to take up the bequest of N. Auchagoyl, as it was encumbered with debt, and it was allowed to fall to the creditors of the late last laird.¹⁵

Both Norman and Hugh were engaged in America in resisting the rebellion of the colonists. The former at least took part in the victories of Brooklyn in June of 1776 and of Brandywine in September 1777, when he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in the 55th Westmoreland Regiment with headquarters at Philadelphia. A number of Lamonts, who had emigrated from North Ireland in 1740, were fighting in the opposing "patriot army." Of Hugh one only knows that he was at Philadelphia in February of 1778, and was then transferred as Captain to Lord Macleod's new Highlanders for service in India, while Monydrain was gazetted Lieutenant in Lord Macdonald's Highland Regiment and ordered to America. The chief at home procured recruits, and an advertisement appeared in the *Glasgow Mercury* in June for a John Lamont, from Inverchaolain, a deserter from Lord Macleod's, brown haired, well made and 30 years of age. Except for one Black he is the only recruit of the clan revealed in the evidence, of which there is much. One is surprised to find that it cost £863, 10s. 9d. sterling to secure the men for Hugh's company. The factor and his helpers had to seek them as far afield as Kilmarnock, Paisley, Brechin, Elgin and Ireland, as well as in Kintyre and Cowal, and to offer free ale and spirits and a bounty of from 2 to 12½ guineas a head. It was an old saying in the Gaelic that "every man who is down on his luck will get a dollar from Mackay," who raised the earliest highland regiment, and so it was still where the Lamonts were concerned. "To drink attempting to get Archd. Shaw, 6s. 6d." is a typical entry in their accounts, as also "a crown to drinking his Majesty's health, 5s." In the north, however, where chiefs were resident and popular and men were rated above sheep, it was a different story, and the clansmen flocked to the colours in the tails of their *duine uassail*. The chief had been in London, but was back for the Rothesay ball of 1778. His children Norman and Georgina were both born at South Hall, the one in that year and the other in 1780.¹⁶

His usual attendant was an Angus Black, the hereditary standard-bearer of the clan, whose holding of *tigh-na-brataich*, or "the house of the banner," on the bounds of Ardyne, was not far with the oars from South Hall. It seems to have been degraded within a generation from a right of property to a lease. This Angus, just man, assigned to

Knockdow in 1786, when he was settled by his master in Stillaig. The reduction in the status of a retainer to that of a tenant at will, and his transfer to Stillaig, are features in common with the *sgent* of the piper who was promised that steading by a chief, and then restricted to a mere tenancy by the will of the chief's alien bride. The facts of the case, if unravelled a little, would give rise to the tradition, as is often found.¹⁷ As it happened the piper at this date was an Alexander Lamont, termed *fistulator* in formal deeds (being the dog Latin for piper), but known for ordinary as "Alistair hairy." His wife was a daughter of a David McKellar, namely as a Gaelic hymnist from Glendaruel. They removed from Inveryne with their bairns to Corra by Ardlamont in 1784. No doubt they have descendants still to the fore. Angus Black might quite well have composed the words of "Stillaig is mine," for he was a man of education, able to write a letter on the technical subject of multures or mill dues, and he seems to have been acting as assistant factor. He may perchance have retired in Alexander's favour from the office of piper in 1786, the year in which his master was enrolled in the Highland Society, and if perhaps he had no fancy for a Diarmaid mistress one would have all the elements of the tradition. Angus does not seem to have married, but his brother James had a son who carried on the family, and there are clansmen yet in Australia who are descended from the hereditary standard-bearers and who have kept alive the designation "*na brataich*." There was another Lamont piper in Rothesay about this time, called Dugald, who was no doubt in demand at the county balls.¹⁸

The setting up of Alexander in Corra and of Angus in Stillaig may indicate that John XVIII had at last returned to the red point of Ardlamont. Certainly his sister Ann was married from there in May of 1785 to John Gordon, late of Bengal, perhaps a friend her brother Norman had met in his campaigns in India. They took up house in N. Auchagoyl, which had to be bought from the late laird's creditors, and changed its name to Gordonbank. Gaelic names had doubtless come to be regarded by "the quality" as unfashionable, although the language was never proscribed as it was indispensable. The husband died in 1794, and was laid in the vault at Kilfinan. John XVIII had another daughter, Helen Elizabeth, and apparently a fourth, Georgina, who died in 1792, but as their baptisms are not recorded one does not know if they were born at South Hall or at Ardlamont. The reason for his long absence, which the clan must have resented as a slight, may perhaps have been that the home of his youth was now hardly suitable for a gentleman's residence, as standards were fast changing. But it is clear that he did nothing to redress it, and his impecunious heir had to finance the total

reconstruction of its "very contracted and disagreeable accommodation" in the beginning of the 19th century.¹⁹

It was indeed high time he was in Kerry to look after his affairs. In May of 1777 he gathered through Monydrain that a claimant had come forward to the Auchinshelloch estate, of which he had taken possession on the assumption that there was no heir male of the late laird and of the latter's brother. The information was vague, but it appeared that a son or nephew of an Archibald Lamont, who had lately been a tenant in Ardlamont and was "the reputed nearest heir male to (that) family," had "been with the oldest men in the parish" and "had been consulting lawiers." It was important that this claim should be negatived, as if there was any heir male of the Auchinshelloch line (although if remote he would be clearly excluded by the limited destination in the titles from the succession to that estate), he was also heir male of Sir LAUMON, and if the chiefship was descendible by the same rules as a peerage he had a better right to that than John XVIII who was only an heir female. Perhaps, however, at that date a mere hereditary right to be chief was not sought after unless it involved succession to a landed estate. What happened unfortunately one does not know, for there is no record of a law plea, and it is only too likely that all writs in the Inveryne charters which might help the claimant would be destroyed. Even the appointment of ARCHIBALD XVII as judicial factor in 1741 has disappeared, and was only rediscovered in the Register House by an incidental clue. It was, of course, a document which limited the chiefs' title so as to prevent prescription running in their favour. But once it was out of the way they could attribute their possession to their superiority title, and so after forty years their right was beyond challenge.²⁰

As regards the remaining cadets, who were few enough, sad to say, the youngest son of the Rev. John, minister of Kelton, who died in 1776, a David by name, was presented two years later to the parish of Kirkpatrick-Durham, in Kirkcudbright, and later became a churchman of great moment. His "*Sermons on the Prevalent Vices*," which appeared in London in 1780, were so much to the point as to secure for him a D.D. of Edinburgh University and a chaplaincy to the Prince of Wales, afterwards King George IV. He was perhaps the "Mr Lamont" whose lines to the memory of the late Benjamin Franklin were published in London in 1790, price 4d. He was also soon laird of Culshand and Erncrogo, Knockwalloch and Auchenreoch, some of which he inherited, but the lave he acquired by his industry and as the well-merited result of the advanced social reforms he instituted among his people. Thus he introduced small holdings, established joint stock companies dealing in cotton,

woollens and groceries, created a health and unemployment insurance fund, and revived an old annual fair and race meeting, all for the benefit of his parishioners. He was made a Justice of the Peace, and will be referred to again in a later chapter. His only surviving brother Robert, tenant of Kempleton, in Twynholm parish, was of a different stamp, and in 1781 was clapped into the Canongate tolbooth for debt.²¹

Knockdow, the minister of Kilfinan, was less catholic in his interests than the Rev. David, but provided more effectively for the preservation of his family by executing before his death in 1781 an entail which was not broken until 1897. From then onwards these cadets were little in touch with Kerry. They were the last of the independent landed families. Ardlamont, Ascog and its off-shoot Stronalbanach, and Coustoun had all disappeared, while Monydrain was in new hands and soon destined to revert to the chiefs. In 1778 John XVIII had received from Dr George, apparently as a gift, the whole of the latter's lands in Cowal (reserving his liferent and an annuity to his sister Margaret). These were Killellan by Toward, with Auchafour mill; Derybruich and part of Achourk in Ascog; and Kames in the Kyles; in all some 14½ merk lands.²² The physician had retired from Leicester Square to his estate at Tunbridge Wells in Kent, where he lived till his death without issue in 1790. Until then the chief had "great expectations" from his wealthy clansman, but he was counting his fish before they came out of the sea, for Dr George left a will in favour of the Burnetts of Kemnay in Aberdeenshire, his wife's family, who had scorned him in his younger days when he was their tutor. John XVIII, claiming kinship, endeavoured to intervene, but unsuccessfully. In the end the true Lamont relatives, whom he had vainly attempted to trace during life, came forward to claim a share in the spoils, including one Walter, a tanner in Larbert, Stirlingshire. The chief had £500 sterling of Cowal rents in his hands belonging to the deceased, and they fell to the newly discovered next of kin, as they were apparently not carried by the will.²³

Meanwhile the war was progressing in India and in America. The youngest brother Hugh, who was now a Captain in the 73rd Foot, was married in England in the beginning of 1779 to Catherine Landess, a daughter and ultimately heiress of the laird of Robroyston to the north-east of Glasgow. Her family had been accepted as sib by ARCHIBALD XV in his missive letter of 1699 on the faith of the tradition of the Ardyne raid of c. 1400. They were at Fort St George in the province of Madras when he made his will in August next, and their infant son, a John Mackenzie, was buried there in November. In command of the "precious remains" of his regiment he distinguished himself at the capture of the

French outposts at Cuddalore in the summer of 1783, and was promoted to be a Major in the 100th regiment of Gordon Highlanders. He does not seem to have been killed in action but died in September of 1785, having granted bond for £4000 of gambling debts. His wife was at home at the time, and was unable to secure a single one of his effects as a keepsake, except for a sword he had presented to a friend. "Poor lady," another wrote, "she has lost a husband who was an ornament to society, and an honour to his profession, and in the prime of life. She is much to be pitied." *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. She had, however, a wisp of his fair hair, and this is still preserved, as also those of baby John Mackenzie and a daughter Amelia Ann, who died as a child. A series of actions ensued between her and the creditors, including John XVIII. But on her death in 1793 he was chosen as next of kin to be curator to Hugh's surviving child, an Archibald who inherited Robroyston and was a student at the University of Glasgow from 1795.²⁴

In the American war the tartan was represented firstly by Norman of the 55th, who was gazetted a Colonel in 1782 and died in London unmarried in 1787. He was described in the well-kenned *Sketches of the Highlanders* by General Stewart of Garth (who had himself a Lamont retainer) as "an officer of long experience and approved talents."²⁵ Knockdow's son Dugald likewise saw service across the Atlantic with the 82nd Foot from 1780 to 1787, and thereafter in India, where he was killed in 1791. Coll of Monydrain was in America with the 76th Highlanders from 1779 till their return in 1784 after the capitulation at Yorktown. Before leaving he settled his estate on the chief "for certain onerous causes," to the exclusion of his own uncle James who was heir of entail. He was afterwards gazetted to the Black Watch, and went with their colours to Flanders in 1793 to take part in the French Revolutionary War. He fought at Nieuport and Nimeguen, and was wounded at Gildersmalsen in 1795. After being promoted to a captaincy he served during the next two years in the West Indies, and one wonders if he foregathered with his clansmen in Jamaica, or in St Kitts and Tobago to which they had now emigrated. After being awarded a medal for his part in the Egyptian campaign of 1801 he came home to die of fever in Winchester the year after. In the centre aisle of the Cathedral he was laid, but there are no arms on the stone to his memory, which is better preserved both in his regiment and among his clansfolk by the tune "Captain Lamont's March"—*Spaidsearachd Chaiptein Mhic Laomainn*—composed in his honour. Another of the tartan, of ancestry unknown, was John son of Neil, who served as an assistant surgeon in the 16th, 60th and 44th regiments, and died foreign a bachelor in 1798. Lieutenant Archibald, the late chief's

bastard, was designed in 1783 "of the late 87th regiment," which had been disbanded twenty years before, and lived on half-pay till 1810. His legitimate namesake died about 1780. The two are often confused.²⁶

So much for the *duine uassail* of the clan and the services they rendered overseas in shaping an Empire of which their forebears had never even dreamed. No doubt they were followed by some of the rank and file, but all record of these is lost, and the chief's recruiting experiences suggest no readiness to enlist. Judging from the highlands as a whole it may be inferred that as the clan broke up at home it spread abroad in colonisation, either military or commercial in its origin. Many a lad in a cocked bonnet would see the hills of Cowal no more. Of the home-biders little is kened. But certain it is that at first they would resent as keenly as any being deprived of their traditional dress. "Plucked like a goose in the kitchen," "naked and weaponless," were the sort of expressions used at the time, and the indignity felt is well put as follows by one who had fought (presumably along with the Lamonts) on the government side at Falkirk:—

“At one time in my earthly life
 I never thought that I should have
 Trousers as my covering,
 Which fit a man unhandsomely;
 And though I'm making use of them,
 I ne'er have taken happily
 To the garb that comes unnaturally
 To the people to whom I belong;
 Unlucky this new dress of ours,
 Uglily it does sit on us,
 So tightly does it cling to us,
 We'd sooner see no more of it;
 There's buttons all around our knees
 And buckles closely fastening,
 And now the breeks are doubled close
 Round the backside of every man.

“We'll get hats of dark grey hue
 To cover up our heads for us,
 And coats so smooth and shiny too
 As if a mill had polished them;
 Though that may keep the cold from us,
 It leaves us not so proud and gay
 That it will please our gentlemen,
 Our commoners, or our yeomanry;
 And ne'er will we be pleased with it
 A-walking in the lonely glens,
 Or when we go a-shieling-wards
 Or anywhere that lassies are;

King George it is who's wronged us,
 And I am much in wrath for it,
 Since he did take the kilt away
 And each dress that belonged to us." 27

As time wore on, however, the folks got used to the new clothes, which they had seen for long on the shanks of "the quality." But all must have rejoiced when the proscription was repealed at last at the instance of the young *Ghreumach*, descendant of the great Marquis of Montrose with whom their folk had bled under Sir JAMES XIV. A revival of the tartan was at once expected, according to a poet of the time, who having been born in 1762 had never seen the old garments as the people's wear:—

"A fashion's come in with the Act
 Which ordered plaids in plenty,
 The tartans now arise again
 With many a dexterous noise;
 While skilful maidens weave and dye
 With gladness, and with pride,
 Each one to clothe her own true love
 As always is her joy."

Alas! however, this revival was more imaginary than real, except probably for ladies' wear, and among the *Clan Laomainn* at least one may be sure the kilt was never again worn by the commons, who kept for the future to their new and sober breeches and stockings, and only reverted to the short coat (*còta gearr*) when lowlanders abandoned their long ones (*casag*). Old memories of dirk and of claymore were soon forgotten.²⁸

More martial fervour was shown by the Lamonts furth of Cowal. The Act in question was passed in 1782, the very year that one of the adventurers of the clan, an Alexander Lamont of Greenock, was captured with the merchant vessel on which he was mate and held to ransom by a French privateer. The master agreed to terms, and poor Alistair was chosen as hostage in security, but the owners repudiated the agreement, on the ground that the price exceeded the value of the prize, and he languished in a foreign prison for two years and more. On being at last set free and returning home he found his employers declined to pay his arrears of wages. However, the courts soon put that right, and their records have revealed his story. He found in Edinburgh a reflection of the atrocities of the Revolution in France. A volunteer corps, called "the Caledonian Band" had been enlisted, largely at the instance of the *Ghreumach*, "at the close of the war in 1782, when the fear of invasion from the menacing attitude of the French nation created so much unnecessary alarm." These same warriors were drilled by a John Lamond, whose brother Peter was later Dean of Guild in that city (from 1835-7).

He seems to have been a wright to trade and lived in Carrubers Close on the north side of the High Street. The chief himself was doing his best to assist the government from his Edinburgh residences, which he kept up from 1788, first at 4 St Andrew Square and then at 19 Princes Street. At the start of 1794 appeared in the press a *List of Deserters from Captain Lamont of Lamont's recruiting party of Sir James Grant's Regiment at Edinburgh, called the 1st Regiment of Fencibles, ready to proceed to England by sea or land as His Majesty has desired.* They were stationed in the Castle, and among them a James Black who was married there in November. The chief was on half-pay till 1795. A spirit more worthy of the Lamonts was shown in 1798, when on the mustering of the Argyllshire militia there was not an absentee from Cowal, but how many of the clan were on parade does not appear.²⁹

Glasgow followed the example of Edinburgh, and an Alexander Lamond was one of a number who petitioned the Provost "to form an association for the purpose of learning military exercise." In that city the clan had a gathering place in Mrs Lamont's Swan Tavern at the corner of Stockwell and Argyll Streets, a well-frequented howff though not in the most fashionable quarter. The hostess advertised her "soups from 12 to 2 daily, and hams at any time." No doubt her liquor was as unrestricted as the latter. There Donald Lamont, a small trader from Mull, would sample the same glass as John Lamont, baker in the Gallowgate, who appears in the earliest *Directory* of 1783. In Greenock, too, was an Archibald, in the same line of business, a Robert, hammerman, son of John, tenant in Castleton, a smith called Neil, and a David who was a writer and presumably of more consequence, together with three Blacks. There were likewise several Lamonts whose shops appear in the *Directories* of "auld reekie." John Lamont, the surgeon of 1765, had disappeared from the Canongate, but strangely enough a namesake of the same profession, who was of the Fife kin, had settled in 1781 in the new north town beside the chief's house, after short spells in Dunfermline, Dalkeith and Mid-Calder. He was a son of another John Lamont, a surgeon in Largo, and in 1785 presented to an advocate in Edinburgh the manuscript of *Lamont's Diary*, which he had doubtless inherited. This was published in 1810, when it was stated that "the author was John Lamont of Newton . . . supposed to have been related to the Family of Lamont of Lamont, in Argyllshire. . . . Of his male descendants, the only one now known to exist is the Reverend David Lamont, D.D., Minister of Kirkpatrick-Durham." But this history reveals that these remarks were inaccurate, as the author never was a laird, and was almost certainly related to the chiefs, while there were other male descendants

of the Newton family in existence. Some of these inaccuracies were corrected in the next edition of 1830, but it appears that the tartan was completely forgotten in Kennoway, the session clerk remarking (erroneously as it happens) that "the name of Lamont is not to be found in the records of the parish, which are very ancient."³⁰

There was yet another medical John Lamont in this period, besides the three mentioned in the last paragraph and the army doctor. The fifth was a son of the bankrupt Robert from Kirkcudbright (Dr David's brother), who was in practice in Liverpool. In humbler walks Lamonts had now settled beyond the border in the airt of Newcastle. More namely than any was Dr Joseph Black (of the Belfast stock), professor of chemistry in Edinburgh, who in October of 1789 was "chosen unanimously one of the six *Associés Etrangers* of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, the greatest literary honour in Europe." He was soon appointed one of his Majesty's physicians in Scotland, and had his portrait painted by Raeburn. It can still be seen in Bruntsfield House. Though never robust he lived to be 71, and his funeral to Greyfriars Churchyard in 1799 was a great occasion. "The procession proceeded from his house, in Nicolson Street, in the following order: Twelve baton men and ushers—two men carrying white scarfs on poles—the coffin on men's shoulders, the friends of the deceased holding the ribbons—the mace bearer of the University, carrying the mace—the Principal and Professors of the university, in their gowns—and above 400 of the Students of the different classes, in mourning." In his Will the professor directed his brothers, who were settled in Belfast, London and Dublin, to divide his estate into ten thousand parts and distribute them in certain proportions among his numerous nieces and nephews. He was one who kept track of his kin, and it is to be hoped that his chief was present at the grave side to bid him farewell till doomsday.³¹

Besides his military ploys John XVIII spent time and money in politics. In 1787 he was litigating in the Court of Session in the attempt to challenge the votes of nine of the opposite Tory party with but little success. It is peculiar, however, that these were Renfrewshire qualifications, in which he seems to have been more concerned than in his own created votes in Argyllshire, the whole of which were resigned to him in 1791, perhaps because he intended to put them up for sale. Although there is evidence of his frequent presence in Edinburgh, and of occasional visits to London, there is not until 1785 any indication of his being in residence in the Lamont country. Whereas his father's leases were all personally signed at Ardlamont, his own were either executed at Edinburgh or informally authenticated by his factor. There are, however,

references to him as laird in the *Old Statistical Account* of the parishes of Scotland, published at the end of the century, which is a mine of information as to the conditions of life in this period. Those portions relating to Inverchaolain are quoted in the Knockdow chapter, and the following refer to Kilfinan, still locally known as Kerry, in 1795.³²

“The language most commonly spoken in this parish” was still Gaelic, according to the minister, whereas in cosmopolitan Dunoon it was kept for the fireside. “The people in general are of a middle stature, rather thicker in proportion to their height than the inhabitants of the low country. They are more attached to a seafaring life than to husbandry; and,” he cynically adds, “although pretty often at sea, they are in general sober.” But, as farther north, agriculture was in fact the prevalent mode of life, for out of 1417 souls 112 were listed as sailors and fishers, as against 212 as cottagers and 98 as farmers. Doubtless a larger proportion lived on the shore than to-day, but there had always been in Kerry many *Bailtean Monaidh*, or inland townships. There were, of course, a number of tradesmen, including 38 weavers and 22 tailors, but none were engaged in what could be called industry except 1 dyer, 1 distiller, and 1 kelper, the last at Ardlamont. (Still and on it would not be surprising if less than the 22 could hang a kilt, and more than the 1 broach a keg of “mountain dew.”) Forbye many beggars there were 29 names on the poors’ roll, for whom the only provision was 10s. sterling, the interest of a mortification by the chief’s grandfather, John Lamont of Kilfinan, also a benefactor of the school. There is no trace of any charity by John XVIII, the patron of the parish, or of his having expended the £100 sterling entrusted to him in 1787 by a Diarmaid shop-keeper in Mecknock for erecting a chapel of ease at that place.³³

Local conditions were primitive. Only 15 houses in the parish were slated, *tigbean nam gorm leac*—the “blue slabs” being fixed with heather-root pegs. The walls were generally built “of stones huddled up to the height of 5 or 6 feet, with a heavy and clumsy roof so flat on the top that one might securely sleep on it.” Indeed it was common enough in the highlands for a whole household to spend windy nights on the heather thatch to keep it in position. Aloft this was the rune they chanted:—

“God shield the house, the fire, the kine,
 And all who take their peace within,
 Hold care aloof from me and mine,
 And Mary keep us all from sin.
 This night, this night, this stormy night,
 O Lightner of the stars that shine,
 Pity the women, pity the bairns,
 Bring peace to man, and horse, and kine.”

Coal fires were confined to the wealthy, and sleds were only now being abandoned for wheeled carts. It was "difficult to say, whether the poverty of the tenants, the shortness of their leases, ignorance of farming, or a strong attachment to a seafaring life, . . . operate(d) most powerfully to the detriment of agriculture." Manuring by lime or sea-ware, ploughing with two horses only (while their Braemar kin had a team of four), and raising of green crops other than potatoes, were all imperfectly practised, and summer fallowing was unknown. The average oat crop was only 3 to 4 times the amount sown, which shows no improvement on the time of Sir JAMES XIV and was much less than was being obtained on the Knockdow estate. The staple foods were the herring and the potato. Of the soil it is remarked that "in some low flats . . . is to be seen a fine black mould . . . (but) all the inland farms are cold and bleak." This is no longer true to-day, as a result of constant care, and the sheltered valley of the Osda is the most profitable part of the parish. "The soil (seemed) much better calculated for pasturage than tillage," and the hills though "all mossy and consequently barren" contained nutritious moor bent which was admirable for cattle and sheep grazing.³⁴

As regards the natural features, besides the low hills, there were several small lakes, including of course Melldalloch and Ascog, abounding in yellow trout "of no great size," and four waters, presumably Kilail Burn at Otter, the water of Lindsaig at Kilfinan, the Auchalick river at Inveryne, and the Allt Osda, "and as many beautiful bays; but those to which nature seems to have been most partial, are the bays of Kilfinan and Achlick, more especially the former, supposed by many to be one of the prettiest situations upon Lochfine." In these spots one could ponder untroubled on "the sea's good fortune,—of the many bays it wandered into by night or day; of its friendship with far-out forelands, and its brisk quarrels with the black rocks. Here was no dyke at any time, but all freedom, the restlessness and the roaming, sleep or song as the mood had it, and the ploys with galleys and gabberts; the cheery halloo of the winds and the waving of branches on foreign isles to welcome one." While there were still plenty of trout to be had in home waters from 1 to 6 lbs. in weight, the 16-lb. salmon reported as common in the past were now conspicuous by their absence. The minister was at a loss to account for this, "unless it be, that the ancient art of exaggeration is losing ground, and not to be found in such perfection nowadays, among the rising generation, as it was possessed by their fathers." Temperance and truth, in his view, were close linked. The "considerable quantity of natural woods," consisting mainly of the

familiar ash, oak, birch, alder and hazel, was no doubt due to the lairds' restrictions on their use. Plantations as a rule were successful, but "on the south point of the parish, where the experiment has been of late fairly tried by Mr Lamont of Lamont, they do not promise so well, owing, no doubt, to the saline drift." Except about the house this is still true to-day.³⁵

Arrangements for leaving the district were in the minister's opinion too suitable, but its attractions for travellers were inadequate, which is no doubt the reason of there being no earlier description of the parish in existence. While there was only one regular inn in the valuation roll of 1751, there were now 11, perhaps as a legacy from the smuggling trade. But only two were slated, and "all of them in very bad repair, and so exceedingly ill kept, that a traveller can scarcely get a decent bed, or a comfortable breakfast, in the best of them." These, of course, were not intended for the gentry, it being an unwritten rule throughout the old highlands that even if strangers they received hospitality from the local lairds. There were only three small bridges and the roads were exceedingly bad, some parts being only "blocked out" (as indeed they are still). This was certainly no great advertisement for his parish. A word has been said above on the approaches by road and ferry, but the most popular with the natives was the new route by the irregular service of packet boats to Greenock. These had the unfortunate results of inducing extravagant tastes and of raising prices at home, as they afforded an alternative market. To the disgust of the reverend gentleman they led "a number of young persons of too much curiosity to pay frequent visits to Greenock and Port-Glasgow, idle away their time, sometimes fall into bad company, and often spend more money before they return, than the value of the cargo they carried abroad with them."³⁶

At Dunoon one hears the same complaint. The "neighbourhood to Greenock" encouraged "young people to be expensive in their attire and to imitate the manners of dress of those who rank higher than themselves. The young woman, who, fifty years ago, thought of endeavouring to save 100 or 200 merks [Scots] for her portion, now sinks all the money she gets in dress and ornament. The young men also generally have an English cloth coat for Sunday and a watch in their pocket. The native Highlanders seem fonder of dress and show than the southland shepherds that have come amongst us." It does not appear whether the tartan was much worn, though there is no finer garb for display. If the minister had not been appointed by John XVIII he might have added that if anything was calculated to encourage absence and extravagance it was the chief's example. One is glad, however, to learn

that he took some interest in his estates, kept the home farm in his own hands, and made kelp by cutting the weed every third year. Besides his afforestation at the red point of Ardlamont he made a pioneer effort to grow wheat, "and it answered pretty well." He certainly fixed the bounds of Inveryne, Auchinshelloch and Craignafeich, no doubt with the notion of sheep grazing, and added to his patrimony the $3\frac{1}{2}$ merk lands of Over Inens in the Kyles. This seems to have been the measure of his improvements. But on the whole, as will appear, it was "scattering the sheaves and gathering the straws" (*a' sgaoileadh nan sguab 's a' trusadh nan siobhag*).³⁷

Meanwhile young John, the chief apparent, was coming to manhood. Born in 1774, he had matriculated at Glasgow University at 18. Thereafter he became an Ensign in the Black Watch, a Lieutenant in an independent company of Foot, and in 1793 a captain in the newly raised 97th or Strathspey Regiment, disbanded before a year was out. He was doubtless the John Lamont who was one of the officers in command of the Cowal company of Argyllshire Volunteers mustered by MacCailein "to resist Napoleon" in 1797. These marched in pantaloons, with muskets and bayonets, to fife and drums. How strange for those who had in mind the old days of the kilt, claymore and pipes, or had seen the full dress of the new regular highland troops. In 1799 he paid some £2000 for a majority in the Clan Alpine Fencibles, with permanent rank in the regular army. In this corps he must be left for the present, renewing the old bond between Lamonts and MacGregors, which reached back at least to the days of JAMES XII and the tuilzie in King's House of Glencoe.³⁸ His brother Norman, the ancestor of the present and two late chiefs, became in 1795 a Lieutenant in the 14th (Bedfordshire) Regiment. In this county there had been Lamonts as early as 1628, though whether there were any still to the fore is not kened. Three years later he was gazetted a Captain in the 1st Royal Regiment, and in 1800 he was transferred to the 1st Foot Guards. At least two others of the tartan held the King's Commission at this time, a Francis and a William, both of the Braemar connection.³⁹

The chief's eldest daughter Amelia was married in the summer of 1797 to Duncan Campbell of Ross (by Tayvallich in Knapdale) from her father's new house No. 7 Charlotte Square of Edinburgh, which he had just acquired for £1800 sterling. There are two available portraits of her as a young married woman, of which one is at Inverneil (by Ardri-shaig) in the possession of her descendants, and the other has appeared in the *Journal*. Beneath her masses of dusky hair are penetrating eyes and strong features, reflecting all the obstinacy of her father and yet with

an amiability all her own. The humorous mouth had become accentuated in later life, as one sees in the late chief's miniature of her. Georgina and Helen Elizabeth were spinsters for yet a while. It may have been either who was referred to as follows by an English wayfarer in 1800: "At Tainish [beyond Loch Sween] we found Mrs Campbell and her sister, Miss Lamont, ladies whose fascinating manners, good humour, and intelligent minds prevented us entirely from perceiving the lapse of time. . . . We wished to hear the *Mach Lormondh* March, but were disappointed." Apparently the piper had not the art of Angus Black or Alexander Lamont of Kerry. To form a picture of the appearance of these ladies one has only to look at the coloured plate of the Lamont tartan at the end of MacIan and Logan's *The Clans of the Scottish Highlands*, published in 1845. "The figure" he says, "is that of a lady dressed in the fashion prevalent towards the end of last century; the hair is powdered, curled, and made up in that style, and in the blue snood is fixed the clan badge. We see the rich brocade gown and silk quilted petticoat, while the plaid, so characteristic and becoming a portion of the dress of a highland lady, is thrown over the shoulders in the graceful mode usual among gentlewomen at this time and for many years previously, not only in the highlands but in the low country." (The setts, however, are incorrectly represented in this plate, which is only of value for the general impression it gives.) Old Lady Amelia (who remembered the highland dress before its proscription) died in the next year, aged 80. There is a tablet to her at Kilfinan, where she was probably interred. Her daughters Ann, Mrs Gordon, and Elizabeth lived till 1833 and 1835 respectively, each attaining a ripe old age.⁴⁰

It was perhaps about 1800 that John XVIII sat for a series of portraits in "auld reekie." One certainly by Raeburn was hung at South Hall, and sold in 1912 for £630, along with another of his lady Helen by Wright of Derby fetching £880. They are now lost to sight, as is also a likeness by an unknown artist which went to America from Ard-lamont. Another from there, reproduced in plate 23, is accessible in London, and has been ascribed to Raeburn, though it lacks that directness so characteristic of that master. He is there depicted with the then fashionable arrogant look, so unworthy of his near forebears or successors. A typical Raeburn in the National Gallery of Scotland is of Christina Lamont Drummond, a descendant of the Auchinshelloch family and wife of Colonel Dugald Campbell of Ballimore. The clan was to the fore in Edinburgh at this date, for there was a "Lamont's land," or tenement in the Canongate, belonging to the lint merchants mentioned above. It was perhaps a daughter of this house, named Jean, who was

married in 1797 to Mr James Colquhoun of the Lanarkshire Cavalry, which bespeaks some social standing.⁴¹

But if his people were bien it was plain by this time that the chief was in debt. Although rents had been rising while burdens were still small, and his net income from his estates was £2800 sterling (ten times his father's), it was not enough for his satisfaction. No loan had been raised on the estates since 1646, save temporarily as a replacement, but in 1798 John XVIII had to mortgage for £1500 sterling the three Towards (then generally kened as Kerston, Kewnston and Castleton), Killellan and Auchafour with *Tigh-na-crich*. But he could borrow on easy terms, as the development of trade had reduced the rate of interest from the 10 per cent. Sir JAMES XIV had to meet to the modern 5 per cent. The next step was in January of 1799 when he advertised in the press the sale by auction in the Exchange Coffee House in Edinburgh of "the superiority of certain parts of the lands and barony of Inveryne, . . . creating a freehold qualification" as a parliamentary voter in Argyllshire, and it was bought by a Campbell Writer to the Signet. The whole of the superiority of the Silvercraigs lairdships seems to have gone the same way. In that year he feued Coustoun and Strone to South Hall, his brother-in-law, and later sold the superiority of Achanaskioch to a Greenock doctor.⁴²

But these trifles did not relieve his credit, and he soon offered for purchase the lave of the eastern half of the estates, that is the mortgaged lands and Ardyne, with a sterling rental of £621 gross and £614 net (almost the whole public burdens being paid by the tenants). For a while there were no bidders, and the 1789 leases which expired in 1808 were advertised in the press, the proprietor professing to "give every reasonable encouragement to tenants . . . who understood husbandry as practised in the low country." This boded ill for the clansmen who had hitherto tilled the ground their forefathers had hallowed with their blood in the chiefs' cause. It must have been a sore trial to their loyalty to one whom Dr Johnson would have termed, with some justice, a "rapacious landlord." The sale was effected at last in 1809 to a syndicate, who evicted the old tenants to a man. This sorry end of an "auld sang" might perhaps have been justified by the huge price received, some £40,000 sterling, or 65 years' purchase, if that same had been invested as an endowment for posterity. Alas! it was not, for it was all absorbed in payment of debt and in further extravagance. Thus was lost for good and all the time-honoured castle of Toward with its old memories of wine and wassail, of *A Bhanrigh Mairi*, and of the proud defiance of the Diarmaids by Sir JAMES XIV in the lost cause of *Rìgh Tearlach*. It passed into the hands of an East India merchant, Mr Kirkman Finlay, who built the mansion



QUEEN MARY'S CROWN, 1818, COMMEMORATING 1563

“Castle Toward” in 1821. He presented to the then Duke of Hamilton the wooden crown shown in plate 24, which he had fashioned from Queen Mary’s tree after its fall in 1818 soon after it was forsaken by its old guardians. If John XVIII had cared more for his people and their past he might have been the recipient. But the man of business was not mistaken in the instinct prompting his gift to a noble house which had sheltered Sir JAMES XIV in his troubles, and which has kept it safe and sound through later troubles when all relics left in Ardlamont have been scattered to the four airts. Like the ruins of Toward Keep, this crown has its roots deeper far in the past than anything else which is still for the clan to see with the eye and to touch with the hand.⁴³

The cadets of Knockdow were left in isolation as the eastern bulwark of the tartan, and loyal to the traditions of the proud highlands they received some of the dispossessed tenants. These traditions they have worthily maintained to this day, and thenceforth they became as ken-speckle in Nether Cowal as the chiefs were inconspicuous in Kerry. It was they who gave the site in 1811 for the white tower of Toward Light, which is now as dominant by day and as radiant by night as were ever the grey walls of Toward Keep. But humbler members of the clan were not all by with in the district, though they had to “take their feet with them” for the time. The present Lamont tenants of Killellan and Auchamore are descended from a Robert Lamont, or McPhorich (a recognised Lamont alias), son of a Duncan, who were successively in Kewnston of Toward under John XVIII, through Robert’s youngest son and namesake, tenant of Orchard, at the head of the Holy Loch, from 1838 to 1868.⁴⁴

From the start of the 19th century John, younger of Lamont, was as prominent as his father. In 1801 he enrolled in the Highland Society of Scotland, of whose Edinburgh hall another John Lamont was then the keeper. The Clan Alpines were disbanded in the summer of 1802, and this gave him the chance, if he took it, of living at Ardlamont with the family, which was there from the autumn at least till the coming spring. In 1804 he was appointed to the 92nd or Gordon Highlanders, on their arrival from Cork, and next year was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel and married Rebecca, daughter of George Hobbs of Barnaboy in Ireland. Thus military exigencies revived the old bond with the country which had nurtured Neil *glun-dubb*, traditional ancestor of Sir LAUMON, and with which there was supposed to have been the link of later marriages with the families of “Okyan and Lord Dunseverin.” There is a portrait of Rebecca at Bideford, with dark locks drawn down to dark eyes.⁴⁵ Their first-born was baptized Amelia Helen Porch in August of 1806 at Kilfinan,

which shows she was making her home at Ardlamont, or near it. The new name was out of compliment to his youngest sister Helen Elizabeth Lamont and her fiancé, for she was married in November to John Elliot Porch, of the liberty of St Andrew's Wells, Somerset, a Captain in the Guards. The young Colonel was engaged in the campaigns in Copenhagen in 1807, next year in Sweden, and then in the Peninsula in Spain. In the interval his wife had a son John, born in Edinburgh in 1811, who did not survive. It fell to the father to command his regiment at the battle of Corunna under Sir John Moore, and he served with Wellington until the 92nd returned to Scotland in 1814, and after being in command of the western district during the summer he retired on half-pay. Another daughter Augusta Charlotte Matilda was born at Ardlamont in October of that year. Not long after the Marquis of Bute appointed him a Deputy-Lieutenant of that county.⁴⁶

His brother Captain Norman was induced to settle at the red point for a few years, at what time exactly is not clear. He was given the tenancy of Kildavaig, which was rented at £112 sterling, and of Ardyne, on which he erected buildings he was unable to finance. He tried sinking coal pits at Ardlamont without result. He said afterwards that "he kept up the whole family establishment at Aird Lamont for four or five years, with the exception of wine" (no doubt a heavy item in those capacious days). But this was disputed by the Colonel on the ground that "at the periods that (their parents) came there during those years all the provisions required were laid in by their factor and paid for by him out of the rents. And besides the use of the lands in his occupation he forgot to mention that he received during those years all the meal, hens, eggs and chickens paid in annually by the tenants." Norman soon tired of farming and abandoned his lease. By the sale of his vote, which was the superiority of Coustoun, he got £400, and departed for England. In London in 1809 he was married to Hannah, a daughter of John Porch from Somerset (no doubt a relative of his sister's husband) in the fashionable St George's, Hanover Square. As he was known to be extravagant a provision in his favour in the next year was restricted to a liferent, and his father had to pay up many of his debts. He was apparently the favourite son, but forbye his requests for money there is little further evidence of his activities in family records. At some time the elder brother certainly boarded their father, to the extent of £325, which was perhaps in Glasgow on his return to this country in 1814.⁴⁷

In that same year was determined against the chief in the House of Lords a litigation as to the right to Monydrain since the death of Captain Coll of the Black Watch in 1802. In contravention of an entail by which

he had himself succeeded he had settled the lands on John XVIII, in return for some favours and in recognition of the latter's position as chief. The heir of entail was the Captain's uncle James, who was a plasterer in Glasgow in poor circumstances. He served a summons in November of 1802, and with the assistance of his incorporation, the wrights, he succeeded by 1805 in forcing John to produce the entail. He had then to claim the lands, and the rents of the intermediate years, and after he had succeeded in Edinburgh in 1810, he had to maintain the judgment in London, which held things up for another four years. It was not the fair play of the *Feinne* for him, and little wonder that he declared his opponent was taking technical objections "beneath his general character." That the head of a clan was entitled to consideration in the law courts is apparent from the following remarks by Lord Craigie: "It may seem somewhat hard," he said, "that an attempt to disappoint a personal and imperfect entail, by one of the substitutes in favour of his chieftain and benefactor, should be visited by an award of expenses." His Lordship, however, was constrained to do so, although he was reversed on appeal upon other grounds. From another point of view it was hardly in keeping with the best traditions of chiefship, that the poor but rightful heir should be fought to the ultimate tribunal from no other motive but pure greed. If John had paid a penny for the estate he would have had good cause to fight, but he had received it as a gift. How easily the past is forgotten is revealed by the papers in this case, in which both sides combined to give a completely inaccurate history of the Monydrain feu, which is detailed elsewhere.⁴⁸

This was but one of the chief's law pleas, and not the only one in which he appears in an unfavourable light. On his brother Hugh's death in 1785 he sued the widow for the cost of her husband's schooling, maintenance, and equipment for the army incurred long years before, a claim which a kindly elder brother, let alone a chief, might well have allowed to drop. He was under no duty, however, to the purchasers of Toward, who did not discover until too late that by the custom of Cowal and Bute, and many other parts of the highlands, the tenants were entitled to compensation for the houses they had built, which was assessed at £376, 6s., when they claimed relief from him, but the fact that he also was ignorant of the custom is eloquent of his lack of interest in his estates. John won his case against them. But he was unsuccessful in the House of Lords in preventing MacCailein from creating separate votes out of the superiorities of the lands of Killellan and Kames. An electoral roll of the county for 1811 contains the names of the chief, his sons Colonel John and Captain Norman, now in the 26th or Cameronian

Regiment, and also Knockdow, who had just bought up the superiority of his cadetship from John and so now held direct of the Crown for the first time for centuries. It may be that a number of other superiorities had been also sold for that purpose to meet the expenses of litigation.⁴⁹

If the chief was exacting in business he was tolerant in religion, and along with Knockdow offended the presbytery by declining to interfere with independent preachers. The namely Dr Jamieson, of *Dictionary* fame, was the first Secession minister in the district. "In 1779 he was stationed at Toward, in a wretched smoky hovel, without even glass to the aperture through which light was received, and in which he had to eat, sleep and study. The congregation met in a barn at Toward," and thereafter on the Castle hill of Dunoon. In the early 1800's John protected one Donald McArthur, a baptist pastor from Strachur, from the persecution of his brother-in-law South Hall. At the latter's instigation a number of adherents were evicted from their homes in 1802, including a Neil and a John Lamont (alias McPhorich) who were tenants in Hafton of Ardinslate by Dunoon. These same were brothers and herring-curiers to trade. They had formerly been tenants in Toward-nuilt on the Knockdow estate. Neil died of exposure, being sick at the time, but John and his family erected a house in Port Bannatyne, Bute, with an attic equipped as a place of worship. In 1805 South Hall illegally arrested McArthur, and impressed him into the navy. But as soon as it transpired that he was held on a government vessel at Liverpool John sailed in a sloop, with a son Archibald and a friend, to secure his release. Some persons of influence obtained it, and his Diarmaid aggressor had to pay a hundred guineas in damages. This John and his wife, Catherine Buchanan (who claimed descent from the historian of her name), had a youngest son named Daniel. He emigrated to America in 1817, and his grandson Colonel the Hon. Daniel Scott Lamont later became Secretary of State for War in that country. There are many other descendants alive of both Neil and John. The original Daniel, on his arrival in the United States, married a Margaret Lamont, a daughter of a family of very similar antecedents. Her father Robert was a son of Archibald Lamont, tenant of Inverchaolain, who left Ardyne for Stuck in Bute, and on 25th May 1810 sailed on P.S. "*Caledonia*" for New York City, where he died on 15th January 1820. He has descendants alive in America to this day, and from his younger son John are sprung the present Lamonts in Stuck. These details are typical of the way in which the clan was being gradually spread over the face of the earth.⁵⁰

An experience even worse than that of the John thus forced overseas

was the lot of a namesake who was a naval surgeon at the time—the sixth medical John Lamont of this chapter. He sailed with the namely Captain Wright in the brig “*Vincejo*” of 18 guns, and they incurred the hostility of Napoleon by landing in France a number of exiled royalists in December of 1803. Within a few months they had the ill-luck to be becalmed in Quiberon Bay, and after a resistance of three hours were overpowered by the French gunboats. The whole officers and crew were confined in the Temple in Paris, where the Captain’s throat was cut in October 1805, though his captors described it as a suicide. The surgeon was “the last friend who had access to (Wright’s) dungeon, (and) passed the meridian of his life a prisoner in France.” He eventually returned, however, presumably after Waterloo, and died at Greenock in 1851.⁵¹ Another John in that town was a writer, son of Duncan Lamont tenant in Brookwood (doubtless in the parish of Canonbie, Dumfriesshire). He was married in 1817 to Mary, daughter of Fletcher of Bernice on Loch Eck, and died at Kilmun in 1833 leaving at least one child, a namesake of his wife. These two Johns were obviously of good standing, but their ancestry is unkenned to-day. Another distinguished townsman was Colin Lamont, astronomer and marine surveyor, whose story is told in the Knockdow chapter, for he was sib to them. There deserve mention also a John Black, cooper and shipmaster in Greenock, the son of the Archibald who had left Kilfinan in 1760, and the harbour master, another Archibald, late of Acholter in Bute, and his son John, also shipmaster.⁵²

Among other nautical Lamonts, who all ventured far furth of the harbour of Greenock, was a Daniel, master of the “*Isis*” of 50 guns, killed at the battle of Copenhagen in 1801. There was also a Captain James, of the ship “*Lucy*” of Charlestown, which at his death in 1803 was described as “lately stranded on the coast of Scotland,” and a Robert, an assistant surgeon in the navy from 1811 to 1824. There is no indication of their parentage. In the former year the office of assistant Commissary General of the island of Jersey was enjoyed by a certain “Commissioner Lammont (who) was a Captain in the Navy, blunt in his conversation and manner, fond of a joke and laughed loud and heartily at his own witticisms, at the same time kind and attentive to his guests; he was short and stout with a John Bull sort of face.” The description by a visiting lady proceeds that “Mrs Lammont had two little girls, 6 and 8 years of age, dressed like fancy dolls. . . . Her husband, the Commissioner, was a round faced, bluff old seaman, as perfect a contrast to his wife as it was possible to be.” Unfortunately space does not permit of the repetition here of several racy anecdotes as to her derived from the same source. The Commissary, who was in fact the William from Braemar above referred to, and Captain

in the 31st Foot or Huntingdonshire Regiment (and not in the navy), has many relatives still alive.⁵³

Of the Mull branch was a literary Lamont of the time, Angus from Iona, who was born in Ulva in 1770. He was renowned as a bard and wrote many poems in Gaelic, of which one is printed in Patrick Turner's collection of 1813. It is a lament for the passing of his infant son Donald whom his wife Mary MacDonald had borne him in "island Y," in which they were not the first of their clan. Their croft was at *Ceann Aindrea* on the west coast by Culbuirg, and his "Song of the Seaweed Shores" of the Atlantic has been published in the *Journal*. In later life he was guardian of the Cathedral and "the street of the dead," in which the great ones of the highlands had been laid when their day was out. In such a setting it is no wonder he drank deeply of the glamour of the past, and pity it is that he left no account of his forefolk except the tradition of their exile from Cowal in 1646. He must have known the then current *sgeuls*, referred to in Scott's *Antiquary* in 1816, "about the battles of Fingal and *Lamon mor*" in the days of Ossian, which would delight one to-day. He must have heard too the old story of the siege of Toward and the oppression of the Diarmaids, and in his mind there must have "slept a score of old fierce tales" about the Lamont country never committed to paper.⁵⁴

It is good to find no fewer than seven of the tartan, forbye Mr Angus, subscribing to Turner's publication. "Lamont, Knockdow, Esquire, Edinburgh" was Alexander, the future xvth laird, who was in practice there as a Writer to the Signet in the lifetime of his father James xiv, a great agriculturalist and former steward of Arran. The "Rev. John Lamont, A.M., Glengary" was the Roman Catholic priest of Aberchaldar, by Fort Augustus, who had been trained in the college of Moidart—home of "the lost pibroch"—in 1783, and was indicted in 1815 at Inverness for celebrating a marriage to which one of the parties was a Protestant. The verdict was "not proven," and as has been said "doubts may reasonably be entertained respecting both the justice and the policy of such a prosecution," which must have offended at least his clansmen from the Braes of Mar, all of his faith. He survived his trial by ten years. Five humbler supporters were "John Lamont, Lergs, Lorn; John Lamont, Clachanseil [also in Lorn]; Duncan Lamont, Pennycuick [Midlothian]; Archibald Lamont, Portnellan [near Colintrave]; and Archibald Lamont, Slates, Bute [by Ardmaleish]." How the two Johns had come to Lorn is not kened, unless they were descended from their namesake whose cattle had been stolen from Loch Avich in 1683, or from the Martin in the McDougal country in 1715. Duncan had doubtless migrated from Edinburgh. None of their relatives are to

the fore to-day, but the Archibald from Slates was a forebear of the Very Rev. Professor Daniel Lamont, Moderator for the year 1936 of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (an office dignified also in 1822 by the Rev. Dr David of Kirkpatrick Durham). As not a word of the book was in English one infers that all the subscribers had the Gaelic, but it is odd that but one was from lands owned in historic times by any of their name. With an English-speaking chief and new tenants likely it is that the old speech was being neglected in Cowal. The saga of the Lamonts (such as it is), which was the product of the next generation, is in the lowland tongue.⁵⁵

When the chief was 65 in 1806 he convened a family council and provided for his children. He had bound himself to settle the estates in Kerry on the heirs male of his marriage and a certain series of heirs. It was now agreed that a strict entail should be executed for the first time in the history of the family in favour of the following persons in their order, namely (1) the heirs male of his own body, (2) the heirs male of his daughters' bodies, (3) the heirs female of his sons' bodies, (4) his nephew Archibald of Robroyston, and the heirs male of the latter's body, and (5) any one he cared to nominate. But in four years' time when the entail was drawn he had grown fond of his grand-daughter Amelia Helen, and so the heirs male of her body were preferred to those of his daughters Amelia Mrs Campbell of Ross, Georgina who soon married Alexander Keith of Corstorphine Hill (and afterwards of Dunnottar and Ravelston, the future Knight Marischal of Scotland), and Helen Elizabeth Mrs Porch. Perhaps Monydrain had been right when he said in his pleadings that of course "chieftains were not to be fettered by usual forms."⁵⁶

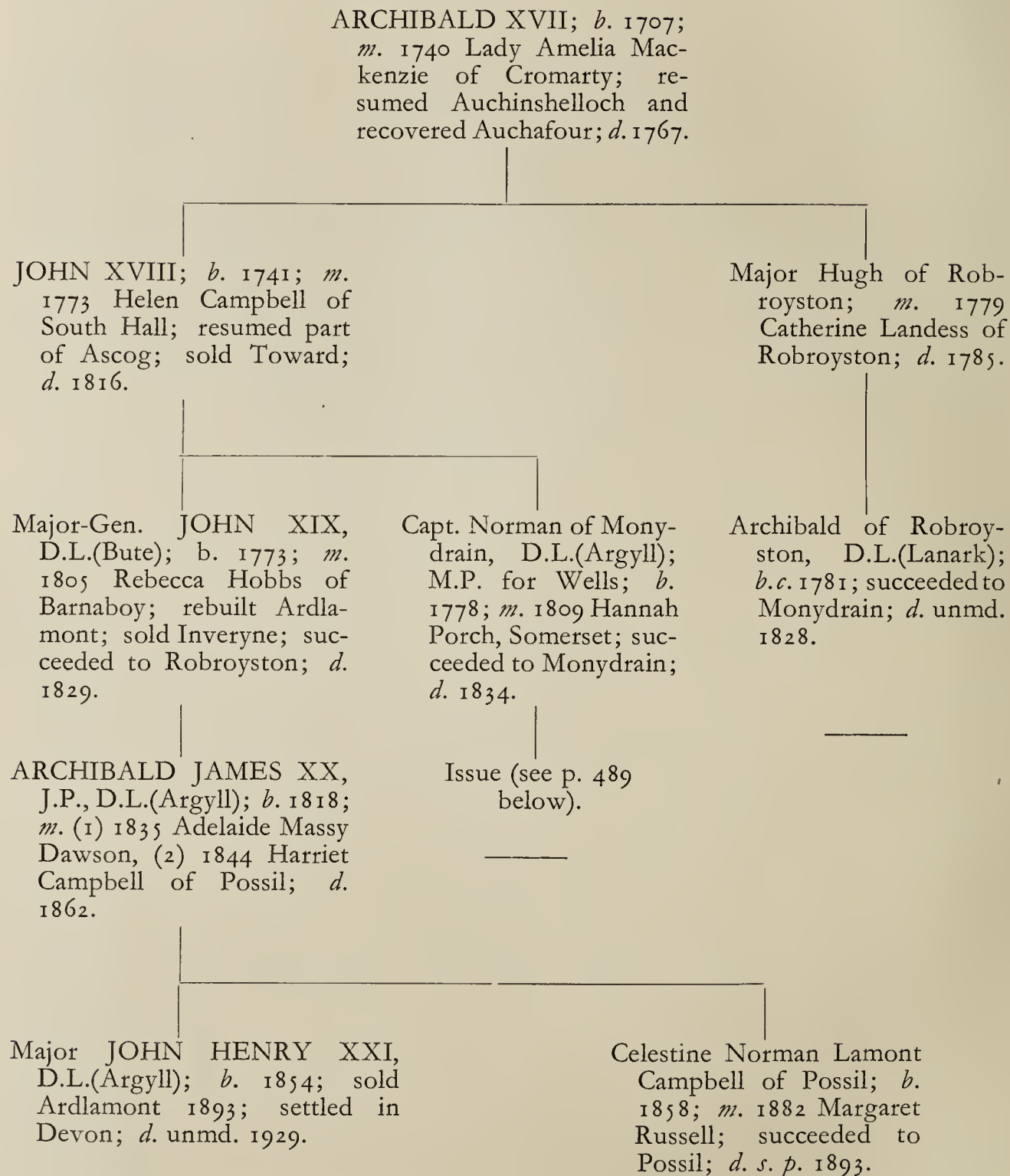
At the same time the old man made such extravagant provision for his wife and children that the estates were involved at his death in payment of portions of £11,000 sterling in capital and of £1300 a year in annuities, to satisfy which was required as much again as Toward had yielded. He at last realised that his finances were embarrassed, for he owed £9000 at least to strangers, and granted a trust deed of his whole lands and monies (the entail being as yet unfeudalised), by which one-half of the free income after meeting the annuities was to be devoted to his creditors, and the other half to his succeeding son. It did not occur to him even yet to forgo his grand manner of living and retire to the red point of Ardlamont. As JOHN XIX (who had signed many of the bonds) regretfully recorded, "before his death over and above the debts he owed at the time of (the) sale of (Toward), his expenditure encroached much on (the price), as the money he allowed annually his children along with his own family expence was a great deal more than his income could bear, besides the

great debts he paid for Norman," of which the old gentleman had often remarked the amount was "enormous." In 1811 he was altering his Edinburgh house, but he sold it at last in 1815 for above £3000 sterling, to Mrs Farquharson of Invercauld, a family which (if tradition be right) had ill served his kin in Braemar in the past. The luxury of a city dwelling was never again the lot of any chief. John XVIII died at Ardlamont, where he had hardly ever lived, in December of 1816, having ridden rough-shod over the remnants of his clan for half a century. He was presumably buried at Kilfinan, for it is recorded that £52 was spent on mourning for the servants and black cloth for his seat in the kirk. But there is no tablet to his memory, and no inventory of his moveables, which were certainly slight. Of the £40,000 obtained for Toward, there was none left, save an instalment of £4000 not yet paid to him. But he had lived well and with enjoyment, and it is an old maxim alike in highlands and lowlands that "what's in your wame is no in your testament."⁵⁷

He had a new full-length portrait painted in his later years by George Watson, a pupil of Raeburn, which was exhibited in the latter's house in 1813. So pleased was he that he "ordered portraits to be drawn of a great part of his family," including Rebecca Hobbs and his heir (see plate 25). In his own he is shown seated with his favourite grandchild at his arm and his London evening paper on his knee. Is it this, one wonders, that is referred to by the clansman who related in 1917 that "when he was a lad he was shown a portrait in Ardlamont House of a Lamont chief, who, it is said, gambled away most of the clan territory?" There is no real evidence that he gambled, but it is not unlikely, as his brother Hugh did and his nephew Archibald. How else did the £40,000 vanish? Certain it is that he ruined the fortunes of the family, reducing it (for the time at least) from wealth to poverty, and in fact to technical bankruptcy. In the picture and entail there is ample sign of family affection, but little of clan sentiment, an ill-omen for the future. There is no note of the highlands in his dress, and no sign of the tartan, nor is there any indication of the arms, except that they were to be assumed by the heirs of entail. It is very different in the portraits of his grandson ARCHIBALD JAMES XX. There is no mention of the Auchinshelloch family, who represented the old chiefs in law, or of the Knockdow family, who were Lamonts in the male line. How unlike the entails of the cadets! Robroyston, the chief's heir male apart from his sons, was postponed to several heirs female. This nephew was, of course, possessed of a good estate of his own, and as it happened succeeded in 1816 to Monydrain in terms of the disputed entail above referred to. He was a Captain in the Royal Lanark Militia and well known at this time among

the young bloods of Glasgow as a frequenter of the roistering "What-you-please Club" at its tavern meetings at the south end of the Candle-riggs.⁵⁸

But even if the succession as then defined had been adhered to, and the entail of 1810 had never been broken, the red point of Ardlamont would still be in the hands of the present chief, who is sprung from Captain Norman, second son of John XVIII. Though he was a spend-thrift his descendants were more canny, and it is no fault of theirs that they are landless overseas. Despite his long absences and his loosening of old ties the chief who sold Toward will aye be respected for his position as any other Lamont chief must be. In the school at Kilfinan the bairns ken him yet by the prize money he bequeathed to the Kirk Session, though it was little enough he had left for his own. But few of the tartan would go out of their way to put a stone on his cairn. From his time on the tide has been ever on the ebb for the *Clan Laomainn*.⁵⁹

PEDIGREE OF XVIITH TO XXIST CHIEFS

Note: last pedigree on p. 269.



MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN XIX, 1816-1829

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CHAPTER XVI

THE END OF AN AULD SANG,
1816-1893

THERE was a world of difference as betwixt the old chief and the new. In the features of the soldier of fortune who succeeded as Colonel, and soon Major-General, JOHN XIX (1816-29) are a kindliness and a control which were not in his father's. He has the air of a man who would speak with his clan folk as the best chiefs always did—as an equal, and ensure respect and affection without seeming to command it. If Sir John Watson Gordon has depicted him rightly (plate 25) he had little likeness to his forebears. But the canvas's devotion to geometrical outlines is suspicious and suggests the omission of characteristic irregularities. In the elliptical face that emerges from the high collar of an elliptical braided uniform there are hints of his grandsire ARCHIBALD XVII and of Sir COLL XIII, but with a new note of adventure in the unkempt hair and fearless eyes. He was a man who had taken the world for his pillow. It was so he had looked at Corunna no doubt.¹

His service with highland regulars had gained him an interest in the tartan which he had neither time nor opportunity to acquire at home, and in 1817 he deposited a sample of his own with the Highland Society in London to be preserved for the future. One presumes that he wore it pleated about him, with the proud plaid on his shoulder, as his son did for certain. On the swatch is his seal, in which appear for the first time the supporters of two half-naked highlanders. The impression is defective as the shield is indecipherable, but crest and motto are distinct. It is unlikely that he had the Gaelic, and if he had it would be with the *blas na beurla* (taste of the English), for he was reared among lowland retainers in auld reekie and spent his manhood in stravaiging abroad. But in the Peninsula at least he had in his tail a Lamont from Kerry, whom he set up in his policies at the red point on his retirement with the rank of Major-General in 1819 after a quarter century with the colours. This man has left descendants including one formerly head gardener at Knock-dow, who has often provided the crab-apple at the clan's gatherings.²

Little is kenned of the Colonel from 1814 to his succession, forbye

that he was in Glasgow for a while on military duty, and perhaps had his father in his household. But by the spring of 1816 he was probably at Ardlamont, when his daughter Georgina was baptized at Kilfinan—of which kirk he was an elder—as was also his heir Archibald James in the summer of 1818. He had never an Edinburgh house, though his mother had, and he had seen enough of foreign parts to be content on his own heather.³ If not “as highland as a peat,” as the saying has it, he took the highlands to his heart when he was home from the wars. That he had a mind to his forebears one sees from a statement he dictated as to the male descendants of ARCHIBALD XVII, of whom the only survivors were himself and his brother Captain Norman. He was accurate in his details of his father JOHN XVIII, and his uncles Lieutenant Archibald, Brigadier-General Norman, George the student, and Hugh of Robroyston, but “if he never heard that his grandfather Archibald had any other sons” he was strangely ignorant of the second Lieutenant Archibald, the bastard who had died without leaving a son. That he had a notion of his people also is proved by his having received at Ardlamont a number of clansmen from outbye, including the John Black, shipmaster in Greenock, referred to above, who had voyaged in his schooner the “*Diana*” of 120 tons as far as the West Indies and was as travelled a man as his chief. But most Lamonts and Blacks were by then so scattered to the airts as to be beyond his ken and that of the historian.⁴

On his accession, however, it was little hospitality he could afford, swart though he would be to admit it, for on taking stock of the position he realised that his father had ruined the family for a generation at least, and that a series of ill years had beggared the home bidders of the tartan. The first relevant entry in his letter book, which is still preserved, is an advertisement of let of the public-house at Millhouse (the old Mecknock) on 16th January 1817. It was intimated also that “a great part of the farms of Auchagoyle, Auchaldalvorie, Inverinn and others is intended to be divided into crofts,” an exact reversal of the amalgamation policy of his predecessor. But in reply to a petition from the tenants at large (for a reduction of rent it would appear), he was obliged to declare that “the affairs of your late landlord is at present under trust consequently it is not in his power to comply.” To be impotent in his own country was a sorry condition for a highland chief, but it was only for a year, as his advisers were successful, with the assistance of the whole connection, in avoiding the 1810 trust deed, upon what legal ground it is difficult to see, but perhaps by the expedient of persuading the trustees to decline their onerous office.⁵

When once in command in the spring of 1818 he acted with both promptitude and foresight, being as well fitted for a statesman as for a general. The litigations with Argyll and as to Monydrain were both settled. An abatement of a quarter of their rents was allowed to the tenants, but even so they could only be induced to continue for a year, and there was one farm for which none would offer. Some capital for expenses was obtained by the sale to Campbell of Barcaldine for £350 of his old vote, the superiority of Acharossan (as he had of course succeeded to his father's qualification), while Robroyston was negotiating for the purchase of the superiority of Monydrain, where he was now in possession. Mr Colin Campbell, the Inveraray lawyer and factor, was paying the interest on local debts as a first charge on the rents he ingathered, and the rest was remitted to Mr Davidson in Edinburgh for the "public creditors," who were due £10,000, as against which £4000 was still resting owing by the purchaser of Toward. There was enough for discharging this liability at each term, but it was obvious that the estate was unable to provide for the annuities to the family.⁶

To "bring his affairs to a conclusion with as little delay as possible" it was the chief's idea that the detached lands of Kilfinan, Inveryne, etc., should be sold by the authority of the Court for the repayment of the general debts, and that a proportionate reduction of all family provisions should be effected by agreement. But the latter project was frustrated by the refusal of Norman to submit to arbitration if there was any possibility of curtailing his income, although all the others had agreed (with the exception of a trustee for Mrs Porch's children), and their mother Helen Campbell was convinced it was essential. A reduction of £600 a year was allowed by the consenters, but Captain Norman exacted every penny of the interest on his £1500, pressed all his claims on his father's estate, complained that his debts had been only settled instead of being fully paid, and protested against any attempt at a sale. Until ARCHIBALD JAMES's birth in the summer he had of course high hopes of the succession to the estates as heir male. From this period to the present there has always been a coolness between his branch of the family and his brother's.⁷

But when the General proposed to rebuild Ardlamont House in 1819 at a cost of £1100 there was justice in the Captain's opposition. It was idle to contend that the estate was unequal to its liabilities if its resources were sufficient for this purpose. "The very contracted and disagreeable accommodations of my present house" was an insufficient excuse by a bankrupt for an expenditure which was not only for repairs but forbye for enlargement. He had resolved on it, however, and his children's early deaths are a partial justification as suggesting that the old home was

unhealthy. And so the grey walls rose anew of the last and short-lived mansion of the chiefs in Scotland (plate 26). They were fashioned from the rocks of Kerry from which Inveryne had been hewn in the dim past, and as if in memory of an earlier era they were bound together with the lime of Ireland, with which country there was still local trading. With these echoes from the dark of time one may consider some premonitions of the future. There is a mention of income tax in the same year, which was then an extraordinary war measure, and the reconstruction was financed by the modern expedient of an insurance on the General's life.⁸

He was now anxious, although lamenting its necessity, to proceed with the judicial sale of the detached Inveryne section, which he expected to produce some £20,000—a substantial over-estimate as it proved owing to the great slump in land values. He considered that his brother's forecast of a fair net rental for the whole of £2600 was excessive, as "the last bad years (had) ruined the tenants in a great measure therefor they (were) not able even if willing to give their former rents," and he had need to consider offers from outsiders. In this view he was right. The collection of the Martinmas rents of 1819, which was customarily postponed to the following Candlemas (2nd February), was attended with disaster. As he explained to his law agent, "the tenants depended on the sale of there bear (or big) to pay the rent due . . ., but in consequence of there paying the same duty on big as on the best English barley they have not been able to sell a single boll which still remains in their stack yards, and a man of the name of Campbell broke who bought some cattle from them by which they have sustained a loss equal to £200." This is the last recorded spoliation by the Diarmaids, but it was ill-timed and the judicial proceedings were accelerated. In the same year it was established by evidence that the net rental of the Lamont lands was only £2289 sterling, and that the expense of interest on debts and of the annuities exceeded that sum by £65 a year. It was a technical bankruptcy. But the capital value was large (although estimated at only 26 years' purchase as compared with the much higher ratio for the more favoured Toward portion), and as the annuities were all terminable in due course there was every prospect of recovery.⁹

A long litigation followed which was not over in his lifetime, and which discloses some interesting details as regards the estates. The Ardlamont portion of 67 merk lands had a gross rental of £1873, plus an average of £35 for kelp shores, or £1908 in all. Among 37 tenants mentioned there were only six Lamonts and one Black, besides three Whites. There was a John Lamont in each of Point Croft and Moss Croft, and it was perhaps the latter who was the old soldier. A Miss



ARDLAMONT HOUSE (REBUILT 1819)

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Lamont who was entered as liferentrix of the dower house Craigmore, or Craig Cottage, was his aunt Elizabeth and was living there with her sister Ann, Mrs Gordon. The Peter Lamont, gentleman farmer and Justice of the Peace, who was tenant in Stillaig, was the son of the former factor Alexander and of Barbara the last Stronalbanach's daughter. Besides the chief's family he was the only relic of the territorial Lamonts in Kerry. He was a grazier and cattle dealer, but in the hard times after Waterloo was sequestrated by a John Lamont in Greenock. One hopes that the Alexander Lamont who had the Mecknock change-house was serving better breakfasts than his predecessor. There were also a John Lamont in Portavaidue, who was perhaps the ferrier to Tarbert, and a Coll Black in Stronduich. A John Black from the island of Jamaica had acquired the estate of Auchalick, Barpuntag and Auchnaha from the also bankrupt Campbells of Otter in 1818, but he died in Greenock in 1827 survived only by daughters, and the lands were thus lost to the clan. Was he perchance descended of the Malcolm who had been banished for treason in 1685? ¹⁰

£534 was the gross rental of the 17 merk' lands of Inveryne, Drumnglas and Kilfinan, with muir and publick (house). Out of 6 tenants mentioned only one was a clansman, a certain Peter Lamont in Drum. In the birth and marriage registers may be seen the names of other Blacks and Lamonts who were cottars. There being as yet no rates the annual burdens were light, amounting to £153 for both sections together. The cess, bridge and rogue money was £64, the schoolmaster's fees £12, and one half of the minister's stipend £77 (the remainder being paid by the tenants). The capital value was brought out by deducting the appropriate proportions of these burdens and taking 26 years' purchase of the balance, which was deponed to as correct by two writers to the signet (of whom one was young Knockdow), and 10 years' purchase of the kelp (a precarious asset and soon rendered worthless by the removal of a tariff). The Ardlamont section was thus valued at about £46,000, and the Inveryne section at £13,000, to which fell to be added £400 for each of the superiorities of Monydrain and N. Auchagoyl, to complete a total of about £60,000. It was a black day for the clan when the chiefs gave account of their stewardship and were found sadly wanting. The remains of their inheritance was a barony in name, but in substance it was a mere lairdship, with Toward gone and Inveryne doomed. It was a good son who could honour the memory of the father who had thus wasted his patrimony. ¹¹

In the years 1815-1820 there was much unrest in the country at large, and the removal of all fear of invasion by the victory of Waterloo (for

which one of Knockdow's sons was awarded a medal) was the occasion of serious trouble. The prolonged political monopoly of the Tories had disgusted the Whigs, and the Radicals had come into existence as a secret party owing to the unemployment resulting from the European wars and to the introduction of machinery. If the General was in sympathy with his father and brother he was a Whig, but he must have heartily disapproved—when he read of it in his "*Glasgow Chronicle*"—of the conduct of a number of departed but still warlike clansmen who, disillusioned with the lowlands, took up arms in the "Radical Rising" of 1820. He enrolled 100 of his tenants at the request of the Lord Lieutenant of Argyllshire as Volunteers in government's interest. The organisation of the weavers was employed by the rebels, and a general strike attempted, to be followed by an armed campaign against authority. A John Lamont in Paisley, who was of Glendaruel origin, was among them, and was surprised by a squadron of cavalry while on parade in the Foxbar woods. But his rifle was surrendered by his grandmother without his knowledge, and his military activities thus ended.¹²

The real hotbed, however, was Glasgow, and a contingent from that city, which included a Black, was in arms with Messrs. Baird and Hardy's force soon overwhelmed at the so-called "Battle of Bonnymuir," near Carron in Stirlingshire, on the 15th of April 1820. He was wounded and captured, but escaped in the night from a cottage in which he was guarded by the assistance of two weaver clansmen in the neighbouring Larbert, called Allan McLimont and his son James. The father was an old soldier from Kilmarnock, who had been discharged from the Royal Scots, after eleven years honest and faithful service, in 1787. He was a small man 5 ft. 6 ins. in height, but disproportionately game, dark skinned, brown haired, with grey eyes and a nasal scar. With his son he was able to remove his friend by a back window and to carry him to Larbert, a distance of 4 or 5 miles over rough ground. On the recovery of Black he was escorted by his rescuers along the new Forth and Clyde Canal to Dumbarton, and it had been arranged that his wife and family should be on board of a vessel outward bound for America, on which he was to embark at that stage. The authorities had been suspicious of the lady's departure, but the government cutter sheered off the port side for Greenock a few moments before the fugitive was hauled up the starboard quarter from a row-boat. The McLimont's house was thrice searched by the military from Stirling Castle, but the bird had flown. One does not ken if this Black was sib to the Robert who kept the Commercial Inn in Glasgow at the time, but the Society has to-day among its members descendants of that Robert, of the James MacLimont in Larbert, the John Lamont in

Paisley, and the Peter Lamont in Drum, all above referred to, from whose traditions this account has been put together.¹³

In a year or two's time the new chief was able to bring his clan once more before the eyes of a world which had lost sight of it. In August 1822 King George IV arranged to pay a well-staged visit to Edinburgh with the avowed object of ingratiating himself with the highlanders who had hitherto held aloof from court circles on account of their Jacobite sympathies. It was a great success, and the capital enjoyed a regular "invasion of the Celts." The General, who had been staying with his sister, Mrs Campbell, at Taynish, in the beginning of the month, came over by the mail coach for the levee in the Palace of Holyroodhouse on the 17th, and was doubtless put up with his retinue in his mother's quarters at 15 Ainslie Place. His Majesty, superbly dressed for the first time in his life in a highland costume of the royal Stewart tartan, was accompanied throughout his visit by Sir Alexander Keith of Dunottar and Ravelston, the Knight Marischal of Scotland, who was husband of Georgina the chief's sister, and it was only to be expected that her clansmen would be to the fore. She is known to have worn the Lamont tartan on that occasion, and a piece of the same web, which she gave to her friend Mrs Lamont of Knockdow, was preserved there until recently. Major-General Lamont was presented by the Duke of Argyll, the Master of the Household. The deputation of the clergy was headed by the Rev. Dr David of Erncrogo, who had been specially elected moderator of the kirk with this occasion in view, and who was introduced by the Earl of Morton. An address from the General Assembly two days after was supported by both Lamonts, the chief being one of the representative elders. There can be little doubt that the two kinsmen would forgather at this time, and renew the friendship which the long Scots miles had lessened since Mr Allan, a younger son of DUNCAN IX, had settled in St Andrews in the 16th century.¹⁴

At a drawing-room on the 20th Miss Lamont of Lamont, otherwise Amelia Helen, was presented, and three days later came the famous Cavalry and Highland Review on the sands at Portobello. The latter was under the command of MacCailein, but each clan had its own standard, badges and pipers. In general the highlanders "were fully and even superbly dressed and arrayed in the belted plaid, each in his own clan tartan, which distinction gave a rich and half barbaric effect to their appearance." One may picture in the tail of the General the successors of Angus Black with the *bratach* and of Alexander Lamont with the pipes, although their names are not on record, and the faithful follower who had been at his side in the Peninsula, as they swung with a king's port

along the edge of the tide. If a number of clans had to inquire into their correct tartans for this parade it was not so with the Lamonts, whose setts had been authenticated by the chief five years ago and were inadvertently adopted by some of the Forbes at this very time. Among the badges in evidence was noted their crab apple. If any *duine uassail* of the clan were in attendance (forbye Captain Norman who is known to have been present on duty), they must have been Robroyston and young Knockdow (who was a W.S. in Edinburgh and succeeded his father in 1829). In his sermon before the King in St Giles on Sunday (on the text *Colossians*, iii. 3-4) the Moderator expressed the hope that the royal visit might "have a lasting influence on the hearts and conduct of the people," and it certainly did in respect that it revived popular interest in the clans which had now ceased to be regarded as barbaric and dangerous and been definitely admitted to respectable society. The reverend gentleman was duly appointed one of his Majesty's chaplains in ordinary for Scotland.¹⁵

This happy occasion ended the General had to return to Cowal and the creditors, with whom he had to transact for the rest of his days. But the clan had received some valuable publicity, and it was probably no accident that one of the new Clyde steamers, which was launched in that year, was baptized the "*Toward Castle*." How far it had fallen from sight is revealed by the publication at Hamilton in 1818 of the ballad "MacGregor and Lamont," in which JAMES XII is represented, not as a highland laird at all, but as "Lamont the rich from Northumbria's waste," and Glen Strae in his misfortune as retreating southwards "till the Cheviots rose on his gladdened gaze, and the turrets of Lamont with heart cheering blaze." The Lamonts were also accorded no great position in the map of the clans which was published contemporaneously in Colonel David Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders*. "This family," he observes, "formerly held considerable superiorities in Knapdale and Cowal." (They had been all alienated by JOHN XVIII.) In referring to the clan Diarmid he proceeds that "the Lamonts, Maclachlanes, Macnabs, etc. are occasionally intermixed, but their lands bear a small proportion to the great tract of country possessed or occupied by the clan Campbell." It was alas! too true, and on the map itself the little Lamont patches on Loch Striven and around Ardlamont are insignificant indeed. It is a tribute to the author's exactitude that the northern march of the latter is so restricted as to exclude the but newly severed Inveryne. His Lamont retainer was no doubt the informant.¹⁶

As the chief was admitted, like his father, to the Royal Company of Archers in 1824, he was at least an occasional visitor to Edinburgh. In the autumn of 1828 he was certainly in the capital in connection with his

eldest daughter's marriage to Mr James Gillespie Davidson, W.S., of the firm now Davidson & Syme in Charlotte Square, who were the family's law agents from his succession until 1893, and who have still about half of the Inveryne charters in their chambers. The young lady, Amelia Helen, has descendants now alive, including the Captain A. K. Jones in whose hands are her portrait (by Sir John Watson Gordon, with a distinct likeness to her grandfather), and the others referred to above. A contemporary portrait is of Archibald of Robroyston, which depicts him as a bluff hunting squire, hard drinking and hard living, and with more of the appearance of his uncle JOHN XVIII than of his cousin the General. He was a man of some influence in his county, as the Duke of Hamilton appointed him a Captain in the Royal Lanark Militia in 1810 and a Deputy Lieutenant of Lanarkshire in 1825. One is surprised to find that in his heart of hearts he was a sentimentalist, as is revealed by a series of seven neat little packets, each one containing a lock of hair, endorsed in his own hand "my father's hair," "my brother's hair," and so forth. He had even a wisp from the grey head of his grandfather Robert Landess from whom his estate was derived. On the other hand it was in his time that they destroyed the cottage—a few yards south-west of the old mansion of Robroyston—in which Sir William Wallace is supposed to have been betrayed to the English in the time of Sir JOHN III. But in those early days, and perhaps he knew it, the Lamonts were not nationalists.¹⁷

Upon Archibald's early death in November of 1828 (of the prevalent dysentery no doubt) Mr Davidson recorded the genealogical statement above referred to. The General and Captain Norman inherited respectively from their cousin the estates of Robroyston and Monydrain. The chief's daughters, Augusta Charlotte Matilda and Georgina, were now given additional portions of £3000 between them, on the security of Robroyston, which was a £3, 15s. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. land (with the addition of the 10s. 10d. land of Auchenairn and valuable coal pits). They already had £1000 apiece from Ardlamont, while Amelia Helen, Mrs Davidson, had of course been endowed by her grandfather. For the first time, one imagines, the General's account with the Renfrewshire bank in Rothesay must have been in funds. He made a settlement of Robroyston and his whole moveables on Archibald James, under burden of the provisions to his wife and daughters, and appointed as tutors his wife, Southhall, Davidson and Alexander Lamont, now xv of Knockdow, the W.S. The Monydrain estate was appreciating rapidly owing to the construction of the Crinan Canal and the new era of steam transport inaugurated by the "*Comet*" in 1812. Communication with Glasgow by water had in the past been almost less safe and less regular than communication with America

to-day. In an advertisement of the two farms of Upper and Lower Monydrain to let in July they were described as "in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Lochgilphead, where the north country & Glasgow steam boats pass daily," including of course the P.S. "*Toward Castle*," referred to above.¹⁸

On this gallant vessel of 79 tons burden there embarked at Lochgilphead on the 15th of December 1828 one Robert Lamont, a merchant and farmer from Balligartan in the isle of Ulva beside Mull. He was of the branch which had fled there in the troubles of 1646. With his cousin John from Kilicheoun he was on his annual trip to Glasgow for supplies, and had a full pocket-book which was not slow to attract attention. It was an ill day for Robert when he stepped on board of a vessel which he had every right to expect would be of good omen to a clansman. He remained on deck until long past Ardlamont, and no doubt he would raise his bonnet as he saw it through the tree-tops, but when the Kyles were behind he adjourned for a refreshment, perhaps because the sight of Toward in alien hands was too much for him. (The present mansion had been built by an incomer in 1821.) As he told that same cousin he "fell in with fine company," and, sharing a glass with two strangers in the manner of the time, he proceeded to drink the vessel dry—"three gills (of whisky), three bottles of porter, and a dozen of ale; there was no more on board." They were merry enough it seems as the lonely shores of Cowal were passed, with less than twenty houses all the way from Dunoon to Strone, and not even a jetty at the former (till 1835, nor at Innellan till 1851). When sought at the ferry of Renfrew he was found on the boards, his pocket-book at his feet and quite empty. In the morning he was dead, having never recovered consciousness, but his fellow-topers were under lock and key. Theirs was a great trial in Edinburgh in yellow July of 1829—a time when Burke and Hare had given the public an appetite for atrocity. The widow Una or Euphemia McNeill had to give evidence by an interpreter, as she had no English, but John and a daughter Catherine were bilingual. The accused were convicted of mixing laudanum with Robert's liquor and stealing some £20 off him, and they paid the extreme penalty in due course. Robert's was a new and strange end for a *Muileach*, but *tagh do chombluadar mu'n tagh thu d'òl* was an old word, and the minister of Kilfinan had a golden chance in the pulpit.¹⁹

The clan's name was being cried up about this time with more credit to it by the recorders of tradition. As mentioned above, in the year of the General's succession an anonymous and aged minister, with less strict views as to temperance, had first put in writing the *sgeul* of the

Lamont-McGregor splore referred to above. But a special debt is owed to a bard of Glendaruel, John Weir, a travelling chapman with an eye to the past, who had it seems enjoyed the "piper's forty days" within the walls of Ardlamont at the bidding of JOHN XIX. He pays his lawing in the stanzas following, in the then fashionable lowland tongue, set to the air of "The Laird of Cockpen":—

"O'Lamont, O'Lamont, O'Lamont the Laird,
Within thy fine mansion how well I have fared,
Compared wi' forefathers tho' he be so sma',
My love is for him and for them that's awa'."

If the verse has its limitations this is the only saga that the clan possesses, and was doubtless recited at many a Cowal *ceilidh* to faces aglow with more than the red scad of the peats. He proceeds to resume the traditions of the dark of time, such as the "charter rock" of Glassary:

"To hail him all Cowal at one time prepared,
Of Toward, Dunoon, and Kilmun he was laird,
Across deep Loch Fyne it is said he had ground,
His rights are in Silvercraig still to be found."

He seems to have overlooked the fact that Monydrain at least was still Lamont territory, but the next verse shows his knowledge of the recent sale of the north of Kerry:

"Kilfinnan *was* his with rich green Inveryne,
From head of Loch Ruail to that of Loch Fyne,
Ard-Lamont and Kerry in Cowal, to suit,
Besides Kerry-Croy, Kerry-Lamont in Bute."

As was seen above, record evidence does not support so extensive a sway, but there is writ for the descent claimed in the following:—

"Blood-royal of Ulster is in his veins still,
The first of his line was brave Lamont O'Neill,
The son of O'Neill was once Ulster's famed King,
Ye Kerry boys hail him till echoes will ring."

In the course of time the events of 1646 had become somewhat confused as appears from the last two stanzas with their rollicking finale:

"But robbers surrounded good Lamont the Laird,
By Campbell and Leslie from Toward was scared,
Because he stood firmly for Bruce's old race,
He yielded to numbers but not to disgrace.

Three hundred stout Lamonts at Toward were slain,
Tho' told that submission would safety obtain,
Tho' the Clan and the lands have dwindled sae sma',
Here's a health to Great Lamont and them that's awa'." 20

In the spring of 1829 the XIXth chief was himself numbered among the latter, and was presumably buried at Kilfinan, although dying at Robroyston. (For some reason there is no stone at either of the kirks of Cadder or Kilfinan to the memory of Archibald or of the General.) There were several deaths in the family at this period, including his sister Mrs Porch in 1827 and his daughter Augusta Charlotte Matilda in 1830. His brother Captain Norman of Monydrain was not long to survive him. He had been elected a member of Parliament for the city of Wells in his wife's native county, where he was then living, in December of 1832, being chaired round the town and then dined at the "Fountain" by his supporters, the Reformers or Liberals, to the chagrin of the "Antis" or adherents of the vested interests of the past. This was the first election under the new franchise, the old "rotten boroughs" and "parchment barons" having been abolished in the spring and with them the political power of the landed classes and the old trade corporations. It was well for the chiefs that they had sold their votes, for if not they would have lost £400 on each.²¹

In the summer the laird of Monydrain was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of Argyllshire and presented by MacCailein to his Majesty at a levee in London. But he died in April 1834 and was buried in the cloisters of the Cathedral at Wells. There is a marble tablet to his memory with a suitable inscription and his coat of arms, which had been differenced by the quartering of the mond with the lion. It was probably his cane, with these arms in gold upon its knob, that appeared in Bristol in the beginning of this century and was acquired by Knockdow along with the bible of ARCHIBALD XV referred to above. The foreshortening of his life at 53 is perhaps to be explained by the following anecdote in the diary of his lady (who was buried beside him in 1840), which was in the possession of his grandson the late EDWARD LOUIS XXII. "A story is told of him, that having made a bet that he would swallow his wine-glass, he ground it up into powder, which he then ate mixed with his food." Such cantrips ill consist with old age.²²

In his miniature he appears in a dusky uniform enlivened with a white baldric and cravat. The same regular features as his brother's are over-topped by a profusion of fair locks drawn down upon the forehead in a fringe. This is the only likeness in the hands of his family to-day, as his portrait at Ardlamont was disposed of in America. He was succeeded by his eldest son John Douglas Campbell, of whom there is also a miniature as a child in full highland dress with the white stripe in the tartan outstanding in his kilt and plaid. He was gazetted to the army in the summer of 1831, when he joined his regiment at Portsmouth.



ARCHIBALD JAMES XVI, 1818-1862

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In 1834 he made up a title to the estate of Monydrain, to which his father had never entered, but it is doubtful if he was ever in residence before his early death in 1836. The new laird was his brother Edward Buller, the father of the two late chiefs, who was married in 1837 in Bristol to Maria Augusta, eldest daughter of R. Bardouveau, Esquire, and was designed of the Priory, Chewton Mendip, Somerset.²³

In these years the young ARCHIBALD JAMES XX (1829-62) was being brought up by his mother in Edinburgh and in Kerry, with the aid of some £9000 which was borrowed on Robroyston, as he only inherited some £4000 from his father. He was the last of the chiefs to be at home among his people, and they knew him as "Erchie" after the old highland manner. If it was all by with Toward and with Inveryne he was doing his best with Ardlamont. The two portraits of him at the age of 17 in 1835 have been reproduced in the *Journal*. He appears in each as a keen-eyed laddie in full highland dress with a mass of disordered dusky hair. It is the second that takes one's fancy (plate 27), as in it he is the chief "new off the heather," though no doubt dressed for the part, with gun on shoulder, pistols at belt and durk to side, and in a tartan which is wonderfully correct. He has the free look of a sportsman in the corries with the scent of the crab apple in his nostrils and his ghillies in his tail. But in the other he has the uneasy aspect of a deep breather in a stuffy city salon, and posed for the occasion in a distasteful setting. His body is swathed in an unreal tartan from neck to knee, relieved only by an enormous sporran. In his hands he is clasping a flat bonnet with three eagles' feathers, which he had probably never worn, and he leans on a draped pillar displaying between supporters the wrong coat of arms, the lion with the mond quartered, which was his cousin Edward Buller's blazon. It was no doubt the work of an Edinburgh artist in his mother's house at 9 Carleton Street, or his grandmother's at 15 Ainslie Place. There was a strong posse of the clan in the capital at the time, as both Knockdow, the W.S., and his mother had establishments there, Dr David's only son John had been called to the bar in 1827, and a William Lamont was Comptrolling Surveyor of H.M. Customs at Leith, while a number of more humble Lamonts are disclosed in the *Directories*.²⁴

In the year after he had his portraits painted the young Archibald James was gazetted an ensign in the 72nd Foot, the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders, but he resigned in 1838, as he preferred the freedom of Ardlamont. In that year the erroneous coat of arms referred to was reproduced in Browne's *History of the Highlands*, but the errors were increased beyond measure by the substitution as crest of a hand clasping

a dagger, which was Knockdow's, for an open hand, and the misrendering of the motto as "*ne pereas nec spernas.*" If the Lyon Office at this date was almost defunct, and its registers not readily available for verification, there was little excuse for the learned author's having overlooked the correct description of the shield as "azure, a lion rampant argent" in Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland* of 1836, from which his whole account of the clan was copied. It is the first genuine account of the origin of the Lamont chiefs on the authority of the Register of Paisley Abbey. One is interested to hear that, as was noted above, so late as that year "there (were) few traditions more universally believed in the highlands, or which (could) be traced back to an earlier period, than that the Lamonds were the most ancient proprietors of Cowall, and that the Stewarts, Maclachlans, and Campbells, obtained their possessions in that district by marriage with daughters of that family."²⁵

There were three old ladies still to the fore who were doubtless the recounters of such stories. Helen Campbell, JOHN XVIII's widow, did not die till 1840, but she was out of touch with her calf country, as she bided in Edinburgh. Two of his sisters, however, grandaunts of the young chief, had made their home in Craig Cottage, and it was a gathering place for scattered clansmen from all airts. They were Mrs Ann Gordon, who died at the great age of 91 in 1833, and Miss Elizabeth, who died at 86 in 1835. One wonders if they were consulted in the search for the heirs of the John Lamont, of Bedford County, Virginia, who died in 1823, having bequeathed his mountain tract of 2000 acres to his "brother Donald and sisters Ann and Christian," whose whereabouts in Argyllshire he omitted to record in his will, although he had "lived miserably, denying himself every indulgence to preserve (his) estate for (his) legatees." In 1830 one of his executors came to Scotland to interview various claimants. He found the clan steadily dwindling in Kilfinan and Inverchaolain, as is revealed by the marriage registers. In the former the average number of resident male Lamonts booked from 1779 (when the record begins) to 1819 was 7 or 8 per annum, and from 1820 to 1850 it declined to 3 or 4. There is hardly a mention of the chief or his people in the *New Statistical Account* of the old Lamont parishes in 1845, unless in reference to the past. But the Knockdow family, now represented by Alexander xv, the W.S. (1829-61), who was a trustee for young Archibald James, was in the ascendant, and was soon to receive a considerable accession to its fortune. On the death in 1837 of Rev. Dr David of Erncrogo at 84 the Lamonts of Fife were no longer a territorial family in Scotland, as his son John had forsaken the Scots bar for the English and the estate was soon sold. But there are

no doubt descendants of this branch in Fife if not in Kirkcudbright to this day. When the reverend gentleman was visiting some of his "*friends* in the vicinity of Leven" in 1820, he preached in the pulpit of his great-great-grandfather, Mr Allan, minister of Scoonie, and saw the communion cup presented to the latter's memory by his grandfather John Lamont of Newton, whose crest a *left* hand he sported on his own cutlery at Durhamhill with the initial "N" for Newton.²⁶

In 1835 the young chief married Adelaide Massy Dawson of Dublin, daughter of the late James Hewitt Massy Dawson of county Tipperary, who was a grandson of the first Lord Massy. Robroyston was the subject of a marriage settlement, of which Southhall and Knockdow were the trustees. With the birth of their only child Adelaide Augusta in Edinburgh in the spring of 1841 one is at last in touch with modern times, as she was well known to present members of the Society, which she joined in 1904 when living in Bournemouth, and only died as recently as 1932 at Salisbury at the age of 91. The young couple had their portraits painted—in his case it was the third time—and they have appeared in the *Journal*. Apart from the compressed waist and bottle shoulders of the period there is little of note in the lady's. But a curled moustache of recent growth has given the chief a foreign look and has aged him beyond his 23 years. He is in highland dress, although the tartan is but poorly reproduced. Sad to say, "the worst that might have been the best happened," and his young wife did not survive her child's arrival by more than a month or two. It was an ill time for him. His sister Amelia Helen, Mrs Davidson, and his aunt Hannah, Mrs Porch, had both died in 1840, though his mother, Rebecca Hobbs, survived until 1858.²⁷

As the years passed his financial position had a little improved. The estate had been relieved of a large proportion of its burdens through the deaths of the annuitants. To them and to various other creditors the sum of £15,842 had been paid out of the price of the Inveryne lands. In 1842 there was a judicial reckoning, but it is not clear whether he was now free of his creditors. They had, of course, no claim upon Robroyston, which was a valuable asset on account of its minerals and its accessibility, and had then a rental of £1000 a year. The new Glasgow and Garnkirk railway was run through it in 1835. The remainder of his patrimony in Kerry was as follows, and as regards the property (as distinct from the superiority) it had been almost entirely secured by reclamation from different cadets at various dates. Besides the 6 merk lands of Achadachoun and the 4 of Kames, including Blair's Ferry, of which MacCailein was superior and the latter of which had been derived from

Dr George, the lave of the barony extended to some 57 (or 59) merk lands.²⁸

The 8 merks of Ardlamont, including the steadings of Aird, Point and Kildavaig, were of course the original seat of an independent family which had taken its name from there, and had been acquired in the middle of the 16th century by Sir JOHN X along with the $1\frac{1}{2}$ merks of Achourk-beg, the 4 merks and chapel of S. Auchagoyl, and the 4 merks of Glenan. The two last mentioned, together with the 6 merks of Stillaig and $2\frac{1}{2}$ of Auchinshelloch, had been held by the first family of Stillaig until a century later. Sir JAMES XIV resettled Stillaig and Glenan on the second family of that designation, who succeeded to the chiefship in the person of DUGALD XVI in 1712, but S. Auchagoyl and Auchinshelloch remained in the possession of a branch of the first family until on the disappearance of its heir in 1741 they were resumed without legal warrant by ARCHIBALD XVII. Auchinshelloch and its pertinent Dowglenan were now merged in the 3 merks of Craignafeich, which had always been in the occupation of the chiefs, and was latterly their principal cattle ranch. The 4 merks of Ascog, including Stronduich, and the lairdship thereof comprising the 5 of Corra, with Glenachoil, the 6 of Kilbride, including Craig Cottage, the 4 (or 2) of Achadalvory, the 6 of Derybruich, with the castle and Portavaidue, and the $2\frac{1}{2}$ of Achourkmore, to which attached the meal mill and the inn of Mecknock, now Millhouse, had been wrested from their rightful owners by the strong hand of Sir JAMES XIV, although not finally surrendered until DUGALD XVI had settled the old scores with Patrick last of Stronalbanach. The total was completed by the $2\frac{1}{2}$ merk lands of Melldalloch with their mill, which had been always in the natural possession of the chiefs.²⁹

The estate was still largely undeveloped owing both to the restrictions of the entail and to inaccessibility. But the Kames powder works had been established by two tenants from Glasgow, and they obtained a feu in 1850 for an annual duty of £143. A gunpowder manufactory was erected between S. Auchagoyl and Millhouse, including the croft of Barnafuad, and some buildings on the waterfront. They were allowed to construct a quay which was to be available to the chief and his tenants, and it was by this provision that the modern expansion of Kames was made possible. In addition to their two reservoirs on the heights of Craignafeich and to the burn of that name they had liberty to use the waters of Loch Ascog, but only after Mecknock mill had been supplied to the full. The proximity of the old keep (some part of which was "still pretty entire") and the new magazine, which were fed from the self-same water, affords an interesting contrast between past and present

warfare. In a single generation the Kames powder works eclipsed in importance all other establishments in the locality, and changed hands at £25,000. But at the moment of writing the old order is in process of restoration, and the castle is again a greater centre of interest than the now silent factory.³⁰

Some indication has been given of the remaining patrimony, so variously won, which Archibald James had to offer his second wife Harriet, daughter of Colonel Alexander Campbell of Possil, to the north of Glasgow, and of Achnacroish by Duart in Mull, on the occasion of their marriage in the February of 1844. As she was then living in her highland home she must have known some Lamonts, and as her mother was a daughter of Maclachlan of Maclachlan she should have been at ease in Cowal. Their three surviving daughters, who were born between 1848 and 1852, were Evelyn, Amelia Georgina Adelaide (afterwards Mrs Plummer), and Marion Alice (Mrs Charlewood), names all familiar to readers of the *Journal*. In this source too has appeared a portrait of his remaining sister Georgina, who was only 31 when she died in 1847 at Ravelston, Edinburgh, the residence of her aunt, also Georgina, the widow of the Knight Marischal, who was now the sole relation of the chief's on the Lamont side in Scotland. There was a miniature of Lady Keith as a young and beautiful woman in the hands of the late EDWARD LOUIS XXII and a portrait at Bideford. She was buried in Greyfriars churchyard in 1857. In these years the old ties were being rapidly severed, and Archibald James was contracting the disease of the lungs which brought him also to an early grave.³¹

His cousin Edward Buller Lamont (the father of the two late chiefs) was in England in the summer of 1853 and contemplating emigration to Australia, when he was surprised to receive from Messrs Davidson & Syme, W.S., Edinburgh, a letter to the following effect. "Your intended departure for Sydney has suggested to us the matter of the entail of the estate of Lamont, to which you are aware you succeed, failing the present laird and his heirs male" ("the heirs male of his body" would have been more correct). As the latter was without a son and in poor health there was every prospect at that moment of such succession eventuating. "By a recent statute," it was written, "the estate may be disentailed on your consent and that of your two eldest sons, which last, as they are under age, would be given by curators or guardians to be appointed by the Court to them. If you are disposed to give your consent, and we can agree upon the consideration to be paid therefor, we would then apply to the Court, and to enable you to judge of the matter we would send you the rental, present burdens affecting the estate and those that will

be made to affect it in the shape of provisions to younger children, after which one of us could see you in London where we will be early next month." The proposal for disentail was indignantly repudiated by Monydrain, as he wished Ardlamont to be retained in the family and unburdened, although by so doing he was, of course, declining a considerable sum of money which would have been very useful to him. But the chief was evidently actuated by no such sentimental motives, and was anxious to be free to bequeath his patrimony or to burden it at will.³²

The two eldest sons referred to were Norman (who died young) and Edward Louis (afterwards XXIIInd chief). There were also two daughters Mary Angela and Maria Regina Cecily, and three other sons Coll Andrew (the late chief), Alfred William, and William Eugene. As compared with the chief's this was a flourishing branch of the family in numbers. Their father, Edward Buller, had two younger brothers apart from the John Douglas Campbell who had died in 1836. The first was William Porch, of whom little is known, except that he married a lady named Josephine and died in 1887 survived by two daughters, Helen and Josephine. There is a miniature of him which was in the hands of his nephew the late EDWARD LOUIS XXII. The youngest brother was like his father a Norman, and was born in 1825. He went overseas to Canada in 1846, and was in the Royal Engineers in Quebec and in Montreal, until in 1849 he disappeared completely in New York, and has never been heard of since. In 1892 he was legally presumed to have died without issue, and his sister-in-law Josephine was allowed to succeed to his effects. Captain Norman of Monydrain, M.P., had also a youngest child called Helen, of whom nothing is known but that she died in 1878.³³

The position as regards disentail was entirely altered by the birth in 1854, the year in which Edward Buller and his family eventually departed for Australia, of a son to Archibald James XX, namely John Henry, afterwards XXIst chief. When four years later another son Celestine Norman arrived it was clear that, apart from extraordinary fatalities, there would be no need for the consent of the Monydrain branch to the breaking of the fetters of the entail of their common ancestor JOHN XVIII. By the Act of 1848 an heir of entail in possession could disentail with the consent of the next heir (now John Henry), provided the latter was born (as he was) after the date of the entail. But as this consent could only be given by an heir who was 25, and as Archibald James was in a hurry, he did in fact apply again to Edward Buller with the same result. In these years he was created a Justice of the Peace and a Deputy Lieutenant of the county, and was no doubt doing his duty locally. The estates were not perhaps so remunerative by this time as before, as the

modern system of rating had been initiated in 1845, and the potato famine following had reduced all rents, but the proceeds of Robroyston should have stood him in good stead.³⁴

In a photograph taken in Rothesay at this period he appears in lowland dress with that heavy crop of hair and serious mien so characteristic of the Victorian era. But his health was now failing, and he decided in the spring of 1862 that he must seek a warmer climate for a while. Mrs Lamont and the children went off ahead to Weymouth in Dorset, and he arranged to break the journey in Edinburgh. One wonders if he had any premonition that he would never return to Ardlamont, for he indicated before his departure that his last resting place was to be in a childhood's playground to the south-west of the mansion. One may be sure, however, he had no inkling, as he drove out from the trees JOHN XVIII had planted and along the shore by Achadachoun and Kames which had been in the family since JOHN III'S time in the 13th century, that he was to prove the last resident Lamont chief, and that in thirty years it would be all by with his family in Argyllshire. He would embark, no doubt, at Tighnabruaich on the Inveraray-Glasgow steamer "*Mary Jane*," which with her steeple engine and red funnel abaft the paddles is still plying to-day in west coast waters as the R.M.S. "*Glencoe*." She was the queen of Loch Fyne in those days and the people all touched their caps to her. As she carried him past Toward he was off a coast which no longer knew its old chief, although it was only two generations since the sale of 1806. "The family has long since passed away," said a writer in 1857 in commenting on the old "residence of the Lamonts, lords of Cowal," though "their memory still clings like the ivy to the time-honoured walls, and the old people of the district still love to recount" such "legends" as that of JAMES XII and the McGregors of Glenstrae. When the end came, as it did within a week at the early age of 43 in his mother-in-law's house, 12 Abercromby Place, Edinburgh, there was no obituary notice in the Rothesay *Buteman*, and he was soon forgotten to the world at large. He was laid where he wished to lie. There is a tablet to his memory in the Kilfinan vault, whence Harriet, his eldest daughter (who had died as a child of 5 ten years before) was brought to be beside him.³⁵

Before his death, however, his family and Knockdow's had appeared in Burke's *Landed Gentry* and their position was thus assured. His descent was not traced beyond his grandfather JOHN XVIII, although it had been recently explored by scholars, and his arms were wrongly represented as within a bordure of argent, whereas the cadet's were undifferenced, which was contrary to both law and fact. But as it happened for

the future the history of the Lamonts in Argyllshire was mainly the history of the Lamonts of Knockdow, who now rapidly consolidated their position. If the original lairdship on Loch Striven with the 18th century addition of Kilmichael was of less gross value than either Ardlamont or Robroyston it was unencumbered and its net value was perhaps as great as either's. But the free resources of young James xvi of Knockdow (afterwards 1st baronet), who had succeeded in 1861, were much greater than those of his new chief, as he inherited a fortune from his planter uncle John Lamont of Cedar Grove in Trinidad and of Benmore on the Holy Loch, and his father (Alexander the W.S.) left a moveable estate of £25,000 as against Archibald James's £3000. In 1873 the third clan estate in the county was sold when Edward Buller Lamont of Monydrain, was on a visit to London from Parramatta, New South Wales. As he saw no prospect of returning from overseas it seemed useless to retain his 4 merk lands at Lochgilphead, and they passed to Sir John Powlett Orde, the proprietor of the Kilmory property which stretched across to Silvercraigs.³⁶

JOHN HENRY XXI (1862-1929), who is familiar to all members of the Society, was meanwhile being educated in England, as was his brother Celestine Norman. They were 8 and 4 respectively at their father's death, and continued to reside with their mother and sisters at Weymouth. Until now they had been dressed in the tartan (although of an incorrect pattern), but it was soon abandoned altogether. Within about two years of her husband's death Mrs Harriet Lamont remarried, to the Rev. Charles Baring Coney. Ardlamont was let with the policies and shootings, and the few clansmen who were still on their native heather had an absentee for a chief and not for the first time. Under JOHN XVIII the family seat had been deserted, but it was now occupied by aliens, which they must have regarded as a "sair declension frae the auld." To finance the expenses of this way of living £5000 had to be borrowed on the security of Robroyston in 1871. John Henry was sent to school at Harrow, and then took his B.A. degree at Brasenose, Oxford, where he excelled at games. He was a good cricketer (but is said to have lost his chance of a blue through being a bad field), and he was a scratch man at golf. In 1876 he was gazetted to the 9th (Queen's Royal) Lancers, with whom he served for over twenty years. In these circumstances he had never much opportunity to acquire an affection for the Lamont country, and he met few of his clansmen, although whiles he visited the factor at the red point, and was a guest at South Hall and Knockdow. No Lamont relatives of an older generation had survived his father, the last of them, Rebecca Hobbs, Mrs General Lamont, having

died in 1858. It is therefore not surprising that he made his reputation more as a soldier and a sportsman than as a highland laird and chief.³⁷

His sister Amelia Georgina Adelaide was married in 1874 to the Rev. Rowland Taylor Plummer, the vicar of St Paul's, Bow Common, but she died in ten years time without bairns. Marion Alice became the wife of W. T. Charlewood, son of Vice-Admiral Charlewood, in 1879, and has two daughters and a son. She is still alive to-day, has been a member of the Society since 1906, and is resident in Christchurch, New Zealand. His eldest full sister Evelyn and his half-sister Adelaide Augusta both settled permanently in the south of England. But fortunately his brother Celestine Norman was of a different mind, and decided to make his home among the remnants of the clan in Kerry, where he found happiness in the pursuits of a country gentleman and sportsman. It was to the dower house, Craig Cottage, on the shores of Osde Bay within sight of the Arran peaks that he brought his bride Margaret Huison, daughter of the Rev. J. C. Russell, D.D., minister of Campbeltown (and afterwards Moderator of the Church of Scotland), who is known to all members as the late President of the Clan Lamont Society. Her photograph has appeared in the *Journal*. This was in 1882, but in three years time he was able to take over the tenancy of Ardlamont itself, for he succeeded under an entail by his uncle John Campbell to the independent estate of Possil to the north of Glasgow and not far to the west of Robroyston. He had perforce to assume the additional name of Campbell (being now known as Celestine Norman Lamont Campbell of Possil), and he matriculated arms in which the Lamont lion (with the difference of a silver bordure) was quartered with the Campbell gyronny of eight. His crest was a boar's head and his motto "*fac et spera.*"³⁸

As there were three estates in this branch of the family, it seemed well endowed for the future. From a return of the gross annual values of all heritage in Scotland for the year 1873, it appears that Ardlamont was worth £2959, Robroyston £1913, and Possil £1580 (although the last was developed within twenty years to a net rental of some £8000). As John Henry's mother and sisters were provided for from Robroyston he had no dependants and the whole free income of Ardlamont was at his disposal (except for a jointure to his mother), in addition to the whole contents of the house and of Craig Cottage. The Knockdow family patrimony had a gross annual value of £1776, and James xvi had acquired the estate of Ballat in Stirlingshire, which was entered at £562, and completed a total of £2338. It appears from the return that the Lamonts were now landless in the shires of Fife and Kirkcudbright, where they had long been lairds, but that the Braemar branch had improved their

position and secured the estates of Stranduff, Kincardine O'Neil (£458), and Pitmurchie, Torphins (£320), in Aberdeenshire. James Lamond, an Edinburgh S.S.C., who was of that stock, had also a feu in Portobello. It should be mentioned too that a John Lamont from near Inverey had now gained a European reputation as Johann von Lamont, astronomer and scientist in Bavaria. He is referred to again on another page. The estate of Eastbank in Kinross-shire (£350) had been acquired by a family from Tiree (now represented by Brigadier-General J. W. F. Lamont, C.M.G., D.S.O.) who restored its old name of Crambeth. In Ayrshire there was a James Lamont, farmer, Shutterflat, Beith, who was owner of 95 acres (£70). The estate of Greenlaw in that county was acquired by a Henry Lamont, shipowner in Glasgow (a descendant of the Archibald McPatrick or Lamont from Loch Strivenside referred to earlier), who matriculated arms in 1888, and was later laird of Gribton in Dumfriesshire. One is glad to see also the Rev. Joseph Lamond, Free Church Minister at Snizort in Skye, in the roll for £24, and Donald Lamont, Bendigo, St Ola, in the far-off Orkney Islands, for £25. Over the whole field there was an expansion of the clan as regards land, and as regards business there were many thriving Lamonts in the cities, of whom there is no general record. Their tartan was now one of the commonest patterns to be seen in the streets of Glasgow, and it was prescribed by the standing orders of the 74th Highlanders.³⁹

On his spells of leave John Henry returned to Ardlamont with his fellow-officers, and so made the acquaintance of the Lamont country and of the neighbouring lairds. He led the life of a chief on these all too brief occasions. After joining his regiment he had been drafted to the north-west of India, and was soon into the thick of the Afghan War of 1878-1880, which was due to the intrigues of Russia on the frontier. The 9th Lancers were included in the cavalry brigade of the Kabul field force which set out by the ill-omened Khyber Pass under the command of Major-General Roberts to avenge the assassination of the British envoy in Afghanistan in the autumn of 1879. The Amir Yakub Khan was soon brought to terms and Kabul captured, though not without sharp fighting with a treacherous enemy, and many a rider was "down and drowned by the ford . . . o' Kabul river" as the cavalry splashed over in the darkness to the city of sun and dust. When the war seemed over there came the news of the severe defeat of the British troops at Maiwand and their beleaguering in Kandahar. For a moment British prestige was in peril and there ensued the namely march from Kabul to Kandahar in August 1880.⁴⁰

Lieutenant Lamont was in command of a troop of the 9th Lancers.

They covered the distance of 313 miles in 23 days, through savage country and under appalling conditions. There was an acute scarcity of water and constant sandstorms. Owing to extreme variations of temperature the men were literally frozen at night and grilled during the day. There were many casualties from guerilla warfare all the way and from fever, by which even General Roberts was laid low. Any stragglers had their throats slit in the dark defiles. To those of highland ancestry it must have seemed a foray on a grand scale through the desolate hill country of a hostile clan. Sir JAMES XIV had gone through the Campbell territory in the same way, though not with the same restraint. But the chief's grandfather General JOHN XIX had had no experience of such primitive conditions in the whole of his campaigning, which had been done in civilised parts. It was the spirit of his forebears that sustained John Henry XXI in these arduous days, which ended so triumphantly with the relief of Kandahar and the victory at Pir Paimal, at which the hordes of Ayub Khan were put to flight. The suzerainty of Britain was once more acknowledged, the chief was awarded the Afghan Medal with two clasps and bronze star, and General Roberts was received on his return with extraordinary fervour. There followed the memorable winter of the great frost when Loch Fyne was frozen for ten miles at its head.⁴¹

But the chief remained with his regiment in India for some years, with a few spells of leave, until he returned permanently to this country—owing to sunstroke. His principal interest was in polo, at which he was expert. He captained the 9th Lancers' team for sixteen years, and playing back helped to win the inter-regimental tournament three years in succession, the Calcutta tournament and the open and military tournament at Dublin. Sixty out of seventy-five matches in which he represented them were won and five drawn, only ten being lost. Against the 17th Lancers in 1893 he broke the forefinger of his right hand, but was able nevertheless to finish the game, which was well won by his team. In steeple-chasing too he excelled, and took a notion for the Irish hunting country and Meath in particular. But in indulging these tastes he was living beyond his means. In 1883 he took advantage of a new Act of Parliament to disentail the estate, and in the next ten years he borrowed heavily upon it. The effect of disentail was, of course, to make possible not only borrowing but sale forbye, to defeat the object of JOHN XVIII as declared by General JOHN XIX—"to keep the property together"—and to exclude the younger branch of the family in Australia which was then represented by Edward Louis, bank agent, Parramatta, New South Wales (afterwards XXIInd chief).⁴²

Meanwhile the Ardlamont estate was being managed in John Henry's absence, and the net revenue was increased to £3367. A number of feus for building were given off at Kames, which was bidding fair to become a summer resort for townsmen. Like his brother, Celestine Norman had inherited military instincts, and took an active interest in the Argyll and Bute Militia, in which he was promoted from Lieutenant in 1875 to Lieutenant-Colonel in 1888. Alexander Lamont, a younger son of Knockdow, was a subaltern under his command, and the two families were on friendly terms. But in January 1893 he unexpectedly died at the early age of 34 without issue, which was a major calamity for the clan. He was the last of the old Lamont stock to reside in Scotland (although his widow made her home at Craig Cottage and also at Auchellochan for a time), and he was the last to be buried there. He was laid to rest beside his father in the Ardlamont policies, and there are tablets to his memory not only there but at Kilfinan. A photograph has already appeared in the *Journal*. The estate of Possil passed under the entail to the next heir, Mrs Carter-Campbell, subject of course to Mrs Lamont Campbell's annuity, and was so lost to the clan. If he had only lived or been survived by a son it might have been possible for Ardlamont to be saved, although the chief had already determined upon a sale. But Celestine Norman was the last link which had bound John Henry to his native land.⁴³

The chief's new law agents, Messrs J. & F. Anderson, W.S., were instructed to dispose of the estate for not less than £85,000, and it was let for the summer of 1893 to a young Englishman of good family called Cecil Hambrough, who was represented as a prospective purchaser. But the real tenant was a Mr Monson, an undischarged bankrupt who was tutoring Hambrough for the army, and the rent of £450 was never actually paid. This was the prelude to a mysterious tragedy by which the clan became again an object of unenviable notoriety. In the evening of 9th August a Rothesay herring buyer who was cruising to the south-east of Ardlamont Point was startled to hear screams. Both Monson and Hambrough had been precipitated into the water from a boat, but they were able to get safely ashore. In the early morning of the next day the young man met his death by being shot in the head by a 12-bore gun while out shooting with his tutor and a stranger in a copse to the east of the house. The two incidents were regarded as pure accidents until it transpired that Monson had heavily insured Hambrough's life. In recognising George Lamont, the second gamekeeper, the procurator-fiscal was informed that Hambrough had been using a 20-bore gun. The suspicions of the public were aroused by the young Neil Munro, whose

account was published in the *Glasgow Evening News* before any official report had been received by the authorities in Edinburgh. On the 29th Monson was arrested on the road between Ardlamont and Tighnabruaich, and in December he had to stand his trial in Edinburgh on charges of attempted murder by drowning and of murder by shooting.⁴⁴

It was a *cause célèbre*, and is reported at full length in the *Notable British Trials Series*. But it was of exceptional interest to all clansmen not only because of the *locus*, but because some of them had an intimate knowledge of the surrounding circumstances. The boat which had sunk was well known to Professor Daniel Lamont (a recent Moderator of the Church of Scotland), as it had belonged to his father, Alexander Lamont, Port Bannatyne. The 12-bore gun was Mrs Lamont Campbell's property, having been one of her husband's, and she had expressly forbidden its use. In addition to the George Lamont already referred to, an Archibald Whyte, who was the gardener at Ardlamont, was a leading witness for the Crown. At the end of ten days the accused was given the benefit of the doubt, and both charges were found "not proven." He is still alive. The precise place where the body fell will be pointed out for long to all interested in a mystery which has never yet been satisfactorily solved.⁴⁵

It transpired in evidence that Monson, who had not even funds to meet the rent, had had the audacity to offer to purchase the estate, but at a figure not even approaching the £85,000 which was then demanded. But the chief was anxious for a sale and before the time of the trial it had been concluded for £70,000, of which £30,000 was required for the repayment of mortgages. Although perhaps some of this represented old debt which had been incurred prior to the entail, the bulk of it was for money borrowed by John Henry in the ten years since the disentail in which he had been free to burden the estate. There were two purchasers, first, Messrs R. & W. Watson, papermakers, Linwood, Renfrewshire, who acquired much the larger part and the mansion for £60,000, and, second, Mr D. N. Nicol of the neighbouring Ardmarnock, who bought for £10,000 a small portion, including Glenan, adjacent to his existing estate. The old titles prior to the entail were retained. They are all that is left of the barony of Inveryne, with the exception of two small reservations, the kirk and yard of Kilbride, and the burial-place at Ardlamont. It was a sad day for the clan when its chief was landless in his native county, and it was not much consolation to them that his father's trustees had Robroyston until 1902 and that he had £40,000 in his pocket which all disappeared in his lifetime. This was the end of "an auld ballant": the saga of the Lamont chiefs in Cowal was done.⁴⁶

John Henry, who had become a major in 1890, was stationed at this period at Newbridge in Ireland with the 9th, but his regiment was expected to return to India in the near future. He was not, however, able to go with them, as the sunstroke referred to above had rendered his retirement necessary within a few years. His photograph (plate 28) shows him as a comparatively young man—for he was only 39—who would brook no interference from anyone. He has some resemblance to the father whose guidance he never had, but his features are enlivened with a new virility which was born of good health and of hard living. Had he been called upon to command his clan in the field he would have done so admirably, but as there seemed to be no specific services which he could render to them he went his own way and expected every one else to do the same. In serving his country for twenty years as a soldier he responded to a wider loyalty than the great majority of his predecessors, and he felt that he had done his duty. Beyond this he had little sentiment. He had not his brother's notion of the green Cowal glens and the breezes of Loch Fyne. His home was where he made it; his friends were the ones he had tested; and his time was the present, beyond which his imagination did not reach. The sunny slopes of southern England he had found preferable to the rain-washed hills of Clyde (although he was a Deputy-Lieutenant for Argyllshire), and it was first at Westward Ho! and then at Torrington in North Devon that he settled on his retirement from the service in 1895. His lancers he knew better than his Lamonts, and his horses best of all. It would have been nonsense to pretend that he was content on foot and with rod and gun at Ardlamont for a permanency, and it would have been affectation for him to "caper about in a kilt" and to recount the doings of the men whose portraits clothed his walls. He was a bluff soldier and he had no time for either nonsense or affectation. By his own works he would be judged, and he acknowledged no obligations to the past and no debts to the future.⁴⁷

John Henry has been much criticized for his conduct in breaking the entail, in selling the estate and the family portraits, and in dissipating the proceeds, so as to leave his successors to their own slender resources. Such conduct it is said is in contravention of all ideas and standards of highland chiefship. But the XXIst chief would have replied that a man might do what he liked with his own, and particularly one who had given the best years of his life to his country, which was the unit of modern civilisation, whereas the clan was an archaic and for all practical purposes an obsolete institution. The controversy is too recent, and concerns too many people now living, for the historian to do more than to summarize the two rival views and to leave the verdict to his readers.



JOHN HENRY XXI, 1854-1929

[To face p. 372

The indictment of John Henry may perhaps be framed as follows. Assuming that one who has attained to position and estate by his own efforts is entitled to destroy them as he pleases, another who has no assets but an inheritance from twenty generations of ancestors is in an entirely different situation. The latter has a moral duty to conserve his assets for the future, as they have been conserved for him in the past, of which equitable trust an entail is the legal embodiment. Assuming again that a self-made magnate has little obligation to a second cousin and heir male in Australia, it is otherwise with a highland chief. A Gael's notion of kinship extends to the uttermost degree and to the ends of the earth. The headship of a clan is as much a title of honour as a peerage, and requires endowment to support it. To pass on to a successor "the name without the profit" is justifiable only by extreme necessity. If any such necessity existed, which his detractors do not admit, it was, they say, of his own making. Some debt was no doubt inherited, but the entailed estate must have been clear as it could not be legally burdened. A minority with prudent administration should have been favourable to his finances. At no time had he any dependants, though he bought his mother an annuity from the proceeds of Ardlamont. With three good estates among them Archibald James's family should have been comfortably off. If they had chosen to live quietly at Ardlamont, instead of maintaining another establishment in the English riviera it should have been possible to put something aside for contingencies.⁴⁸

But in any event John Henry embarked on a career which was more honourable than useful, and if he could not afford it he would have been better to have chosen otherwise. "A mast to suit the boat" is of the elements of navigation. One cannot overlook the example of a neighbouring chief of a family as ancient, who finding his estates heavily mortgaged devoted his life to redeeming them by an arduous professional career, and now holds an honoured public position in the county. If, however, the lot of an average army regular was within his means, it was out of the question for him to maintain a stud of polo ponies and hunters. In fact, it is said, his life was more devoted to sport than to soldiering. If his more distinguished major-general grandfather, who had inherited much heavier burdens (of debt and dependants), could settle at Ardlamont and retain the bulk of the estate for his successor, could not John Henry have done the same? In his later life there is nothing very apparent to make up for his breaking of the entail and disposing of the estates. Nor was there any indication of family or clan feeling, of care for the Lamonts or Lamont country, of interest in the Society—with the exception of few solitary appearances, notably at Dunoon

in 1906. By the time of his death in 1929 he had sold the portraits of his forebears in America and elsewhere. He left nothing to the present chief: but worse than that, he left almost nothing at all. The free balance of £40,000 from Ardlamont had been dissipated, in extravagance and annuities it is said. His principal aim in life was, in this view, his own satisfaction.

But the late chief would have replied with vigour that "no man willingly parts with his birthright," as the Gaelic old word has it, and that from the first he was "in the eddy of the stream." With the increasing burdens upon land, and the dead weight of his forebears' debts to reckon with, it was impossible to keep up Ardlamont. In electing to serve his King and country he put honour before profit, and on retirement he deserved to have the life he chose. He was under no obligation to his cousins in Australia, whose ancestor had embarrassed the General by importunate demands, and who also sold their estate in Argyllshire to pocket the proceeds. He himself had lived according to his ideas of how a gentleman ought to live, and while still to the fore the Lamont chief was both known and respected in this country. Though circumstances, such as his impaired health, prevented his attending the annual gatherings, he presided at the Society's one great occasion to unveil the memorial to the victims of 1646, and he never refused a request for a donation to clan funds, though he had often little enough for himself. What he did with his money was his own affair, and it ill becomes any clansman to criticize his chief. "Throw reproach in your kinsman: it will rest on your family" (*thoir spìd do d' charaid; s ann air do mbuirichinn fhéin a laidbears e*) was an old highland saying.⁴⁹

In Scotland the defence has the last word. So let it be. The verdict is with posterity. But certain it is that while some chiefs have gathered with an eye to the future, and others have scattered with no thought but their personal satisfaction, John Henry, be he innocent or guilty, was not one of the former.

PART TWO
CADETS, BRANCHES, AND SEPTS

CADETS, BRANCHES, AND SEPTS

Now that the march of the whole tartan has been followed from the dark of time to the present, one can stravaig in the bypaths of the cadets, the branches, and the septs. The cadets of these pages were all lairds, not as in some clans merely tacksmen. The branches were the colonies in the world out-by (other than the lairds). The septs are those not Lamonts by name, yet within the *Clan Laomainn*. Time and ill fortune have gone by the door at Inveryne, at Toward, and at Ardlamont, and have robbed them of their chiefs. The chieftains have gone also but for Knockdow, who alas has no heir! Within a generation the clan will live only in its branches and septs, commons to-day but some *duine uassail* on leaving the heather.

Of the cadets five may be reckoned independent of the chiefs and four derivative. Monydrain, Ardlamont, Ascog, Knockdow, and Coustoun all emerge from the mists of the past already established and not as off-shoots of Inveryne, though in turn they came under the *bratach* of the chiefs, took Lamont for their name, and (Coustoun excepted) their kinship was recorded. Most had their own patronymics and were "barons."

The McSorleys of Monydrain in Glassary were the seniors, descended of a Somerled *c.* 1310, thought to be a grandson of Sir LAUMON's uncle Duncan, and thus dating from 1270. They were barons and welcomed as "cousins" in 1410 when chartered by ROBERT V. From before their extinction about 1740 till 1816 their lands were in the possession of a second family, also styled of Monydrain. From 1315 at the least till 1554 the family of Ardlamont were notour, while as McEwens but never as barons, and subject to ROBERT V as chief-of-kin and feudal superior from 1433. Ascog Castle, by its lochan, is older than 1477 when the Lamonts of that same are in record. They were McInneses in tradition, and reckoned as sib by Sir JOHN X in 1540, but not as barons. Extinct about 1666, their off-shoot of Stronalbanach in Glassary (from 1613) continued till 1759. In 1431 there emerged the baron *ruadh*, McGorrie of Inverchaolain, founder of the house of Knockdow, namely to this day. They were "cousins" and vassals of Sir JOHN X in 1540 and had a branch at Garrochoran from 1578 to 1618. Lastly, in 1498 the McPhadricks barons of Coustoun breast the mist, little kenned till they vanish in 1700.

Of the four cadets sprung definitely and directly from Inveryne, three were descended of sons and one of a brother of Sir JOHN X. His second son, Mr Archibald, was laird of Stillaig from 1554, and acquired for his issue Row in Bute (*Rudhbodach*) in 1559 and Auchinshelloch in 1588. Stillaig was resigned in 1643, and the civil wars ended the connection with Row, but Auchinshelloch was to the fore till 1741. (A second family of Stillaig (from 1660) succeeded to the chiefship in 1712 and is not separately treated.) In 1561 Robert, the next brother, was installed in Silvercraigs in Glassary, his folks' designation till 1700. Walter, a bastard legitimised, had N. Auchagoyl from 1569, and his descendants till 1773. Sir JOHN's brother, Mr Allan, whose relationship is not so definitely established, set up in St Andrews in 1527, and of him are the Lamonts of Newton in Fife (from the late 17th century), of North Burton in Yorkshire (from 1642), and of various estates in Kirkcudbright (in the 18th century), who have heirs male at this day in Australia.

In the following chapters the five independent cadets are fully dealt with, but the three descendants of Sir JOHN X only shortly, while of Mr Allan and his kin, always furth of the Lamont country, little is provided but five pedigrees.

So much for the cadets. Of the branches or colonies, and of the septs, it has been impossible to give any separate treatment. In no case can a pedigree be unravelled, and in Braemar alone is there early evidence of kinship (in 1661 and 1682). The tradition of 1699 will have it that in 1400 sons of ROBERT V took the world for their pillow, becoming Bourdons of Feddal in Perthshire, Lambs in England, Land(l)esses in Paisley, and McInturners or Turners in Luss of Loch Lomond. If writ of 1621 may be trusted there were Lamonts in fair France in 1460 (afterwards Barons de Lamont). In 1483 there is record of them in the Braes of Mar, later kened as McIlleduies or Blacks. From 1507 there were Lamonts in Skye, and from 1539 in Ayrshire. About the Reformation they are said to have gone to Tiree, and in 1582 again to France and to Holland. They fled from the Diarmaids to Mull in 1646. Buchanan of Auchmar recorded in 1723 that these were reckoned as septs—the "McLucases or Lukes, McInturners or Turners, McAlduies or Blacks, McIlwhoms, and Towarts." For these folk to be treated as they ought is beyond the capacity of an individual. Seven-leagued boots would he need in his researches, and time must stand still for him to write. Another volume may be the child of the future: enough is here for a generation.

CHAPTER XVII

McSORLEY AND OTHER LAMONTS OF MONYDRAIN,
1270-1873

NEXT to the chiefs the most ancient and most independent of the Lamonts were the McSorleys of Monydrain, just north of Loch Gilp, of which they were styled "barons" as early as the 16th century, probably because on a day they were the King's vassals. From their association with Glassary long before that date, and their being recognised as sib by ROBERT V in 1410, it seems certain enough that they were descended from the Angus, son of Duncan, referred to above in connection with the grants to Paisley Abbey in the 13th century. This Angus it was who confirmed in 1270 the charter of Kilfinan, Kilmory, and Kilmun by his father and Sir LAUMON I (his cousin german), saving the latter's interest. But further, as if in the exercise of the rights of a sole proprietor, he then gave warrant for the taking of sasine by the monks in Kilmory, by Loch Gilp, which raises the presumption that by that date he and his had succeeded to that district as their share of the family patrimony.¹

In 1410, however, when the chief chartered his *consanguineus* Celestin, son of another Angus, in the adjacent Achahoish, these kinsmen were not patronymicked after Sir LAUMON, or after Duncan or Angus, but were called "MakSowirle," thus indicating an intervening eponymous ancestor of the name Sorley or Somerled. Now no such Somerled is known to record (though an Alexander McSommarli appearing hard by with a lion for his seal in 1355 was doubtless his son). For word of such eponymus one has to rely on the Gaelic genealogies such as that of 1467, which narrate the descent of a "Clan Sorley" from the Farquhar, son of Dunsleve, who was the father alike of Malcolm (Sir LAUMON'S father) and of Duncan (Angus's father). Now as the Celestin of 1410, the kinsman of Malcolm's heir, was styled McSorley, it seems plain enough that the Clan Sorley of the genealogies is but another name for the descendants of Duncan who settled in Glassary not far from the Ardcalmisaig named after that Callum or Malcolm. The accuracy of the pedigree of 1467 is strongly supported by the fact that its three latest generations are all vouched by record evidence as having succeeded one another as lairds in

Achahoish and other lands. These are Donald, who is known between 1414 and 1451, his father the Celestin of 1410 (alias Gillespie), and Celestin's father the Angus called McSorley.²

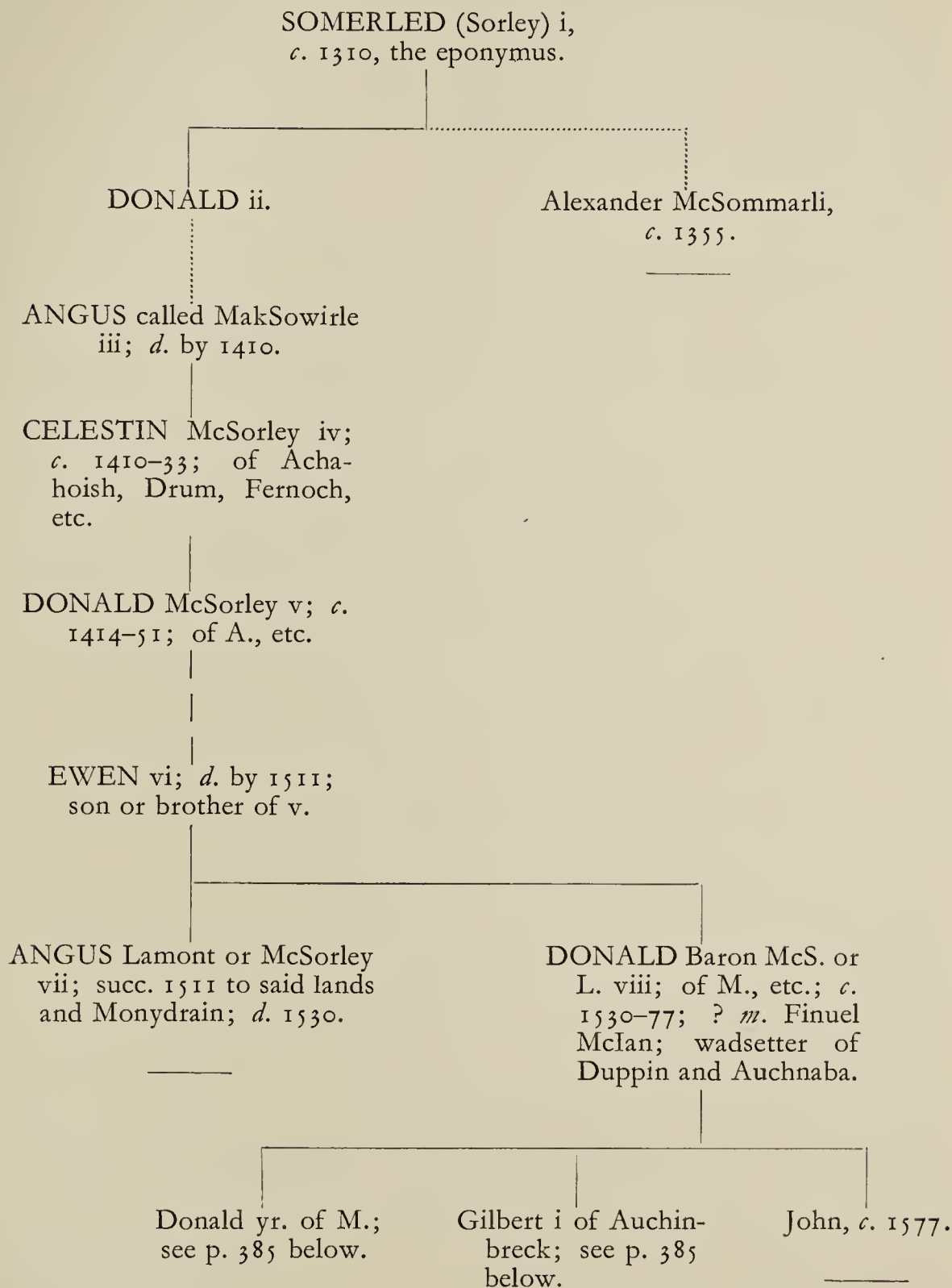
This last Angus's father is given in the same sources as Donald son of Somerled, but there is no charter evidence of this Donald's existence (although one assumes he was an elder brother of the Alexander McSommarli of 1355). The genealogies thus trace the line as Donald son of Celestin son of Angus son of Donald son of Somerled, and then proceed son of Farquhar son of Dunsleve. But there is plainly an omission of at least two generations between Somerled and Farquhar, as if Somerled's son was alive in 1355, Somerled himself can hardly have been earlier than *c.* 1300, while Farquhar, as shown above, cannot long have survived 1200. Such omissions are, of course, common features of early traditional pedigrees. It thus seems natural, indeed almost inevitable, that tradition and record should be reconciled by inserting between Somerled and Farquhar the Duncan who is kened to have been a son of Farquhar and the Angus who is for certain a son of Duncan. The complete descent is thus (as shown on p. 381) Donald son of Celestin son of Angus son of Donald son of Somerled son of Angus son of Duncan son of Farquhar, the whole of which is proved by record save for Somerled and his son Donald, for whom the Gaelic genealogies and the family patronymic seem ample warrant, confirmed by the number of Donalds in the pedigree in after years and the occasional Sorleys till the 17th century at least.³

Earlier chapters have set out the known facts as to Duncan and his son Angus (including the latter's homage to John Balliol in 1297), the traditional and eponymous Somerled and his son Donald ii, the Angus iii called McSorley who was dead by 1410, and the Celestin iv his son chartered in that year by the chief and perhaps forced into the Harlaw campaign the year after. The charter, however, merits further attention. While disclosing that the lands had been Celestin's before, it is the earliest recognition of the Inveryne family's superiority, and has a clause of return to the granter and his heirs on the failure of the lawful heirs male of the grantee's body. The tenure is the favoured feu (for 5 merks or £3, 6s. 8d.) instead of the usual military service, the first example in the Lamont country. It is forbye one of the few old deeds in which the detailed bounds of the lands are given. They are not now easy to trace, though it is clear that the western march was the burn of Auchinbreck, later a cadetship, and that on the south Kilmory was adjacent and salt water the limit. The nucleus was Achahoish (to-day an upland farm just north of Monydrain), to which were added four places now unknown, with Fernoch and Drum by the modern Lochgilphead, each of the first five

being a penny land (in pre-old extent valuation), as were the two last together. One does not ken if the whole Monydrain lairdship, later a 12 merk land, was included, or if, as seems likely, part was held of the Crown direct upon an independent title. Certain it is, however, that the heirs male of Duncan and Angus laid no claim to Ardcalmisaig, the larger share of the old patrimony in Glassary, for in 1433 Celestin, designed Gillespie Angus-son, was present at Kilfinan when Finlay of Ardlamont agreed to hold Ardcalmisaig of ROBERT V on certain conditions. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Duncan and Angus were the younger branch of the family of Farquhar, although in the grants to Paisley Abbey they seem to rank before Sir LAUMON, which was perhaps because the latter was a generation younger.⁴

The only other mention of Celestin iv is in 1414, when he and his son Donald witnessed a charter in the Diarmaid fortress of Innis Connel on Loch Awe (where some of his tartan were later doomed to be imprisoned). This Donald, fifth in reckoning from the eponymus and the last generation given in the Gaelic manuscript of 1467, appears on the death of DUNCAN VII in 1448 as the latter's vassal in the lands of "Machorle" assessed at £5, 6s. 8d., which was the old extent of Achahoish, Fernoch and Drum(tecormick) in 1511 and presumably refers to them, Monydrain (4 merks) being still apparently held of the Crown direct. The last word of Donald "McCowirlee" is in the royal exchequer rolls of 1451, and the mist falls on his kin till 1511, when DUNCAN IX enters "Angus Lawmont, alias McQuorle" as heir to his father Ewen in the 12 merks, which the granter's predecessors had bestowed on Angus's predecessors. In virtue of the charter of 1410 the new vassals must have been the heirs male of Celestin iv (otherwise the lairdship would have reverted to the chiefs under the clause of return), and one thus places Ewen vi (of whom there is no other word) as either the son or the brother of Donald v. Angus vii, the first to use Lamont as his surname, was doubtless the Angus Ladman who took birlinn to Inverneilbeg in 1498 to witness the sasine of Gilbert Lamont, coroner of Cowal.⁵

He died about 1530, and was succeeded by his brother Donald McSorle alias Lawmond of Monydrain, commonly known as Baron McSorley, who one remembers was sued in 1542 for his portion of Sir JOHN X's fine to the Crown. Ten merks for ilk merk land, 120 in all, he had to pay, and at once recovered it from his own tenants including a Margaret Lamont. For some reason which is not apparent the 5 merk annual feu-duty due to the chief as superior of the lands was being collected by the Ascog family about this time. Before 1558 this Donald viii had a wadset for £173 of the 3½ merk lands of Duppin and the 3 merks of



Note: last pedigree on pp. 45, 48.

Auchnaba from their McPherson owner. He appears several times in a formal capacity between 1552 and 1563, when he foregathered with Knockdow and their chief at Kilmichaelbeg, afterwards Silvercraigs.⁶ Probably the Duncan and Angus McSorleys who were fined for absence from the Scots army at Solway Moss in 1542 were cousins of this Donald viii. The first of them was doubtless the Duncan McSorley in Kilmichael, who figures as a witness in 1571-72 with his son *Allister cam* (squinting Alexander), and the same person as the father of a John McDonchie VcSouerlie who appears in 1577 along with two others who are plainly Donald viii's younger sons Gilbert and John.⁷

Of this John nothing is kened, but Gilbert McDonill VcSouerlie was namely as laird of the Auchinbreck in Glassary, of which 2 merk lands he acquired a feu in 1563 from the McIver Campbells. This is one of the few recorded cases of Lamonts gaining ground from Campbells since early times, and was doubtless due to the fact that his wife Christian was a McIver. It is quite possible, although the evidence is very inconclusive, that he may have assisted in settling some of his own tartan in the Isle of Tiree at the instigation of MacCailein.⁸ At least it is clear that the "clan Sorley" was expanding. Gilbert and John had an eldest brother Donald, to whom their father Donald viii had passed on the fee of the estates by 1561 (in which year the old charter of 1410 was copied for posterity), and who was married to an Effrick McAllan by 1577. The year before that Donald, the fiar, wadset half of Achahoish to Gilbert and Christian for 400 merks (£266), and in that same 1577 leased the other half to a Finuel McIan for eleven years after the death of Donald McSouarl her husband. The tenant was probably his mother or stepmother. Donald viii had at least one daughter Agnes, or Annas, who was married in 1563 to Patrick Campbell of Shalunt in north Bute (5th son of Archibald Campbell of the Auchinbreck in Glendaruel who had claimed half of Inveryne from Sir JOHN X and thus a grandson of Agnes daughter of JOHN VIII). It is in the deeds giving her liferent sasine in the adjacent Stuck and Bullochreg that one first sees the designation "the baron McCorle" applied to her father as doubtless it had been to his forebears. She was not far from her own kith and kin at Rudbodach—the "Kyle of Row," and enjoyed long life (till 1624 at least), as after Patrick's death between 1616 and 1627 she took as a second husband one Ronald *buy* McDonald in Gortinvail (probably in N. Kintyre).⁹

There is no evidence that young Donald survived his father, as baron and son were together in litigation with DUNCAN XI in 1575, while two years after there is reference to Donald as still fiar. Both had given place by 1582 to a John McSorle of Monydrain, then married to a Christian

Lamont, later to a Marie Campbell, who must have been heir male of the old lairds and probably son of Donald the fiar (and grandson of Donald viii). As mentioned above, this John ix was associated with JAMES XII against the hereditary enemy Ardkinglas in 1590, and perhaps against their former ally McDonald of Islay in 1615. He died between 1622 and 1626, having confirmed to Gilbert and Christian McIver their wadset of half Achahoish, which they transferred in 1594 to their son Duncan and daughter-in-law Margaret Campbell.¹⁰ Gilbert was dead by 1616, but Duncan took over Auchinbreck as early as 1585 it seems. The son was one of the first of the kin to sign "Lamont" and not by his patronymic, but John ix's son Sorley preferred the peculiar "Sorlie alias Lamount of Drume," being laird of those 3 merk lands between 1619 and 1629 by grant from his father. In Drum too was an Allister McLlespick *bayn* McSorle, married to Moir Nein Gorrie (perhaps Knockdow's daughter), with whom Silvercraigs fostered his first-born for seven years in 1606 after the old Celtic manner. Sorley was also tacksman of the mill of Lochgilphead from Sir COLL XIII after the new Monydrain had resigned it to the chief at Toward in 1629, along with his old patrimony of Achahoish and Fernoch.¹¹

This new laird was Donald x, McCorle or Lamont (eldest son of John ix), who as fiar in 1618, "being of mynd to pas in Ireland thairin to remaine and mak his residence," had leased half of Monydrain called Ballencrois for 9 years to his wife Margaret's father, Archibald McTavish of Dunardry towards Crinan. The other half, one kens later, was Baille-vakraich (*i.e.* the *Baille uachdrach* or upper stading). He was, it seems, hardly a credit to the clan, as in 1623, "understanding my selff to be of waik judgment and haveing no literature nor leirning," he bound himself at Rothesay not to sell any of his estate without the consent of the chief (of whom it had been held past memory of man), of Duncan ii of Auchinbreck, and of Sorley of Drum (the granter's brother). The deed narrates a customary ban on alienation without Sir COLL's approval and payment of compensation, and the desirability that he should be subject to interdiction "by sik as heve greitest respect to my weill and profeit and to the standing of my auld ancient hous, and seing nane is nor of dewtie aucht to be more cairfull of my estate and standing of my hous nor the said Sir Coill my cheiff and superiour." The last word of one who had so touching a regard for the tartan is in 1633, when Donald x and his good-father were joint tenants of Fernoch and (one is not surprised to hear) long in arrears with their teinds.¹²

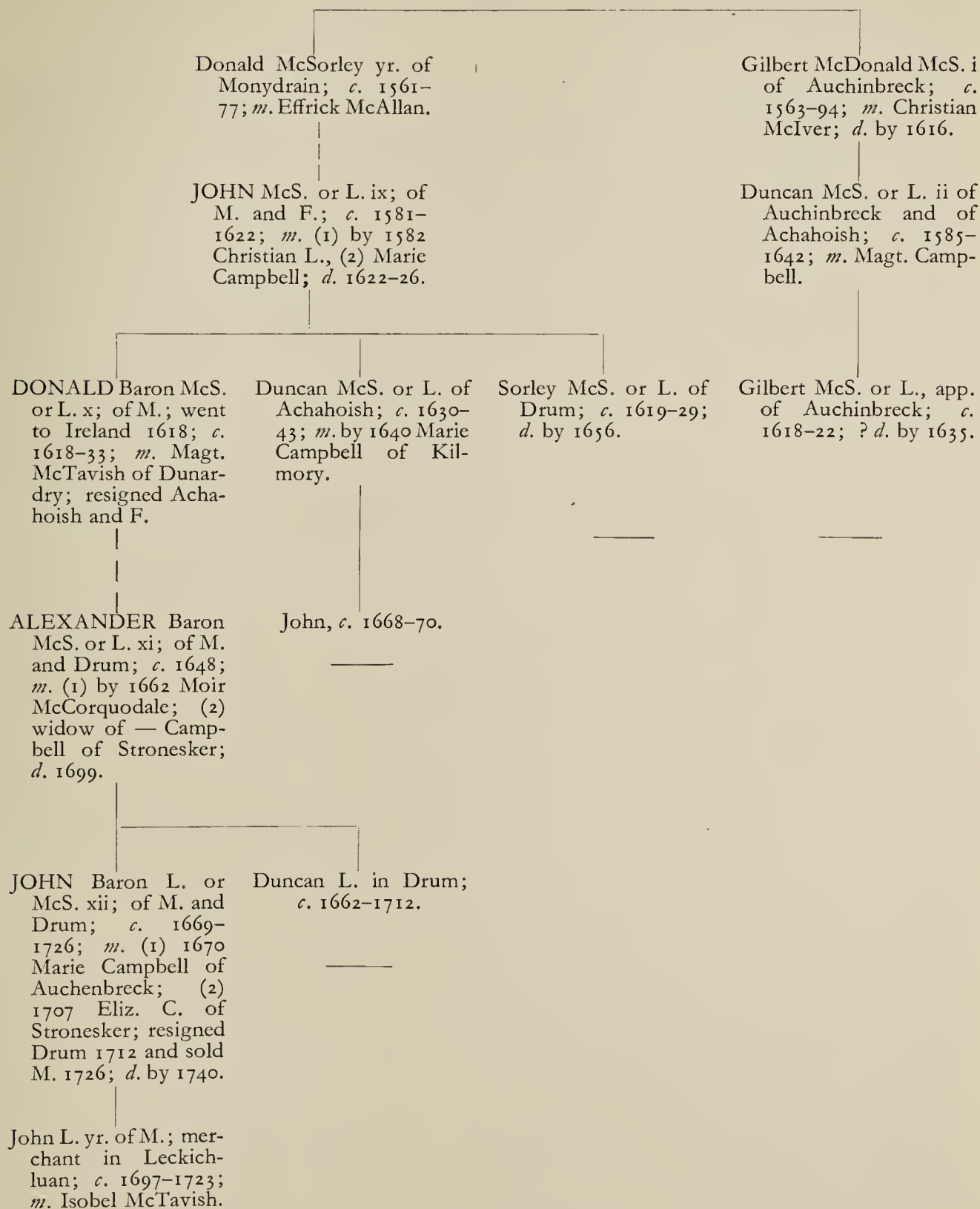
While Sir COLL kept this farm to himself he granted out the ancestral Achahoish to Duncan ii of Auchinbreck, hoping doubtless thus to preserve

it in the family, but the latter passed it on to a namesake Duncan, brother of Donald x, in 1631, and he in his turn sold it in 1640 to a Patrick Campbell, third son of Archibald iii of Kilmory. Duncan of Achahoish figures whiles in record and as late as 1643 with his lady Marie Campbell. It is she who is in mind in the *Auchenbreck Genealogie* when it tells that a certain Dugald (who was in fact eldest brother of the above Archibald though not so in tradition) "died unmarried but left a natural daughter Mary who was marryd to Baron Lamont's brother and left issue." The only child kenned was a John, who was alive about 1670 when his mother was remarried to Malcolm McGregor in Blairbuie and soon in Doire-nan-corach.¹³

Of the four bonnet lairds who all looked to Sir COLL XIII as their chief—Donald x of Monydrain, his brothers Duncan of Achahoish and Sorley of Drum, and his father's cousin Duncan ii of Auchinbreck—the survivor seems to have been the last, who was alive in 1642. But, alas, he was then "Duncan Lamount *olim* of Auchnabreck," having wadset his patrimony (rentalled at £105) as early as 1622 to Sir COLL, with the concurrence of his son Gilbert, and sold it finally in 1635 to Mr Dugald Campbell of Lagg (husband of the next chief's sister Jean), with the consent of his son-in-law Alexander McTavish, which suggests that Gilbert had died without issue. What became of father and son is a mystery. Of the 12 merk lands confirmed to Angus vii in 1511 there were left but 7, Monydrain and Drum, with respective rentals of £180 and £150 Scots, for Fernoch had reverted to Sir COLL and been regranted by him to the Maclachlans of Craiginterive beyond Kilmartin, while Achahoish was in Diarmaid keeping forbye Auchinbreck.¹⁴

The stock of Duncan and Angus was thus on the wane, there being but one landed family among them in place of four, and the only aid sent to the tartan in the Montrose wars from athwart the ferry of Otter was from Silvercraigs. Monydrain would be wasted, no doubt, with a will by Colkitto after he left Sir JAMES XIV in the spring of 1646, when many houses about Loch Gilp were set alowe. The new laird, young Alexander xi, one presumes the eldest born of Donald x, retaliated by fighting with the Diarmaids at Stirling in the autumn of 1648 and was rearmed by MacCailein at Inveraray in November. If then designed McSorley alias Lamont, and locally kenned as the Baron McSorley, he never signed by his patronymic but clung with the pen to the name he had served so ill with the sword. During the wars he married Moir McCorquodale and in 1662 passed on to their son John Lamont alias McSorley both Monydrain and Drum in fee, with the consent of the chief, young Silvercraigs being baillie, and Auchinshelloch and Stillaig witnesses. They bore no

PEDIGREE—(continued)



Note: last pedigree on p. 381.

malice, it seems, though Alexander was a crony of Campbell of Ormsary who had beleaguered Ascog. Failing heirs male of John's body, his brother Duncan was called to the succession, and finally the old clause of return was added as in 1410.¹⁵

The fiar married in the grey spring of 1670 another Marie Campbell, daughter of Donald son of the late Sir Duncan, 2nd baronet of Auchencbreck in Glendaruel, by his wife Isobel McAllister. She brought him a tocher of £800 and he infest her in Drum, "except and alwayes the aile housses," of which apparently there were more than one. Her parents were taken bound for a year and a day "to keip in house and familie with themselves the sd. Marie Campbell ther daughter & the sd. John Lamont hir future husband with his reasonable and necessar repaire to hir, and to intertaine them in bed boord meit and drink honestlie & sufficiently according to ther rank and quallite," while Alexander xi undertook hospitality for the next year and day. Young Monydrain, it seems, had no home of his own. By this time Moir McCorquodale was probably dead, and by 1684 her husband had taken a new lady, as appears from the marriage contract of their daughter Anna and Archibald Campbell, fiar of Easter Ardenconnel at Rhu on the Gareloch (including the ferry to Roseneath). It was witnessed at Kilmodan, a half-way house, by Auchagoyl and an Andrew McInturner, writer in Greenock, doubtless also of the tartan. The second wife of Alexander xi seems to have been the mother of Charles Campbell of Stronesker by Ederline, though her name is unkennd. Another daughter of Alexander was Margaret, who was married to an Archibald Anderson in the neighbouring Kilmory.¹⁶

Anna's tocher was only £300 in Scots money, for Monydrain was a spendthrift as his father before him, and figures often in record as a borrower.¹⁷ Maybe, like Sir JAMES XIV, the burden of his debts discounted the risks of civil war, for there is reason to jalouse his being concerned in either Argyll's invasion of 1685 or the Jacobite attempt of 1689. Stronalbanach guaranteed his good behaviour before the former (for first £333 and then £2000), but one remembers that at least a Malcolm Black, probably from Achahoish, and a Sorley Lamont in Drum, followed the *bratach* of MacCailein, while among the rebels was listed Duncan McSorley alias Lamont in Monydrain. The two last were, it seems, both sib to the laird, Duncan being his brother, who later settled in Drum and (after John the fiar and his son) was reckoned the next heir to the estates, whom failing they were destined to an Angus in Monydrain, naturally identified with the Angus (formerly in Drum) known to have been a brother of the deported Sorley. Thus Alexander's kin were deeply involved in the treason of 1685, even if he himself kept in the background. But one

kens that he had need of a safe-conduct from the authorities, and was made to pay a fine.¹⁸

The laird is again heard of in 1695-96, when he and his son John (like the other cadets) were pursued by Dugald of Stillaig (afterwards XVIth chief) for feudal dues in respect of the death of their ancestor ". . . Lamont of Moneydryan alias barron Mccorrell," on the footing that they had succeeded to Achahoish as well as Monydrain and Drum. It all shows how little was the chief's family in touch with its kin athwart the ferry of Otter. (There was no word of them in ARCHIBALD XV's letter of 1699.) In money's worth they were classed with Knockdow and Coustoun but below Stronalbanach and Auchagoyl, Silvercraigs being no longer a laird in Glassary. For the last Alexander xi was a witness in 1698, but a month before the century was out his spirit ebbed with the tide, and his son John xii, the last laird of the stock of Duncan and Angus, so far as is known, succeeded to the shell of the estates. After paying £43 of funeral expenses the moveable estate was but £83, to which a creditor was confirmed. Four cows at £13, 6s. 8d. a piece, two stirks at £3, 6s. 8d., a little bere in barn at £5, 3s., eight sheep at 2 merks, and household plenishing and nets worth £6, 13s. 4d. made up the sorry total. John added to the existing burdens, for instance, by wadsetting to his brother-in-law Campbell of Rhu the house, kailyard, kiln and acre of Moninacre alias Gartachull at Lochgilphead, and by borrowing 950 merks from him by 1704. And he had other debts forbye.¹⁹

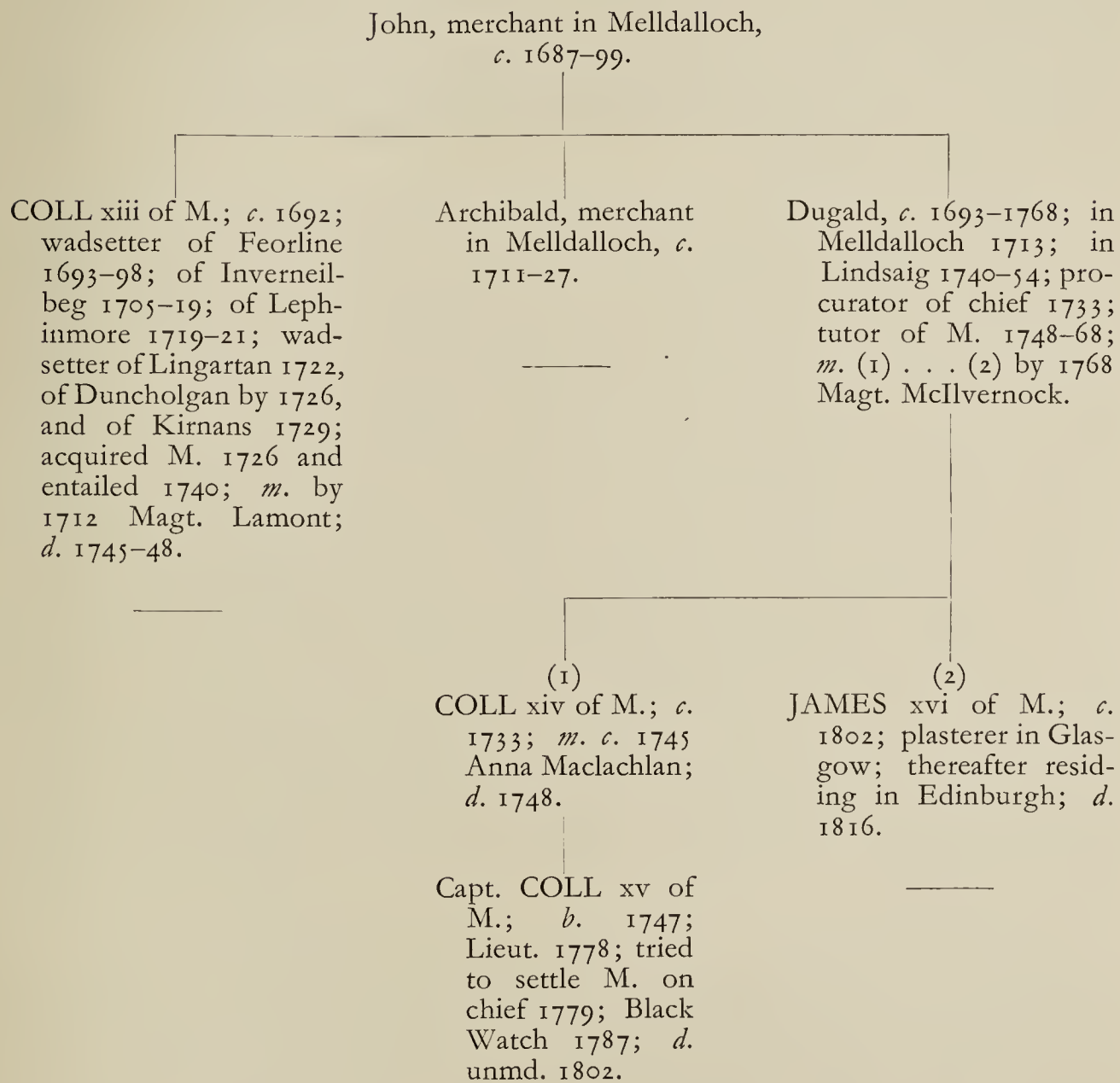
In 1712 he was borrowing from his goodson John McCallum in Monydrain, which shows that he had one married daughter at least, though her name is unknown. In 1707 he took a new lady himself, Elizabeth, sister of Charles Campbell of Stronesker who was a creditor of his father. The "articles of agreement (betwixt) the Barrone Lamont and Elizabeth Campbell his spouse" are preserved at Inveraray, and one learns that she had a tocher of 400 merks, while he secured her in one-quarter of nether Monydrain. In 1712 the laird resigned his estate to DUGALD XVI, and Monydrain alone was regranted to him and his only son John and the heirs male of their bodies, whom failing to Duncan in Drum and his heirs also so limited, whom failing it was to revert to the chiefs. It seems that Drum was gone for ever, that the Angus above referred to had disappeared, and that no new kin had emerged. Little remains to be told of this family. In the troubles of the '15 John xii was listed among the heritors of the county, but took no part in defending its shores. In 1719-20 he set in wad two more merklands of Monydrain, and in 1722 passed on the fee of the estate to John younger, then described as lately merchant in Leckichluan now in Monydrain, who infest his wife

Isobel McTavish in an annuity of £80. But by the spring of 1726, alas, it was all over. They were forced to sell out, though the lairdship was still under the tartan, the buyer being Coll Lamont of Duncholgan, and formerly of Feorline, Inverneilbeg, and Lephinmore, who was a son of a prosperous Kerry merchant John Lamont in Melldalloch. One wishes with all one's heart that the two merchant Johns had been one and the same (and indeed Coll is in one source misdescribed as son of the late John of Monydrain), but the dates do not permit of this, and in fact Coll xiii was the first Lamont laird whose folk seem to have risen from simple to gentle by their own devices. John xiith in line from the eponymus, the Sorley of tradition, was dead for certain in 1740, and of John younger nothing further is kened. The old stock has faded into the mists of time, and not even their coat of arms to-day survives.²⁰

The new family, whose pedigree is on p. 389, has little story to unfold save what has already appeared in the general history of the tartan. It is possible, though hardly likely, that they were of a territorial stock, as in a litigation in 1802 JOHN XVIII represented that "Monydrain was given off about the beginning of the last century as a provision to one of the younger branches of the family, to be held feu of the Laird of Lamont," and that "in course of succession" it fell to the namely Captain Coll xv, grand-nephew of Coll xiii. Though this is altogether a tale unvouched, and the account quoted is otherwise inaccurate, it would be easy enough to provide John in Melldalloch, just man, with a father who was of the family of Ascog if not proven to be sib to the McSorleys. Looking to the number of this John's descendants whose name was Coll (three lairds in succession), one jalouses that his father must have been so called. If so that same may have been the Coll, sixth son of John iii of Ascog, who disappeared in the civil wars of 1646. Some support for this pleasing fancy might be found in Coll xiii's preference for the family of Stronalbanach, which was, of course, descended from Duncan fourth son of John iii of Ascog, and represented the Ascog family in the 18th century. Thus while in 1712 he destined Inverneilbeg (on failure of the heirs male of himself and his brothers, and of the chief and Kilfinan) to his heirs whatsoever, in 1722 he took the title of Lingartan (in the same event) to Stronalbanach and his heirs male (with a destination over to Auchagoyl and Knockdow).²¹

Reverting, however, to sober fact, Coll xiii's sister Barbara, Mistress Campbell of Acharossan, has been mentioned above, but there was, it seems, another married to one of the name of Munn. Likewise he had two brothers, an Archibald, merchant in Melldalloch between 1711 and 1727, and a Dugald appearing from 1693 to 1768, at first in the ancestral

PEDIGREE OF SECOND FAMILY OF MONYDRAIN.



Note : last pedigree on p. 385.

Melldalloch, but from 1740 in Lindsaig, and once termed procurator of the Laird of Lamont (DUGALD XVI).²² As narrated above, Coll xiii, who first appears in 1692, was wadsetter of Feorline in Strathlachlan (for 1250 merks) from 1693 to 1698, though he seems to have remained in Melldalloch all the time.²³ From at least 1705 he was laird of Inverneilbeg and Glaik, including Corry, part of the old patrimony of Coustoun, but sold these lands in 1719 in exchange for those of Lephinmore and Lephinrioch in Strathlachlan, which he held for three years only. About 1712 he married a Margaret Lamont of parentage unkenned, but they had no family it seems.²⁴

Latterly he turned his eyes athwart Loch Fyne and had wadsets of Lingartan for 8000 merks in 1722, of Duncholgan by 1726, and of Kirnanmore and Kirnanbeg for the same sum in 1729. In 1726 he bought Monydrain, having to borrow for the purpose, and this was his last permanent investment. He made it the subject of the earliest Lamont entail, conceived in favour of his nephew Coll, son of Dugald in Lindsaig, and a series of heirs, with the consent of ARCHIBALD XVII, in June of 1740. The substitutes were the heirs male of the body of Dugald, and the following persons and the heirs male of their bodies: the second lawful son of the chief (who was as yet unborn but chanced to be Captain Archibald, also called to the succession of N. Auchagoyl); the chief's natural son Lieutenant Archibald; and the second son of the heirs male and of tailzie succeeding ARCHIBALD XVII; whom all failing the representative or laird of Lamont until the birth of a second son. Though the word "chief" is never used in the deed, maybe as since the '15 the law knew them not, the loyalty of the youngest territorial cadet to his tartan is plain from the regard paid to the family of Inveryne. The notion that a chief's son, who was only an heir male by tradition, should succeed before a daughter is strange to modern ideas. One notes the omission of Stronalbanach, etc. as being rather against the possibility of a descent from Ascog.²⁵

Coll xiii survived by a few years only his endowment of the next in succession to the chiefship, *an tainistear* in the Gaelic. In return his nephew Coll, who had been at the college of Glasgow in 1733, was housed for a while at Ardlamont, no doubt to learn the manners befitting a xivth laird. In the spring of 1745 the young man was married to Anna, niece of Maclachlan of that ilk (with 2000 merks as her tocher), but some time during Prince Charlie's years it was all by with the oldster. Nor did the bridegroom long outlast the wedding, for in March of 1748 it was Monydrain no more for him before he had even the notion to make up a title to the estate. Anna had to rear their only bairn, Coll xv, with the help

of her father-in-law old Dugald in Lindsaig, henceforth kened as tutor of Monydrain. Dugald had a son James born after 1740 of his second wife Margaret McIlvernock. There is no record of Coll xiv's mother, nor any of James until after the death of his nephew Coll xv in 1802, when he had retired to Edinburgh after being in business as a plasterer in Glasgow. As this nephew seems to have come of age in 1768 (though he did not serve heir to his father till 1771) he must have been born about 1747. The last mention of grandfather Dugald is when he handed over the young laird's papers at JOHN XVIII's command to a writer in Inveraray.²⁶

Coll xv succeeded to an estate rentalled at £29 sterling, as compared with which the lost lands of Achahoish, Fernoch and Drum were worth £70. However, he had a modest competence from his uncle, and acquired the superiority of Duncholgan from the chief to give him a parliamentary vote. The two saw something of one another in Edinburgh and in Greenock, until in 1778 the cadet bought a commission in Colonel John Macdonell's 76th regiment of highlanders. The same year, probably as he was for overseas, he made up title to Monydrain, and settled it, failing heirs of his body, on JOHN XVIII, providing but a slender pension to his uncle James, for whose calling he had doubtless a contempt. His military career in America till 1784, thereafter in Flanders with the Black Watch from 1793-95, then as a Captain in the West Indies and in Egypt, has been sketched above. It brought distinction upon his tartan, and in his memory was composed the stirring *Spaidsearachd Chaiptein Mhic Laomainn* (plate 5), yet he seldom put brogue to heather after he followed the drum. He died, by an unhappy mischance, of fever at Winchester in 1802, and lies buried in the centre aisle of the Cathedral, where his stone bears to this day: "Captain Colin Lamont of the 42nd Royal Highlanders; died 20th February, 1802, aged 51 years. Renewed by the Officers of the Black Watch 1861."²⁷

General Stewart of Garth says²⁸ of him that "Captain Lamont was an excellent man; he had a considerable dash of eccentricity, combined with the warmest zeal for his profession, and affection for his brother officers and soldiers. Indeed, he fell a sacrifice to his kind attachment to his men; for when the fever was at its height, although he knew its contagious nature, he could not be kept away from the sick. He was always anxious, and always imagining that they were in want of some comfort or cordial. He caught the fever, which carried him off in a few days, lamented by all who knew his worth; and as none knew his value more than his regiment, his loss was proportionally regretted by every individual. His own hopes and happiness seemed to be centred in his corps, from whom

he never wished to be absent. Although he had an estate in Argyleshire, and was often offered leave of absence, he would not quit the regiment; and in the year 1795 declined a step of promotion, to which he was appointed, in another corps, preferring an inferior commission among his old friends. He lamented, when dying, that he should go out of the world like a manufacturer, quietly in his bed, when he might so frequently have died a soldier's death."

Like JOHN HENRY XXI a century after, the army meant more to him than the clan and foreign parts than the proud highlands. Like that chief also, he cared little for his less fortunate relations. His uncle James, the next heir of entail, had to fight JOHN XVIII to the House of Lords, as narrated above, ere he got possession of Monydrain, and then little of life was left to the poor plasterer to enjoy it. James xvi died in his turn in 1816, slighted alike by his martial step-brother and his braggart chief, leaving but a lass Elizabeth, who married one Dugald Carmichael, mason in Lochgilphead. The estate passed to the Robroyston branch of the Inveryne family. Archibald, second of that house and xvii of Monydrain, advertised the 4 merk lands to let in 1828 a few months before his death without issue. They consisted of "475 Scotch acres, 115 whereof are arable, and the remainder improveable muir, pasture, and meadow. The lands contain limestone, and are susceptible of great improvement; a new march dyke and other fences have lately been built, and such additional fences as may be agreed upon can be erected during the lease." The dyke was doubtless the outcome of a law plea Coll xv had in 1796 with the proprietor of Achahoish. An added attraction was that the new "north country and Glasgow steam boats pass daily," but owing to these very facilities there seems never to have been another resident laird of the tartan.²⁹

Captain Norman, M.P. for Wells, General JOHN XIX's younger brother, who had tried to oust Robroyston in 1822, succeeded under the entail in 1828 as xviii of Monydrain, but died in 1834, and his eldest son John Douglas Campbell Lamont xix only survived him by two years. Thereupon the M.P.'s next son Edward Buller Lamont made up a title as xxth and last laird in 1836, and he clung to the property until in 1873 it had become apparent that his fortunes and those of his folks lay overseas, at least till the turn of the tide.³⁰ Had he retained it Monydrain would have passed, under the destination in the entail of Coll xv, to his sons the late EDWARD LOUIS XXII and COLL ANDREW XXIII, and then (failing disentail) to the latter's son the present RONALD COLL XXIV unless and until a second son was born to him. But, alas, it is all by now with Monydrain, which had as long an association with the lion rampant

as Ardlamont itself. And more's the pity, thinks the clansman, as he stravaigs to-day from the penny land of Kilmory, which lies above Loch Gilp as it did in Sir LAUMON's time, past Fernoch and Drum above the kirk, and sees aloof on the brae face the red barns of Monydrain, low and high, and the grey walls of Achahoish, where for centuries he could have claimed the open door and the seat at the fire-end.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LAMONTS OF ARDLAMONT,

c. 1315-1554

NEXT to the McSorleys of Monydrain, and perhaps sib to them, should be reckoned the descendants of Ewen, son of Finlay, slain for friendship to Robert the Bruce about 1321 by the barons of Argyll and doubtless among them Sir JOHN *mor* III. A century later at least they were lords of Ardlamont, which from its name must have belonged to Sir LAUMON in his day. But when as such lords they acknowledged ROBERT V as their near cousin, chief of kin and feudal superior in 1433, they were not yet kened as Lamonts, though lacking a patronymic of their own. In 1540, however, it was John Lamont of Ard who figured as *consanguineus* of Sir JOHN X, when with their namesake of Ascog they confronted MacCaillein at the castle of Dunoon. It can hardly be doubted therefore that Finlay, first founder of the family according to record, was related to the chiefs, and from them had derived possession of the red point of Ardlamont. This Finlay as like as not was sprung from another Ewen, who has left his name on the farm of Achadachoun hard by, for that in the Gaelic and in old writ is Auchety-Ewen, or Ewen's dwelling. This would be before 1295, when Sir JOHN III alienated that steading to the Diarmaids, maybe through some coolness with his cadets who were soon thirled to the Stewards of Scotland, afterwards the royal house.¹

First word of Finlay i, son of Ewen, comes around 1315, when he had a grant from the Stewart Earl of Menteith of Lindsaig and Doirenan-Corach, near Kilfinan and in the lordship of Ardmarnock. In return he provided one bowman for the forces of the kingdom, and served as a juror at three courts in the year. Soon, however, the Earl's son renounced his interest and Ewen Finlayson held of the Crown direct. Strange it is, all the same, that at no date were the Lamonts of Ardlamont described as barons, so far as is kened. Of his end one learns from an ancient index of charters recording about 1321-23 an appointment betwixt Walter the Seneschal of Scotland and the barons of Argyll (including

Maclachlan) *propter interfectiones quondam Eugenii filii Fynlai et aliorum hominum dicti domini senescalli*. No details have survived, for the original is no more. Doubtless, however, Ewen had been set upon by his neighbours for his adherence to the Bruce, and after Bannockburn they had to pay the penalty by way of assythment. Likely enough Sir JOHN *mor* III was then stripped of the superiority of Ardlamont in favour of Ewen's successors, who certainly claimed to have held it independently a century after.²

Probably some of the blood-money was used by the Earls of Menteith in their purchase of the lands of southern Auchagoyl, which they mortified for the perpetual maintenance of a priest to say masses for the soul of Ewen, son of Finlay, in the kirk of St Finan there. Whether a new chapel was then founded or an old re-endowed one does not ken, but it was a separate altar from that at Kilfinan, and this Auchagoyl must be distinguished from its northern namesake. The chaplain enjoyed possession without any one making up a title for a generation, but in 1356 the trust was formally declared and DUNCAN IV, as the Steward's baillie of Kerry, gave sasine to an Isabel, daughter and heir of James son of Ewen ii. Though this *Seumas* is not described as heir of Ewen ii one jalouses he must have been, and doubtless the first-born, else Isabel would hardly have been treated as representing the family. At this time the mist falls upon Ardlamont, and on the passing of James iii's daughter one knows not who paid the Steward his silver penny at the fair of Glasgow for Auchagoyl, nor who after 1321 furnished the bowman for Lindsaig and Doire-nan-Corach.³

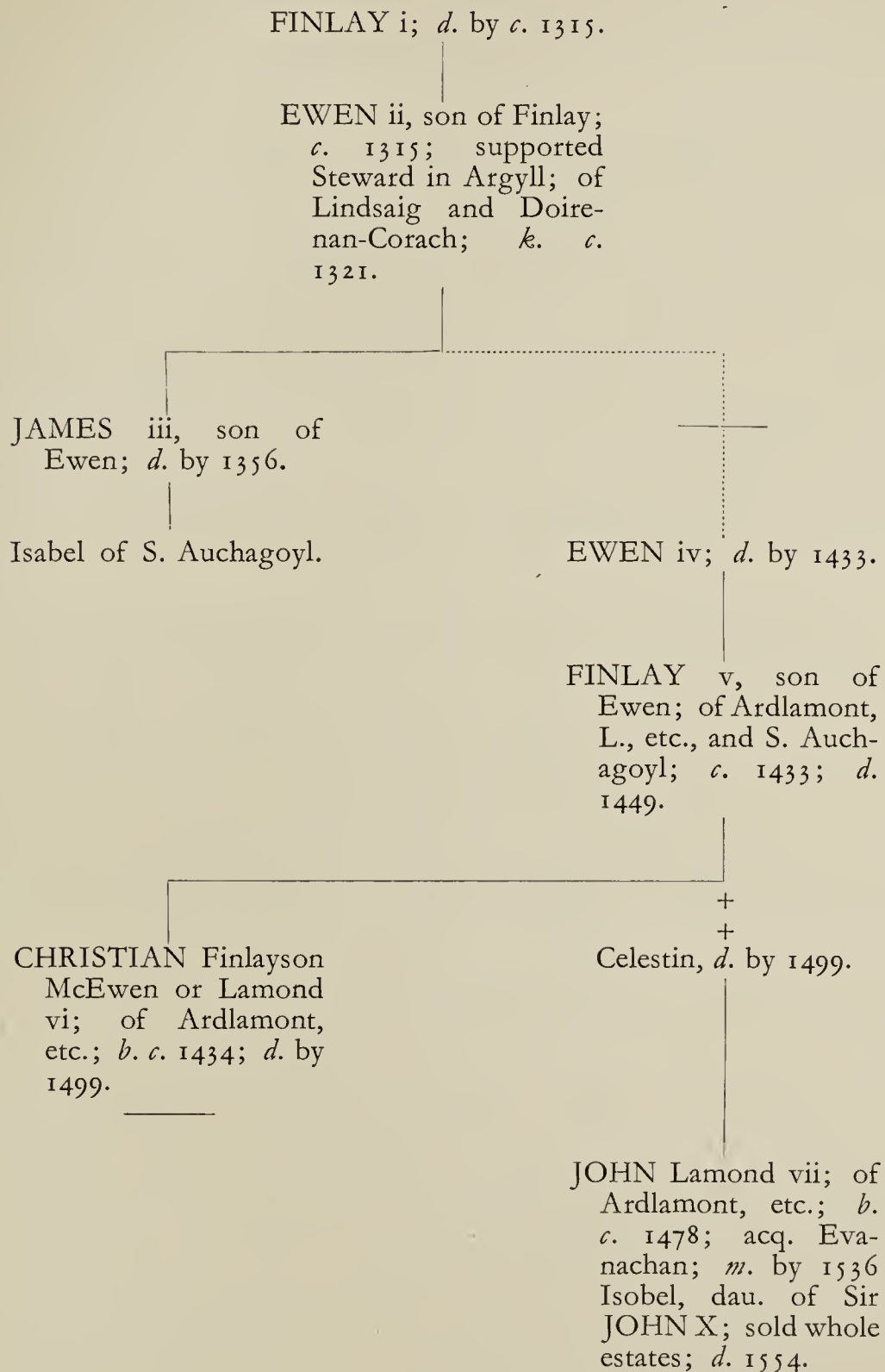
When light shines again on the scene early in 1433, it is a Finlay Ewen-son v who is lord of these acres and of Ardlamont. This same died in 1449, and his father Ewen iv as like as not was a nephew of James iii. Finlay's treaty with ROBERT V at Kilfinan, witnessed by Celestin the ivth McSorley as senior cadet, was discussed above, likewise the significance of his claim to the superiority of Ardcalmisaig as well as of Ardlamont. Certain it seems that on a day, and most like for the whole 14th century, his family had been independent of the chiefs and had extensive holdings from either the Steward or the Crown. Had the seals affixed to this bond of manrent been described in the notarial transumpt which alone survives, Finlay's might well have been found to differ from Robert's and by more than a heraldic difference. From now on, however, they as near cousins agreed to be vassals of their chiefs of kin, who had eclipsed them in power and were destined to succeed to their lands in 1554. Indeed from 1664 Ardlamont became the seat of the chiefs, and for generations the tartan forgot that there were ever cadets on the red point who bid fair to rival

the main line of Sir LAUMON, or that Inveryne and Ardlamont were once severed in twain.⁴

What went to make up "the Ardlawmane" of 1433 is not kened, but almost certainly it included $17\frac{1}{2}$ merk lands at the least, 8 of Ardlamont proper, 4 of Glennan, $1\frac{1}{2}$ of Achourkbeg, and 4 of southern Auchagoyl. In Glassary he had, it seems, the $31\frac{1}{2}$ merk lands referred to later. Forbye the 15 merk lands of Lindsaig and Doire-nan-Corach, Finlay seems to have been laird of a further 5 named Craigybalack (not now identifiable), making a total lairdship of 69 merks' worth, much the largest under the bratach of Inveryne. (Monydrain, for example, was but a 12 merk land, and Ascog 30.) But, strange to say, the vth of this family was a city burgess as well as a country laird, for he had 33 acres most of which was known as "Earl's lands" (no doubt after the Menteiths) held of the Crown within the liberty of the royal burgh of Rothesay. His wife was probably a Campbell of Loch Awe, as the principal witnesses in 1433 were "Duncan Campbell, lord of Lochehow, and Colyn younger Campbell, his son," while that Colin in 1454 described Finlay's son and heir Christian as his cousin.⁵

But, whoever the lady, she predeceased her husband, who had been dead for a year in July of 1450, when Patrick Lawmondson, coroner and Crown receiver for Cowal, rendered his accounts at Holyrood. $17\frac{1}{2}$ merks was paid to the treasurer as the rents of umquhile Finlay, son of Eugene, within the lordship of Cowal, in the King's hands by reason of ward, since the death of the said Finlay. Ardcalmisaig being outwith that district must of course be put out of account, but whether the lands in question were the $17\frac{1}{2}$ merks above referred to is not clear. The mention of ward implies that the 4 merks of southern Auchagoyl were not included, as they were held blench, but in that case the $17\frac{1}{2}$ should have been reduced to $13\frac{1}{2}$. The alternative is the 15 merklands of Lindsaig and Doire-nan-Corach, with another $2\frac{1}{2}$ merks not now kened, which is on the whole the most likely. The same payment was rendered yearly until 1454, when therefore Christian vi must have come of age, thus dating his birth about 1434.⁶

It was in Doire-nan-Corach that he lived, though styling himself of Ardlamont, and from there doubtless in January of 1462 he saw his sister Marjory married to Ewen Maclachlan, presumably a son of the house of that ilk. Both gathered with their tails, including the family bards, Donald son of Eugene the poet being a witness for the bride, and Donald the poet a guarantor for the groom. The parties were already related, and Maclachlan bound himself to procure a Vatican dispensation. The Lamonts were plainly anxious lest the husband should resile from his bargain, and



110 head of cattle were to be provided as compensation in that event. Ewen's father Celestin opened the account with 40; then came Donald the poet, Ewen the clerk (*i.e.* priest) and another with 20 each; and finally one less bien with but 10. One hopes there was no hitch, but in any event a lady so well endowed for stock farming would not long be a spinster.⁷

Her brother seems to have been a man of business with a notion for legal forms in an age of sturt and strife when most in the proud highlands took more thought of the sword than of the pen. He had copies made by notaries of the tattered writs in his kist, doubtless to firm his position in questions with the chief. He thus settled for all time that Lindsaig and Auchagoyl were held of the Crown direct, and preserved the terms of the bargain of 1433 as to Ardlamont and Ardcalmisaig. The earliest records of the clan are due to their piety as benefactors of the kirk, but the evidence of this stage is owed to self-interest. His forebears' charters were formally transcribed for Christian vi, first at Doire-nan-Corach in 1465, then three years after at St. Bridget's chapel (the modern Kilbride), and again at the red point in 1472 (the date of the first Crown charter of Ardlamont to any chief). Lastly, in May of 1481, in Kilmun church he revived the treaty of 1433. In these deeds he whiles figures as Christian Lamond, and whiles as Christian Finlayson McEwen, thus linking the old patronymic with the new clan name. It is this care for auld lang syne that makes one sure of his being the heir-at-law of the original Ewen ii, son of Finlay i.⁸

Thenceforth there is a gap in the records of these cadets until in the last year of the century a John Lawmond, son and heir of Celestin, succeeded to the patrimony of Lindsaig, Doire-nan-Corach and southern Auchagoyl, doubtless on coming of age. Who Celestin was is not clear, but most likely he was a natural brother of Christian. Unhappily, none of the destinations on which any of the lands were held have survived to aid the pedigree, but later evidence makes it clear that John vii was not a lawful heir of Finlay v. This same John appears next in yellow July of 1511 as a witness at Inveryne to the precept DUNCAN IX granted to Robert i of Ascog to infeft Angus McSorley vii in Monydrain. Like wise men, both he and Ascog, who had married his sister,—the two principal cadets of the tartan east of Loch Fyne—kept on terms with MacCailein. Three months later they took birlinn to Skipness to see the Earl's second son installed in the castle, and in the summer of 1520 with their chief they witnessed at Inveraray a bond of manrent by Mac-lachlan to Argyll. Ten years later, when some Diarmaids were for dirking at the red point, it was Knockdow who had need of a royal remission in the matter, while MacCailein lent 40 merks to John vii and bought from him (in 1534-36) the ancestral Lindsaig and Doire-nan-

Corach. Already in 1524 Ardlamont had feued for £1 a year each the 24 merk lands of Ardcalmisaig to a McPherson, no doubt for a good grassum in cash. The dissipation of his estate had begun, and, though improvident to the last degree, he had not the sense to inhibit himself like Monydrain a century after.⁹

By 1536 he and his wife Isobel, who was a daughter of Sir JOHN X, had given up hope of male issue, and caring little for far-out kin he accepted a charter from his good-father of the 12 merk lands of Ardlamont and Glennan (probably with the 1½ of Achourkbeg), and the 24 of Ardcalmisaig with the 7½ of Blairbuie and Duppín, on condition that failing male heirs of the marriage the whole should revert to the chiefs. This is the first record that the bargain of 1433 had been implemented. When one finds in the same year the 5 merk lands of Evanachan in Strathlachlan (acquired one knows not how) and the chapel lands of southern Auchagoyl signed away to Sir JOHN X at Toward by "Johne Lawmen of the Ard with my hand on the pen," certain it seems that like Donald xth of Monydrain he was "of waik judgment and haveing no literature nor leirning."¹⁰

Little further is kenned of this sorry wearer of the tartan and crab-apple. Too many clansmen after him have been as careless of their patrimony, but he was the first to lose his acres for "a crock of gold and an easy life," and ill's his fame among Lamonts. In 1540 as *consanguineus* he backed the chief at Dunoon before MacCailein, but that was all. He was alive in 1553, when he was probably 75, but gone by the May after, when John ii of Ascog, his sister's *oe* (or grandson), was reckoned his heir in Evanachan. If that town land, according to the practice of the clan at the time, was destined to heirs male in the first place, this succession implies the extinction of all *proved* to be related through males alone (although, of course, the chief's kinship in the male line may have been real but unvouched). If, on the other hand, the title was not so limited, the succession of descendants of a sister only denotes the absence of sons and brothers german (and the issue of such). But the existence of any remoter male heirs than these seems inconsistent with the fact that ten years later Ascog, although heir of John vii, was not heir of Finlay v, which indicates that a bend sinister intervened between John vii and Finlay v, and presumably that John vii's father Celestin was a bastard. If John vii's father was illegitimate there could, of course, be no remoter heirs male to John vii than brothers or their issue, as none could inherit through the person who was a bastard. It seems likely, therefore, that none were excluded by John vii's dispositions who were in the eyes of the law heirs male of the original Finlay i, vassal of the Steward. Still

and on legal descent was not the only kinship set store by in the proud highlands, and the tartans may well have looked to one now lost as Ardlamont despite his coming of a handfast marriage. In any event the Ascog family were so excluded, and though not heirs male they were heirs at law and of line of John vii, and must be regarded as henceforth representing the family of Ardlamont.¹¹

Last word of the old cadets of 69 merk lands is when in 1563 Queen Mary resumed the acres held burgage in Rothesay by Finlay v, on the narrative that they had fallen to the Crown "*nullis aliis heredibus notis ad dictas terras successuris juxta legem et practicam regni,*" and granted them to Sir JOHN X. So Marjory's marriage with Ewen Maclachlan, if ever consummated, had no issue still to the fore, for burgh lands of course were never limited to heirs male. The red point remained without resident laird till in 1664 Sir JAMES XIV took his feet there from the ruins of Toward, and there the chiefs rested until the tragic sale of 1893, and the clan forgot that an old ancient family of Ardlamont had ever existed—much less ever rivalled the lords of Inveryne.¹²

CHAPTER XIX

THE LAMONTS OF ASCOG AND STRONALBANACH, 1477-1759

THOUGH never the equals of the Monydrain or Ardlamont cadets, nor styled "barons" as those of Knockdow and of Coustoun, the Ascog Lamonts were namely from the 15th century for the aids military and naval which they rendered to the tartan. If their old writs are all perished, to the loss of their ancient history, their old fortress is still to the fore, and that is more than any others can boast forbye the chiefs. Alone among the lairdships Ascog had its castle of Kerry stone, which like Toward was manned and stood siege in the civil wars, and it was the only estate taken bound to provide a birlinn as an escort in the firth. If not before, these clansmen had the lion on their seals in 1516, and from 1540 at least were reckoned sib to the chiefs. Their patronymic seems to have been "McInnes" ("the son of Angus"), but they were Lamonts from their first entry in record in 1477, and perhaps descended of the McSorleys (who had many an Angus). From 1554 they represented their kin of Ardlamont, whose vassals they may once have been, and were the strongest cadets till in the civil wars they lavished for Sir JAMES XIV their blood and gold, and never recovered. Yet he usurped their patrimony to ease his own straits, and part only was regained by an off-shoot, settled at Stronalbanach in Glassary, when the main line was extinct. In 1759 it was all by with the old days, the last even of the younger line died lamely in Rothesay, and there was no male left of Ascog nor any heir of Ardlamont.¹

Ascog-Lamont in Kerry is, of course, quite other than Ascog-Stewart by Rothesay in Bute, with whose lairds the chiefs had dealings in the 17th century. To the west of Millhouse, formerly Mecknock, lurks in a hollow among low hills a lochan with islands, and jutting out into its waters stands the battered pile of Ascog keep. Its topmost walls, from which once floated the lion flag, can just be seen from the crest of the Kames road. Some cottages are clustered about it, and their folk yet keep the heather from the old highway past the castle yetts to the forgotten ferry athwart Loch Fyne to Tarbert. The situation is a fine one, fronting the lochan, with a view of the Arran peaks to the south through a gap in

the hills, and within rumour of the sea. Here is indeed a retreat such as the *seannachies* would picture "back of wind and face of sun" (*cùl gaoith' us aghaidh gréine*).²

Though more modest than Toward Castle, that of Ascog has no less of interest. Its simplicity denotes an earlier date, and its picturesque appearance is plain from plate 29. In plan it is 42 feet square, with a courtyard and the foundations of what may have been a round tower on the south side where is now a cottage garden. The east wall, facing the water's edge, is completely destroyed, one would think by gunpowder, but the lave are in part preserved. They are six feet thick, and at the south-west corner contain the stair leading to the three upper storeys. The two lowest have been vaulted, and the springing of the arches can still be seen, as well as the holes for cabers to support a loft over what was probably the great hall on the first floor, where song and story would often be busy at the fire ere the clarsach had given way to the pipes. These features, together with the small window space, suggest the early 15th century as the period of construction. There is no trace of the entrance door, no doubt above ground level, or of the corbels to support the battlements. The arms as at Toward would be erased by the Diarmaids in 1646. The walls are of plain rubble, and the doors and window jambs without free-stone facings. The courtyard is perhaps of later date. It would, of course, be necessary for the housing of cattle during siege. An internal reinforcing wall on the north side is probably the last addition of all, and may have been designed to restore the keep to some measure of use after it was burnt in 1646, though there is no record of its occupation afterwards by any of the old family.³

One further feature has been the subject of comment. "An access in the basement of the north gable is alleged to be a door leading to a subterranean passage, which, local tradition asserts, communicated with an island some yards distant in the adjacent" loch, and which "was to be used by its garrison as a refuge in an emergency." As this isle is one of three, the most accessible of which has clearly been a crannog, and as the story is a common one, it seems likely that the real truth is as follows. In primitive times there would be a whole village of lake dwellings round about, one perhaps the home of SIR LAUMON's son Malmory, who gave his name as Achadalvory. These artificial island fortresses were built up on off-shore shallows, and reached by wading along subaqueous causeways zigzagged to mislead the unfriend, so that entrance was less easily gained than to the "Doom Castle" of Neil Munro's story. Probably that opposite the castle was last occupied, as it is highest above water-level though whiles submerged. Once a stone keep was "lifted," however,



ASCOG CASTLE (15TH CENTURY)

the old haunt would be soon left to the whaups. The notion of the access being "an arched culvert or drain, carrying the sewage from the castle" can be lightly dismissed, as sanitation was foreign to the proud highlands (at least since the time that "the birds had the Gaelic").⁴

These lake dwellings from the dark of time are a field of inquiry to the antiquarian. The islet at the south end of the loch has been sporadically searched, and a number of relics unearthed. At Knockdow, for instance, are a stone hammer and a dirk, and many such must be in strange keeping. So far as is known none has rummaged the nearest isle. It would probably cast light on life in Ascog from the days of Fingal. But there is a task more pressing to be performed. Recently the ruins have begun to break up even further. When the Clan Society paid a visit in 1898 they still sufficed to house animals (though of a humble species). It was decided to repoint the walls, but the outbreak of war in 1914 postponed the project. Since then in a hard frost the whole north-west corner crashed to the ground, raising an echo heard far in the hills. If steps are not taken to preserve the rest it will suffer the same fate, for wild ash trees are perched high in the masonry and their roots are riving the stones one from another. Gazing on the present shattered and neglected ruin only the liveliest imagination can depict it as it once was when the lords who raised it by the labour of their followers held wassail on their great occasions with wine from the wall of France, trout from the lochan without, and blackcock from the moor. If the walls are gaunt and silent now, on a day stools went back against them, "through ilka bore the beams were glancing, and loud resounded mirth and dancing."⁵

Of the pioneers who laid stone on stone in this secluded spot nothing is kenned. The keep is the first evidence of its lairds' existence, for it is older than 1477 when Robert Lamont of Ascog makes his bow as a witness at Acharossan with Gilchrist son of the coroner. He is styled i of Ascog in this book as his forebears are unknown, though generations must have come and gone on the loch side ere he emerged from the mists. They must have held their estates of the chiefs at least from 1472, when Ascog entered the Crown Charter to JOHN VIII. The cadet's next appearance was in 1498 when he saw Gilchrist take possession of Inverneilbeg in the company of young Coustoun and an Angus, probably vii of Monydrain whom DUNCAN VII bade him infest in 1511. Not long after Robert's "carnal" daughter Elspeth married John Bannatyne of Acharossan, and in harvest 1516 at Corra, the richest steading of the lairdship, Robert set his lion seal in red wax upon a bond to his goodson obliging himself for tocher to be paid at the three Beltanes following (the old Druid May day festivals). The amount was £60 Scots, with

“a gret kov in ilka merk of the for sad sovm of monze,” *i.e.* 90 cows, “and geve the ko plesis nocht the said John Bannachtyn the said Robert Lamond (sall) lay dvn a merk of monze for ilk ko at plesis nocht.” The bride’s father was also to sustain her in meat and clothing till the tocher was paid, to induce a quick settlement. She in her turn had a liferent of Acharossan which she carried to her second husband, also John Bannatyne, of Scarrel in Ettrick Bay. About the same time Robert witnessed sasines for the Argyll family at Skipness and at Otter, and his final appearance in record was in 1520 when at Inveraray with Sir JOHN X and Ardlamont he supported Maclachlan’s request for protection.⁶

Soon after he made his last ferry, and it was a John Lamont of Ascog, probably his grandson, who backed with that same Ardlamont Sir JOHN X’s protest against MacCailein on Dunoon hill in 1540. When the Crown sued for non-entry dues of the barony of Inveryne in the next year this John ii (to our ken) was vassal in a £20 lairdship of some half-dozen steadings, centring round the keep and stretching south to include the modern Ascog farm and bay. In order of rental value they were Corra (7½ merks), Kilbride and Derybruich (6 each), Ascog proper and Achadalvory (4 each), and Achourk-more (2½). Next to Ardlamont he was the bienest cadet, and seems to have been the only Lamont able to meet his obligations. It even looks as if he pledged the farm of Ascog to Maclachlan to raise 200 merks for the chief, only to find the lender deny the reversion and set up a kinsman with the style “of Ascog” in an attempt to secure the lands for all time. A tuilzie resulted between red tartan and green, and it was alleged that Maclachlan “cumin to John Lawmont of Askog’s tennentis callit Mcilchois and Mcilwon in Ouchter moir, and siclyk to the other man of the said John’s in Eskok callit McIntagart, and bund ransonit and spulzet them in maner of sorning.” This was one of the disputes Argyll decided in favour of *Clan Laomainn* in 1548. Next year John ii was witness for Knockdow at Inverchaolain, and in 1553 sat on the jury at Renfrew which apprised the estates of his fellow-cadets for non-payment of the royal dues. With him was Angus Lamont of Derybruich, described in record as a brother of Sir JOHN X. But for this one would jalouse Angus as Ascog’s brother, for the steading which was his in property was within the lairdship. On the death of the last Ardlamont at this time John ii was reckoned his heir as “sister’s *oe*” (grandchild), which leads to the inferences that John ii was a grandson and not a son of Robert i, and that the latter’s wife was of Ardlamont. Most of the inheritance was already dissipated, and Ascog was wise enough not to

take up an elusory mid-superiority of Evanachan, which he abandoned to the chief. Later evidence, however, relates a spuilzie of 18 horses from Ardlamont and S. Auchagoyl by the next laird and that laird's father (presumably John ii), which was probably an attempt to take over his kinsman's moveables.⁷

By 1557 he had given place to John iii of Ascog, no doubt his son, who is less mysterious and bulks larger in record than any forebear. Next year he was accused in Edinburgh of being still in possession of the titles of Acharossan as representing Elspeth, and an Angus Lamont who was also called may well be his uncle. If only his own titles had been preserved his pedigree would be less uncertain. He was whiles at Inveraray, as when he borrowed on the rents of Achadalvory from Campbell of Craighoyle in Glen Finnart, but mostly he had dealings within the clan. Thus in 1561 he took birlinn to Toward to witness the erection of the Silvercraigs cadetship in favour of Robert brother of DUNCAN XI, and six years later he and the oldster Sir JOHN X made mutual bond upon parchment, for he could handle a pen. John iii was to be formally entered in the £20 land of Ascog to be held by ward tenure, and in the 5 merk feu-duty of Monydrain which had been uplifted in the past without title (possibly in right of Ardlamont). It is not clear whether the discharge of old dues for non-entry extended beyond the lifetime of John iii, so that the deed does not vouch any of his forebears to have been chartered by the chiefs—and if they were old ancient vassals what was the need of the new declaration that the cadet and his heirs were to be “leill, true and faithfull servants” to the chiefs in time coming? In return for a legal title to his lairdship and his castle by the loch John iii gave up “all title he could pretend” to the lands of Ardlamont and Ardcalmisaig (as heir to the Ardlamont family one imagines), and to Stillaig of which perhaps he or John ii had been tenant. All claims whatever by either party were passed from, the chief agreeing to forget the 18 horses and the cadet the 200 merks above mentioned. On 28th December 1567 it was signed, no doubt after all had something to keep out the mist at the year's passing.⁸

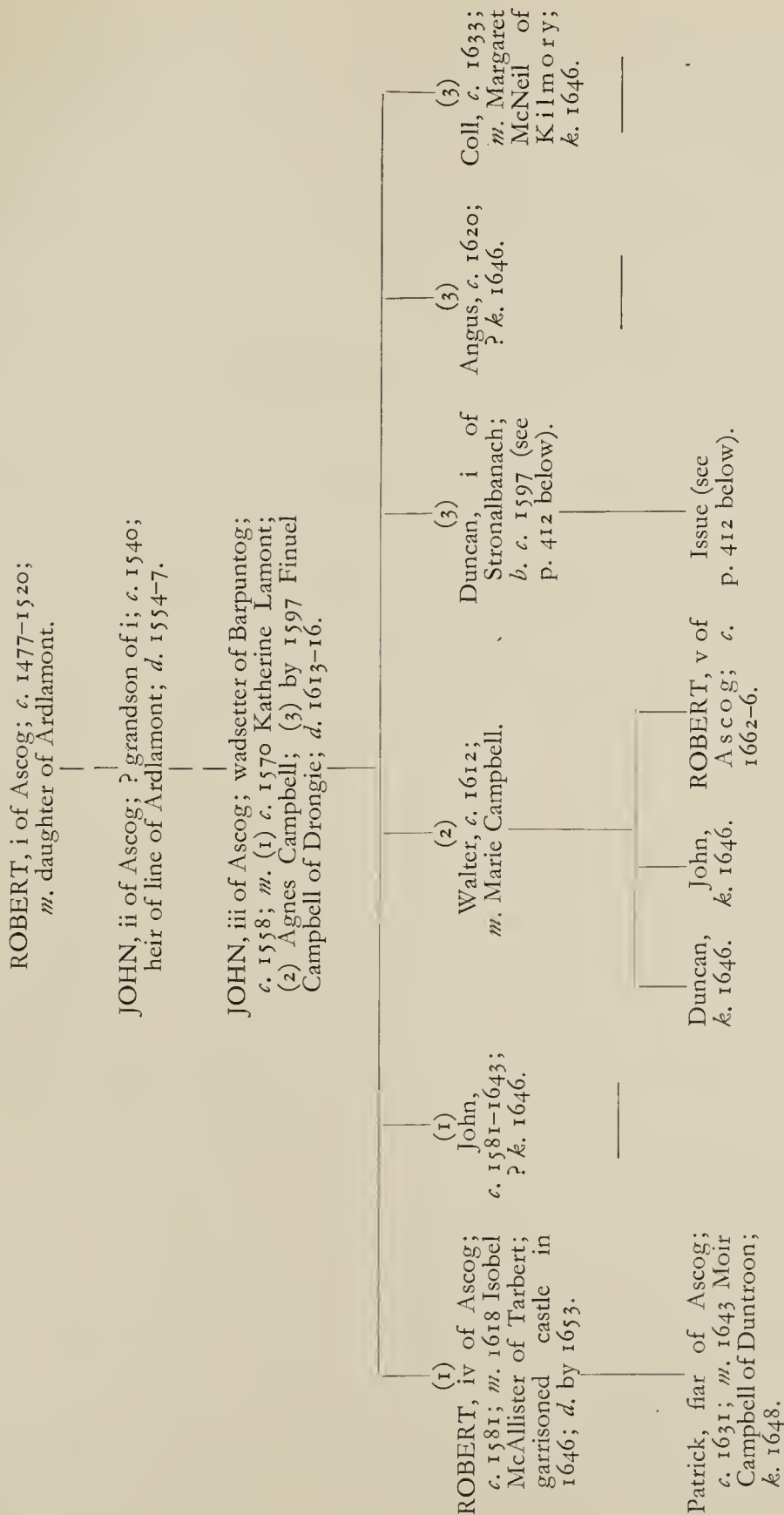
In grey spring of 1570 John took his feet to Glasgow causeys with some of his kin, it seems at his first marriage to a Katherine Lamont, to whom he resigned Kilbride and Ascog before Auchagoyl, young Knockdow and Angus of Derybruich—an unwonted display of the tartan in the booth of a town clerk. John was a familiar of the new chief, JAMES XII, and only Lamont witness to the sasine of that same in the barony on succeeding in 1579. Soon after he was at Toward again at the signing of the bond with the sea-rover of Islay, for whose

brother he was cautioner next year at Kames in Bute, a month after ferrying with his chief to give entry to young Silvercraigs. JAMES in turn lay within the Ascog walls in the early summer of 1581, and set seal to a new charter of the lairdship, giving sasine in person at Derybruich part *Cnoc a' Chaisteil* overlooking Loch Fyne. These writs have plenty of interest. They were granted to Robert, eldest son of John, reserving the parents' liferents, and after him to his full brother another John, with a clause of return to the Inveryne family if none of the three had male heirs of the body. Among the lands is named a new pendicle of Corra, Calzochale. Forbye presence at three head courts in Kerry the vassal had to keep a birlinn (*cymba*), and to serve at sea either on it or the chief's flagship as required. There is no record of enforcement, but "who keeps a boat will get a day for sailing it," and in the tradition of the Lochlanners the sea was more blessed than the land for the "one-we-won't-mention" had no sway upon salt water.⁹

Little is heard of John iii till in 1597 he figures as one of the tartan's cautioners on the marriage of JAMES's daughter to Maclachlan. Having made loans to one of that clan, Maclachlan of Auchnahall (between Achourk and Blair Buie), who espoused Elizabeth Lamont (probably his own daughter), he took in security Barpuntoog, the deeds disclosing that his second wife Agnes Campbell had died leaving him two sons, the second of whom was Walter. Already his third lady, young Finuel Campbell, was to the fore, and he lent her father the laird of Drongie £9000. Of this union there were three sons, Duncan (born c. 1597), Angus, and Coll.¹⁰ Ascog was now wealthy, and aided Silvercraigs in adversity in 1610, while three years after he set up Duncan ayont Loch Fyne in a feu of Stronalbanach, a 33s. 4d. land, by Crarae between Inveraray and Lochgilphead. The sellers were John McIver Campbell of Pennymore and his wife Margaret Lamont, perhaps another of John's family. Duncan's issue were destined to represent the old stock of Ascog in after years. By 1616 John iii was gone, and his executors were Walter and Finuel—soon married to Stillaig.¹¹

The heritage passed to the first born, Robert iv of Ascog, infest as a child in 1581. From 1613 to the civil wars he figures in record. In summer 1618 he married Isobel McAllister of Tarbert, who received a life portion of £300 a year from Corra and Achadalvory, the "haill lands and liveing of Ascog" being settled on the heirs male of his body, thus it seems restricting the original destination of 1581 so as to exclude his brothers. As Robert's only son Patrick perished by unfriends in the father's life the result was that Sir JAMES XIV annexed the whole lairdship probably by virtue of a clause of return and the strong hand, making

PEDIGREE OF LAMONTS OF ASCOG



only a little payment to the heirs female. A few months after Ascog saw his sisters Katherine and Mary become the wives of John yr. of Coustoun and of Donald Campbell of Srondoire south of Ardrishaig. His third clan marriage within the year was that of Maclachlan of Inens in the Kyles to an Elizabeth Lamont.¹² Outbye the Lamont country he kened the causeys of Edinburgh, Rothesay, and Inveraray, which he trod as buyer, witness, or juror with ghillie or chief at his side. He was a royal commissioner for valuing teinds in 1629, and journeyed about the presbytery. His stock was most namely of the independent cadets, though eclipsed in rental by Silvercraigs. Auchagoyl recognised him as "speciall freynd and kinsman," and to him and the chief Stillaig undertook not to scatter that lairdship. Always at elbow of Sir COLL XIII and Sir JAMES XIV he and Silvercraigs signed bond to follow their leaders to Edinburgh or elsewhere in the lowlands for a fortnight twice a year if called on. In the highlands and isles one jalouses he served in the birlinn under his charter. In 1634 Ascog was the only witness of the tartan to Sir COLL's settlement at Toward and went to Inveraray with brother Coll and Silvercraigs to Sir JAMES's marriage. By 1637 he had guaranteed £6600 of debt for the chief (eight times his free rental of £838 in 1629), and many a day he was witness for that same whether at Toward or otherwhere.¹³

In year 1643, when all Scotland was preparing for war, Ascog was on terms with his enemy, the Diarmaids. One of his three daughters, Annette, married John Campbell of Drimsynie (at Lochgoilhead), while Patrick, already seised in the estates, took to wife Moir, daughter of Duncan Campbell of Duntroon (by Crinan). Her sasine in Achadalvory was witnessed by John, Robert's full brother, which is his second and last appearance in record. Forbye the chief's debts the laird was cautioner for his half-brother Coll and some others. When most of the cadets needed their resources for arms and equipment he was able to lend to Knockdow and his own borrowings were little.¹⁴ The rental for the years before 1646 discloses him as more bien than in 1629. His gross income in money was £285, in bere, oats, butter, and wedders the equivalent of £812, £504, £63, and £59 respectively, or £1438 in all, as against £1270 when his teinds were valued. His net income from these sources was probably about £950, to which has to be added 115 dozen eggs, 10 dozen fowls, 22 fed veals, 440 loads of peat, and 12 fed kids, for which no figures are obtainable, making perhaps a total of £1000. At twelve and a half years' purchase the estate would be worth £12,500. The keep was no doubt in good order, and the birlinn well found. Certain it is that the loch side was laid out in policies and orchards.¹⁵ But most needed of

all in sturt and strife was man power. Of Robert's five surviving brothers John and Angus probably never married, and Coll's wife, Margaret McNeill of Killmory in Bute, seems to have been childless, but Walter and his lady Marie Campbell had three sons in their ostler house, or inn, between Achourk and Mecknock, a Duncan, a John, and a Robert, which last was destined to be next laird. The elder Duncan, of course, had founded a house of his own at Stronalbanach, married about 1632 Moir daughter of Archibald Campbell of Kilmory by Lochgilphead (who bore him an Archibald, a James, and an Angus), and acquired Kames from his kin of Auchinshelloch and Rudhbodach. With their acres well-peopled by stout swordsmen the Ascog family seemed certain of a future, yet a few years saw them scattered never to return to any purpose, their castle a ruin, and the plague fires at the doors of the blackened houses.¹⁶

Their doings in the wars narrated above one gathers from confessions at the dirk's point made later at Inveraray. Stronalbanach acknowledged "joining and keeping company in Cowall severall times with the Laird of Lamont sen he brak out in rebellion in company with Alexander McDonald" in harvest of 1645, "and dwelling during the hail time thereof within his bounds of Kerriff in cawal under his protection." He told how with Patrick he "persewed the sojourns of my Lord Marquiss of Argyll's galey . . . near the house of Ascog, where twa of them were slayne." After the burning of Stronalbanach by Ardkinglas he made his home at the lochan, where his brother Robert iv "did resait and entertain within (his) House of Ascog Sir James Lamont of Inneryne and Patrick Lamont fiar of Ascog (his) son, the time of their being in armes . . . be the space of five months" from the turn of the year after Patrick's home-coming from the herschip of Argyll. But the Diarmaids closed in under Ormsary, driving before them Auchagoyl and Silvercraigs with their following, and the *seannachie* tells of "a dreadful battle in the moor above Loch Ascaig" lasting three days, in which "McInnes of Ascog" aided Lamont and three of his "sons" were killed. The victims were more likely brothers, for John, Angus, and Coll are never heard of again. Within their walls on the loch side the tartan held out till on 8th June their chief appeared prisoner beneath the battlements. Stronalbanach transacted a capitulation like that of Toward, which was as perfidiously broken, its existence being denied. Castle, policies, and orchards were set alowe, and the commoners murdered at Dunoon with Walter's sons Duncan and John. After inquisition at Inveraray Robert iv, Patrick, and Stronalbanach were scattered in Campbell keeping, the laird with his good-son at Duntroon till 1648, the fiar at Carrick Castle of Loch Goil, whence he was judicially murdered in that year, and Stronalbanach in

Castle Lachlan within sight of his home. The last was forced by threats to give up Kames to MacCailein, but he alone survived the Restoration of 1661, and his deposition helped to bring the Marquis to the scaffold. Robert iv was dead for certain in 1653, and there is never a word of Walter again in this life.¹⁷

What befell the estates has been told above. After the devastation which called for new barns in Achadalvory, Kilbride, and Achourk, and left the castle roofless, came a division betwixt the creditors, who had appraised for Robert iv's obligations as cautioner for his chief, and the Diarmaids who took law into their own hands. When Sir JAMES came into his own he used Ascog to secure the portions of Robert's daughters which he had guaranteed and of his own sisters, forbye Stillaig who lent him new money and Silvercraigs an old creditor. He had no right to do this, but in the absence of any heir applying for entry in the lairdship he did as he pleased. In October of 1662, however, Robert, son of Walter and Marie Campbell, interdicted the chief from alienation of the patrimony of Ascog, and his mother only agreed to take the tenancy of her ostler house from those deriving right from Sir JAMES on condition that "hir condiscendence sould not be prejudiciall to himself or hir sone Robert Lamont anent any richt they haue or can pretend to the estait of Askog Lamont in Kerriff." Thus the chief was compelled to enter Robert v in 1666 as heir of entail of John iii, subject to the condition that he paid out Robert iv's daughters and Sir JAMES's sisters. Of the former Annette had disappeared, but Mary married the chief's brother the new Stillaig, and Barbara her cousin John McAllister of Loup.¹⁸

Young Robert v was formally invested on the threshold of the keep, with young Stronalbanach as witness, but it is doubtful if he ever lifted even a trout from the water. In 1668 Stillaig was factoring the rents on behalf of others. The new laird had a good case in law, and if only some James Hamilton had been to the fore to finance him, he could have cleared off all the other charges had he been willing to face his namesake's debts which were not large. But alas, as the word is, "justice melts in the mouths of the faint hearted" (*leaghaidh a' chòir 'am bìal an anfhainn*), and the chance was let slip. Robert v had no son, and met an end unkenne'd devolving his claims on Stronalbanach, who now represented the old ancient house of Ascog. Of the six branches, all born of John iii, that alone was extant. Small comfort was it to the ones not remaining that there were fleas in the hose of the Campbells, for none gained but Sir JAMES XIV and he little deserving.¹⁹

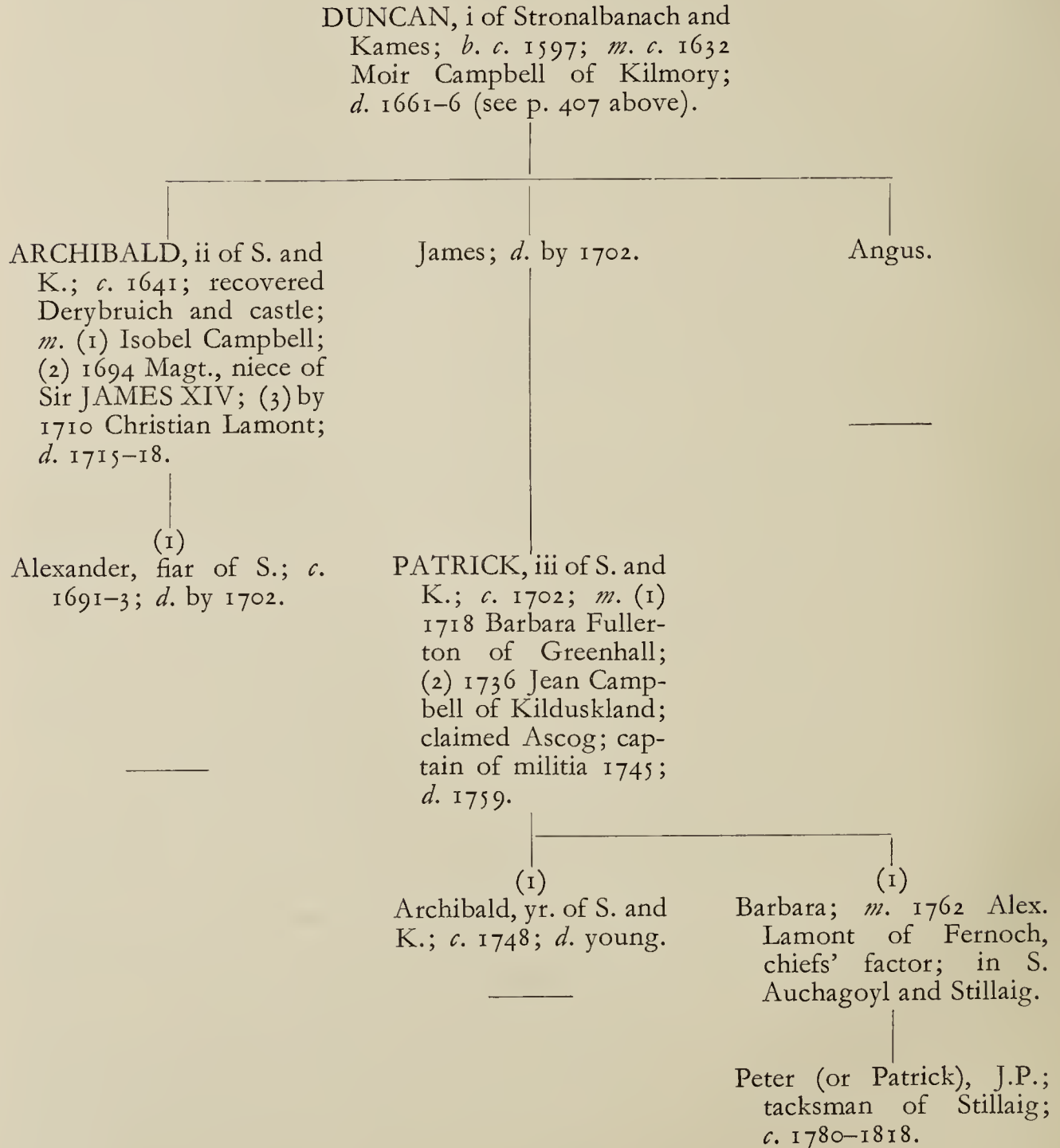
So the curtain falls and the scene shifts for the last act from the

sheltered castle by the lochan in Kerry to a wind-swept steading ayont Loch Fyne. Stronalbanach is in the foot-hills above the modern Minard village. Hidden by a steep bluff from the present road it is approached by a track winding up through Inverae, a township on the old highway. For a mile or so one passes through a waste of bog and heather, and then at sudden green fields are reached by two farms of which Stronalbanach is southmost. There is a fine view of Strathlachlan, with the ivied castle in the centre, where Duncan i was confined, and of the heights around the Cobbler to the north-east, but not an ell of Lamont country is to be seen. Those who lived so isolated from their kin must needs have had troke with the Diarmaids. Yet, Campbell-ridden as it is, by some strange streak of fancy as one of the tartan ascends to-day he feels more keenly than in any other Lamont-haunted spot that he is treading in the very footsteps of his forebears. Every Gael believes, as Neil Munro has it, that "where men have walked are always left the shadows of them—their spirits lingering." So it is at Stronalbanach in the peace of the hills.²⁰

The new head of the family was Archibald, *de jure* vi of Ascog and *de facto* ii of Stronalbanach. He first figures in 1641, and succeeded to his father Duncan who was dead by 1666. Though there were certainly debts over this estate it was never in creditors' keeping, but it suffered from the Diarmaids being too easy of access on the route betwixt Inveraray and Knapdale. Even in quiet times from 1677, as noted above, he needed a watchful eye for passing reivers. If he had a bare living there of £54 net per annum, and £28 from Kames (recovered by 1666), one jalouses it was not worth risking the costs of litigation and the burden of his uncle's debts. But had he been so minded it might have been day about with the chief. His superior in Glassary was a Lord of Session and kin of Lauderdale (dictator of Scotland of whom ARCHIBALD XV had fallen foul in London). To that same he paid his feu-duty of £10, with £12 in kind, and his teind of 2½ bolls meal at £7 plus 10 merks of vicarage, thus showing little difference in annual value since 1629. That he stood surety for his chief in 1681 proves that he had at heart the needs of the tartan rather than his own profit. His staid conduct at the time of Argyll's rebellion of 1685 has already been mentioned.²¹

Next year, however, he and the chief apparent, Dugald of Stillaig, had come to terms, and Stronalbanach was given the rents of Ascog, Achadalvory, Derybruich, and part of Achourk, with the change house by the mill of Mecknock and the castle, on condition of paying 4000 merks out of the proceeds, whereupon he was to give over Ascog and Achadalvory and be chartered in the lave. This was carried out by 1697,

PEDIGREE OF LAMONTS OF STRONALBANACH



Note: last pedigree on p. 407.

and Stronalbanach so recovered the northern half of the old lairdship of Ascog and secured an additional gross rent of £146 less £10 feu-duty, or say £87 net per annum. Besides doubling his income this brought him again into close touch with his clan, in which he and Auchagoyl were now wealthiest cadets.²² The death of Archibald's first wife Isobel Campbell in 1692 paved the way to a final reconciliation, for two years after he married Margaret daughter of Ninian, Sir JAMES XIV's youngest brother, the contract being signed at Ardlamont before the chief, Silvercraigs, and Stillaig (her cousin). By his first marriage he had two daughters, Margaret and Barbara, of whom nothing is known, and a son Alexander, fiar of Stronalbanach in 1691-3, but it seems dying young without issue. His second marriage was childless, as was his third by 1710 to a Christian Lamont.²³

The bulk of the Ascog lairdship passed to the chiefs after a history which is a tangled skein not worth the unravelling, but Auchinshelloch got half of Mecknock mill and of Achourk forbye Kilbride at the turn of the century. Some names of tenants are preserved, such as the William Lamont in Ascog whose lease is noted above. Others are given in the footnote.²⁴ Meanwhile Stronalbanach lived ayont Loch Fyne breeding cattle, which were his standard of currency. With his fellow-parishioners he presented the minister of Kilmichael Glassary with a "kow" (worth £16 to £20) on the birth of the latter's first child, and in 1702 he boarded his nephew Patrick with a merchant there for "two sufficient good tydie cows," for which he had to be sued at Inveraray. Patrick, who was destined to succeed to the estates, was a son of Archibald's brother James, and one guesses that both James and Alexander, the fiar, must have been dead by that time, else the laird would not have concerned himself with Patrick. As a Commissioner of Supply (from 1704 to 1712 at least) he helped his own pocket, just man, by signing the order "to disable and break all boats that have been found ferrying not belonging to common ferries," such as MacCailein's at Creggans, that from Otter to Silvercraigs, and his own and MacAllister's from Derybruich to Tarbert. Very properly, too, "heritors of established ferries (were ordained) to keep good and sufficient boats for passengers and cattle, to exact no more ferry money than the ordinary allowance, and also the ferriers to give punctual obedience" at sight of smoke, doubtless following the custom.²⁵

Born say in 1635, Archibald was an oldster of 80 in the '15, and might well be excused attendance at Inveraray, being marked as believed to be loyal to King George. In three years they had turned the mirror to the wall lest Patrick third and last of Stronalbanach should see the wraith of

his uncle looking over his shoulder. The young man was alone in the world save perchance for issue of his father's other brother Angus, whose end is unkenned though he may have been the Angus Lamont, tailor, at Barbreck in Glassary in 1678. Campbell *seannachies* record that Patrick had also an aunt married to William, son of Mr Dugald Campbell, parson of Letterkenny in Ireland. To keep up his line he took to wife in 1718, Barbara, daughter of Mr John Fullerton of Greenhall in Glendaruel and afterwards bishop of Edinburgh, who bore him a son and four daughters. His second marriage in winter 1736 to Jean, sister of Duncan Campbell of Kilduskland, now Brackley, by Lochgilphead, was without child. But like most of her tartan Jean had a greed of land, and doubtless under her spell he set about the recovery of the old patrimony of Ascog. Counsel advised ARCHIBALD XVII that the apprisings to which he had right by purchase were insufficient title without possession, and that the agreement with his namesake in 1686 as to the division of the lairdship would not bar the claim though it might evidence the chiefs' possession. The stage was all set for a grand litigation. Patrick was now reckoned senior cadet on the disappearance of the McSorleys of Monydrain, and for certain he felt it his duty to the shades that drifted in the gloaming at Ascog lochan that he should right the wrong done by the greedy hands of Sir JAMES XIV to the kin that had bled for his quarrel.²⁶

His brother-in-law Kilduskland charged him on a trust bond for £26,000 to enter heir to John iii in the £20 lands of Ascog, adjudicated the inheritance, and transferred it to Patrick, who signetted summons in winter 1738 against the chief and Auchinshelloch for their shares, claiming the last groat, even the feu-duty of Monydrain. But ARCHIBALD XVII, advised that he was not liable to compensate Auchinshelloch in the event of eviction, had the less interest to engage in a long plea, and made an offer to Stronlbanach the terms of which are unkenned. Patrick accepted, from his retreat in the hills, glad doubtless to be rid of his most formidable adversary, and wrote his Edinburgh agent "to acquaint you that Lamont and I have settled that plea as to his part, and now I desire you to insist with all vigour against Achniseloch for his whole concessions, to wit for the lands of Kilbride, half milne of Mecknoch, and half Achihorke." The letter, asking reply to a friend on the post road, was sealed with a lion signet undifferenced, contrary to heraldic principle for a cadet. But Auchinshelloch was old and without heir or means, and promptly settled his part of Ascog on the chief on condition of the latter defending the suit. It went on for a twelvemonth, even finding a permanent record in the law reports, but in the end ARCHIBALD XVII bought off Patrick for a price undisclosed and the Lamont

country was back at its old ploys again, chief and cadet together against the smugglers.²⁷

In *Tearlach's* year Patrick was out as captain of the Cowal militia, with whom he served in the north-west no doubt in the hunt for the Prince's head. The only word of his son Archibald is in 1748, but an early death is indicated by the father's starting to break up the estate. The valuation of three years after shows that Stronalbanach had been sold to Colonel McKellar of Drumfin in N. Knapdale, namely as a military engineer, and that its old laird was to end his days in Kerry within sight of the lochan and keep. He lent his chief £2667 at 5 per cent. interest, and had a gross rental from Derybruich, etc., and Kames of £432 Scots or £36 sterling. This reflects the great increase in land values at the time, but as burdens were also greater he was taxed upon less than half, namely £192 Scots or £16 sterling. (The gross rental of Stronalbanach was the same as the net for the Kerry lands.²⁸) The daughters of Patrick all married, Jean to John Robertson, merchant in Rothesay and a connection of Knockdow, Mary to John McLean, merchant in Glasgow, and in 1755 the eldest Margaret to James, short-lived brother of Kilduskland, on whom were settled the remaining estates. James was to take the designation "of Kames" and pay £2000 to each of his wife's married sisters, and £2667 to Barbara then a spinster. The last designed of Stronalbanach came to his end in Rothesay, doubtless in a daughter's keeping, in year 1759. Fifteen bottles of wine, at 1s. 9d. sterling per bottle, were consumed at the dregy, and Robertson duly charged them against the executry. Little he cared, of course, for the end of an auld sang, though his wife may have felt some stir at the heart till her death in 1812 in thinking of days long off and lost by the burn side at Stronalbanach and on the lochan of Ascog. Even she hardly kenned of the bustle that once was when chiefs were received as equals within the walls of the keep.²⁹

If Knockdow and Auchagoyl alone remained of the old territorial stocks of *Clan Laomainn*, Barbara did her duty by the past by marrying in 1762 a husband of the tartan, producing a son Peter (otherwise Patrick), and settling in southern Auchagoyl. The husband was Alexander Lamont, factor to ARCHIBALD XVII, who acquired by apprising the Fernoch by Monydrain to become a bonnet laird. The chief himself bought up from Kames the whole lands in Kerry and for a while from 1766 they were held by Dr George Lamont the London physician.³⁰ As a widow Barbara took the tenancy of S. Auchagoyl in her own name, and presumably the Peter Lamont married there to Aemilia Black in 1790 was their son and manager of the farm. If so he was tacksman of Kilbride next year, and later in various parts of the old Ascog lairdship, and had four

sons, Duncan, Angus, Alexander, and Peter, all names known at Stronlbanach. Barbara was living at Stillaig, and Peter tenant of it, in 1794 at the death of Margaret, Mrs Campbell of Kames, in whose favour Patrick's widow Jean had vacated the mansion of Derybruich and the castle butt. Soon Alexander's widow was laid with her mother Barbara Fullerton and sister Margaret in the chief's vault at Kilfinan, and Peter put up a stone undated to their memory, and so may be taken as next-of-kin of both lines. He was namely in the district, being a trustee for the Campbells of Otter in 1808, but alas ten years later, though described as gentleman farmer and Justice of the Peace in Stillaig, he was one of two tenants of the Ardlamont estate sequestrated by a clansman in Greenock over some dealings in cattle which were unsuccessful. This is the last word of him, but surely some descendant must be still to the fore to represent in some sort at least the old stock of Ascog and Stronlbanach.³¹

Though deserted by the old lairds there were yet Lamonts on the ground of the £20 land of Ascog, as there are to this day at Colachla, but they sadly dwindled. The ferry had as tenants to 1782 a Hugh Black and a Duncan from Auchagoyl, and the latter reared a family in the castle stead to the turn of the century. Thereafter incomers pulled the oar and tilled the soil, and time went by the door. Winters and summers passed fast and furious, and for forty years now the castle itself, once a bulwark against unfriends, has been kept by a Diarmaid. He heard the masonry crack and crash to the ground in the late war, as his tartan heard it in the wars of Montrose, and doubtless as they he took it as a symbol of the passing of the Lamonts. Ascog was sold with the lave by JOHN HENRY XXI in 1893, and the lands are now divided between the Watsons of Ardlamont and the Nicols of Ardmarnock. But the ruin on the lochan with all its memories is still there, and the smithy of the thirl at Millhouse, south-east of the cross-roads, and the house once an inn where Lamonts were wont on a day to take their whisky "as it is."³²

CHAPTER XX

THE MCGORRIE LAMONTS OF KNOCKDOW, 1431-1938

FROM the Ardbeg in Bute is kenspeckle across the water the modern mansion of Knockdow (plate 3) on the old lands of Kilmichael, where was once the chiefs' court.¹ Here is the seat of the last remaining Lamont lairdship, where alone the lion rampant of Sir LAUMON flutters still in the breeze. If it were not for the Knockdow family, with its history of five centuries, *Clan Laomainn* would by now have shared the fate of clan McEwen and clan McNaughton and been landless and forgotten in its native county.

As the house is inland, though within rumour of the sea, it is approached to-day by the road from Dunoon, leaving the shore at the quay for Rothesay, and passing between Achavoulin on the right and on the left Ardyne, with its ancient ferry, where are yet Lamont tenants. At Auchafour one enters the old Kilmichael, and immediately across the Ardyne (holy water) burn the main avenue takes off to the 18th century mansion. The eastern march running up into Glenfyne was delimited with cairns in 1775. Beyond it was acquired in 1919 the yellow moss lands of Blairbuie to their extremity Craigdhu, which two centuries before had ceased to be tilled. The estate extends up Loch Striven to Gortanloisk, now Glenstriven (belonging to the Berrys). Almost all is now held of the Crown, as perhaps it was originally, though in historic times the chief was superior. It includes Kilmarnock, a ruined steading and a hill; the two Brackleys, with the greater still peopled; Inverchaolain clachan, opposite Coustoun, nestling by the channel's mouth it is called after, once the centre of the parish (pronounced Inver-hüllen); Strondharaig (Stron Yèrrag), now both farm and height; and the adjoining Finnart, or white point. In the hills up the burn lies the deserted shieling Leacan-nan-gall, and beyond it Garrachoran, for some time a cadet's seat, now in other hands. Old Knockdow (Nock-dòo in Scots or Croc-doo in Gaelic) itself arose on the hillside to the east-south-east of Inverchaolain farm-house. There is still masonry on the site, no doubt the "ground wa' stanes," and the *cnoc dubh*, or black hillock, from which it was named, is still visible in some lights from loch and road.²

Inverchaolain is quiet to-day, but it lay once on a throng route from Greenock and the lowlands by Dunoon (9 miles away) to the Kyles of Bute, for a beaten track wound through the hills by Glen Kin over the *Bealach na Sreíne* (the bridle pass) down Inverchaolain glen and thence over Coustoun ferry. Also Rothesay gabbarts brought within its reach the commerce and markets of the burgh where Stewarts held sway as kings or as sheriffs. For five centuries Knockdow has had contact with the kirk of Inverchaolain, whether in support or in opposition. Though the late laird walked out during sermon in protest against pulpit politics, and was laid to rest by his own burn side, his son serves on the Presbytery and largely financed the restoration of the fabric.³

Their first contact was on the feast of John the Baptist (24th June) of 1431, when McEwen of Otter sealed a charter at Inverchaolain, doubtless on the "knoll of worship" by the heather-thatched kirk. It was witnessed by Sir Finlay, the vicar, and Godfrey, son of John Lamont, lord of Inverchaolain. This is the sole record of the eponymus, the "*Goire an tighearn ruadh*" of tradition, that is Godfrey, the red baron, from whom is derived the patronymic of "McGorrie." One cannot tell who John the father was, but that he was sib to the chief is inferred from his use of the name Lamont so early, and his descendants being styled "beloved kinsmen" by Sir JOHN X and DUNCAN XI in 1560, and by JAMES XII in 1604. John may have been a younger son of Sir JOHN III, which would make Godfrey a first cousin of ROBERT V. But whoever their forefolk they were namely for themselves, as an illiterate and turbulent race, red-headed and red-handed, till subdued by the calamities of the civil wars.⁴

Of the first nine lairds but one could sign his name. Their earliest writ is a remission for dirking of Diarmaids in 1531; forty years later they were scarcely baulked of the slaughter of their own chief at Toward Castle yett; and almost alone of the *duine uassail* Knockdow and his brother suffered a red death at Dunoon in 1646, who knows if undeserved. But times took a change, and Campbell-killing turned to Campbell-cursing. The last "baron" died in 1739, and after the '45 their outlook altered, their estates doubled, and each laird had an earned income, whether as minister, factor, writer, or West Indian nabob. No longer were there warders on the passes, but there were tillers in the fields. From 1773 they were the sole cadets to uphold the clan's traditions, and worthily they did so, receiving a baronetcy in 1910. But sedate as it is to-day Knockdow is on the edge of a stormy past. What Celt who stravaigs from the mansion to the burn at mouth of night does not feel in the heart's core that here are shades lingering—the shades that in

highland tradition ever pass along the watercourses and to the west of houses where should be no windows. The spirits of the red barons of the past, restless and seeking, cannot be far from the walls that now shelter what is left of their flesh and blood, and when the burn is crying high and snell their voices are in the lilt of it.⁵

For ninety years after Godfrey's emergence in 1431 nothing is kened for certain of his family. But the Allister, son of Godfrey, who witnesses a charter of lands by Loch Striven in 1474 was surely his son and second laird of Knockdow (then part of the barony of JOHN VIII). Next in 1523 a John McGorre vouches a deed in Glasgow by the last McPhadrick of Killellan to (Sir) JOHN X, and is soon at Inveryne. That same is "Johne Lawmont of Knockdow" in June 1531, and may be reckoned iv of Inverchaolain and Knockdow. In the earliest parchment these were treated together as a 6 merk land under the latter name, though Godfrey i had preferred to be "lord of Inverchaolain." The third baron was maybe the Godfrey Lamont appearing in Inveraray in 1515.⁶

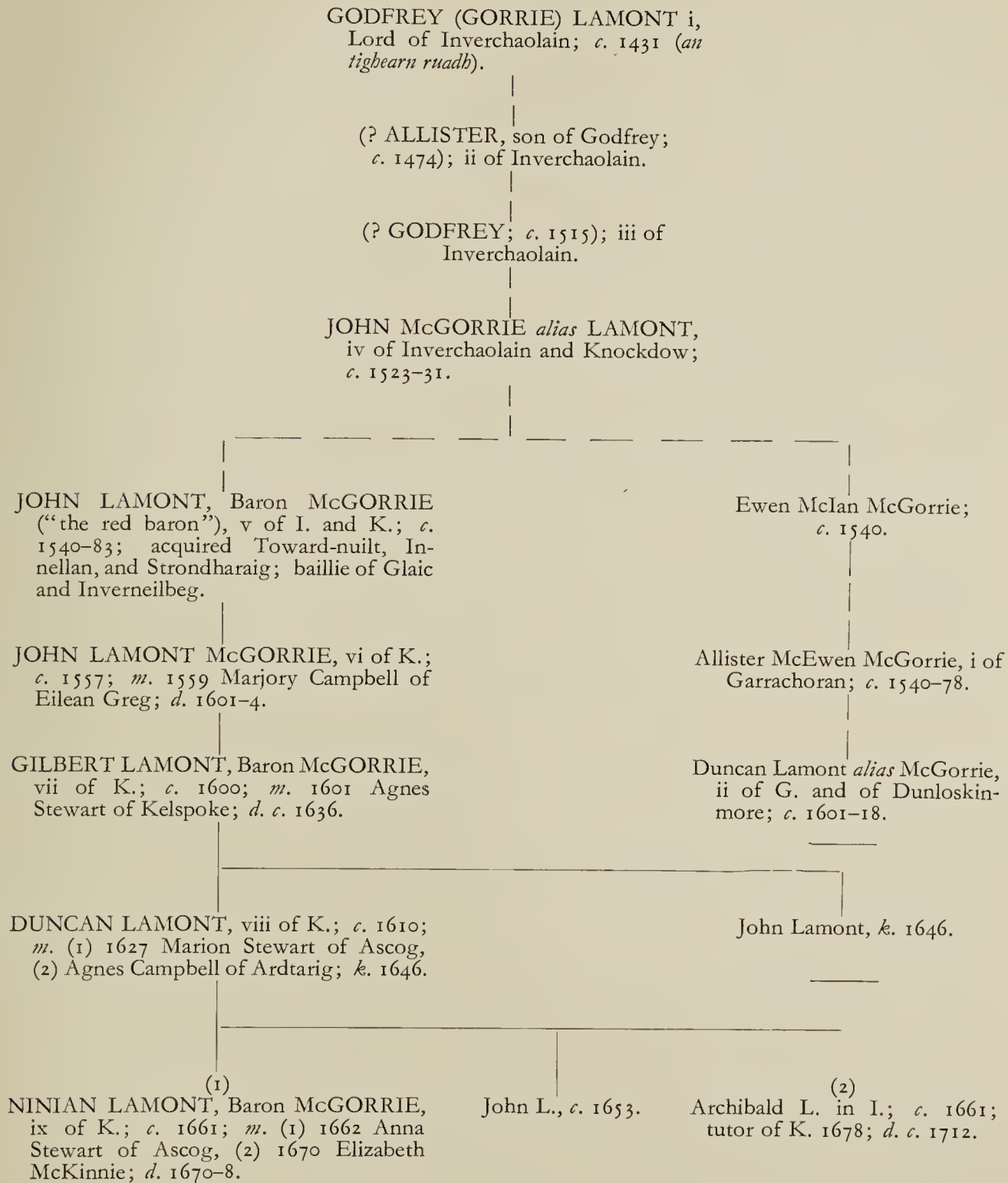
Campbell blood was at John iv in 1531, when he was credited with "the takyn of Neill *Bridocht* and the slauchtir of his men and company with hym at the Row of Ardlamont, quhilk wes tane and slane be the said Johne and his complices." Matters were arranged as usual between the chiefs, and MacCailein (whose sister was lady of JOHN X) came to Toward, where he forgave his "servant" Knockdow for the injury, and declared that his kin should not vex or trouble the baron's either "in law or by law," that is in court or field. Campbell tartan on the *Rudha* had been too much for John as he passed in his birlinn, and so it seems just before had been lowland long-coats for his kin, as a Duncan Magorry had also pardon for art and part of the slaughter of umquhile Robert Bissart.⁷ Their first title, which should probably be dated 1540, is to John Lawmont McGorre v, like the eponymus a red baron.⁸ He allowed that he held his 6 merk lands of Sir JOHN X and was probably a son of John iv. Being a new grant (not a renewal to an heir of an old one), and without clause of return to the chiefs, it suggests that the latter had only now established their superiority for the first time. If so the McGorries of Knockdow, like the other Lamont barons McSorley of Monydrain and McPhadrick of Killellan and Coustoun, would be originally Crown vassals (as were for certain the "barons" of Bute). Now that the chiefs were leaving Inveryne for Toward they had cause to tighten their grip on these cadets. John v thus figures as attorney for Sir JOHN in 1557, and as his witness at Toward in 1564.⁹

But the chief was not sole feudal overlord of his kinsman, for some

months before the red baron had from MacCailein a feu of more acres, the 4 merks of Innellan and the 3 of Toward-nuilt (*alias* Toward Altdarroch, that is Toward of the wood or the oak burn). This last had been wadset to the chief, but was soon kened as "Toward McGorrie." Failing lawful heirs male of John's body these same lands were destined to the heirs male of one "Ewen Makane Makgorre," probably a deceased brother of John v (Makane being MacIan, or son of John). Ewen was progenitor of the Lamonts of Garrachoran in Glen Lean (see pedigree on p. 421).¹⁰ Now Argyll's father had already feued Innellan to one McKessaig, for the Campbells were always kittle. But the baron *ruadh* seized possession, on the view that the right is as it is kept, and for twenty years he had the best of it. His stock was 60 head of cattle, 24 for dairy purposes, with 30 milking ewes and 6 each of stud mares and "wark horsis." From 32 bolls of seed oats, even when manured with sea ware, only a crop of three times that weight was to hand (compared with ten times at the present day).¹¹

Looking to his position in general John v might well claim to have laid the foundation of his family's prosperity in times to come. Forbye his own 13 merks he had a temporary wadset from the chief of the 4 merks of the Brackleys, noted both for badgers and for timber, and of Kilmarnock. His was the third in size among the Lamont lairdships, first place being taken by Ascog, and second by Ardlamont till its passing and then by Silvercraigs. But in independence he was foremost, as only holding half his lands from the chief. Though put out of Innellan about the Reformation, by the Campbells of Dunoon, he made up his loss by other gains.¹² MacCailein in compensation made him baillie of his Toward-nuilt and of the old coroner's lands of Inverneilbeg and Glaic by Coustoun, with powers of justice. He acquired from the bishop and chapter, upon easy terms, a dwelling in Dunoon, the sasine on which was witnessed by the reformer John Knox. This was on the fashionable ferry brae, where Ballochyle's is still to the fore, below the present mansion of Milton. Another and more valuable feu, this time from the chief, was the 4 merk lands of Strondharaig, so-called from the cleft or notch that is so prominent a feature of the height. Perhaps he built the water mill of Inverchaolain, depicted in Pont's map of 1600. So, besides his town house and his wadset, he had always 10 merks on Loch Striven and 3 on the Firth, all which and more are still in the hands of the present laird.¹³

Even before the Reformation kirk and castle had their tiffs at Inverchaolain. On the 11th of August 1549 was instituted a new vicar, of the lowland family of Maxwell, by delivery of book, chalice, and eucharist



(See p. 429 below.)

in presence of the whole parishioners. Their spokesman was "Jon Lawmont, baron of Makgorre," with his namesake ii of Ascog and two others of the tartan, one a chaplain. The incomer was insisting, under pain of cursing, upon the letter of his "wykyrrecht," or vicar's rights, when John protested that he should not have them till "he mendit his part of the kyrk & vestementtis," to which a suitable answer was returned. Thereafter one jalouses red baron and white priest drank from the same horn and went their ways. When John acquired Strondharaig at the Reformation the minister was left only a glebe and the pasturage of eight cows, the expense of herding which exceeded the value of the grazing. So the laird was the gainer over all.¹⁴

Canon law was again given the go-by in 1559 when John, son and heir of John v, was betrothed to Marjory Campbell of Eilean Greg in the Kyles notwithstanding an "impediment of consanguinity." As they had just had MacCailein in person invest the young man and his *lawful* heirs in Toward-nuilt, it was wise to have his sanction to the marriage. Thus arose the by-ordinary "obligatioun be the Erll of Argyll to manteyne as lachfull the barnis of Jhone Lawmont and Marjory Campbell," which reads so strangely to those used to the saying *is tiughaid' am brat a dhùbladh* ("the mantle is the thicker of being doubled"). His Lordship bound himself that "geif (they) contrakkis the band of matrimonii accordyng to the command and law of God," that is in accord with Presbyterian standards, "in face of haly kirk," so called perhaps for the first time, "wythout ane dispensatioun," then neither "we nor nane in our name sall pershew nor follow the procreatioune and barnis that God provydis to be gottin of their bodeis as bastardis," but shall on the contrary defend them as legitimate. The Lamont part of the estate was destined simply to heirs and successors, which was repeated with a limitation to heirs male in a new grant, separating Inverchaolain and Knockdow for the first time, taken for safety in 1560.¹⁵

John v could not sign and had no seal, but he was red haired, and with his son in winter of 1573 he essayed the slaughter of DUNCAN XI—for whom the young laird had been surety and by whom the old laird had been termed a "beloved kinsman." The tradition of the ploy and the evidence for it are given above. One believes it is true enough, but if the baron so nearly succeeded as to cleave the tail of the chief's mount at the yetts of Toward it is strange that he avoided obtaining a remission. "Hag-butts" are plainly an exaggeration for bows-and-arrows, but it was understatement that the parts were rude, the people perverse and too easily moved to turbulence. That MacCailein incited is likely enough, and would explain DUNCAN's wish to proceed for

forfeiture of the lands at Dumbarton, not Dunoon. Probably, however, the prize offered by Argyll was Innellan and not Toward-nuilt. If the baron lost his life interest as penalty John *og* had the fee, and the father lingered on at the *cnoc dubb* by the loch-side for ten years at the least.¹⁶

Little is known of John Lamont McGorre vi from his appearance in 1557, two years before his marriage, to his death between 1601 and 1604. That he was a "carnal" son does not stamp him as a bastard, as other evidence proves his legitimacy (as it does in the case of his contemporary Archibald ii of Silvercraigs, who was a "liberal" son of his father). John vi was styled "apparent heir," and MacCailein received him in Innellan and Toward-nuilt under a destination to *lawful* heirs male of John v. He made a last effort to retain Innellan, but failed, and he died without learning his letters. He was maybe the father of Moir Nein Gorrie, married to Allister McSorley in Drum, with whom that same Silvercraigs fostered his son Robert iii in 1606.¹⁷

One must now turn to the short-lived stock of Garrachoran, appearing in 1578 in the person of Allister McGorrie *alias* Lamont. He is naturally identified with the Allister McEwen McGorrie Lamont who was acting in the family interest in 1540 and 1560, and was doubtless son and heir of the Ewen McLan McGorrie who was probably a brother of John v. Garrachoran, to-day a sheep farm used for research by Aberdeen University, marches with Leacan-nan-gall, and lies in Glen Lean by Clachaig, where are the disused powder works. It would be reached by the *Bealach na Sreine*, and was a poor 1 merk land not to be confused with the 5 merk lands of Garrachra at Glen Massan head.¹⁸ Allister i had given way by 1601 to Duncan ii, probably his son, who acquired the 2½ merks of Dunloskinmore, near the bonny Loch Loskin so well known to Cowal's visitors. Debt seems to have forced a sale of both properties in 1618, and so ended as a territorial family the McGorrie Lamonts of Garrachoran.¹⁹

Gilbert Lamont, Baron McGorrie, vii of Knockdow, as apparent thereof witnessed the sasine of the chief apparent (Sir JAMES XIV to be) at Inveryne in 1600, and next year was married in Rothesay to Agnes, sister of James Stewart of Kelspoke (to the north of Dunagoil in south Bute), a cadet of the Bute family. They settled in Strondharaig, which was rented at £133 subject to the minister's 8 cows, while his parents still enjoyed the liferent of the lave of the estate. By 1604 he was laird of all, and made up title to the town house in Dunoon in name of Duncan his eldest son.²⁰ In 1629 Toward-nuilt, to which he next entered, was returned as worth £265 a year, and the 10 merk lands on Loch Striven at £405, together £670. His was third Lamont lairdship, bettered only by

Silvercraigs (£1480) and Ascog (£1270). One gathers that neither Inverchaolain nor Knockdow yielded much of a seed crop, but were given over to black cattle and to horses, pastured doubtless on the *Cruach nan Capull*, or mares' hill. In the main Gilbert seems to have been law-abiding, though he spuilzied two kids from a woman in Achavoulin and withheld his stipend.²¹ He is last heard of alive in 1636, but was gone by 1641.²²

His son succeeded as Duncan Lamont viii of Knockdow, but does not seem to have used the patronymic of McGorrie, unlike his forebears and two namesakes of the time. These were his cousin Duncan Lamont *alias* McGorrie ii of Garrachoran and Dunloskinmore, and a Duncan Lamont *alias* McGorrie, by-named *giar* or shrewd, in Garvalt by Castle Lachlan, which was still in Kilfinan parish till 1642. In that year the Synod, "considering that Innerchelan and Kilmory in Stra are thritteine myles of evill and montanouse way distant . . . thought it necessarrie that these twa be disunited, and the kirk of Innerchelan be provyded with a minister by itselfe severally." Duncan went whiles to kirk meetings as far even as Campbeltown—50 miles forbye a ferry. First heard of in 1610 the young man married in 1627 in Rothesay, Marion, daughter of John Stewart of Ascog-Bute, an M.P. and sib to the sheriff, who brought him a tocher of £1000. Perhaps she taught him to guide a pen, which was more than his father could do. Their son was called Ninian, an old Stewart name. But later in life he lost this lowland influence when he married as his second wife Agnes, daughter of John Campbell of Ardtarig on Loch Striven, by whom he had an Archibald. He had also a John by what wife is un-kenned.²³

Duncan viii was first of the cadets to assist Sir JAMES's preparations for the wars by standing surety in some thousands of pounds in 1635, and by borrowing some hundreds on his own in 1644. In view of the past and of their end at Dunoon he and brother John must have wielded the claymore to some purpose upon the Diarmaids—Conan's curse on them.²⁴ A Gorrie Lamont, killed at Coustoun in the spring of 1646 by Eilean Greg and his folks, was surely in their tail. But they and the lave rallied to their chief in Toward and stood siege in the castle. On capitulation Knockdow and the aged Auchinshelloch were the only lairds boated to Dunoon for execution, and he and John soon found a withy about their windpipes. By their side was hanged Duncan *giar* Lamont in Kilmarnock—probably the shrewd Duncan from Garvalt unwisely come home—with his sons Gorrie and John, marked men for their sortie on McGibbon's ky.²⁵ Duncan viii had three sons at the least, and the eldest, so says tradition, being yet a child was entrusted to an English officer staying at Knockdow and kept hidden in a cave near Ormidale till danger was past.

That same would be Ninian Lamont, future Baron McGorrie and ix of Knockdow, who does not figure in record till the Restoration. The estates, including the shieling Leacan-nan-gall, were possessed by Campbell of Ardtarig, Duncan's father-in-law, who was treated as owner till 1660 and would see to the welfare of young Archibald. Ninian went doubtless to his mother's old home in Bute, but never even learned to write such were the times. Their brother John was at Inens in the Kyles in 1653, but some of the tartan remained on the ground for there is mention of a Gorrie Lamont in Knockdow in 1649.²⁶

They were under a cloud till February of 1661, when Ninian granted bond in Glasgow for £314 as the "pryce of certaine sufficient merchand waires bought & received." This would be his outfit for his marriage to cousin Anna, only daughter of uncle Ninian Stewart of Ascog, which took place about then. Thus the mantle was twice doubled in a century. Their sons, John and James, alike destined to succeed in their turn, were born in 1663 and 1664. By this time the baron would be installed on his own heather, but as like as not Inverchaolain now became the home of the family, while Knockdow, perhaps in ruins, was made over to Archibald, who first appears in Rothesay with Dame Barbara, Lady Lamont, in the spring of 1661.²⁷ Creditors were to the fore and Ninian entered to the estates twice over for technical reasons, first as heir of his grandfather Gilbert vii, who was solvent, and then as heir to his father Duncan viii, who had incurred the war debts, passing on the fee to his son John. Thus the Knockdow family survived their troubles without suffering unduly in lives or goods, to the grief of the Campbells who had sworn by the black stones they should perish. Their lairdship remained third in point of size, as while Ascog had fallen from its old position the new house of Stillaig had arisen in its place. Till their extinction in 1700 the cadets of Silvercraigs were the foremost.²⁸

In spring 1670 Ninian married again, his second wife being Elizabeth McKinnie, probably one of the McKinnies or McKenzies of Blairbeg beside Blairmore. There is no record of issue, but maybe they had a son. In eight years the baron was dead, for when the Diarmaid baillie of Dunoon held court in summer of 1678 "Archball Lamont tutor of Knockdow, in name of John Lamont his peuble (*i.e.* pupil), compeared and entered sute and presence in the said court" in respect of Toward-nuilt. In that same John McGorrie *alias* Lamont, Baron McGorrie x of Knockdow, took sasine as heir to his great-great-grandfather John vi, none intervening having entered at Inveraray.²⁹ As Argyll had bought up the superiority of Strondharaig John x (as John vi) held more lands of Mac-Caillein than of Lamont. When a minor he deserted uncle Archibald,

chose Stewart of Ascog as his curator, and borrowed £1300 from him on the security of Toward. But tutor and curator would have to combine to raise the company of 49 which the baron mustered to help Ardkinglas suppress the McLeans of Mull in the winter of 1679.³⁰ Four years after he made up a title to the town house in Dunoon, which his father had neglected, and though he does not seem to have drawn a claymore against Argyll's invasion he signed the usual bonds for good behaviour. His home was at Inverchaolain with an Archibald and a John Lamont, presumably his uncles, and the names of some McIlwies or Blacks of the time in Knockdow and Strondharaig are preserved. Like other *duine nassail* he showed his titles at Inveraray in harvest of 1687, but his rental is lost. By next summer he was gone, unmarried it seems and but 25, and was succeeded by his brother hitherto unrecorded. Maybe his is the nameless slab in the family lairs at Inverchaolain.³¹

James Lamont or McGorrie, xith baron of Knockdow from 1688 to 1739, was unstable at the outset, being in trouble in 1691 with both kirk and fiscal. One Elspeth Campbell was reported in the summer to the minister of Rothesay as being with child, but if she went to the burn, as the saying is, it was not with the dish clout. "Called and compeared (she) confest fornication with Baron McGorie, but says the sin was committed in the paroch of Innercholen." If the infant survived it may have descendants alive to-day. Then in November at Inveraray MacCailein's justice "ffyned and unlawed John McArthur in Dunoon ffifty pund Scots for striking of James Lamont of Knockdow with his staff on last Lady's day fair [25th March] at ane publict mercat . . . item James Lamont of Knockdow in ffifty pund money foresaid for striking" two of the McArthurs "with his staff and drawing his sword at the tyme foresaid." So the claymore of the red barons was not rusting though its use in public, at kirk or market, was no longer allowed. Soon after the two tartans foregathered at Loch Striven head, obviously over a gill of whisky in the change house, and agreed as to the grinding of corn at the McArthur mill in Dunoon.³²

Unlike his forebears the xith baron did not live in isolation, but took part in affairs with his Diarmaid neighbour of Innellan. Their estates were ranked together for the militia, and Knockdow was an overseer. They settled the poll tax roll for Inverchaolain, though meeting most often at Dunoon at courts held by Innellan, as baron baillie for the Captain, at which James would appear for Toward-nuilt. His tenants were often in trouble as, for instance, an Archibald McLugas fined quaintly enough for "polling six or seaveine horses belonging to" McArthur, "cutting and away takeing of the hair therof, and James Lamont of Knockdow his

cautioner." A visitation of the presbytery to Inverchaolain in the summer of 1703 found no endowment for letters, but "the people kept up schools in severall corners of the paroch and especially in the winter season." At the turn of the century DUGALD XVI entered James xi in the Lamont part of the lairdship, which was converted into a feu for a money payment of £12 a year.³³

A witness to this transaction was John McCloy or Fullerton, minister of Kilmodan, and afterwards bishop of Edinburgh and primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Kenned as *an t' Easbuig MacLuaidh*, he was the last to live in the old castle of Auchenbreck in Glendaruel, and bought the kernel of that estate renaming it Greenhall. Near this time James married his second daughter Jean, and thenceforth the mitre seems to have ruled in family councils rather than the buckler. Another witness was an Archibald Lamont in Strondharaig, probably the old tutor who fell soon upon hard times, for in December 1703 "Archibald Lamont, uncle to the Baron McGorrie" was "indigent" in Rothesay, as was Elspeth Campbell a little later.³⁴ James, it seems, was unmindful of old friends. In 1712, however, the tutor was at Inverchaolain just man, and in his dotage. There is no word of any issue of his, for he was not the Archibald Lamont in the croft of *Tigh-na-crich* of Achafour, who survived at least till 1722 and left a family which can be traced in the Knockdow Charters for generations and is still to the fore to this day.³⁵

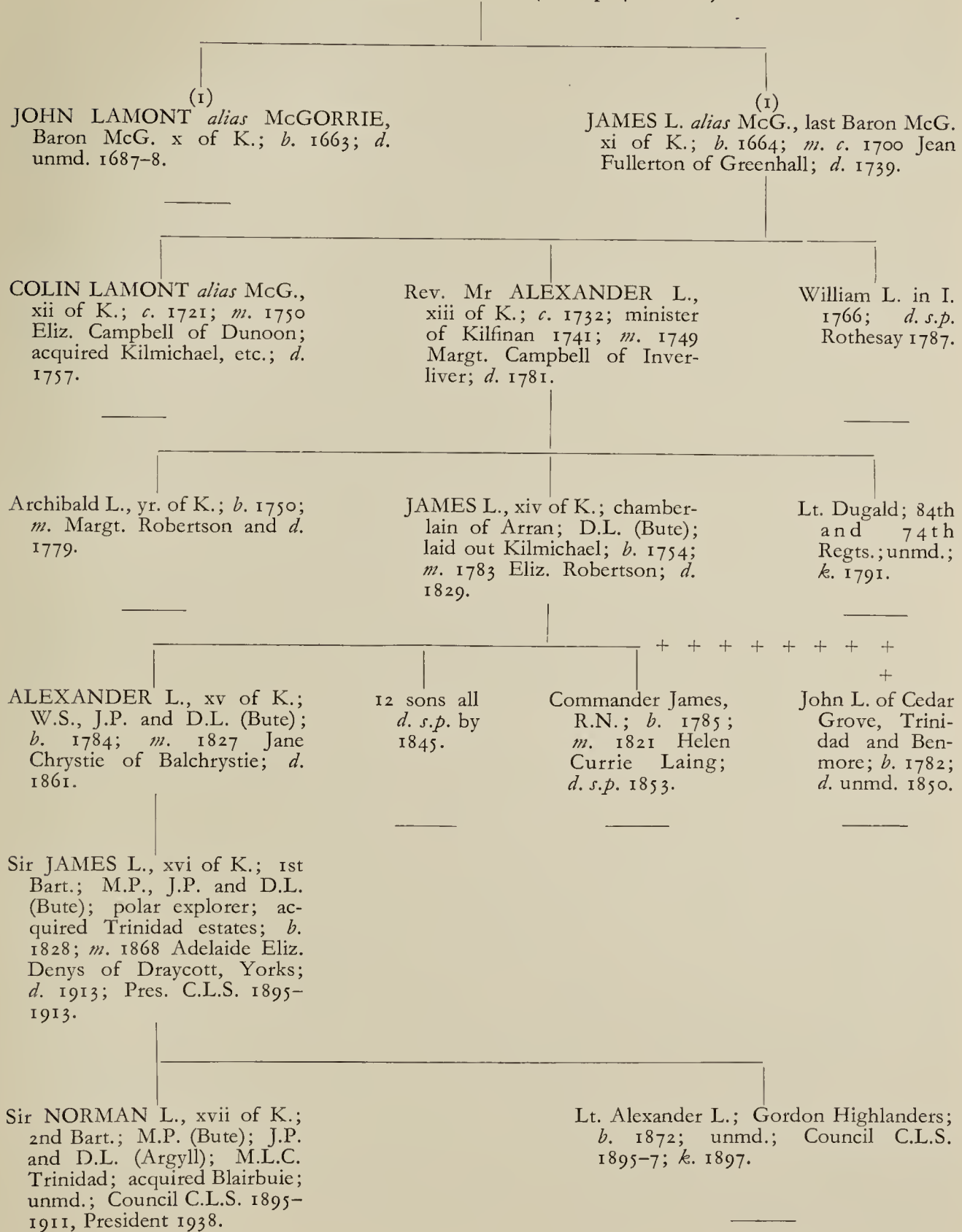
From summer of 1704 James xi was a Commissioner of Supply for his county, and was often at Inveraray, 20 miles in the stirrups with the ferry forbye at St Catherine's. There he would meet MacCailein, in whose court he was a juror, though not till 1711 did he enter to Strondharaig and Toward-nuilt.³⁶ He had the largest lairdship of any cadet, and Coll, founder of the second family of Monydrain, called him as an heir of entail in a destination to Lingartan in Glassary. In an order by his colleagues in 1710 for "helping the highwayes" it was bidden that "Sr. Neill Campbell of Ellangreg, Mr John Fullertoun of Greenhall, Knockdow and others heritors upon Lochstrynsyd help the way upon both syds of Loch Stryne," which to-day has vanished if it ever existed, and that "Lamont, Kilmichell and the Capt. of Donoon help the way betwixt Dalinlongart and the kirk of Inverchailen" (presumably by the *Bealach na Sréine*), "and betwixt Dunoon and the Captain's house" (at Innellan along the shore). Thence to Toward and so on to Knockdow was no route but the Firth, by gabbart or birlinn with oars beating to *iorram*. The baron foregathered with DUGALD XVI and the rest in the tolbooth at Inveraray on the 11th of August 1715 when Argyll asked their aid for the government against the wilder tartans under the *bratach* of the Old Chevalier.³⁷

Of the family at Inverchaolain a daughter, Margaret, married young Maclachlan of the Inens in the Kyles in 1719. The heir, Colin, went to college at Glasgow two years after, as did his brother Alexander in 1732. Both succeeded in their turn to the lairdship. The third son was a William, and there were other daughters, Helen, Isobel, and Mary—new names in a home now less Celtic in outlook. James had dealings with his wife's folk and a wadset of half Stillaigmore and Ard a Chapuill (on Lochs Striven and Riddon). He was fined in 1733 for neglect of the highways, but one jalouses he would aid in building the manse three years after, although the minister was then "complaining loudly of arbitrary interruption and oppression" in the 8 cows' grass on Strondharaig. In harvest of 1739 the last baron made his last ferry, at 75, Jean Fullerton surviving till 1756. They are commemorated by the earliest legible tombstone at their kirk door dedicated by Alexander in the years to come.³⁸

Colin xii of Knockdow (1739-57) was a "McGorrie" only in terms of the title to the Argyll section of the estate, and never a "baron," nor were any of his successors. In the '45 he, Melvill of Kilmichael, and the Captain of Dunoon, bore the biggest share of the militia levy in that airt, but there is no word of their mustering and they were busy renewing the kirk of Inverchaolain. The Melvills, incomers from Edinburgh, had 15 merk lands as against Lamont's 13 (Knockdow, Inverchaolin, Strondharaig, and Toward-nuilt), with a sterling rental of £88 net compared with £64, but not for long. As merchant burgesses they had bought from MacCailein in 1701 for £1000 of that money, and spent much in improvements.³⁹ But from 1734 they had a plea with ARCHIBALD XVII and lost to him Achafour though not Kilmichael. Their author Argyll was liable for his share of the loss, but they had to borrow £1155 sterling. Colin lent it in summer of 1748, and in five years it was all by with the long-coats for he had bought them out for £1916. Forbye the 8 merks of Kilmichael, better than any on the loch and formerly the chief's, the 4 merks of Brackleys and Kilmarnock, anciently wadset to John v, were now in the lairdship for good and its value more than doubled. It was a day of days when the clan came into its own again, though MacCailein was to keep the superiority.⁴⁰

That the house of Knockdow was thus able to swell its patrimony, when the other cadets of the tartan were either bankrupt or extinct, was a feather in its bonnet indeed. This is the crisis in their story, as marking the realisation that the future of husbandry lay in arable farming. One teat was no longer reckoned above a quarter of oats. It was the start of a land boom, and the medieval barons gave way to the modern agriculturists. How the price was come by is a mystery,

NINIAN LAMONT, ix of K. (as on p. 421 above).



Note: last pedigree on p. 421.

for it was not by loan, but for certain it was the doing of the whole family. Rents were, of course, paid now in cash not in kind; Colin had perhaps had good luck with his cattle; and Mr Alexander had been presented in 1741 to the kirk of Kilfinan with a good stipend. Thus first appears that business instinct which has been the mainstay of the family in its later days. Strange it is that the cadets once most impetuous of any now became most level headed, and that those who had once red blood on their hands had now but red gold.⁴¹ Tochers maybe aided in the purchase, for the minister was married in the fall of 1749 to Margaret Campbell of Inverliver, ayont Loch Awe, and Colin next year to Elizabeth daughter of the Captain of Dunoon.⁴² ARCHIBALD XVII was witness to the second contract, and was to arrange a lease of teinds for his cadet. A son and heir, James, was born in 1755, but did not survive his father who died alas in 1757 in his prime, followed to the grave by a posthumous son Colin *og*. As the new laird had to live in Kerry, Inverchaolain was deserted for a while and in a way for always, save for the widow and three daughters, Lilly, Jean, and Agnes, and for brother William. By 1751 his sister Helen had married a George Black, merchant and former baillie of Glasgow, who was doubtless of the tartan.⁴³

One kens a little of the country in 1750 from a description by the minister of Inverchaolain, a worthy who "obstinately insisted upon building a change house at the kirkstyle with a view no doubt of making himself convenient at (Colin's) expense, but after all his endeavours he was at last oblig'd to give up his favourite and uncommon plan" to run a rival to the laird's ale-house. The parish, according to this person, was above 8 miles in length and about 7 broad, "altogether a mountaneous country" with "a coast of 20 miles upon which upwards of six parts or seven of the parishioners dwell. The rest live in glens, some to the south-east, east, north-east, north, and north-west, distant to between 2 and 7 miles and separate from the church by right high mountains. The examinable persons" or communicants, to whom the catechism was expounded, were about 660 and the whole population 944. Eighty-six substantial tenants paid a stipend of £49 sterling, whereas in Kilfinan Mr Alexander had £54 with a congregation double in size. Most of the manse fuel was coal "sometimes from the shire of Air, sometimes from Clydesdale," and so doubtless at the mansion till taxation rendered its use prohibitive. From kirk to kirk the distances were from Kilmodan by the loch side 7 miles, and from Kilmun "by the horse road" over the *Bealach* 9. Inveraray was some 20 miles away, and Edinburgh thrice as far, with in each case "a considerable fferry" at St Catherine's or Dunoon.⁴⁴

The hillsides supported hundreds of black cattle and of horses, and their tending was the trade of a Colin Lamont, sib to the laird and tacksman of Invervegain farther up the loch. When *Tearlach og* had all Scotland in a ferment he was married to a Mary McGlashan from Strachur, and they had a son Duncan. "At the close of autumn 1753," so runs the tradition of his great-grandson, "he gathered his suitable cattle and sheep together, and set out for the Falkirk tryst [a well-known cattle fair] to dispose of them there. In this he was not successful, and learning that prices were better across the border, he drove his flocks to Carlisle, where he sold them to good account, and dismissed his servants, keeping with him only one old shepherd. He remained a day or two in Carlisle to complete his business transactions, and was there suddenly struck down by the plague then raging in the district. Whenever his malady declared itself, which it did very rapidly, the people with whom he lodged, somewhere near the market place, immediately fled from the house, and left the sick man to the care of the old shepherd, who knew as much of leechcraft as he did of English, which was nothing whatever. His master died on the second day, and in accordance with the stringent regulations of the city authorities, he was interred the same evening in the Strangers' Acre in the corner of the Close of the Cathedral. His goods were put under seal, and, following the tradition, were confiscated. After vainly attempting to recover the money his master had at his death, the old shepherd, without a word of English in his mouth, or a shilling in his purse, was forced to beg and work his way on foot, in the heart of winter from Carlisle to (Cowal), to tell the wretched wife that she was a widow and entirely penniless." Being "quite unable to hold the farm of Invervegain . . . she repaired to her relatives at Strathcur-mohr," and there was born her last child Colin on St Patrick's Day (16th March) of 1754. "When he was about twelve years of age his uncle, the minister of Kilfinan, took charge of him," and had him educated with his own sons. If this kinship is exact, which is doubtful, Colin tacksman of Invervegain must have been a son of James xi (and perhaps of Elspeth Campbell). It may be, however, that this Colin's father was a son of Ninian ix by Elizabeth McKinnie, and if so his heir male (if extant) would be now the heir male of Knockdow, for the main line as it happens cannot provide its own.⁴⁵

The Reverend Mr Alexander, xiii of Knockdow (from 1757 to 1781), was never a McGorrie but always a Lamont. At his brother's passing he had been settled in Kilfinan for sixteen years, though as the Session records are lost little is known of his life there. He must have been often at Ardlamont renewing the old bond with the chiefs which had

loosened a little maybe since they settled in Kerry at the leaving of Toward. £54 sterling was his stipend, mainly in meal, with a glebe, two cows' grass in the dale, and the right to put two cows and a horse on "the mountain" (which he let for 40 merks, sending his cows to the pastures and shielings with the cattle of the "town"). Margaret Campbell had four sons to him: Archibald, the heir, in 1750; Colin, who died young, in 1752; James, afterwards xiv of Knockdow, two years later; and in 1762 Dugald, first regular soldier of the family. Of the daughters Jean died, and of Ann and Helen hereafter. Archibald went to the college of Glasgow at sixteen, while James and "cousin" Colin from Invervegain had their letters at Rothesay. Brother William was at Inverchaolain. Many a time must they have roved in their birlinn by "the green salt swinging Kyles."⁴⁶

Time went by the door at Kilfinan till in 1766 he and his "Reverend dear brother" at Inverchaolain were displaying the proverbial highland friendship of the clergy (*càirdeas na cléire—sgrìobadh 'us sgròbadh a chéile*). "You have been obliging enough in the course of correspondence," wrote Knockdow to his colleague, "to call me a tyrant, an oppressor, a dissembler, & to crown all a pirate. If you think to frighten me out of my property by your uncommon scurrility and abuse you are highly mistaken. I am resolv'd that you shall not keep either a horse, a stirk, or a calf upon Stroneyerraig more than I am burdened with, and I hope you must either make my charter or use & wont the rule."⁴⁷ In fact he had no charter, but was soon served as heir to Colin xii in 1769, and made up a separate title to each third of the estate. With JOHN XVIII he agreed to arbitration as to the march in Glen Fyne, and it was fixed with cairns by the Altahurine burn, and some servitudes declared.⁴⁸

Of his brothers and sisters Mary and William (to whom he was indebted) set up house together in Rothesay before 1781, when Isobel was dead and Helen in Glasgow.⁴⁹ Archibald, the heir, was apprenticed to the law in Edinburgh and in 1774 married Margaret Robertson, his master's daughter at the old kirk in that city. But, more's the pity, within six weeks he was laid in the Greyfriars' churchyard "*in aetatis flore abreptus*," where is still to the fore the memorial which "*pater et vidua moerentes posuere*." At Knockdow are miniatures of his winsome widow and her second husband, Alexander Chrystie of Balchrystie in Fife, and a portrait of her pawky wizened father as an oldster.⁵⁰

In 1778 an assistant and successor was appointed at Kilfinan, and the Rev. Mr Alexander, now valetudinary, retired to the mansion of Inverchaolain, such as it was, and entailed his estates, thereby anticipating JOHN XVIII by a generation. He called first his sons and brother,



JAMES, XIV OF KNOCKDOW, 1754-1829

then his daughters Ann, wife of Humphrey Colquhoun a Glasgow merchant, and Helen Mrs Black, and his niece Jean (daughter of Colin xii), with the heirs of their bodies. But he gave the go-by to the chief, making as last heir "Colin Lamont, student of divinity in Rothesay" and tutor there, who had been recently schoolmaster at Inverchaolain at £7 sterling a year.⁵¹ To his "uncle's" grief he discarded divinity at Glasgow for mathematics, a diversion encouraged by Jean's husband, John Young, the namely professor of Greek, kenned as "Cocky Bung" (who later died taking a bath in the George Inn). After Knockdow's death in May of 1781 the student was appointed "to be Master of the Writing, Arithmetic, Geographical and Mathematical School of Greenock," then at the Royal Close at the extreme east end of the new parish, during the town council's pleasure, for the scholars' wages and an annual "present" from the burgh.⁵²

Meanwhile widowed Margaret Campbell was enjoying Inverchaolain with its garden, till in 1787 she took Dugald and her daughters beyond the bounds of the presbytery. James, xiv of Knockdow (from 1781 to 1829), had few associations with the old home and seems to have settled at Kilmichael, with its pendicles Dalchrunchoch and Coulmore, names long since obsolete, and Gortanansaig now the home farm. In the last of these a natural son John was born to him in 1782, the mother being "a person of inferior station." The unwanted child was destined to acquire a fortune and estates in Trinidad, by which the family was much enriched. Next year James was married to Elizabeth Robertson, a younger sister of his brother Archibald's widow, and daughter of the Edinburgh lawyer. He settled to the study of agriculture, was soon namely for it, and joined the Highland Society in 1791. The Melvills had limed the ground, but it was still in need of "labouring or tillage," and when the laird himself took a hand it was vastly improved. As land had recently risen to $4\frac{1}{2}$ times its former value, and burdens were then low, Knockdow could afford to experiment, and he brought to that airt the rotation of crops and the winter feeding of cattle.⁵³

The *Old Statistical Account* remarks in 1793 that "the only person in this parish, who has paid particular attention to farming, is James Lamont, Esq., of Knockdow, a gentleman of considerable landed property; who, under many disadvantages of climate and soil, raises green crops, equal to any in the west of Scotland. He manures his ground strongly, sometimes with lime, and at other times with a mixture of lime and earth, as it suits his land. His returns of bear are from 8 to 10 bolls a [Scots] acre; and of oats from 6 to 8," being twice the normal of the time (and equal now to 46.8 and 36.4 bushels), never bettered

to this day. "He has practised, with success, what was never known before in this country, however frequent in the southern parts of Scotland, —the plan of feeding sheep on turnips in the fields. In this manner, the sheep are fattened with little trouble, the land manured, and the necessity of summer fallow precluded.—The farmers, in his immediate neighbourhood, are so sensible of his superior mode of cultivation, that they have (with great advantage to themselves) adopted it on a small scale; and it is hoped, in due time, his example will have more general influence over all this country." ⁵⁴

In 1801 the Duke of Hamilton appointed him at a salary of £350 sterling chamberlain of the Isle of Arran, whose hill crests he saw above the bay of Rothesay from his door at Kilmichael. This shows that he had knowledge of sheep farming, for there is as little arable in Arran as in Cowal. The replacement of black cattle and horses by sheep had marked results, according to the minister of Inverchaolain. The hills became greener in colour, as grass encroached on heather, and the people dwindled by a half, as want of employment sent them to the towns of Rothesay, Greenock, and Glasgow. "The more approved style of agriculture" was tending in the same direction. On an average there were but four couples married in the parish in a year, and a dozen children born. All those who went to school were able to speak English. Such folk as there were engaged in herring fishing and in felling timber, in both of which they were bien, but even at this early date some were catering for holiday-makers. An advertisement in the press of 4th May 1786 is as follows:—"Salt water quarters to let at the point of Toward, opposite to the Old Kirk [of Inverkip in Renfrewshire]. Two rooms and a kitchen furnished, most conveniently situated for sea bathing. Great variety of fish to be got near the house, and a regular communication with Greenock by the Rothesay post boat three times a week." ⁵⁵

The falling birth-rate was no fault of James or of his lady, for they had a fortune of fourteen sons and a daughter, and may well have felt they had assured descendants till crack of doom. But as it happened only one had a child at all, the eldest, Alexander, born in 1784 and destined for an Edinburgh education and lawyer's office. John Robertson, a year his junior, went into the Navy, and saw active service in the *Leda* operating out of Dungeness Roads from June of 1803. In July of next year he fell off Boulogne in a cutter with a party of volunteers, while reconnoitring the French flotilla intended by Napoleon for the invasion of England. His copy of the log, completed till two days before his death, is to the fore at Knockdow. James *og* or younger, chose the same career, but he survived the whole Napoleonic wars. The second of two Thomases (of

whom the first had died as an infant) trained for the army, and Archibald Chrystie Briggs (born 1790) served with the East India Company till buried at sea in 1807. Dugald came out as a military surgeon, and Norman as an officer of the 91st Argyllshire foot. The ninth son Boyden, so named from his mother's mother, followed in the footsteps of his natural brother John who had sailed for Trinidad in 1801-2. Margaret, the sole daughter, never married, though she lived till 1820 and her portrait by Graham Gilbert shows her as well favoured. Of Lorn and William one knows nothing. Bannatyne and Duncan came between these, and the last was Matthew born in 1802. Something will be said of the survivors later.⁵⁶

Of the oldsters James's uncle William died in 1787, and aunt Mary in 1793, although his mother lived till 1802 (when she and her daughter Ann, Mrs Colquhoun, both died). Brother Dugald, who began as an ensign in the 84th in America in 1780, became an original lieutenant of the 74th, with headquarters in Glasgow in 1787. He fell in 1791 in the assault on Kistnagherry, an engagement following on the capture of Bangalore from Tippoo Sahib by Cornwallis. Forbye the regimental monument in Mysore he is remembered by his portrait at Knockdow in pastel upon panel, which depicts him in the powdered wig and scarlet uniform of the period. The soldier has the same round face, long nose, and deep-set eyes as the laird, whose picture (plate 30) shows him as a man of refinement, although simply dressed, glancing over his high collar towards the hills of Arran, where he lived for more than a decade.⁵⁷

James soon became a Deputy Lieutenant of Bute, and was often called on to conduct the militia ballot for the island. Beyond the fact that he bided at Brodick Castle from 1801 to 1813 there is nothing known of his life as chamberlain. Perhaps his stay there had given him the notion of keeping greater state than any of his forebears. No sooner was he home, just man, than he began to enlarge the house and to lay out the policies, until the old Kilmichael was transformed into the new Knockdow, with the aid of £500 promised for the purpose by his father-in-law in his marriage contract. A plan of 1817 covers 44 acres, 10 of them woodland, and including a new garden by the burn now superseded. He could cock his bonnet at all in the proud highlands. He did not yet, however, renew the old bridge across the Ardyne water, destroyed in the flood of 1745, and the avenue beside it opened on to a highway leading westwards to Loch Striven, and so by the coast to the ford. The trees he planted, with but scanty vistas, still keep his memory green. Within the house his only relics are his portrait and some books in which he did not use an armorial plate. A Tory in politics he acquired the chief's superiority of the estate, and had thus a vote as a Crown vassal.⁵⁸ Apart from this he only added

slightly to his patrimony as by acquiring the *buaile-na-brataich* of his tartan. His public spirit was to the fore in 1811, when he gave site and stone and lime for the erection of the lighthouse upon Toward Point to guide West Indian sugar barques into the roads of Greenock.⁵⁹

In this trade John was meanwhile actively engaged. He had arrived in Trinidad at the age of 20 about 1801-2, and after serving an apprenticeship as overseer and manager soon set up as a planter on his own account. In 1809 he bought, along with a friend, the sugar estate of Cedar Grove in the quarter of South Naparima and the south-west of the island, which extended to 360 acres and had on it over 100 slaves. For a while he seems to have fallen out of touch with home, but he was not forgotten. In the winter of 1816 he received from Alexander a "truly fraternal letter," to which he replied as follows. "I often felt as if I were alone in the world—a consequent degree of melancholy has been my constant attendant from youth upwards; but the frank generous manner in which so many estimable brothers correspond with me, has given a new and much more pleasing turn to my feelings. . . . I am charmed with your description of the happy party assembled at Kilmichael. How delighted I should be to make one of the number."⁶⁰

Next year he was joined by his half-brother Boyden, who came out to learn the business and remained all his life. John bought for him the 320 acres of the adjoining Canaan with 70 slaves, and for himself the lave of Cedar Grove in 1819 for £28,750, or £160 an acre. Prosperity had come to him, and the sugar trade was booming. John rose in the militia to be adjoint commandant of North Naparima, and in 1820 challenged to a duel a brother officer, who had maybe remarked on his birth or conduct. For this he was fined, with others including his uncle Humphrey Colquhoun. His pistols are at Knockdow to this day. From 1823 to his death he was the commandant of South Naparima, an office comparable to that of Lord Lieutenant in this country.⁶¹

His first visit to Scotland was in 1828 when his father was ailing, but it was too late to see his half-brothers Duncan, Bannatyne, and Matthew. Bannatyne died first, an ensign in the 66th, on his passage to St Helena in 1816; then Duncan three years later and Matthew in Jamaica in 1825, while visiting Lieutenant Norman. The last had seen the close of the Peninsular War and earned a Waterloo medal. In 1821 he was sent to the West Indies, where he assisted in the capture of a "colossal sea devil" of which he wrote an account for London savants. It was "a species of the genus *Raia*" and "was vulgarly named after his sable Majesty." An elder brother, Major Thomas of the 49th, whose sword is on the stair at Knockdow, had been desperately wounded at the battle of Chrysler's Farm in

Canada in 1813, and died in 1829 on his way back from Bengal. His portrait shows a young man, debonair and side-whiskered, with his father's features but forbye with the long legal head of the Robertsons. James xiv died within a month or two leaving but £2309 of moveable estate after rearing his huge family.⁶²

Alexander, xv of Knockdow (from 1829 to 1861), was the new laird. Since 1812 he had been a writer to the signet and was now in the firm of Lamont & Newton and also in residence at 1 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh. Among his clients was the Duke of Queensberry. He had a notion for the highlands and as "Lamont, Knockdow, Esq., Edinburgh" subscribed to Turner's *Gaelic Songs* in 1813. As these were entirely in the Gaelic one jalouses that he had it. Soon after his succession he removed for good to 28 Royal Circus, his town house to the end, though, of course, he would be in summer at Kilmichael, as he still called it. In 1827 he married his cousin Jane, fourth daughter of Alexander Chrystie of Balchrystie near Colinsburgh in Fife, by whom he had a son, the late Sir James 1st baronet, and three daughters. They were an inseparable couple. He was on intimate terms with his chief, and was a trustee under the Will of General JOHN XIX and the first marriage settlement of ARCHIBALD JAMES XX.⁶³

Brother James's home was also in Edinburgh at this time. He had gone into the navy as a midshipman in 1798, had been next year at the evacuation of the Helder in the *Charon* of 44 guns, and in the *Hebe* on the Egyptian coast in 1801, for which he had the naval general service medal. In three years' time he was badly wounded in the Spanish war in the West Indies. In 1808 as a lieutenant he was shot through the lungs in boarding an enemy vessel in the Gulf of Mexico, and practically invalided from the service. He was a keen clansman and wore the kilt. His dirk and brooch are at Knockdow to-day. In 1821 he married Helen Currie, the daughter of Alexander Laing of Edinburgh, who died within a year, and in 1838 he retired on pension as a commander. Her portrait Raeburn painted, and it is now in America. Of the surviving brothers Dugald and Norman were still in the army, while Boyden was at work at Canaan. In 1839 their mother Elizabeth Robertson died at her house No. 20 Scotland Street in Edinburgh.⁶⁴

The scholar Colin was the only other kinsman on the male side. From his appointment in the memorable year of 1781, when Greenock lamps were first alowe, he is said (by his grandson) to have "laboured faithfully and efficiently in his office till the 24th of July 1827, when he retired on his full salary of £30." For all these years he had been "especially helpful in training to accuracy and knowledge the mates and captains

of Clyde ships, who in great numbers attended his private classes. By furnishing maps, charts, instruments, and especially chronometers, to sea-going ships, he greatly raised the professional standard of Clyde navigation. He used to remark, with pardonable pride, that he was the first man who put a chronometer on board a sea-going Clyde ship. His survey of the West of Scotland, undertaken in the enthusiasm of his devotion to science, was far beyond his powers of leisure or of fortune, but his observations and determination of latitude and longitude of a very numerous system of points all over our western coast, and their substantial agreement with those of the ordnance survey show with what care this darling project of his life had been prosecuted.”⁶⁵

Among the instruments which Colin purchased were the achromatic telescope, the planetarium, and the sextant, to the cost of which the town reluctantly contributed some £78. At his own charges he went to London for instruction in their use. “Thus provided, he was in a state,” remarks the first historian of Greenock, “for making actual observations, for explaining the lunar theory, and for emulating the Americans, who then frequented the port, and who boasted of their superior knowledge in these matters.” He initiated an observatory behind the Mid Parish Church for the reception of chronometers and other instruments. The survey was continued over six years, generally for six weeks at a time, and the government provided a revenue cruiser to assist, while the town defrayed his expenses to the extent of £50.⁶⁶

The astronomer’s wife was Jean, daughter of a Duncan Smith, ship carpenter, who bore him three sons and a daughter Jean. Colin junior, born in 1790, was cashier of the Greenock Provident Bank from its foundation in 1815 till his death in 1868, and received in 1834 for his services “a silver tea-set, value thirty guineas.” He had also literary interests, as he subscribed for two copies of Weir’s “History” in 1829. He married Miss Clarissa Reynolds, and they lived with their sons at 50 Eldon Street in Greenock. His younger brothers, Duncan and Daniel, seem both to have been attracted by the yarns of the seamen from across the Atlantic. They set up as merchants in the U.S.A., the former in New York, where he died without issue in 1865, and the latter in St Louis. Of Daniel nothing is known.⁶⁷

They took with them to America the portraits of their parents painted in Greenock about 1830, and these are still in Lamont hands though in another family. The astronomer’s features (see plate 31) do not bear resemblance to any of the Knockdow portraits, though perhaps he has the same thick straggling hair as James xiv (see plate 30). He is very unlike Alexander xv, whose long gaunt face and shrewd yet anxious look suggest

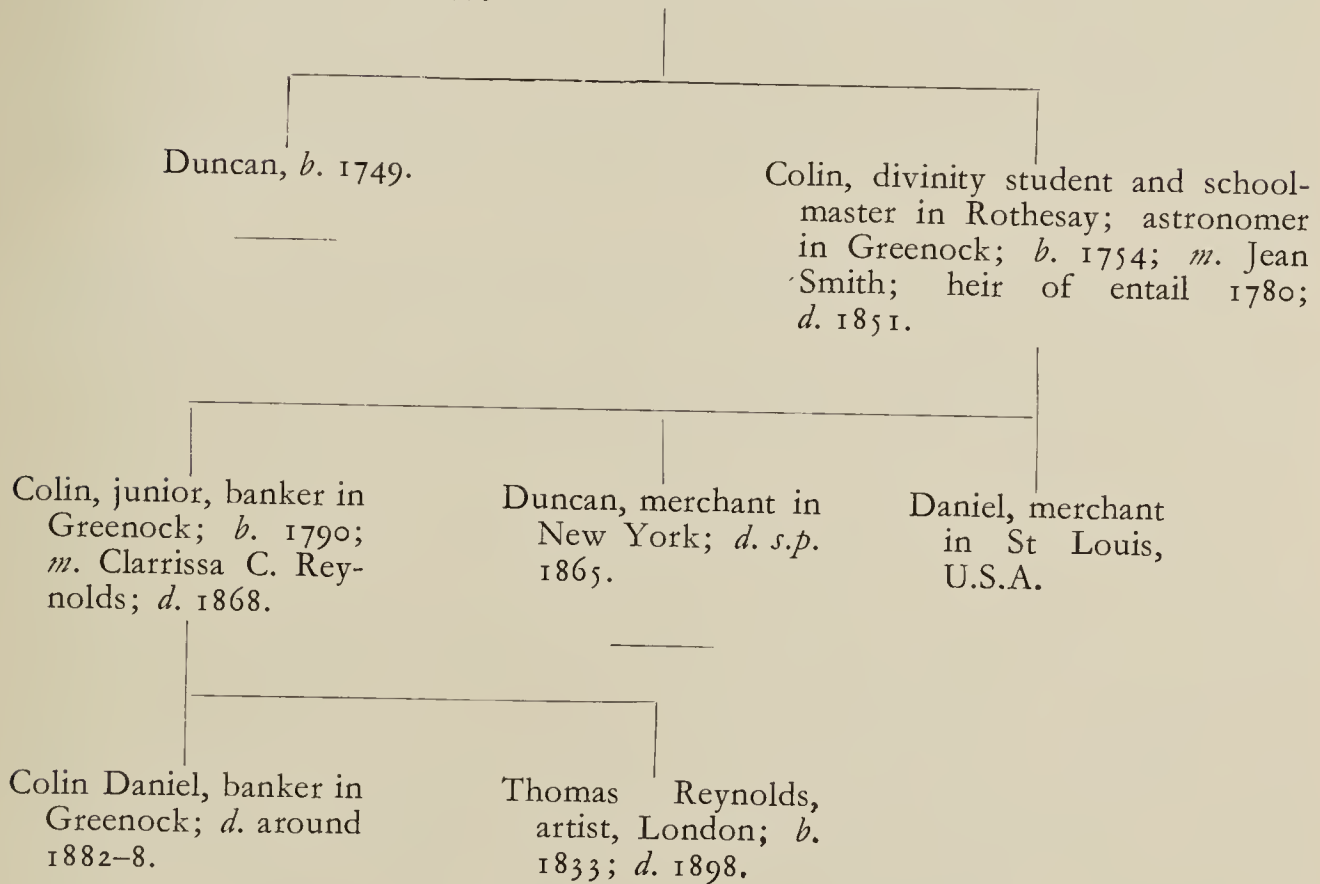


COLIN LAMONT, THE ASTRONOMER, 1754-1851

[To face p. 438

PEDIGREE OF JUNIOR BRANCH

Colin Lamont, tacksman of Invervegain;
m. Mary McGlashan in Strachurmore;
d. 1753.



the typical lawyer (see plate 32). The two men often met, however, as Colin was made welcome at Kilmichael, and his kinship acknowledged.⁶⁸ Though the laird remained in active practice as a W.S. until 1841, he was on the heather whenever he could be. He was regarded as "the best of landlords, and never flitted a tenant." He held a commission in the Bute Militia and rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and he was a deputy-lieutenant of that county. His sword is on the stair at Knockdow now, beside his brother James's. In politics they were opposed, as the Commander was a Liberal, and the W.S. inherited their father's Toryism. He used a signet with the crest and motto, and a book plate with the arms, which were not formally matriculated in the Lyon Court till the present laird's application of 1898. It is peculiar, however, that Alexander appears in the Burke's *Landed Gentry* of his day with the undifferenced arms, and the chief's coat is shown within a bordure. His descent was not given beyond his father. With Mr Finlay of Castle Toward, he built Toward Kirk.⁶⁹

By this time John the planter had acquired great interests in Trinidad. On his return in 1829 he added to the Cedar Grove estate 120 acres known as La Grenade at a cost of £13,000. Within a few years he had bought the distant River and Cascade estates in Diego Martin, that is the north-west part of the island, 8 or 9 miles from Port-of-Spain, its principal city, for some £44,000, and there he made his home. On the abolition of slavery in 1836 he was also part proprietor of St Helena, which he took over altogether in 1844 at a total cost of £11,000 or £12,000, while he received £9000 of compensation from the government in respect of 170 slaves. Boyden, who unfortunately died in 1837, got £3700 for 78 and Canaan passed by his will to John, who gave an interest in it to his brothers James and Norman. The latter was now a major in the 91st Argyllshire regiment, and had been made a Knight of the Royal Hanoverian and Guelphic Order. He helped to remove Napoleon's last remains from St Helena in 1840, and then campaigned against the Boers. He died of fever in South Africa in 1845, and left £500 to be administered as a fund for the poor upon the Knockdow estate. Dugald, an assistant staff surgeon retired on half pay to Piccadilly, predeceased him by two years.⁷⁰

Meanwhile young James, who was born in 1828, was reaching manhood. His father schooled him at Rugby and at the Edinburgh Military Academy with a view to the army. But uncle John, who was now a regular visitor to this country, had greater insight. "What prospect of a commission for young James?" he wrote. "The sooner he begins, the sooner he will be tired of the service." And so it proved. In 1846 he was gazetted to the 91st, and then within two years he resigned.



ALEXANDER, XV OF KNOCKDOW, 1784-1861

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When John was leaving Scotland in October of 1848 he was pleased to find his nephew pressing for a season with him in Diego Martin. They spent five months together on the estates, and formed a close association. The planter, though he had said to Alexander "you will never make me a Scotch laird," had been negotiating for the purchase of Benmore, at the head of the Holy Loch. In January it was secured for £13,000, and John declared his object to have been the suitable employment of his nephew. James set off by the second packet on receipt of the news, and assumed the rôle of an enthusiastic farmer, expecting oats as heavy as his father's and weighing 8 bolls to the imperial acre (equivalent to 52 modern bushels).⁷¹

In autumn he was joined by his uncle, who was eagerly forecasting the completion of improvements when his friends would meet there with their "legs under the mahogany in the new house, with Alexander and young James, discussing a magnum of claret together." John took great interest in his kinsfolk, settled money on both Alexander's daughters, Margaret and Jane, destined Benmore to his nephew, and even spoke of buying Garrachoran to unite it to Knockdow. He added to Kilmichael by erecting a library. Alas, he did not long survive, but died in Diego Martin in the winter of 1850, and was buried beside Boyden on the estate of Canaan. His personal property was valued at £99,000, his heritage in Scotland at £18,000, and his plantations at £31,000 (about a third of their cost), or in all £148,000. The bulk of this fortune he bequeathed to Alexander and his children. The litigation which decided that he had lost his Scottish domicile of origin is still a leading case in private international law.⁷² When Colin died in 1851 in Greenock, and Commander James in 1853 in London, the old laird had outlived his generation. In that last year his daughter Margaret died a spinster, and Jane soon married Captain John P. Briggs of the Indian army. She died within five years, however, leaving issue who are alive to-day. A photograph of Alexander in his dotage shows a forlorn and yet imperious oldster. At 77 in August 1861 he was laid to rest in Inverchaolain kirkyard, and was succeeded by his still more imperious son.⁷³

James, xvi of Knockdow from 1861 to 1913, from 1850 ii of Cedar Grove, and from 1910 Sir James, 1st baronet, might well have been a medieval baron. An intractable disposition, which in his father had been tempered by the studied self-control of the lawyer, in him was never even subject to the discipline of having to earn a living, and had unusual outlets even in early youth. At 22 he had had his fill of the army; had seen the Indies; had managed an estate in Argyllshire; and had inherited a fortune. Thenceforth for thirty years he led a Viking's

life and roamed the western world at will, even voyaging in his own keels in Arctic waters. He was as ruthless with his rod and rifle as any of his forebears with their dirks and claymores. If he, who had his picture painted standing over the dead body of a mother bear, with her two cubs distraught beside her, had lived in the past, he would have brought Neill Bridocht's head upon the prow of his birlinn in triumph to Loch Striven as a trophy. But being born in an enlightened age he filled Knockdow with pelts and antlers, and won renown as a sportsman and explorer. He was even credited with a very unusual addition to his bag. "Mr Lamont," writes a distinguished general who had known him as a boy, "with his dark, shining whiskers and sharp nose, seemed always to be wrapped in a sombre cloak woven out of the thought that he had shot a Russian!" He was a man who would daunt most people, and "as the saying is, 'gave me fits' every time he touched me, making me turn hot and cold at the same time. . . . To me he was always alarming with his red complexion, fierce, hatchet-shaped face, short dark beard, and moustachios, overlooked by keen dark eyes." The portrait (reproduced in the *Journal*) shows a ruddiness worthy of a true descendant of the old red barons. But of them whom he so resembled he had little notion, and he did not even wear the kilt.⁷⁴

His uncle John bequeathed him Benmore and a third of £75,000 in 1850, which made him independent. He bought up the plantations, but to do so sold Benmore for £17,000. At the close of a big game shoot in the wilds of South Africa he crossed from the Cape to Trinidad in a coolie ship, and was wrecked on arrival in the Boca de Monos at the entrance to the Gulf of Paria. This was the first of several visits, and in the intervals he travelled widely in the United States from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian frontier, and from the River Mississippi to the Atlantic, and also in Greece, Egypt, and Turkey. In 1858-9 he voyaged in his yacht *Ginevra* of 142 tons, to Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, of which he has left a scientific account in his *Seasons with the Sea Horses*. He was an early adherent of the doctrine of "natural selection," and corresponded with Charles Darwin on the subject. But he was primarily a sportsman. In a single summer he and Lord David Kennedy in the sloop *Anna Louisa* killed 46 walruses, 88 seals, 8 polar bears, 1 white whale, and 61 reindeer, a total of 204 head, and sank and lost 20 walruses and 40 seals as well, an achievement dear to his heart. He would have been delighted to encounter the "colossal sea devil" harpooned by uncle Norman in Jamaica.⁷⁵

About this time James seems to have taken part in public life at home, for he was made a deputy-lieutenant of Buteshire, and stood there

unsuccessfully as a Liberal candidate for Parliament. In politics, as in most other things, he differed from his father, but on the latter's death in 1861 he had to brook no further interference. He then succeeded to the entailed estates and to the bulk of £25,000 left by the old W.S., of which the greater part had come from John. He was not interested in the highlands, and it was only because of his scientific leanings that he became a member of the Highland Society of London, and of the Highland and Agricultural Society. He was likewise a fellow of the Geological and Royal Geographical Societies. At the time of the American Civil War, when the pick of the Clyde steamers were all running the blockade, he was alone in his sympathy with the northern anti-slavery States, and in a lecture in Rothesay he boldly stigmatized the Southerners' action as "the most audacious and unprincipled conspiracy against Christianity, civilisation, and the rights of labour that the history of man can disclose." Perhaps on that account, and because his views on the "Origin of Species" offended the more orthodox, he was again defeated at the bye-election of 1865, although within a month or two he had reversed the verdict at a general election. He was a member of Parliament till 1868 under four prime ministers, Lords Palmerston, Russell, and Derby, and Mr Disraeli.⁷⁶

In 1868 he married Adelaide Elizabeth, a daughter of Sir George Denys, Baronet, of Draycott, Yorkshire, but even then he did not settle, though he had soon a London residence at 4 Queen Street in Mayfair. Next year he built a vessel of 250 tons, the *Diana*, expressly for the purpose of polar exploration, and made in her a number of further expeditions to the Arctic, of which his *Yachting in the Arctic Seas* is a description. Meanwhile he exchanged the isolated River and Cascade plantations for the 360 acres of Palmiste, each being reckoned as value for £8000. The latter soon became the nucleus of the estate, on which the central sugar-factory was erected, and whence the sugar was shipped by the Ciperio River. At various dates he added Belair, Phillipine, Champ Fleur, and La Ressource, thus making up a compact block of over 2200 acres in Naparima, which represented an investment of some £72,000 at cost. From his last visit there in 1889 the actual value was far less, as sugar cultivation was becoming increasingly less profitable.⁷⁷

Some years before the Viking period of his life had ended. His ploys from 1870 were shooting in Yorkshire and the eastern counties, and in Ballat in Stirlingshire which he purchased, and salmon fishing in Ireland. Till 1895 he never really settled at Knockdow, although in 1884 he enlarged the house on either wing. The estate had a gross annual value of £1776 as against Ardlamont's £2959. He was an elder

of Inverchaolain kirk, and a Justice of the Peace for Argyllshire. By him the Wemyss Bay Railway was promoted for the benefit of the district, and he was its chairman until it was absorbed by the Caledonian Railway Company in 1888. To facilitate feuing he disentailed Toward-nuilt and erected Toward pier, but the latter was not financially successful and was abandoned in 1933. Apart from this he neither improved nor increased his home estates. From 1894 he was the sole remaining Lamont laird in the county, as the late chief had then parted with Ardlamont. From its foundation in 1895 he was President of the Clan Society, and entertained its members at Knockdow in 1897 and at Inverchaolain in 1899. His sons and daughter were all intimately connected with this movement.⁷⁸

The younger son was Alexander, born at Gartmore by Ballat in 1872, who on leaving Eton joined the Argyll and Bute Militia under the late chief's brother, Lieut.-Colonel Norman Lamont Campbell of Possil. On being gazetted to the Gordon Highlanders in 1894 he took an active interest in the history of the clan, was one of the originators of the Society, and served on the Council from the beginning. He met an untimely end in the campaign against the Afridi at Dargai on 20th October 1897 after being awarded the Tirah medal. As his sergeant wrote, "he died a glorious death on an ever memorable day." His portrait at Knockdow and photograph in the *Journal* show resemblance to his grand-uncle Major Thomas, though Alexander had the short head of James xiv.⁷⁹

The elder son was Norman (now the laird and 2nd baronet), educated at Winchester and at the Downton College of Agriculture. He pursued his brother's inquiries as to the past of the clan, and by research was able to give three lectures to the Society between 1897 and 1902. From its inception until 1911 he was a member of Council, and later for some years was chairman of the London Committee. His was the task of examining printed and manuscript sources, at times employing the expensive services of a professional searcher, until he had completed the publication of his *Lamont Papers* in 1914. In these were printed and indexed a mass of record evidence relating to the Lamonts and their estates. It was the work of a decade, and to the atmosphere thereby created is largely due the general demand for a history, which in its turn forestalled the publication of a second volume collected over a further period of years. In 1898, as Norman Lamont yr. of Knockdow, he matriculated the familiar Lamont arms, with the difference of an orle ofmonds, and the crest of a hand grasping a dirk.⁸⁰

The bulk of his time, however, was given to more practical pursuits.

From 1901 to 1907 he was a member of the Argyll County Council, and again from 1913 to 1914. He was also a Justice of the Peace and a Deputy-Lieutenant of that county. At his second attempt he was in 1905 returned to Parliament as Liberal representative of Buteshire, then a separate constituency, and held his seat till 1910. It now transpires that he was one of the 146 new peers which Mr Asquith threatened to create in 1911 to secure the passage of the Parliament Bill, restricting the power of the House of Lords. From 1904 to 1908 he was honorary secretary of the Scottish Liberal Association. From 1906 to 1908 he was unpaid Parliamentary private secretary to the prime minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and thereafter to Mr Winston Churchill, then President of the Board of Trade. In these years he also served as a member of the departmental committee of the English Board of Agriculture upon agricultural education, and as chairman of the departmental committee upon Labour Exchanges. A portrait painted at this time was termed by the art critic of a London journal "urgent, impressive, sombre!" It shews him with the mask of the experienced politician.⁸¹

Augusta, his only sister, who was secretary of the Society from 1900 to 1906, took her degree as Bachelor of Science, with honours and distinction in Zoology, at Edinburgh University in 1914. For some years thereafter she held an appointment on the staff there, and has published numerous brochures on various topics, ranging from "The Ampullary Canals of the Genus *Raia*" (in which she had inherited grand-uncle Norman's interest) to "Place Names of the Knockdow Estate." She took her M.A. in 1933, in which year her article on Inverchaolain parish appeared in the *Journal*.⁸²

Colin the astronomer's descendants did not join the Society, and by this time were perhaps extinct. By his eldest son he had two grandsons, Colin Daniel, and Thomas Reynolds. The former was cashier of the Greenock Provident Bank in succession to his father, and latterly agent for the Union Bank there. He was well known as a literary man, and edited a manuscript of Burns's first common-place book. A rapidly disintegrating bust of him may still be seen in the James Watt Library. In 1882 ill health compelled him to retire and he went to live in London, where his brother was established as an artist moving in a circle of distinguished people. The latter, born in 1833, did not remain for long in Greenock. He took a studio in the Rue Notre Dame des Champs of Paris, along with George du Maurier of *Punch*, who afterwards immortalised him as "The Laird" in *Trilby*, and with E. J. Poynter, a later baronet and President of the Royal Academy. Thomas became an associate of the Royal Water Colour Society, and was well known as

an illustrator of books. James xvi, who was no doubt conscious of his kinship, acquired a couple of his pictures, exhibiting a strange ethereal quality derived no doubt from Celtic ancestry. He died in London in 1898, bequeathing his estate of some £8000 to his wife Lucy Margaret, and five god-children, including Sylvia du Maurier, from which it may be inferred he had no issue of his own. His brother Colin Daniel seems never to have married, and was dead by 1888. If there is any heir male of the astronomer he must be descended from the latter's third son Daniel, merchant in St Louis, U.S.A., as to whom there is no information.⁸³

Meantime Knockdow himself had reached old age, but he was still engrossed in sport, both physically and mentally. As "84" he wrote ten articles of reminiscences in the *Scottish Field* in 1912-13, attracting much attention. In 1904 he had made over his London house to his wife, and in 1907 the Trinidad estates, now unremunerative, to his son, to whom he also handed on Knockdow when the entail was broken in 1898. Norman was the sole surviving heir male of the body of the entailer's son, James xiv, and if no son were born to him the original red baron's heritage was destined to the heir male of the body of the Ann who had married Humphrey Colquhoun, in preference to Augusta. The natural line of the succession was now restored, and the disinherited heirs of entail included Colonel Humphrey Lamont Colquhoun, late of the 77th Regiment (whose sword and portrait are at Knockdow yet), and the Rev. George Lamont Cole (who is still alive and a member of the Society). In 1910 the laird was made a baronet, in respect of his services in exploration, science, and politics, with the usual limitation to the heirs male of his body, and three years later he died at the age of 85.⁸⁴

Upon a monument erected by the burn-side to the memory of Alexander he had already placed, beneath a slab, the inscription, "I wish my ashes to repose on the banks of the Ardyne, amidst the places I loved so well." To that green spot he was borne by his kin and friends, to the strains of McCrimmon's Lament. If ever any man deserved the epitaph of

"Home is the hunter, home from the hill,
And the sailor home from the sea,"

it was Sir James. Many a tempest his birlinn had weathered. As remarked in the *Journal* at the time he "personified one of the best type of Lamonts, a monarch of the old forest, whose self-reliance, independence and courage caused him to be respected, admired and revered." To the historian he seems the epitome of a long line of forebears, the earlier of whom were rude, sea-roving, sabre-rattling barons, and the later cultured calculating men of method. To the last he was formidable to friends and unfriends alike.⁸⁵



SIR NORMAN XVII, OF KNOCKDOW, FROM 1913

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Sir Norman, xvii of Knockdow and iii of Cedar Grove (now known as Palmiste) (1913 to date), inherited (besides the bulk of £54,000 and a rent roll of £1776) a taste for politics and travel, and a capacity for management, but otherwise had little in common with his father. In him Sir James's iron hand was gloved and tempered. The Wykehamist succeeded the Rugbeian; the man of business took the place of the explorer. His early interests in history and government were superseded from his succession by the study and development of his plantations. Since then he has been as much in Naparima as in Cowal. In 1907 he had decided to abandon altogether sugar cultivation, as now hopelessly uneconomic in view of French and German bounties. He experimented with various substitutes, and ultimately achieved a moderate profit where financial ruin had seemed all too likely. By his failures, often due to following local advice, and his successes, as often due to disregarding it, he has done valuable pioneer work, for which the island should be grateful. *Castilloa* rubber, bananas, cotton, and cassava proved unremunerative, but coconuts, coffee, and cacao have yielded fair returns. The period of transition has been financed by renting small holdings in large numbers to the native growers. And so Palmiste has been retained by its original owners, while every other property of note has changed hands at a loss. This surely is worthy of praise.⁸⁶

Despite the exacting claims of his plantations Sir Norman has found time to take much part in public life in the island. From 1911 he was a member of the Board of Agriculture, and from 1915 of the Legislative Council of Trinidad and Tobago. He was chairman of the Rubber, Rice, and Co-operative Sugar Factories Committees, of the Naparima District Agricultural Society, and of the southern branch of the S.P.C.A. He was also a member of the San Fernando Waterworks, the Government Printing, the Administrative Divisions, the Ground Provisions, and the Development Committees, the last two of which he originated. Two selections of his varied writings and speeches on West Indian topics have appeared in book form in 1912 under the title *Problems of the Antilles*, and in 1933 as *Problems of Trinidad*. In 1927 he set the seal upon a lifelong interest in entomology when he collaborated with another in the publication of a *List of the Moths of Trinidad*, of which he had himself discovered many new to science. A portrait of him in his younger days, in the uniform of a Deputy-Lieutenant, has appeared in the *Journal*. He appears as he is to-day in plate 33.⁸⁷

A warm supporter of the kirk Sir Norman was in the strange position (until the recent union) of being an elder in two different communions, the United Free Church in Trinidad and the Church of Scotland at home.

During his visits to this country, as a rule made every summer, he has served continuously on the Presbytery and several times in the General Assembly, involving a serious inroad on his time. He took an interest in the now defunct Dunoon and Cowal Agricultural Society, at whose annual show he was a regular prize winner, and in the local Sheep Dog Trials. In wider spheres he has been a supporter of *An Comunn Gaidhealach*, of which his sister is an active member, and of the Scottish Home Rule movement, being now on the committee of the Duke of Montrose's Scottish party. He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and of the Scottish Forestry Society, and a member of the Scottish History Society. He is also a Fellow of the Genealogical Society of London.⁸⁸

In that metropolis he has a flat at No. 6 Sloane Square (the family mansion being let on lease), in which he stays when business takes him there, for he is a director of a number of rubber and hotel companies. But naturally the greater part of his time on this side of the Atlantic is spent at Knockdow, which he has enlarged and re-oriented with a new wing and entrance, and beautified with cedar and mahogany woodwork from Palmiste in stair and study. He has also added a historical section to the library. The policies have been enriched by planting flowering shrubs and trees; the estate extended in 1919 by the acquisition of Blairbuie; and the shooting lodge at Inverchaolain twice enlarged and improved. Recently he has renewed his activities in the Clan Society, entertaining his tartan at Knockdow at the gathering of 1934 (depicted in plate 36), and in the year of writing, 1938, has accepted the office of President.⁸⁹

Such is the lot of the last Lamont territorial stock remaining in Argyllshire. But it cannot, alas, remain indefinitely, unless some new development takes place. Sir Norman has no heir. He has never married; has no Lamont relatives except his sister, who makes her home at Inverchaolain, and since his mother's death in 1925 keeps solitary state at Knockdow House (plate 3). The clan has cause to make the most of its last kilted laird, who in his highland mansion, filled with Lamont relics, still sups his porridge standing up and is piped to dinner by his own retainer, believing like all Celts that "a great house with no sound is worthless." It is a sad and yet apparently inevitable prospect that some day not long distant strangers will possess the patrimony of the old red barons, their treasures will be scattered to the airts, and listeners at the Cowal Games who hear the quickstep "Lamont of Knockdow" will ask "who were they?"⁹⁰

CHAPTER XXI

THE McPHADRICK LAMONTS OF COUSTOUN, 1498-1700

As the western margin of Loch Striven is the most mysteriously isolated section of the Lamont country, so its early lords stand most aloof of the cadets. Coustoun was their seat on the edge of the tide, a bien farm now (plate 34), forment the kirk of Inverchaolain, and their holdings stretched for some five miles along the shore to either side, where there is now but one deserted shooting-lodge. Towards Strone Point they marched with Campbells and Maclachlans, and their lands there were assessed, with Coustoun, to 5 merks, which by rights should indicate a property of some 208 imperial acres of arable, though it is hard to see to-day how so much could be tilled.¹ Pont's map (see end paper) shows that Strone itself, which has now disappeared, stood just opposite the modern school of Brackley. A cart road from the Kyles of Bute and Glendaruel leads through Coustoun on to Lord Bute's shooting-lodge Braingortan, built upon the wooded lands of Troustan, whose original steading still in part survives across the loch from Finnart Point. Farther north, to be gained by boat or foot, is the pendicle of Ardbeg, which was the last outpost of the Lamonts in this airt.

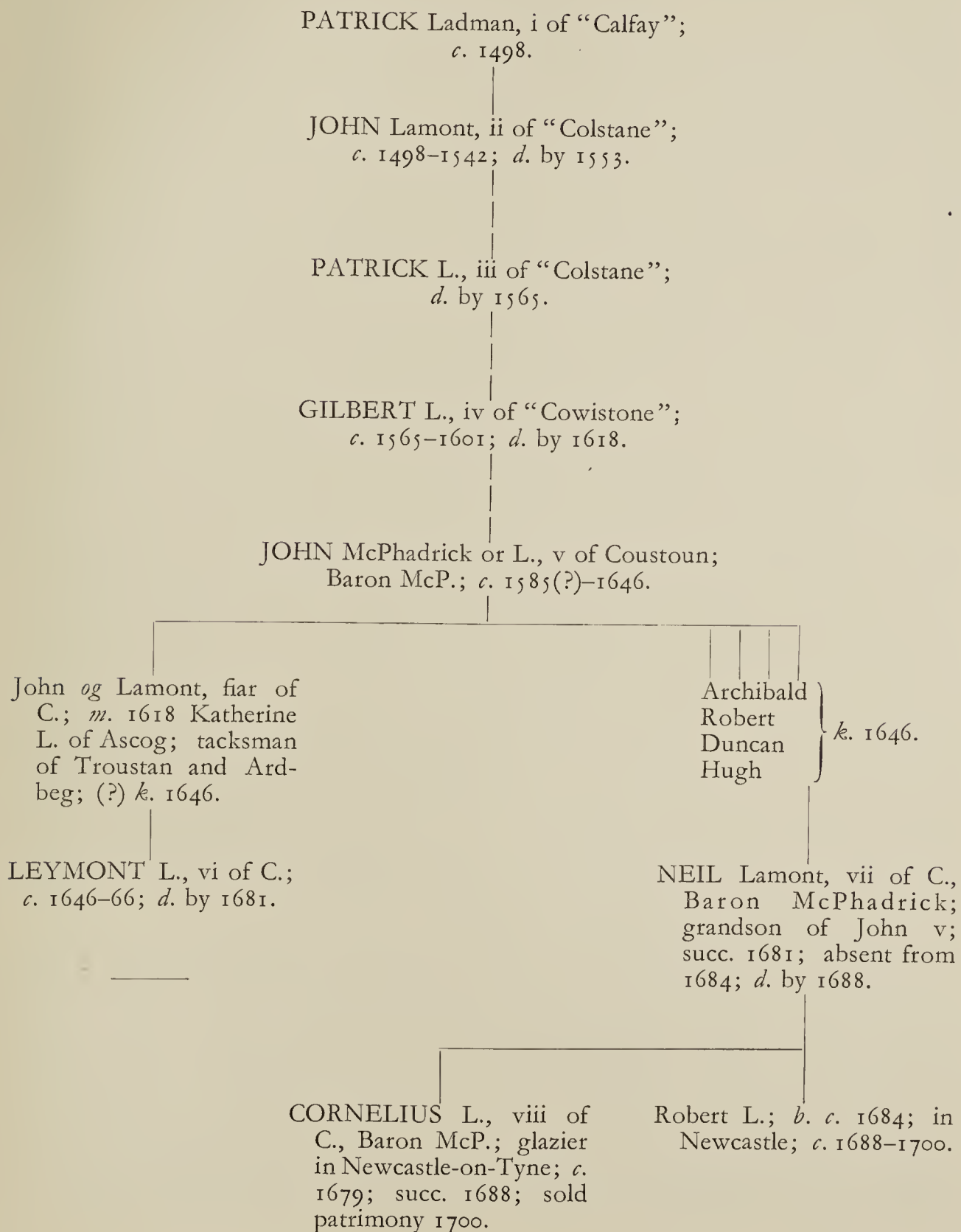
Though they were laigher on Loch Striven than their tartan at the old Knockdow, the Lamonts of Coustoun were farther from civilisation. Because of their isolation and the loss of their charters, they have left little mark in the records. They emerge uncertainly out of the mists of the past at the end of the 15th century, and they disappear as strangely in the murk of an English city towards the close of the 17th. For the most part of their history only the bare order of succession is known, and in the turmoil of the civil wars even this is uncertain. In the earliest charter evidence available Coustoun, or as it was then called Colstane, always seems to have been held by military service of the chiefs.² But the style of "Baron" which attached to its owner, as to Monydrain and Knockdow, certainly suggests a former independent holding of the Crown. This was probably inaugurated by some Patrick Lamont, as the patronymic which was adopted was "McPhadrick" (though it was little to the fore till the 17th century). Doubtless the families of this

surname, who are later found on the east side of the loch about Ardyne and Inverchaolain, are of the sept.

In the spring of 1498 Gilchrist Lamont, son and heir of Patrick, coroner of Cowal, was infeft in Inverneilbeg beside Strone. Among the witnesses were "Robert Ladman of Askaik" and "Jhon, son of Patrick Ladman of Calfay." Probably "Calfay" is an error for "Calstane" ("f" being miswritten for "st" and the "n" as usual being elided), for the scribe was slipshod at the pen. If so this Patrick is the earliest-known Lamont of Coustoun. He was apparently a different person from Patrick the coroner, possibly a son of that same. One or other, as like as not, was the eponymus of the sept. Shortly after "McPhadrick" is found alone as a name (without Lamont attached) in the titles of the Killellan by Toward, of which Duncan was laird holding in free barony of the Crown. From his daughter Effrica in 1522 Killellan was acquired by (Sir) JOHN X. Maybe Duncan the baron was the head of the family, and the barony had once included Coustoun which had later been conferred on a younger son. In some such way could one explain the patronymic and the title "baron" used by the 17th-century lairds of Coustoun. The kinship of the coroner, of Patrick i of our reckoning, and of baron Duncan of Killellan is now lost in the mists of Loch Striven, but on a day of days these may yet be dispersed by some find in a charter chest.³

When Patrick of Coustoun went to his rest is unkenned, but by 1541 John Lamont ii was the laird of the 5 merks, including Strone. With the others under the *bratach* of Inveryne he was sued for his part of the non-entry dues Queen Mary exacted from the chief above mentioned, but by 1552 he had been succeeded by a Patrick, from whom the lands were apprised in security. The assessment of 20 merks reveals that Coustoun was the poorest of the cadetships.⁴ By 1565 Patrick Lamont iii had given place to a Gilbert iv, only casually referred to in the writs of his neighbours, as instituting Knockdow in a heritable bailliary and (20 years after with an unnamed son) giving sasine to a Campbell of Duntroon by Crinan. At the turn of the century a "Gilbert Lawmont of Troastill"—maybe a son—witnessed a deed at Dunoon, but there is no record of a charter of Troustan. In 1601 Coustoun was boated to the marriage of young Gilbert, afterwards vii of Knockdow.⁵ There would be fast friendship between the families within ken of each other athwart Loch Striven. First record of the ferry from Inverchaolain is in 1642, but it was ancient without a doubt.⁶

Surer knowledge comes with the Sasine Register, and in 1618 a "John McPhatricks *alias* Lawmount of Coustoun" passed his 5 merks of land to



his son and namesake on the marriage of that same to Katherine, sister of Robert iv of Ascog. Maybe the father was the unnamed son of Gilbert iv appearing in 1585. John younger had brothers, Archibald, Robert, Duncan, and Hugh, all mentioned hereafter. These are the first to be designed McPhadrick in the records. A Patrick Lamont, apparent of Troustan in 1619, was one of the family. When teinds were valued ten years after, John v was the fifth among the cadets with a rental of £260 gross in Scots money. With his fellow-heritors he was litigating with the minister of Inverchaolain in 1635. Eight years after John *og* was still only the fiar, and borrowing from the Campbells of Achavoulin and Grizel, daughter of Sir COIL XIII, afterwards Mrs Macfarlane of Arrochar. Forbye Coustoun and Strone, in which he was chartered, John v had a tack from his chief of Troustan and Ardbeg (together 6 merks). At the start of the wars with the Diarmaids the rental of Coustoun and Strone had been reduced to about £225 gross, say £146 net, giving a capital value of £1825. Troustan and Ardbeg brought in about £150 gross, say £97 net, but what rent was paid to the chief is not known.⁷

In summer 1645 Robert, son of John v, was among the "special" of the party from Toward who "invaded" McGibbon's birlinn and despoiled him of Argyll's ky. Though the Maclachlans of Inverneil had been cautioners for them they did nothing to prevent the encroachment by their tartan east of the loch upon the widow Maclachlan in Glaic narrated above, though none from Coustoun met their end from Eilean Greg or Mannach of the big shoes in March of 1646. The *duine uassail* with their tail were in Toward, one jalouses, as was certainly John *og*. After its capitulation in June there were hanged by the Diarmaids on the ash tree at Dunoon "Neill Mcpatrik *alias* Lamount, Archibald Lamount son to baron Mcphatrck of Cowstoune, Robert Lamount his brother, Duncan Lamount brother to the said Robert, and Hugh Lamount their other brother," a heavy toll. Another victim was "John Mcphatrck in Ardyne," doubtless sib to the Duncan McPhatrck Lamont there in 1635, and maybe despoiler of the widow.⁸

Though the old laird John v, who was presumably the bereaved baron, seems to have survived for a while, John the fiar soon gave place to his son Leymont. The younger John was probably the "John Mcphatrck *alias* Lamount" who was boated from Bute to Largs after the massacre and made "a gibbet's tassel" at the word of Ardkinglas. He was gone for certain by summer of 1649 when the Synod sent Leymont to school "upon the publick contribution of the church" with others of "the quality" who included two sons of Maclachan of Inverneil. John v, one jalouses, would soon perish, as Coustoun, Strone, Troustan, and

Ardbeg were all seized by Eilean Greg. Of Leymont vi one has word in 1666, when he had a loan from an Isobel Lamont, aunt of Stronabanach. Three years after, the Bannatynes of Kames in Bute had taken over the leased lands from the Diarmaids, and they had later to disgorge the rents. Leymont was dead by 1681 when there succeeded his cousin Neil, who was also a grandson of John v though his father is unkenned. In the "list of persones gilty of the penall statuts" prepared in 1684 on the eve of Argyll's rebellion one finds that Neil Lamont of Coustoun and his tenants were absent, while the charge was not proceeded with against an Archibald Lamont on the same lands. Two other families were cited from there, one from Ardbeg, four from Troustan, and three from Strone, but there is not a clan name among them, though Killellan by Toward had two McPhadricks, maybe sib to Duncan the baron of 1527. This is the measure of the decimation of the civil wars, from which this part of the Lamont country never recovered.⁹

That this absence of the laird was no accident is suggested by other evidence. Alone of the cadets he gave no bond for good behaviour in 1683-4. When rentals were demanded by Viscount Strathallan, the Privy Council's commissioner in harvest 1687, no separate return was made for the Coustoun estate. Under the head of Kilfinan parish is recorded a "rental of the laird of Lamont's with the Baron Mcphadrick's lands." Under "Innerchelan parish" appear only Knockdow, and a composite group of Gortanloisk, Troustan, and Ardbeg, probably in the hands of the Bannatynes, which made up the Gortanloisk or Glenstriven estate till about 1875. Truth it was that Neil vii had forsaken his native heather, if indeed he had ever been on it since boyhood, leaving ARCHIBALD XV to attend to his interests. In 1679, before he even had sasine, his son Cornelius was settled in the city of Newcastle-on-Tyne in Northumberland. Strange it was that he should be lending to young Campbell of Eilean Greg, but absence it seems had made an unfriend into a friend. This is the first deed by an Argyllshire clansman to be drawn in the English form and in terms of the alien sterling. What became of the father is unkenned. Maybe he had his end in the reek of the Sassenach burgh, far from the breezes of Strone. Cornelius went into business, as a glazier—surely the strange trade for a Scotsman when the High Street of Edinburgh had hardly a pane of glass in its length. He succeeded to the 5 merk lands of his forebears in 1688, to be held in feu on a new charter for a nominal duty of the same amount and with the traditional clause of return to the chiefs.¹⁰

For administration the estate was slumped with that of "the laird of Lamont," but the designation "Baron McPhadrick" was still the cadet's

in his own country. In 1697 the Bannatynes had to account for their intrusions with Troustan and Ardbeg. Next year for some reason a fresh charter was granted in the same terms as the last, which was perhaps lost or informally executed. By the turn of the century it was all by with the old Lamonts of Coustoun, and Cornelius viii sold his patrimony to John of Kilfinan, the chief's natural son. For this deal he had the consent of brother Robert, born about 1684 and then also in Newcastle. The day after ARCHIBALD XV granted bond to the youngster for £120, doubtless his share of the proceeds. Cornelius took horse to Edinburgh, sad at heart perhaps, to sign the deeds, but that is the last that is heard of him or his. The Barons McPhadricks faded into the smoke of their adopted city as mysteriously as they had once emerged from the mists of their native hills. The records of Newcastle and Northumberland have not yielded the secret of their fate.¹¹

As to the lands, however, something is known. In 1703 the Presbytery set up a school at Strone. At the request of the neighbours the new laird built a mill at Coustoun, they undertaking to grind there all corn save what they sold or sowed, paying one peck out of 25. By 1705 Inverneilbeg and Glaic close at hand had been again acquired after centuries by a clansman, Coll Lamont, son of Robert the Melldalloch merchant, afterwards founder of the second family of Monydrain. But by 1720 they had reverted to the Maclachlans.¹² John of Kilfinan retained his interest, and by a rental of 1731 Coustoun paid him £129 Scots, Strone £74, and Ballecreggan £40, £243 in all. The last, now mentioned for the first time, had tenants of *Clan Laomainn*. Twenty years later the net rent was £21, 5s. sterling, equal to £255 Scots, showing rising values. Old ideas still persisted in the county books, where in 1723-4 "Baron McPhadricks" was still debited with arrears of cess, as were the Barons McGorrie and McSorley. Ascog and Auchinshelloch by contrast were slumped with the chief's lands, perhaps a relic of the time when the barons held direct of the Crown.¹³ Ten years after an old dispute was ended when John's son ARCHIBALD XVII made over to the Bannatynes Troustan and Ardbeg (later known as Braingortan), with Gortanloisk athwart the loch. On his father's death in 1740 the chief succeeded to Coustoun and Strone under the marriage contract of 1701. At the end of the century JOHN XVIII feued them to the Campbells of South Hall, who soon acquired the superiority also. It was all by with the Lamonts as lairds of the 5 merk lands.¹⁴

If the *duine uassail* had deserted the old lairdship the commons remained, and they preserved the old patronymic in one form or another for many years. The first entry in the surviving register of baptisms



COUSTOUN

(beginning in 1735) is of a son Archibald to Hugh Patrick in Coustoun, who later appears as Hugh Mcphatrick. Other variants are Mcffathrick and Gilpatrick. That same Archibald married in 1763 under the name McGilpharich, and a Hugh Lamont was ferrier at Coustoun in 1753. But west of the loch Lamont was out of fashion, while holding its own to the east. How little fixed were clan names is brought out by the following letter to an inquirer from the session clerk of Inverchaolain in 1830. "As to the sirname Lamont & Patrick or McPhatrick which is all the same," it narrates, "as of the same sirname they go by the two names in common in this parish to this day, and your father's extract is a plain proof of this fact, the introductory margin of the register bearing the name Lamont while the body bears Mcfadrick." These folk are to be distinguished from others of the tartan between Ardyne and Dunoon, who were styled "McPhorich," but were not sib to the McPhadricks. By the date of this letter, whatever was the custom around the peats, the sept name had disappeared from the registers, Lamont being alone found.¹⁵

The ferry of Coustoun, shown in a map of 1750, made it a place of resort, but only in 1782 was a shelter provided for the passengers while the boat was manned. In that year an Archibald Lamont, perhaps the infant of 1735, undertook to erect it, "in regarde that (he had) taken the miln and ferrie of Cowston from Alexr. McPherson, and that Lamont was to build a ferrier's house there." It was to be "16 feet broad within walls, 27 to 30 feet long within walls, well thatched with heather." The contract price was £5, 5s. "or in the event that I am a loser" £5, 10s. "The timber (was) already cut upon the ground, Lamont to pay for cabers wherever they may be found." There is a pleasantly sporting flavour about the arrangement between chief and clansman. Archibald signed by his mark as unable to write, and doubtless the shelter was a model for the Diarmaids to copy.¹⁶

Whether of gentry or commons there are many to-day who are descended from the old McPhadricks. The Very Reverend Professor Daniel Lamont, moderator of the Church of Scotland in 1936, and his late brother the Reverend Archibald, mayor of Durban in South Africa, were connected with Glaic and were of the sept. From the family in Finnart and Strondharaig, of whom was written the letter of 1830, are come the Lamonts, once of Gribton in Dumfriesshire, who recorded their arms in 1888, and Colonel William Lamont, V.D., C.A., one of the originators of the Clan Lamont Society and always kenspeckle at its gatherings (see plate 16). Furth of Scotland maybe is still an heir male of the eponymus Patrick. There is no word of him, but the Coustoun family have been ever mysterious in their comings and goings.¹⁷

CHAPTER XXII

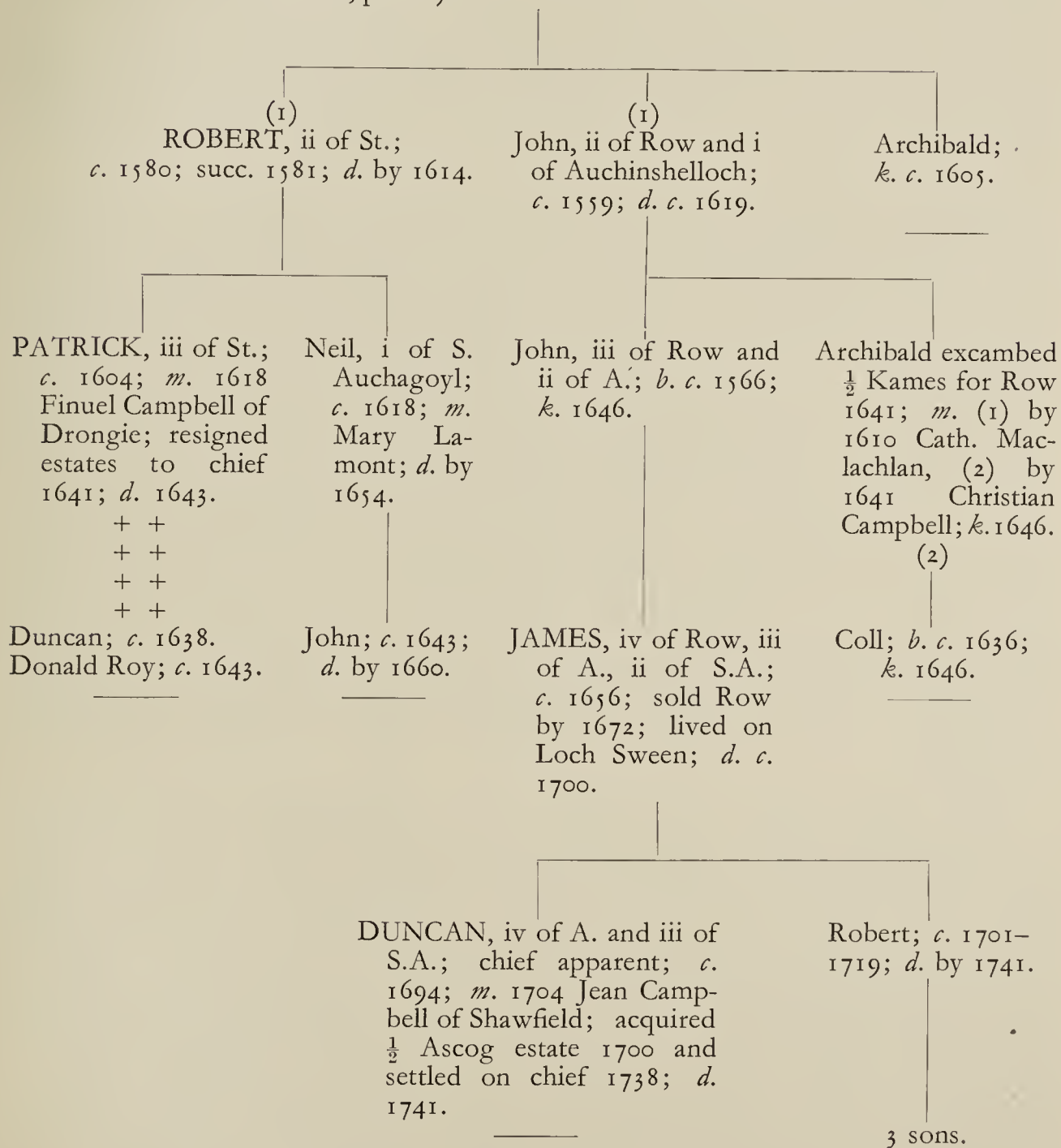
THE LAMONTS OF STILLAIG, RUDHBODACH (*or* ROW), AND
AUCHINSHELLOCH,
1554-1741

THE Stillaig of the pibroch, "little and narrow, with hill and little heather," is on a service road from Millhouse towards the sound of Kilbrannan and Kintyre. This stead in Kerry gave its name to two families, the second of which succeeded to the chiefship in 1712, in the person of DUGALD XVI, as narrated above. The first, if it has still a male heir, which is doubtful, is next in succession to the line of the present chiefs, and is the theme of this chapter. Each strangely enough was sprung from a Mr Archibald, the earlier a brother of DUNCAN XI, the later of Sir JAMES XIV. A mile to the south of Ascog castle, and bewest Ascog farm, lies the 6 merk land of Stillaig. This, with Glenan above its bay and the southern Auchagoyl with its chapel (each 4 merks and acquired from the last of Ardlamont), was the portion Sir JOHN X gave his second living son in 1554, adding the richest quarter of Auchinshelloch, later kenned as the 1 merk land of Dowglennan. A 5 merk annual payment from Coustoun and Strone bound the youngest of the old independent cadets to the oldest of the new sprung for certain from the line of the chiefs.¹

By his lady, Elizabeth Stewart, Archibald, master of arts, had two sons at the least, Robert, his successor in the ward holding of Stillaig lairdship in 1581, and John, who inherited a feu of the 25s. land of Row in Bute (*or Rudhbodach* in the Gaelic), and had one for himself of the lave of Auchinshelloch in 1588. This last has now vanished by absorption into its neighbours, but it once marched with Achanaskioch, Melldalloch, and Craignafeich and was namely for its grazing. The Kyle of Row was of strategic importance to the clan, as by it was the ferry from Colintrave to Bute and so to Rothesay. A third son of Mr Archibald was the namesake who was dirked by a Boyle from Doire-nan-Corach in 1605.²

Robert ii of Stillaig was dead by 1614, leaving two sons, Patrick iii his successor (who married in 1618 Finuel Campbell of Drongie, widow of John iii of Ascog), and Neil, laird of southern Auchagoyl (who married a Mary of his own tartan). These same were unchancy, and in 1635

Mr ARCHIBALD, M.A., i of Stillaig and Row;
c. 1538; *m.* (1) by 1562 Eliz. Stewart, (2)
 by 1581 Christian Campbell; *d.* 1588-98 (see
 above, p. 101).



bound themselves not to part with their patrimony without leave of (Sir) JAMES XIV and Robert iv of Ascog. This, they affirmed, was "for sundry good causes and speciallie for the regaird quhilks we have to the weill and standing of our littell auld antient hous of Stiallak." The clan feeling was there, as also the sentiment invoking the diminutive. But this was in vain, for in six years Patrick's estates had been resigned to the chief, and in 1643 he died, tenant of Kildavaig by Ardlamont, leaving but two bastards, Duncan and Donald *roy*. In that year the second Mr Archibald, son of Sir COLL XIII, took up the Stillaig lairdship and founded the second family of that ilk. Neil, now representative of the old line, and his son John, both disappeared in the civil wars, making way for the younger branch.³

John ii of Rudhbodach and i of Auchinshelloch died about 1619 leaving (like his brother) two sons, John *og*, his heir and successor in both estates, and Archibald. They had between them as portioners a feu of the 4 merks of Kames in the Kyles of Bute, but the younger exchanged his half for Row in 1641 to enable the elder to sell Kames to Duncan i of Stronalbanach. John *og* had to borrow from the young daughters of Sir JAMES XIV, and granted in return to their trustee a lease of half Auchinshelloch, "with outfield, infield, mos, muire, medowis," etc., and "the mekill byre, ane wthir byre forganis the yaird beyond the watter, and the mekill barne." Both brothers, with Archibald's son Coll (by his second wife Christian Campbell), perished in 1646 by the Diarmaids, and the line was continued by James, son of the younger John, who inherited not only his father's Auchinshelloch, but his uncle Archibald's Row (which he had sold by 1672), and his second cousin John's southern Auchagoyl. The new laird was improvident and bided at Kilmichael Inverlussa on Loch Sween in Knapdale, dying about the turn of the century.⁴

That same James, v of Row, iii of Auchinshelloch, and ii of S. Auchagoyl, had two sons, Duncan his heir and Robert. The younger is only kenned from 1701 to 1719, when he disappears, unless he is the same as a Robert Lamont, merchant in Melldalloch. The elder made bold to restore the fortunes of his house, marrying in 1704 Jean Campbell of Shawfield, and acquiring from Archibald v of Silvercraigs a half of the old Ascog lairdship. A man of affairs and a dealer in timber and cattle, he left the heather on occasion for the causeys, and he Englished Auchinshelloch as Willowfield, an exact translation of the Gaelic. He was lawful heir male of ARCHIBALD XV and DUGALD XVI, and thus chief apparent, and had not the entailed destination of Inveryne been altered in 1701 he would have succeeded to the whole barony of the

ancient chiefs. But he was given the go by in the lands, and the tartan had no mind at that date to acknowledge an oldster without son as chief when the new laird was ARCHIBALD XVII, child of ARCHIBALD XV's bastard son and DUGALD XVI's eldest daughter. Duncan died in disappointment in 1741, leaving a daughter Christian, and having settled his half of Ascog on the chief to avoid the dangers of a litigation with Patrick iii of Stronalbanach. He left money to a Christian Lamont, daughter of Alexander Drummond, customs officer at Greenock, perhaps a granddaughter of his. She married Colonel Dugald Campbell of Ballimore, and her picture by the master Raeburn is in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.⁵

Auchinshelloch was destined to brother Robert (now dead for certain), and the heirs male of his body. He had three sons, though their names are unkenned: two predeceased him and the eldest was furth of the country. The next heir was ARCHIBALD XVII under a clause of return, and he was appointed judicial factor on the estates by the Court in Edinburgh. The foreign son and his heirs never recovered their inheritance. In 1777 an Archibald Lamont, tenant in Ardlamont, was regarded as heir male, though remote, and he assigned his claim to a Neil, either a son or a nephew, but nothing came of it. The little old ancient house of Stillaig was at an end, as were those of Rudhbodach and Auchinshelloch.⁶

CHAPTER XXIII

THE LAMONTS OF SILVERCRAIGS, 1561-1700

THE inlet of Loch Gilp leaves an elbow of land between it and Loch Fyne known as Aird to this day, but to Sir LAUMON as Ardcalmisaig, "the point of Callum's bay," so called doubtless after his father Malcolm. Silvercraigs, *Craig-an-airgead* in the Gaelic, is by the tide's edge on the nose of the Aird, and beside it and offshore is *Eilean Mor*, the big island. A stone's throw from that same to the south-west is the namely Lamont charter rock, kened to-day as "Callum's Skeir." On its table top, it is rumoured, was inscribed some title, whose terms not even the Campbells could deface. The secret of the rock only rose to the sight at low water. But if safe from all mortals it has yielded in time to the corrosion of the sea. Within memory of man no letter has been legible, and fainter is the tradition with every wave that beats upon this great black skerry. The Macmillans at point of Knap by Castle Sween have such a story, as have others, and it must surely have a foundation in truth. Maybe these rocks were march stones, and on them were plotted the bearings of the boundaries, in this case that between Ardcalmisaig of the *Clan Laomainn* and Kilmory of the *Clan Diarmaid* (though it was once Sir LAUMON's). Pont, the map-maker, remarked in 1600, "Mem.: think I cam our Loch Fyinn from Otter to Siluercraigs," and as likely as not it was once the out-gait of the ferry from Otter in Kerry now ending to the north at the Carricks. One-quarter merk land of those Carricks seems to have earned the title of "Silver Carricks" from the minerals in it.¹

To-day one approaches from Lochgilphead and Ardrishaig, townships arisen since the seventeenth century, through the estate of Mr Graham Campbell, whose grandfather brought to it the name of Shirvan from his family seat at Kilmartin. So quiet is the track one is reminded of the poet Thomas Campbell's visit to the home of his forefolk at the Kirnans up the glen above Kilmichael Glassary, for

"travell'd by few is the grass cover'd road,
where the hunter of deer and the warrior trode,
to his hills that encircle the sea."

There is now neither farm nor mansion at Silvercraigs, but a tiny clachan under sycamores looking over meadows to the loch. These are the old lands of the two Carricks, and westwards was the laird's seat at the then mansion of Kilmichaelbeg (on Castleton farm). Most of the building has been long demolished, but part is left, Castleton Cottage, where three families have their home. Formerly its rooms covered the green sward in front with fine views to Arran over harbour and islets. From the Reformation to 1700 Lamonts were styled "of Silvercraigs," and were warders in some sort of the charter rock. As part of the 32 merk lands of Ardcalmisaig it had before been held of the chiefs by the family of Ardlamont and of them by the McPhersons of Duppin (a vanished steading in the hills on the burn of that name). In 1554 the Ardlamont cadets were at their end, and Sir JOHN X recovered their interest and that of the McPhersons by sale and apprising to make a lairdship for young Robert, his third son, whose mother was Fynert Cowall.²

Robert, 1 of Silvercraigs from 1561, had 24 merks in property, while the lave, the 4 merks of Blarbuy (an inland steading up asylum road), and the 4 merks of the two Carricks, were feued to McPherson that he "be not alluterlie disherisit of his heritage and put to povertie," and "haifand regaird and ee to the ald ancient kyndnes" between their forebears. In the 24 merks (variously computed) were Duppin ($3\frac{1}{2}$), Ballimore (the township by the high road including Acres) (4), Kilmichaelbeg with *Eilean Mor* (3), the now deserted Lingartan (beyond the lodge of that name on the ridge towards Duncholgan) (3), Duncholgan itself with Dunmore (now part of Kilmory farm) (3), Achnaba (on the west shore of Port Ann, including Achnalephin) (3), the contiguous Ardnaherrer, the principal messuage (now in ruins, stretching northwards and including Lagnahullidh) ($3\frac{3}{4}$), and the $\frac{1}{4}$ merk land of Silvercraigs. With the last, and detached from the main lands of the Carricks, went the ferry to Otter, precious in peace or war as the access of the McSorleys of Monydrain to their tartan in Kerry and Nether Cowal. Forbye the property of the 24 merks Robert had, of course, the mid-superiority of McPherson's 8 merks.³

Ardcalmisaig was a ward holding, but this Benjamin had also from 1558 two feus of kirk lands anciently gifted by Sir LAUMON to Paisley Abbey, first of Kilmory on Loch Gilp, and second of Kilfinan. The former was soon lost to the Diarmaids, cadets of Auchenbreck, now represented by the late laird Sir Simon Arthur Campbell-Orde. From Kilfinan it seems were set apart the 6 merk lands of N. Auchagoyl as a portion for Walter, his bastard brother, but Robert had 3 merk lands to himself. Also east of Loch Fyne he had a long lease of Evanachan in

Strathlachlan, but too close to the red tartan for comfort. His lady was a Marion Campbell, and in 1575 there was a "liberal" son Archibald. Four years after, laird Robert was dirked in his prime by Maclachlan of Dunamuck (by Kilmichael Glassary) on the road to his ferry for commenting too freely on the kail set before him at Castle Lachlan, which was taken as an insult. Maybe for this Nether Kames by Loch Gair was made over by the Maclachlans to young Archibald, who succeeded as a child of four.⁴

This same, although "liberal," seems to have been lawful, for Silvercraigs and Kilfinan passed to him instead of reverting to the chiefs or devolving on his kin of N. Auchagoyl as the titles provided failing lawful heirs. With the latter he was on a herschip in Bute in 1603, and shortly before colloquing with the McDonalds of Islay, as was JAMES XII. His son and successor Robert was born in 1606 and fostered with a McSorley in Drum of Monydrain. Daughters Katherine and Finuel married McAllan of Dunadd (by Kilmichael Glassary) and a brother of McAllister of Tarbert. From the McPhersons he regained the property of Blarbuy and the Carricks, and his rental was so increased to £1480 gross. Between 1622 and 1624 he was gone at about 48, leaving Robert, still a minor, as iii of Silvercraigs and Kilfinan. Sir COLL XIII, by his right of ward, set most of Ardcalmisaig in tack to the McAllisters, they undertaking the "upbringing and sustentatioun of all the said umquhill Archibald Lamountis bairnes, except onlie the said Robert his eldest sone and appeirand air," who had Ballimore for his keep. When of age on 1st March 1627 he was to be entered "to the sewing of the ridland of Kilmichaelbeg and the (other) half of Ballimoir," while McAllister was to "make the aitland and bereland thairof to be sufficientlie labourit, teillit, guidit [pastured], manurit, & reddie in dew tyme to (him) to sew the seid thairon the foirsaid cropt and yeir of God 1627."⁵

Like his father, young Robert could handle a pen; he was an honorary burghess of Glasgow; and he was bound to follow his chief to the lowlands twice a year. For Sir JAMES XIV he was surety in £7000, which ruined the family. He was thirled to the Diarmaids, however, by marriage, as his lady was Marion, daughter of Campbell of Otter; in 1631 his sister Isobel took to husband Mr Ewen Campbell of Auchnagoul (between Crarae and Inveraray); and his daughters Finuel and Barbara became the wives of Mr John Campbell of the neighbouring Fernoch, and a John Campbell in Barnagad (at Loch Sween head). He was not swart to take arms with the Diarmaids and his chief at Inverlochy against Montrose in spring of 1645. After imprisonment together at Blair Atholl both were released, and Robert seems to have retired to his estate and not as yet gone

ROBERT, i of Silvercraigs and
Kilfinan; *b.* 1548-54; *m.*
Marion Campbell; *k.* 1579
(see above, p. 101).

ARCHIBALD, ii of S. and K.;
b. 1575; *m.* by 1606; acquired
Nether Kames, Blarbuy, and
Carricks; *d.* 1622-4.

ROBERT, iii of S. and K.; *b.*
1606; *m.* Mary Campbell of
Otter; *d.* by 1648.

COLL, iv of S. and K.;
b. c. 1624; lost S. to
creditors 1662; *d.*
1662.

ARCHIBALD, v. of (S. and) K.;
wadsetter of Ascog, Craignafeich,
etc.; *b. c.* 1646; lost N. Kames
1665; *m.* 1668 Isobel, dau. Sir
COLL XIII; *d.* 1700.

over to Montrose. Sir JAMES and his tartan after their foray for King Charles in Lorn were at Toward in February 1646, but his colleague the wild Alastair MacColla retreated into Kintyre, and the tradition of the Campbells has preserved what is clearly a herschip of some part of the Silvercraigs estate.⁶

With the McAllisters MacColla "stayed some time between Loch Gilp and Tarbat, making boat expeditions to Cowal to plunder cattle. Many houses about Loch Gilp were burned, but there was a gentleman's house at Aird and a townland or village at Airdnahir and Lagnaula (or hollow of the treasure trove) which had all been left standing, and he resolved to destroy these. He and his men came to the shore when the family at Aird were at dinner, and a wood concealed his approach. Commanding silence, he advanced, intending to surround the house; but a shot was fired by some friend of the family as warning, and the inmates of the place fled to the hills, leaving their dinner to Alastair's men, and they, after eating it and plundering what they desired, set fire to the house. The townland village was in a thick wood, and his men failed to find it. Alastair next reconnoitred Kilmory Castle, and Skipness Castle, which the McAllister clan were very anxious to get back from the Campbells." This maybe is ravelled, but it seems to relate to Silvercraigs and probably to the mansion of Kilmichaelbeg. It is odd that the McAllisters should assail a friendly tartan, allied by marriage, but one jalouses that Robert (unlike his chief) had done nothing as yet to atone for his siding with the Diarmaids at Inverlochy, and only thereafter repaired to Ascog under the *bratach* of King Charles.⁷

At the capitulation of June 1646 he was rescued, just man, by his brother-in-law Mr Ewen Campbell, who had come specially "to have saiffed Sillircraig, his sonne, and his wreattis." Robert did not survive the sturt and strife of the time, and in 1648 his widow was remarried to Duncan Campbell of Ardgadden (by Kilfinan), who had the keeping of the chief's brother Mr Archibald (founder of the second family of Stillraig) at Silvercraigs till July of 1651. A year before an apprising for the £7000 of Sir JAMES's debt by a Diarmaid in Glasgow had attached Ardcalmisaig, and it was never recovered, though Coll, iv of Silvercraigs, elder son of Robert, had the right of reversion. Nether Kames and Kilfinan were his always, but little he enjoyed of them, for short-lived like his forebears his spirit went out with the tide in 1662. If his span was thirty-eight and his father's thirty-two, his brother Archibald v was fifty-four when he died in 1700, childless and the last of his line.⁸

This same was "of Silvercraigs" only by courtesy, for the profits were in the pockets of the Glasgow Magistrates, who bought up the debt of

their honorary burghess. In May of 1662 a councillor was appointed "to ryd doune to Silver Craigs, and ther, as the tounes baillie to hold ane court and to appoynt ane factour for collecting of the rentis thair of for the tounis use." But Archibald was not daunted, though he sampled the tolbooths of Rothesay and Edinburgh as dyvour and suspect, and the city was not anxious for so distant a possession, so there were lawsuits and transactions, but in the end it was easier to press his right of relief against the chief, the principal debtor. The law agent wrote to Sir JAMES XIV regarding "what expenses and troble your cousine Silvercraigs is in for your catioune" (*i.e.* as your guarantor), and suggested compensation out of Ascog. This was arranged and Ardcalmisaig left to the creditors, while Archibald lived in Kerry and, after losing Nether Kames also, married in 1668 the chief's sister Isobel, twenty years his senior. She was dead within six months, and the widower busied himself with the affairs of the county, of ARCHIBALD XV, and of the local clergy. He had interests also in Melldalloch, Craignafeich, and Achadachoun, but could only give a tocher of £17 to his sister Mary when she married Archibald Maclachlan of Auchnahall (at Ballimore south lodge beyond Kilfinan). As second person of the tartan MacCailein invited his aid in 1685, but he declined. In October of 1700 he bequeathed what he had left of Ascog to his cousin Duncan iv of Auchinshelloch, and Kilfinan with its mansion and lands about it to the chief's bastard John who took his designation from it. By the summer he was gone, and one hopes that they took what remained for the last ferry, in the boat so well kenned in his life, to the side of his forefolks at Kilmory given by Sir LAUMON to pious uses when the clan was young.⁹

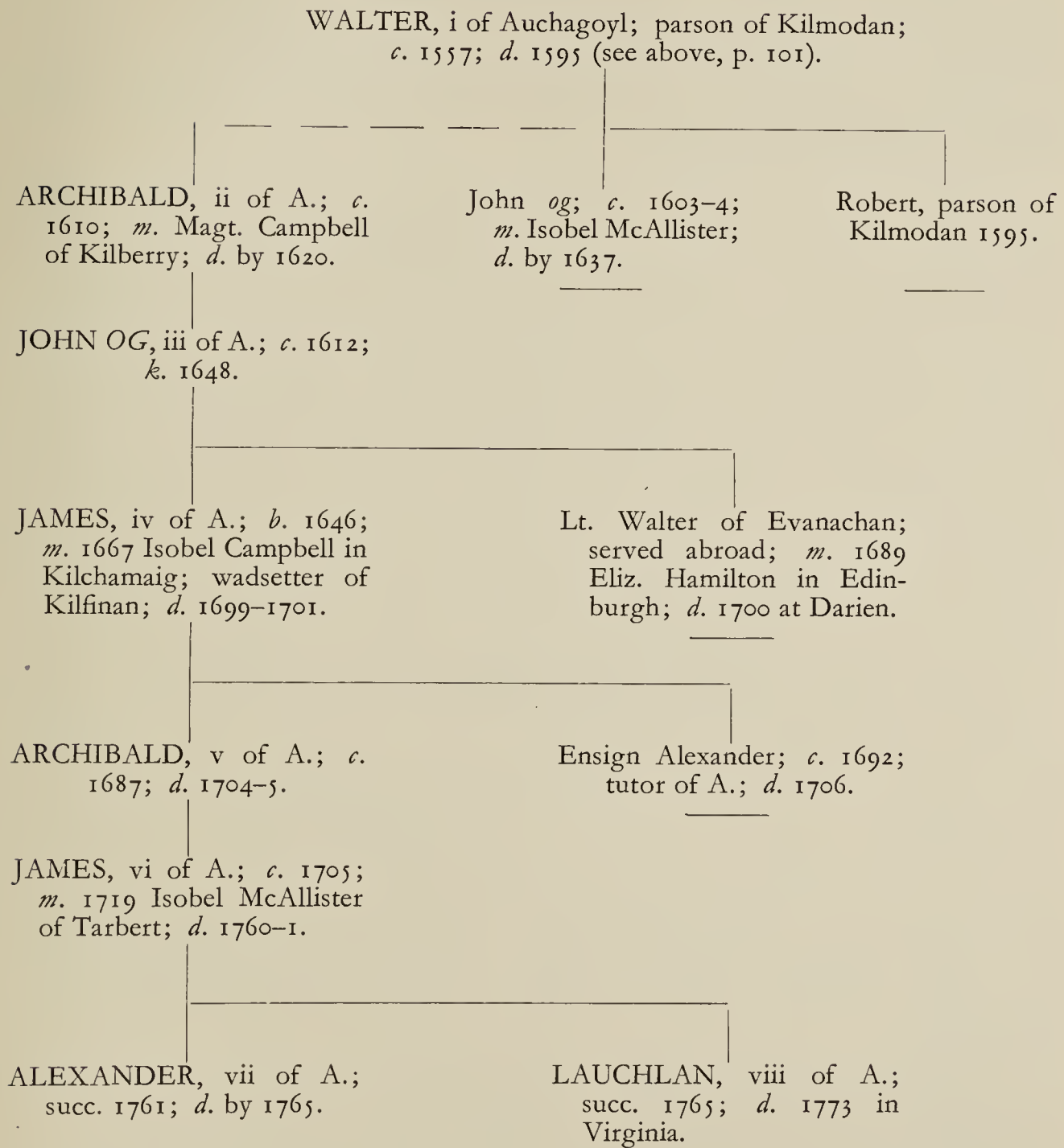
CHAPTER XXIV

THE LAMONTS OF AUCHAGOYL,
1569-1773

FEW in Kilfinan can now tell of the Auchagoyl once a lairdship of *Clan Laomainn*, for they ken it as Otter, the name put on it a century ago from the old Otter of the Diarmaids (thenceforth Ballimore). It is other, of course, than the southern Auchagoyl (anciently in the Ardlamont and then in the Stillaig and Auchinshelloch lairdships), which was a 4 merk land at the opposite end of the same parish. The N. Auchagoyl, as it is termed in this book, was a 6 merk land and maybe a part of the old kirk lands of Kilfinan. (Both are pronounced "Auch-oil," the "g" being silent.) It is not easy to have in mind that the old Otter is the new Ballimore, that the new Otter is the old (N.) Auchagoyl, and that the present (southern) Auchagoyl is not the old lairdship of this chapter.¹

This lairdship of 6 merks was the patrimony of Walter, bastard of Sir JOHN X, granted with the pendicle of *Tigh-na-crossin* (probably now *Tigh-na-rathaid*) by "Sir" John Lamont, chaplain of St Finnan's chapel at Kilfinan, the chief's brother, in May of 1569. Small though his holding and less bien than any other of the ancient cadetships, Walter founded a family which outlasted them all save that of Knockdow. Lamont of Auchagoyl aye remembered that "the man of one cow has to twist its tail round his fist" ("*féumaidh fear na h-aona-bhà car dh' a h-earball mu 'dhòrn*"). On the passing of his uncle and namesake the first laird was made parson of Kilmodan in Glendaruel (some time after 1558), in which he was succeeded by his third son Robert before his death in 1595. Walter was legitimated by King James VI in 1581.²

Though ravelled is the skein it seems that the thread of the family was continued by a son Archibald ii, heard of in 1610 and gone by 1620. His lady was Margaret, second daughter of Colin Campbell of Kilberry (a cadet of Auchenbreck), and they had a son John *og*, iii of Auchagoyl. He must not be confused with his uncle and namesake, for Archibald's brother, also John *og*, was harrying Bute with the Auchenbrecks in 1603, and married Isobel McAllister of Tarbert, but died by 1637—it seems without child. The rental of the estate was £230 gross. John *og* iii was taken from his tartan in Ascog Keep in June of 1646 to the dungeons of



Innis Connel on Loch Awe till January of 1648, when he was judicially murdered at Inveraray. "Tuo children (he left) behind him, the eldest of thame not tuo years old, to quhome (MacCailein) did refuis to give any supplie or interteanement, they living (till the Restoration) upoun the charitie of the people," the lairdship being in Campbell keeping though unburdened with debt. The orphans were James, iv of Auchagoyl, and Walter, a namely adventurer.³

"Being left verie young and destitute of a fortune" the younger "wes maintainit by (his) friends till (he) wes in capacitie to goe abroad, where (he) spent some yeares in the Earle of Dunbartane's regiment and other forraigne services." The elder hid at home, taking up his inheritance in 1660 for £4 in money, two bolls of meal, and the provision of a man and horse for eight days in the year between Kilfinan kirk and Auchinshelloch. Close on Christmas of 1667 he ferried from Derybruich to marry Isobel, daughter of Alexander Campbell in Kilchamaig by Whitehouse on West Loch Tarbert, and soon had in wadset from his cousin last of Silvercraigs the kirk lands of Kilfinan. His morals were of the sort reflected in presbytery registers, and he was actually prosecuted at Inveraray for adultery. But brother Walter was no better, and at least a "trelapse in fornication" is recorded of him. Both were chief with Sir JAMES XIV and ARCHIBALD XV, and aided in their affairs. Both were bien, and Walter bought an apprising of Evanachan in Strathlachlan, thus figuring till 1691 as a bonnet laird. If the Diarmaids in 1685 ravaged the 6 merk lands so that their value had fallen to £195 two years later, Lieutenant Walter, of Lord Glencairn's regiment of foot, had day about with them and so earned the title of "an old instrument of (their) oppression." In Edinburgh in 1689 he was married to an Elizabeth Hamilton, widow of David Wilson, but their one child went to the Greyfriars' kirkyard on 16th January of 1690 and the mother within a year. Unrest as of old came over the father. After serving with Lord Murray, and campaigning in the Fraser country, he died in Darien, in 1700, as was told above, bequeathing his assets to his nephew Alexander before embarking at Greenock.⁴

This same was the younger of James iv's two sons, the elder being Archibald the fiar, afterwards v of Auchagoyl. Their father atoned for his lapses by good works for the church, and was laid to rest in 1701. Archibald died within four years, and the succession passed to his son James vi under the tutory of Alexander—a "pretty man" who was minded like uncle Walter that "the cocked bonnet makes the smart lad," as the saying is (*is i 'bhonnaid bhiorach a ni 'n gille smiorail*). He had served as an Ensign under Colonel Hamilton of Redhouse on the plains of

Flanders, and is namely as the hero of the succour sent over the hills to one of the tartan in Glendaruel who had dirked a McArthur and taken to the heather. Proceedings resulted at Inveraray, and the inn-keeper from *Teyraid*, now *Tigh-na-rathaid*, was a witness, but Alexander when he died in 1706 was able to bequeathe his possessions to his nephew James vi, so he must have been acquitted (else these had been escheat to the Crown). He was an honorary burgess of Glasgow. But a meagre portion went to the daughters of James iv (the Ensign's sisters), of whom Isobel had just made an irregular or "half-merk" marriage to Coll Maclachlan of Over Inens (by Tighnabruaich), while of Laurence nothing is kenned.⁵

Under the Will of Alexander the new tutors of the young laird were ARCHIBALD XV, Stillaig, and Kilfinan. He was much in their keeping, and after his marriage to Isobel, daughter of Gorrie McAllister of Brainfeorline (now Brenfield, south of Ardrishaig), and niece of Tarbert, James had a new charter to the heirs male of his body with a clause of return to the chief's family, thereby excluding heirs male of former lairds who might be still to the fore. In 1735 he seems to have been living at the Point of Arran, by Lochranza, and in trade with the Isle of Man, both places notour for the handling of contraband (as was Tarbert Castle). A bill by him for £115 sterling (four years' rent of his estate) suggests spirit running, though he signed the undertaking to the authorities that Kerry tenants would not smuggle from 1743 to 1750. With the chief and a kinsman of his wife he had ventures in cattle.⁶ He is last heard of alive, just man, at the new year 1760, but soon died leaving two sons—Alexander, vii of Auchagoyl, and Lauchlan, who succeeded his brother later—and three daughters—Isobel (afterwards Mrs Sinclair), Grizel, dead by 1789, and Amelia, who surprisingly married a gauger Alexander Robertson in Rothesay (and later in Inverness).⁷

The new laird was short-lived, for in 1765 the estate was Lauchlan's, and he settled it, failing heirs male of his own body, on Captain Archibald, second son of ARCHIBALD XVII, under burden of £100 to each of his sisters. He then took his feet from the proud highlands, sailed for Norfolk in Virginia, and borrowed from Campbell of Barbreck the vast sum of £700 sterling (£8400 Scots) on the security of his 6 merk lands. If he was the first to fall to the lure of emigration he succumbed very soon to its hardships on 30th April 1773. Thus ended ingloriously and in exile the family of N. Auchagoyl after two centuries to the fore. Captain Archibald did not die till 1780, but because of the debts he had never the notion to take up the estate, and it was abandoned to the creditors. At the judicial sale it was bought by a John Gordon from the Isle of Bute, and he married Anna, eldest daughter of ARCHIBALD XVII. They

lived in it, changing the name to Gordonbank, but when he was carried to Kilfinan in 1794 it was all by with the Lamonts in N. Auchagoyl, and the Campbells of Otter in 1831 had it re-named after their old seat. The superiority alone was the chiefs'—till the disaster of 1893. None of the *duine uassail* were under the *bratach* of Inveryne but the McGorries of Knockdow.⁸

CHAPTER XXV

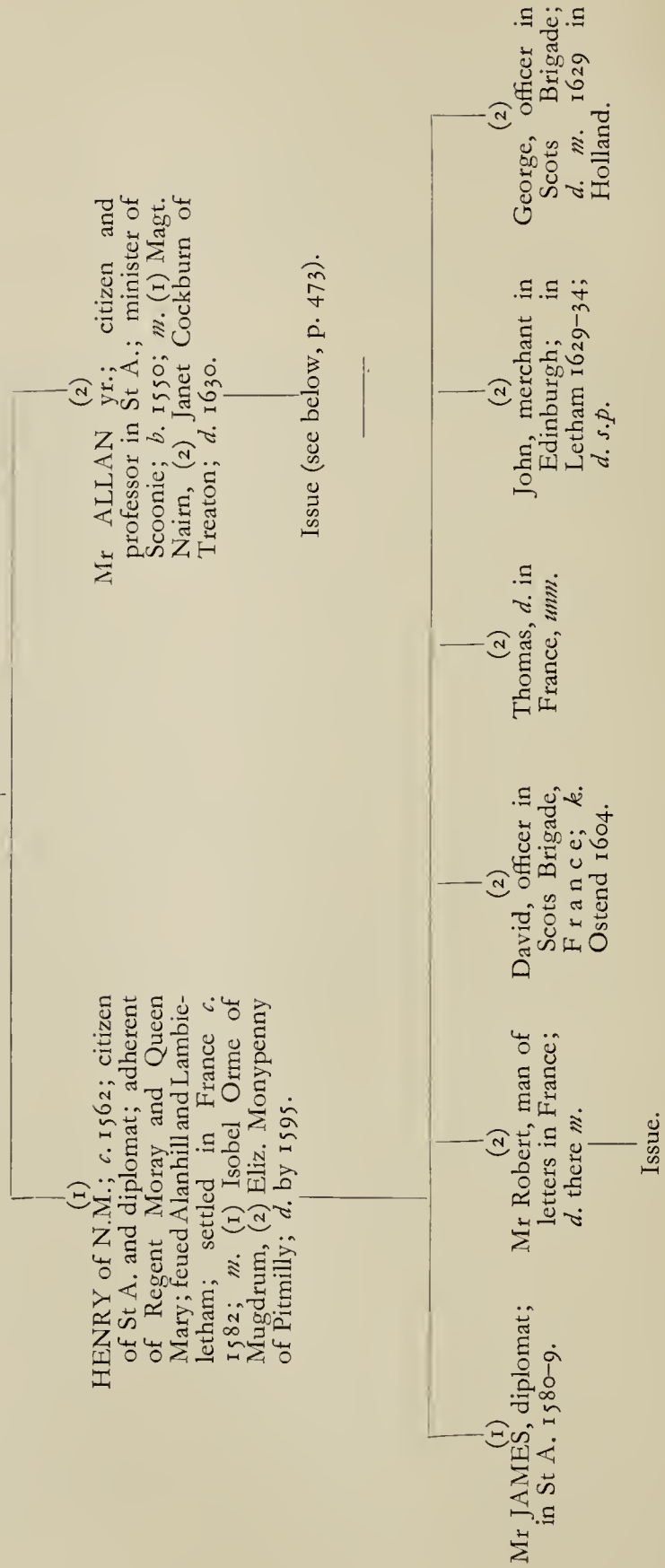
LAMONTS IN FIFE, YORKSHIRE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT, ETC., FROM 1527

FROM Mr Allan Lamont, settled in St Andrews by 1527 if not earlier, are descended most of the Lamonts in Fife, Yorkshire, and Kirkcudbright, and for certain those of Newton (near Markinch) and North Burton (in East Riding). Tradition and heraldry point to his being a brother of Sir JOHN X, but the records are inconclusive. An account of the family by a native of St Andrews, who was born in 1635 and died in 1712, is doubtless the tradition of Mr Allan's grandsons, and narrates that "Mr Allane Lawmond, second son to Lawmond of that Ilkin Argyle Shire was sent to the University of St. Andrews to be bred in the last days of King James V, that is about the year 1540, and there he past his degrees, and became a citizen of St. Andrews, and acquired from James Earl of Murray, Commendator of the Priory of St. Andrews and Convent thereof, the feu of the Milne of St. Andrews called the New Milne to him and his heirs male in August 1550." He had a son and three daughters by each of two marriages, continues the tale, giving details of the heir Henry and his issue. The date 1540 is a slip, for Mr Allan was chamberlain to the Priory in 1527, and for "second" son must be read "sixth," but for the lave there is writ in support. In 1810 it was still the tradition of the family that they were descended from the Lamonts of Lamont in Argyllshire.¹

That Mr Allan was youngest son of DUNCAN XI is in accord with what is kenned and suggested by one statement in the records, namely that he and a certain Mr John Lamont were both next-of-kin to a third party. If so they must have been sib to each other, and this Mr John, a student of the "British nation" from south-west Scotland, is without doubt the Mr John who was fifth son of DUNCAN IX. Heraldry confirms this inference, as Mr Allan in 1564, and Henry in 1582, were using the lion on their seals, in 1665 and 1709 their descendants of North Burton in Yorkshire had the chief's arms with tinctures altered, and in 1733 John Lamont of Newton (Mr Allan's great-great-grandson) presented to Scoonie kirk a communion cup with the lion within an orle of mullets (stars) (see plate 4).²

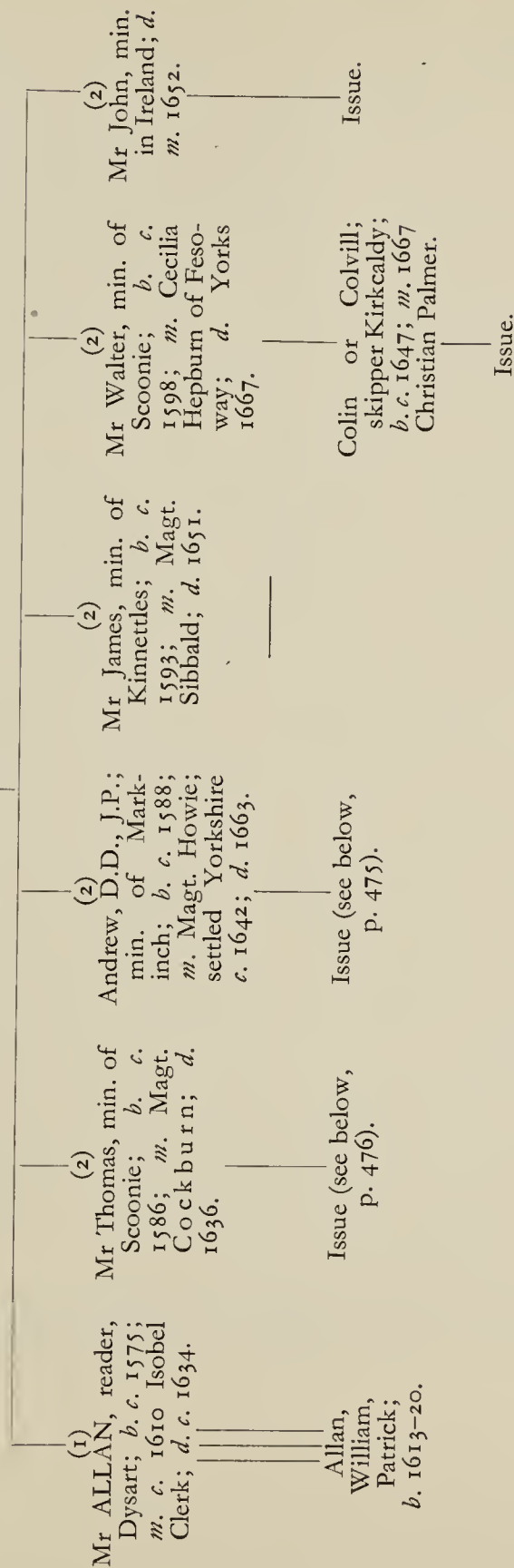
PEDIGREE OF EARLY LAMONTS IN FIFE, FRANCE, ETC.

Mr ALLAN, *c.* 1527; citizen and bailie of St Andrews; steward of priory and royal household; feued New Mill; *m.* (1) Dame Helen Melville, (2) Magt. Moncrieff, (3) Magt. Guthrie; *d.* 1574 (see above, p. 101).



PEDIGREE OF LATER LAMONTS IN FIFE, ETC.

Mr ALLAN yr.; citizen and professor in St Andrews; minister of Scoonie; *b.* 1550; *m.* (1) Magt. Nairn, (2) Janet Cockburn of Treaton; *d.* 1630 (see above, p. 472).



Note: last pedigree on p. 472.

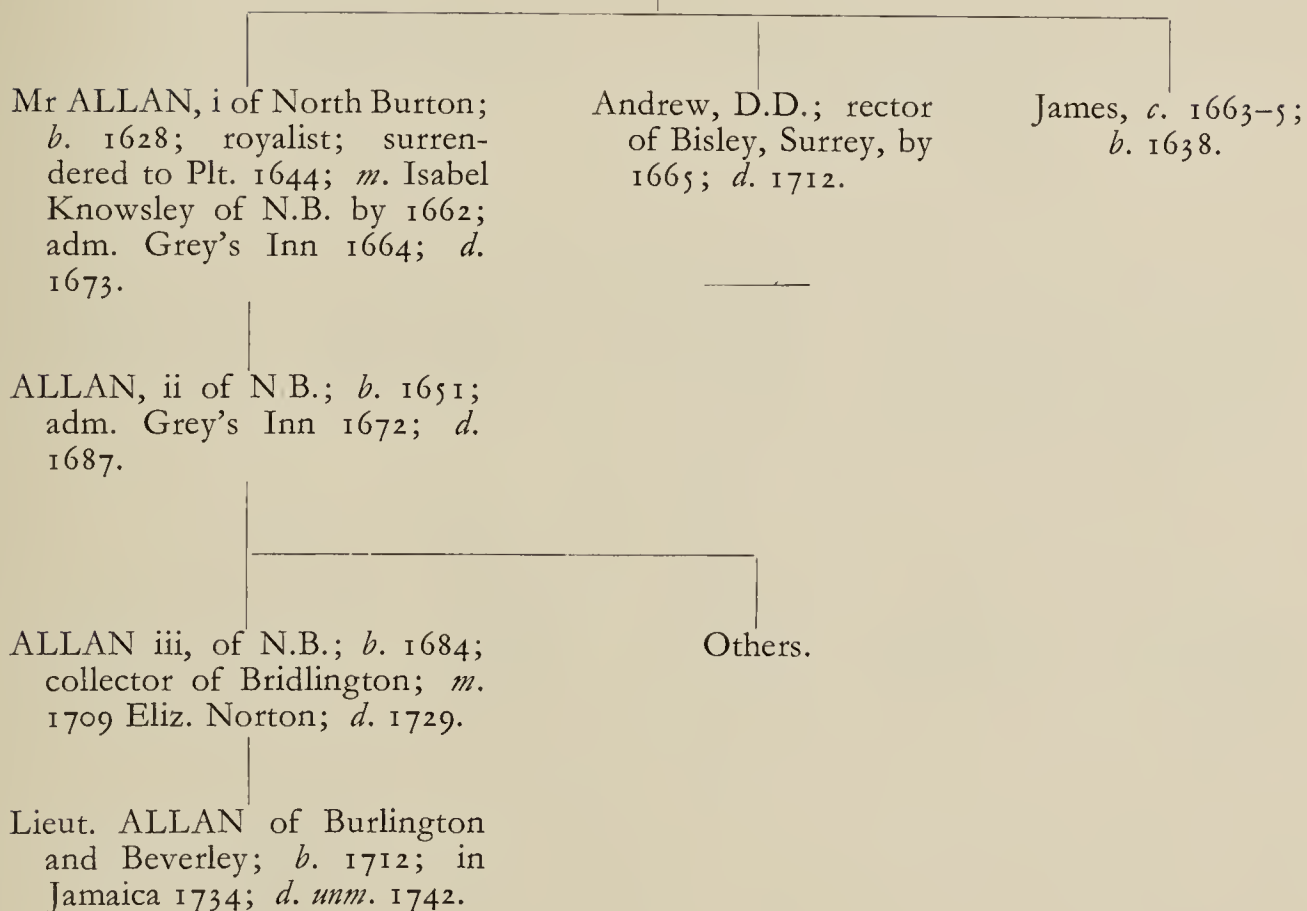
Allan,
William,
Patrick;
b. 1613-20.

This Henry, son of the founder's first marriage, sold his lands in 1582 and scattered his tartan over France and Holland. "Out of friendship to James Lord Colvill, Baron of Easter Wemys, who then uplifted a regiment of Scots men, all horse, for the service of King Henry IV of France," so the story runs on, "he went to France with the famous Lord Colvill and many other Scots gentlemen, and carried always with him his two eldest sons, Mr Robert and David Lawmonds, and entered with the King of France in his wars against the holy league of France." This is supported from other sources (see above, p. 472, for pedigree).³

The family in Fife was carried on by Mr Allan the second, son of his father's second marriage, who had six sons all in the church, in the records of which they are kenspeckle (see above, p. 473). The second of these sons, Mr Thomas, was minister of Scoonie parish and the ancestor of the Lamonts of Newton (see below, p. 476), and among them of a John namely for his historical *Diary*. The third of the six was Dr Andrew, J.P., who took his feet to Thwing in Yorkshire about 1642 on account of the troubles of the time, and his son was the first of North Burton (see below, p. 475).⁴ In 1730 a Mr John of the Newton family was made minister of Kelton in Kirkcudbright, and his younger surviving son David, following in the cloth, was moderator of the general assembly of the Church in the year of the gathering of the tartans for King George IV's visit to Scotland in 1822. This same was the laird of Erncrogo and Culshand, and founded the village of Kirkpatrick-Durham, where was his charge. His portrait is in plate 35. On a day of days he gave sermon from the pulpit of his forebears at Scoonie, and handled their cup. John, only son of the very reverend gentleman, went to the bar in Edinburgh, but later emigrated to Australia, dying in Wangaratta, Victoria, in 1873, the year of the sale of Monydrain by the present chief's grandfather now settled in New South Wales. This John's grandson, Frank Herbert Lamont, bank manager at Linton, near Ballarat, is a direct male representative of Mr Allan, the first who settled in Fife four centuries ago. Whether he is the heir male is not kened, for the records in this country have not yet been exhausted.⁵

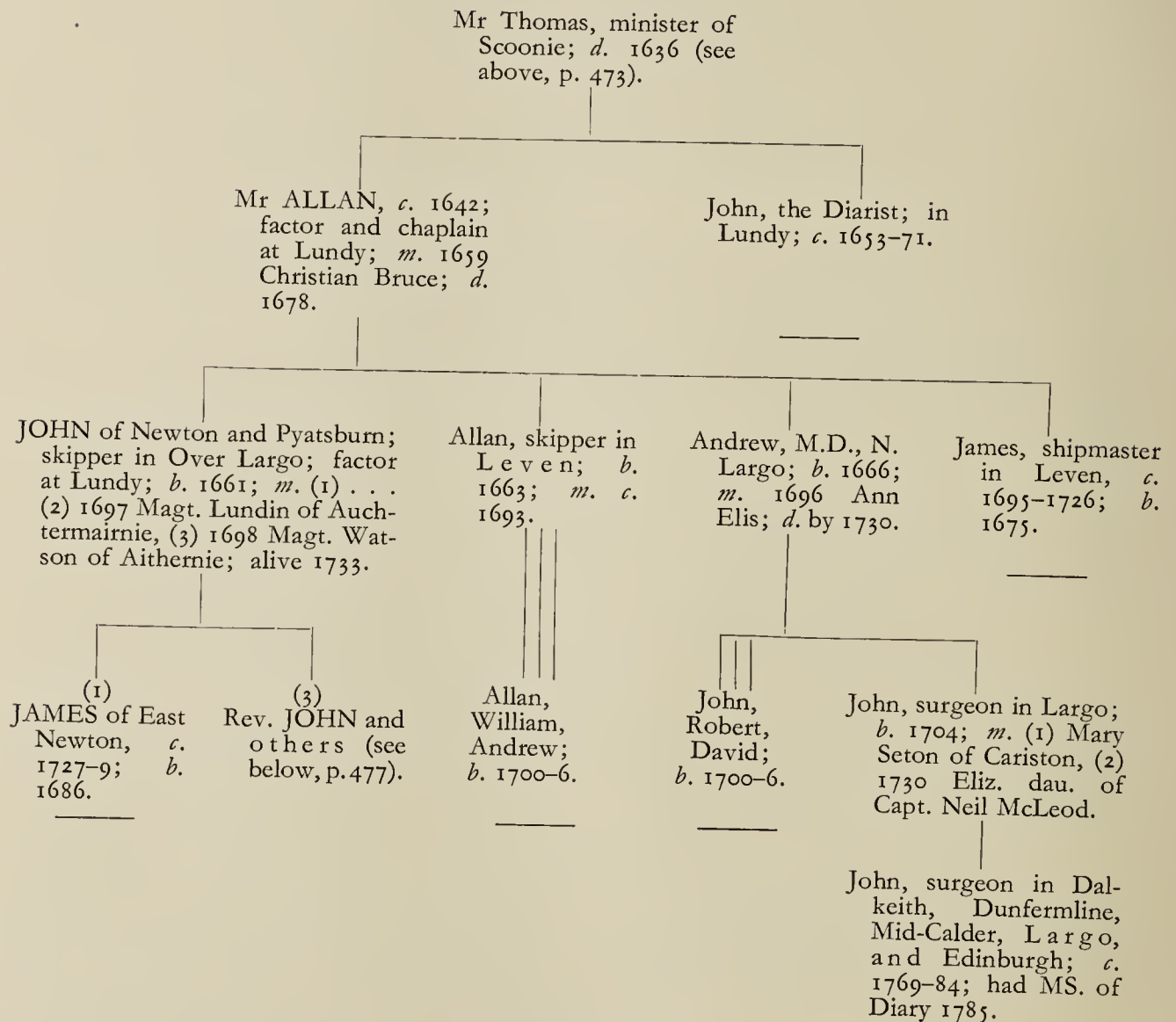
This is all there is space for in these pages, but the cadets of this branch, though now landless, are still to the fore.

ANDREW, D.D., J.P.;
 min. of Markinch, Fife;
b. c. 1588; *m.* Magt.
 Howie; settled Thwing,
 Yorkshire; *d.* 1663 (see
 above, p. 473).



Note: last pedigree on p. 473.

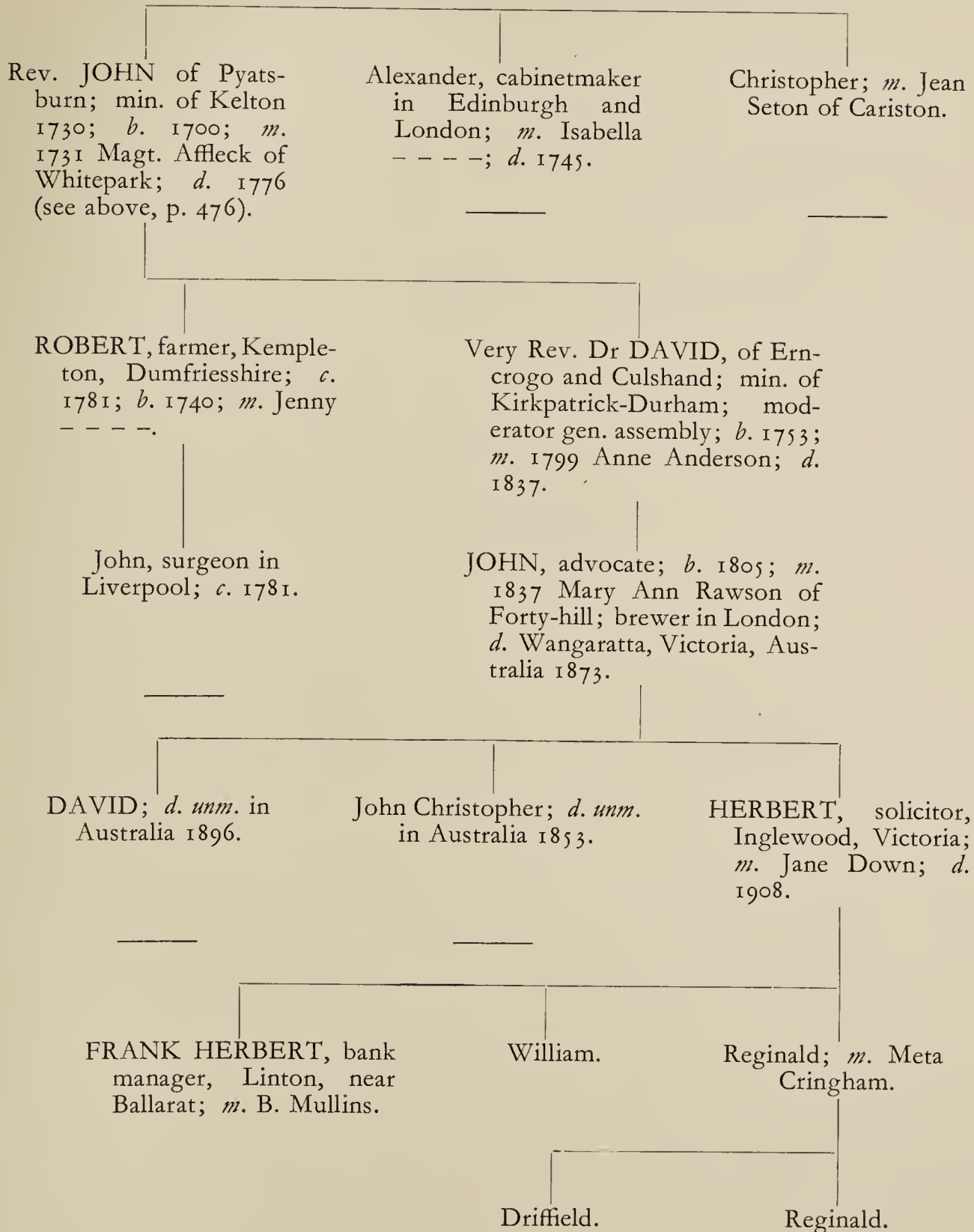
PEDIGREE OF LAMONTS OF NEWTON, ETC.



Note: last pedigree on p. 473.



VERY REV. DAVID LAMONT, D.D., OF ERNCROGO,
MINISTER OF KIRKPATRICK-DURHAM, 1778-1837



Note: last pedigree on p. 476.

PART THREE
CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XXVI

THE CLAN LAMONT TO-DAY,
1895-1935

IN the black month of November in the black year 1893 Ardlamont was in the hands of incomers. It was all by with the chiefs as Cowal lairds. Ill to thole was this fate for the spirit of Sir LAUMON, drifting sunwise in the wind in the night-time from the water of Glenkin to the points of Toward and Ardlamont, thence to the water of Lindsaig by Kilfinan, and so to the well of Tobar-fowar at Glendaruel head. Though the lion still fluttered from the towers of Knockdow, the tartan could not live on its past for the future. If it was to remain as a clan, and not merely as a memory, *duine uassail* and commons had to form a new bond. This they did within two years. In the summer of 1895 there met in a Glasgow club Lieutenant Alexander Lamont, Gordon Highlanders, second son of Knockdow, Robert Lamond, LL.B., son of Robert Peel Lamond, writer in Glasgow, of a Montrose stock, and William Lamont, C.A., Glasgow, sprung from the McPhadricks of Loch Striven. There and then they decided to form an association, the Lamont Clan Society.¹

A Constitution and Rules were adopted at a preliminary meeting in Glasgow on 18th September of that year. The Chief was, of course, JOHN HENRY XXI (plate 28), then living in the Isle of Wight; the President was James Lamont, xvi of Knockdow, afterwards 1st baronet; and the three Vice-Presidents were Mrs Margaret Lamont Campbell, Craig Cottage, widow of the chief's brother Celestine Norman of Possil; Colonel the Hon. Daniel Scott Lamont, Minister of State for the Army, U.S.A., descended of old Knockdow tenants who were in Bute before crossing the Atlantic; and James Lamond, S.S.C., Edinburgh, probably of Braemar ancestry. The original five members of Council were Norman Lamont, yr. of Knockdow (now xvii thereof, second baronet and President of the Society: plate 33); his brother Lieutenant Alexander; Henry Lamont, Craig, by Kilmarnock (afterwards of Greenlaw and Gribton), also of the McPhadricks; Robert Peel Lamond; and Surgeon-Captain John C. Lamont, I.M.S., Lahore, India (now a retired Colonel, C.I.E., residing in Edinburgh), of Braemar stock. William Lamont, C.A. (now Lieutenant-Colonel, V.D., lately of Ardfenaig,

Ardrishaig: see plate 16), was appointed treasurer, and the joint secretaries were James K. Lamont, Springhill, Port-Glasgow, a writer and Bute Pursuivant, whose forebears were in Braemar, and Robert Lamond, LL.B., Glasgow, a son of Robert Peel Lamond. The first auditor was James F. Lamont, Sunderland (for long in British Columbia), descended of a Peter Lamont in Drum of Kerry.²

Others rallied at once on the raising of the *bratach* from all sections of the clan in all the airts. Those on the Council by the turn of the century were Colonel William Lamont, V.D., Greenock; Charles Lamond, accountant of the Highland Railway, Inverness; Charles Turner, banker, Innellan, of an old Cowal family, tenants of Corrachave in Glen Lean; the Rev. John Lamond, minister of Greenside parish church, Edinburgh, of Braemar stock (later known as a spiritualist); Major John W. F. Lamont, Royal Artillery, South Africa, of a Tíree family (later of Crambeth, Kinross-shire, and now a retired Brigadier-General, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., residing in London); and the Rev. Archibald Lamont, B.D., South Shields, county Durham, who had ties with Glais and the McPhadricks (later mayor of Durban in Natal). In 1900 the secretaryship was taken over by Miss Augusta Lamont of Knockdow. She and her elder brother, the treasurer, the Surgeon-Captain and the Major, are the only survivors at this day of these early officers. How the clansmen had scattered is well shown by the homes of them all, and the branches out-by are kenspeckle as against the main body in Cowal. In the kin from Braemar the old spirit was at its highest, but *beannachd leis* to all Lamonts who by their re-union shed lustre on their tartan.³

From the outset the Society had an eye to the past, as was but right, and the present Knockdow at the first annual meeting in 1897 rendered *Sketches from the History of Clan Lamont from the earliest times to 1663*, which he continued to date two years after. Meantime James K. Lamont had lectured on *The Chiefs of Clan Lamont*, all three being printed at the *Oban Times* office in 1899. For their time they were by-ordinary, and the present historian has but widened the trail they had blazed and opened its by-paths. Gatherings were held in the old country, at Knockdow in 1897, then at Ardlamont, visiting Ascog, at Inverchaolain, and at Kilmun. 1901 saw the tartan at the Glasgow Exhibition; the next year at Ardrishaig. *Further Sketches* were given by Knockdow junior in 1902, also printed. The notion of a history was early in mind, for the prospectus of 1903 foretold that "when sufficient material has accumulated it is intended to place it in the hands of a competent antiquary to sift and reduce it to order. Thereafter it is the aim of the Society to issue an illustrated history of the clan on the lines of Sir William Fraser's well-known *red*

books of various Scottish families." How far this ideal has been attained is for the readers at this day to determine.⁴

Clan Laomainn had its muster in 1903 at Otter, Kilfinan, and Tighnabruaich; next year on Loch Striven in the *P.S. Isle of Bute*; then in Glendaruel. It was decided to do honour to the victims of the massacre at Dunoon in 1646 by the erection of a memorial to be unveiled by the chief at *Tom-a'-mhoid* in 1906. Over £100 was collected from the members for the granite monolith with Celtic cross and bronze scroll so well kenned by all Lamonts (plate 18). As the crane at Dunoon could not handle 3 tons 15 cwts. it was sent in September by Wade's road and the Rest-and-be-Thankful. But the lorry was unequal to the occasion and collapsed in Glencroe, when the stone was returned by the railway to Bowling. There it was shipped on the *S.L. Barracouta* bound for Portree, and at low tide was put on to a lorry at Dunoon. So the memorial was in a position by the 29th when JOHN HENRY in person took the lead, having travelled from Devonshire for the day of days. The Rev. John Lamond, in a long address, spoke as follows: "To one like myself who believes in the immortality of the soul, I cannot but believe that this act on our part will be pleasing to the shades of the departed. Nor can I imagine that they are indifferent to the proceedings of this day. From beyond that bourne whence they have fared they may recall the sorrowful ending of their lives, but they will rejoice that they still live in the memory of their descendants. To you, the Magistrates of Dunoon, we entrust the keeping of this monument." After the chief had unveiled the memorial, the representative of the town council accepted its custody, remarking that while they no longer hanged visitors to Dunoon they still put their hands in their pockets! The proceedings ended on a sprightly note with "the Clan Lamont strathspey, specially composed for the occasion by Colonel Lamont, Greenock." It is not known to the historian.⁵

Two speakers made special reference to one member who was not with them at the ceremony. This was a reflection of some discord which had arisen over the issue of a membership card. Now that clan battles between rival tartans are at an end, the spirit which led up to them finds its outlet in disputes within the tartans themselves. No highland association has been without them. It is better to say nothing of this skirmish than that it led to the absence from the councils of *Clan Laomainn* of some namely members for 30 years, and that no approved membership card has ever been issued, though the chief gifted £15 to the Society for that purpose. Some questions of armorial bearings were raised, and maybe as a result JOHN HENRY XXI matriculated his arms in 1909, with supporters which had never before been authorised in Lyon Court.⁶

The name of the Society was inverted (to "Clan Lamont Society") by 1906, when Robroyston was sold by the Trustees of ARCHIBALD JAMES XX. Gatherings there were at Rothesay, at Edinburgh Exhibition, at Loch Lomond, and at Inveraray (among the Diarmaids). November of 1910 was memorable for a complimentary luncheon and presentation at Innellan to the President, old Knockdow, on his being created a baronet. The three musters before the war years were at Loch Eck, at Dunoon (for Innellan and Toward), and at Edinburgh. Before the last, in July of 1913, old Sir James went from his tartan to his rest by the Ardyne burn. His son, the present Sir Norman, had for years been preparing for publication his *Lamont Papers*, which are the staple of this history. These were the contents of the *Inveryne Charters*, so far as available to him, and of many records in the Register House and in private keeping. In November of 1914 it was presented to the Scottish Record Society, and was so at the disposal of all scholars in the clan and beyond it. The work of a decade, it was a costly and generous gift for behoof of *Clan Laomainn*.⁷

During the whole of the great war, from 1914 to 1918, the clan gatherings were suspended, and the whole energies of the Lamonts, quality and commons, were at the disposal of their country. Inestimable service was rendered in these years of distress by the *Clan Lamont Journal*, a quarterly started in October of 1912 and continuing (at longer intervals) to this day. For the first time the tartan had its own reading, though it was sad for the most. The credit must be given to Arthur H. Lamont, Hereford, for the notion, and for acting as editor for many years. He came of an old military stock from Castleton of Braemar. For the cover a graceful design was devised by Alexander Hay Lamont, A.R.I.B.A., showing within a border of interlacing Celtic pattern Toward and Ascog castles, the Ballochyle brooch and the Lamont harp, all depicted in this volume (plates 9-12 and 29). The designer (now architect to the Scottish Command) is of the Ayrshire branch, and has been indefatigable secretary of the Society since 1920, though he has shared that office with Donaldson Turner since 1935. The *Journal* has been ever a bond to the scattered *Clan Laomainn*, giving word of their doings, telling of namely members and their forebears, and printing the baptism and marriage registers of Cowal (copied by Mrs Hay Lamont) that descent might be traced. But in the war it did more. There is comfort in kinship and the sharing of loss, and reading of the sons of others, lost also, often gave ease where they left the open door in old highland fashion for a ghost that never came to them over the plains and the seas.⁸

Four hundred of the brave of the clan fell in the war, and 954 were

wounded, full details being printed in the *Journal* from time to time. To their memory the Society in November 1920 presented and dedicated a shield in the Highlanders' Memorial Church in Glasgow. A special service was conducted by the Rev. John Lamond, the lessons being read by the editor, Arthur H. Lamont. Many clansmen and women attended, and the senior Vice-President, Duncan Lamont, Innellan, made the presentation. This same was of a Bute stock (later residing at Inveryne, Pollokshields). It was a memorable occasion. In the August thereafter the Lamont arms were again to the fore, for the chief, who had long been an honorary Vice-President of the Cowal Games, presented as a prize for juvenile piping another shield. This bore his personal arms with supporters, forbye the other clan relics on the cover of the *Journal*, while the Society's only showed the silver lion on the blue field. It was handed over by representatives of the Society on behalf of JOHN HENRY XXI, who was not present at either event. The gatherings had recommenced in 1919 at Stirling, and were successively thereafter at Dunoon, at Innellan, at Arrochar, at Dunoon again, and then in 1924, as a novelty, at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. There in yellow July they met in the Australian Pavilion, a fit spot, for the chief apparent Edward Louis and his brothers and nephews were all resident in that part of the Empire.⁹

Lieutenant-Colonel William Lamont, C.A., V.D., formerly treasurer but by then senior Vice-President, was in the chair, and he had a scheme to put forward. As phrased in the *Journal* it was "That the Society should adopt as a policy the purchase of land in Cowal." The chief had agreed that the sum of £15 he had given for a membership card should be diverted to this object, and with a fund to be built up with this and other donations he suggested that they should "buy a domicile of some sort at Dunoon (the ancient capital of Cowal) to be used as a place of meeting, and as a museum for clan records and relics—in fact as a home and a footing on the soil of our forefathers, to be held for ever." Later this policy might be extended. This "plan of buying back portions of our former possessions as voiced by the chairman," was hailed by the editor of the *Journal* as "a noble conception, which has hitherto only existed in our minds as a dreamy myth, or at most a pious opinion. But now that it is taking concrete form," he added, "let no time be lost in putting words into action." Colonel Lamont for his part presented his brochure on the clan tartan to be sold by the Society for behoof of the fund, but alas! in ten years' time it had only reached some £57. Members have not given to it the support it deserves. The next muster was at Kilfinan and Ascog in 1925; then a round trip was undertaken by Dunoon to

Inveraray by road and back by Loch Fyne; in 1927 they met at Loch Eck and Glendaruel, then at Edinburgh, and in 1929 in the Burns country.¹⁰

This last year marked the end of an era, for on 11th March the tartan had to mourn JOHN HENRY XXI. He had been chief for 67 years since the death of his father ARCHIBALD JAMES XX in 1862. The President and ex-Treasurer represented the Society at the funeral in Isle of Wight, and a tablet was erected in the old vault of his forebears at Kilfinan which he had long deserted. While it was known and regretted that he had been selling the family portraits, it came as a surprise that he left nothing of this world's goods. The £30,000 of proceeds from Ardlamont had slipped through his fingers. It is idle to deny that much criticism has passed upon him, which is set out above with the answer he would have given. The verdict is for posterity, but it was a relief to most clansmen when the scene shifted to the plains of Australia. His successor was his second cousin EDWARD LOUIS XXII (plate 2) a retired banker of Sydney, 83 years of age. He is familiar to all members, and his doings and interest in his own folk are kenspeckle in the *Journal*, to which he was a contributor.¹¹

That same year of 1929 was by-ordinary also in that on 29th December there was appointed a History Publication Committee of the Council, consisting of Professor Daniel Lamont, D.D. (brother of the Rev. Archibald Lamont and since moderator of the Church of Scotland), Robert Lamond, LL.B., and Alexander Hay Lamont, A.R.I.B.A., the last the convener. On the death of the second in January 1931 he was replaced by Miss M. R. Lamont, Burntisland. At the gathering of 1927 in Glendaruel Harry A. Black, of Galveston, Texas, had been present and was impressed with the good-fellowship and ideals of the Society. With Thomas W. Lamont, of Messrs J. P. Morgan & Co., Wall Street, New York, he made a most generous offer to the Society, that they would find four-fifths of a sum estimated to be sufficient to publish a full history of the clan, provided the Society would raise the remaining one-fifth and the members would contribute any traditional or other knowledge they possessed. The Council gratefully accepted the offer, and after some negotiation it was agreed on 3rd April 1930 that the present writer should undertake the task, involving research for new evidence and the work of writing up the whole material old and new into a completed account of the clan from the dark of time to the present day. It was hoped that the task might be completed in three years, but that proved impossible, and eight years have been devoted to it, bringing the story down to 1935 from a beginning about 1235. Seven centuries of documented history is a record few clans can achieve. At a muster at Kames in September of



GATHERING AT KNOCKDOW, 1934

1930 Harry A. Black was present with his family, and a visit was paid to Ardlamont and Kilfinan, where some of the photographs reproduced in this volume were taken by the secretary (plates 7, 16 and 20).¹²

Next year the Society forgathered at Dumfries; thereafter at Rothesay for a sail up Loch Striven; and in 1933 at St Andrews, home of an old branch. By this time, however, dissension again appeared in its ranks, the question being as to the regularity of some meetings. A statement appeared in the *Journal* which was highly controversial, and there has actually been a lawsuit as to the control of its funds. All, however, have done everything in their power to forward the history, which affords a new common objective more positive in its character than any before. 1933 was notour as the *Journal* reached its 21st birthday, and the series of winter gatherings then begun is continued to this day. But 1934 was as memorable, for in July EDWARD LOUIS XXII passed to his rest unmarried, being succeeded by his brother COLL ANDREW XXIII, and the tartan had its muster again at Knockdow after an absence of 37 years. Miss Lamont, Burntisland, planted a crab apple in the grounds to mark the occasion, depicted in plate 36. The new chief was not long in his office and died in June 1935. He married Emma, daughter of George Cobham Watson, Crown Lands Ranger, and resided in Parramatta, New South Wales. He was succeeded by his only son, RONALD COLL XXIV, the present chief. A third death was that of Harry A. Black in Texas, before he had seen any of this history in print, though part in typescript had been sent to him.¹³

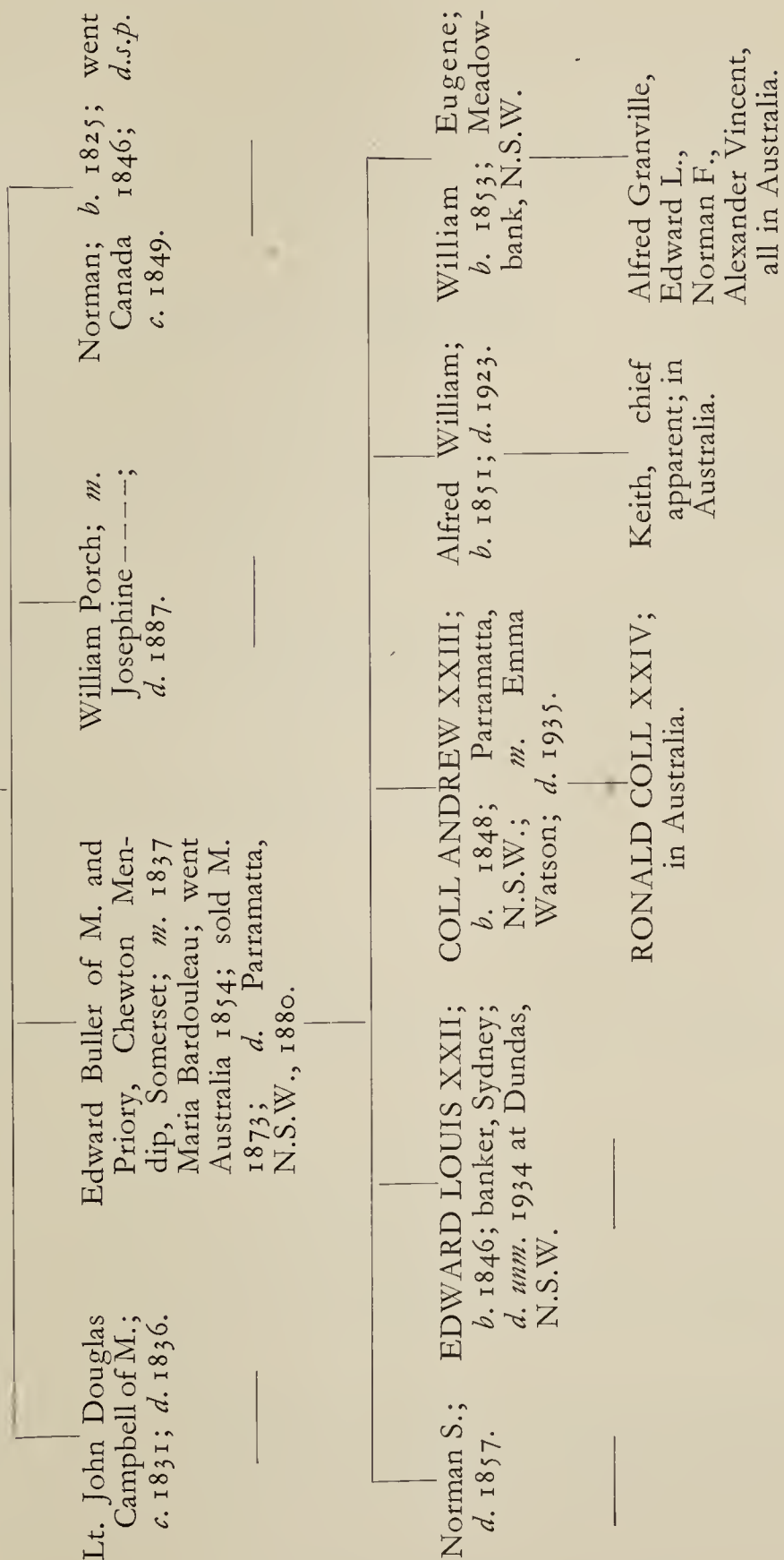
In September of 1935 the name Lamont was to the fore when there was unveiled at Inverey of Braemar a memorial to John Lamont, the astronomer, better kened as Johann von Lamont, as his life's work was in Germany. A detachment of the Society was present, and Captain Lamont's March given on the pipes (plate 5). Later in the month the whole tartan had its meeting in Edinburgh, and attended the *Mod* concert of *An Comunn Gaidhealach* in the Usher Hall, sitting in the royal tier behind her Royal Highness the Duchess of York. That morning the historian published in the *Scotsman* an account of the tradition, amply supported by evidence, that the family of Lyon, now Bowes-Lyon, of Glamis, to which she belongs, is sib to that of Lamont of Inveryne, and probably descended from it in the male line. The only event to be mentioned after the year 1935—set as the limit of this book—is that on 12th May 1937 this Lady Elizabeth was crowned as Queen of this realm. Thus at last is there Lamont blood on the throne holding sway over an Empire world wide, but no wider than has spread the *Clan Laomainn* with the march of the years.¹⁴

Seven centuries and the seven seas is the compass of this history. So long is the road that the writer may be excused if he has not lingered on the home stretches so well kenned by his readers. Their own time they well know without the telling. A long line of heirs male to the chiefship have they to come, and there is no fear of the tragedy that has befallen some tartans who are reduced to a woman as their leader, contrary to the whole history and spirit of the clan system. If it lives at all, surely it must keep up the old ways so far as is possible. The pedigree of the present chiefs' line is appended. Sad to say, little is known of them in this country, save their names. The chief apparent is Keith Lamont, only son of EDWARD LOUIS's and COLL ANDREW's younger brother Alfred William (who died in 1923). The last brother William Eugene has four sons, all in Australia, Alfred Granville, Edward L., Norman F., and Alexander Vincent Lamont who served in the Dardanelles in the Great War. *Beannachd leis* to them all from their kin.¹⁵

For the rest of the tartan what of the future? Other clans have the notion of land purchase mentioned above, and the Highland Society of London is at their back. The suggestion was again made in the *Journal* for 1933, and the historian ventures, if he may, heartily to commend it. It is too much to hope that the chiefs may ever again reside in the shattered walls of Toward Castle, though in 1912 the Macleans rebuilt their Duart and in 1932 the Macraes their Eilean Donan, while in the year of writing (1938) the McNeils are at work on their Kismull. Still and on there is no reason why the Lamonts should not preserve their old castles from the wild ash and the decay of time. Look at the keep of Ascog on the cover of the *Journal*, as it was in 1912, and in plate 29, as it is now. The contrast is kenspeckle. No one is to blame but the *Clan Laomainn*: they have allowed half to fall to the ground. This is indeed a scant tribute to their forefathers. Not only Ascog, but Toward Castle also, is tended by Diarmaids. These ruins should be repurchased and repointed to preserve for the future the little that is left of what sheltered their old chiefs and *duine uassail*. No great sum is involved, and, when next they come on the market, the Society will be false to its traditions if it is not "feet for it" to the walls that their forebears have lifted in the centuries of their pride. Then may they go on their ways through the world, neither coy nor crouse.¹⁶

PEDIGREE OF PRESENT CHIEFS' LINE

Captain Norman of Monydrain;
D.L. (Argyll); M.P. for Wells;
b. 1778; *m.* 1809 Hannah Porch,
Somerset; *d.* 1834 (see above,
p. 346).



Note: last pedigree on p. 346.

REFERENCE NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. For the tradition see Sir Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* (1816), chap. xxx, pp. 286-8, referred to in *Clan Lamont Journal*, vol. iv, p. 55; and for the saying see Sheriff Alexander Nicolson, *Gaelic Proverbs* (2nd edn., 1882), p. 382, the Gaelic being “*anail a’ Ghàidheil-air a’ mbullach.*”

2. The proverb is from Nicolson, p. 289, and the poetry from *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod* (ed. J. Carmichael Watson, 1934), pp. 38-9, the Gaelic being “*agus t’ fholachd is t’ uaisle cha bu shuarach ri leanmhainn*” and “*cha bhreug ach sgeul dearbhtha.*”

3. William Buchanan of Auchmar, *Ancient Scottish Surnames* (1723), pp. 95-6 (1820 edn., pp. 115-16).

4. See Neil Munro, *The Lost Pibroch* (1896), first story.

5. See below, pp. 63, 95.

6. The proverb is from Nicolson, p. 48.

7. Auchmar, pp. 97 (117); see below, p. 291.

8. The reference is to Neil Munro, *Doom Castle* (1901), in which the Lamont chief is mistakenly depicted as in Dundarave Castle, near Inveraray, which was in fact the seat of the McNaughtons.

9. The proverb is from Nicolson, p. 36, and the quotation in the next paragraph from *The Poetry of Neil Munro* (1931), p. 52.

10. See Nicolson, pp. 324 and 199; the Gaelic in the latter case is “*ged’ bhrìst thu ’n cnàimh, cha d’ dheoghail thu ’n smior.*” Knockdow’s publications include an *Inventory of Lamont Papers, 1231-1897* (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1914) (hereafter referred to as *L.P.*), and three *Lectures* delivered to the Society, two in 1897 and 1899 (printed in *Clan Lamont Society*, Oban, 1899, along with a Lecture by the late J. K. Lamont), and the third in 1902 (printed separately, Oban, 1902).

11. *A’ Chombachag*, *The Owl Remembers*, is the title of a well-known Gaelic poem, see *The Owl Remembers* (ed. Rev. John MacKechnie and Patrick McGlynn, Stirling, 1933), pp. 16-17; the proverb is from Nicolson, p. 119, and the other quotation is from Neil Munro, *Gillian the Dreamer* (1899), p. 19.

12. See *The Lost Pibroch*, last story, and Nicolson, pp. 154 and 208.

CHAPTER II

1. The full inscription, as given in D. Gemmill, *Topography of the River Clyde* (Greenock, 1818), p. 49, in *L.P.*, 1440, p. 423, is as follows: “*Tha mise MacLaomain mor Chombail uile; Tobhairt Dhuiste, Rídireadh Dubh Lochó ’adh, Uaigh lic Thiolaca do mbic ’s thu an Airc.*” As to Glassary see note 5 below, and as to Argyll W. F. Skene’s note to Sir James McGregor, *Book of Dean of Lismore* (1862), p. 135.

2. Neil Munro, *The Clyde* (1907), p. 153.

3. The last end paper of this book is a reproduction of No. 12 of Timothy Pont’s *Maps*, in the National Library, from which the quotation is made. The craig is there called Clachan-in-Foycach, and is so transcribed in *Macfarlane’s Geographical Collections*, MS. in Nat. Lib., 35.3.12, vol. ii, fol. 435, printed for Scot. Hist. Soc., 1906–8, vol. ii, p. 511, but the “F” is probably a mistake for “T” which appears in all the charter evidence, see *R.M.S. MS.*, vol. 30, No. 552, print vol. iv, No. 467, see also MS., vol. 24, fol. 4; *Toiseach* may also mean of the chief; cf. *Clach-nam-Breatann* in Glenfalloch, in *Highland Papers, infra*, iv, 13.

4. James Browne, *History of the Highlands* (1850), iv, 454, in *L.P.*, 11, p. 8; Neil Munro, *Doom Castle* (1901), p. 129. The “snout of Cowal” is difficult to identify, but it is obviously a literal translation of the Gaelic “*sron*”; Knockdow’s identification of it is here adopted in preference to that of His Grace The Duke of Argyll, who has suggested Toward Point.

5. The *Inveraray Supply Records* (MS. in Inveraray Court House), 10th Oct. 1695, box II, shelf 4, show that Cowal then included the whole parishes of Inveraray and Glassary; see also Act of 1751 in Archibald Brown, *History of Cowal* (Greenock, 1908), p. 12.

6. *R.M.S. MS.*, vol. 7, No. 221, print vol. ii, No. 1110; *Argyll Charters*, 31st Mar. 1498, in *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, ii (i), 57–61, Appendix to 4th Report of Historical Manuscripts Commission, pp. 478–9, and *L.P.*, 79, p. 30; *R.M.S. MS.*, vol. 13, No. 334, print vol. ii, No. 2402; see also *R.S.S.*, vol. i, fol. 50, and *G.R.S.*, 17th Feb. 1637, xlv, 258.

7. Kerry was the southern section of Kilfinan parish, which included also Otter; see Brown’s *Cowal*, appendix 6, and *O.P.S.*, ii (i), 49; the name is as old as 1356 (see below, p. 61), and for reference in 1423 see (Vatican) *Reg. Suppliche*, clix, 124 and clx, 1 in J. R. N. Macphail, *Highland Papers* (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1934), iv, 176–181, and see below, note 12 of chap. v.

8. See Neil Munro, *The Clyde*, p. 172; and for the quotation in the next paragraph, *ibid.*, p. 139 (cp. his *Poetry* (1931), p. 24, for a different rendering).

9. See *The Lost Pibroch*, p. 263, referring, however, to Castle Dark not Doom Castle.

10. The first quotation is from Bishop John Lesley of Ross’s *De Origine, etc. Scotorum* (Rome, 1578), p. 20 (translated by Father James Dalrymple (1596), published by Scot. Text Soc. (1898), pp. 31–2); and the second from Neil Munro’s *Poetry*, p. 19. As to Inveryne see *C.L.J.*, i, 11. The quotation in the next paragraph is from *Gillian the Dreamer*, p. 31.

11. See *Highland Papers*, iv, 201, 234.

12. The bridge is illustrated in Brown's *Cowal*, at p. 110. The quotation is from Neil Munro's *Poetry*, p. 23. For the reference in the next paragraph to 1578, see p. 110 below and note 10 above.

13. Dunoon and Kilmun were "the head burghs of Argyle" in 1553, but by 1583 it was arguable that Inveraray was the "principall toun" of the sheriffdom (see *L.P.*, 188, p. 62, and 1427, p. 417). Kilmun was probably little but an ecclesiastical establishment and the Campbell burying place, but Dunoon had its castle, ferry, sheriff court, kirk and mill (see *L.P.*, 26, p. 14; 271, p. 87; 157, p. 51; 1427, p. 416; 191, p. 64; 343, p. 110; 1400, p. 410; 1427, p. 417; *I. C.(A.)*, 5th Aug. 1548 and 11th April 1559, and *L.P.*, 258, p. 83). Innellan carried 60 head of cattle in 1561, when it passed out of Knockdow's hands (see *L.P.*, 1423, pp. 414-5). On the whole topic see Pont's and other early maps. See *John Splendid* (1898), p. 16.

14. The proverb is from T. D. Macdonald, *Gaelic Proverbs* (Stirling, 1926), No. 531; see also Duke of Argyll, *Scotland as it Was and as it Is* (1887), ii, 75.

15. See Neil Munro, *Doom Castle*, p. 129, Col. Wm. Rose Campbell of Ballochyle. Address to Glasgow Cowal Society, 23rd Feb. 1875 (reprinted Rothesay, 1901), p. 9, and Seton Gordon in *Glasgow Herald*, 5th May 1934, and *Highways and Byeways in the West Highlands* (1935), p. 399.

CHAPTER III

1. In *C.L.J.*, i, 305, the old clan rallying-cry, "*Sloch-de-chubair gu bragh*," is mentioned. It was nothing of the sort, but the rallying-cry of the Campbell Inveraray burghers, see Neil Munro, *The Lost Pibroch* (1896), 241, 285. As to patron saints see Niall D. Campbell (now Duke of Argyll) in *Scot. Hist. Rev.* (1913), vol. x, pp. 32-3.

2. See note 13 below; J. R. N. Macphail, *Highland Papers* (*Scot. Hist. Soc.*, 1916), ii, 225-6, note 3; seal among *Maclachlan Charters*; *Lyon Office Register*, i, 189 (quartered); Jas. Logan, *The Scottish Gael* (1831), i, 291 (Stewart's edn., 1876, i, 298-9).

3. *Bannatyne Charters*, 14th Aug. 1516, bundle III, No. 21; letter of 20th June 1739 in *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie)*, *Lamont v. Lamont*, 1738; *Laing Charters* (ed. Rev. John Anderson, 1899), 2nd Apr. 1564, No. 771, in *L.P.*, 252, p. 80; seal, 27th Apr. 1583, in *Macdonald Collection* (Lyon Office), from St Andrews University muniments.

4. J. H. Stevenson, *Heraldry in Scotland* (1914), i, 13; Sir J. B. Paul in *Scot. Hist. Rev.* (1920), xvii, 301; see below, pp. 52, 69, 170.

5. See below, p. 323; *Highland Papers*, ii, 138-9, has an admirable facsimile of the retour and seals of 1355; see below, p. 61; Stevenson's *Heraldry*, i, 107.

6. *Bannatyne Charters* as in note 3 above; *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet* (Maitland Club, 1832), pp. 132-3, 137-8, in *L.P.*, 2, 4-5, 9, pp. 2, 4-5, 7; lithograph in *Cosmo Innes's Papers* (Register House), vol. ii, p. 3, in *L.P.*, 10, p. 7 (not as there stated Thomas Thomson's Papers).

7. *I.C.(A.)*, 25th May 1481 (transumpt of 17th Feb. 1432-3) in *L.P.*, 63, p. 26; *Argyll Charters*, 1st June 1497, in *L.P.*, 73, p. 29; see also *Historical MSS. Commission*, 4th Report, pp. 478-9.

8. *Knockdow Charters*, 26th Aug. 15(4)0; *I.C.(A.)*, 23rd July 1511; *Argyll Charters*, 1st June 1530; *Laing Charters*, 22nd June 1530, No. 381; all in *L.P.*, 83, 85, 112, 114, pp. 31, 38-9; see also *L.P.*, 57, 118, 130, pp. 24, 41, 44; see below, pp. 60, 185, 90, and 78.

9. *Bannatyne Charters* as in note 3 above; *I.C.*, 2nd Jan. 1547-8, and c. 1560 (*I.I.*, I, x, 11), in *L.P.*, 172, 228, pp. 56, 75; I have to thank Mr A. Hay Lamont, Hon. Secy. of the C.L.S., for photographing the latter seal; *Laing Charters* and *Macdonald Collection* as in note 3 above.

10. See below, pp. 195, 128.

11. See below, p. 44; *The Scots Peerage*, vol. viii, p. 263; Sir James Balfour, *List of Scottish Surnames and Arms* (1630-54), MS. in National Library, 15.1.11 (copy in Lyon Office, p. 39).

12. See Stevenson, *ut supra*, i, 105-6; James Pont, *Note of the Arms of Scotland* (c. 1624), MS. in Lyon Office, p. 114 (modern copy, p. 102); Robert Porteous, *Index of Arms* (c. 1661), MS. in Lyon Office, No. 33, p. 89, No. 20.

13. Sir W. Dugdale, *Visitation of Yorks* (1665), in Surtees Society, xxxvi, 75, *Genealogist* (1912), xxviii, 168, and *L.P.*, 846, p. 253; see below, p. 266; Act 1672, cap. 21, in Thomson's *A.P.S.*, c. 47, vol. viii, p. 95, and Stevenson, ii, 439; *Lyon Office Register of Arms*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 178; see also *L.P.*, 905, p. 269.

14. *Nisbet MSS.* in National Library, 34.3.5, fol. 87, 4th Nov. 1699, in *Genealogical Magazine* (1898), ii, 349, *C.L.J.*, iii, 434, and *L.P.*, 1072, p. 314; *Visitation* as in last note; *Pièces Originales*, 1632, 28, in Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, also *pièces* 20, 23-4 (referred to in *C.L.J.*, iii, 393); W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (1602), Act IV, Scene 4, lines 80-94.

15. Alexander Nisbet, *Essay upon the Marks of Cadency* (1702), p. 219, and *System of Heraldry* (1722), i, 418; letter from A. Bailie in *L.P. (L.-C.)*, 24th Sept. 1706, fol. 42; *Inveraray Supply Records*, 24th Feb. 1687, box IV, shelf 1, *I.C.(A.)*, 26th Jan. 1699; (*monde* is masculine in French).

16. *Flat slab* on floor at Kilfinan, 2nd July 1706, to Mistress Jean Urry, daughter to Sir John Urry, Banneret, and Sister to Lady Lamont; see below, p. 277; *Lyon Office Register*, i, 442; *Inveraray Supply Records*, 18th Oct. 1713, IV, 1, show Kilfinan's signet with a bow crossed by a quiver with three arrows and two hearts, in the year after his father's death.

17. *Letters* of 19th Aug. and 19th Sept. 1723, in *Chambers's Journal*, 14th Oct. 1843, and *L.P.*, 1168-9, p. 342; Auchmar (1723), p. 97, (1820) p. 118; information from Rev. G. J. Edwards, minister of Scoonie parish; the present alien arms over Newton doorway bear the date 1829 (as to former arms see Lamont's *Diary*, p. vii); *Unextracted Processes* as in note 3 above.

18. *Nisbet MSS.* as in note 14 above; see below, p. 64; R. R. Stoddart, *Book of Scottish Arms* (1881), ii, 406, in *Genealogist* (1879), iii, 145, and *L.P.*, 905, p. 269; Nisbet's *Heraldic Plates* (1892), pp. 156-7, and *System* as in note 15 above; see below, p. 44.

19. *Letter* in *I.C.*, c. 1768; *letters* of 7th Jan. 1789 and various dates in 1778-9 in *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie: Adams Office)*, *Lamont v. Lamont*, II, 58; *tablet* in Wells Cathedral Cloisters, 27th Apr. 1834, in *L.P.*, 1362, p. 398; *C.L.J.*, iv, 77; Jas.

Browne, *History of Highlands* (1838), vol. iv, plate (followed in J. S. Keltie, *Highlands and Clans* (1875), ii, 168); W. F. Skene, *Highlanders of Scotland* (1836), ii, 126 (1902 edn., p. 255). Jas. Logan, *The Clans of the Scottish Highlands* (1845), i, at end; Burke's *Landed Gentry* for 1863, ii, 832; information from Knockdow; *Lyon Register*, 10th Nov. 1898, xv, 35.

20. *Register* and *Nisbet MSS.* as in notes 13-14 above; Auchmar, p. 97 (1820, p. 118); Pont, Porteous, *Chambers's Journal*, Skene and *Visitation*, as above; *Pièces originales*, as above, 20, and *Cabinet d'Hozier* 204, No. 527, pièce de 1697.

21. *Chambers's Journal* as above; last two references in note 15; Stevenson, i, 196-7; pièces and *Register* as in last note; *C.L.J.*, i, 10; letters, Browne, Burke, and *Registers* as in note 19 above, and information as in note 17.

22. *Register* and pièces as in note 20 above; (Auchmar and Browne as in notes 20-1); information as in note 17; *Chambers's Journal* as above; *C.L.J.*, i, 101. The Latin will hardly bear the "neither destroy nor despise" in Adam's *Highland Clans (ut infra)*, p. 361.

23. *Register* as in note 13 above; Stevenson, i, 85 ff., ii, 314 ff.; *Chambers's Journal*, Auchmar and pièces as in note 20 above; Col. Wm. Lamont, *The Lamont Tartan* (1924), frontispiece and p. 23; *C.L.J.*, iv, 77; Browne as above; *Lyon Office Register*, 14th July 1892, xii, 84, and 12th Jan. 1909, xx, 24; see below, pp. 152-3; in Adam's *Clans* (1908), p. 361, supporters are shown without warrant.

24. See below, pp. 78, 90; *Register*, xx, 24, and xv, 35; *R.M.S.*, 10th May 1525, iii, No. 309, in *L.P.*, 103, p. 36.

25. See below, p. 367; *Register*, xii, 84.

26. P. 24 above; letter as in note 3 above; information and *Visitation* as in notes 17 and 13 above; *Register*, xv, 35.

27. *Register*, 21st Nov. 1888, xii, 8; see below, p. 455.

28. The whole subject of the Lamont tartan has been elaborately dealt with by Col. Wm. Lamont, V.D., Ardrishaig, in two papers which he read to the Society in 1910 and 1922 respectively, republished in brochure form in 1924. To this source the writer is indebted for most of his information as to the tartan. It is called *The Lamont Tartan*. See pp. 10-11, 19, 24-5. The Black Watch has a black stripe instead of a white one. See, as to adoption by 78th Regiment, *Standing Orders* in 1850, per Col. John Grahame, Lingo, Largoward, Fife; see also *C.L.J.*, ii, 302. The quotation is from Neil Munro, *John Splendid*, p. 12. It was probably assumed by the 74th Highlanders because they were raised in Cowal and Kintyre about 1787, one of the original officers was a Lamont, Dugald, younger son of Rev. Alexander xiii of Knockdow (see *C.L.J.*, iii, 600), and the Campbell tartan had been already adopted by the Black Watch.

29. *The Lamont Tartan*, pp. 20-3; *Vestiarium Scoticum* (ed. John Sobieski Stuart, 1842), p. 83, in *L.P.*, 279, p. 89; for photograph of MS. of 1721, used as a source, see *Lamont Tartan*, p. 27, discussed pp. 8-9, 13; see below, p. 53.

30. *Book of Ballymote*, iii, 124, cited in *Lamont Tartan*, p. 30; see above, p. 29.

31. *Lamont Tartan, ut supra*; the Duke of Argyll writes as to the "p" in "Campbell" that "in popular parlance and writing it continued to be omitted for a long time up well to the 1571 period"; Jas. Philip, *Grameidos Libri Sex* (ed. Rev. A. D. Murray

for Scot. Hist. Soc., 1888), 27th May 1689, p. 155, in *L.P.*, 1006, p. 296; see below, pp. 298, 327-8; Jas. Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785), 15th Sept. 1773; see next note.

32. Neil Munro, *Doom Castle* (1901), p. 147; see John Lorne Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* (Edinburgh, 1933), p. 155.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 279; photograph in *Lamont Tartan*, frontispiece; *ibid.*, p. 24, and *C.L.J.*, i, 17; see below, pp. 346, 353-4.

34. *C.L.J.*, iv, 77, 93; statement of Miss Lamont of Lamont in *Lamont Tartan*, p. 14; *C.L.J.*, iii, 476; photographs provided by Mrs Lamont Campbell from Bideford, Devon.

35. *Lamont Tartan*, pp. 11-15, 25, 34, 14-15.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

37. Thos. Brown, *History of the Shires of Scotland*, c. 1790 (not seen but referred to in Thos. Dunlop's *Notes on the Lamonts* in possession of Col. Wm. Lamont, Ardris-haig); Jas. A. Robertson, *Historical Proofs on Highlanders of Scotland* (1866), p. 413; see below, p. 354; W. F. Skene, *Highlanders of Scotland* (1837), ii, 126 (1902 edn., p. 255); see *C.L.J.*, iii, 420, 441, iv, 21, and John Cameron, *Gaelic Names of Plants* (2nd edn., Glasgow, 1900, pp. 20, 31-2); *Gentleman's Magazine* (1823), xciii (i), 216.

38. Jas. Logan, *The Scottish Gael* (1831), i, 294 (Stewart's 1876 edn., i, 301); *Visit of King George IV to Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1822), p. 210; Skene and Robertson, as in last note; Cameron, pp. 26, 98, 32-3; Neil Munro, *John Splendid* (1898), p. 36, gives the "pervenke plant" for the Maclachlans.

39. See below, p. 73; *I.C.(A.)*, 17th June 1530 and 15th Jan. 1568-9, and *Knock-dow Charters*, 11th May 1560, i, 3, all in *L.P.*, 113, 268, 227, pp. 69, 87, 74; see *Book of Dean of Lismore*, pp. 112-5, 143-5; Rev. Canon R. C. MacLeod, *The Island Clans during Six Centuries* (Inverness, 1930), p. 44; *Indictment of Argyll*, 1661, in *L.P.*, 786, at p. 224; Nicolson, p. 119; *Trans. of Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, iii (1831), 248; see below, pp. 144, 323; *Fionn* (Henry Whyte) suggests that pipers were not playing in 1646 in the Highlands, *Notes to David Glen's Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd* (Edinburgh, no date), p. 15, tune 56, but contradicts himself, *ibid.*, p. 12, tune 56, and p. 10, tune 31; for view that pipes used much earlier in Highlands, see Robert Glen, *Trans., ut supra*, xiv (1880), 120-1; for "pypar" at Dunoon in 1546 see *R.S.S.*, xx, 45, and for 1692 see below, p. 255.

40. *The Lost Pibroch*, pp. 3-4.

41. (Wm.) Ross's *Collection of Pipe Music* (1869), p. 65; Stewart's *Sketches*, i, 479, in *L.P.*, 1339, p. 391; and see below, p. 391; *Cowal Collection* (Dunoon, undated), pp. 32, 34, and (Dunoon, 1932), p. 16; Peter Henderson's *Collection* (Glasgow, undated), p. 66 (all three to be seen at Knockdow); Frank Adam, *The Clans, Septs, and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands* (1908), p. 410 (2nd edn., 1924, p. 418); see note 42 below.

42. *Fionn* (Henry White), *Martial Music of the Clans* (Glasgow, 1904), preface and pp. 156-8.

43. Nicolson, p. 104.

44. See below, pp. 107, 279, 323; Stillaig was, however, in the hands of Sir JAMES XIV from 1641-3, see below, p. 151.

CHAPTER IV

1. See Skene's *Highlanders* (1836), ii, 123-4 (1912 edn., p. 253); J. R. N. Macphail in *Highland Papers*, ii, 239; *Old Statistical Account* (1793), v, 469; John McCulloch, *Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland* (1824), iii, 43-8, in *L.P.*, 1391, p. 406.

2. *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet* (ed. for Maitland Club, 1832, p. 132), in *L.P.*, 1-2, pp. 1-2; the motive of piety is, of course, expressed in the grants, *ibid.*; see also *Registrum*, p. 133 (in *L.P.*, 4, p. 5), "lest that should perish in dark oblivion which has been done by me in holy devotion"; as to MS., see p. vii; see *Dean of Lismore's Book* in *An Gaidheal*, xix, 116, and T. D. Macdonald, *Gaelic Proverbs* (1926), No. 63, p. 33; and Nicolson, p. 82; see below, p. 75.

3. See Sheriff J. Macmaster Campbell, *Saddell Abbey* (Campbeltown, no date), *passim*; they are called the "grey monks" in the Hacon Saga, see p. 10; Inchmarnock was only acquired by excambion from Crossraguel in 1391, see (*Vatican*) *Regesta Avenionensis*, cclxviii, 426, in *Highland Papers*, iv, 142; Cowal the Stewarts controlled through their cadets the Earls of Menteith (see *A.P.S.*, i, 372, 603), and by 1366 in their own right (*ibid.*, i, 500). Bute they had under their power from an early date (see J. King Hewison, *Bute in the Olden Time* (1893), ii, chap. 2).

4. *Registrum de Passelet*, p. 133, in *L.P.*, 4, p. 5; *Regesta Supplicationum* (Vatican Archives), vol. 583, fol. 232.

5. Sir Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* (1816), chap. 30; see below, p. 460; the conjecture is Knockdow's, see P. A. Munch, *Chronicle of Man* (Christiania, 1860), p. 190; as to name Lagman, see George Henderson, *Norse Influence in Celtic Scotland* (1915), and *L.P.*, 1386-93, pp. 405-6; an ancient *Lay of Laomann* is printed in Marquis of Lorn, *Adventures in Legend* (1898), pp. 38-41.

6. Sir Patrick Lyon of Carse, *Genealogical Collections*, c. 1671-87 (National Library MS., 34.3.14), fol. 34-5; see above, p. 25.

7. See below, p. 237; *Nisbet MSS.* in note 12 below; see above, p. 25; Robert Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials* (1833), i (i), 198, in *L.P.*, 137, p. 46; information from Lady Strathmore.

8. It is printed in *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Iona Club, 1847), pp. 50, 358-9 (where the MacLaurins are inexplicably confused with the Lamonts, as they are also in Brown's *Memorials*, p. 190), and in Skene as in note 10, and in *L.P.*, 1397, p. 408. It was first dated conjecturally as c. 1450, but afterwards the date 1467 was found upon it. People sometimes speak as if the MS. of 1450 was different from the MS. of 1467, but that is not so. This source is presumably later than the next, as this gives one generation later.

9. MacFirbis, *Genealogical MSS.* (c. 1650-4), fol. 114, 122, 125, in library of University College, Dublin (see J. O'Donovan, *Genealogies of Hy-Fiachrach* (ed. for Irish Archaeological Society, 1844), introd., pp. v, viii; *cp.* O'Hart, below, p. xii, who gives 1666); O'Clery, *Pedigrees* (c. 1636, see O'Hart, p. xii), in library of Royal Irish Academy. Both of these have been used as sources for J. O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees* (3rd edn., 1881), p. 198. I have to thank Miss Kathleen Mulchrone of the Royal Irish Academy for examining the originals for me. The earlier stages of the pedigree, down to Hugh the Splendid, appear in the well-known *Books of Ballymote*, p. 77, and *Lecan*, p. 133, but Donlevy is omitted.

10. See below, p. 62; W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (2nd edn., 1890), iii, 341.
11. Skene, as in last note, iii, 472-3, in *L.P.*, 1397, p. 407; *Dean of Lismore's Book*, pp. 100-1; Canon R. C. MacLeod, *The MacLeods of Dunvegan* (1927), pp. 42-3.
12. *Pièces originales*, 1632, Nos. 23-4 (ii) (MS. in *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, Paris, apparently an official extract from records then existing); *Nisbet MSS.*, as in note 14 to last chapter; Wm. Buchanan of Auchmar, *Ancient Scottish Surnames* (1723), p. 96 (1820 edn., p. 116); see *C.L.J.*, i, 11, and below, p. 357.
13. See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, iii, 473-4, 339-41; *Collectanea*, p. 60, note. From their dates it seems impossible that Dunsleve or Donlevy can have been, as some MSS. say, a son of Hugh of Boirche, who died in 1047; there must surely have been some intervening generations; perhaps Dunsleve was in fact a brother of Lachlan *mor*.
14. *Genealogie of the Campbells* in Macphail's *Highland Papers*, ii, 82; *Dewar MSS.* (Inveraray Castle), vol. i, pp. 482 ff.; *MS. Genealogie (ibid.)*; below, pp. 55, 66; the Duke of Argyll suggests that this *Arthur doll McCorrie* may have been the same person as the bard *Arthur doll MacGurkich* who wrote a poem on the siege of Castle Sween in Knapdale (see *Book of Lismore*, p. 151), but this seems doubtful.
15. The Kilmun lands are described in the grant of c. 1235 as those "which we and our ancestors had," but the same phrase is not used of the others; *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (ed. Cosmo Innes for Bannatyne Club, 1851-5), vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 175, 54; Archibald Brown, *Memorials of Argyleshire* (Greenock, 1889), p. 175, quoted in Knockdow's 1899 *Lecture*, p. 15; see also *Argyll Charters*, 13th Mch. 1514-15, where a charter of Braeleckan is witnessed by a Golfrid Lawmonth.
16. Brown's *Memorials*, p. 191; see below, p. 397, and *Acta Dominorum Concilii* (1491), i, 203, in *L.P.*, 68-9, p. 28; *Cartularium de Levenax* (ed. for Maitland Club, 1833), p. 8, in *L.P.*, 18A, p. 11; see *C.L.J.*, i, 10-11, and below, p. 357.
17. *Registrum de Passelet*, pp. 133, 137-8, in *L.P.*, 4-5, 9, pp. 4-5, 7; see below, chap. xvii.
18. Skene's *Highlanders* (1836), ii, 123 (1912 ed., p. 253); *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1845), vii, 593. It must be noted, however, that Skene's theory (see above) that the MacRorys, whose daughters married a Stewart and a Maclachlan, c. 1242, were Lamonts cannot be supported; see Hewison's *Bute*, i, 248-9.
19. Niall D. Campbell (now Duke of Argyll) in *Scot. Hist. Rev.* (1913), x, 34, shows that Kilmun was acquired from the Menteith Stewarts by the Campbells c. 1360; *Programme of Pageant*, July 1928, episode 3; *C.L.J.*, iv, 140; Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, iii, 472; *MS.* of 1467 in *Collectanea*, p. 57, Skene, *ibid.*, and *L.P.*, 1397, p. 408; *History of Craignish* in *Miscellany* (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1926), iv, 209.
20. *Dewar MSS.*, i, 482 ff.; see Duke of Argyll, *Scotland*, i, 43; *A.P.S.*, i, 447, in *L.P.*, 7, p. 6; *Summons of Warning*, 1293, endorsed on Roll of Parliament of 1292 in Reg. Ho., wrongly transcribed in *A.P.S.*, i, 448a; another copy in T. Rymer, *Foedera* (1704 ed.), ii, 604, (1816 ed.) i (ii), 787; in *L.P.*, 8, p. 6.
21. *Calendar of Papal Letters*, i, 518, in *L.P.*, 6, p. 5; *Homage Rolls*, No. cxli, in Sir F. Palgrave, *Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland* (1837), i, 300, in *L.P.*, 12, p. 8; Brown's *Memorials*, pp. 194-5.

22. See note 19 above; *Registrum de Passelet*, p. 138, in *L.P.*, 9, p. 7; see below, p. 56.
23. *Registrum de Passelet*, p. 133, in *L.P.*, 4-5, p. 5; see *L.P.* (1519), 91-2, p. 33, (1539) 145, p. 48, and (1541) 158, p. 52; *Registrum*, p. 139; see J. K. Lamont's *Lecture*, p. 52; Kames-na-mucklach is so called in 1295 in lithograph in note 25 below; see below, p. 394.
24. See paper by Col. Wm. Lamont, Ardrishaig, in *C.L.J.*, iv, 102; Dr H. C. Gillies, *Place-Names of Argyll* (1906), p. 53; *Old Statistical Account* (1792), iv, 337; *New Statistical Account* (1845), vii, 672.
25. *A.P.S.*, i, 447; Rhymer as in note 20 above; lithograph among papers of Cosmo Innes, vol. ii, p. 3, in Reg. Ho. (in *L.P.*, 7-8, 10, pp. 6-7); Macdonald, *Gaelic Proverbs*, No. 209, p. 51; and Nicolson, p. 246.
26. See below, chap. xvii, and p. 80.
27. D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* (1896-7), iii, 391; *New Statistical Account* (1845), vii, 686; MacGibbon and Ross, ii, 292, 84-5; iii, 16 and fig. 960; iii, 13 and fig. 957 (the clerestory, of course, is later), ii, 263.
28. See note 20 above.

CHAPTER V

1. *Registrum de Passelet*, pp. 138, 133, in *L.P.*, 9, 4; see above, p. 49.
2. Niall D. Campbell (now Duke of Argyll) in *Scot. Hist. Rev.* (1913), x, 29; information from Mrs O'Malley, Bridgend, Ockham, Surrey; another undated slab from Kilfinan is described and illustrated in *Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.* (1925-6), lx, 130; see *Dean of Lismore's Book*, pp. 151-2.
3. *Genealogies of the Campbells*, in Macphail's *Highland Papers*, ii, 91; the title "Sir" also appears in John Blain, *History of Bute* (d. 1820, pub. 1882), p. 181.
4. *Ragman Rolls* (ed. Thos. Thomson for Bannatyne Club, 1834), p. 144; and *Homage Rolls*, No. cxli, in Palgrave's *Illustrations*, i, 300; both in *L.P.*, 11-12, p. 8; *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londonensi* (1814), i, 40; see Evan M. Barron, *The Scottish War of Independence* (1914), pp. 19-20, 333-47; *Dewar MSS.*, i, 482; Mr John Barbour, *The Bruce* (c. 1375 ed. for Scot. Text Soc., 1894), bk. iii, 9; bk. ix, 463.
5. *R.M.S.*, i, app. ii, No. 692; *The Bruce*, xi, 334; transumpt in *Inveryne Charters* of 1465 and 1472, in *L.P.*, 13-14, p. 9; for Ewen see also *L.P.*, 18, p. 11; cp. *C.L.J.*, iii, 324.
6. Skene's *Highlanders*, ii, 123-4 (1902 edn., p. 254).
7. *Lithograph* among Cosmo Innes's papers in Reg. Ho., vol ii, p. 3, in *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, i (i), 53, and *L.P.*, 10, p. 7; see index to *L.P.*; *Argyll Charters*, (c. 1353), in *L.P.*, 15, p. 10.
8. *Genealogies* as in note 3 above; *Charter* No. 304 in Reg. Ho., in *L.P.*, 26, p. 14; *Scots Peerage*, i, 327; *Adventures in Legend*, p. 157; Lord Archibald Campbell, *Records of Argyll* (1885), pp. 11, 15-16; *Nisbet MSS.* as in note 14 to chap. iii; Brown's *Cowal*, *infra*, p. 54; see *C.L.J.*, iv, 42-3.

9. Transumpt of 1468 in *I.C.*, in *L.P.*, 17, p. 10; Archibald Brown, *History of Cowal* (Greenock, 1908), p. 184 (app. i); *Principality Registers* in Reg. Ho. As to succession of females see R. C. MacLeod of MacLeod, *The Island Clans* (Inverness, 1930), pp. 11-13.

10. *Macfarlane MSS.*, 31st March 1358, in *C.L.J.*, iv, 56, *Highland Papers*, ii, 143, and *L.P.*, 17, p. 10; see above, p. 23; *Cartularium de Levenax* (ed. for Maitland Club, 1833), p. 8, in *L.P.*, 18A, p. 11; *MS.* of 1467 as in note 8 to last chap.; *MS. History of Campbells of Craignish*, in *Miscellany of Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iv (1926), p. 223 (the date of 1343 there given is surely too late).

11. *Regesta Avenionensis*, in *Scots Peerage*, v, 42, and *L.P.*, 19, p. 11, and translated in *C.L.J.*, iii, 417; see next note.

12. *I.C.(A.)*, 29th Nov. 1410 (in *L.P.*, 22, p. 12); (as to elusory reddendo see Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 160-1); (Vatican) *Regesta Supplicationum*, clx, 1; both in Macphail's *Highland Papers*, iv, 234 and 181; *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome* (ed. E. R. Lindsay and A. I. Cameron for Scot. Hist. Soc., 1934), p. 173. The Duke of Argyll interprets the *salvo honore* clause as meaning that ROBERT V did not hold of the Crown directly, see *ibid.*, 234; but surely *in capite* means "of the Crown," see Sir Thomas Craig, *Jus Feudale* (1600, pub. 1655), i, 10, 19.

13. The 24 merk lands comprised in Ardcalmisaig are detailed in *R.M.S. (MS.)*, xxvi, 200, see *L.P.*, 142, p. 47; Notarial Transumpt of 1481 of Indenture of 1432 in *I.C.(A.)*, in *L.P.*, 24, p. 13, also 63, p. 26. For the proverb see *Dean of Lismore's Book*, pp. 103, 77, and for the Gaelic *Calendar of Supplications*, p. 259, and *Highland Papers*, iv, 179.

14. See *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, iv, 213; Fordun, xv, 21; *The Clan Donald* (1896), i, 165-6; see above, pp. 60-1, below, pp. 264-7; J. K. Hewison's *Bute*, ii, 4; and see next note; Harlaw was namely in Gaelic as *Cath Gaireach*, see Lorne Campbell's *Songs*, p. 121.

15. *Nisbet MSS.* as in note 14 to chap iii; Blain's *Bute*, p. 180, and *Old Statistical Account* (1793), v, 469; *R.M.S.*, ii, No. 1059, in *L.P.*, 50, p. 22, see also 51, p. 23. The earliest reference to Houstons in Toward is in 1497, *Rental of Principality of Scotland*, 1468-1624, *Waird Lands, Cowell* (Reg. Ho.); see below, p. 93; Brown's *Cowal*, p. 53. The maxim is from Macdonald's *Gaelic Proverbs*, No. 183, p. 48; it means "slippery is the doorstep of a great house."

16. See below, pp. 84, 266; the earliest reference to the Bourdons of Feddal is to one who died before 1578 in *Genealogist* (1879), iii, 145; *R.M.S.*, ii, No. 670, in *L.P.*, 20, p. 12; *Argyll Charters* as in note 20 below.

17. *Regesta Avenionensis*, ccxcix, 341, in *C.L.J.*, iii, 363; see *Scots Peerage* (1904), i, 329; see above, pp. 60-1.

18. Translated by Prof. W. J. Watson in *An Gaidheal* (1924), xix, 71-2; an erroneous translation appears in the original *Dean of Lismore's Book*, p. 143; see also pp. 129, xciv, 125, note.

19. *E.g.*, Cristian Lawmanson in 1402, in *L.P.*, 20, p. 12, John Lawmanson in 1432, note 13 above; Geoffrey Lamannus, rector of Kilmory in Arran, d. 1433, *Calendar of Papal Letters*, viii, 473, in *L.P.*, 25, p. 14; and Ferquhar, son of John son of Cristian Lammanus in 1431, next note.

20. *Argyll Charters*, 14th June 1431, in *L.P.*, 23, p. 12; see below, p. 418.

CHAPTER VI

1. *I.C.(A.)*, 17th Feb. 1432-3, in *L.P.*, 24, p. 13; "nevo" may mean grandson and almost certainly does so here, see *New English Dictionary*, Sir James Balfour, *Practicks* (1759), p. 223, cap. 5, and *Acts and Decrees*, 28th Jan. 1586-7, cix, 428; *Exchequer Rolls*, v, 330; see also *Compota Camerarii* (ed. T. Thomson for Bannatyne Club, 1817), iii, 463, in *L.P.*, 30, p. 15; *Argyll Charters*, 24th June 1431, in *L.P.*, 23, p. 12; see below, pp. 72, 121.

2. *E.R.*, v, 329-30, 358-9, 413-4, 455, 666; see also *C.C.*, iii, 463, 478-9, 504-5, in *L.P.*, 30-6, pp. 15-17. In 1455 for some reason the amount was increased by $5\frac{1}{2}$ merks to £35, 13s. 4d., *E.R.*, vi, 47, in *L.P.*, 37, p. 17.

3. See below, pp. 78, 89.

4. See *Acts Parl. Scot.*, ii, 186, c, 1; *The Scots Peerage*, v, 136.

5. In 1519, however, JOHN X seems to have succeeded to Ardcalmisaig as heir of some ancestor, see *Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis*, 17th Feb. 1546-7, vol. xxii, fol. 127, and 11th Feb. 1546-7, xxviii, 72. As to Ardlamont see *E.R.* and *C.C.*, *passim*, where Finlay's successor is only assessed on the Lindsaig and Auchagoyl properties. The later evidence is *E.R.*, x, 178, in *L.P.*, 65, p. 27. As to other cadets see appropriate chapters below; as to "barons" see Macphail's *Highland Papers*, ii, 138 note, 155 note, 241.

6. See below, p. 78; Major-General David Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Highlanders* (1822), i, 97; see also Neil Munro, *John Splendid* (1898), p. 20, and Gillian the Dreamer (1899), p. 19; *cp.* Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 40; see also MacLeod, *Island Clans*, pp. 19-20; *Book of Dean of Lismore*, pp. 132-3.

7. See below, p. 450; *E.R.*, v, 201; *C.C.*, iii, 407, in *L.P.*, 27, p. 15; see above, p. 61.

8. *E.R.*, v, 201, 246, 291, 329, 358, 413; *C.C.*, iii, 407, 427, 451-3, 463, 478-9, 504-5, in *L.P.*, 27-33, pp. 15-16; see *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, ii (i), 56-7; the maxim is in Gaelic, "thachair ludh an uinnsinn fbiadhaich dha; cinnidh e gu math, ach millidh e 'chraobh a bhios an taice ris," Nicolson, p. 363, applied to the Campbells with great specification in Dr A. A. W. Ramsay's *Arrow of Glenlyon* (1930).

9. *Argyll Charters*, 25th March 1498, in *L.P.*, 78, p. 30; *E.R.*, v, 455, in *L.P.*, 34, p. 16; *A.P.S.*, ii, 91; see *L.P.*, 46, 50, pp. 21, 25.

10. See Duke of Argyll in *Scot. Hist. Rev.* (1913), x, 29, and *Celtic Review* (1911-12), vii, 276, note; *cp.* Knockdow's view in *L.P.*, 1440, p. 424, where the story is ascribed to another occasion. The inscription was apparently first printed in D. Gemmill, *Topography of the River Clyde* (1818), p. 49, in *L.P.*, 1440, p. 423. See also *Scotsman*, 3 Apr. 1913.

11. *Scots Peerage*, i, 330-2; *R.M.S.*, ii, 346; see above, pp. 61, 42; the right of burial in the abbey church at Paisley was open to the public, see *Registrum de Passelet*, p. 308, in *L.P.*, 3, p. 3, and so remained until it was restored in 1862; the writer's family burial-place was within it.

12. *E.R.*, vii, 396, in *L.P.*, 45, p. 19.

13. *E.R.*, v, 201, 246, 291, 329, 358, 413, 455, 666, and vi, 47, 426, 535, 631, in *L.P.*, 27-41, pp. 15-18; *The Clan Donald*, iii, 374; *Bannatyne Writs*, 30th Jan. 1491-2, ii, 11; the lands of Melldalloch were dower lands, see *L.P.*, 265-6, p. 867; Nicolson, p. 239; *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, pp. 203-4, in *L.P.*, 68-70, p. 28; *I.I.*, v, 1, 1, and *R.M.S.*, ii, 1059, in *L.P.*, 50-1, pp. 22-3, 424; see below, p. 83.

14. Knockdow's 1897 *Lecture*, pp. 16-18; J. Gunn, *The Harp* (Edinburgh, 1807), pp. 1, 73, and *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* (1881), iii, 10, in *L.P.*, 1394-5, p. 407; *C.L.J.*, i, 155, iii, 341; R. B. Armstrong, *Musical Instruments, Part I, The Harp* (1914); Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (ed. H. C. Colles, 1927), ii, 540. As to next paragraph see above, p. 37; the track is shown on John Speed's map *The Kingdome of Scotland* (1610), reproduced in John E. Shearer, *Old Maps and Map Makers of Scotland* (Stirling, 1905), p. 38; the quotation is from *The Owl Remembers*, p. 47.

15. D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (1887), iv, 231, in *L.P.*, 1398, p. 408; see Rev. A. Macdonalds' *The Clan Donald* (Inverness, 1896-1904), i, 280-2.

16. See MacGibbon and Ross, *ut supra*, and iii, 19 ff.

17. See above, p. 44.

18. *Regesta Supplicationum* (in Vatican Archives), vol. 583, fol. 232; *Registrum de Passelet*, p. 149, in *L.P.*, 46, p. 20; an imaginary account of the proceedings will be found in Rev. J. Cameron Lees, *The Abbey of Paisley* (1878), pp. 134-5.

19. *Dewar MSS.* at Inveraray Castle, i, 482; Brown's *Cowal*, p. 35; the later part is reproduced in *C.L.J.*, iv, 70-1; the original has "Inverfin" for "Inveryne"; see *Notes and Queries* (9th series), viii, 106, and above, p. 65; for later parallel of incident of escape see below, p. 176.

20. *Acta Auditorum*, 15th March 1478-9, p. 76, and *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, 23rd Oct. 1479, 15th June 1480, pp. 34, 53, all in *L.P.*, 60-2, p. 25.

21. *R.M.S.*, as in note 13 above; JOHN VIII's sons are referred to in a Papal document of 1465 (see note 18 above), but the words are merely words of style one presumes; see below, pp. 90-1.

22. See below, pp. 89-90; for Donald see *L.P.*, 38, p. 17; *R.P.C.*, 16th Aug. 1546, i, 37, in *L.P.*, 1415, pp. 412-3; *Auchinbreck Genealogie*, in J. R. N. Macphail, *Highland Papers* (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1934), iv, 64; Sir Robert Douglas, *Baronage* (1798), p. 61, quoting a contract (of marriage presumably) in the Campbell family archives; Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* (1930), p. 453, which states that Dugald died in 1497; see Brown's *Cowal*, p. 66.

23. *History of McNaughton of that ilk*, in Macphail's *Highland Papers*, ii, 112; Douglas, *Peerage*, vi, 282; Robert flourished c. 1506-29, King Hewison's *Bute*, ii, 153, where his father's name is said to have been Ninian third Stewart of Bute; *Argyll Charters*, 1st June 1497, in *Historical MSS. Commission*, 4th Report, Appendix, pp. 478-9, and *L.P.*, 73, p. 29.

23a. See below, p. 90.

24. *R.M.S.*, ii, 1059, in *L.P.*, 50-1, pp. 23-4, 424; *I.C.*, 9th Mar. 1546-7, in *L.P.*, 169, p. 55; *R.P.C.*, as in note 22 above; see above, p. 68, and below, pp. 398, 419-420, 450, and 380; *E.R.*, ix, 613, x, 424; *I.C.(A.)*, 4th Feb. 1476-7, in *L.P.*, 55, p. 24; *R.M.S.*, ii, 1214.

25. *I.C.*, 6th Nov. 1478, *Liber Collegie Nostre Domine* (ed. Maitland Club, 1846), p. 192, and *E.R.*, x, 178, all in *L.P.*, 57, 64-5, pp. 24, 27.

26. *E.R.*, v, 455, 666, vi, 47, 426, 535, 631, vii, 347, 386, *Liber* as in note 25 above, i, 179, in *L.P.*, 34-41, 44-5, pp. 16-19; see also *I.C.* as in last note; *Acta Dom. Conc.*, as in note 20 above; see below, p. 450.

27. *I.C.(A.)* as in note 24 above; Donald Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands* (2nd edn., 1881), pp. 47-8; *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi* (1814-19), ii, 443, in *L.P.*, 54, p. 23; Duncan is no doubt the same as the Duncan Lamont who appears as a witness in Dumbarton in 1471, *Protocol Book in Dennistoun MSS.* (National Library, 19, 2), vol. viii, fol. 9A.

28. *Pièces Originales*, 1632, 24; see below, note 6 to chap. vii.

29. *E.R.*, x, 178-9, in *L.P.*, 65-7, pp. 27-8; (John was fifty-one when he died, see above, p. 72); see references in index to *L.P.*, p. 459; see above, pp. 76, 72; *L.P.*, 57-8, 60, pp. 24-5; see *Duke of Roxburgh v. Ker*, 1827, 1 Shaw's Appeals, 157, 6 Paton's Appeals, 820; *Acta Dom. Conc. et Sess.*, 26th Jan. 1546-7, xxviii, 66.

30. See above, p. 68; *I.C.(A.)*, 23rd July 1511, in *L.P.*, 85, p. 31; see below, p. 89; *Acta Dom. Conc.*, 4th Nov. 1511, xxiii, 148.

31. See below, p. 85; *Acta Dom. Conc.*, 16th Feb. 1507-8, xix, 172; *Old Advocates' Charters* in National Library, No. 17, 27th Feb. 1507-8; *Acta Dom. Conc.*, 24th Jan. 1508-9, xx, 56; Wm. Buchanan of Auchmar, *Family of Buchanan* (1723), p. 33; see also *L.P.*, 84, p. 31; *Bannatyne Writs*, 14th Aug. 1516, iii, 21, *I.I.*, 42, 1, in *L.P.*, 42, p. 18; as to the measure of avail, see Craig's *Jus Feudale*, ii, 21, 17, 28; *cp.* 21.

32. See below, p. 85; *E.R.*, 22nd Dec. 1519, xiv, 626, and *I.C.*, 22nd Dec. 1519, in *L.P.*, 91-2, p. 33; *Book of Dean of Lismore*, p. 136.

33. See *L.P.*, 93, 104, 107, pp. 34, 36-7, also *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Dec. 1522; *Bannatyne Charters*, 29th June 1531, iii, 37; *A.D.C. & S.*, 19th Feb. 1540-1, xiv, 193; see below, p. 91.

34. *I.C.(A.)*, 17th June 1525, in *L.P.*, 104, p. 36; *Bannatyne Writs*, 12th June 1538, iii, 50; *Early Records of St Andrews University* (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1926), pp. 141-6, 240, 246 (both are described as "*nationis Angusiae*," which is puzzling; although they were "*dives*" they may have been of the Braemar branch; it is possible that they were living with their kin at Glamis, see p. 87, below); *R.S.S.*, 15th Apr. 1542, ii, No. 4595, and *I.C.*, 2nd Jan. 1547-8, in *L.P.*, 161, 172, pp. 53, 56; see also *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Aug. 1548.

35. *R.S.S.*, 6th July 1522, xxv, fol. 7; *Gilbert Grote's Protocol Book* (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1913), p. 24, in *L.P.*, 185, 1422, pp. 60, 414; *R. Rollock's Protocols* (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1931), 19th Jan. 1550-1, No. 71; *R.S.S.*, 19th Apr. 1554, xxvii, fol. 106, in *L.P.*, 193, p. 65; (see also probably relating to the same Robert, *Argyll Charters*, 28th Oct. 1557, and *R.M.S.*, iv, 1240, in *L.P.*, 209, 1443, pp. 70, 426).

36. *Argyll Charters*, 12th Nov. 1534, and *R.S.S.*, 9th Dec. 1558, xxix, fol. 56, in *L.P.*, 118, 211, pp. 41, 70; see also *L.P.*, 235, p. 76; *Argyll Papers*, 21st May 1575, per Rev. Mr Grant's *Notes*; *I.C.(A.)*, 11th Apr. 1559; see also *Dumbarton Protocols*, 3rd Feb. 1562-3.

37. This John is only described as a "brother," not like the others as a "brother german"; *University Records*, p. 230; see below, p. 101.

38. *I.C.(A.)*, 12th Feb. 1535-6; *R.M.S.*, iii, 1677, 2146; *Knockdow Charters*, 26th Aug. 15(4)0 (see below, p. 419); *Argyll Charters*, 3rd Nov. 1540; all in *L.P.*, 83, 128, 135, 157, pp. 31, 43-5, 50-1; *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Aug. 1548; *J. Crawford's Protocols* (MS. in Reg. Ho.), 11th Aug. 1549, fol. 38*b*; see also *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, 10th Nov. 1575, in *L.P.*, 291, p. 94.

39. *R.M.S.*, 8th June 1592, v, 2095, in *L.P.*, 350, p. 112; see also *R.S.S.*, lxiv, 8; *Crawford MS.*, fol. 326; *I.C.*, 5th Jan. 1547-8, in *L.P.*, 175, p. 57.

40. *Argyll Charters*, 12th Nov. 1534; *Glasgow Protocols*, vol. iv, No. 1010; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1560-1; all in *L.P.*, 118, 276, 235, pp. 41, 89, 76; see also *L.P.*, 124, 135, 188-9, 197, pp. 42, 45, 62-3, 67; *Crawford's Protocols*, as in note 38 above.

41. See *I.C.*, 2nd Jan. 1547-8, *I.C.(A.)*, 20th Feb. 1552-3, *Acts and Decrees*, viii, 57, and *Nisbet MSS.*, *ut supra*, all in *L.P.*, 172, 191, 1072, pp. 56, 63, 313; *Glasgow Protocols* (1568), vol. iii, Nos. 972-3, vol. v, No. 1586, and *R.M.S.*, iv, 2132, in *L.P.*, 259-60, 264, 282, pp. 83-4, 86, 90.

42. *A.D.C.*, 12th Sept. and 7th Oct. 1491, i, 203-4, in *L.P.*, 68-70, p. 28; see above, pp. 69-70; *Argyll Charters*, 25th Mar. 1498, in *L.P.*, 78, p. 30; *E.R.* (1494), x, 769.

43. *Argyll Charters*, 22nd Mar. 1490-1, — 1495, 1st June 1497, in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *IV Rep.*, App., pp. 478-9, *O.P.S.*, ii (i), 57-61, and *L.P.*, 71, 73, pp. 28-9; *Rental of Principality of Scotland*, 1468-1624, *Ward Lands*, *Cowell*; *Argyll Inventory* (Reg. Ho.), 31st Mar. 1493, fol. 81, No. 119; *R.M.S.* (1497-8), ii, 2363, 2402, in *L.P.*, 74, 80, pp. 30-1; see also *L.P.*, 75, 78-9, p. 30.

44. *Argyll Charters*, 25th Mar. 1498, in *L.P.*, 76-8, p. 30; *E.R.* (1497), ii, 39, 41; see below, pp. 450, 266; *R.S.S.*, 18th Aug. 1507, i, 218.

CHAPTER VII

1. *Argyll Charters*, 1st June 1530, in *L.P.*, 112, p. 38; see above, p. 24; *I.C.(A.)*, 20th Feb. 1552-3, in *Acts and Decrees*, viii, 57, and *L.P.*, 191, p. 63; in the north-west highlands one does not find signatures until the end of the century, see MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 51.

2. *I.C.(A.)*, 22nd Dec. 1519, *E.R.*, xiv, 626, in *L.P.*, 91-2, p. 33; Mr Brown wrongly gives 1494 as his birth, *Cowal*, p. 42; as his daughter was married in 1534, see p. 100 below, he must have been married by 1517; *Genealogie of the Campbells*, in *Highland Papers*, ii, 99-100; *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Nov. 1522, in *I.I.*, I, ii, 4, and *L.P.*, 98, p. 35.

3. D. Gregory, *History of Western Highlands and Isles* (1881), p. 116; *R.S.S.*, 30th Oct. 1515, i, 2656, in *L.P.*, 87-8, p. 32; *A.D.C. et S.*, 19th Feb. 1540-1, xiv, 193, and 15th Mar. 1540-1, xv, 38; *I.I.*, I, ix, 5, in *L.P.*, 107, p. 37.

4. *Maclachlan Charters*, 28th Aug. 1520, i, 2; *I.C.*, 6th Feb. 1519-20, and *Argyll Charters*, 1st June 1530, in *L.P.*, 93, 112, pp. 34, 38; *Argyll Charters*, 23rd and 29th May 1543; see, e.g., *L.P.*, 207, 1402-3, 166, pp. 69, 410, 54.

5. *Argyll Charters*, 26th June 1532, in *L.P.*, 116, p. 40; see below, p. 419.

6. Robert Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials in Scotland* (Maitland and Bannatyne Clubs, 1833), vol. i, pt. i, pp. 190, 198, in *L.P.*, 137, p. 46; see above, pp. 43-4; *A.D.C. et S.*, 2nd Mar. 1539, and 12th Aug. 1546, xvii, 58, and xxi, 147; *A. & D.*, 18th Feb. 1564-5, xxxiii, 27; *Robert Rollock's Protocol Book* (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1931), 23rd Nov. 1546, No. 3; see also *A. & D.*, 28th Jan. 1565-6, pp. 38-192; as to dowry of men, or in Gaelic *Leine-chneis*, see Brown's *Cowal*, p. 156, above p. 80, and Sheriff MacMaster Campbell in the *Highlanders and The Highlands* (1938), pp. 3, 5.

7. Nicolson, p. 285; *I.I.*, i, 3, 1, *I.C.(A.)*, 7th June 1525, both in *L.P.*, 94, 104, pp. 34, 36; see note 5 above; see Sir Thomas Craig, *Jus Feudale* (1655), ii, 6, 21 ff., and Viscount Stair, *Institutions* (1681), ii, 11, 31; *Argyll Charters*, 1st June 1530, and *I.C.(A.)*, 8th July 1569, in *L.P.*, 112, 272, pp. 38, 88.

8. *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Oct. 1523 and 10th May 1525, in *I.I.*, I, v, 1-3; *I.I.*, I, v, 4; *R.M.S.*, iii, 309; all in *L.P.*, 95, 102-3, pp. 34, 36; *I.I.*, I, ii, 2-3, *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Nov. 1522 (in *I.I.*, I, ii, 4-5), both in *L.P.*, 96-9, pp. 34-5; *Argyll Inventory* (Reg. Ho.), 30th Dec. 1524, fol. 152, No. 13, in *L.P.*, 1400, p. 410; see also *L.P.*, 101, 1401, pp. 35, 410; *G.R.S.*, 14th Apr. 1631, xxx, 257; *Argyll Inventory*, 11th Nov. 1539, fol. 79, No. 61, and *Knockdow Charters*, 30th Mar. and 31st May 1540, ii, 1, 1-2, in *L.P.*, 1405, 151, 155, pp. 411, 49-50.

9. *Argyll Charters*, 24th Jan. 1526-7, in *L.P.*, 105, p. 36; Nicolson, p. 354; *A. & D.*, 28th Jan. 1586-7, cix, 428.

10. *I.C.(A.)*, 1st and 17th June 1530, in *L.P.*, 110-1, pp. 38-9; see above, p. 59; *I.I.*, I, i, 5-9, *R.M.S.*, iii, 1436, *I.C.(A.)*, 1st Oct. 1535, 16th Jan. and 12th Feb. 1535-6, *R.S.S.*, 8th Jan. 1535-6, x, 70, in *L.P.*, 119-23, 125-8, 133, pp. 42-5; *I.I.*, I, vi, 3-5, *R.M.S.*, iii, 1677, *R.S.S.*, 14th June 1537, xi, 8, in *L.P.*, 132, 134-6, 139, pp. 45-6; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Apr. 1536, in *L.P.*, 130, p. 44.

11. *I.I.*, I, x, 4, in *L.P.*, 129, p. 44; see below, p. 399; *I.I.*, IV, ii, 3, and *I.C.(A.)*, 16th June 1524, in *L.P.*, 258, 100, pp. 82, 35 (the original has £24, not £4 as in *L.P.*); *R.M.S.*, ii, 2146, *R.S.S.*, 22nd May 1540, xiii, 83, both in *L.P.*, 153-4, p. 50; *Bute Charters*, 13th Mar. 1559, 22nd Mar. 1560 (in *L.P.*, 230, p. 75).

12. See *A. & D.*, 19th Dec. 1562, xxv, 186, 287; *Abbreviate of Feu Charters of Church Lands*, 27th Feb. 1557-8, i, 190; *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Mar. 1557-8 (in *I.I.*, II, v, 5), in *L.P.*, 210, p. 70; *R.M.S.*, vi, 215, in *L.P.*, 356, p. 113; *R.S.S.*, 12th Feb. 1594-5, lxvii, 59; see *I.C.(A.)*, 11th Apr. 1559, 21st Feb. 1561-2, in *I.I.*, IV, i, 2, IV, ii, 21, in *L.P.*, 213, 240, pp. 70, 78.

13. *I.C.(A.)*, — 1559 (*bis*), 25th Oct. 1559; *I.I.*, I, x, 8; *R.S.S.*, 22nd June 1563, xxxv, 11; all in *L.P.*, 214-5, 217-8, 245, pp. 71-2, 79; *A. & D.*, 22nd Nov. 1565, xxxvi, 23.

14. *A.D.C. et S.*, 11th and 17th Feb. 1546-7, xxii, 127, xxviii, 72; see above, p. 77; *I.C.*, 22nd Dec. 1519 and 6th Feb. 1519-20, and *E.R.*, xiv, 626, all in *L.P.*, 91-3, pp. 33-4; as to Monydrain in 1530, see *Laing Charters*, No. 381, and as to Ardcalmisaig in 1536, *I.I.*, I, x, 4, both in *L.P.*, 114, 129, pp. 39, 44.

15. *A.P.S.* (1476), ii, 113a; see also Balfour, *Practicks*, p. 19, cap. 3.

16. *I.C.*, 1st and 3rd Jan. 1538-9, and 8th May and 22nd June 1540; *R.M.S.*, iii, 1882; *R.S.S.*, ii, 2842; all in *L.P.*, 142-5, 147, 152, 156, pp. 46-51; (to mak siccar two sasines were taken); *I.I.*, V, i, 10, and *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Jan. 1538-9, in *L.P.*, 148-9, p. 49; *A.D.C. et S.*, 4th July 1541, xv, 189.

17. The records erroneously refer to the death of ROBERT (V), instead of that of DUNCAN VII, as having taken place 90 years before 1538, *i.e.* in 1448. *R.S.S.*, ii, 2823, in *L.P.*, 146, p. 48; see last reference in note 16; *A.D.C. et S.*, 23rd Mar. 1541-2, xviii, 169; *A. & D.*, 13th July 1542, i, 51; *I.I.*, V, iii, 2, *I.C.(A.)*, *R.M.S.*, iv, 756, and *R.S.S.*, xxv, 59, all 18th Feb. 1552-3, in *L.P.*, 187-90, pp. 60-3; *I.C.*, 2nd and 5th Jan. 1547-8, *R.S.S.*, 5th Jan. 1547-8, xxi, 70, and *R.M.S.*, iv, 169, all in *L.P.*, 172-7, pp. 56-7.

18. *Register of Privy Council*, i, 37, in *L.P.*, 1415, p. 412; *Letters and Papers (Foreign, and Domestic)*, Henry VIII, xxi, No. 1466, p. 734; *A.D.C. et S.*, 18th Jan. 1546-7, xxii, 72; see next note; *A. & D.*, 12th Jan. 1580-1, lxxxiii, 286, 11th Feb. 1586-7, cxi, 70; *Argyll Charters*, 11th Feb. 1586-7, in *L.P.*, 328, p. 105; see also *A. & D.*, 11th Aug. and 26th Nov. 1586, cviii, 356-7, cix, 113; *Argyll Inventory*, fol. 80; *Argyll Charters*, — Feb. 1586-7, and *Deeds (Scott)*, 14th Feb. 1581-2, xx, 329, *I.I.*, IV, ii, 3, all in *L.P.*, 1428, 311, 257, pp. 417, 99, 82.

19. *I.C.*, 9th Mar. 1546-7, *I.I.*, V, ii, 7, in *L.P.*, 168-9, p. 55; *A.D.C. et S.*, 24th Mar. 1546-7, xxiii, 22; Balfour, *Practicks*, p. 174, cap. 1 and 5 (there was another point also as to resignation not mentioned by him, see *L.P.*, 169, p. 55).

20. *I.C.(A.)*, and *A. & D.*, viii, 57, both 20th Feb. 1552-3, and in *L.P.*, 191, pp. 63-5; as to armour see Macleod, *Island Clans*, p. 63.

21. Nicolson, p. 155.

22. See above, p. 88; *Abbreviate of Feu Charters of Church Lands*, 27th Feb. 1557-8, i, 90; *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Mar. 1557-8 (in *I.I.*, II, v, 5), and *I.I.*, II, v, 6, both in *L.P.*, 210, 243, pp. 70, 78; see below, p. 93.

23. See above, note 18, later references; other tenants called Mcilchois and Mcintagart are also mentioned; Macdonald's *Proverbs*, No. 646; Nicolson p. 363.

24. *I.C.(A.)*, 7th Aug. 1548, in *L.P.*, 179, p. 58; *Bannatyne Charters*, 18th June 1550, iv, 63; *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Sept. 1548, in *I.I.*, IV, i, 4, and *L.P.*, 181, p. 58; see also *A. & D.*, 13th May 1551, v, 59; *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Aug. 1548, in *I.I.*, IV, i, 1, and *A. & D.*, 5th May 1554, viii, 468, both in *L.P.*, 180, 194, pp. 58, 66; *Bannatyne Charters*, 26th May 1565, iv, 96.

25. See *L.P.*, 212, 214-5, 217, 228-9, 235-6; *A. & D.*, 8th May 1554, viii, 471, *Argyll Charters*, 2nd Apr. 1557, *I.C.(A.)*, 22nd Apr. 1557, all in *L.P.*, 194, 1441-2, 206, pp. 66, 425, 69; *Knockdow Charters*, 11th May 1560, in *L.P.*, 227, p. 74; see *Old Statistical Account* (1793), v, 469.

26. See above, p. 64; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Oct. 1537, in *L.P.*, 140, p. 46; *Argyll Charters*, 24th Jan. 1526-7, in *L.P.*, 105, p. 37; *Bannatyne Charters*, 13th May 1537, 16th Apr., 7th and 12th June 1538, iii, 39, 48-50; *Treasurer's Accounts*, Feb. 1540-1, July and Aug. 1541, vii, 429, 463, 477, in *L.P.*, 1407, 1409-10, p. 411; *Argyll Charters*, 3rd Nov. 1540, in *L.P.*, 157, p. 51.

27. *I.C.(A.)*, 26th Mar. 1541, in *L.P.*, 158, p. 53; (Argyll must have been Crown donatory of the non-entry dues); *A.D.C.*, 16th Feb. 1541-2, xviii, 34; *Bannatyne Charters*, 20th Apr. and 17th July 1542, iii, 54-5; *A. & D.*, 14th July 1452, 3rd Feb. and 12th Mar. 1557-8, 10th May 1558, i, 62, xvi, 300, 468, xvii, 202; see also 16th Feb. 1558-9, xix, 88, in *Bannatyne Charters*, iv, 84.

28. *A. & D.*, 6th Feb. 1564-5, xxx, 350; see also *ibid.*, xxxiv, 122, 161, 234, 406; *I.C.(A.)*, 17th May 1623, in *L.P.*, 463, p. 140; *I.C.(A.)*, 5th Dec. 1562; *Dumbarton Protocols*, 3rd Feb. 1562-3, and 28th Aug. 1563.

29. *A.D.C. et S.*, 27th May, 4th and 30th July 1541, xv, 135, 189, xvi, 108; *I.I.*, IV, ii, 3, *Knockdow Charters*, 26th Aug. 15(4)0, 11th May 1560, all in *L.P.*, 257, 83, 227, pp. 82, 31, 74; see below, pp. 419-420; *I.C.(A.)*, 17th Dec. 1550, in *L.P.*, 184, p. 60; see above, p. 88; see also *L.P.*, 187-90, pp. 60-2; see below, pp. 380, 382.

30. *I.C.*, — 1559, — 1559, and 25th Oct. 1559, in *L.P.*, 214-5, 217, pp. 71-2; see index to *L.P.* for valuations; see also *L.P.*, 188-9, pp. 62-3.

31. See above, p. 86; *I.C.(A.)*, 2nd July 1537, in *L.P.*, 138, p. 46; see above, p. 90.

32. *R.S.S.*, 9th Jan. 1541-2, ii, No. 4454; these included two McSorleys; *The Douglas Book* (ed. Wm. Fraser, 1881), iii, 232, 30th Apr. 1543, in *L.P.*, 162, p. 53; G. Eyre Todd, *Official Guide Book to Dunoon* (1907); *A.D.C. et S.*, 19th July 1546, xxi, 69; Blain's *History of Bute*, p. 200, and *Bute Inventory*, p. 456, in *L.P.*, 166, p. 54.

33. *R.P.C.*, 16th Aug. 1546, i, 37; *I.I.*, V, ii, 7 (3rd Mar. 1546-7); *Pitcairn, Criminal Trials*, 26th Mar. 1546-7, i (i), 336; all in *L.P.*, 1415, 168, 171, pp. 412, 55-6; Pont's *Map* in end paper; Miss Augusta Lamont (of Knockdow) in *Trans. Gaelic Soc. of Inverness* (1925-7), xxxiii, 213; as to Carnesirie, whose location is not unknown, see *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Oct. 1662; *Treasurer's Accounts*, viii, 32, ix, 152, 189, 273, in *L.P.*, 1416-8, p. 413.

34. *Ardnamurchan Writs*, 12th Oct. 1550; *R.M.S.*, 9th Mar. 1555, iv, No. 1084; *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Apr. 1557; all in *L.P.*, 1420-1, 201, 205, pp. 414, 68-9; see below, p. 422; *Cawdor Writs*, 10th Mar. 1561, in *Thanes of Cawdor* (Spalding Club, 1859), p. 175; *Treasurer's Accounts*, 21st July 1562, xi, 186.

35. Macphail's *Highland Papers*, iv, 34-5; *Despences de la Maison Royale*, 1538-65, viii, fol. 18-19, transcribed in *Scot. Hist. Rev.* (1928), xxv, 19; for harper see *I.C.(A.)*, 27th June 1530, in *L.P.*, 113, p. 39; MacGibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture* (1887), iv, 233.

36. *Despences, ut supra*; information and photograph kindly provided by Lord Nigel Douglas Hamilton; see Knockdow's 1902 *Lecture*, p. 16.

37. *R.P.C.*, 13th Mar. 1564-5, i, 323, in *L.P.*, 253, p. 81; *ibid.*, 1565-6, i, 401, 470-1; see Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 9; Nicolson, p. 180, and Macdonald, No. 549; see below, p. 275.

38. See below, pp. 136, 332; *Dunoon Charters*, 24th July 1561, xvii, 12, and *Argyll Charters*, c. Feb. 1586-7, both in *L.P.*, 1423, 1428, pp. 414, 417, both obscure and former inaccurately transcribed; I. F. Grant, *Everyday Life in Old Scotland* (1931), pp. 77-9, 222-4; Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 126; *Edinburgh Testaments*, 6th Nov. 1574, in *L.P.*, 286, p. 91.

39. Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 108; Grant, p. 264; see Neil Munro's *Poetry*, p. 15.

40. *Dumbarton Protocols*, 12th Aug. 1564, 2nd Aug. 1562, and 26th May 1563; *R. Ch.*, 11th May 1560, i, 3, in *L.P.*, 227, p. 74; *Cartulary of Pollok Maxwell* (ed. Wm. Fraser, 1875), 383; *C.L.J.*, iv, 9; *Glasgow Town Clerks' Protocols*, 4th June 1534, iv, No. 1186, and *I.I.*, I, x, 4, both in *L.P.*, 117, 129, pp. 41, 44; *I.C.(A.)*, 28th Aug. 1536.

41. *Argyll Charters*, 3rd Nov. 1540, in *L.P.*, 157, p. 51; see below, p. 116; *R.S.S.*, ii, 2823, in *L.P.*, 146, p. 48; see below, p. 456, above, p. 91; *I.C. (A.)*, c. 1560, in *L.P.*, 228, p. 75; see also *L.P.*, 311, 328, 1428, pp. 99, 105, 417.

42. *Argyll Charters*, 27th Sept. 1548, *Calendar of Charters* (Reg. Ho.), eodem die, vii, No. 1445, and *A. & D.*, 12th June 1554, viii, 494, all in *L.P.*, 182-3, 196, pp. 59, 66; Balfour's *Practicks*, p. 104, cap. 14.

43. See above, p. 85; *I.I.*, I, vii, 3, in *L.P.*, 222, p. 73 (as he was still minor in 1563 he cannot have been born before 1543, see *I.C.(A.)*, 27th May 1563, in *L.P.*, 244, p. 79); see *Black Book of Taymouth* (Bannatyne Club, 1855), p. 201, in *L.P.*, 207, p. 69; see below, p. 461.

44. *R.M.S.*, v, 101, *R.S.S.*, 13th Feb. 1580-1, xlvii, 73, both in *L.P.*, 309-310, p. 99; *R.S.S.*, 12th Aug. 1595, lxvii, 184; see below, p. 466; *I.C.(A.)*, 11th Apr. 1559, *Argyll Charters*, 15th Jan. 1571-2, and *Argyll Inventory*, 9th Oct. 1593, all in *L.P.*, 213, 280, 353, pp. 70, 89, 112.

45. *Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland* (1851-4), i, 170 (in *C.L.J.*, iii, 357, and Knockdow's 1902 *Lecture*, p. 15), and (1925-6) lx, 120-1 (by Dr J. Graham Callander); see also *Scot. Hist. Rev.* (1906), iii, 110-116; see above, p. 36.

46. *A. & D.*, 21st May 1555, xi, 129 (Skeldoch is presumably a mistake for Stillaig); *I.I.*, IV, ii, 3, in *L.P.*, 257, p. 82; *A. & D.*, 19th Dec. 1562, 22nd Nov. 1565, 12th Feb. 1564-5, 26th Apr. 1567, and 19th May 1565, xxv, 186, 287, xxxvi, 23, xxxiii, 21, xxxvii, 398, xxxiv, 122, 161, 234, 406.

47. He was alive on 2nd Apr., *ibid.*, xli, 186, and dead on 31st Dec. 1568, *I.C.(A.)*, in *L.P.*, 267, p. 86; the date Nov. 1550 in *I.C.(A.)*, 1st Nov. 1637, in *L.P.*, 596, p. 175, is quite wrong.

48. *Highland Papers*, iv, 212; the quotation is from Neil Munro's *Poetry*, p. 44.

49. *A.D.C. et S.*, 2nd Mar. 1539, xvii, 58; see also *ibid.*, 12th Aug. 1546, xxi, 147; *A. & D.*, 18th Feb. 1564-5, xxxiii, 27; *Yester Writs* (ed. for Scot. Rec. Soc., 1916-30), No. 752; *Ballochyle Charters*, 28th Oct. 1565; *Dunoon Charters*, 30th Aug. 1516, iii, 20; *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Aug. 1548, 21st Feb. 1561-2; *Dunoon Charters*, 2nd Feb. 1568, ii, 15.

CHAPTER VIII

1. *A. & D.*, 6th July 1576, lxiii, 344; *Bute Inventory*, p. 456, and John Blain, *History of Bute*, p. 200, in *L.P.*, 166, p. 54; *Glasgow Protocols*, 4th June 1534, i, No. 1186, in *L.P.*, 117, p. 41; for other early references to him see *L.P.*, 157, 180, 191-2, 258, 261, 1444, pp. 51, 58, 63-5, 83-6, 426; *Knockdow Charters*, 13th June 1569, iii, 1, and *I.C.(A.)*, 15th Jan. 1568-9, in *L.P.*, 271, 268, pp. 87-8; see next two pages and below, pp. 117-118.

2. Nicolson's *Gaelic Proverbs*, p. 350; *R.S.S.*, 7th Apr. 1568, xxxvii, 60, *R.M.S.*, iv, No. 1816, and *I.I.*, IV, i, 7, in *L.P.*, 265-6, 270, pp. 86-7; there had been a James in the Ardlamont family two centuries before, see below, p. 395; *Crawford MS.* (31, 2, 3 in Nat. Lib.), fol. 326, in *L.P.*, 1445, p. 426; *Rental of 1642-6*, in *L.P. (L.-C.)*, fol. 9, and see also *I.C.*, 2nd May 1634, and MacLeod, *Island Clans*, 54 (the boll was then 156 not 140 lbs., p. 139).

3. See above, p. 62; *I.C.(A.)*, 17th Dec. 1550, in *L.P.*, 184, p. 60; *Dumbarton Protocols*, 12th Aug. 1564; *A. & D.*, 7th Jan. 1565-6, xxxiv, 376; Nicolson, p. 59; *Deposition of Mr Duncan McLea*, 3rd Jan. 1743, copy in Lyon Office *Miscellaneous Papers*, No. 338, in *Highland Papers*, iv, 95; and below, p. 114; see above, p. 37.

4. *I.C.(A.)*, 15th Jan. 1568-9 and 17th June 1530, in *L.P.*, 268, 113, pp. 87, 39; *I.I.*, III, i, 4, *I.C.(A.)*, 23rd Jan. 1561-2, and 8th July 1569, in *L.P.*, 239, 272, pp. 77, 88, and *Dumbarton Protocols*, 8th July 1569; he had held these lands as vassal of his father, but now completed title to the mid-superiority.

5. *Addtl. I.I.*, ii, 1-2, in *L.P.*, 108, 164, pp. 37, 54, are obviously inaccurate (the retour because no one can be served heir unless the ancestor is dead, and the sasine because it must have proceeded on a precept and not on a retour); it is thought that the correct dates are 1569 and 1573 and that they relate to Evanachan and not to the barony; this is confirmed by *I.I.*, I, vii, 5, in *L.P.*, 269, p. 87 (the original entry is not dated and it is not known where the date 1569 was obtained); *I.C.(A.)*, 19th July 1570; as to opposition see *Argyll Charters*, 24th Apr. 1570.

6. *I.I.*, V, iii, 1, in *L.P.*, 170, p. 56; see *index* to *L.P.*, p. 465, also *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Mar. 1557-8, 21st Feb. 1561-2, and *A. & D.*, 12th Feb. 1564-5, xxxiii, 21; *I.C.*, 2nd-5th Jan. 1547-8, *R.S.S.*, 5th Jan. 1547-8, and *R.M.S.*, iv, No. 169, in *L.P.*, 172-7, pp. 56-7 (there is no record of a sasine). Archibald apprized the whole barony formally for non-payment of the Crown dues (see *L.P.*, 187-190, pp. 60-3) and then resigned his interest to Duncan (see *L.P.*, 198, p. 67).

7. *I.C.*, 21st June 1554, and *I.C.(A.)*, 21st June 1554 (in *I.I.*, I, ii, 1), in *L.P.*, 197, 199, 224, pp. 66-7, 73, and *I.I.*, II, i, 5; *I.I.*, II, i, 3-4, and *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1560-1, in *L.P.*, 225-6, 235, pp. 74, 76; see above, pp. 102, 95, and below, p. 151.

8. *Scotia Tabula*, by Abraham Ortelius (Antwerp, 1571), in the first great Atlas of the world, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*; this is admirably reproduced as a loose sheet in John E. Shearer, *Old Maps and Map Makers* (Stirling, 1905), pp. 29, 89. There is a photostat of the 1578 map in the library of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Edinburgh; a less detailed edition appears in Bishop Lesley's work in note 12 below. *I.C.(A.)*, 12th May 1581, in *L.P.*, 314, p. 100.

9. Mercator's is reproduced in Prof. P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (1891), before p. 1; see Shearer, p. 37. John Speed, *The Kingdome of Scotland* (1610), reproduced in Shearer, p. 38; see *ibid.*, p. 39; see also Wm. Hole, *Map of Scotland* (c. 1607), in National Library.

10. See Shearer frontispiece. The Survey of Master Timothy Pont, minister of Dunnet, was probably made between 1596 and 1601, see C. G. Cash in *Scottish Geographical Magazine* (1901), xvii, 401; No. 14, including Cowal, is clearly Pont's own work from the squares on which it is superimposed, see Cash, *ibid.*

11. There is also a separate detailed map (No. 16) of, *inter alia*, Loch Eck and the Holy Loch. See below, p. 124, and above, p. 14; and map No. 12; the note is inaccurately transcribed in *Noates and Observations of dyvers parts of the Hiellands, etc.*, in Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections* (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1907), ii, 511. The Glassary Map is No. 15.

12. John Lesley, *De Origine, etc., Scotorum* (Rome, 1578), translated by Father James Dalrymple in 1596 (ed. for Scot. Text Soc., 1898), pp. 31-2 (original Latin, p. 20); also

in P. Hume Brown, *Scotland before 1700* (1893), pp. 132-3. Unlike Lorne, Knapdale, Carrick, and Kintyre, Cowal is not specially mentioned, and one may therefore conclude that it was intended to be included under "Argadia"; cp. *L.P.*, 188, p. 62, and 1427, p. 417; Campbell's *Records of Argyll*, p. 64; see above, p. 99.

13. Lesley as in last note; see above, p. 99.

14. Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 19-20; see below, pp. 217; *R.M.S.*, 7th Apr. 1568, iv, No. 1816, *I.C.(A.)*, 26th Nov. 1581, *I.I.*, II, i, 9, in *L.P.*, 266, 316, 413, pp. 86, 101, 129; see Jamieson's *Dictionary*, s.v. "Black Mill"; for Dr Jamieson in Lamont country see p. 340 below; Pont's *Map* of c. 1600 in end paper; see *L.P.*, 258, 452, 505, pp. 83, 138, 151; MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 56; see below, *R.M.S.*, vi, No. 290, in *L.P.*, 357, p. 114.

15. Martin of Clermont, *Genealogical Collections* in Macfarlane's *G.C.*, ii, 158; see below, pp. 471, 474; John Grant, *Legends of the Braes o' Mar* (1861), p. 43.

16. See above, p. 24; Burt's *Letters from the Highlands* (1876), i, 165, says c. 1700 Gaelic was still common among poorer classes; Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 222; see above, pp. 37, 106.

17. Information from the late Dr Thomas Ross on 11th June 1930; see *C.L.J.*, iv, 34, for drawings (but chapel is confused with that of S. Auchagoyl); *R.M.S.*, iii, No. 1689, in *L.P.*, 131, p. 44; *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Dec. 1562 (in *I.I.(Add.)*, i, 1), *I.I.(Add.)*, I, ii, 4, *I.C.(A.)*, 16th Aug. 1577, in *L.P.*, 241, 247, 256, 297, pp. 78-9, 81, 95; *Dumbarton Protocols*, 28th Aug. 1563; the entries in the Inventory wrongly suggest that the whole lands were alienated to the Campbells, which is not so; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 29th June 1714, vol. cxiv, in *I.I.(Add.)*, iii, 8, and *L.P.*, 1129-30, p. 330; "Information" of 1634 in *Records of Argyll*, p. 5; "Coire-an-t-Sith" in *Rothesay Express*, 21st Sept. 1898, on authority of Mr And. Mavor, Dunoon, who died aged ninety-seven.

18. See below, p. 422; *I.C.(A.)*, 18th Feb. 1573-4, in *L.P.*, 227, p. 74; MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 63; bows and arrows persisted long in Dunoon, see *O.S.A.* (1791), ii, 384.

19. *A. & D.*, 6th July 1576, lxiii, 344; *Knockdow Charters*, 26th Nov. 1601, i, 6, in *L.P.*, 375, p. 119; see below, p. 462; information on 9th May 1931 from Mr A. McFadyen, Barandachoid, Strathlachlan, Strachur, to the present Knockdow; *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Jan. 1580-1, in *L.P.*, 308, pp. 98-9; see below, p. 120.

20. *Bannatyne Charters*, 26th May 1565, iv, 96; see p. 100 above; *I.C.(A.)*, 15th Jan. 1568-9, *Deeds (Scott)*, 12th Aug. 1575, xiv, 270b, and *I.I.*, III, iii, 3, all in *L.P.*, 268, 290, 273, pp. 87, 94, 88; *Cawdor Writs*, 26th Oct. 1573, in *Thanes of Cawdor* (Spalding Club, 1859), p. 179; *A. & D.*, 6th Feb. 1579-80, lxxix, 57.

21. *Glasgow Protocols*, 31st Mar. and 7th Apr. 1568, iii, 115, v, 104; *R.M.S.*, iv, 2132; in *L.P.*, 259-60, 264, 282, pp. 83-4, 86, 90; see also *A. & D.*, 2nd Apr. 1568, xli, 186.

22. *A. & D.*, 6th July 1576, lxiii, 344; *I.I.*, V, iv, 1, in *L.P.*, 299 ff., pp. 96-7; Nicolson, p. 104; *A. & D.*, 25th Feb. 1574-5, 8th June 1575, lv, 58, lx, 29.

23. Patrick Fraser Tytler, *History of Scotland* (edn. of 1838-43), ix, 286, cited in Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 214; the other quotation is from the Gaelic poetry in *The Owl Remembers* (ed. Rev. John Mackechnie and Patrick McGlynn, 1933), p. 19, see also p. 93.

24. The *Scots Magazine* (1818), lxxxii, 132-4, contains an extract from "a letter, dated Dec. 30, 1817, written by a very worthy and well-informed highland clergyman, now upwards of 80 years of age," which is reprinted in Knockdow's 1902 *Lecture*, pp. 11-14, and is here mainly followed as being the earliest version. The whole story is related in banal verse by an ill-informed person, in a pamphlet entitled *MacGregor and Lamont*, published at Lanark in 1818, in which Lamont is represented as a wealthy Englishman from Northumbria!! (in Lauriston Collection in National Library). A typical example of the poet's style is the following (from p. 10):—

"And Lamont all panting could hear on the wind,
The hum of pursuers, o! not far behind.
He threaded the brake like a hard hunted deer,
The growl of revenge bearing fast on his rear."

Another version in a "ballad by Van Dyk" commencing, "Young Lamond, the pride of Argylshire," is given in Thos. Dunlop's *Notes*, pp. 10-11.

25. The next earliest account of the tale is in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1845), vii (ii), 601, note; then Hugh MacDonald, *Days at the Coast* (1857), pp. 356-8; James Grant, *Rob Roy* (1864), pp. 350-4, reprinted in Knockdow's 1897 *Lecture*, pp. 17-19; J. S. Keltie, *History of the Scottish Highlands* (1875), ii, 169; and lastly Alasdair Alpin MacGregor, *Wild Drumalbain* (1927), pp. 216-221. There is some doubt as to whether the hero was James XII or his son and successor Sir COLL XIII, as the alternative dates 1603 or 1633 are given for the sequel. The circumstances demand that the Lamont chief concerned should have been able to give sanctuary to a Glen Strae of an older generation than himself on one or other of these two dates. These conditions were fulfilled by JAMES in 1603 and not by Sir COLL (who was in his last year of life) in 1633. (Sir JAMES XIV was, of course, not chief in 1633, and his politic father would hardly have allowed him to shelter so dangerous a rebel in expiation of a youthful extravagance.) The story is consistent with what is known of JAMES XII and not with what is known of Sir COLL. Corroboration of the earlier date is found in the mention in 1613 of *past* harbouring of MacGregors by JAMES XII (see below, p. 127). *Per contra* the tradition that Glen Strae was buried at Toward (see *ibid.*) supports the later date, as Alistair MacGregor of the 1603 proscription was executed in Edinburgh. The whole story is discussed by Knockdow in his 1897 *Lecture*, pp. 17-19, and the view adopted, contrary to that of the present writer, that 1633 is the correct date.

26. See *Owl Remembers*, pp. 17, 33, and Nicolson, p. 330 (*na spìon fiasag fir nach aithne dbut*); see below, p. 127; see W. C. Mackenzie, *The Western Isles* (1932), p. 30. The episode is not mentioned in either Dr A. A. W. Ramsay, *Arrow of Glenlyon* (1930), or Miss A. G. M. MacGregor, *History of Clan Gregor* (1898).

27. See Nicolson, pp. 362, 59 (*bheirinn cuid oidche dha ged a bbiodh ceann fir fo 'achlais*).

28. See Lord Archibald Campbell, *Records of Argyll* (1885), p. 492, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod* (ed. J. Carmichael Watson, 1934), p. 43, and *Owl Remembers*, p. 31.

29. C. Fraser-Mackintosh, *The Last Macdonalds of Isla* (1895), pp. 31-2, in *L.P.*, 1426, p. 416; see above, p. 98, and *Gaelic Songs*, p. 63.

30. *Bannatyne Charters*, 15th July 1580, v, 134; *R.M.S.*, vi, 870, *I.C.*, 25th June 1580, and *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Jan. 1580-1 and 25th June 1580, in *L.P.*, 366, 306-8, pp. 116,

98-9; *R.S.S.*, 23rd Jan. 1587-8, lvi, 150; *I.C.(A.)*, 23rd Jan. 1587-8, in *L.P.*, 333, p. 107; see below, p. 462; *A. & D.*, 22nd Dec. 1590, cxxvi, 370; see below, p. 140, and *Memorandum* of c. 1665 in *I.C.(A.)*.

31. *A. & D.*, 13th July 1582, lxxxix, 373; *R.P.C.*, 11th Feb. 1589-90, iv, 457, in *L.P.*, 340, p. 109.

32. See Nicolson, p. 356; *A.P.S.*, iii, 461-7; see also *R.P.C.*, July 1590, iv, 782, 787; all in *L.P.*, 331-2, 342, pp. 107, 110; Sir Thomas Craig, *De Union Regnorum*, 1605 (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1909), p. 288; MacGibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture*, iii, 617-8; see *The Owl Remembers*, p. 19.

33. See above, pp. 91, 87; *A. & D.*, 28th Jan. 1586-7, cix, 428; and *Deeds (Scott)*, 11th Oct. 1591, xl, 29, in *L.P.*, 344-5, pp. 110-1.

34. John Scott, *Protocol Book* (Reg. Ho.), in D. Hay Fleming, *Reformation in Scotland* (1910), p. 634; *Hamlet*, Act IV, Scene iv, lines 80-94.

35. *Calendar of Scottish State Papers*, viii, 452, No. 488; *Calendar of State Papers (Foreign)*, 1586-8, xxi (1927), 468.

36. *I.I.*, V, iv, 1-2, *I.C.*, 7th June 1579, and *E.R.*, xx, 543, all in *L.P.*, 299-301, pp. 96-7; *Principality Rentals* in Reg. Ho.; see above, p. 89; *I.C.(A.)*, 29th July 1579, 5th June 1583, in *L.P.*, 303, 323, pp. 97, 104.

37. *I.I.*, I, x, 14, *I.C.(A.)*, 25th June 1580, in *L.P.*, 306-7, p. 98; see *I.I.*, III, iii, 9, in *L.P.*, 480, p. 145; *I.I.*, II, i, 6-7, *I.C.(A.)*, 26th Nov. 1581, in *L.P.*, 315-6, pp. 100-1; see above, p. 107.

38. *I.C.(A.)*, 12th May 1581 (*bis*) and 25th June 1666, in *L.P.*, 313-4, 854, pp. 99-100, 256. As to birlinns in general see Macleod, *Island Clans*, pp. 64-5. The information as to the Morar birlinn was given by Mrs Kenneth McDonald, *Ceann a' Gharaidh*, Morar, who was housekeeper to the late Capt. MacDonell of Morar at *Camus Darroch* at his death in 1919. The boat was last used by his father for trips to Skye, etc. It is referred to by Rev. T. Ratcliffe Barnett in *The Land of Lochiel* (1927), p. 163.

39. *Crawford MSS.*, 2nd June 1588, fol. 325, in *L.P.*, 1446, p. 426; see below, p. 406, and above, p. 106; see *L.P.*, 387, 389, pp. 123-4; *I.C.(A.)*, 1st Dec. 1618, 23rd Jan. 1619, in *L.P.*, 428, 433, pp. 132-3.

40. *R.P.C.*, 22nd Sept. 1579, iii, 218; *I.I.(A.)*, 10th Feb. 1583-4, 8th Dec. 1608, II, v, 10-11; *A. & D.*, 28th Feb. 1602, 360, 164; in *L.P.*, 304, 324, 388, 453, pp. 97, 104, 123, 138; *R.S.S.*, 5th Apr. 1594, xciv, 84. In *Rental* of 1642-9 these were reckoned at 42 bolls, *L.P. (L-C)*, fol. 11; see above, p. 109; see also *R.S.S.*, 20th June 1587, lv, 85; *I.C.(A.)*, 19th Jan. 1610; *A. & D.*, 30th Nov. 1615, 303-24; last two in *L.P.*, 389, 410, pp. 124, 128; *Argyll Regality Rentals*, 12th Dec. 1598, i, 46a.

41. *I.I.*, V, iv, 3; *I.C.*, 25th Apr. 1588 (1598 in *L.P.*); *R.M.S.*, v, No. 1540; in *L.P.*, 335-6, 363, pp. 107-8, 115; *R.S.S.*, lvii, 114; *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Mar. 1597-8 (see *Retours, Argyleshire*, No. 4, in *L.P.*, 362, p. 115); *E.R.*, xxiii, 412, 435; *I.C.*, 15th Mar. 1600; *I.I.*, III, iii, 4; in *L.P.*, 364, 367, 369, 376, pp. 116-20 (374 merks to be exact); *I.C.*, 22nd May and 18th July (*bis*) 1600, and 18th May 1601, *R.S.S.*, 18th July 1600, lxxi, 269, and *R.M.S.*, vi, No. 1065, all in *L.P.*, 370-4, pp. 117-9.

42. *Deeds*, 30th Sept. 1598, vol. lxvi, *I.I.*, IV, ii, 22, and *R.M.S.*, ix, No. 132, all in *L.P.*, 365, 361, 562, pp. 115-6, 166; see also *G.R. Hornings*, 9th Dec. 1613, xii, 312; *G.R.S.*, 25th Sept. 1634, xli, 31.

43. *R.P.C.*, 11th Jan. 1603, vi, 517, in *L.P.*, 377, p. 120; *Bannatyne Charters*, 2nd Feb. 1612, Misc. Bundle, and 19th June 1595, v, 173.
44. See p. 118 above and notes 24 and 25; *Argyll Papers*, 1591-1779 (Reg. Ho.), No. 3; *Transcripts of Retours*, 27th Nov. 1593, vol. c, fol. 207 (Patrick in Edintagart and Robert in Findlas); *Cartulary of Colquhoun* (ed. Wm. Fraser, 1883), pp. 286, 445, 281-2, relating to Patrick and to Robert in Schebeg in 1597-1600, and to the latter's son Patrick in 1615; *Gaelic Songs*, p. 45.
45. *Days at the Coast*, pp. 357-8; Knockdow's 1902 *Lecture*, pp. 13-4; Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, ii, 434.
46. Grant, *Braes o' Mar*, p. 47; in *C.L.S.*, iii, 381, the date 1530 is wrongly assigned; Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 124, 154, 176; *cp.* below, p. 317; *The Owl Remembers*, p. 93; *Argyll Charters*, 25th July 1605, in *L.P.*, 383, p. 122.
47. *A. & D.*, 6th Dec. 1608, ccxlviii, 332, in *L.P.*, 387, p. 123; *I.C.(A.)*, 6th Dec. 1608; *R.S.S.*, 26th Apr. 1609, lxxviii, 53; *Deeds*, 11th Oct. 1591, and 15th Oct. 1610, xl, 29, and clxxviii, 46, and 26th Feb. 1613, vol. ccxv, in *L.P.*, 344-5, 393, 403, pp. 110-1, 125, 127; *R.P.C.*, 6th Nov. 1610, ix, 78, in *L.P.*, 394, p. 125; as to revival of J.Ps. in 1609 see C. A. Malcolm, *Minutes of J.Ps. for Lanarkshire*, 1707-23 (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1931), x, lxi; Gregory, *History*, p. 332.
48. *R.P.C.*, 7th Jan. 1613, ix, 528, *A. & D.*, 30th Nov. 1615, ccciii, 24, and *Argyll Sasines*, 16th Mar. 1619, i, 88, all in *L.P.*, 402, 410, 436, pp. 127-8, 134.
49. *I.I.*, IV, ii, 24, in *L.P.*, 384, p. 122 (he came of age in 1627, see *I.I.*, III, iii, 9, in *L.P.*, 480, p. 145); see MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 19; for other contemporary examples see *National MSS. of Scotland*, 6th Oct. 1614, iii, No. 84, and *G.R.S.*, 14th Aug. 1638, xlvi, 324 (the latter a perpetual mutual contract for all heirs between the Campbells of Calder and Ardchattan); for proverb see Nicolson, p. 222.
50. *Glasgow Burgesses*, 1573-1750 (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1925), p. 38; William Lithgow, *Description of Scotland* (1628), in Hume Brown's *Scotland before 1700*, p. 297; Borland, *Universall Kirk of Scotland* (ed. for Maitland's Bannatyne Club, 1839-45), iii, 1089; *Burgess Register of Aberdeen* (in *Miscellany of New Spalding Club*, 1890, i, 138); *Ayr Sasines*, 4th Apr. 1603, ii, 47; *G.R. Hornings*, 17th July 1613, xi, 254; *Glasgow Testaments*, 20th Aug. 1633, vol. xxiv; see above, p. 25.
51. See Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 188.

CHAPTER IX

1. The portrait has been assigned to Jamesone by Mr John Major of Messrs Vicars Bros., Fine Art Dealers, 12 Old Bond Street, London, W.1. As Jamesone died in 1644 it seems clear, in view of the tradition that all the portraits are of chiefs, that it must be of Sir COLL. This and other chiefs' portraits are in the possession of Captain A. Keith Jones, Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1, a grandson of Amelia Lamont, Mrs Davidson, who was a daughter of General JOHN XIX. As to Jamesone see J. Hill Burton, *The Scot Abroad* (1864), ii, 318-25.

2. The date 1633 also appears on a high stone on the north-west corner.

3. See, e.g., MacLeod's *Island Clans*, chaps. 6 and 7, and p. 143; Nicolson, p. 362, and Macdonald, No. 287, in Gaelic *tha 'smùideag fhéin 'an ceann gach fòid*; he was, e.g., cautioner for Auchenbreck in 1632, *A. & D.*, 25th Mar. 1653, 566, 10; Nicolson, p. 159; *Scots Peerage*, i, 348.

4. *Knockdow Charters*, 6th Jan. 1604, i, 8-9, *I.C.*, 22nd May 1600, and *R.M.S.*, vi, 1065, all in *L.P.*, 379-80, 370, 373, pp. 121, 117-8; *R.S.S.*, lxxi, 269; *I.C.(A.)*, 19th Jan. 1610, in *L.P.*, 389, p. 124; George Crawford, *General Description of Shire of Renfrew* (c. 1710) (ed. George Robertson, Paisley, 1818), p. 78.

5. *R.M.S.*, vii, 748, in *L.P.*, 398, p. 126; see Baron Hume, *Commentaries on Crimes*, i, 458, and *Argyll Justiciary Registers* (MS. Dunoon), 14th June 1673, i, 22; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 26th July 1665, vol. xiv; see *I.I.*, III, iv, 1, 10, in *L.P.*, 584, 599, pp. 172, 176; *Deeds (Downie)*, 28th June 1653, vol. 584; *I.I.*, IV, ii, 9-10, and III, iii, 10-11, and *Deeds (Hay)*, 25th Feb. 1629, vol. 413, all in *L.P.*, 477, 487, 500, 503, 507, pp. 144, 147, 150-2.

6. Donald Gregory, *Highlands and Isles* (1836), pp. 382-3, in *L.P.*, 409, p. 128; *The Owl Remembers*, p. 93; *R.P.C.*, 22nd Aug. 1615, x, 748; *Duntroon Charters*, 4th Mar. 1610, in *Genealogist* (1916), xxxii, 20, and *L.P.*, 390, pp. 124, 427; who exactly Lady Duntroon was is not known; *R.P.C.*, 21st Dec. 1615, x, 763, in *L.P.*, 411, p. 129; *A. & D.*, 22nd Nov. and 20th Dec. 1617, and 10th June 1630, cccxii, 223, cccxvii, 209, and cccxxxii, 218, in *L.P.*, 420-1, 509, pp. 131, 152; Nicolson, p. 84.

7. *Deeds (Hay)*, 7th Feb. 1631, 438, 307; Gregory (1881 edn.), pp. 392 ff.; *R.P.C.*, 3rd Feb. 1619, xi, 506, in *L.P.*, 435, p. 134; see below, pp. 184-5; *R.P.C.*, 11th June 1629, iii, 169, and *Deeds (Hay)*, 14th Dec. 1629, vol. 424, in *L.P.*, 501, 505, pp. 150-1; for tacks of 1560 and 1577 see *L.P.*, 22, 295, pp. 73, 95; cp. MacLeod's *Island Clans*, pp. 109-10; Lithgow's *Description* in Hume Brown's *Scotland before 1700*, p. 292; Grant's *Old Scotland*, p. 223; MacLeod's *Island Clans*, p. 57; Osgood Mackenzie, *A Hundred Years in the Highlands* (1921), pp. 37 ff.; see below, p. 193, for his son's bitter complaint as to the salt fish, barley bread and water on which the Campbells fed him in captivity.

8. *Deeds (Hay)*, 2nd Aug. 1630, vol. 434, 1st and 5th June 1632, cccclii, 228, and *A. & D.*, 15th Dec. 1632, and 1st Feb. 1633, cccclxvi, 157 and 242, all in *L.P.*, 514, 534, 545, 547, pp. 153, 159, 161; see below, p. 181.

9. See below, p. 136; *A. & D.*, 19th Mar. 1619, cccxxxi, 97, in *L.P.*, 437, p. 134; he was in Edinburgh, however, in July 1617, *Argyll Sasines*, 20th June 1618, i, 55, in *L.P.*, 424, p. 131; *R.P.C.*, 3rd Feb. 1619, xi, 506, in *L.P.*, 435, p. 134; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 28th May 1632 (in *I.I.*, III, v, 2, and *L.P.*, 532, p. 158); the chief was cautioner for Auchenbreck later in that year, *A. & D.*, 25th Nov. 1653, 566, 10.

10. *R.P.C.*, 20th Aug. 1623, xiii, 350, in *L.P.*, 464, p. 140; the original has "Ramond," an obvious mistake; *ibid.*, 1628, ii, 488, 574, 311 (*bis*), 396, 479, in *L.P.*, 488-9, 491-4, pp. 147-8; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, v, 208, in *L.P.*, 512, p. 153.

11. *R.P.C.*, 28th July 1629, iii, 255, and *R.M.S.*, ix, 228, in *L.P.*, 502, 564, pp. 150, 166.

12. *Knockdow Charters*, 2nd Nov. 1627, i, 10, in *L.P.*, 485, p. 147; *Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis* (ed. Maitland Club, 1854), 29th Feb. 1628, iii, 80, in *L.P.*, 490, p. 148; see p. 149 above; *Munimenta*, 1st Aug. 1630, iii, 468, in *L.P.*, 513, p. 153; Nicolson, p. 231, Macdonald, No. 407.

13. *I.C.(A.)*, 29th Feb. 1620; *Argyll Sasines*, 20th Mar. and 13th May 1620, i, 110, 117; *Deeds (Hay)*, 14th Dec. 1629 and 17th June 1630, vols. 424 and 430; *A. & D.*, 19th Nov. 1633, cccclxv, 33; all in *L.P.*, 439-40, 443, 506, 511, 555, pp. 135-6, 151, 153, 164; Lithgow's *Description*, as above, p. 298; *I.C.*, 17th Mar. 1624, and *R.M.S.*, viii, 765, in *L.P.*, 470, 473, pp. 142-3; Grant's *Old Scotland*, p. 228; *Prince's Precepts*, fol. 152; *Glasgow Burgesses*, p. 70.

14. Nicolson, p. 101; see, e.g., MacLeod's *Island Clans*, p. 103; *A. & D.*, 29th June 1613, cclxxx, 345; *ibid.*, 6th Jan. 1618, cccxviii, 45, in *L.P.*, 422, p. 131; see above, pp. 103, 110; see Grant's *Old Scotland*, pp. 260, 164-5, MacLeod's *Island Clans*, pp. 59-62, and Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 69; *General Hornings*, 23rd Apr. 1619, xxvi, 388, referring to purchase of malt in Glasgow by John Lamont in Killenan; *A. & D.*, 18th Dec. 1622, ccclxvi, 170, in *L.P.*, 460, p. 139; see below, p. 142; for later evidence of fishing see below, pp. 217, 251, 254, 284, 381.

15. See above, p. 183; *I.I.*, III, v, 30; *Deeds (Hay)*, 11th June 1630, vol. 430; *Deeds (Gibson)*, 15th Dec. 1631, vol. 447; *Deeds (Scott)*, 13th Oct. 1638, vol. 514; (together for 2100 merks); and *Deeds (Hay)*, 4th Dec. 1639, vol. 424 (for 1900 merks); all in *L.P.*, 520, 510, 528, 608, 504, pp. 155, 153, 157, 178, 151; *I.I.*, III, iii, 5, in *L.P.*, 408, p. 128; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Feb. 1561-2 (in *I.I.*, IV, ii, 21, and *L.P.*, 240, p. 78); *I.C.(A.)*, 1st Dec. 1618 and 23rd Jan. 1619, in *L.P.*, 428, 433, pp. 132-3.

16. *I.I.*, I, v, 6, 8; *I.C.*, 18th Feb. 1629; *Deeds (Hay)*, 14th Dec. 1629, vol. 424; all in *L.P.*, 497-8, 505, pp. 149, 151 (last incompletely transcribed); *Report of Sub-Commissioners of Teinds for Presbytery of Argyll* (MS. in Teind Office, Edinburgh), 1629, fol. 34-5, which shows the cadet as still owner of Auchenbreck; *Argyll Sasines*, 31st May 1622, i, 212, *I.C.(A.)*, 17th May 1623, and *R.M.S.*, vii, 756, all in *L.P.*, 454, 463, 465, pp. 138, 140; *Prince's Precepts*, fol. 135; *Prince's Register*, i, 4; *I.C.*, 31st July and 10th Sept. 1623; see above, pp. 93-4, 103.

17. *R.S.S.*, 29th Jan. 1631, cxiii, 233; *I.I.*, II, v, 14-16, 19, III, iii, 13, and III, v, 43; *Deeds (Scott)*, 5th Aug. 1641, vol. 531; all in *L.P.*, 521-2, 543, 1431, 630, pp. 155-6, 161, 419, 184; *I.C.(A.)*, 30th July 1631 (in *I.I.*, II, v, 17-18, and *L.P.*, 523, p. 156; *I.C.(A.)*, 30th Sept. 1631 (in *G.R.S.*, 29th Oct. 1631, xxxii, 84, *I.I.*, II, v, 20, and *L.P.*, 523, p. 156); see below, p. 461; *Acts Parl. Scot.*, vii, 40, in *L.P.*, 790, p. 236; *A. & D.*, 28th Feb. 1622, ccclx, 164, *I.I.*, III, iii, 5, and III, v, 3, in *L.P.*, 453, 456, 533, pp. 138-9, 159.

18. *R.S.S.*, 24th Dec. 1622, xciv, 84; *A. & D.*, 20th Dec. 1622, ccclxvi, 176, and 8th Jan. 1625, 383, 121; and *I.I.*, I, iii, 4; all in *L.P.*, 461, 475, 531, pp. 140, 144, 158; *G.R.S.*, 14th May 1632, xxxiii, 165; *I.C.(A.)*, 1st Nov. 1637, in *L.P.*, 596, p. 175.

19. See, e.g., MacLeod's *Island Clans*, pp. 103, 143; see Nicolson, p. 61, for the saying *bhuain e maorach an uair a bha 'n traigh ann*; *I.I.*, III, iv, 13; Sir Thomas Hope, *Minor Practicks* (1726), iv, 5, 14 (written before 1634, see 1734 edn., p. 215); *I.I.*, III, iii, 14, in *L.P.*, 557, p. 164; see also *A. & D.*, 22nd Nov. 1617, cccxii, 283, and 10th June 1630, cccxxxii, 218; all in *L.P.*, 420, 509, pp. 131, 152; see John Erskine, *Institute of Law of Scotland* (1773), II, v, 34.

20. *G.R.S.*, 5th Feb. 1620, v, 124-5; *A. & D.*, 19th Nov. 1633, cccclxv, 33, in *L.P.*, 555, p. 164; *Memorandum* of c. 1665, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 11th Nov. 1686, lxxviii, 46; *Decrees (Dalrymple)*, 17th Jan. 1694, vol. 120 (2), (in *I.I. (Addl.)*, iv, 29,

and *L.P.*, 1022, p. 300); see also *A. & D.*, 16th June 1632, ccccli, 135, and 16th July 1633, cccclxiii, 81, in *L.P.*, 535, 551, pp. 159, 163; *Glendaruel Writs (Evanachan)*, 11th and 20th Mar. 1620, Nos. 1-2; *I.C.(A.)*, 29th Feb. 1620, and *Argyll Sasines*, 20th Mar., 20th Apr., and 13th May 1720, i, 110, 114-5, 117, all in *L.P.*, 439-443, pp. 135-6; a title was first completed by Otter himself as heir to his father, and he then resigned in favour of his younger brother Duncan; *Teind Report*, fol. 15; *G.R.S.*, 25th June 1630 and 2nd May 1631, xxviii, 312, xxx, 309; see above, p. 123 and below, p. 152.

21. *I.I.*, II, i, 9, in *L.P.*, 413, p. 139; see below, p. 462; *R.P.C.*, 11th June 1629, iii, 169, and *Deeds (Hay)*, 14th Dec. 1629, vol. 424 (*bis*), in *L.P.*, 501, 505, pp. 150-1 (latter incompletely and inaccurately transcribed); see also *Deeds (Scott)*, 23rd July 1622, in *L.P.*, 455, p. 138, and *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Mar. 1641, and below, p. 154; see Nicolson, p. 81; *Teind Report*, as above; *Argyll Regality Rentals* for 1633 (MS. in Reg. Ho.), vol. 2, fol. 21, show that meal fetched 10 merks a boll (£6, 13s. 4d.) and bere £8; the actual totals of teind valuation were £299 in money, 261½ bolls of oats and 1 of bere, equivalent to £2042, 6s. 8d.

22. See above, p. 95.

23. As to burdens on land in the 17th century see MacLeod, *Island Clans*, pp. 149-54; he suggests 7 per cent. for management and 2 per cent. for schools and poor relief; see note 19 above for taxation; as to teinds see below, p. 154; as to English and Scots money see J. M. Henderson, *Scottish Reckonings* (Hist. Assocn. of Scot., No. 4, 1926), pp. 9-10, 16.

24. *Deeds (Scott)*, 23rd July 1622, vol. 324; *Crawford MS.*, 2nd July 1617, fol. 156, in *L.P.*, 455, 1447, pp. 138, 427; Miss McGilchrist's *Notes of McGilchrist Protocols* (MS. in Lyon Office, No. 155), fol. 39; Achahoish is treated as Sir Coll's in the teind valuation, but in fact it had been granted by him to Duncan ii of Auchinbreck, see below, p. 383.

25. *Argyll Sasines*, 1st Oct. 1618, i, 70, in *L.P.*, 425, pp. 131-2; in original two sons of Gillepatrick are mentioned, John and Gilbert, who are witnesses; see *ibid.*, 17th July 1673, i, 2; see above, p. 8; *Dewar MSS.* at Inveraray; there were also McLugashs in the McDougall country in the 13th century, see Mar. of Lorne, *Adventures in Legend* (1898), p. 97; index to *L.P.*, s.v. "Louk" and "McLoke"; for the Glasgow Lukes, see *Glasgow Herald*, 25th Sept. 1937, p. 4; a Dougall, son of Luke, appears in 1462 in *L.P.*, 42, p. 19; see also note 7 to chap. xviii.

26. *I.C.*, 17th and 23rd Mar. and 24th Apr. 1624; *R.M.S.*, viii, 765; all in *L.P.*, 469-74, pp. 141-4; *Prince's Precepts*, fol. 152; Nicolson's version of the proverb is *cha'n fhaodar a' bhó a reic's a bainne òl*, p. 117; *I.I.*, II, v, 21, in *L.P.*, 553, p. 163.

27. See references to Ninian in index to *L.P.*, p. 466; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 26th July 1665, vol. 14, the contract being dated 1st Apr. 1634; the daughters are also detailed in a contract dated 1st May 1634 in *Deeds (Scott)*, 15th May 1637, in *L.P.*, 590, p. 173.

28. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 12th Nov. 1644 (in *I.I.*, III, v, 15, and *L.P.*, 672, p. 193); George Crawford, *General Description of Shire of Renfrew* (c. 1710; ed. Geo. Robertson, Paisley, 1818), p. 370; see below, p. 205; Douglas's *Baronage*, p. 96, and *Deeds (Scott)*, 15th May 1637, vol. 503, in *L.P.*, 560, 590, pp. 165, 173; *Dumbarton Sasines*, 9th Apr. 1645, iii, 21; see above, p. 65; *Glasgow Testaments*, 6th Dec. 1655, vol. 29, in *L.P.*, 1433, p. 420.

29. *I.I.*, III, iii, 27, in *L.P.*, 781, p. 219; *G.R.S.*, 7th Nov. 1662 and 14th Jan. 1665, iv, 224, xi, 154; *ibid.*, 22nd Aug. 1671, xxviii, 16; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 17th Mar. 1662 (in *I.I.*, III, v, 19, III, iv, 17), and *L.P.*, 806-7, p. 244; *I.I.*, III, v, 38, 42, III, iii, 32, in *L.P.*, 814, 830, 833, pp. 246, 250.

30. See below, p. 216; *I.I.*, III, v, 41, in *L.P.*, 816, p. 247; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1665. There is a puzzling statement in *A. & D.*, 27th July 1642, dxvii, 15, that Dame Barbara Semple, Lady Lamont, was "mother-of-law" to Archibald Stewart, yr. of Castlemilk. He was the son of Sir Ard. Stewart and Anne eldest daughter of Robert Lord Semple, and married Lady Margaret Fleming in 1634, Crawford's *Renfrew*, pp. 78, 492. Dame Barbara was certainly his "mother-sister," but it is difficult to see how she could be his mother-in-law.

31. *Black Book of Taymouth* (Bannatyne Club, 1855), p. 441.

32. MS. 35.3.12; vol. ii (1748-9), fol. 168; printed in Walter Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections* (ed. Sir A. Mitchell for Scot. Hist. Soc., 1906-8), vol. ii, p. 144; for date see p. xxxi and for later shortened edition, pp. 510 and xliv; Timothy Pont, the cartographer, may have been himself the author; see above, p. 108.

33. The Scots mile was equal to roughly $1\frac{1}{8}$ English miles (1984 English yards to be exact), John (Lord) Swinton, *Weights and Measures in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1779), p. 24; Henderson's *Scottish Reckonings*, pp. 6, 13; the Act 1685, c. 59, in *A.P.S.*, viii, 494, imposing the English standard, was never effective.

34. See also Pont's Map of Glassary, No. 15 in National Library; Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 259-60; see below, pp. 172, 185.

35. *John Splendid*, p. 242.

36. The suggestion is Knockdow's in *L.P.*, p. 409, note; *Knockdow Charters*, 2nd Nov. 1627, and *I.C.*, 18th Feb. 1629, in *L.P.*, 485, 498, pp. 147, 150; see *I.C.(A.)* (in *I.I.*, IV, ii, 14-15) and *R.M.S.*, ix, 228, 479, all in *L.P.*, 561, 564, 568, pp. 166-7; *I.C.(L.-C.)* in *I.I.*, III, v, 15, and *L.P.*, 672, p. 193.

37. *Highland Papers*, i, 114; as to "bagg pypperis" see *Trans. Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland* (1831), iii, 248; Francisque Michel, *Les Ecosais en France* (London, 1862), ii, 265, in *L.P.*, 418, 459, pp. 130, 139; Wm. Forbes Leith, *The Scots Guards in France* (1882), ii, 188, 190, 192; see p. 26 above; see also M. Avenel, *Lettres, etc. du Cardinal Richelieu* (Paris, 1861), iv, 456, and Michel, i, 277, note, ii, 507, in *L.P.*, 548-50, p. 162; *Compt Book of Argyle* (MS. in Reg. Ho.), 1633-43, fol. 20; the Lamonts then settled at Ardintrave and Gleckavoil (by Colintrave) were perhaps connected with the Coustoun and Knockdow families respectively; *P.C.C. Administration Act Book*, 23rd Jan. 1628, fol. 4, and *P.C.C. Barrington*, 10th Apr. 1628, fol. 35, in *L.P.*, 1429-30, p. 418; see above, p. 65.

38. Various early accounts are drawn upon in MacLeod, *Island Clans*, pp. 37-8; the ell was roughly one yard, exactly 37.2 ins.; Grant's *Old Scotland*, p. 264.

39. Grant, *ibid.*; see also MacLeod, *Island Clans*, pp. 70-1, as to structures; MacLeod's *Gaelic Songs*, p. 99.

CHAPTER X

1. *Stonefield MSS.* in possession of Colonel George Campbell of Stonefield, Glenakil, Tarbert, Loch Fyne. These are copies made about 1700 of originals which have now disappeared but were presumably once at Inveraray. I am indebted to Knockdow for drawing my attention to this source. An ancestor of the family was one of Argyll's commissioners in 1711 and another sheriff-depute in 1768 (see *L.P.*, index, p. 447. Vol. i, fol. 112). The proverb is from Nicolson, p. 76.

2. See above, pp. 132, 140; Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scottish History* (1861), p. 371; *Glasgow University Muniments*, 29th Feb. 1628, iii, 80, in *L.P.*, 490, p. 148; *Durie's Decisions*, 29th June 1637, p. 847, in *Morison's Dictionary*, p. 2730, and *L.P.*, 593, p. 174 (original not registered); see also *I.I.*, III, iii, 15, in *L.P.*, 576, p. 167; Lithgow's *Description* in Hume Brown's *Scotland before 1700*, p. 299; see above, p. 14, and *G.R.S.*, 17th Feb. 1637, xlv, 258.

3. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 2nd May 1634; *I.I.*, IV, ii, 14, and *Deeds (Scott)*, 16th June 1637, vol. 506, in *L.P.*, 561, 592, pp. 166, 174; the lands were Inveryne, Drum, Melldalloch with mill, and the superiorities of Achanaskioch and Craignafeich (see above, p. 116, and below, p. 153); *I.C.*, 18th Nov. 1634; *I.I.*, IV, ii, 15-16, in *L.P.*, 561, p. 166; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1635; *G.R.S.*, 29th Apr. 1635, xlii, 125; Crawford's *Renfrewshire* (ed. Robertson, 1818), p. 78, and *L.P.*, index, p. 480; *A. & D.*, 7th Mar. 1639, Dix, 57, in *L.P.*, 612, p. 179; *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Mar. 1641.

4. *I.I.*, III, v, 13, in *L.P.*, 566, p. 167; *I.C.*, — June 1640; *Deeds (Scott)*, 21st Nov. 1640, vol. 526, in *L.P.*, 619, p. 181; *Teind Papers (Argyll)*, in Reg. Ho., 4th June 1635; *Deeds (Gibson)*, 16th May and 26th Aug. 1646, vol. 559, *I.I.*, III, v, 11, II, ii, 1, 15, and 22, all in *L.P.*, 641, 649, 686, 703, 572, pp. 186, 188, 196, 198, 168; *University Muniments*, 8th June 1636, iii, 468, in *L.P.*, 585, p. 172.

5. *I.C.(A.)*, 15th Mar. 1643, in *L.P.*, 651, p. 189; *G.R.S.*, 15th Mar. and 29th Apr. 1643, lii, 395-7; *Synod Records of Argyll*, 7th May 1640, vol. i (modern copy, vol. i, fol. 11), when it was also decided that each Presbytery was to have a school; there was one in Dunoon by 1649, *ibid.*, 9th May 1649, i, 162; *ibid.*, 3rd July 1639, 1st July 1640, 13th May 1644, and 26th Jan. 1641, i, 2, 4, 11, 5; *ibid.*, 24th Apr. 1639 and 26th May 1642, i, 32; Knockdow also went to Campbeltown for this purpose, *ibid.*, 25th May 1643, i, 74; *R.P.C.*, 5th Feb. 1635, v, 480, in *L.P.*, 569, p. 167.

6. *I.C.*, 1st Aug. 1637; *R.P.C.*, v, 384; *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie* (Bannatyne Club, 1841-2), 21st Oct. 1634, i, 425; *I.I.*, III, iii, 19, in *L.P.*, 600, p. 176; Muster Rolls in *Black Book of Taymouth*, 2nd Aug. 1638, pp. 394-7, and *A.P.S.*, 31st Aug. 1639, v, 208, both in *L.P.*, 605, 616, pp. 181, 170; *Records of Argyll*, pp. 4-5; John Willcock, *The Great Marquess* (1903), pp. 6, 9-10, the verse is by Alexander Craig of Banff, c. 1618; Fionn, *Martial Music of the Clans*, p. 50.

7. *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Feb. 1635 and 1st Nov. 1637, in *L.P.*, 570, 596, pp. 168, 175; in latter Sir JOHN X's death is wrongly dated 1550 instead of 1568; *I.I.*, I, iii, 5-7, and *I.C.(A.)*, 18th May 1641, in *L.P.*, 624-6, pp. 182-3; Thomson's *Retours (Argyll)*, i, No. 55 (the original is not in Chancery), and *I.C.(A.)*, 25th Jan. 1643 (£6, 8s. 4d. should be £6, 13s. 4d.), in *L.P.*, 573, 646, pp. 169, 187; *I.C.(A.)*, 13th Oct. 1643; *Argyll Sasines*, 14th Oct. 1643, and *I.C.(A.)*, 21st May 1642, in *L.P.*, 660, 636, pp. 191,

185; see also *Argyll Charters*, c. 1705, in *L.P.*, 1089, p. 320; *A. & D.*, 29th July 1637, cccxcvi, 262, and *Argyll Charters*, 6th Feb. 1638, in *L.P.*, 594, 601, pp. 174, 176; Achadachoun and Kames were held by military service; *I.C.*, 15th Oct. 1643.

8. *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 11th Apr. 1662, vol. v; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th Jan. 1658, and *I.I.*, III, v, 9, 25, in *L.P.*, 767-8, pp. 215-6; see below, pp. 424, 462; *Deeds (Scott)*, 6th Sept. 1639, vol. 523, 13th Oct. 1638, vol. 514, and *I.I.*, III, v, 45, 57, all in *L.P.*, 617, 607, 609-10, pp. 181, 178-9; *I.I.*, II, i, 10, and IV, ii, 5, in *L.P.*, 623, 644, pp. 182, 187; *Crawford MSS.*, fol. 325, and *I.C.(A.)*, 15th Mar. 1643, in *L.P.*, 1449, 651, pp. 428, 188; *G.R.S.*, 29th Apr. 1643, lii, 396-7.

9. *Crawford MSS.*, fol. 328; *R.S.S.*, 30th Aug. 1643, cxii, 73; *G.R.S.*, 15th Mar. 1643, lii, 395; *I.I.*, II, i, 11-12, and *R.M.S.*, ix, No. 1451, in *L.P.*, 658-9, 761, pp. 190, 214; the figure £333 appears in *Draft Information* of c. 1661 for Archibald in *I.C.(A.)* (see also *A.P.S.*, 22nd Feb. 1661, vii, 40, in *L.P.*, 790, p. 236), but in the *Copy Petition* by Sir James of c. 1663, in *I.C.(A.)*, the rents are stated at 400 merks (*i.e.* £266), which is exactly £333 less one-fifth for teind; Archibald had also derived from his father an interest in the teinds of Kilfinan, valued at some £500 net annually (see above, p. 140, and *Draft Information* of c. Feb. 1661 in *I.C.(A.)* and *A.P.S.* as above); the teind was 90 bolls at 14 merks, equal to £840, and the stipend was agreed in 1631 at 36 bolls or £336, *I.I.*, II, v, 16, in *L.P.*, 522, p. 156; and the superiority of Achahoish in Glassary which involved him in litigation, see *A. & D.*, 17th June 1642, Div, 391, in *L.P.*, 638, p. 186.

10. See below, pp. 208-210; Ninian's total was 1600 merks or £1066, see *L.P.*, 584, 599, 635, 754, pp. 172, 176, 185, 212, and *Deeds (Downie)*, 28th June 1653, vol. 584; another 600 was due by Kames in 1657, *Book of Debts*, 1656-7 (Reg. Ho.), 1st Jan. 1657; he had also a further £1333, see *Deeds (Brown)*, 27th July 1652, vol. 567, in *L.P.*, 748, p. 210 (the date is 1644 not 1643), *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 6th Feb. 1665, vol. 12, and *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 15th Dec. 1664, vol. xii; *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Mar. 1641.

11. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 14th Apr. 1641; *I.I.*, III, v, 14, and V, iv, 16, in *L.P.*, 620-1, p. 181; the herezelds of Rudhbodach were ceded to the chief; *McGilchrist's Protocols*, 14th Apr. 1641, fol. 73; *Argyll Sasines*, 15th Oct. 1643, ii, 51, in *L.P.*, 662, p. 191; the return for Kames was £16, 2 wedders, 1 stone butter, 2 bolls oats (worth £18), 2 firlots of barley, and the peats, *Argyll Charters*, 15th Apr. 1641, "Inventory of Patrick Lamont of Stronalbanich's Writes in 1748," but in the *Rental* of 1642-6 (see note 14 below) it was differently stated; the chief signed a bond at Ardlamont in 1639, *Deeds (Scott)*, 18th Feb. 1642, vol. 534, in *L.P.*, 633, p. 185.

12. *I.I.*, I, iii, 7, in *L.P.*, 626, p. 182; see above, p. 86; *Rental*, fol. 9; see also *G.R.S.*, 29th Jan. 1657, xii, 243, and *ibid.*, 21st Mar. 1665, xi, 372, in *I.I.*, I, x, 19, and *L.P.*, 838, p. 252; *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 27th Feb. 1707, vol. 158; cp. above, p. 139; *Argyll Sasines*, 8th July 1643, ii, 27-8, in *L.P.*, 654-5, p. 189. Robert, last known laird of Ballochandrain, had a bastard son John, see *G.R.S.*, 12th June 1667, xvii, 45.

13. *Deposition* of Mr Duncan McLea, minister of Dull, 3rd Jan. 1743, copy in *Lyon Office Miscellaneous Papers*, No. 338, printed in *Highland Papers*, iv, 91.

14. *Rental* of 1642-6 in apprising by George Campbell, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 5.

15. From the leased lands are omitted Lady Lamont's considerable portion (see note 3 above), and one of the Towards; from the feus the cadetships of Monydrain

(paying 5 merks) and Rudhbodach (£4), and Silvercraig's kirklands of Kilfinan; and from the ward lands the cadetships of Stillaig and Silvercraigs, and the later acquisitions Ballochandrain, Acharossan, and Evanachan. The values are taken from the *Argyle Regality Rentals* in the Register House, vol. ii, for 1633-43, fol. 236. One value seems to have been fixed for the whole of the Marquis's vast estates, which of course extended beyond Argyllshire. When claiming damages from the Campbells in 1661 for the period 1646-61 Stillaig represented the boll of oats as worth rather more than £8, namely £9, 6s. 8d. (see *A.P.S.* in note 9 above). The fiars price for crop and year 1638 in Renfrewshire and Clydesdale was £9 (*A. & D.*, 27th July 1642, DXXVII, 15 (in *L.P.*, 639, p. 186)). As to the extent of the old Scots boll and stone see MacLeod, p. 139.

16. The details of the £133 in kind are, 8 bolls of bere, 4½ of oats, 5 stone butter, 4 wedders, 26 dozen eggs, ½ dozen fowls, 1 fed veill, 1 fed kid, and 180 loads peats; see MacLeod's *Island Clans*, pp. 144-6, 54, and Grant's *Old Scotland*, p. 218; see below, pp. 185, 172.

17. *Draft Petition to King*, cf. *Draft Supplication to Commissioners on Argyll's Debts*, both c. 1663 in *I.C.(A.)*, and former also in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 20-2 (latter states loss at even less, i.e. £2666, 13s. 4d.); *Ardchattan MSS.*, 6th Oct. 1663, in *The Scottish Antiquary* (1889), iii, 23; see above, p. 139; the earliest leases to typical tenants are *I.C.(A.)*, 30th Nov. 1697 and 4th Jan. 1712, in which even the teinds were payable by the tenants; on the Dunvegan estate the chief paid half the cess, see MacLeod, p. 145; as to repairs see MacLeod, p. 153, and *Bell v. Lamont*, 14th June 1814, F.C., vol. xviii, p. 645; cp. however p. 274 below; see *Accompt* of 4th Apr. 1668 in *I.C.(A.)*; *Rental* as in note 14 above, fol. 11 (24 bolls of teind at presumably £8 is £192, less say two-fifths or £77 for stipend (that was the proportion of stipend to teind in Kilfinan, *A.P.S.* as in note 9 above); for 12½ years' purchase see *Draft Supplication* as above.

18. *Draft Supplication* as in last note; *A.P.S.* as in last note shows the teinds were £500, and p. 194 above that the net rents were £266; Sir James afterwards rated Ascog much higher, see below, p. 408; see below, pp. 423-4, 452.

19. See above, p. 132; *Dumoon Presbytery Records*, 3rd July 1639, vol. i (i), fol. 2; *A.P.S.*, 31st Aug. 1639, v, 252, in *L.P.*, 616, p. 181; Scott's *Fasti*, v, 112; *Traquair Papers*, 1639, Nos. 209-10, in *Historical MSS. Commission, 9th Report*, appendix, p. 255, in *L.P.*, 614-5, p. 180; *Stonefield MSS.*, vol. i, fol. 112.

20. *Traquair Papers, ibid.*; Bishop Henry Guthry's *Memoirs* (London, 1702), p. 31 (Glasgow, 1748, p. 36); *Presbytery Records*, 1st July 1640, i (i), 4.

21. Nicolson, p. 249; *I.I.*, III, v, 4, and *A. & D.*, 27th July 1642, 517.15, in *L.P.*, 627, 639, pp. 183, 186; the exact totals, collected from *L.P.*, *passim*, and other sources, are £21,570 and £32,783, 6s. 8d.; *Book of Debts*, 16th Dec. 1656, vol. i, *ad finem*.

22. *Draft Memorandum* in *I.C.(A.)*, 1687; see above, p. 140; Nicolson, p. 156.

23. See above, p. 152; Nicolson, p. 193; see MacLeod's *Island Clans*, pp. 63-4, 33-4; Lithgow's *Description* (1628), pp. 299-300.

24. Nicolson, p. 71; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 112.

25. *I.I.*, II, ii, 1, 3, in *L.P.*, 575, p. 169; *Argyll Sasines*, 1st July 1646, iii, 40; Rev. Angus and Rev. Ard. MacDonald, *MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry* (Inverness, 1911), p. 42; *Deeds (Scott)*, 5th Apr. 1638, vol. 511, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 3rd Feb. 1644, in *L.P.*,

603, 667, pp. 177, 192; the *Book of Debts* gives the total as £5000, but that it was really £7500 appears from a *Copy Petition* of c. 1663 in *I.C.(A.)*, and *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fols. 21-2; *I.I.*, II, ii, 1, 7, in *L.P.*, 602, p. 177, for 1055 merks, afterwards reduced to 500, *Book of Debts*.

26. Bryce Semple of Cathcart, however, was related through their wives, see Crawford's *Renfrewshire* as in note 3 above, and *I.I.*, III, iii, 15, in *L.P.*, 567, p. 167; he was repaid by 1656, *Book of Debts*; James was cautioner for several cadets besides, *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 11th Apr. 1662; *I.I.*, II, ii, 1, 20, in *L.P.*, 679, p. 194; see also *A. & D.*, 28th June 1649, DXLV, 24, and *I.I.*, III, iii, 17, in *L.P.*, 578, p. 170.

27. *I.I.*, II, ii, 1, 11, and *I.C.(A.)*, 21st May 1642, in *L.P.*, 631, 636, p. 185; see Andrew Lang, *History of Scotland*, iii, 100 (1904); *Ecclesiastical Records of St Andrews* (Abbotsford Club, 1837), p. 5, in *L.P.*, 634, p. 185; *Muster Rolls* at Inveraray Castle, 17th Nov. 1642; the commission was dated 18th Mar. 1642; see also *Presbytery Registers*, 10th Mar. 1652, i (i), 42, as to John Mckonnochie alias Lamont "long a souldier in Irland under Capt. Collein Campbell's collors."

28. *Ecclesiastical Records of St Andrews* (Abbotsford Club, 1837), p. 5, in *L.P.*, 634, p. 185; *Synod Registers*, 26th May 1642, i (32); *ibid.*, 10th Oct. (58); *Presbytery Registers*, 26th Jan. and 1st Apr. 1643, i (i), 8, see also *G.R.S.*, 8th Feb. 1643, liii, 278.

29. Lang's *History*, iii, 103; see above, p. 152; MacLeod's *Gaelic Songs*, pp. 42-3.

30. *An Historical Account of the Highlanders* (Dublin, 1715), pp. 13, 16, 22; as to dress, see also James Campbell's *Songs*, pp. 155-163.

31. *Deeds (Gibson)*, 9th Apr. 1646, vol. 559, and *A.P.S.*, 26th Aug. 1643, vi (i), 53, all in *L.P.*, 684, 657, pp. 195, 190; see below, p. 166.

32. Rev. George Wishart, *Memoirs of James Marquis of Montrose* (1647; new edn., London, 1893), pp. 37-8; *I.C.(A.)*, 24th May 1643; another copy in *Forfeiture Process* (see note 68 below); referred to in *A.P.S.*, x, 230, and appendix, p. 62, in *L.P.*, 652, p. 189; see also *Indictment* (see note 49 below), in *L.P.*, 786, pp. 221-2; the date 1643 is puzzling till one remembers that being granted at Oxford it was presumably dated according to the old style which lingered in England long after it had been abandoned in Scotland in 1600 (see Henderson's *Scottish Reckonings*, p. 4); it would have been dated 1644 in Scotland.

33. *The True Relation*, c. 1661, among *I.C.*, in *L.P.*, 1452 at p. 429 (there are portions of a second edition, containing considerable new matter, in *I.C.(A.)* and *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 32); this was specially mentioned in General JOHN XIX's *Inventory* of 1818, No. 14, in *I.C.(A.)*; *A. & D.*, 21st Jan. 1648, DXXX, 305; see Wishart, pp. 45-6.

34. *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, 1643-60, part ii, p. 1085; *Presbytery Registers*, 15th May 1644, i (i), 11; *A.P.S.*, 24th July 1644, vi (i), 202, in *L.P.*, 671, p. 193; *True Relation* at p. 430.

35. Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, ii, 331; Wishart, p. 54; *The Clan Donald*, iii, 599; Guthry's *Memoirs*, 140 (161-2); see also *Adventures in Legend*, pp. 217-218.

36. *True Relation* at p. 430; Wishart, pp. 52-5; Guthry, *ibid.*; Lithgow's *Description* (1628), p. 297; Mark Napier, *Memoirs of Montrose* (1856), ii, 470, 493; *Fionn, Martial Music of the Clans*, p. 149.

37. *The Compt of the merklandes off Cowal, Argyll and Lorne*; copy in charter chest of Maclachlan of Maclachlan in 17th century hand; presumably referable to period before civil wars as no reference to either valued rent or Sir James's creditors; 5 merks have to be added for Acharossan, which is separately entered.

38. Wishart, pp. 80-1; Napier, ii, 471; cp. Lang, who says they left on 14th Jan., ii, 130, and as Argyll was in Appin on 22nd this seems likely to be correct, see *Dunstaffnage Papers*, 22nd Jan. 1645, in Session Papers in *Duke of Argyll v. Campbell* (1912 S.C. 458), p. 145; see Neil Munro, *The Lost Pibroch*, p. 72.

39. *Indictment*, p. 222; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 112-3; see p. 162 above.

40. Wishart, pp. 83-5; John Willcock, *The Great Marquess* (1903), p. 173; Thomas Innes of Learney, *Scots Heraldry* (1934), p. 157; Patrick Gordon, *Britane's Distemper* (Spalding Club, 1844), pp. 101-2; Napier, ii, 483.

41. Gordon, *ibid.*; John Spalding, *Memorials of the Troubles* (Spalding Club, 1850), ii, 445; Browne's *History of the Highlands* (1850), i, 363, both in *L.P.*, 674-5, p. 194; see also Stewart's *Sketches* (1822), App. LL, vol. ii, p. 1 (where reference to Wishart seems mistaken); it is very remarkable, however, that this is not mentioned in the *Campbell Note*, which stresses all the points against Sir James; Wishart, p. 80.

42. MacLeod's *Gaelic Songs*, p. 87; *Memorials of Montrose* (Maitland Club, 1848), ii, 276, in *L.P.*, 676, p. 194; see above, p. 141; *Deeds (Gibson)*, 30th June 1646, vol. 559, in *L.P.*, 690-1, p. 197; see also *L.P.*, 680-1, p. 195; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 126; *True Relation*, p. 430; Guthry, 158 (199).

43. *True Relation*, p. 430; *I.C.(A.)*, 26th Aug. 1645.

44. *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 113, 126; *Trans. Soc. Antiquaries of Scotland* (1888-9), xxiii, 106, in Knockdow's 1902 *Lecture*, pp. 14-15.

45. *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 133, 115; *True Relation*, p. 430; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 129, 124; on 11th Mar. 1645 Argyll committed Castle Lachlan to the Captain of Dunoon, *Dunoon Charters*, ix, 9; see Neil Munro, *The Lost Pibroch*, p. 52, and Nicolson, p. 189.

46. *True Relation*, pp. 430-1; *Adventures in Legend*, pp. 225-231; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 121, 129; *A.P.S.*, vii, 338, in *L.P.*, 798, p. 241.

47. *A.P.S.*, vi. (i), 492, in *L.P.*, 682, p. 195; Knockdow's statement in his 1899 *Lecture* at p. 23, that Sir James was at Philiphaugh, is contrary to the evidence; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 113-4; Guthry, pp. 158, 163 (199, 204).

48. *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 129; see above, p. 170.

49. *True Relation*, p. 431; *Indictment*, p. 222; the full reference for the latter is *Summons* by Sir James (with concurrence of Lord Advocate) concluding for forfeiture of Argyll and others, among *Dalrymple Unextracted Processes*, 1661 (now transferred to *Parliamentary Papers*, see note 68) in Register House; an Anglicised version is printed in W. Cobbett's *State Trials* (1742), ii, 417 (ed. T. B. & T. J. Howell, 1810, v, 1369), in *L.P.*, 786, pp. 220 ff.; see also abstract *Articles of Dittay* in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 28th Aug. 1662, fol. 17; the presence of swine in the highlands was unusual, see Margaret M. McArthur's introduction to *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769 (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1936), p. xi.

50. *Indictment*, pp. 229-30; *Report of Committee on Burdens and Losses for Bute* (Reg. Ho.), bundle 9.

51. *Dunstaffnage Papers*, 19th Nov. 1645 to 26th Mar. 1646, as above, pp. 171-6; *Indictment*, p. 230; Guthry, pp. 171-2 (213).

52. *Argyll Charters*, — 1651, in *L.P.*, 1450, p. 428; *True Relation*, p. 431; Nicolson, p. 384; Macdonald, No. 622.

53. Nicolson, p. 86; *True Relation*, p. 431; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 129, makes it doubtful if he was ever in Kintyre at all; in the *Indictment*, p. 222, it says that "after his Majesties coming to Newcastle [in May 1646] and casting himself upon the trust of the armie lying thair, the said Sir James did thane lay doun his armes, and with his freendis reteired in a peaceable manner to his owin houses of Towart and Ascog, thair being no other houses for (their) shelter, the countrey having bein formerlie wasted and brunt"; but this will not square with the other evidence and the account given in the text is vouched as early as 1653, *Draft Petition* of c. 1653 in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 13.

54. *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 115, 119; see pp. 177-8 below.

55. *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 114, 129; perhaps to this incident should be attributed the tradition on p. 169 above.

56. *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 129, 115, 126; see p. 142 above; see index to *L.P.*, p. 443.

57. *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 119; *Dunstaffnage Papers*, 14th July 1645, p. 170; *Indictment*, pp. 223-4; see pp. 76-7 above.

58. *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 124, 121; see *Adventures in Legend*, p. 235; and below, p. 464, for attack on Silvercraigs by MacColla; *Dunstaffnage Papers*, 3rd Feb. 1646, p. 174.

59. *Indictment*, p. 229; *Deposition of Duncan McDougall of Kilbride*, in *Forfeiture Process*; *Dewar MSS.*, i, 64, where the incident is attributed to the time of Sir Neill Campbell of Eilean Greg, *i.e.* 1681-1714; but it can hardly be later than 1646, as (i) the Lamonts were too impoverished after that date to seek for trouble; (ii) it mentions that the Lamonts after these troubles had too few men and had to bring new tenants from Largs, including the Shearers who appear at a baron court at Ardyne in 1662 (*I.C.(A.)*, 29th Oct. 1662); (iii) it seems to refer to Sir James's marriage and the siege of Toward. Maclachlans of Inverneil appear in the *L.P.* between 1618 and 1644 (index, p. 473), but it is doubtful if there was a widow at this date, as in 1649 the Synod educated "Jon McLachlan son to Jon McLachlan of Inverneil," implying that the father was still alive at that date (*Synod Registers*, 9th May 1649, i, 171). The story probably relates to Duncan, Sir Neill's predecessor, who came to Toward in 1641 to borrow money from Sir James's mother and brother (*Deeds (Downie)*, 28th June 1653, vol. 584), and was indicted along with Argyll for his part in the siege of Toward and massacre of Dunoon and for the massacre at Strone (*Indictment*, pp. 221, 229). Sir Neill's name has, however, been left standing in the narrative to avoid unnecessary alteration.

60. See last note; see below, p. 458.

61. *Depositions of John Carswell yr. of Carnassary, Mr. Ewen Campbell of Auchtabewin* (? *Auchnagowill in Glassary*) & *Donald Mackerres* in *Forfeiture Process*; *R.P.C.*, 21st June 1668, xii. 291; *Dewar MSS.*, i, 482 ff.; see above, p. 180; statement of tradition (*re* Knockdow) by Jane Berry, aged 90, in letter of 1885 to her cousin Col. Burnley-Campbell of Ormidale, in Knockdow's 1899 *Lecture*, p. 29.

62. *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, 1643-60, Part II, p. 1085; the date of Archibald's birth is established by his tablet in Kilfinan vault (see p. 278 below), and by his revocation of deeds on majority (*L.P.(L.-C.)*, 19th Jan. 1667, in *L.P.*, 858, p. 257) showing he must have been born on or after 19th Jan. 1646; he was certainly major by his father's death in May 1670 (see *L.P.*, 1089, p. 320); *True Relation*, p. 431.

63. *True Relation*, p. 431; the arrival was fourteen days before the bombardment commenced; *Indictment*, pp. 221 ff.; the statement in the *True Relation*, p. 431, that Montrose's letter arrived three days before the siege (*i.e.* 13th May) cannot be correct; it must be three days before the bombardment (*i.e.* 29th May); *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 102; *Fionn's Martial Music*, pp. 50-2.

64. *True Relation*, pp. 431-2; *Note* recording tradition at Knockdow in handwriting of late Lieut. Alexander Lamont; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 129; Nicolson, p. 139; see also Macdonald, No. 628.

65. Three copies are known: (i) in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 3rd June 1646, fol. 13; (ii) in *Forfeiture Process*; and (iii) *penes* Rev. John Lamont, late of Greenside Church, Edinburgh, in *L.P.*, 1432, pp. 419-20.

66. *Indictment*, p. 222; *True Relation*, p. 433.

67. *Indictment, passim*; John Nicoll's *Diary* (Bannatyne Club, 1836), pp. 337-8, in *L.P.*, 811, p. 295; see also Rev. Robert Wodrow, *History of Sufferings of Church* (1721), i, 135.

68. *A.P.S.*, 23rd Dec. 1700, x, 230; appendix, p. 62, contains an inventory of the *Forfeiture Process*; the parts which survive are mainly various Depositions of witnesses; they are now among *Supplementary Parliamentary Papers*, ix (i), No. 83; Nicolson, pp. 8, 48, "*aithnichear an leomhan air sgrìob de 'ionga*"; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 121.

69. George Campbell denied any capitulation at Ascog, *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 95, 107; *Depositions of Carnassary and Mr Ewen*, as in note 61 above; as to brother-in-law, see *G.R.S.*, 15th Sept. 1631, xxxii, 66; *Indictment*, p. 222; the *Deposition of Duncan Currie* states the figure at 100,000 merks, or £66,666, 13s. 4d.; the *Indictment* gives £50,000 sterling, but at that date sterling meant good Scots money, and not English currency, see *Wedderburn v. King*, 1666, Morison's *Dictionary of Decisions*, 2256, cp. *Baird v. Mags. of Dundee*, 1862, 24 D. 447, as to 1638; the quotation is from *The Lost Pibroch*, p. 261.

70. *True Relation*, p. 432; see also *Draft Petition to King*, c. Sept. 1662, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 20, and below, p. 265; Nicolson, p. 259; Macdonald, No. 554.

71. *True Relation*, p. 433.

72. *Indictment*, p. 223; *True Relation*, p. 433.

73. *True Relation*, p. 432; *Depositions* as above; in 1653 Sir James stated the total casualties at 60, see *Draft Petition* in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 13, which gives the date as the 11th June, but other sources show that it was in fact the eleventh day after the capitulation, *i.e.* the 14th June; *Indictment*, pp. 223-4; Knockdow's name appears incidentally on p. 230 of the *Indictment*; he is probably the unspecified Duncan Lamont of the foot of p. 223.

74. *Indictment*, p. 224; Nicolson, p. 186.

75. *The Lost Pibroch*, p. 137; *Indictment*, p. 224; *True Relation*, p. 432; the proverb, of course, relates to the burial alive of St Oran, Nicolson, p. 376, Macdonald, No. 610; the later proverb is from Nicolson, p. 221.

76. *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Aug. 1661, in *Highland Papers*, iv, 236; Thos. Dunlop's *Notes on Dunoon* (1885), p. 28; the two who deponed were well-known instruments of authority, see *Highland Papers*, iii, 23; Malcolm Laing, *History of Scotland* (2nd edn. 1804), iv, 12, note; Willcock, p. 313, note.

77. *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 116; *Short Answer to the Libel and Defences*, in Cobbett's *State Trials*, v, 1404, 1438, in *L.P.*, 787, 792, at pp. 233, 238; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 95, 107, inventory No. 9.

78. *Indictment*, p. 225; letter of 5th Feb. 1871 by A. A. Maconochie Welwood to Sir James Lamont xvi of Knockdow; Nicolson, p. 791.

79. *A.P.S.*, vii, 40, and appendix, p. 16, in *L.P.*, 789-90, pp. 234, 236; *Draft Supplication* as in note 17 above; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 129, 121, 124, 126, 116.

80. *Indictment*, p. 226; *I.C.(A.)*, 4th Aug. 1645, and 18th Sept. 1646; Nicolson, p. 248, and Macdonald, No. 219; *True Relation*, p. 433; Guthry, p. 179 (222); *MacDonald Poetry*, p. 57; Miss Lamont of Knockdow, to whom I am indebted for the translation, suggests that the sons of Ilpin may be the McGilps or McKillops of Glencoe. Another of *Ian Lom's* poems in Patrick Turner's *Gaelic Songs*, p. 66 (cp. MacLean Sinclair's edition of *Ian Lom*, p. 69), refer to:—

“many a man with gorget, steady gun and dark blue blade;
with their slender guns borne by their retainers;
Lamont and Maclachlan, and McNab of Glendochart,
McNaughton and McDougall and Stewart of Appin.”

81. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 18th Sept. 1646; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 137; *Records of Argyll*, 97-8.196; Chas. Fraser-Mackintosh, *The Last MacDonalds of Isla* (Glasgow, 1895), pp. 46-8.

82. *Indictment*, p. 226; *Dunstaffnage Papers*, 16th Sept. 1647, p. 177.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-7; *Draft Supplication* as in note 17 above; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 18th Sept. 1646; *Book of Debts*, as above; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 116.

84. *Indictment*, pp. 227-8; *True Relation*, p. 433; *R.P.C.*, 21st June 1686, xii, 291; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 95, 107; Andrew Lang, *History of Scotland*, ii, 196; Willcock, 213; *Argyll Charters*, 16th Nov. 1648, in *L.P.* 737, p. 208.

85. *True Relation*, p. 433, and 2nd edition in *I.C.(A.)*; see below, pp. 204-5; 6 years 9 months is given in *Copy Petition of 1663* in *I.C.(A.)* and *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fols. 21-2; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 137; *Lamont's Diary*, p. 5; *Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, 1643-60, Part III (1891), p. 1978.

86. See *The Lost Pibroch*, p. 274; Macdonald, No. 170; Nicolson, p. 85.

CHAPTER XI

1. *Argyll Sasines*, 1st July 1646, iii, 40; *Indictment*, 22nd head, in *L.P.*, 786 at p. 230; see below, p. 452.

2. Macdonald, *Proverbs*, No. 261 (“where one cow breaks the dyke, twelve will go through”); *Indictment*, 26th and 18th heads, in *L.P.*, 786, at pp. 229, 231; *ibid.*, 18th head, not in *L.P.*; William Shakespeare, *Richard III* (c. 1593), Act III, Scene 1.

3. *Synod Register*, 8th Sept. 1646, vol. i (modern copy, i, 119), see Brown's *Cowal*, p. 446; *R.P.C.*, 22nd Jan. 1662, i, 145, in *L.P.*, 804, p. 243; Willcock, *The Great Marquess*, pp. 187-8; *Inveraray Processes*, 1670, *Lamont of Auchinshelloch v. McAlester*, box II, shelf 4.

4. Pp. 196-208, mainly from *I.I.* and *R.M.S.*; see also *G.R.S.*, 7th, 14th and 23rd Apr. and 18th May 1647, lvi, 19, 160, 192, 246-9, and 14th Apr. 1649, lx, 19; *Executions* endorsed on *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 18th Sept. 1646; see also those in *ibid.*, 4th Aug. 1645; *Register of Apprisings*, 16th May 1655, ix, 233.

5. See Stair's *Institutions of the Law of Scotland* (1681), III, ii, 14; IV, iii, 2 (2); and Erskine's *Institute* (1773), II, xii, 3, 22; see below, pp. 238-9.

6. See above, p. 156; *I.I.*, II, ii, 2, 1, and *R.M.S.*, ix, 750, in *L.P.*, 719, 733, pp. 204, 207; by 1698 the sum due had apparently increased, perhaps by the inclusion of interest, to £58,273, 8s., see *I.I.*, II, ii, 1, 32, in *L.P.*, 1065, p. 311; *I.I.*, II, ii, 2, 6-7, in *L.P.*, 850, 878, pp. 254-5, 263; see below, pp. 219, 223.

7. *I.I.*, II, i, 3, 15; *I.C.*, 30th Oct. 1646 (*bis*); *R.M.S.*, ix, 1722; all in *L.P.*, 712, 715-7, pp. 201-3; *R.M.S.*, ix, 1749 and 1829, in *L.P.*, 732, 736, pp. 207-8; the three others were Henry Glen (and his assignee James Stewart of Balshagrie), £2600 (*R.M.S.*, ix, 1728), John Hamilton, £1105, 2s. 1d. (*ibid.*, ix, 1746), and John Herbertson, £846, 13s. 4d. (*ibid.*, ix, 1735; *I.I.*, II, i, 2, 5-7, *I.C.*, 2nd Apr. 1647), (all in *L.P.*, 718, 720, 729-31, 734, pp. 203-7); sasines in *G.R.S.*, 7th and 23rd Apr. and 15th May, lvi, 160, 192, 241, 247.

8. *I.I.*, ii, 2, 4, and II, i, 3, 15, in *L.P.*, 752, 712, pp. 212, 201; see below, p. 408; *G.R.S.*, 6th Nov. 1662, iv, 213; see also *Hospital of Glasgow v. Campbell* (1664), in Stair's *Decisions*, i, 216, and Morison's *Dictionary*, p. 419, and *Inveraray Processes*, *Cauldwell v. Tenants of Kilfinan*, 1666, box II, shelf 4.

9. *Draft Information for Archibald Lamont*, c. 1661, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Draft Petition to English*, c. 1653, in *I.C.(L.-C.)*, fol. 15; see above, pp. 192-3, 185; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 137; see below, p. 464.

10. See above, pp. 187, 181; *Indictment*, 19th head, in *L.P.*, 786, at p. 230; see above, pp. 193, 187; see below, p. 409; *Indictment*, 14th head, in *L.P.*, 786, at p. 228; see above, p. 193, and below, p. 410.

11. See below, p. 231, and above, p. 195; see above, p. 187; *Indictment*, 14th head, in *L.P.*, 786, at p. 228; see above, p. 177; Nicolson, p. 99; *R.P.C.*, 21st June 1686, xii, 291, 278.

12. *Indictment*, 15th head, in *L.P.*, 786, at p. 228; for Archibald Roy's Toward see also *Rental* of 1642-6, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 5; a bowman (according to Cosmo Innes, *Scotch Legal Antiquities* (1872), p. 266) is "a person who farms for a season the tenant's milk cows, and the pasture to maintain them"; *Deposition of John Carswell*, as above; *Indictment*, 8th head, not in *L.P.*; *Letter* of 21st Dec. (1684), in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 41.

13. *Dewar MSS.*, i, 482 ff.; as to bows and arrows see MacLeod's *Gaelic Songs*, p. 118; Patrick Turner, *Gaelic Songs* (1813), p. 153.

14. The quotations are from Neil Munro, *Children of Tempest* (1903), p. 17, Nicolson, p. 455, and Macdonald, No. 18; *Dewar MSS.*, i, 66 ff., says that the chief himself went to Ireland, but that is inconsistent with the other evidence, see below, pp. 204-6; see above, p. 172, and note 27 to chap. x.

15. See above, p. 104; *Symington Old Parish Registers*, vol. i, baptisms, 28th June 1646; *R.P.C.*, 7th May 1662, i, 207, in *L.P.*, 808, p. 244; Hugh McDonald, *Days at the Coast* (1857); pp. 111, 131; *I.C.(A.)*, 29th Oct. 1662, gives a list of tenants present at an early baron court; (for lowland tenants in Inveryne in 1669, see *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 31st Dec. 1669 (in *L.P.*, 880, p. 264)); *Dewar MSS.*, i, 66 ff.

16. In *I.C.(A.)*, c. 1661, not in *L.P.* (see note 33 to Chap. X); Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 116-117; Osgood Mackenzie, *Hundred Years in the Highlands*, pp. 81-2; see Nicolson, p. 225; see above, pp. 149, 151.

17. See above, pp. 190-1; for phrase *bha uair gu ruith* see Macdonald, No. 466; *A.P.S.*, 15th-16th Feb. 1649, vi (ii), 189, 205, in *L.P.*, 738-9, pp. 208-9; see above, p. 149; see below, p. 211; Macdonald, No. 45.

18. *Indictment*, in *L.P.*, 786, at p. 225; he was still in Dunstaffnage in April 1650, *Register of Apprisings*, 16th May 1655, ix, 233; Neil Munro, *The Lost Pibroch*, p. 114; *Argyll Synod Records*, 9th May 1649 and 28th May 1656, vol. i (modern copy, i, 162; ii, 135); *Report of Commission of Parliament appoynting Plantation of Kirks* for Argyll (MS. in Teind Office), fol. 7; see below, p. 371.

19. *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 18th Apr. 1649, vol. i, pt. i, fol. 21 (see also *ibid.*, case of divorce of Agnes Lamont); *Kingarth Kirk Session Registers*, 29th Apr. 1649, vol. i, fol. 8 (print (1932), pp. 10-11); later cases in *Rothsay Kirk Session Registers* are Mary Lamont in Meknoch (fornication), 24th Oct., 17th Nov. and 1st Dec. 1659, vol. i (print, pp. 19-21), and — Lamont and — McIlduy (flyting), 21st July and 9th Aug. 1660, vol. i (print, pp. 31-2); see also for Gilchrist McTailleour and his wife Katherine Lamont (apparently from Cowal), *Rothsay Town Council Records, 1653-1766* (1935), i, 38-40, 59, 349.

20. *True Relation*, in *L.P.*, 1452, at pp. 433-4; *Argyll Charters*, 1651, in *L.P.*, 1450, pp. 428-9; *Indictment*, 10th head, in *L.P.*, 786, at p. 225; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 137; Willcock, p. 271; MacLeod's *Gaelic Songs*, pp. 119-120; *Draft Petition for Reparation*, c. 1653, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 13; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 116; Argyll's defences, in *L.P.*, 792, p. 239; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 135; *Historical MSS. Commission, 6th Report*, Appendix, p. 618, 14th July 1651, in *L.P.*, 740, p. 209.

21. Monk's *Diary in Scotland and the Commonwealth* (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1895), pp. 3-6; (see also Henry Cary, *Memorials of the Great Civil War, 1642-52* (London, 1842), ii, 327-330, and *Parliamentary History of England* (24 vols.), vol. xx (1763), p. 18); *Draft Petition*, as in last note; *True Relation*, at p. 434; *Indictment* and *Argyll Charters*, as in last note.

22. *Draft Petition*, as in note 20; *Indictment*, at p. 226; *True Relation*, at p. 434; Nicolson, p. 412; see above, p. 98.

23. *Indictment*, 11th head, at pp. 225-6; *Draft Petition* and *True Relation*, as in last note; see above, p. 141; *G.R.S.*, 6th Feb. 1658, xiv, 196; *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 38-9; Nicolson, p. 176; see Neil Munro, *The Lost Pibroch*, p. 85.

24. *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, pp. 38-9; *Draft Petition*, as in note 20; *Dewar MSS.*, i, 482 ff.; see below, p. 474; *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1652-3 (1878), 24th Dec. 1652 and 22nd Mar. 1653, pp. 51, 225; *The Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton, 1649-71* (Maitland Club, 1830), pp. 23, 36; said *Calendar*, 1660-1 (1861), (? Aug.) 1660, p. 233; according to Joseph Irving, *The Book of Dunbartonshire* (1879), i, 256, there does

not seem to have been an English garrison there till 5th Jan. 1652, though the last reference might be thought to imply that the chaplaincy was before the expulsion; Willcock, pp. 280-6.

25. *True Relation*, as in note 22; *Indictment*, in *L.P.*, 786, at pp. 226-7; *Draft Supplication to the English*, c. 1653, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Draft Petition*, c. 1653, in *I.C.(L.-C.)*, fol. 15.

26. Argyll bought up debts of 4000 merks on 10th June 1649 and of 2500 merks on 7th Mar. 1650, *A. & D.*, vol. dlxvi, fol. 144, and vol. dxcvii, fol. 57; cp. his account of this transaction in his defences in Cobbett, ii, 432, Howell, v, 1404, and *L.P.*, 787, p. 233.

27. *Draft Supplication and Draft Petition*, as in note 25; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 117-18; Willcock, pp. 286-97; *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, 5th Nov. 1653, p. 261.

28. *I.I.*, III, v, 25, and III, iii, 24, in *L.P.*, 753, 763, pp. 213-4; *Deeds*, 18th June 1652, vol. dlxxvii, and 10th July 1652, vol. dlxxvii, in *L.P.*, 745-7, p. 210; *I.I.*, iii, 41-4, and *Deeds (Downie)*, 29th June 1653, vol. dlxxxiv, in *L.P.*, 599, 744, 750, 754, pp. 176, 210-12; *Dunoon Charters*, 29th June 1653 and 19th July 1655, xvii, 20; *I.I.*, III, iii, 32, and II, ii, 4, in *L.P.*, 833, 752, pp. 250, 212; *I.C.(A.)*, 28th Feb. 1653, in *L.P.*, 751, p. 211.

29. *I.I.*, III, iv, 5, in *L.P.*, 760, p. 214; *Draft Petition*, as in note 20; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 18th Aug. 1663, viii, 364; *Decrees (Dalrymple)*, 25th Feb. 1655, vol. xvi, *Campbell v. Clerk & Orr*; *A. & D.*, 14th Feb. 1654, vol. dlxxxviii, fol. 114.

30. *G.R.S.*, 28th July 1653, v, 185; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 19th Sept. 1654 (in *L.P.*, 757, p. 213); *I.I.*, II, iv, 3, in *L.P.*, 766, p. 215.

31. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, as in last note; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 11th Jan. 1654, i (i), 64; he may have been the same James Lamont who was given up as scandalous before the Synod and referred by them to the Presbytery of Cowal on the last Wednesday of October 1656, *Argyll Synod Records*, vol. i (modern copy, ii, 177).

32. See *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 28th Sept. 1653, 11th Jan. and 1st Aug. 1654, i, 62, 66, 84; from *Argyll Synod Records*, May 1654, vol. i (ii, 55), it appears that no kirk session had yet been appointed; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 4th Mar. 1657, i, 97, see also 119, 122; *ibid.*, — Apr. 1654, i, 81 (presumably referring to Stillaig); *I.I.*, II, iv, 2, and III, iii, 23, in *L.P.*, 756, 758, p. 213; see above, p. 140.

33. *Argyll Synod Records*, 9th May 1655, vol. i (ii, 99); *G.R.S.*, 6th Nov. 1662, iv, 220; *Book of Debts*, 1st Jan. 1657, vol. i, *ad finem*; Lamont's *Diary*, pp. 95, 116.

34. *Book of Debts*, 16th Dec. 1656, vol. i, *ad finem*; *G.R.S.*, 29th Jan. 1657, xii, 243; see above, p. 154; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 9th Dec. 1675 (in *L.P.*, 924, p. 273), relating to 1659-66; see above, p. 198.

35. See above, p. 206; *Deeds (Durie)*, 1st Mar. 1666, xii, 256; *A. & D.*, 21st Jan. 1658, vol. dxcvii, fol. 57; the quotation is from *Le Fear Chillebride Air Bàs Chrombail*, 1658, in *The Owl Remembers*, p. 37; *I.C.(A.)*, 24th Dec. 1658; *G.R.S.*, 10th Jan. 1659, xv, 359; see also as to 1660, *ibid.*, 7th Nov. 1662, iv, 224; Stillaig served on an inquest in Rothesay on 26th Oct. 1658, *Register of Retours*, xxv, 161; *Argyll Charters*, c. 1661, in *L.P.*, 800, p. 242; *Letter* of 11th Dec. 1662, in *I.C.(A.)*; *I.C.*, 26th Jan. 1660, in *L.P.*, 778, p. 218; a son of Provost Glass married an Isobel Lamont, see note 78 to chap. xii.

36. See next para.; *G.R.S.*; 7th Nov. 1662, iv, 224; see also *ibid.*, 14th Jan. 1665, xi, 154; *Edinburgh Marriages* (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1905), p. 392; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 2nd Dec. 1670 (in *L.P.*, 887, p. 265).

37. *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, 1657, iii, 109; *Argyll Synod Records*, 27th Oct. 1658, — Oct. 1659, vol. i (ii, 236, 260); see above, p. 209; *Rothsay Kirk Session Registers*, 29th Dec. 1659, vol. i (print, p. 21).

38. *Ibid.*, and 23rd Feb., 8th Mar. and 22nd Mar. 1660 (p. 23); see Neil Munro, *The Lost Pibroch*, pp. 279, 45; below, p. 475; *Lamont's Diary*, p. 49; Macdonald, No. 243.

39. *I.I.*, II, i, 3, 20, in *L.P.*, 780, p. 219; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 20th July 1663, ix, 212; *A.P.S.*, vii, 92, and *R.P.C.*, 23rd Jan. 1662, i, 145, in *L.P.*, 793, 804, pp. 240, 243; see also *Ardchattan MSS.*, 6th Oct. 1663, in *The Scottish Antiquary*, iii (1889), 22-3; *A.P.S.*, vii, 14, appendix, p. 4; extract of act in *Forfeiture Process*; Rev. R. Wodrow, *History of Sufferings of Church* (edn. of 1829), i, 131-3; Nicolson, p. 11.

40. *Indictment*, as in note 49 to last chapter; Cobbett, ii, 432, and Howell, v, 1404, in *L.P.*, 787, p. 233; Wodrow, as in last note; Cobbett, vii, 381, and Howell, v, 1405, in part in *L.P.*, 788, p. 234; see also Cobbett, vii, 403, and Howell, v, 1438, in *L.P.*, 792, p. 238; see p. 184 above.

41. *L.P.*, 786-7, pp. 220-234; *A.P.S.*, 22nd Feb. 1661, vii, app. 16, vii, 40, in *L.P.*, 789-90, pp. 234-8; *Draft Information for Ard. Lamont*, Feb. 1661, in *I.C.(A.)*; *I.I.*, II, iv, 7, in *L.P.*, 791, p. 238.

42. *Forfeiture Process*, as above; *Petition to Parliament*, c. 1662, in *I.C.(A.)*; this was probably why he borrowed £2000 in Nov. from his lawyer, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, *Inventory of 1736*, item 17; *Rothsay Kirk Session Registers*, 2nd May 1661, vol. i (print, p. 41); see above, pp. 188-9; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 118, "the time of the 1st session of the current parliament"; *Argyll Charters*, c. 1661, in *L.P.*, 800, p. 242.

43. *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 117-18; as to date of compilation see quotation in last note; the only dated document is a testificate as to Stillaig's captivity of 9th Apr. 1661, i, 137; see above, pp. 162-3.

44. *Adventures in Legend*, p. 249; *Argyle Charters*, c. June 1661, in *L.P.*, 797, p. 241; see below, p. 410.

45. *I.C.(A.)*, 2nd May 1661, in *L.P.*, 796, p. 240; see above, p. 261; as to Edinburgh Lamonts, see Margaret Lamond indweller, d. 26th Apr. 1659 (*Greyfriars Interments* (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1902), p. 372); Margaret Lamont, m. 21st Feb. 1661 (*Edr. Mar. Reg.* (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1905), p. 392); Elizabeth Lamond, m. 18th Nov. 1669; Mary Lamond, m. 7th Nov. 1672 and 4th Feb. 1675 (*ibid.*); *Catalogue of Edinburgh Graduates* (1858), p. 91.

46. *A.P.S.*, 12th July 1661, vii, app., p. 85, in *L.P.*, 799, p. 242; Sir James was still in Edinburgh on 19th July 1661, see Joseph Anderson, *Oliphants in Scotland* (1879), p. 250; *Petition*, as in note 41 above; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 14th Mar. 1667, xix, 126.

47. *G.R.S.*, 6th Nov. 1662, iv, 220; Baron Court Minute, 20th Oct. 1662, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Letter* of 11th Dec. 1662, in *I.C.(A.)*; see also *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 17th Sept. 1661, ii, 539; see below, pp. 410-11; Stillaig also settled a portion of his

own estate on his wife for her life, consisting of Stillaig itself and Glenan; *G.R.S.*, 6th Nov. 1662, iv, 217; Nicolson, p. 33, and Macdonald, No. 11; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 117; see above, pp. 198-9; *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 22nd July 1665, vol. xviii; *G.R.S.*, 9th July 1662, iii, 372, and also *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1665; *Memorandum* of c. 1665 in *I.C.(A.)*; see also *Memorial* for Archibald Lamont, 1738, *ibid.*

48. John Nicoll's *Diary*, 1650-67 (Bannatyne Club, 1836), p. 377, in *L.P.*, 811, p. 245; Wodrow (1721 edn.), i, 135; *Petition*, as in note 41 above; *A.P.S.*, 3rd and 9th Sept. 1662, vii, 405, 419, in *L.P.*, 810, 812, pp. 245-6; extract act of latter in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 19.

49. *Letters*, 11th and 26th Dec. 1662, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Petitions to King*, c. 1663, in *I.C.(A.)* and *(L.-C.)*; *A.P.S.*, 9th Sept. 1662, as in last note; *Letters*, 18th Feb. 1663, in *I.C.(A.)*; *I.I.*, iii, 5, 52, in *L.P.* 824, p. 248; *Letter*, 25th Dec. 1662, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Supplication to Commissioners on Argyll's Debts*, c. 1663, in *I.C.(A.)*; Nicolson, p. 271; *G.R.S.*, 2nd Aug. 1665, xii, 376.

50. *Letter* of 18th Dec. 1662, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Rental* of 1642-6, as in note 14 to chap. x; *I.I.*, ii, 4, 5 and iii, 5, 41-2, in *L.P.*, 813-4, pp. 246-7; see also *Letter* of 11th Dec. 1662, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Baron Court Minutes*, 20th and 21st Oct. 1662, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Knockdow Charter*, 11th May 1560 and 2nd Nov. 1627, I, iii, 4, 10, in *L.P.*, 227, 485, pp. 74, 147; see *Old Statistical Account* (1793), v, 469; Stillaig was also employed by the church to collect stipend; *I.I.*, ii, 4, 6 and 8 and iii, 3, 33, in *L.P.*, 818-9, 842, pp. 247, 252; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 31st Dec. 1669 (in *L.P.*, 880, p. 264); *Letter* of (spring) 1664, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 27.

51. *Dewar MSS.*, i, 66 ff.; *Adventures in Legend*, p. 249; *Baron Court Minute*, 20th Oct. 1662, in *I.C.(A.)*; see above, p. 140; *The Poetry of Neil Munro*, p. 44.

52. *I.C.(A.)*, c. Sept. 1663 and 11th Sept. 1663; *A.P.S.*, 1663, cap. 29, vii, 471 and vii, 507, in *L.P.*, 822-3, p. 248; *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie)*, *Lamont v. Campbell*, 1663; Nicolson, p. 285.

53. *Letters* of 11th, 18th and 25th Dec. 1662 to Mistress (Isobel) Lamont, and of 18th Feb. 1663, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Baron Court Minute*, 29th Oct. 1662, in *I.C.(A.)*.

54. *Letter* of 18th Feb. 1663, in *I.C.(A.)*; narrative in *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 24th Nov. 1711, vol. clxxxvi; for inaccurate list of lands concerned see *Bute Inventory*, c. 1781, fol. 411; narrative in *Memorial for ARCHIBALD XVII*, 13th Aug. 1741, in *I.C.(A.)*.

55. *R.P.C.*, 16th Feb. 1664, i, 506, in *L.P.*, 829, p. 249; *Letters* of 17th Aug. 1664 and (spring) 1664, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 25, 27, and of 22nd Sept. and 17th Nov. 1664, in *I.C.(A.)*; as to his being at Corra about the same time, see *I.C.(L.-C.)*, as in note 58, and *G.R.S.*, 12th June 1667, xvii, 45; for Ardlamont see *I.C.(A.)*, 26th Jan. 1665, in *G.R.S.*, 1st Feb. 1665, xi, 174, and *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1665, all in *L.P.*, 835-6, 841, pp. 251-2, and *Register of Apprisings*, 27th Aug. 1666, xvii, 302; for lease see *I.I.*, iii, 5, 38, in *L.P.*, 830, p. 250; see above, p. 160.

56. *Ardchattan MSS.*, 9th July 1663, in *The Scottish Antiquary* (1889), iii, 22-3; see above, p. 154; *R.P.C.*, as in last note; *Letter* of (spring) 1664, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 27; for his lawyer Mr David Ramsay, the Commissary of the Isles, see also *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 22nd Dec. 1665, vol. xix, s.v. "Cunningham v. Ramsay," and *Rothsay Town Council Records, 1653-1766*, i, 111-2, narrating that the Nether Cowal

rents for year 1663 amounted to £2800 Scots; *Letter* of 23rd Feb. 1664, in *I.C.(A.)* (regarding going over "to Cowell," from which one presumes Nether Cowal (*i.e.* Toward) is meant as opposed to Kerry); for the same sort of trouble with regard to cess in the next year, see *Letter* of 22nd Sept. 1664, in *I.C.(A.)*, also *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 11th Mar. 1669, in *L.P.*, 874, p. 262.

57. See *I.I.*, iii, 5, 49, in *L.P.*, 782, p. 219, which should be dated later than 1661 and probably 1663; *Letter* of 22nd Jan. 1664, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 23; first three *Letters* in note 55 above.

58. *Letter* of 17th Nov. 1664, in *I.C.(A.)*; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 31st Dec. 1663 (in *L.P.*, 825, p. 249).

59. *G.R.S.*, 12th June 1667, xvii, 45; *I.C.(A.)*, 2nd Jan. 1667; *ibid.*, 26th Jan. 1665, in *G.R.S.*, 1st Feb. 1665, xi, 174, and *L.P.*, 835, p. 251; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1665 (in *L.P.*, 841, p. 252); see also *I.I.*, Addtl., 3, 4, in *L.P.*, 840, p. 252, according to which Silvercraigs was apparently due 7000 merks further which was secured over Achadachoun; *I.I.*, II, i, 3, 15, in *L.P.*, 712, p. 201; see above, p. 216; *G.R.S.*, 21st Mar. 1665, xi, 372-4, and *I.I.*, I, x, 20, in *L.P.*, 838-9, pp. 251-2; *I.I.*, II, iv, 9, and *G.R.S.*, 29th July 1668, xv, 11, in *L.P.*, 820, 872, pp. 248, 262; the fact that he was able to deal with Kilfinan probably indicates that it had been freed from the fetters of the apprising by Home which undoubtedly affected it, see *Inveraray Processes*, 1666, *Cauldwell v. Kilfinan Tenants*, box II, shelf 4.

60. *I.C.(A.)*, 25th June 1666, in *L.P.*, 854, p. 256; *G.R.S.*, 26th June 1666, xv, 103; *Memorial* for ARCHIBALD XVII in *I.C.(A.)*, 1738; see below, p. 425; *Memorandum* for Laird of Lamont, c. 1665, in *I.C.(A.)*; *I.I.*, III, v, 51, in *L.P.*, 877, p. 263.

61. *Decreets (Mackenzie)*, 24th Nov. 1711, vol. clxxxvi; *I.I.*, II, ii, 2, 6, in *L.P.*, 850, pp. 254-5; *I.C.(A.)*, 9th Sept. 1681; *Memorial* for ARCHIBALD XVII, 13th Aug. 1741, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Bute Inventory* of 1781, fol. 411; see below, pp. 238, 290; the superiority of Achanaskioch seems to have been included erroneously in lists of lands transferred to Argyll, and it appears to have remained in Lamont hands, see *L.P.*, 970, 1273, pp. 286, 369, and below, p. 434.

62. *I.I.*, II, i, 3, 21-22, and *I.C.(A.)*, 15th Mar. 1667 in *L.P.*, 862-4, pp. 258-9; *I.I.*, II, iv, 11, and III, v, 46-47, in *L.P.*, 847, 849, p. 254; *Letter* of 16th Nov. 1664, in *I.C.(A.)*; *I.I.*, III, v, 54, in *L.P.*, 857, p. 257; Stillraig was discharged of his intromissions to date (*I.C.(A.)*, 4th Apr. 1668, and *I.I.*, III, iii, 36-7, in *L.P.*, 870-1, p. 261), and was again appointed factor of the barony (*I.I.*, II, iv, 12-13, in *L.P.*, 867, p. 261; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 31st Dec. 1669).

63. *Letter* of 25th Aug. 1669, in *I.C.(A.)*; *I.I.*, II, ii, 2, 7-9, *Argyle Retours*, 7th Oct. 1669, i, No. 79, and *I.C.*, 4th Oct. 1670, in *L.P.*, 877-9, 884, pp. 263-4; *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 30-1; see below, p. 408; *Letter* of 23rd June 1669, in *I.C.(A.)*.

64. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 19th Jan. 1667, in *L.P.*, 858, p. 257; *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 10th May 1667, fol. 28-9; *Lamont's Diary*, pp. 149, 166, 175; *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (1924), iii, 39.

65. *Dugdale's Visitation*, 1665, *Nisbet MSS.*, 1699, and *Pièces Originales*, 1632, 23, 17-18, as in notes 13 and 14 to chap. iii; see also above, pp. 26, 144.

66. See below, p. 465; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th Mar. 1668, in *L.P.*, 869, p. 261; *Decreets (Dalrymple)*, vol. xliii, and *I.C.(L.-C.)*, both 20th June 1671, *I.I.*, Addtl., IV, 15-16, in *L.P.*, 892-3, p. 266; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 31st Dec. 1669, in *L.P.*, 880, p. 264; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 21st Feb. 1760, vol. clv; *I.I.*, III, iii, 43, in *L.P.*, 889, p. 265; *I.I.*, III, iv, 6, in

L.P., 861, p. 258 (this bond was destined to Ninian and the heirs lawful of his body, whom failing to Archibald (*Deeds (Durie)*, 28th June 1653, DLXXXIV, 28), which must have been interpreted as excluding females (such bonds being then considered heritable) as Ninian had certainly a surviving daughter who married Stronalbanach in 1694 (*I.C.(L.-C.)*, 25th July 1694, in *L.P.*, 1031, p. 303)); the son John referred to on p. 216 above must presumably have been illegitimate or he would have succeeded to the bond in preference to Archibald.

67. *Letters* of 25th Aug. 1669 and 5 Mar. 1670, in *I.C.(A.)*.

68. See above, p. 158; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 2nd Dec. 1670 (in *L.P.*, 887, p. 265); see above, pp. 113, 175; *Inveraray Processes*, box II, shelf 4.

69. Cf. above, p. 99; Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 126-8; the writer cannot agree with the authority last referred to that "neither the soil nor the climate could be blamed for this"; MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 54; *Inveraray Processes*, 1669, *McArthur v. Knockdow & Others*, box II, shelf 4; *Ascog Account*, 1668, in *I.C.(A.)*; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 10th May 1666, in *L.P.*, 852, p. 256; *I.C.(A.)*, 3rd Dec. 1670, in *L.P.*, 888, p. 265; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 2nd Dec. 1670 (in *L.P.*, 887, p. 265); *I.I.*, III, v, 38, in *L.P.*, 830, p. 250.

70. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 2nd Dec. 1670 (in *L.P.*, 887, p. 265); Nicolson, p. 31; Neil Munro, *The New Road* (1914), p. 158.

CHAPTER XII

1. See Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 235, and MacLeod's *Gaelic Songs*, p. 118; Stewart's *Sketches*, App. K (1822), vol. ii, pp. xx-xxi.

2. Fountainhall's *Decisions*, 6th Jan. 1693, i, 542, in *L.P.*, 1015, p. 298; but he does sometimes appear as "of Inveryne" (see, e.g., *L.P.*, 896, 899, 923, 1035, pp. 267, 273, 304, and *Inveraray Supply Papers*, 12th Sept. 1694 and 10th Oct. 1695, box IV, shelf 1, and box II, shelf 4), which remained his title in the roll of the county's freeholders at Inveraray (see *Dunoon Decrees*, 29th Sept. 1693; *Inveraray Supply Papers*, 12th Sept. 1694, iv, 1, and *Inveraray Records*, 1st Oct. 1695, box I); see below, p. 246; see *Materials* as in note 85 below referring to "the Lamonts of Inveryne commonly called Lard of Lamont."

3. *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 21st Dec. (1684), fol. 41; see above, p. 202; Nicolson, p. 185.

4. *Letter* of 3rd Jan. 1743 by Rev. Mr McLea in Lyon Office, *Miscellaneous Papers*, No. 338, in Macphail's *Highland Papers*, iv, 95; *Register of Arms*, 12th Jan. 1909, xx, 24. The child was at Glasgow University in Feb. 1681, and must have been then eleven at least, *University Muniments*, iii, 137, in *L.P.*, 951, p. 280.

5. See Rev. Cornelius A. W. Hallen, in *Scottish Antiquary* (1894), viii, 119-20; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 15th June and 7th Sept. 1670, vol. i, part ii, fols. 21, 24; *ibid.*, 1st Mar. and 26th Apr. 1672, fols. 30, 32; (no doubt this was the same John Lamont in Kilfinan who was absolved from penal statutes in 1684, see below, p. 241 and note 63); see Scott's *Fasti*, iv, 29, and *R.P.C.*, 2nd Mar. 1675, iv, 365, in *L.P.*, 920, p. 272; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 13th Sept. 1666 and 8th May 1667, fols. 3, 8, also 15th June 1670, fol. 21; *ibid.*, Feb. 1696, vol. ii, fols. 74, 77.

6. *R.P.C.*, 1666-76, iii, 43, 88-9, 147, 168, 359, 479, etc., iv, 19, 29, 135, etc.; *Argyll Justiciary Registers*, 14th May 1673, vol. i, fol. 21.
7. See above, p. 221; also *R.P.C.*, iii, 6, iv, 208, etc.; "*Argyll Justiciary Records (Inveraray)*," 5th Jan. 1675, quoted in *Lecture* by T. A. Small to Dunoon Grammar School F.P.'s on 22nd Oct. 1928, in next issue of *Dunoon Herald*.
8. See Nicolson, p. 260, and *I.I.*, III, iii, 45, in *L.P.*, 890, p. 266; *Letters* of 13th May and 5th June 1671, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Minute* of 29th Nov. 1671 in *Inveraray Sheriff Court Records*; *Retours (Tutela)*, ii, No. 969, and *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Feb. 1672, in *L.P.*, 896, 898, p. 267; *I.I.*, III, iii, 45, 48-52, and III, v, 26, in *L.P.*, 890, 913, 917-19, 910, pp. 266, 271-2, 274, 270; the last word of Coll is in 1606, *I.I.*, II, iv, 16, in *L.P.*, 990, p. 292.
9. See above, pp. 26, 30; see ARCHIBALD XV's mural tablet in Kilfinan Vault, photographed in *C.L.J.*, iv, 170; see next note; *I.C.(A.)*, 27th Feb. 1714, in *L.P.*, 1125, p. 329; as to Urrys see *British Museum Add. MSS.* 15856, fol. 89B, quoted in Dalton's *Sctos Army*, p. 179, in *L.P.*, 772, pp. 216-7; *Glasgow Testaments*, 18th Dec. 1674, xxxvii, quoted Dalton, p. 185, in *L.P.*, 915, p. 271; *I.C.(A.)*, 19th June 1713; see also *I.C.*, 16th Apr. 1684, in *L.P.*, 970, p. 286.
10. Jean Urry's slab, 2nd July 1706, in Kilfinan Vault; see above, p. 29; Auchmar's *Surnames*, p. 97 (1820 edn., pp. 116-7); *Bute Inventory*, fol. 52; J. K. Hewison, *Bute in Olden Time*, ii, 184; as to Lamonts in Bute in this period see note 78 below.
11. *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 19th Oct. 1675, vol. 38, in *L.P.*, 923, p. 273; the barony was now reckoned for taxation purposes as worth £2666 a year to the creditors, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 9th Dec. 1675 (in *L.P.*, 924, p. 273); see *I.I.*, as in note 8 above; *Glasgow University Muniments*, 1676, iii, 132, in *L.P.*, 928, p. 274; see, e.g., *I.C.(A.)*, 20th Mar. 1679, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, and *Decrees (Dalrymple)*, vol. 43, both 20th June 1671, in *L.P.*, 892, p. 266, *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 23rd Feb. 1681, lviii, 220; *Inveraray Deeds*, 12th May 1675, box IV, shelf 2, and *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 8th Jan. 1679, in *L.P.*, 936, p. 276; *Argyll Sasines*, 17th July 1673, i, 2-3.
12. *Deeds (Durie)*, 30th Sept. 1684, lx, 99; *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 18th Feb. 1687 and 8th Feb. 1692, vols. 79 and 97; *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1677-8, pp. 14-15, 21.
13. *I.I.*, III, iv, 42, in *L.P.*, 925, p. 274; see above, p. 225; *Argyll Justiciary Registers*, 29th Nov. 1676, i, 101; later in a court in Kilmichael Glassary some Lamonts in Monydrain and Craigmurraill were fined for killing red fish, *Inveraray Processes*, 6th Sept. 1683, box II, shelf 4.
14. *Argyll Justiciary Registers*, 11th and 26th Dec. 1677, i, 113, 117; *R.P.C.*, 24th Aug. 1683, iii, 576; *Dean of Lismore's Book* (1862), p. 115, translated by Prof. W. J. Watson in *An Gaidheal* (1924), xix, 103; see Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 154, i, 124-5, Stewart's *Sketches*, i, 37, and Neil Munro's *John Splendid*, p. 51.
15. *Dunoon Charters*, 8th July 1678, bundle X.
16. *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 9th May 1677, i (ii), 46; *ibid.*, 11th Mar. 1691 and 15th Aug. 1701, ii, 13, 313; see above, p. 149, and note 3; *I.C.(A.)*, 30th Nov. 1697; as to Henry see *I.I.*, III, v, 60, in *L.P.*, 950, p. 280, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 25th July 1694 (Stronachanach's marriage contract written by him, in *L.P.*, 1031, p. 303), *Retours of Quinquennial Possession*, 8th Mar. 1687, No. 15, *Dunoon Deeds*, 9th Feb. 1695, iii, 242, and *Inveraray*

Sheriff Court Records, 9th Feb. 1695, box II, shelf 4 (summons *Lamont v. Maclachlan*). A Henry Lamont, merchant, Anstruther, is referred to in *Decreets (Dalrymple)*, 21st June 1687, vol. 103. On the other hand a "Harie" Lamont was massacred at Strone in Mar. 1646, see above, p. 177; as to Gaelic in Fife see Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 62.

17. See *I.C.(A.)*, 20th Mar. 1679, 13th Feb. 1682, 1st and 5th Jan. and 1st June 1684, 25th Mar. 1685; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, liii, 500, 521; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, lxxv, 774, and lxi, 542; see below, p. 425; *Inveraray Processes, Black v. McMoreist*, 1687, box II, shelf 4.

18. *Ibid.*, *McGibbon v. Lamont*, 1684; *Dunoon Deeds*, 17th July 1691, iii, 54 (original among *Inveraray Deeds*, box IV, shelf 2); *Inveraray Processes, McIllezuie v. Campbell*, 1684, and *Lamont v. Debtors*, 1685, box II, shelf 4; teind meal was worth £10, 13s. 4d. a boll in Kerry for crop 1689, *Dunoon Decreets*, 8th Nov. 1691, i, 54; "meall and bear" was worth 10 merks the boll, and butter 2½ merks per stone, in Nether Cowal for crop 1684, *Decreets (Mackenzie)*, 20th Feb. 1686, cxxxiii (4), 1; *R.P.C.*, ix, 86-93.

19. *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 9th Sept. 1685, lvii, 104; *Depredations on the Clan Campbell* (1816), p. 104, in *L.P.*, 982, p. 290; *Inveraray Records*, (box IV, shelf 1, *bis*), as to cess; *Inveraray Deeds*, 1684, box III, shelf 4; *Inveraray Processes*, 1685, box II, shelf 4.

20. *R.P.C.*, 10th Oct. 1678, vi, 196-9; *Argyll Charters*, Nov. 1679, in *L.P.*, 941, p. 278; see Neil Munro, *The New Road*, p. 321; present Duke of Argyll's speech to Mull and Iona Association in *Oban Times*, 31st Jan. 1920; *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 23rd Nov. 1682, fol. 33.

21. See above, p. 215; as to others who found it discreet to adopt the name Gordon see Sir Walter Scott, *Quarterly Review*, xiv, 301, cited in Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 318-9.

22. See above, p. 44; *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 33; information from present Duke of Argyll as to note in C. Irvin's *Historiæ Scotiæ Nomenclatura* (1682), by Archibald, then Earl of Argyll, who was executed in 1685.

23. *Memorial for ARCHIBALD XVII* in *I.C.(A.)*, 13th Aug. 1741; see above, pp. 223-4; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 9th Sept. 1681 and 26th Mar. 1684, latter in *L.P.*, 956, p. 282; *I.I.*, II, ii, 2, 11-12, in *L.P.*, 956, p. 282; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 4th Apr. 1682, and *I.C.(A.)*, 4th Mar. 1687, in *L.P.*, 955, 994, pp. 281, 294; *Bute Rental*, 1696, in hands of J. & F. Anderson, W.S., Edinburgh.

24. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 4th Apr. 1682, in *L.P.*, 958, p. 283, and note endorsed on principal; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 30th July 1681, in *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, lx, 781, and *L.P.*, 953, p. 281; see also *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 16th Mar. 1683, and *I.I.(Add.)*, iv, 23-6, in *L.P.*, 963, 984, pp. 284, 290; *I.C.(A.)*, 29th Aug. 1680, 4th Apr. 1682, in *L.P.*, 948, 954, pp. 280-1; Margaret Urry's portion was secured on the rents of Ardlamont, including Kildavaig, and Ardyne, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 16th Apr. 1684, in *L.P.*, 970, p. 286, *G.R.S.*, 21st Feb. 1685, li, 290.

25. *Signature*, box 98, No. 46; *I.C.*, 16th Apr. 1684, in *L.P.*, 970, pp. 286-7; *Privy Seal Register*, xiv, 17; *Book of Resignations*, 9th Apr. 1684, vol. 4; see also *I.C.*, 30th Jan. 1685, in *G.R.S.*, 21st Feb. 1685, li, 288, and *L.P.*, 976, p. 288; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 10th Apr. 1682, and *I.I.(Add.)*, iv, 11, in *L.P.*, 957, 961, pp. 282-3; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th Feb. 1696.

26. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 15th Mar. 1686, in *L.P.*, 986, p. 291; this included the property of Corra, *I.I.*, III, v, 9, in *L.P.*, 966, p. 285; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 15th Mar. 1686, in *L.P.*,

987, p. 291; see also *I.C.(A.)*, 17th Oct. 1700; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 14th Apr. 1691, lxvii, 1005, in *L.P.*, 922, p. 293; *I.I.*, IV, ii, 8 (1691), in *L.P.*, 1011, p. 297.

27. See below, pp. 257, 280, and above, pp. 223-4; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 9th Sept. 1681; *Bute Inventory*, fol. 411; *I.C.(A.)*, — 1686; see below, pp. 248, 428.

28. *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 1683, fol. 35.

29. *R.P.C.*, 4th, 8th, 14th June and 16th Aug. 1683, viii, 181-2, 229, 555-6; *Inveraray Records*, box IV, shelf 1; see above, p. 234, and below, p. 468.

30. *Inveraray Supply Papers*, account of contingencies, 1683-4, box IV, shelf 1; *R.P.C.*, ix, 318, 323-32; *I.I.*, III, v, 48, in *L.P.*, 973, p. 287; *R.P.C.*, 3rd Nov. 1683, viii, 269; see also ix, 86; see above, p. 207.

31. *R.P.C.*, ix, 81-3; for translation see *ibid.*, p. x; see also ix, 31-2; *Inveraray Records*, 1684, box II, shelf 4, *List of Persones Giltie of the Penall Statuts in Lorne*, covering far more, however, than the district of Lorne; see above, pp. 231, 235; the clansmen about Toward include Archibald Lamont in Castell Towart, Ard. Black in Cloaneter, Donald McIlwie and Ard. Lamont in Achinfour, Ard. and Donald Mcfedrick in Killellane, Hew McIlwie in Strongeraige, and John McIlwie in Kilmernock; there was another Taynakerdoch known as the change house of Dalinlingart in 1737, see *Session Papers* in *Campbell v. McKeab*, 1750, in W.S. Library, vol. vii, No. 31 (1), p. 17.

32. *Decrees (Durie)*, 25th Dec. 1696, clxvi, 226; see also below, p. 274; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 30th June 1684 (in *L.P.*, 972, p. 287); see Neil Munro, *The Brave Days* (1931), pp. 30-4; *A.P.S.*, 13th June 1685, vol. viii, App., p. 66, in *L.P.*, 981, p. 289.

33. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 21st Oct. 1684 (in *L.P.*, 974, p. 288); see also *I.I.*, II, iv, 19, in *L.P.*, 1018, p. 299; *Argyll Sasines*, 16th Feb. 1695, ii, 468, in *L.P.*, 1040, p. 315; see above, pp. 208, 219-22; *Glasgow University Muniments*, iii, 137, in *L.P.*, 951, p. 280.

34. *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 19th Dec. 1683 and 8th Apr. 1684, i (ii), 93-4; *Inveraray Records*, box IV, shelf 1; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, Feb. 1685 and Mar. 1686, i (ii), 100, 104; *R.P.C.*, 9th Jan., 12th and 14th Mar. 1685, x, 102, 179, and introduction, xxvii.

35. *Ibid.*, 1684, x, 372-4; *I.I.*, III, v, 40, and *A.P.S.*, viii, 408, 452, in *L.P.*, 975, 978-9, pp. 288-9; *R.P.C.*, Mar. and Apr. 1685, xi, 287, x, 175, 202, xi, 2-3, 40; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1685-9, vol. viii (1923), p. 254; another of the Fife branch, Andrew, had just taken his M.A. at Edinburgh University and was destined for Leyden, see *Catalogue of Edinburgh Graduates* (1858); *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 18th May 1685, fol. 36; see also *R.P.C.*, 1685, xi, 589; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 19th May 1685.

36. John Wilcock, *A Scots Earl* (1907), p. 357 *et passim*; *List of Rebels*, 1685, in *Inveraray Court Records*, box II, shelf 4, printed in Duncan C. MacTavish, *The Commons of Argyll* (Lochgilphead, 1935), p. 2; what is above referred to on p. 236 infers that later at least he was on the other side; there are not likely to have been two Walter Lamonts in Campbeltown at the same time, unless possibly father and son; see *Inveraray Services of Heirs*, 11th Oct. 1700, in *L.P.*, 1454, p. 435, and above, p. 211; *Historical MSS. Commission*, 12th Report, App., pt. 8, *Atholl MSS.*, p. 16, in *Chronicles of Atholl and Tullibardine Families* (1908), i, 199, and *L.P.*, 980, p. 289.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 13, in *Atholl Chronicles*, i, 216; see *R.P.C.*, xi, 645-6.

38. *Atholl Chronicles*, i, 209; *R.P.C.*, 1685, xi, 589-90.

39. MacTavish, pp. vii, 7, 11-14; Malcolm Black is not identifiable in the *List of Rebels*, but see note 44 below; *R.P.C.*, 22nd June 1685, xi, 315; Sorley was probably sib to Monydrain, see below, p. 386; a contingent of soldiers sent from Rothesay to Maybole, Ayrshire, to oppose Argyll, included a Donald Lamont, servitor to Sir JAMES XIV's former law agent Major David Ramsay, commissar of the Isles, *Rothesay Town Council Records, 1653-1766*, i, 453, see also note 56 to Chap. XI; it is possible that Neil McCallum may be the same person as the "Neil McCarn in Kames in Aird," by Silvercraigs, listed among the rebels, see MacTavish, pp. 7, 18, but from the number of rebels in Kerry it is plain that Mr Charles must have been there at some time; as to ferry see *L.P.*, 990, 1060, pp. 292, 310.

40. *R.P.C.*, xi, 307; "the Marquis people" seems to refer to Argyll, though he was an Earl; the Kilbride by Ardlamont was sufficiently notour to appear in a map published in 1652, see Bleau's *Atlas*, vol. v, p. 69.

41. On 4th June MacCailein seems to have landed a party near Toward Castle, John Erskine of Carnock, *Journal, 1683-7* (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1713), p. 124; *Inveraray Sheriff Court Records*, 1685, box II, shelf 4; MacTavish, pp. 12-13.

42. *R.P.C.*, 21st June 1686, xi, 291-2; *Depredations on Campbells*, pp. 70-4, and William Carstares, *Letters* (1774), p. 449, in *L.P.*, 982, 1068, pp. 290, 312.

43. *Atholl Chronicles*, i, 252; see traditions of Blacks of Garvie in *C.L.J.*, iii, 390; information from present Knockdow; *Old Statistical Account*, v, 294-5; Stewart's *Sketches*, i, 41; *Records of Argyll*, pp. 71, 81; see also MacTavish, pp. 3, 6; *Depredations on Campbells*, pp. 20-3, in *L.P.*, 982, pp. 289-90; see also *R.P.C.*, 21st June 1686, xi, 291-2; see Nicolson, p. 161, and Neil Munro, *Children of Tempest*, p. 269; MacTavish, pp. 54-8; *Inveraray Sheriff Court Records*, box II, shelf 4.

44. Malcolm Black was described as a tenant of Maclachlan of Craigintervie, who held Achahoish and Fernoch from the chief, see *Decreeets (Mackenzie)*, 27th Feb. 1707, vol. 158, and *L.P.*, 638, p. 186; for St Paul's Work in what is now Low Calton, see *Old Edinburgh Club Publications* (1930), xvii, 48; *R.P.C.*, 30th July 1685, xi, 126-31, 330; see also *Lists of Rebels* as in note 36 above, and *Inveraray Sheriff Court*, 12th Oct. 1685, box II, shelf 1; *R.P.C.*, 7th Aug. 1685, xi, 136-7.

45. *State Papers*, 4th Aug. 1685, No. 265 (9 and 10); *R.P.C.*, May, 22nd and 25th Nov. 1686, xii, 234-5, 537-8, 555; MacTavish, pp. 19, 15-16; tradition per D. Webster, *Benmore and Kilmun Estates*, in *Trans. of Royal Scottish Arboricultural Society* (1925), xxxix, 52.

46. *A.P.S.*, 24th July and 17th Sept. 1686, xii, 376, 471; *I.C.(A.)*, 1st Sept. 1691; see also *ibid.*, 26th July 1710, in *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 26th July 1710, vol. 107, and *L.P.*, 1106, p. 324; *R.P.C.*, 21st-23rd June 1686, xii, 291-2, 278, 302-3, 314.

47. *A.P.S.*, viii, 577, in *L.P.*, 789, p. 292; see also Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall, *Historical Notices* (1848), ii, 728; *Information*, 1686, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Memoranda*, 1687, in *ibid.* and *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 38-9; see *Decreeets (Mackenzie)*, 20th Feb. 1686, cxxxiii (4), 1.

48. *Memorandum*, 1687, in *I.C.(A.)*; Nicolson, p. 186.

49. *R.P.C.*, 18th Mar. and Sept. 1686, xii, 120, 114, 461, 191; see above, p. 29; *Inveraray Supply Papers*, 24th Feb. 1687, box IV, shelf 1.

50. *Inveraray Rentals*, 1687, box IV, shelf 1; see *I.C.(A.)*, 4th Dec. 1700; Hume Brown's *History of Scotland* (1900 edn.), ii, 447; *I.C.*, 30th May and 3rd June 1688, and *Argyll Sasines*, 15th Sept. 1688, ii, 245, in *L.P.*, 996-9, pp. 294-5; *A.P.S.*, 1690, c. 8, ix, 134-5, at p. 146; *House of Commons Journals*, 24th July 1747, xxv, 527, 732; see, e.g., *L.P.*, 1137, p. 335; this was presumably the occasion on which the *Crawford MSS.* (National Library, 31.2.3) was drawn up, see fol. 156, 277, 319, 325-6, 328, in *L.P.*, 1445-51, pp. 426-9.

51. *Retours (Quinquennial Possession)*, vol. ii (end), No. 15; see above, p. 235; *Inveraray Processes*, 1691, box IV, shelf 2; *Dunoon Decreets*, 8th Nov. 1691, fol. 54; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 12th July 1698, and *Argyll Sasines*, 13th Jan. 1699, iii, 49, in *L.P.*, 1067, 1069, p. 312; see below, p. 388.

52. *Inveraray Deeds*, 1st Jan., 2nd and 9th June 1688, box IV, shelf 2; *Dunoon Minute Book*, 13th Dec. 1688; *I.I.*, II, iv, 18, in *L.P.*, 1003, p. 296; *Argyllshire Testaments*, 2nd May 1695, iv, 23; *Inveraray Supply Papers*, 10th Aug. 1688, box IV, shelf 1; *Duntroon Charters*, 4th July 1687, in *Genealogist* (1918), xxxiv, 70.

53. See *Transactions of Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1925-7), xxiii, 152; *Bible* of 1672, in possession of present Knockdow, in *L.P.*, 1453, p. 434.

54. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 19th June 1713; *Privy Seal Register*, 20th July 1688, referred to in *Decreets (Mackenzie)*, 6th Feb. 1692, vol. 97.

55. *A.P.S.*, 30th Mar. 1689, viii, 28, in *L.P.*, 1004, p. 296; R. M. Holden in *Scot. Hist. Rev.* (1906), iii, 29; James Philip, *Gramiedos Libri Sex* (1691 ed. for Scot. Hist. Soc., 1887), p. 155, *A.P.S.*, 27th Apr. 1689 and 7th June 1690, viii, 73, and ix, 143, in *L.P.*, 1005-6, 1009, pp. 296-7.

56. *A.P.S.*, 4th July 1690, ix, 166, in *L.P.*, 1010, p. 297; see above, p. 235; *Muster Rolls*, portfolio 7; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 1st May 1690, in *L.P.*, 1008, p. 297; see *Session Papers* in *Campbell v. Campbell*, 1750, in W.S. Library, vol. vii, No. 32 (ii), p. 3, refers to "Argyle's expedition to Mull, which is notourly known to have been in the year 1690"; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 3rd Nov. 1675, 3rd June 1691, and 10th Nov. 1693, i (ii), 36, ii, 21, 45; Donald and his wife appear as witnesses in *ibid.*, 11th Jan. 1699, ii, 191, 195; see above, p. 234; there was also an Alexander Lamond, soldier, married, in Edinburgh on 22nd Apr. 1698, *Greyfriars Interments*, p. 372.

57. *Dunoon Decreets*, 21st Feb. 1694, i, 181; *Argyll Justiciary Registers*, 7th Nov. 1691, ii, 46.

58. Holden, as in note 55, p. 33; see Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, ii, 15-16, and John Buchan, *Massacre of Glencoe* (1933), pp. 113, 121; *The Lost Pibroch*, p. 14; for another version of the rant see *Fionn's Martial Music*, p. 54; see also Lorne Campbell's *Songs of the '45*, p. 9, note 2.

59. *Argyll's Scotland*, ii, 7-8; Chas. Dalton, *English Army Lists*, iv, 44, in *L.P.*, 1020, p. 300; see Holden, pp. 33-40; Dalton, i, 387, and Lady Tullibardine, *Military History of Perthshire* (1908), i, 26, in *L.P.*, 1024, 1034, pp. 301, 303; Dalton, iv, 104, ii, 195, i, 56, iv, 29, in *L.P.*, 1046, 1000-2, pp. 307, 295-6; see also *L.P.*, 1084, 1103, pp. 319, 324; *P.C.C. Administration Act Book*, 1695, p. 98, in *L.P.*, 1045, p. 306; Nicolas Tindal, *History of England* (1751), i, 296; see below, p. 266.

60. MacTavish, *The Commons of Argyll*, pp. 54-62; see Neil Munro, *The Lost Pibroch*, pp. 37, 16; as to McPhorichs or McPhurichs see below, pp. 435, 438.

61. See above, note 31 and p. 218.

62. See above, pp. 209, 241; below, p. 401; above, pp. 8, 92, 64, 106; as to patronymics in the old highlands, see A. MacBain, *Old System of Personal Names in Trans. of Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1894-6), xx, 280-2; for a family of McCaragan, alias Lamont, see below, p. 259; for a Donald McConachie alias Lamont in Stillaig see *G.R.S.*, 4th July 1662, iii, 372, also 16th Oct. 1662, iv, 217.

63. *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 12th Mar. 1690, 14th Jan. and 16th June 1691, ii, 2, 9, 22; *Argyll Synod Records*, 15th-16th Oct. 1691, vol. i; on the latter day the rent of the glebe, £28, 13s. 4d., was allowed "for charitie to the relict of John Lamont formerly possessor thereof who is now dead"; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 25th Sept. 1695, 1st July 1696, ii, 66, 92; *ibid.*, 12th Apr., 21st June, 13th and 25th Sept. 1698, ii, 162, 173, 178-81; see above, pp. 242, 248; *ibid.*, 15th Dec. 1696, ii, 110-11; *Argyll Synod Records*, 6th June 1696, iii, 750 (245-6); *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 24th Nov. and 15th Dec. 1696, ii, 103-4, 106-10; see also *ibid.*, 10th Mar. 1697, ii, 123, and below, p. 262.

64. Neil Munro, *Children of Tempest*, pp. 14-5, 295.

65. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 3rd May 1693 and 29th June 1694, in *L.P.*, 1017, 1025, pp. 298, 301; *Signatures*, 1694, box 99, No. 24; *R.S.S.*, 13th July 1694, vol. vii, fol. 98, in *L.P.*, 1028, p. 302; *R.M.S.*, 13th July 1694, vol. 73, No. 123; *I.C.*, 8th Oct. 1694, in *G.R.S.*, 26th Nov. 1694, vol. 67, fol. 463, and *L.P.*, 1033, p. 303; *I.I.*, II, i, 1, 1-4, and *I.C.(L.-C.)*, and *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, vol. 112, 26th Dec. 1695, all in *L.P.*, 1036, 1038, 1049, pp. 304-5, 307-8; *Information*, 1687, in *I.C.(L.-C.)*; *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 11th Nov. 1686, lxxviii, 146; *Decrees (Dalrymple)*, 17th Jan. 1694, vol. 120(2), in *L.P.*, 1022, p. 300; *Answers of ?* 1695, in *I.C.(A.)*; see below, p. 468.

66. *Decrees (Durie)*, 20th Feb. 1695, vol. 157; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 17th Apr. 1695 (in *L.P.*, 1042, p. 306); these contain some inaccuracies, e.g. Troustan is said to be held ward and Knockdow feu (cp. *Rental* of 1642-6, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fols. 9-10); *Knockdow Charters*, 15th Feb. 1697 and 28th Mar. 1698, in *L.P.*, 1055, 1061; *I.C.*, 4th, 5th, and 27th Nov. 1697; *Argyll Sasines*, 27th Nov. 1697 (*bis*), iii, 22-3, in *L.P.*, 1059-60, p. 310; *I.C.(A.)*, 30th May and 3rd June 1698; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 31st May 1698; *Argyll Sasines*, 8th June 1698, iii, 71.

67. See *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 27th Feb. 1707, vol. 158; *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie)*, *Lamont v. Campbell*, 1697; *Letter* of 3rd June 1698, in *I.C.(A.)*; *Records of Burgh of Glasgow*, iv, 139-140, 265-6 (partly in *L.P.*, 1428, p. 422); *I.C.(A.)*, 17th June 1698.

68. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th July 1694; *I.I.*, II, iii, 3-6, in *L.P.*, 1026, 1037, 1039, 1041, pp. 302-5; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th Feb. 1696; see also *I.C.(A.)*, 3rd June 1698; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 12th July 1698; *I.I.(Add.)*, iv, 32, 35, and iii, 7, in *L.P.*, 1067, 1074, 1085, pp. 312, 314, 319; *Dunoon Deeds*, 13th Nov. 1702, v, 44; *I.C.(A.)*, c. 1695, 12th Nov. 1695 (*bis*), and 7th Apr. 1696; *Argyll Sasines*, 25th Apr. 1701, iii, 193, in *L.P.*, 1078, p. 317.

69. *Fountainball's Decisions*, i, 760, *Morison's Dictionary of Decisions*, p. 6768, 27th Jan. 1697, in *L.P.*, 1054, p. 309; (this was his father's debt, see *Book of Debts*, 1656-7, vol. i, end, 16th Dec. 1656; and see notes 2 and 12 above); *Fountainball*, 18th June 1697, and *Morison*, p. 12,060, *I.I.*, II, iv, 21, and *I.I.(Add.)*, iv, 31, in *L.P.*, 1056, 1062-3, pp. 301, 311; Lady Lamont inherited an annual-rent of 100 merks (£66) in

1694, *Edinburgh Sasines*, 13th Aug. 1697, lvii, 138, in *L.P.*, 1057, p. 309, *Decrets (Mackenzie)*, 11th Feb. 1699, vol. 127.

70. *I.I.*, II, iv, 19, *Argyll Sasines*, 18th Feb. 1695, ii, 468, and *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 25th July 1694, in *L.P.*, 1018, 1040, 1031, pp. 299, 305, 303; see, however, *I.I.*, III, iv, 6, in *L.P.*, 861, p. 258; *Argyll Sasines*, 27th Nov. 1697, iii, 21, in *L.P.*, 1058, p. 310.

71. *Argyll Testaments*, 25th July 1693, vol. iii, 2nd May and 4th Nov. 1695, iv, 22-3, 49, in *L.P.*, 1019, 1043-4, 1047, pp. 300, 306-7; as to prices *cf.* note 18 above.

72. *I.C.(A.)*, 16th Oct. 1695.

73. Nicolson, p. 381; *Inveraray Supply Papers*, Jan. 1694, box IV, shelf 1.

74. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1696; MacTavish, *The Commons of Argyll*, p. 59.

75. *Inveraray Supply Papers*, 12th Sept. 1694, box IV, shelf 1; the Act 1690, cap. 5, in *A.P.S.*, ix, 236, imposed 14s. on every hearth; poll tax was originally a relief to heritors against their tenants who payed no cess, see Acts 1685, cap. 38, and 1690, cap. 12, in *ibid.*, viii, 483, and ix, 151; *Inveraray Supply Papers*, 10th Oct. 1695, box II, shelf 4.

76. Acts 1693, cap. 17, and 1695, cap. 12; see also 1698, cap. 12; in *A.P.S.*, ix, 266, 381, x, 152; *Inveraray Supply Papers*, Marts. 1699, box II, shelf 4; see also *I.I.*, II, iv, 17, in *L.P.*, 998, p. 295; the correct figure for Auchagoyle was probably not £103, 8s. 10d., but £193, 8s. 10d.

77. *List of Pollable Persons in Shire of Aberdeen* (Spalding Club, 1844), p. 141; *Poll Tax Rolls of Renfrewshire* (ed. D. Semple, 1864), pp. 171, 176-7, 189, 129, 139, 162, 80; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 15th Dec. 1696, and 10th Mar. 1697, ii, 107, 123; see above, pp. 256, 201, 65.

78. There was a Duncan Lamont in Kilmichael of Bute, the Bute termination of the ferry from Achadachoun and the Lamont country in Kerry, in 1684, *Bute Inhibitions*, 13th Jan. 1686, vol. i; *Rothsay Town Council Registers*, 17th Apr. 1696, ii, 128; as to herding see MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 56; as early as 1673 Elsp. Lamont was "suspected of fornication" in Kingarth, and later "one Lamont, a mulman," got poor relief, *Kingarth Kirk Session Registers*, 10th Aug. 1673 and 23rd June 1697 (ed. H. Paton, 1932), pp. 88, 190, and in 1678 Isobel Lamond married in Edinburgh John Glass, son of the late provost of Rothsay, *Edinburgh Marriages*, 10th Jan. 1678, p. 392; in the *Rothsay Town Council Records, 1653-1766* (published by the Marquis of Bute, 1935), appear references to an Agnes Lamont on 11th Apr. 1671, and to Isobel's son on 27th Nov. 1747, i, 203, ii, 802; as to Duncan see *ibid.*, ii, 988.

79. *Decrets (Mackenzie)*, 28th Jan. 1694, vol. 113; *Edinburgh Marriages*, 9th Feb. 1686 and 16th Mar. 1694, p. 392, and as in last note; *Greyfriars Interments*, 27th Nov. 1699, p. 372; see C. B. Boog Watson in *Old Edinburgh Club Publications*, xii, 129; *Argyll Sasines*, 7th Nov. 1694, ii, 458; *Dumfries Sasines*, 19th Jan. 1698, v (ii), 480; *Signatures*, box 99, No. 34 (2), *R.S.S.*, xviii (ii), 388, and *R.M.S.*, lxxvi, 9, all of date 28th July 1699; William lent £1733 to a heritor there and took a Crown charter upon it; see above, p. 215; *cf.* above, p. 215.

80. *Atholl Chronicles*, Nov. 1697, i, 417; *Carstares Letters*, 27th Sept. 1698, p. 449, in *L.P.*, 1068, p. 312; *Atholl Chronicles*, i, 420, 431, 435-6; *ibid.*, 17th May 1699, i, 460; see note 59 above; see Neil Munro, *John Splendid*, p. 3, and *Children of Tempest*,

p. 270; *Glasgow Burgesses* (Scot. Rec. Soc.), 5th Sept. 1700, p. 245; James Grant, *The Old Scots Navy, 1689-1710* (1914), p. 233; see above, p. 123; as to Darien Scheme see Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 159, 162, 167.

81. *I.C.(A.)* and (*L.-C.*), 4th Dec. 1700; *Maclachlan Writs*, 28th Dec. 1698, bundle VI, No. 8; *Argyll Sasines*, 13th Jan. 1699, iii, 50, and *I.C.(A.)*, 12th Oct. 1700, in *L.P.*, 1070, 1076, pp. 312, 316; see above, p. 238; *I.C.(A.)*, 5th Sept. 1706, in *G.R.S.*, 7th Oct. 1706, xc, 105; see also *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 18th Mar. 1707; Achadachoun held of Argyll, see *Argyll Charters*, c. 1708 (in *L.P.*, 1089, p. 320 as c. 1705); *I.C.*, 13th June 1712, in *Argyll Sasines*, 2nd Aug. 1712, iv, 161.

82. *Nisbet MSS.*, 4th Nov. 1699 (National Library, 34.3.5), in *Genealogical Magazine* (Dec. 1898), ii, 349, *C.L.J.*, iii, 434, and *L.P.*, 1072, p. 313.

83. *Argyll Sasines*, 25th Apr. 1701, iii, 193, in *L.P.*, 1078, p. 317; see above, p. 108, and below, end paper.

84. See above, pp. 185, 60, 3, 83, 225.

85. See above, pp. 46-7, 27; others too had identified Archibald's ancestors in the cartulary of Paisley, see *Materials for Argyl, Bute and Dunbartonshires* (c. 1710) in Nat. Lib. (MS. 2.06.1, No. 13).

86. See above, pp. 24-6; *Cabinet D'Hozier*, 204, No. 527, in *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris; see above, p. 254; *Will*, proved 15th Apr. 1712, in Principal Probate Registry, London; see above, p. 225.

87. See above, pp. 64-5, 84; *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie)*, *Lamont v. Campbell*, 1697; Scott's *Fasti*, iii, 228; see also Nat. Lib. MS., No. 548, *Scot. Hist. Rev.* (1909), vi, 373, and (1916) xiii, 225; see below, p. 325.

88. See above, note 6 to Chap. IV; above, pp. 67, 44-6.

CHAPTER XIII

1. *A.P.S.*, 23rd Dec. 1700, x, 228, and App., p. 62; originals among *Supplementary Parliamentary Papers* in Register House; see above, p. 184.

2. The five cadets were Monydrain, Stronalbanach (representing Ascog), Knockdow, all originally independent, and Auchinshelloch and Auchagoyl, both descended from Sir JOHN X. As to the Fife cadets see chap. xxv.

3. Burt's *Letters from the North of Scotland*, c. 1730 (1876 edn.), p. 108; Stewart's *Sketches* (1822 edn.), i, 30; Skene's *Highlanders* (1837), i, 157 (1902 edn.), p. 103; Skene's *Celtic Scotland* (1890 edn.), iii, 325; James Browne, *History of the Highlands* (1850 edn.), iv, 393; Lord President Forbes' *Report* of 1745, in Stewart's *Sketches*, i, vii, ix. For examples of despotic power in the north-west about 1700 see W. C. Mackenzie, *Western Isles* (1933), pp. 45, 49.

4. Auchmar's *Surnames* (1723), p. 97 (1820 edn., p. 117); M'Lea's *Deposition*, 3rd Jan. 1743, in Lyon Office, *Miscellaneous Papers*, No. 338, printed in Macphail's *Highland Papers*, iv, 95; for Auchinshelloch see chap. xxii, below; that chiefships descend to heirs male is stated in Browne's *History*, iv, 397, and Sir James Balfour Paul, *Heraldry* (1900), p. 44.

5. *I.C.(A.)*, and *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, vol. xcvi, 14th Aug. 1705, in *I.I.*, 4.2.20, and *L.P.*, 1079, 1088, pp. 317, 319-20; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Jan. 1724; see above, p. 241 for the "ancient taylie," which not being registered in terms of the Act, 1685, cap. 22, was not legally binding; for other references to Lieut. John, see above, pp. 230, 241, 253-4, 256, 264; for ARCHIBALD XVII, see next chapter.

6. See above, p. 264, and below, p. 454; Achadachoun was worth £100 a year; see *Argyll Charters*, c. 1705-8, in *L.P.*, 1089, p. 320; the expression therein "*alioqui successurus* to Lamont" means, of course, that he was otherwise heir of provision under the arrangement of 1701, for Lieut. John was not an heir at law of his father; first three references in note 5 above; *I.C.(A.)*, 5th Sept. 1706, in *G.R.S.*, 17th Oct. 1706, xc, 105; see *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 12th July 1698 (in *L.P.*, 1067, p. 312), also *L.P.*, 1074, p. 316. According to *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 18th Mar. 1707, Craignafeich was excambed for Achadalvory, but apparently Melldalloch was substituted for Craignafeich, see later references in note 3 to next chapter.

7. *A.P.S.*, 5th Aug. 1704, xi, 147, in *L.P.*, 1086, p. 319; *Inveraray Supply Records*, 27th Apr. 1708, 11th May 1710, 11th May 1711, and 13th May 1712, box IV, shelf 1; only the chief and Stillaig were summoned to head courts, *Inveraray Records*, 29th Sept. 1707, iv, 1; *Inveraray Supply Records*, 18th Oct. 1713; iv, 1 contains a letter to Mr Jas. Campbell as to supply with the impression of Kilfinan's signet.

8. See below, p. 469; see, e.g., *Dunoon Deeds*, 1st Jan. 1718, fol. 321, *I.I.(Add.)*, 4.37-38, 40, in *L.P.* 1094, 1097-8, pp. 321-2, and *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 20th Feb. 1713; he left £480 to Acharossan, and £1333 to Jean Urry, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 22nd Mar. 1714, and *Argyll Sasines*, 22nd June 1713, iv, 186, in *L.P.*, 1117, p. 328; see above, p. 170, and below, p. 427; *I.C.(A.)*, 4th Jan. and 9th July 1712; *Dunoon Deeds*, 10th Jan. 1712, fol. 506 and 7th June 1720, in *I.C.*; see below, p. 417; *Dunoon Charters*, 16th Feb. 1725, xii, 3; see *Argyll's Scotland*, ii, 28-31, 42-4; while there were tacksmen on Lord Breadalbane's Argyllshire estates there was only one on his Perthshire estates, dated 1728, see McArthur's *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769, p. xxxiv; for another Lamont tacksmen in 1772 see below, p. 317.

9. *Dunoon Deeds*, 17th June 1736, vol. xi, in *L.P.*, 1462, p. 436; *Inveraray Supply Records*, — 1710, 11th Jan. 1712; see below, p. 427; the Captain of Dunoon is often designed of Innellan, e.g. *Dunoon Charters* (passim), and *L.P.*, index, p. 447; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 15th Mar. 1705, ii, 440; see Neil Munro, *Gillian the Dreamer*, pp. 243-4, and *The New Road*, p. 125; see above, p. 14.

10. See above, p. 231; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 10th June, 15th Aug., and 10th Sept. 1701, and 17th Mar. 1702, ii, 282, 312, 319, 331; *Argyll Synod Records*, 24th Oct. 1698, vol. i; the heritors promised to erect a new manse, fol. 282, as the old was entirely ruinous; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 25th Sept. 1698, ii, 179.

11. *Ibid.*, 10th June 1701, ii, 281-3; for earlier references to Henry see above, pp. 235, 250, 259; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 19th July and 14th Oct. 1701, ii, 296, 321; *Rothesay Session Registers*, 17th July, 14th Sept., and 12th Oct. 1701, vol. ii (print pp. 147-9).

12. *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 15th Aug. 1701, ii, 314; *I.C.(A.)*, 4th Jan. 1712; *ibid.*, 27th Feb. 1714, in *L.P.*, 1125, p. 330; he was at Mecknoch Mill (now Millhouse) in 1718-20; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 27th Nov. 1741, vol. 170, and (*Dalrymple*), 9th Apr. 1720, vol. 112; *Argyll Sasines*, 26th Mar. 1720, and 12th Dec. 1754, iv, 438, and viii, 450, in *L.P.*, 1151-2, 1254, pp. 338, 364.

13. *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 29th June and 18th Oct. 1703, ii, 359, 364; *Argyll Synod Records*, 15th Oct. 1705, vol. iv. (fol. 127); see MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 108; *I.I.* (1714), 2.4.22-3, in *L.P.*, 1123-4, p. 329; see Lorne Campbell's *Songs of the Forty-Five*, pp. 34, 44.

14. See above, pp. 217, 251, and below, p. 284; *I.C.(A.)*, 30th Nov. 1687; *Dunoon Deeds*, vol. vi (iv), fol. 299, tack of 14th Feb. 1709, for nine years for a rent of £30 increasing to £40; John Walker, *Economic History of the Hebrides* (1812), i, 95; *Argyll's Scotland*, i, 284, ii, 18, 194-6; the earliest Argyll lease is in 1631, *ibid.*, i, 295; I. F. Grant, *Everyday Life*, pp. 262-4; MacLeod, *Island Clans*, pp. 70-1, 153; as to sheep see *Argyll's Scotland*, i, 260-1, and as to steelbow, *ibid.*, i, 105-6, 156, 247, ii, 301; see also Jamieson's *Dictionary Supplement*, i, 531, *s.v.* "haddin"; Osgood Mackenzie, p. 87.

15. See last note; *I.C.*, *Memorial* of 1810, 10th Nov. 1811; see below, p. 339; *Bell v. Lamont*, 14th June 1814, *F.C.* xvii, 645; MacLeod, *Island Clans*, pp. 148, 153; leases at Inveraray Castle; *Argyll's Scotland*, i, 251; Glenorchy insisted on the same thing at an earlier date.

16. *Dunoon Charters*, 21st Feb. 1694 and 11th Jan. 1697, bundle X; see also below, p. 426, and above, p. 241; see Mackenzie, *100 Years in the Highlands*, pp. 40, 43; *Inveraray Records*, 1701, *Minute of Bailie Court of Glendaruel*, box I; the Gaelic is "seileach allt, calltainn chreag, fearna bhog, beithe lag (or a' chnuic), uinnseann an deiseir," Nicolson, p. 346; see *ibid.*, p. 349 for another old-word about woods; as to sycamore *cf.* *Argyll's Scotland*, i, 251; *Inveraray Processes*, 1701, *Campbell v. Lamont*, in which the purchase price is mutilated but seems to be 800 merks; *Dunoon Deeds*, 11th June 1707, fol. 94, in *L.P.*, 1095, p. 321; *Inveraray Processes*, 1707, *Black v. M'Ilbride*; as to smelting in general, see Alexander Polson, *Gairloch* (Dingwall, 1920), p. 33, and authorities there cited.

17. *Argyll's Scotland*, ii, 69; Nicolson, p. 242; for the cow standard in early times see Macdonald's *Gaelic Proverbs*, No. 549, p. 124, and above, p. 81; *Inveraray Processes*, 1705, *Campbell v. Stronlbanach*, and *Graham v. Stronlbanach*; £20 was probably full value for a "fyne learge kow," and Auchinshelloch so claimed in *ibid.*, 1707, *Willowfield v. M'Ilchalum*; *Dunoon Deeds*, 1705, vol. v (iii), fol. 208.

18. *Ibid.*, 19th Apr. 1710, and 13th Mar. 1711, vol. vi (iv), fol. 297, 398; see also *ibid.*, 5th Feb. 1705, vol. v. (iii), fol. 270, and *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 19th Dec. 1709, vol. cv, in *L.P.*, 1102, p. 324; in 1718 M'Neill cows "of the growth of Knapdale of the age between 5 and 9" were reckoned at £18 Scots and stirks and two-year-olds at £6, *Dunoon Deeds*, 3rd June 1718, fol. 255; *Argyll's Scotland*, ii, 199, 157 ff.

19. *Petitions against the Union*, in Register House; *Argyll's Scotland*, ii, 166, 158, states the case for Union; *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 17th Dec. 1709, fol. 44; Sterling currency was used by Kilfinan, Robert Lamont, merchant in Melldalloch, and Archibald Lamont in Auchagoyl in several deeds between 1717 and 1729 (*Dunoon Deeds*, 17th Oct. 1717, fol. 115, 29th Jan. 1718, fol. 212, and 11th June 1736, vol. xi, in *L.P.*, 1462, p. 436; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 27th Apr. 1719, vol. 110; *Argyll Inhibitions*, 17th Sept. 1722, in *L.P.*, 1165, p. 341; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 18th Mar. 1726, Nos. 370-1); MacLeod says, p. 139, that till 1720 the merk Scots was preferred to the £ Scots, but this was never so in the Lamont country.

20. *Inveraray Processes*, 1705, *Fiscal v. Lamont*.

21. See Nicolson, p. 142 (*cho luath ris na luinn*), and Neil Munro, *Children of Tempest*, p. 205; see above, pp. 140, 184, 215.

22. *Inveraray Processes*, 1707, *Fiscal v. M'Intyre*; see Macdonald, No. 523, p. 119.

23. *Flat Tombstone*, 2nd July 1706, on floor of Kilfinan vault, with Urry arms very similar to Lamont arms but with crest of lion's paw and motto "*memento mori*" (see above, p. 29); *Mural Tablet* to ARCHIBALD XVII, 19th Nov. 1767, on east wall; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 18th Oct. 1700; *Ruthven Correspondence* (ed. for Roxburghe Club, 1868), 1708-9, p. 173, in *L.P.*, 1099-1100; (Margaret Urry's cousin John, student or fellow at Christ Church, "Oxen., in South Britten, London," to whom Archibald XV thus wrote, was at Ardlamont on 19th June 1713, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 19th June 1713; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Aug. 1710); *Inventory* of 1774, in *I.C.*, III. 1.

24. *I.C.(A.)*, 23rd Oct. 1702, and *I.I.(Add.)*, 4, 39, in *L.P.*, 1083, 1101, pp. 318, 323; *Argyll Sasines*, 8th Jan. 1725, v, 198, in *L.P.*, 1172, p. 344; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 15th Aug. 1701, fol. 316; *Brown's Cowal*, p. 107; *I.C.(A.)*, 28th Feb. 1708; Peter or Patrick Blair was Stillaig's doer, *ibid.*, 18th Mar. 1714, and see *L.P.* index, p. 443.

25. *I.I.*, 3.3.54, in *L.P.*, 1107, p. 325 (500 out of 3500 tocher had already been paid; Archibald Campbell married Anna Campbell in 1712, *Argyll Sasines*, 17th June 1712, iv (i), 156; he seems to be the Archibald of Ballimore referred to in Burke's *Landed Gentry*; *Auchenbreck Genealogie*, in Macphail's *Highland Papers*, iv, 75; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 7th April 1714, in *Dunoon Deeds*, 21st Aug. 1718 (and *L.P.*, 1127, p. 330, see also 1142, p. 336); she was infest in security of 550 merks a year, and Dugald was to give a tocher of 4000 merks, which he paid by 1719, *Dunoon Deeds*, 25th April 1729, in *L.P.*, 1459, p. 436, but he then borrowed £300 which the sheriff-clerk had great trouble in recovering from him, see *L.P.*, 1146, 1153, 1166, 1178, 1181, 1185-90, 1194, 1456, pp. 337-41, 345-9, 435; as to divorce see *I.I.(Add.)*, 4.46, *Dunoon Deeds*, 12th to 13th Oct. 1727, vol. viii, *Edinburgh Consistorial Processes*, 10th Dec. 1728, iii. 286, all in *L.P.*, 1183, 1193, 1202, 1457, pp. 347-8, 350, 435, *Argyll Sasines*, vi, 196, viii, 257, *Campbell v. Lamont*, 14th Feb. 1726, see *F.C.*, xii, 330, and *Session Papers* therein in W.S. Library, Edinburgh, folio vol. iii, No. 1.

26. *Tablet* reproduced in *C.L.J.*, iv, 170; Nicolson, p. 243; *Bible* of 1672 at Knockdow, acquired by purchase from Bristol about 1898, in *L.P.*, 1453, p. 434; see *Gillian the Dreamer*, p. 243.

27. *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 15th Aug. 1701, fol. 316; as to standing see *Session Papers* in *Heritors of Dunoon v. Minister*, 1813, W.S. Library, vol. 643, No. 22 (i); see above, p. 106.

28. See above, p. 39; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 22nd Feb. 1721, vol. cxiv, in *L.P.*, 1122, p. 329; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 22nd Mar. 1714, and 19th June 1713 (her portion had formerly been secured over Ardlamont and Ardyne); Ardlamont paid the largest rent of all, £400, *Rental* of 1729, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 48; *Bible* as in note 26 above; *I.I.*, 2.4.24, in *L.P.*, 1126, p. 330; see above, p. 87, as to dowry of men, and as to Glasgow see John M'Ure (or M'Iver or Campbell), *History of Glasgow* (1736), 1830 edn., p. 119, and George MacGregor, *History of Glasgow* (1881), p. 291; Dugald was still at Stillaig on his daughter Jean's marriage at Martinmas 1712, *Edinburgh Commissary Decrees*, 10 Dec. 1728, iii, 286.

29. *Rental* as in last note; see above, note 9 to chap. x; *Letter* from Peter Blair in *I.C.(A.)*, 18th Mar. 1714; see also *ibid.*, 9th July 1712; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 29th June 1714, vol. cxiv, in *I.I.(Add.)*, 3.8, and *L.P.*, 1129-30, p. 330; see above, p. 113; *I.I.*, II, 1.2.9-13, in *L.P.*, 1090-1, 1110-1, 1131, pp. 330-1, 326, 331; *Dunoon Deeds*, 23rd Nov. 1713, fol. 165; see above, pp. 223-4, 238-9, and below, pp. 290, 303; *Catalogue of Edinburgh Graduates*, p. 199.

30. *Inveraray Supply Records*, 14th June 1717, box IV, shelf 1; *I.I.(Add.)*, 2, 3, in *L.P.*, 1131, p. 335; the basis of his assessment was reduced for cess purposes from 61½ merks (his actual total of lands held in property) to 53½; it is not easy to reconcile this with the entry in a cess roll of 1724, *Inveraray Records*, 9th Mar. 1724, iv, 1, that he was owing two quarters' cess on 18 merklands in Nether Cowal and one quarter's on 94 merklands of property and superiority in Kilfinan Parish; but presumably he had a right of relief against the vassal for the cess of lands of which he was only superior and so had no interest to challenge their valuation; of the four "inconsiderable rents" he cited as instances two, Glenan and Ascog, had substantially risen by his death, see 1729 *Rental*, as in note 28, and the other two, Achafour and Craignafeich, did not belong in property to him, *ibid.*, and above, pp. 270, 223; on the whole there seems to have been little ground for the reduction.

31. *Dunoon Sheriff Court Miscellaneous Papers*, 10th to 11th Aug. 1715; *Facsimiles*, 11th and 27th Aug. 1715, among *Knockdow Papers* (former in Brown's *Cowal*, p. 162), and *Argyll Charters*, c. Aug. 1715, all in *L.P.*, 1132-4, pp. 332-4; for Alexander and his son William see *Argyll Inhibitions*, 19th Sept. 1722, in *L.P.*, 1165, p. 341; Nicolson, p. 7; young Fullerton of Greenhall was likewise suspect while his father attended.

32. *Facsimile* of 27th Aug. as in last note; Nicolson, p. 326; *Argyll Charters*, 24th Oct. 1715, in *L.P.*, 1135, p. 335; see Neil Munro, *New Road*, p. 15; Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, iii, 1741; an obscure reference to the Argyllshiremen's part in the '15 will be found on p. 295 below; *Fionn's Martial Music*, p. 50, cf. p. 182 above; *Ancient Scottish Surnames* (1723), p. 95 (1820 edn.), p. 115; *Historical Account of the Highlanders* (Dublin, 1715), pp. 9-10.

33. *Commission for disarming Mull*, 1716, in Dunoon Sheriff Court, fol. 31, 36; *Dunoon Deeds*, 24th Oct. 1714, fol. 486; for M'Dougalls see above, pp. 52, 58, 170, 172, 182, 243; a certain Walter Graham of Drumfin in Knapdale, merchant in Kilmichael Glassary and thereafter in Glasgow and finally in Greenock, for instance, supplied both James Lamont, merchant in Gomenor in Mull and Archibald Lamont, merchant in Auchagoyl, see *Dunoon Deeds*, 17th June 1716, fol. 1 and 22nd June 1719, fol. 369, and boarded Stronbanach's nephew, *Inveraray Processes*, 1705, *Graham v. Lamont*, and see *L.P.*, p. 454; these Grahams were McIlvernocks; *Glasgow Burgesses*, pp. 245, 267.

34. *Edinburgh Apprentice Register* (Scot. Rec. Soc., 1929), 13th Sept. 1727, iii, 50; see also *ibid.*, 20th Feb. 1734, for a John Lamont, merchant in Edinburgh; *Edinburgh Testaments*, 10th Dec. 1707, vol. 83; Thomas Lamont, *Thomas William Lamont* (New York, 1915), pp. 3, 5, 9-10; see below, p. 289; *Rothesay Burgh Minute Books*, 1st Oct. 1716, 5th Oct. 1719, ii, 211, 217-8, 233; *Rothesay Marriages*, 1712, *Births*, 1713-25; *Rothesay Kirk Session Registers*, 16th Nov. 1726, 14th June and 9th Nov. 1727, 28th May and 13th Nov. 1728, and 28th May 1729, vol. ii (print pp. 396, 402, 404, 406, 408); *Rothesay Town Council Records*, 1653-1766, 1st Oct. 1716, ii, 625, 1718-27, ii, 633-5, 640, 642, 657, 694; for a Duncan Lamont, see *ibid.*, 1725, ii, 692.

35. *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 17th June 1717, in *L.P.*, 1138, p. 335; *Argyll's Scotland*, vol. i, p. x; *Inveraray Supply Records*, — 1720, 19th June 1723, 26th May 1726; *Dunoon Deeds*, 3rd June 1718, fol. 255, as to cows "of the growth of Knapdale, of the age between 5 and nine" at £18 Scots and two-year-olds at £6; *Dunoon Deeds*, 22nd June 1719, fol. 379, 392, 435, 25th Nov. 1721, fol. 99, 129, 135, 153, 246, 262, 302, 309-10, 321, 339, 353, 361, 365, 367, etc.

36. *Dunoon Charters*, 16th Feb. 1728, XII, 3; see Baron Hume on *Crimes*, ii, 64; *Nithsdale Muniments* (1670), p. 303; see Nicolson, pp. 91, 280, as to withies, and Walker's *Hebrides*, i, 134, and Mackenzie, *100 Years in the Highlands*, pp. 31-2, as to sleds (of which the writer saw a fine example at Imachar in Arran a few summers ago); the three Lamonts were Archibald and Dugald in Kerstoun, Donald in Kewnstoun, with Archibald in Achafour.

37. *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 27th April 1719, vol. cx; for other references to Archibald in N. Auchagoyl see *Dunoon Deeds*, 23rd Aug. 1723, fol. 262, and 16th June 1724, fol. 353.

38. *Dunoon Deeds*, 2nd Aug. 1720, fol. 458, and 24th June 1723, fol. 247; *Inveraray Minute Books*, 7th Jan. 1724, in *L.P.*, 1170, p. 343; as to Dugald, see also *Dunoon Deeds*, 20th Feb., 29th July, and 4th Aug. 1724, fol. 321, 361, 365, 367, and *L.P.*, 1176, p. 345, and above, p. 351; as to assise herring and white fish see A. R. G. M'Millan in *Scot. Hist. Rev.* (1923), xx, 17-18; *Materials* as in note 85 to chap. xii; Neil Munro, *Children of Tempest*, p. 114.

39. *I.I.(Add.)*, 3, 12 and 4.43, *Argyll Sasines*, 9th Dec. 1720, iv, 472, and *Dunoon Deeds*, 25th Apr. 1729, in *L.P.*, 1139, 1144, 1157, 1468, pp. 336, 339, 436; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 21st Jan. 1720, and *I.C.(A.)*, 12th June 1731 (in *Dunoon Deeds*, vol. x), and *Dunoon Deeds*, 1st June 1744, vol. xiii, in *L.P.*, 1149, 1461, 1465, pp. 337, 436-7; see above, pp. 169, 174, 183; as to Grizel, see below, note 41 and p. 289.

40. *Glasgow University Records*, 1722, iii, 223, see also iii, 220, in *L.P.*, 1162, 1158, pp. 339-40; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 16th Mar. 1726, No. 371; *I.I.*, 4.2.20a, 3.9, and *Argyll Sasines*, 23rd Sept. 1728, vi, 198, in *L.P.*, 1136, 1167, 1200, pp. 335, 341, 350; *Glasgow Testaments*, 23rd June 1724, vol. xlix, in *L.P.*, 1163, p. 340; see also *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 30th Dec. 1723, No. 368, and J. B. Craven, *Records of Dioceses of Argyll and Isles* (1907), p. 181, in *L.P.*, 1439, p. 422.

41. *I.C.*, 25th and 22nd Jan. 1726, and 24th April 1727, in *L.P.*, 1176, 1179-80, 1191, pp. 345-6; *Prince's Seal Register*, 22nd June 1726, ii, 185; see also regarding Achadachoun, *I.C.*, 12th Aug. 1729, *I.C.(A.)*, 27th Nov. 1732 (in *Argyll Sasines*, 9th Dec. 1722, vii, 5), in *L.P.*, 1204, 1210-1, pp. 351-3; *Glendaruel Charters (Evanachan)*, No. 11, 19th April 1753 (the rent was £171, 6s. Scots, being the valued rent).

42. *Argyll Sasines*, 5th Sept. 1712, iv, 165, and 12th Dec. 1754, viii, 450; *Argyll Inhibitions*, 12th Nov. 1719 and 4th July 1720; in *L.P.*, 1115-6, 1147, 1154, 1254, pp. 327-8, 337, 339, 364; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 9th Apr. 1720, vol. cxii; *Argyll Sasines*, 21st Feb. 1719 and 26th Mar. 1720, iv, 388, 437, in *L.P.*, 1145, 1150, pp. 337-8; *Argyll Sasines*, 21st July 1722, iv, 575, in *L.P.*, 1164, p. 341; see also *ibid.*, 12th July 1729, vi, 257, in *L.P.*, 1203, pp. 350-1 as to Kirnans.

43. *Argyll Sasines*, 9th Dec. 1720, iv, 472, in *L.P.*, 1156, p. 339; Robert had also an annual-rent in Glen Fruin on Loch Lomond side, see *ibid.*, 2nd May 1718, iv, 344, in *L.P.*, 1141, p. 336; see below, p. 390; Coll had also a wadset of Kirnamore and Kirnabeg, see *ibid.*, 12th July 1729, vi, 257, in *L.P.*, 1203, pp. 350-1.

44. Auchmar's *Surnames* (1723), p. 97 (1820 edn.), p. 117.

45. *Chambers's Journal*, 14th Oct. 1843, in *L.P.*, 1168-9, pp. 342-3, and Knockdow's 1902 *Lecture*, pp. 22-4; *Glasgow University Muniments*, ii, 44; see above, pp. 27, 29.

46. *I.C.(A.)*, 13th Aug. 1728; he was apparently alive on 23rd Sept. 1728, *Argyll Sasines*, 23rd Sept. 1728, and dead before 31st Dec. 1728, *Argyll Testaments*, 23rd Feb. 1733, viii, 334, both in *L.P.*, 1200, 1213, pp. 350, 353; Lorne Campbell's *Songs of the Forty-Five*, pp. 5, 57, 15, and see above, p. 39; as to hillside cultivation see below, p. 306.

CHAPTER XIV

1. Archibald's portrait is in the same hands as Sir COLL's, see note 1 to chap. ix. Mr A. Haswell Miller, Director of the Scottish National Gallery, has dated the portrait approximately in such a way as to make it tolerably certain that (if it is of a chief as is the tradition) it must be of this Archibald. The gentleman referred to in the note cited prefers to antedate it somewhat and ascribe it to the English school of the time of Kneller, in which case it would be of ARCHIBALD XV. Circumstances favour the former view, as the earlier Archibald had not the means, as a young man, to pay for a portrait, but his grandson had, while there is another portrait (plate 19 above) traditionally ascribed to a chief Archibald which seems to be ARCHIBALD XV, and is clearly not of the same subject as that under discussion.

2. *Rentall Lamonts Esteat*, 1729, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 48, the earliest proper rental extant. The teinds he owned were only $\frac{3}{4}$ of the whole; the other $\frac{1}{4}$ he leased from the Crown for £3, 14s. 4d. Scots, *Privy Seal Register*, 15th July 1740, viii, 225, and 23rd Feb. 1759, ix, 62 (2). As to Dunoon teinds, see *Dunoon Charters*, 23rd May 1752, bundle IX, No. 21, and below, p. 430. The rate of interest on borrowed money seems now to have been sometimes reduced from 10 per cent. to 5 per cent., see *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 3rd May 1748; *cp.*, however, note 9, below. For tacks see *I.C.(A.)*, 30th Nov. 1697, and note 41 below; the expenses are calculated on the basis of 9 per cent. suggested by Canon MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 153; his calculations are otherwise inapplicable, because apparently in Skye landlords paid most of the public burdens, *ibid.*, pp. 152-4, as was the practice in Breadalbane, see McArthur's *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769, p. lxxv.

3. See note 41 to chap. xiii; Kilfinan was alive on 9th Feb. 1740 and dead on 8th Jan. 1741 (*I.C.(L.-C.)*, No. 378; *Inventory* of 1774 in *I.C.*, II. 8), and both he and his wife were dead on 18th May 1742 (*Argyll Testaments*, 18th May 1742, vol. ix, in *L.P.*, 1225, p. 355). As to the estate, see *Count of Kilfinanis Rent*, 1731, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 48 (including Craignafeich, but neither Melldalloch nor Acharossanbeg), and *I.C.*, 25th May 1745, and 5th June 1747, latter in *G.R.S.*, 6th June 1747, vii. 150 (including all three). These figures are given without regarding his profit from a lease of Evanachan, which he took over from his father and retained till 1753, *Glendaruel Writs (Evanachan)*, 28th Mar. 1753, No. 11; *I.C.*, 8th Jan. 1741 and 1st May 1747.

4. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 20th June, 1729, in *Dunoon Deeds*, 20th June 1729 (and *L.P.*, 1460, p. 436), as to Gaelic speaking in Kilfinan parish in 1737-50, see *Session Papers* in *Campbell v. Campbell*, 1750, in W.S. Library, vol. viii, No. 32 (ii), p. 7; *I.I.*, 2.3.1.4, in *L.P.*, 1205, p. 351; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Nov. 1766 (especially pp. 7-8 and 10); see also as to enclosures Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 215; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 18th Nov. 1735, vol. 158; the isle was in Kilfinan parish.

5. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 20th May 1732, No. 374, in *L.P.*, 1207, p. 352, Stronalbanach being a witness; Rev. A. Macdonalds, *The Clan Donald*, iii, 187; Mrs M'Allister cannot have

been a daughter of DUGALD XVI, as he had only five daughters (Auchmar, p. 97 (1820 edn., p. 117)), and all five are known (see above, pp. 278 and 284); Archibald XVII was in touch with the family at any rate from 1739, *Dunoon Deeds*, 21st June 1739, *Argyll Inhibitions*, 1st Nov. 1739, in *L.P.*, 1464, 1220, pp. 437, 354, also *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 14th Jan. 1756, vol. 483; information from Miss M'Allister of Loup.

6. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 12th May 1732, etc., Nos. 373, 375, 378-80, 382-3, 387, *ibid.*, 28th May 1752, etc., Nos. 387, 391, 394, 399, 397, dated at (?) Halanore Kilmichell; see below, p. 324, and above, p. 282; *Warrants of Unextracted Processes (Forbes Skene Office)*, *Lamont v. Lamont*, 1745, vi, 4; inscription on Scoonie parish communion cup, communicated by minister.

7. *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1734, iv, 392, and *P.C.C. Boycott*, 79, 4th Mar. 1742-3, in *L.P.*, 1215, 1226, pp. 354, 356; see *C.L.J.*, iii, 599; see above, p. 247; Thomas Lamont, *Life of Thomas W. Lamont* (New York, 1915), pp. 3, 5; see above, p. 282; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1740, x, 623, and Wm. Munk, *College of Physicians*, 25th June 1751, ii, 178, in *L.P.*, 1221, 1239, pp. 355, 360; *Edinburgh Marriages*, 20th Jan. 1765, p. 410; John Kay's *Original Portraits* (1837), i, 58-9; *Rothesay O.P.R.*, and *Kirk Session Records*, 18th Nov. 1730, and 14th June 1733, vol. ii (print, pp. 414, 423); *Isles Testaments*, 24th July 1738, vol. ii, *re* William Campbell in Skerrols as to Donald Lamont in Kilmany, midway between Bridgend and Port Askaig; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1731-4 (1898), pp. 142, 520; a James Lamont was married in Berwick-on-Tweed in 1768, *Index of Northumberland Marriages* in Newcastle Public Library; see also *C.L.J.*, ii, 161, 274.

8. *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie)*, 1734, *Lamont v. Melvill*; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 28th Mar. 1747, vol. 173; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 20th Dec. 1749, vol. 166; *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 26th June 1752, vol. 461; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, No. 388; see below, p. 428; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 14th Oct. 1742, vol. 168; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 27th Jan. 1735, *I.I.*, 2.3.1.5-7 and 1.3.3.57, in *L.P.*, 1217-9, p. 354; *cf.* pp. 266-7 above.

9. *Session Papers*, Campbell Collection in *Lamont v. Ochiltree*, 1787, in Advocates' Library, vol. 31, Nos. 105-6, No. 107, pp. 17-8; *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 20; Archibald sold Otter's teinds to him at 9 years' purchase for £1328, 10s., see *Deeds (Durie)*, 3rd April 1738, vol. 197; *Session Papers* in *Campbell v. Campbell*, 1750, in W.S. Library, vol. vii, No. 32 (i), *passim*, and (ii), p. 10; *Glendaruel Writs (Evanachan)*, 28th Mar. 1753, No. 11; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 9th April 1740, No. 383.

10. See below, pp. 414, 458-9, 388; *Register of Tailzies*, 2nd Dec. 1808; *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 40; see below, p. 344.

11. See below, p. 430; *Session Papers* (ii), p. 17, as in note 9, above; the *Session Register* for 1721-73, which existed in 1888 (Rev. Thos. Burns, *Church Property*, 1905, p. 240) is now lost (information from present minister); *Old Statistical Account* (1795), xiv, 249-51; last reference in note 9 above; *Inventory* of 1774, in *I.C.* I, 1.

12. *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Jan. 1741, in *G.R.S.*, 13th Feb. 1741, clxxi, 58; *Edinburgh Town Council Minutes*, 7th Nov. 1777; Ainslie's *Map of Edinburgh*, 1780; *Edinburgh Marriages*, ii, 307; *Scots Magazine* (1740), ii, 435; *Inventory* of 1774, in *I.C.*, II, 6; *Cromartie Book*, i, ccix; *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 41, 55; *Register of Tailzies*, 2nd Dec. 1808; *Mural Tablet*, as in note 53 below; *I.C.(A.)*, 5th Sept. 1761, in *Argyll Sasines*, 10th Oct. 1761, ix, 289, and *L.P.*, 1266, p. 367; *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 3rd July 1757, vol. 486; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 21st June 1743, vol. 169; see also *I.C.(A.)*, 9th June 1755; the portrait is in Bideford, Devon, and the photograph is by Mr and Mrs W. H. Heys, at 24 The Quay, there.

13. Dunlop's *Notes*; tradition from Miss Lamont, Auchenlochan Cottage, Kames (a daughter of Robert Lamont, Kilail, Otter (born in Stronsaul), a member from 1898 of the Society); for woods see *Map* of 1750 as in note 30, below; Nicolson, p. 45; see *I.C.*, 17th Oct. 1748 (Kames provided 80 creels of peats a year); M'Lea's *Deposition*, as in note 4 to chap. xiii, p. 95.

14. *Session Papers* in *Argyll v. Creditors of Tarbert*, 1762, in Campbell Collection in Advocates' Library, vol. xiii, No. 5; *S.P.* in *Stewart v. Lamont*, 1751, in W.S. Library, vol. xl, No. 74; see also (Lord President Duncan Forbes), *Considerations on the State of Scotland* (1744), and *Argyll's Scotland*, ii, 96.

15. *Bond* of 1743 in *S.P.* in *Stewart v. Lamont*, as in last note; see below, p. 469; see also *S.P.* in *Campbell v. Campbell*, 1750, in W.S. Library, vol. vii, No. 32 (ii), pp. 5-6, as to Alexander Campbell in Darinacherichbeg, a brandy merchant, "lost at sea in October 1747 in his passage from the Isle of Man"; *Old Statistical Account* (1795), xiv, 235-6; *Brown's Cowal*, pp. 170 ff.; Mackenzie, *Western Isles*, p. 30; MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 35; Lorne Campbell's *Songs of the Forty-Five*, p. 169.

16. See C. S. Terry, *The Forty-Five* (1922), p. 47, etc.; Lorne Campbell, pp. 169, 75, 55.

17. Terry, p. 87; J. Cowley's *Map of Duke of Argyle's Heritable Dukedom* (London, 1734); Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*, ii, 297; *Brown's Cowal*, p. 50; Lorne Campbell, p. 83; as to fencible men, see p. 308, below; *Cromartie Book*, ii, ccxiv; see Nicolson, p. 37, as to "an tinneas a's fhearr na'n t-slàinte"; her child Margaret was born in November 1745, but did not survive; see below, p. 308; Terry, p. 4.

18. The members concerned are Rev. John E. Black, of Drumchapel, a member of Council since 1927, and Mr John Black of Harrogate, who joined the Society in 1932, while this history was being written; *Prisoners of the Forty-Five* (ed. Sir Bruce Seton for Scot. Hist. Soc., 1929), ii, 330-1; *Old Statistical Account* (1795), xiv, 256; Hume Brown, iii, 289; Terry, p. 87; *Brown's Cowal*, p. 50; Lorne Campbell, pp. 205, 225; M. of Lorn, *Adventures in Legend*, p. 290; *Militia Levy*, 1745, in Dunoon Court House; *Albemarle Papers* (ed. Terry for New Spalding Club, 1902), i, 337; *Dunoon Charters*, 5th June 1745, bundle IX, No. 30; *Scots Magazine* (1746), viii, 35, 93, 141; *Culloden Papers* (1815), pp. 270-2; Lorne Campbell, pp. 59, 197, 209.

19. *Adventures in Legend*, p. 291; *Marchmont Correspondence* in *Miscellany* of Scot. Hist. Soc., vol. v (1933), pp. 346-7; the reference to the '15 is quoted for what it is worth; it is unintelligible to the writer, as the Argyllshire men seem to have served the government well in the '15 and ill in the '45; *The Lost Pibroch*, p. 204.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 220; *Prisoners*, as in note 18; information from present Mac-lachlan; *Scots Magazine* (1746), viii, 524.

21. *Adventures in Legend*, pp. 291, 293; Lorne Campbell, pp. 177, 171, 212-213; Terry, *The Forty-Five*, pp. 131, 138, 141-2, 146; Nicolson, p. 332; *Albemarle Papers*, i, 331-2, ii, 409; see also *Scots Magazine* (1746), viii, 142.

22. *Albemarle Papers*, i, 57-8, 92, 139-40, 156, 215, 222-4, 310; *Scots Magazine* (1746), viii, 393-4, 175, 141, 498; Lorne Campbell, pp. 239, 225, 189 n. 5; *Pièces originales*, 1632, 25-7 in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; see above, pp. 26, 145, 225.

23. *Glasgow Evening Times*, Jan. 1894, cited in Knockdow's *Second Lecture* (1899), pp. 34-5; *Memorial* printed in Appendix G to Stewart's *Sketches* (1822 edn.), vol. ii,

p. v; see also vol. i, pp. 25, 27; "Confession" printed in Andrew Lang, *Pickle the Spy* (1897), p. 245, in *L.P.*, 1245, p. 362; Archibald was, however, friendly with Largie, see *Deceets (Mackenzie)*, 24th Jan. 1753, vol. 466, so the guess was likely enough.

24. The Earl of Albemarle on 15th Dec. 1746, in *Albemarle Papers*, i, 330; see also *ibid.*, 310; Acts of 1715 (1 Geo. I, cap. 54, section 1), 1747 (19 Geo. II, cap. 39, preamble and section 17), and 1782 (22 Geo. III, cap. 63); Lorne Campbell, pp. 279, 223; the general impression, shared by the writer, that the proscription was complete till 1782 has been dispelled by the collection in the Scottish Pavilion South at the Glasgow British Empire Exhibition of 1938 of at least four portraits painted about 1760 in which the subject is in full highland garb, namely, Cameron of Lochiel, 1762, William 18th Earl of Sutherland, 1763, John 4th Earl of Dunmore, 1765, and Alexander 1st Lord Macdonald, 1770.

25. See Hume Brown, iii, 327-30; see above, pp. 258, 264; *Inveraray Records* and *Stonefield Papers*, *passim*; *cp.* Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 253; Heritable Jurisdictions (Scotland) Act, 1746 (20 Geo. II, cap. 43), sections 17-24.

26. *MacGillivray v. Souter*, 1862, 24 Dunlop 759, per Lord Ardmillan, at p. 764; see Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 1-10, i, 233-5, 200, 225-7; *cp.* MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 25.

27. 20 Geo. II, cap. 43, sections 17-24; see also 20 Geo. II, cap. 50, section 18; Erskine's *Institute*, I, iv, 28-9; Hume on *Crimes*, ii, 77; Erskine's *Principles* (21st edn., 1911), pp. 43-4.

28. Erskine's *Institute*, I, iv, 13, I, vii, 62; Allan Menzies, *Conveyancing*, p. 522; *Gentle v. M'Lellan & Co.*, 1825, 4 Shaw, 163 (165); 20 Geo. II, cap. 50, section 21; Walker's *Hebrides* (1872), i, 79; Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 133; see Wm. Gloag, *Contract* (2nd edn., 1929), pp. 568-9, 657.

29. Lord Ardmillan as in note 26, above; see above, p. 61.

30. Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 1-10, 40, 158-67; J. B. Salmond, *Wade in Scotland* (Edin. and London, 1934), pp. 199-201; James Dorret's *Map* of 1750; *Valuation* as in note 32, *passim*; *Reports of Ministers*, 1750 (MS. in National Library, vol. v, pp. 2328, 2330, 2335, 2339); Neil Munro, *The New Road*, p. 124; as late as 1766 the main communications between Rothesay and Greenock were by way of Ardyne and Dunoon ferries, see *Rothesay Town Council Records, 1653-1766* (Mar. of Bute, 1935), ii, 701-2.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 125; Dorret's *Map*.

32. *House of Commons Journals*, 17th Feb. 1747, and 9th Feb. 1748, xxv, 527, 732; 22 Geo. II, cap. 29, preamble; *Valuation Roll*, 1751, in Register House, printed in Brown's *Cowal*, pp. 21-37, and in part in *L.P.*, 1237, pp. 359-60; see also *Reports of Ministers*, v, 2330, 2339; as to former practice see *ibid.*, v, 2339, and note 30 to last chap., the new assessment was half of the actual (or real) rent after deducting all public burdens, see Rev. John Smith, *Agricultural Survey of Argyleshire* (1798), pp. 12, 305, though this does not appear from either the Act or the *Roll*; the examples given in the text are all real rent and not valued rent, and thus do not tally with the figures given in the *Roll*. In Kilfinan parish these burdens were roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the new valued rent, as appears from Stronlbanach's case, which may be taken as typical; he gave up his rental of lands there at £36 sterling (*Argyll Charters*, 19th Dec. 1661), and they appear in the *Roll* at £16; £16 is £36 minus £4 divided by two; (but *cp.* *I.C.*, 20th Nov. 1770 as to Achadachoun); thus actual rent may be taken as $2\frac{1}{4}$ times valued rent.

33. *Valuation Roll* as in last note; see above, pp. 102, 261; *Knockdow Charters* (1694), No. 9 and (1779) bundle VI, in *L.P.*, 1301, pp. 376-7; see above, p. 271.

34. *Valuation Roll* as in note 32; see *New Road*, p. 62; see above, pp. 271, 276; see below, p. 308; the miller, smith, and a few other vital tradesmen were often the only crofters who held immediately of the landlord, see McArthur's *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769, p. xxxvii; *I.I.*, III, 5, 19, *R.M.S.* (1658), iv, 1816, in *L.P.*, 806, 266, pp. 244, 86; *R.P.S.* (1587), lv, 85; see above, p. 240.

35. See below, p. 415.

36. See above, p. 138; see below, p. 428; *Knockdow Charters*, 31st Oct. 1753, and 4th May 1754, v, 6, 8-9; see *Argyll Sasines*, 4th May and 2nd July 1754, viii, 416-7, in *L.P.*, 1244, 1250-3, pp. 362-4; *I.C.*, 4th May 1754, and 3rd Nov. 1755; *G.R.S.*, 19th June, 1754, ccxiv, 244; *Inventory of Writs*, 1818, in *I.C.(A.)*, Nos. 10-11.

37. The rents of the MacLeod estates rose from £3000 Scots to £4000 between 1754 and 1769, MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 147; see above, p. 288; the £318 is made up as follows—Kilfinan rents £1860, Nether Cowal rents £1130, father's rents £825, total £3815 Scots, equal to £318 sterling; as to burdens, see note 32 above, Smith's *Survey*, pp. 305, 278, and MacLeod, *Island Clans*, p. 153.

38. *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750* (ed. Andrew Lang, 1891), p. 134; Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 75, 170; see above, p. 286, and Osgood Mackenzie, pp. 187-9, but cp. McArthur's *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769, pp. xxv-xxvi.

39. See Walker's *Hebrides*, i, 107, Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 200-2, 215, and above, p. 288; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 15th Dec. 1752, and 11th Nov. 1754, Nos. 389 and 395; the gardener James Lamont is also mentioned as "servant to Lamont," in *I.C.(A.)*, 12th April 1758.

40. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 20th Feb. 1750, 20th Dec. 1753, 6th Jan. 1755, Nos. 392-3, 396; it cost 20s. 6d. to ferry 38 stotts at Otter, perhaps 6d. each and 9d. for each of two herds.

41. See Walker's *Hebrides*, i, 64-5, and Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 33-4, 194-6; *I.C.(A.)*, 3rd Jan. 1758, also 12th April 1768, 5th Jan. 1767, 13th Jan. 1767 (in *Dunoon Deeds*, 8th Feb. 1768), and 25th Oct. 1768; the same tendency towards unification of holdings had manifested itself in Breadalbane by 1769 where 10 per cent. of farms were held by single tenants, McArthur's *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769, p. xxxvi.

42. As to flax see Smith's *Survey*, pp. 92 ff.; Archibald himself was able to sell some timber, see *I.C.*, (19th) Feb. 1770, under date 4th Nov. 1769; Smith's *Survey*, p. 305, note; at this date the services of one man for one day were generally reckoned as worth 1d. sterling or 1s. Scots, see Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 47; and *I.C.(A.)*, 12th April 1758.

43. *I.C.(A.)*, 3rd Jan. 1758; see Walker's *Hebrides*, i, 73, 250, i, 30, 33, and ii, 99-100; see above, p. 274; *I.C.*, —th Feb. 1770; potatoes were only known in the central highlands shortly before 1794, while run-rig continued in some parts of Argyllshire at least till 1783, McArthur's *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769, pp. li, liv; "infield" was, of course, the land round the houses as opposed to cultivated patches at a distance, see Osgood Mackenzie, p. 189.

44. See above, p. 294; *Certificate* in possession of Rev. John E. Black, Drumchapel; Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 133.

45. Dr Alexander Webster, *Memorial* for the Prime Minister, Pitt, in 1755, on *The Number of People in Scotland*, MS. No. 89 in National Library; Walker's *Hebrides*, i, 27-8,

31, 41; Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 93-110; *Old Statistical Account* (1795), xiv, 235, note, 240-3, 231-2, 245; the numbers of Campbells in Strachur and Strathlachlan may fairly be offset against the number of Maclachlans in Glassary, so that the followers of Maclachlan may be reckoned as equal to the population of his home parish; 6 persons was a usual number to reckon in each household, McArthur's *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769, p. xxxi.

46. *I.C.(A.)*, 3rd Jan. 1758; *Session Papers* in *Stewart v. Lamont and Campbell*, 1751, in W.S. Library, vol. 40, Nos. 74-5, reported in Falconer's *Decisions*, ii, 277, Elchies' *Decisions* "Pactum Illicitum," No. 22, and Morison's *Dictionary*, pp. 9, 452, in *L.P.*, 1242, p. 361; the inn-keeper from N. Auchagoyl can hardly have been the Angus Lamont, or else Auchagoyl himself would have been made a defender; the chief maintained that both offenders were "abroad" at the date of the action; *Lindsay v. Inland Revenue*, 1933, S.C., 33; *Glendaruel (Evanachan)*, 17th May 1753, No. 13, in *G.R.S.*, 14th July 1753, ccx, 314; *I.C.(A.)*, 9th June 1755; James had witnessed a deed for the chief at Ardyne on 28th July 1746, *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 28th Mar. 1747, vol. 173.

47. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 11th Nov. 1754, No. 395; *Glendaruel Writs (Evanachan)*, 16th May 1753, No. 12; *Kilfinan Births*, 1741-5, 1760, in *C.L.J.*, i, 85-6, 125; *Diary* of Hannah Porch, wife of Capt. Norman Lamont, M.P., of Monydrain, in hands of the late chief EDWARD LOUIS XXII, records deaths of Ann on 7th Aug. 1833, aged 91, and Elizabeth on 11th July 1835, aged 86; *Statement* as to relatives by JOHN XIX in *I.C.(A.)*, 19th Dec. 1828; *Scroll Disposition* of ? 1767 in *I.C.*; *I.C.*, 3rd April 1770; *I.C.* (now *Ardmarnock Charters*), 7th Aug. 1810, in *L.P.*, 1349, p. 394; *Bond*, 17th April 1766, in *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie: Adam)*, *Lamont v. Lamont*, 1789, bundle II, No. 58.

48. W. I. Addison, *Glasgow Matriculations* (1913), Nos. 1699-1701, Neil Munro, *Doom Castle* (1903), *passim*; *Snell Exhibitions* (1901), pp. 49-50, and *Alumni Oxonienses* (2nd series), iii, 812, in *L.P.*, 1257, 1260-1, pp. 365-6; there was a Lamont at Cambridge as early as 1664, see above, p. 245; *I.C.*, 1st Aug. 1768; Mortimer's *Universal Director* (London, 1763), p. 42.

49. Addison's *Matriculations*, No. 1139; see below, p. 330, and above, p. 286; another grandson of old John of Belfast, namely, John, eldest son of Joseph, merchant in County Down, matriculated in 1763, Addison, No. 2212; *C.L.J.*, iii, 599; *Scots Magazine* (1764), xxvi, 292; *I.C.*, 1st Aug. 1768; John was at Ardlamont in September 1761, *Argyll Sasines*, 21st Sept. 1761, ix, 285; Lorne Campbell's *Songs of the Forty-Five*, pp. 39-40, 155-9.

50. See Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 80, 86-7; Addison's *Matriculations*, Nos. 1700-1; *Territorial Soldiering* (ed. for New Spalding Club, 1914), pp. 7, 17-20; *Scots Magazine* (1759), xxi, 665, (1760) xxii, 222, and (1764) xxvi, 292; Stewart's *Sketches*, i, 179, ii, 82; *Laing Charters*, 27th Oct. 1760, in *L.P.*, 1264, p. 367; *Snell Exhibitions* as in note 48, above; see also *C.L.J.*, iii, 600, and Knockdow's 1899 *Lecture*, p. 45; *I.C.*, 17th July and 1st Nov. 1766; *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 41, 55; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th Mar. 1783, No. 406; the two young Archibalds are represented as one in *C.L.J.*, iii, 600.

51. See below, pp. 414-415; *I.C.*, 27th July 1766; Nicolson, p. 282; see above, p. 27; *Session Papers* in *Lamont v. Burnet*, 1791, Blair Collection in Advocates' Library, vol. 44, No. 5, *Answers* of 30th June 1791; *I.C.*, 6th Aug. and 16th Sept. 1766; *Duntroon Charters*, 1760, in *Genealogist* (1918), xxxiv, 212; see also *Argyll Inhibitions*, 9th Nov. 1753, in *L.P.*, 1246, p. 362, and *I.C.*, 14th May 1762.

52. See below, pp. 469-470; *Kilfinan Births*, 1767, in *C.L.J.*, i, 127; Nicolson, p. 163; *I.C.(A.)*, 5th Jan. 1767; *Kilmodan Kirk Session Registers*, 1753, cited in Brown's *Cowal*, p. 101; *Inventory of 1774*, in *I.C.*, III, 23 and 13; *Kilfinan Births*, 1742, in *C.L.J.*, i, 84; Peter was doubtless the smuggler of foreign spirits referred to on 7th Sept. 1764 in *Rothsay Town Council Records, 1653-1766*, ii, 869; copy *Will* in hands of Col. Wm. Lamont, Ardrishaig, dated 23rd Nov. 1821 and proved 27th Oct. 1823, narrating testator left Scotland for Virginia between 50 and 60 years before.

53. *Scroll Disposition of ? 1767*, in *I.C.*; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1767), xxxvii, 610; *Scots Magazine* (1767), xxix, 669; *Mural Tablet* on east wall of Kilfinan Vault; *I.C.*, 10th Mar., 15th July, and 15th Sept. 1768, and *Services of Heirs*, 15th July 1768, in *L.P.*, 1271-4, p. 369; Lorne Campbell, pp. 129, 221.

CHAPTER XV.

1. The portrait is in the possession of Captain Jones, see note 1 to chap. ix and p. 335, below; 22 Geo. III cap. 63; J. Balfour Paul, *History of Royal Company of Archers* (1875), p. 369; *Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland*, vol. i (1899), Nos. 106, 189; for signet see *letter* in *I.C.* (c. 1768) and in *Process* as in note 5 below for 1778-9 and 7th Jan. 1789. The quotations in the preceding paragraph are from Lorne Campbell's *Songs of the Forty-Five*, pp. 123, 171, and the Gaelic phrase (for the heir and the next in succession) is from Osgood Mackenzie, *Hundred Years in the Highlands*, p. 179.

2. Senex in *Glasgow Past and Present* (1884), i, 420; *I.C.*, 14th May 1777, addressed to him at the Smyrna Coffee House (as to which see H. B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present* (1891), iii, 258); *I.C.(A.)*, 1st Aug. 1768; Osgood Mackenzie, pp. 174, 176; Nicolson, p. 362.

3. James Robertson, *MS. Remarks (on) Western Isles and West Coast of Scotland* (1768), in *Communications to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1785-99), ii, 16-7, under date 12th June 1788; see Sir A. Mitchell, *A List of Travels, etc. relating to Scotland*, in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* (1900-1), xxxv, 509, No. 160, and (1897-8) xxxii, 11; "Yasigan" is marked on Jas. Dorret's *Map of 1750* in a position corresponding to that of Evanachan, but in Lieut. Campbell's *New Map of Scotland of 1790* the place in that position is spelt "Yasican," while "Yasigan" is shown farther north on a line between Minard and Loch Eck head (where Barnacarry is on modern maps); it seems most likely on the whole that he reached the loch side at Evanachan; for Tobar-fowar, see above, p. 14.

4. *I.C.*, 15th Mar., 15th July, and 15th Sept. 1768, and *Services of Heirs*, 15th July 1768, in *L.P.*, 1271-4, p. 369; (see also for Achadachoun, *I.C.(A.)*, 29th July 1769, and *I.C.*, 20th Nov. 1784, for new infeftment blench, *I.C.*, 6th Aug. 1771 and 19th Sept. 1772, in *L.P.*, 1284-5, 1287, pp. 371-3, and *Signatures*, 6th Aug. 1771, box 102, No. 23, and for teind valuation *Decrees of Teind Valuations*, 19th July 1769, xlvi, 199); *I.C.*, [19] Feb. 1770; as to Inveraray see Thos. Pennant, *Tour in Scotland, 1769* (5th ed., 1790), i, 239, and Jas. Boswell, *Journal of a Tour in the Hebrides*, 23rd Oct. 1773; the purchasing power of the £ Scots in 1770 has been estimated equivalent to the purchasing power of the £ sterling in 1936, McArthur's *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769, p. xiii, note.

5. *Gentleman's Magazine* (1768), xxxviii, 250; *Scots Magazine* (1768), xxx, 336, 614; *I.C.(A.)*, 25th Oct. 1768; see above, pp. 308-10; *Scots Magazine* (1770), xxxii, 399; *I.C.(A.)*, 25th Feb. 1771; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1771), xli, 427; the Alexander apparently referred to as John XVIII's brother in the tailor's account, in *I.C.*, 1st Aug. 1768, must surely have been Archibald, unless it was the factor; *I.C.(A.)*, 17th Nov. 1765, 1st Nov. 1766, 3rd Apr., 11th Oct., and 16th Nov. 1770, and 5th Mar. 1777; *Account* of 4th July 1793, and *Certificate* of 9th Nov. 1792, in *Unextracted Processes* (*Mackenzie: Adam*), *Lamont v. Lamont*, 1789, bundle II, No. 58; see below, pp. 432-3.

6. *I.C.*, [19] Feb. 1770; *Orderly Book*, as in note 5 to next chapter, *letter* of 2nd June 1818, p. 154; *I.C.*, 5th Mar. 1789, 10th Nov. 1811, and 9th Apr. 1777; and *I.C.(A.)*, and *I.C.(L.-C.)*, as in note 11 below; Pennant's *Tour* of 1772, ii, 180; see above, p. 307; *Inventory* of 1774, in *I.C.*, iii, 30; *Old Statistical Account* (1795), xiv, 254-5; Smith's *Agricultural Survey of Argyleshire* (1798), pp. 240 ff.; Knockdow's 1909 *Lecture*, pp. 30-1; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th Mar. 1783, No. 406; Nicolson, p. 159; *Old Statistical Account* (1792), ii, 391, v, 464; see Stewart's *Sketches*, i, 94, 121 ff., and Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 264-7; Osgood Mackenzie, pp. 218-22.

6a. Osgood Mackenzie, pp. 11, 16, 176; Neil Munro, *Children of Tempest*, p. 201; see also Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 255; Lorne Campbell's *Songs of the Forty-Five*, p. 223; *cp.*, however, Osgood Mackenzie, pp. 186-7, 190; the practice of shieling was abandoned on the Breadalbane estates in Perthshire between 1769 and 1794, McArthur's *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769, p. lviii.

7. *I.C.(A.)*, 19th Dec. 1772; *Old Statistical Account* (1795), xiv, 252, 242, 236.

8. *Ibid.*, xiv, 235-6, 241; see Argyll's *Scotland*, *passim*; the saying means "good is not done without grief," see Nicolson, p. 95; *Quarterly Review* (1816), xiv, 233; McArthur's *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769, pp. lxix, lxxi, lxxiii, tells the same tale of an inevitable raising of rents, importation of new tenants, decrease in population, and reduction of arable.

9. *Tour to the Hebrides* (Oxford, 1924), p. 81; see below, p. 469, and above, p. 311; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Nov. 1766 and 25th Aug. 1775, former also in *Dunoon Charters*, x and xxii, 27; *I.C.(A.)*, 25th Oct. 1768.

10. *Old Statistical Account* (1795), xiv, 248; ii, 287 ff., 385; as to ferry charges, see note 40 to last chapter, as to depopulation, see above, p. 307.

11. *I.C.(A.)*, 25th and 28th Feb. 1771, 22nd Oct. 1773, 18th Feb. and 15th Mar. 1774, and 27th Aug. 1775; *I.C.*, 9th Apr. 1771; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 27th Aug. 1775, 6th Mar. 1783, Nos. 405-6; *I.C.(A.)*, 3rd Apr. 1780, 25th Feb. and 27th Apr. 1762, and 12th Apr. 1758; *Session Papers*, as in note 14 below; see Nicolson, p. 337, for *pàidhidh am feaman am fiarach*; late Ballochyle's 1875 *Lecture* (Rothesay, 1901), pp. 14, 15; see Osgood Mackenzie, pp. 212-8; *I.C.(A.)*, 3rd Apr. 1782, as to Coustoun; see *Old Statistical Account* (1795), xiv, 240-1, 243, 245, note; for terms of contemporary leases in Breadalbane see McArthur's *Survey of Lochtayside*, 1769, pp. lxiv-lxvi, and see above, pp. 305-6.

12. *I.C.*, 3rd, 12th, and 13th Oct. 1771, 19th Sept. 1772, 23rd and 26th Mar., and 11th Apr. 1774; *Argyll Sasines*, 24th Mar. and 11th Apr. 1774, xi, 21-2, 24, 43-4, in *L.P.*, 1290-4, pp. 374-5; *Argyll Sasines*, 16th Oct. 1772, x, 424; *Scots Magazine* (1772), xxxiv, 399; Sir Chas. E. Adam, *Political State of Scotland* (1887), pp. 20, 43-9, 283, in *C.L.J.*, iv, 195-7.

13. *Scots Magazine* (1773), xxxv, 445; *Deeds*, 25th June 1817, cxv, 448; *Old Statistical Account* (1795), xiv, 235, note; *I.C.(A.)*, 15th Mar. 1774; *Knockdow Charters*, 15th Apr. 1774, i, 17 (and *Lamont Cartulary*, 15th Apr. 1774, fol. 8), in *L.P.*, 1295, p. 375; *Account* in note 5 above; *Inverchaolain Births*, 1774, in *C.L.J.*, ii, 206; *Letter* of 24th Jan. 1819, in *Orderly Book*, p. 183; Williamson's *Edinburgh Directory*, 1773-4, has no entries, for 1774-5 see p. 54, and 1780-1 p. 52; *St Cuthbert's Churchyard Inscriptions* (1915), No. 623; *Edinburgh Marriages*, 15th Nov. 1772, p. 410, for earlier Lamonts in Edinburgh, see above, p. 290. The chief was still at Ardlamont on 25th Feb. 1771, *I.C.(A.)*.

14. *I.C.(A.)*, 27th Aug. 1775, and 15th Nov. 1776; *I.C.*, 28th Feb. 1775; *Campbell Session Papers* (Adv. Lib.), in *Lamont v. Heritors of Kilfinan*, 1777, vol. xxxi, No. 106; *I.C.*, 8th Feb. 1776; *Inverchaolain Births*, 1776, in *C.L.J.*, ii, 207; *Account* as in note 5 above, and *letter* in same *Process* of 3rd Nov. 1795; *Scots Magazine* (1776), xxxviii, 110; an Alexander Lamont, soldier in the 71st regiment, was married in Edinburgh on 21st May 1781, *Edinburgh Marriages*, p. 410.

15. *I.C.*, 29th Apr. 1776 (in *Deeds*, 6th Feb. 1789), 5th Aug. 1777 and 12th Nov. 1765; *Glasgow Past and Present*, i, 505-10; Stewart's *Sketches*, i, 355, ii, 90-1; *C.L.J.*, iii, 600, No. 12; *Process* as in note 5 above; *Old Statistical Account* (1795), xiv, 252; *I.C.*, 12th June 1776; *C.L.J.*, iii, 599, No. 11; *Statement*, by JOHN XIX, attached to *I.C.(A.)*, 19th Dec. 1828; *I.C.*, 25th Jan. 1783; *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 67; see below, p. 469.

16. Stewart's *Sketches*, ii, 90-1, i, 53; *C.L.J.*, iii, 600, Nos. 12-13; *Laing Charters*, 16th Nov. 1777, No. 3244, in *L.P.*, 1297, p. 376; *Glasgow Matriculations*, 1755, No. 1701; *Scots Magazine* (1777), xxxix, 510, and (1778), xl, 55, 334-5; see above, p. 289, and *Life of T. W. Lamont*, pp. 6, 10-11; *Process* as in note 5 above, and *draft* of 21st Feb. 1778 therein; *Glasgow Mercury*, June 1778; *I.C.*, 14th May 1777; *cp.*, as to recruiting in north-west, Osgood Mackenzie, p. 62; Nicolson, p. 4, *a' b-uile fear a théid a dholaidh, gheabh e dolar o Mhac-Aoidh*; *Dunoon Deeds*, 8th Apr. 1779, in *L.P.*, 1470, p. 438; *Inverchaolain Births*, 1778 and 1780, in *C.L.J.*, ii, 233-4.

17. *I.C.*, 16th Nov. 1770, 3rd and 13th Oct. 1771; *ibid.*, 19th Sept. 1772, in *L.P.*, 1287, p. 373; *ibid.*, 23rd Mar. 1774, 28th Feb. 1775, and 3rd Apr. 1780; *I.C.(A.)*, 15th Nov. 1776; see above, p. 40; *Inverchaolain Births*, 1743, in *C.L.J.*, ii, 66; *Knockdow Charters*, 15th Nov. 1786, V, 16, in *L.P.*, 1319, p. 382; *I.C.(A.)*, 23rd July 1786; Angus was in Ardlamont in 1784, *I.C.*, 20th Nov. 1784.

18. *I.C.(A.)*, 23rd Oct. 1790; *I.C.*, 20th Dec. 1790; Brown's *Cowal*, p. 117; *Kilfinan Births*, 1776, 1780, 1782, 1784, 1788, 1792, 1797, in *C.L.J.*, i, 145-7, 174-5, 206. As to Angus, see *Inverchaolain Marriages and Births*, 1782, in *C.L.J.*, ii, 235; *Knockdow Place Names in Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1925-7), xxxiii, 218-9. Colin Campbell, writer in Inveraray, replaced John McAllister as factor about this time, see *I.C.*, *passim*, and *Session Papers* in *Alston v. Lamont*, 1828, in W.S. Library, vol. 573, No. 7. For Dugald, see *Rothsay Births*, 1773; for Archibald, weaver, in 1762 and Dugald, seaman, in 1764 see *Rothsay Town Council Records*, ii, 848, 868.

19. *Scots Magazine* (1785), xlvii, 257, and (1792), liv, 414; *Rothsay Marriages*, 1785; see above, pp. 308-9; absence is indicated in *I.C.*, 23rd July 1786, 9th July 1787, and 8th June 1791, and *Lamont Cartulary*, 15th Dec. 1789, fol. 30; but it is clear from the *Old Statistical Account* (1795), xiv, 233, 238, that he must have been there some years

before that date; see below, p. 469; *Mural Tablet*, on west wall, 21st Sept. 1794; *I.C.*, 19th Sept. 1806; see note 32 below, and below, p. 349.

20. *I.C.*, 12th May 1777; the claimant is described as follows: "Archd. Neil Lamont son nephew of Archd. Lamont formerly your tenant in this farme," *i.e.* Ardlamont; see below, p. 459, and above, p. 291; the chief had the marches delineated in 1775 as if he were absolute proprietor, *I.C.(A.)*, 25th Nov. 1776.

21. See above, p. 289, and below, p. 474; *C.L.J.*, iii, 341; R. Heron's *Journey through Scotland* (1793), ii, 107-10; *Old Statistical Account* (1792), ii, 235-8; W. A. Stark, *Book of Kirkpatrick-Durham* (1903), pp. 118-9.

22. See below, p. 432; *I.C.* and *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, vol. ccxxvii, 13th June 1780; *Knockdow Charters and I.C.*, 22nd June 1791; *I.C.(A.)*, 20th Dec. 1790 and 31st Jan. 1820; *I.C.*, 20th Dec. 1790; see also *Lamont v. Duke of Argyll*, 1813, *Faculty Collection*, 23rd June 1813, xvii, 396, see also xix, 771, and 6 Paton's Appeals, 410.

23. *Political State*, 1788, p. 44, in *C.L.J.*, iv, 195; see Nicolson, p. 322, *na àireamb a chaoidh an t-iasg gus an tig e as a' mhuir*; *P.C.C. Bishop*, 90, 19th Feb. 1790, *Edinburgh Testaments*, 3rd May 1790 and 28th May 1795, in *L.P.*, 1324-25, 1329, pp. 383-5; *Session Papers in Lamont v. Burnett*, Blair Collection (Adv. Lib.), vol. 44, No. 5; *Lamond v. Lamond*, 1776, in Morison's *Dictionary*, pp. 12, 991, and appendix, p. 1, also *Faculty Collection*, vii, 262; *Family of Burnett of Leys* (ed. George Burnett for New Spalding Club, 1901), p. 125.

24. *Scots Magazine* (1779), xli, 53; *I.C.*, 5th Feb. 1779; *Services of Heirs*, 13th Nov. 1783, in *L.P.*, 1313, p. 380; see above, p. 267; *I.C.*, 25th Aug. 1780; *Tombstone at Madras*, 14th Nov. 1780, in *Scottish Notes and Queries* (3rd series), viii, 140; *State Papers (Foreign: India)*, 1772-85, iii, 973; *Process* as in note 5, above; see also *Session Papers* in W.S. Library in *Ralston v. Lamont*, vol. 418, No. 48, and *Faculty Collection*, 23rd May 1792, x, 443, Morison's *Dictionary*, p. 1533; *Deeds*, 16th July 1789; *I.C.*, 14th Dec. 1788; *Principal Probate Registry, P.C.C.*, 330, Major, 1st Nov. 1785; *I.C.*, 20th Feb. 1786, see also 19th Jan. 1789; *C.L.J.*, iii, 600; *Robroyston Mementoes among I.C.*; *Scots Magazine* (1793), lv, 307; *Glasgow Matriculations*, 1795, No. 5678.

25. *Laing Charters*, 20th Nov. 1782, No. 3257, in *L.P.*, 1312, p. 380; *Scots Magazine* (1782), xliv, 671, xlix, 517; Stewart's *Sketches*, ii, 90-1; *C.L.J.*, iv, 16; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1787), lvii (ii), 935; *I.C.*, 25th Jan. 1783, when he was abroad; *I.C.(A.)*, 19th Dec. 1828, which states he was a Brigadier-General; *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 67; see also *Glasgow Matriculations*, 1755, No. 1701, *C.L.J.*, iii, 600, No. 12, and Knockdow's 1899 *Lecture*, pp. 45-6.

26. See below, p. 435; *C.L.J.*, iii, 600, Nos. 14-15; Stewart's *Sketches*, i, 433, 479, in *L.P.*, 1339, p. 390, and ii, app. lix; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1802), lxxii (i), 277; *Deeds*, 27th Nov. 1802; Knockdow's 1899 *Lecture*, pp. 46-7; see above, p. 38; *I.C.*, 7th Sept. 1791; *G.R.S.*, 9th Sept. 1791, vol. 493, fol. 199; as to West Indies, see above, pp. 247, 289, 311, *Scots Magazine* (1788), l, 414, *Memorial Inscriptions of British West Indies* (ed. J. H. L. Archer, 1875), p. 326 (as to 1801), in *C.L.J.*, iii, 395, and *Session Papers in Berry v. Lamond*, 1806, in W.S. Library, vol. 491, No. 58. As to Neil and Archibald, see *P.C.C. Administration Act Book*, 10th Feb. 1798, in *L.P.*, 1335, p. 389; *C.L.J.*, iii, 600, No. 16; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th Mar. 1783, No. 406; this Archibald is confused with the other in *C.L.J.*, iii, 599, No. 11, the last item of which applies to him; see also perhaps *I.C.*, 17th July 1766, and above, p. 310.

27. Lorne Campbell's *Songs of the Forty-Five*, pp. 141, 89, 221-2; Duncan Ban Macintyre is the poet referred to; apparently the new breeches were knee breeches; the old highland long trews were also referred to as breeches, *Edinburgh Commissary Decrees*, 10th Dec. 1728, iii, 286 at p. 299.

28. Lorne Campbell, pp. 278-9, 283, 237, note; see below, p. 335.

29. *Lamont v. Johnston, Armstrong & Co.*, 1785, Morison's *Dictionary*, p. 2027, and *Faculty Collection*, 2nd July 1785, ix, 345, incompletely transcribed in *L.P.*, 1317, p. 381; John Kay's *Original Portraits* (1837), i, 284, and note; the drill sergeant was alive and over 80 in 1827; *List of Deans of Guild* on walls of Court Room in Edinburgh City Chambers; Williamson's *Edinburgh Directory*, 1786-8, p. 51, 1788-90, p. 57, 1790-2, p. 57 (which gives St Andrew's Street not Square, and Mrs Lamont, room setter, St Ann's Street, as well as those mentioned above, p. 321); *Glasgow Mercury*, 21st Jan. 1794; *Edinburgh Marriages*, 18th Nov. 1794, p. 61; *C.L.J.*, iii, 599, No. 10; *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1798, cited in Thos. Dunlop's *Notes*.

30. *C.L.J.*, i, 225-6, ii, 49; Strang's *Glasgow and Its Clubs*, p. 136, for period 1780 to 1799; *Glasgow Past and Present*, iii, 267-71; John Tait's *Directory for Glasgow*, 1783 (reprinted 1871), pp. 43, 90, 94; *Scots Magazine* (1794), lvi, 656; *Glasgow Directory* (1802), p. 51; *Inverchaolain Tombstones*, 1780; *Argyllshire Testaments*, 26th Aug. 1789; see above, p. 290; *Unextracted Processes (Cosmo Innes Office)*, *Lamont v. Hamilton*, 1784, VII, 4, and (*Forbes Skene Office*) *Lamont v. Edwards*, 1784, XIII, 12; *Scots Magazine* (1792), liv, 310; *Edinburgh Directories*, as in last note, and 1793-4, p. 64, and 1794-6, p. 87 (including Daniel Lamond, spirit dealer); *Edinburgh Marriages*, 9th Apr. 1785, p. 41; *The Chronicle of Fife* (Edinburgh, 1810), advertisement; new edition entitled *The Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton* (Maitland Club, 1830), prefatory notice.

31. *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie: Currie Office)*, *Robert Lamont v. Creditors*, 1781, II, 15; *Northumberland Marriages*, 1777-1801 (in Newcastle Public Library), shows an Alex. and a Wm. Lamont married in Newcastle in 1771, a "Ric Lamon" in Alnham, in 1786, and a Jas. McLaiman in Alston, in 1802; *Glasgow Matriculations*, No. 1139; *Scots Magazine* (1789), li, 520, and (1799) lxi, 909; W. Pitcairn Anderson, *Silences that Speak* (Edr. 1931), pp. 402-5; *Edinburgh Testaments*, 10th Jan. 1800, vol. 131 (2).

32. Hope's *Session Papers*, in Advocates' Library, in *Lamont v. Kibble and Ors.*, 1787, vol. iv, Nos. 33-41; *Lamont v. Alston*, 1787, Morison's *Dictionary*, pp. 8, 766, and *Faculty Collection*, ix, 492; *I.C.*, 30th June, 25th July, 3rd Aug., 6th Aug. and 7th Sept. 1791, 21st Feb., 1st and 15th Mar. 1792, in *G.R.S.*, 492.257, 493.35, 38, 40, 199, 499.273, 500.99, 111; see *I.C.*, *passim*, especially 19th Jan. 1789; see below, pp. 433-434; he may perhaps have been at Ardlamont when there died there on 12th August 1792 a "Euphemia Lamont, daughter of James (*sic*) Lamont Esq. of Lamont," who was presumably his daughter, although otherwise unknown to record, *Scots Magazine* (1792), liv, 414, he was there six months before February 1803, *Petition of James Lamont*, 1805, in *Process* in note 48 below.

33. *Old Statistical Account* (1792), ii, 389; *ibid.* (1795), xiv, 261, 252-3, 231, 245, 250-1; *Dunoon Deeds*, 12th Apr. 1787, vol. xix, in *L.P.*, 1472, p. 438.

34. *O.S.A.*, xiv, 262; Osgood Mackenzie, p. 15; Smith's *Agricultural Survey*, as quoted in Knockdow's *1909 Lecture*, p. 28; see Neil Munro, *Children of Tempest*, p. 27; see above, pp. 273, 283; *O.S.A.*, xiv, 255, 239 n., 240, 237-9, 243; cp. *Records of*

Invercauld (New Spalding Club, 1901), p. 349; see above, p. 227, and below, p. 433; *O.S.A.*, xiv, 240, 245, 231, 237, 232; see Argyll's *Scotland*, i, 259-60.

35. *O.S.A.*, xiv, 232-3; Neil Munro, *The Lost Pibroch*, pp. 78-9.

36. See above, p. 302; *O.S.A.*, xiv, 246-8; see Osgood Mackenzie, pp. 173, 174, and above, pp. 301, 319.

37. *O.S.A.*, ii, 390; *Session Papers*, in *Alston v. Lamont*, 1820, in W.S. Library, vol. 513, No. 7; *O.S.A.*, xiv, 238; *I.C.*, 28th Feb. and 22nd May 1775; *O.S.A.*, xiv, 233; *I.C.(A.)*, 15th Nov. 1776; *Dunoon Deeds*, 8th Apr. 1779, in *L.P.*, 1470, p. 438; Nicolson, p. 5.

38. See above, p. 321; *Glasgow Matriculations*, 1792, No. 5382; *C.L.J.*, iii, 600, No. 17; *Territorial Soldiering* (New Spalding Club, 1914), p. 187; Knockdow's 1899 *Lecture*, p. 48; Tullibardine's *Military History of Perthshire* (Perth, 1908), i, 182, 184, in *L.P.*, 1337, p. 390; J. Macmaster Campbell, *Correspondence of Lt.-Gen. Campbell of Kintarbert*, 1762-1837, pp. 19-21; he attempted to purchase a majority in the Caledonian Volunteers in 1796-8, but this fell through, *Session Papers*, in *Macdonald v. Lamont*, 1802, in W.S. Library, vol. 466, No. 46; see above, pp. 117, 125.

39. *C.L.J.*, iii, 601, Nos. 18-20; see above, pp. 144-5; *Territorial Soldiering*, pp. 266-7; *Public Record Office, W.O.*, 31, 1st Mar. 1796; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1802), lxxii (ii), 684; see below, p. 341.

40. *Edinburgh Marriages*, 26th May 1797, iii, 411; *Scots Magazine* (1797), lix, 431; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1797), lxxvii, 527; Hope Collection of *Session Papers* in Advocates' Library, *Lamont's Trs. v. Porch*, 1850, vol. 376, No. 12; *I.C.*, 23rd Mar. 1796; *Edinburgh Directories* as in next note; information and photograph from Knockdow; *C.L.J.*, iv, 132-3; the late chief's miniatures included one of Duncan Campbell of Ross; John Leyden, *Tour of the Highlands in 1800* (1903), p. 66 (in Knockdow's 1926 *Lecture*, p. 14, and *C.L.J.*, iv, 73-4); R. R. McLan and James Logan, *The Clans of the Scottish Highlands* (London, 1845), vol. i, *ad finem*; Wm. Lamont, *The Lamont Tartan* (Glasgow, 1924), p. 15; *Mural Tablet* on east wall of Kilfinan vault; see below, p. 360.

41. Information from Mrs Lamont Campbell and Captain Jones, in whose possession is the accessible portrait referred to; *C.L.J.*, i, 5; Aitchison's *Edinburgh and Leith Directories*, 1800, pp. 173-4, 1801, p. 131; *Edinburgh Directories*, 1804 and 1805; *Canongate Marriages*, 3rd Nov. 1797, p. 287; see above, p. 321.

42. See *Old Statistical Account*, xiv, 243, and Smith's *Survey of Argyleshire*, p. 305; *Session Papers* in *Alston v. Lamont*, 1820, in W.S. Library, vol. 573, No. 7; *I.C.*, 28th June 1798; *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 14th Jan. 1799; *Lamont Cartulary*, 7th Aug. 1799, fol. 35, and 5th May 1806, fol. —; *I.C.*, 13th June 1801; *South Hall Charters*, 1st June, 7th Aug., and 20th Sept. 1799; see Brown's *Cowal*, p. 106.

43. *Rental* of 1801, in *I.C.*; *ibid.*, 10th and —th Nov. 1811; *Inventory of Ardmarnock Titles*, 1851; *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, 26th June 1805; see above, p. 318; *Letter* of 26th Apr. 1818 in *Orderly Book*, p. 148; John M. Leighton, *Select Views on the River Clyde* (1830), p. 135; inscription on wooden crown at Dungavel, Strathaven, Lanarkshire, and photograph kindly provided by Lord George Nigel Douglas Hamilton; see above, p. 206.

44. See below, p. 436; and Knockdow's *1902 Lecture*, p. 16; *Dunoon Births and Marriages*, and *Inverchaolain Marriages, passim*; information from Mrs Margt. Lamont Goodall, 64 Lauderdale Gardens, Hyndland, Glasgow, one of the stock referred to, a member of Council of the Clan Society from 1930 to 1935; as to McPhorichs see above, p. 255, and below, p. 340.

45. *Prize Essays and Transactions of Highland Society*, vol. i, p. lxxxix, ii, 40, 47; *Perthshire Military History*, i, 182-4, in *L.P.*, 1337, p. 390; see above, note 32; Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. ii, app. xvi, lxx; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1805), lxxv (i), 577; *C.L.J.*, iii, 600, No. 17; Knockdow's *1899 Lecture*, p. 48; Burke's *Landed Gentry* for 1863, p. 633, and for 1925, p. 1047; *Deeds*, 9th Jan. 1817, civ, 318, 320; photograph supplied by Mrs Lamont Campbell; see above, pp. 46-7, 3.

46. *Kilfinan Births*, 1806 and 1814, in *C.L.J.*, i, 233, ii, 11; *Kilfinan Marriages*, 1806; *Scots Magazine* (1807), lxix, 76, (1811), lxxiii, 157, and (1814), lxxvi, 956; Burke's *Landed Gentry* for 1863, p. 833; *Session Papers* as in note 40, above; *C.L.J.*, and *Lecture* as in last note; *Letters* of 25th June to 3rd Aug. 1814, in *Orderly Book*, pp. 118-34; mutilated *Commission* in *I.C.*, between 1814 and 1817; a John Lamond from Braemar, who has descendants in Tasmania, also fought, as a cadet, at Corunna, see *C.L.J.*, ii, 20-1, 72, 103, 133; see also chap. xvi, note 2.

47. *Letter* of 2nd Aug. 1818, in *Orderly Book*, pp. 161-3; *I.C.*, 21st July 1801, and 4th Dec. 1812; *South Hall Charters*, 11th Oct. 1813; *St George's Marriage Register*, 29th Oct. 1809, in *L.P.*, 1347, p. 393; information from late chief; *Deeds*, 9th Jan. 1817, civ, 359, 336; *I.C.*, 4th Dec. 1812, *et passim*; *Orderly Book, passim*; *letters* of 2nd March and 22nd Nov. 1818, *ibid.*, pp. 139, 166.

48. *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie: Currie Office), Lamont v. Lamont*, 1802, III, 15; see below, pp. 388, 392; *Session Papers* in W.S. Library, in *Carmichael v. Lamont*, 1818, vol. 514, No. 62.

49. *Process and Session Papers* as in note 24, above; *I.C.*, 15th May 1809; *Bell v. Lamont*, 14th June 1814, Faculty Collection, xvii, 645, and *Session Papers* in W.S. Library, vol. 487, No. 22; *I.C.*, 12th Nov. 1811; see above, p. 274; *Lamont v. Duke of Argyll*, 23rd June 1813, F.C., xvii, 396, and 1819 6 Paton's Appeals, 410; Jas. Bridges, *Political State of Scotland* (1812), pp. 14-6, in *C.L.J.*, iv, 194; *ibid.*, iii, 601, No. 18; see below, p. 435.

50. Thos. Dunlop's *Notes on Dunoon* (1885), p. 31; Brown's *Cowal*, pp. 124-9; Ballochyle's *1875 Lecture*, p. 10; information from late Miss Christina Lamont, Breezy Cliff, Tarbert, Loch Fyne, a descendant of either Neil or John, and a member of the Society since 1897, in Knockdow's *1902 Lecture*, pp. 28-9; *C.L.J.*, ii, 191, iv, 86-7, 100, 157; see above, pp. 255, 337, as to McPhorichs; *Dunoon Births and Marriages, passim*; information in possession of Knockdow from Mrs Kinnye, an aunt of Col. Daniel and of Col. Wm. Lamont, Ardrishaig, from Mrs Daniel Lamont; Col. Daniel was an original member of the Society, and a Vice-President from 1898 to his death in 1905; from Robert's eldest son Archibald are descended the late Mrs Emma Louise Sparks or Dominick, a member since 1900, and her son Lamont Dominick of the New York Stock Exchange, who joined in 1914.

51. See above, pp. 329-30; *Scots Magazine* (1821), ix, 620, in *L.P.*, 1352, p. 396, and *C.L.J.*, i, 199, and iii, 653, No. 4; Knockdow's *1899 Lecture*, pp. 44-5.

52. *Dunoon Marriages*, 1817; *Argyll Testaments*, 1833; *Knockdow Charters*, 8th Aug. 1803, and 15th Jan. 1810, VII, 2, 12, in *L.P.*, 1340, 1348, pp. 391, 393; *Ardmarnock Charters*, 19th Dec. 1832 (No. 80 a lease); in the index to *L.P.* he is mistakenly identified with John Lamont of Cedar Grove, a cadet of Knockdow, for whom see below, p. 436; for Colin see below, pp. 433, 438; as to John Black, the information is from his descendant Rev. John E. Black, Drumchapel, and see above, p. 307, and as to Archibald from his descendant the late Lt.-Col. G. H. Black, V.D., of Rossie, Fife, a member since 1900 and on the Council from 1903 to 1930.

53. *C.L.J.*, iii, 652, No. 3, 653, No. 5; *Scots Magazine* (1803), lxxv, 588; Copy of *General Orders*, 2nd Apr. and 3rd May 1811, at Knockdow; *Memories of Susan Sibbald* (1783-1812) (ed. F. P. Hett, 1926), pp. 304-6; *Miscellaneous Papers and Letters* at Knockdow; *C.L.J.*, ii, 151, iii, 601 (No. 19), 636; see above, p. 334; *Memories of Susan Sibbald, 1783-1812* (ed. F. P. Hett, 1926), pp. 304-6; the Commissary's descendants include the late Arthur F. Lamont, Hereford, a member of the Society since 1902, and inaugurator and for long honorary editor of the *Journal*.

54. *C.L.J.*, i, 15, 22; Patrick Turner, *Gaelic Songs* (1813), p. 237; see above, p. 282; Sir Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* (1816), chap. xxx; see Neil Munro, *Children of Tempest*, p. 2.

55. Turner, p. 390; see below, p. 437; Hume on *Crimes* (1844 edn.), i, 465, note; *C.L.J.*, ii, 176, iv, 52; see above, pp. 282, 234; see *Services of Heirs*, 1846, No. 4, and below, pp. 353, 357.

56. *Deeds*, 25th June 1817, cxv, 448, 468; *I.C.*, 19th Sept. 1806; *I.C.* and *Ardmarnock Charters*, 7th Aug. 1810, in *Deeds*, 21st Feb. 1818, *Register of Tailzies*, 8th Feb. 1822, and *L.P.*, 1349, p. 394; see above, p. 337; *Deeds*, 9th Jan. 1817, civ, 339; *Petition* of 1805 in *Process* as in note 5, above.

57. *Deeds*, 9th Jan. 1817, civ, 318 ff., 362, 368, 376, 342; *Session Papers* as in note 42, above; *I.C.*, 2nd Feb. 1811; see above, pp. 112, 126; *Scots Magazine* (1817), lxxix, 80; *Letters* of 2nd Mar., 18th and 26th Apr., 17th May and 24th June 1818, in *Orderly Book*, pp. 139, 146, 148, 152-3, 157; Nicolson, p. 34, *an rud a bhios 'n ad bhroinn, cha bhi e 'n ad thiomnadh*; for details of debts see below, p. 350.

58. Information from Mrs Lamont Campbell; *Portrait* at Bideford, Devon, in *C.L.J.*, iv, 199, erroneously there attributed to his son and successor General JOHN XIX; the paper is the "*Statesman*," started in 1806, with the sub-title *Ich Dien*. *Letter* of 2nd Sept. 1818, in *Orderly Book*, p. 165; *C.L.J.*, ii, 212; *Service*, 10th Sept. 1816; *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 54; *G.R.S.*, 30th Nov. 1814, xxxviii, 28; *Monydrain Inventory*, 2nd Sept. and 11th Nov. 1816, and 12th Dec. 1814, Nos. 2-5; *I.C.*, 12th June 1810; John Strang, *Glasgow and Its Clubs* (1856), p. 331.

59. *Order in Council*, 7th Feb. 1888.

CHAPTER XVI

1. The portrait is among those in the possession of Captain Keith Jones, R.N., Army and Navy Club, Piccadilly, London, S.W. 1.

2. See above, p. 34; see *I.C.*, *passim*; information from Mr Norman Lamont, now residing at West Kilbride, a member since 1898; Stewart's *Sketches*, i, 127, note, ii, app., p. lxx; *C.L.J.*, iii, 600, No. 17.

3. *Letter* of 22nd Nov. 1818, in *Orderly Book* as in note 5 below, p. 166; see above, p. 338; *Kilfinan Births*, 1816, 1818; *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1863), p. 833; *Visit of King George IV* (1822), p. 87; *Edinburgh Directories*, 1821-2, p. 202, and 1828-9, p. 98, etc.; first 66 Frederick Street and then 15 Ainslie Place was the residence of Helen Campbell, Mrs Lamont.

4. *Statement* of 19th Dec. 1828, in *I.C.(A.)*; see above, pp. 310, 326-7; information from the Rev. John E. Black, Drumchapel, in whose family is cherished the tradition that Mary Lamont, first wife of Archibald, John's father, was sib to the chief.

5. *Letters* of 18th Apr., 17th May, 22nd June 1818, in *Orderly Book* of General JOHN XIX in possession of Mrs Lamont Campbell, pp. 146, 152, 154; *Notices, ibid.*, 16th and 19th Jan. 1817, pp. 135-7; *Letters, ibid.*, 11th Mar. and 2nd Aug. 1818, pp. 140, 163.

6. *Orderly Book, Letters* of 20th Feb., 2nd and 17th Mar., 9th May 1818, pp. 138-40, 143, 151; *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 103; *Letters* of 11th Mar. and 3rd Apr. 1818, pp. 140, 144; 16th Aug. 1819, pp. 179, 181; 11th, 17th and 29th Mar. 1818, pp. 141-2.

7. *Orderly Book, Letters* of 21st Apr. 1818, p. 146; 16th Aug. 1819, p. 179; 23rd Apr. 1818, p. 147; 17th and 29th Mar. and 16th Apr. 1818, pp. 141-5; 7th June 1818, p. 156; as regards Norman, see also *Letters* of 23rd Apr., 17th, 19th and 24th July, 2nd and 10th Aug., and 22nd Nov. 1818, pp. 147, 158-68, 30th Mar. and 17th June 1819, pp. 174-7.

8. *Ibid.*, 24th Jan. 1819, pp. 173-4; 22nd Nov. 1818-30th Mar. 1819, pp. 169-75; see below, pp. 358, 363; *Letter* of 7th June 1818, p. 155.

9. *Ibid.*, 2nd Aug. 1818, p. 163; 17th May 1818, pp. 152-3; 12th Apr. 1818, p. 150; 30th Mar. 1819, p. 175; *Session Papers*, below, note 10; *Letter*, 27th Feb. 1820, pp. 182-3; see above, p. 336.

10. *Session Papers* in *Alston v. Lamont* (1820), in W.S. Library, vol. 573, No. 7; *Otter Charters (Inveryne)*, 21st June 1820, 20th Dec. 1842; it was a judicial sale at the instance of a bankrupt's creditors in terms of 54 Geo. III, cap. 137, section 7; information from Mr Norman Lamont, as in note 2 above, and from Rev. John E. Black, Drumchapel; see below, p. 415; *Ardmarnock Inventory*, Nos. 10-13, 1808-27, referring also to a John Lamont, crofter in Achadalvory in 1808; see above, pp. 244, 247.

11. *Session Papers*, as in last note; information from Mr Jas. F. Lamont, Sunderland, an original member of the Society, and a descendant of this Peter; *Session Papers*, as in last note; *Argyll's Scotland*, ii, 257.

12. See below, p. 436; *Letters* of 5th Aug. 1818 and 9th May 1820, in *Orderly Book*, pp. 154, 184; *C.L.J.*, iii, 412-3; from this John was descended the late Alexander Gilchrist, J.P., of Glasgow, a member of Council from 1914 to 1923, whose son Alexander Muir Gilchrist has now succeeded him on that body.

13. Information from Mr Allan McClymont Ure, Glasgow; Robert's descendant is Mr Gerard Black, L.D.S., Dublin, to whom the historian is also indebted for information; see above, notes 11 and 12.

14. *Visit of King George IV, 1822*, pp. 207, 63-4, 72, 87; see also *C.L.J.*, iii, 483; *Edinburgh Directories*, as in note 3 above; *Lamont Cartulary*, 3rd Aug. 1822, fol. 71; *Edinburgh Courant*, 18th May 1822; information from Knockdow; W. A. Stark, *Book of Kirkpatrick Durham* (1903), p. 120; see above, pp. 82, 94.

15. *Visit*, pp. 99, 119, 207; see above, pp. 322-3; *Visit*, pp. 210, 145, 147; *Diary*, as in note 23 below; *Edinburgh Courant*, 26th Aug. 1822; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1823), xciii (i), 216, (1824) xciv (ii), 175, (1830) c (ii), 462.

16. Wm. Roughead in *Juridical Review* (1931), xliii, 314; see note 24 to chap. viii; Stewart's *Sketches* (1822), vol. i, p. iv, and map; *C.L.J.*, iv, 16.

17. J. B. Paul, *Royal Company of Archers* (1875), p. 378; *Kilfinan Marriages*, 1828; *Statement* of 19th Dec. 1828 in *I.C.(A.)*; Amelia's portrait at Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, London, and Robroyston's in Bideford, Devonshire; *I.C.*, 12th June 1810, 3rd Feb. 1825; *Robroyston Mementoes* in *I.C.*; *New Statistical Account* (1845), vi, 407; *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* (ed. F. H. Groome, 1901), p. 1381; Mrs Lamont Campbell presented to the National Library of Scotland (MS. 13.2.26) the diary of Rev. Robert Landess who died in 1707, bound by Archibald his great-grandson and signed by him in 1813.

18. *New Statistical Account*, *ibid.*, 399; *Services of Heirs*, Jan. 1829, No. 66; Capt. Norman had himself served heir of entail to Capt. Coll in 1822 (*Services*, May 1822, No. 26), but Robroyston had a preferable right and in fact possessed till his death (see *Advertisement of Monydrain*, 1st July 1828, in hands of EDWARD LOUIS XXII); and Capt. Norman's eldest son succeeded in due course as heir not to his father but to Robroyston, *G.R.S.*, 27th Aug. 1834, vol. 1774, fol. 146; *Deeds*, 8th Apr. 1829, vol. 384, fol. 566, 573, 590; *Robroyston Titles*, 1829, 1902; see *Letter in Orderly Book*, 17th May 1818, p. 151, Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 157, and said *Advertisement*; these new-fangled steamboats were, of course, viewed with disgust by the godly, see *Glasgow Herald*, 13th Sept. 1937, p. 10.

19. Capt. Jas. Williamson, *The Clyde Passenger Steamer* (1904), pp. 53-5, 65, 350-1; *Trial of John Stuart* (Edinburgh, 1829), pp. 15-18; Wm. Roughead as above, pp. 311 ff., and *Glengarry's Way* (1922), p. 83; for an imaginative view of Castle Toward mansion, see Thos. Shepherd, *Modern Athens* (1829); Neil Munro, *The Clyde* (1907), pp. 158-9; Williamson, p. 78; Nicolson, p. 352; see above, pp. 293, 331.

20. *Scots Magazine* (1818), vol. 81, p. 132; see above, note 24 to chap. viii; *C.L.J.*, i, 11; see above, chap. iv and below, p. 460.

21. *Scotsman*, 11th Apr. 1839, p. 232; *Services*, May 1830, No. 47; Hope's *Session Papers* (Advocates' Library), vol. 376, No. 12; Burke's *Landed Gentry* for 1863, vol. ii, p. 833.

22. *Diary* in hands of EDWARD LOUIS XXII; *Parliamentary Poll Book*, p. 343, and *Tablet* on east side of Wells Cathedral cloisters, both in *L.P.*, 1391-2, p. 398; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1834), vol. i, p. 667; information from Knockdow and Rev. Mr MacInnes, Bishopbriggs; see above, pp. 28, 279; for his military career, see *C.L.J.*, iii, 601, No. 18.

23. *Miniatures and Diary* in hands of EDWARD LOUIS XXII; information from Mrs Lamont Campbell; *G.R.S.*, 27th Aug. 1834, vol. 1774, fol. 146, and 11th May 1836, 1848, 39; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1837), vol. vii, p. 650, and (1841) xvi, 88.

24. *Robroyston Titles*, 1830-5; *Dunoon Inventories*, 4th June 1841; information from Rev. John E. Black, Drumchapel; *C.L.J.*, iv, 77, 93; *Edinburgh Directories*, 1828-9, p. 98; 1832-3, p. 105, 1839-40, p. 64; by the last date Mrs General Lamont had removed to 24 Rutland Street; *Records of Faculty of Advocates*, 10th Feb. 1827; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1820), xc (ii), 273.

25. *C.L.J.*, iii, 602, No. 33; James Browne, *History of the Highlands* (1838), iv, 454-5, and plate; W. F. Skene, *Highlanders of Scotland* (1836), ii, 123-6 (1902 edn., p. 253).

26. Burke's *Landed Gentry* for 1863, vol. ii, p. 832, for 1925, p. 1047; *Session Papers* and *Diary* as in notes 22-3 above; information from Rev. John E. Black; see above, pp. 311-2; papers in hands of Col. Wm. Lamont, Ardrishaig; see *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1845), vii, 359, 364-5, 601, 593, 599; see below, p. 437; *Robroyston Titles*, 1840; *Glasgow Herald*, 7th Jan. 1837; *Services*, June 1837, No. 17; preface to *Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton, 1649-71* (Maitland Club, 1830), pp. vi-vii.

27. Burke, as in last note; *Deeds*, 14th Jan. 1840, vol. 632, fol. 690; *Kilfinan Births*, 1841; *C.L.J.*, iv, 186, 188, iii, 470, 476-7; *Edinburgh Directories*, as in note 24; Mrs General Lamont disappears from these at the same time as her mother-in-law; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1840), xiii, 556; information from Mrs Lamont Campbell.

28. Decree of Ranking and Preference in *Alston v. Lamont*, 20th Dec. 1842, in *Otter Titles*; *Robroyston Titles*, 21st Oct. 1902; *New Statistical Account* (1845), vi, 405.

29. Decree, as in last note; *Services of Heirs*, May 1830, Nos. 1-3; Corra in the older titles is reckoned a $7\frac{1}{2}$ merk land, the extra $2\frac{1}{2}$ merks being known as Calzochail, which now disappears.

30. *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 121; *New Statistical Account* (1845), vii (ii), 364.

31. *Kilfinan Marriages*, 1844; Burke, as in note 26 and 1925 edn., p. 284; there was also an eldest child of all, Adelaide Augusta (Harriet), who was born in 1847 and died in 1852, see Burke and *Mural Tablet* in note 35 below; *C.L.J.*, iii, 448-9; *Edinburgh Record of Inventories*, lxxiii, 939; Georgina's estate consisted of a bond of provision by JOHN XIX for £1000 and £919 of Royal Bank stock, which fell in to her brother and next of kin, Archibald James XX; *C.L.J.*, i, 230-1, ii, 64; photographs from EDWARD LOUIS XXII and Mrs Lamont Campbell; the chief's death certificate in 1862 bears "phthisis upwards of ten years," *Edinburgh (St Andrews)*, 1862, No. 282.

32. *Letter* of 23rd June 1853 in hands of late EDWARD LOUIS XXII; the Act is the well-known "Rosebery Act," 11 & 12 Vict. cap. 36.

33. *Genealogical Tree* in hands of and prepared in 1891 by Messrs Davidson & Syme, W.S., Charlotte Square, Edinburgh; information from EDWARD LOUIS XXII; *Pedigree* in *C.L.J.*, iii, 562-3; another daughter born on 7th June 1841 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, xvi, 88) does not seem to have survived; "*Times*," 23rd Jan. 1892, quoted in Knockdow's *1902 Lecture*, pp. 34-5.

34. 1848 Act as in note 32 above, section 2; *Tree* as in last note; information from EDWARD LOUIS XXII; Burke, as in note 26; see Argyll's *Scotland*, ii, 259.

35. Photograph and information from Mrs Lamont Campbell; death certificate as in note 31; "*Buteman*," 10th May 1862, and information from "Buteman" Office; Andrew McQueen, *Clyde River Steamers* (1923), pp. 9-11, Neil Munro, *The Brave Days* (1931), p. 61; Hugh McDonald, *Days at the Coast* (1857), pp. 356-8; *Tablet* No. 5 on north wall at Kilfinan and *inscription* at Ardlamont burial place (the "*Mary Jane*," as it happens, was named after an aunt of the late Lady Lamont of Knockdow, Lady Matheson of the Lewis).

36. Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1863 (4th edn.), ii, 832-3; *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ* (ed. Cosmo Innes for Maitland Club, 1854), ii (i), 49-54, see below, pp. 440, 441; *Dunoon Inventories*, 6th Nov. 1863; *G.R.S.*, 20th May 1873, xxxv, 169.
37. Information and photograph (from Bideford) supplied by Mrs Lamont Campbell; "*Scotsman*," 8th July 1864; *Robroyston Titles*, 10th May 1871; *C.L.J.*, i, 88, iv, 126; information from present Knockdow; death certificate as in note 31.
38. Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1925, pp. 1047, 284; *Genealogical Tree*, as in note 33; "*Scotsman*," 18th March 1884; *C.L.J.*, iii, 471, iv, 160, i, 129, iv, 14; information from Mrs Lamont Campbell; see above, pp. 30-1.
39. *Returns of Owners of Land in Scotland*, 1872-3 (1874), pp. 5, 13, 63, 106, 113, 124, 130, 153, 176, 199 (see also *C.L.J.*, iii, 396); *Deeds*, 14th Jan. 1840, vol. 632, fol. 610, and 23rd June 1862, vol. 1156, fol. 310; John Henry paid a rent for the furniture in Ardlamont; see above, pp. 31-2.
40. Information from Mrs Lamont Campbell; *C.L.J.*, as in note 39; Field-Marshal Earl Roberts of Kandahar, *Forty-one Years in India* (1897), chaps. 43 to 62; see also Rudyard Kipling, "*Ford o' Kabul River*."
41. See last note, and Neil Munro, *The Brave Days*, pp. 55-6.
42. Information from Mrs Lamont Campbell; *C.L.J.*, as in note 39; *Petition* (in S.S.C. Library), 13th June 1883; *Decree*, 17th July 1883, and Instrument of Disentail registered (*G.R.S.* and *Deeds*), 28th Aug. 1883, in *Ardmarnock Titles*; *Letter* of 12th Apr. 1818, in *Orderly Book*, p. 149.
43. Information from Mrs Lamont Campbell; *Advertisement* in next note; *Lamont Cartulary*, *passim*; *C.L.J.*, iii, 603, No. 38, iv, 160; see below, p. 444; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1925, p. 284; "*Scotsman*," 28th Jan. 1893; *Lamont Campbell v. Carter-Campbell*, 1893, 22 Rettie 260, under which the annuity was fixed at £2642, 5s. 9d. *per annum*, being one-third of the free rental £7950, 4s. 8d.
44. *Advertisement* in "*Scotsman*" of 20th May 1893; *Trial of A. J. Monson* (ed. John W. More for Notable British Trials series, 1908), pp. 150-2, 65-6, 220-4, 5 *et passim*; see also Wm. Roughead, *Rogues Walk Here* (London, 1934); *The Brave Days*, pp. 149 ff.
45. Information from Very Rev. Prof. Daniel Lamont and Mrs Lamont Campbell; *Trial*, pp. 257, 57, 39 *et passim*.
46. *Trial*, pp. 150-2; *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 224-250; *Ardmarnock Charters*, *passim*; *Robroyston Titles*, 21st Oct. 1902.
47. *C.L.J.*, iii, 603, No. 37; *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 238, 250; photograph from Mrs Lamont Campbell; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1925, p. 1047.
48. See Nicolson, p. 36; the quotation in the next paragraph is from Nicolson, p. 384; information from Mrs Lamont Campbell; the three estates were, of course, Ardlamont, Robroyston, and Possil.
49. See Nicolson, pp. 203, 44, 368.

CHAPTER XVII

1. See above, pp. 95, 62, 41-2, 45, 48, 24, 51, 56, and as to barons 69.
2. See above, p. 62, *cf.* 43; as to patronymic see Principal Peter Campbell, *An Account of the Clan Iver* (1873), p. 28, in *L.P.*, 1424, p. 415, where the learned author says "called patronymically *MacShombairleadh* (sometimes written and pronounced McCoirl) from its progenitor Somerled Lamont"; see above, pp. 23-5 and notes 8-9 to chap. iv; this clan Sorley must be distinguished from the McSorleys of Glen Nevis in Lochaber, see Niall D. Campbell (now Duke of Argyll), in *Celtic Review* (1913-4), ix, 347, and Macphail's *Highland Papers*, iii, 46, note; see above, pp. 45, 48; *Celtic Review*, ix, 347-9; Knockdow in *L.P.*, preface, p. vi; see above, p. 43, and below, pp. 460, 380.
3. See above, pp. 48, 41 ff, 138-9, and e.g. *Deeds (Hay)*, 6th Feb. 1626, vol. 380, in *L.P.*, 478, p. 145.
4. See above, pp. 52, 58, 52, 64, 62, 63, 54; the four places referred to are Barrinlayginch, Gartkarran, Achindregni, and Knokrewoch; the second was very likely the Gartachull alias Moninacre at Lochgilphead, for which see below, p. 382, and *L.P.*, 1092, 1291, pp. 321, 374.
5. *Argyll Charters*, 4th June 1414, in *Miscellany of Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. iv (1926), p. 292; see above, pp. 192, 203, 68, 80, 84.
6. *Laing Charters*, 22nd June 1530, No. 381, in *L.P.*, 114, p. 39; Knockdow in his *L.P.* distinguishes this Donald from another, his son and successor, who first appears in 1553, see index, p. 460, but the writer thinks the two were one; Donald is once referred to as Lamont, without the addition of McSorley, in *I.C.(A.)*, 1559, in *L.P.*, 215, p. 71; see above, p. 95; *A.D.C. et S.*, 27th May and 4th July 1541, and 23rd Mar. 1541-2, xv, 135, 189, and xviii, 169; *I.I.*, 28th Dec. 1567, IV, ii, 3, in *L.P.*, 257, p. 82; *Deeds (Scott)*, 5th July 1558, iii, 40, in *L.P.*, 212, p. 70; *Bannatyne Writs*, 4th Sept. 1552, IV, 66, at Nether Cames, *R.M.S.*, 29th May 1553, iv, 800-1, in *L.P.*, 192, p. 65, at Tarbert, 1559, as above at ? Auchnaba, *I.C.(A.)*, 27th June 1561, in *L.P.*, 236, p. 77, at Carrick; and *I.C.(A.)*, 27th May 1563, in *L.P.*, 244, p. 79.
7. *R.S.S.*, 9th Jan. 1541-2, ii, 4454 (McSorbe being plainly a mistake for McSorle); *Poltalloch Charters*, 3rd Feb. 1570-1, 19th Dec. 1572, 16th June 1577 (or 1567), in *Genealogist* (1922), xxxviii, 143-4, 190; John McDonche vec souerlie is also a witness to the charter of Auchinbreck in 1563 referred to in the next paragraph of the text, at Danna and Doune in Knapdale a few months before *Auchenbreck Charters* (as in note 9 below), 21st and 22nd Feb. 1563, and at Kyle at Row on 10th Dec. 1574, *Bannatyne Writs*, IV, 111.
8. The only known mention of John son of Donald viii is in the second of the *Poltalloch Charters* in note 7; he was probably too young to have been the John Makcorly who was a witness in 1553 in *R.M.S.* as in note 6, though it is possible that his immediately elder brother was the Gilbert Lawmound who was a witness at Rothesay in *I.C.(A.)*, 17th Dec. 1550, in *L.P.*, 184, p. 60; *Calendar of Charters*, 30th Aug. 1563, ix, 1927, in *L.P.*, 248-9, p. 80; *I.I.*, as in note 9; Principal Campbell as in note 2; Gilbert McCourle was a witness in *Maclachlan Charters*, 10th Dec. 1574, i, 8.
9. *I.C.(A.)*, 27th June 1561, in *L.P.*, 236, p. 77; *I.C.(A.)*, 29th Nov. 1410, transcribed — 1561, in Macphail's *Highland Papers*, iv, 234 (and *L.P.*, 22, p. 12); *I.I.*,

5th Dec. 1576 and 18th–19th June 1577, I, v, 1–3 and IV, 1, 3, in *L.P.*, 292–3, 295–6, pp. 94–5; (for 400 merks not 200 see *L.P.*, 321, 414, pp. 103, 129 and note 10); *Auchenbreck* (Glendaruel) *Charters* (in London, communicated by Duke of Argyll), 1st June 1562, 20th Apr., 1st–2nd June 1563; see above, pp. 77, 90 ff.; Patrick is not mentioned in Burke's *Peerage* for 1931, p. 453, but he is plainly the 5th son whose name is left blank in the *Auchenbreck Genealogie* of c. 1741–4, in Macphail's *Highland Papers*, iv, 68; see below, p. 456; and *Bannatyne Writs* as in note 7; *Auchenbreck Charters*, 22nd May 1581, 18th Feb. 1589; *A. & D.*, 15th Dec. 1627, vol. 406, fol. 316; *I.C.*, 18th Feb. 1629, and *Deeds (Hay)*, 25th Feb. 1629, vol. 413, in *L.P.*, 486, 498–9, pp. 147, 149–50; for Gortynnevaill see *Argyll Sasines*, 10th May 1650, ii. 133.

10. *A. & D.*, 9th Apr. 1575, lxiii, 75 (McConnel appears in error for McCourle); *I.I.*, 1577, as in note 9; *I.C.(A.)*, 4th June 1582, in *L.P.*, 321, p. 103; *G.R.S.*, 2nd June 1640, xlix, 245; there are no known references to John ix as baron, and none as Lamont except the later *I.I.*, III, v, 1 in *L.P.*, 452, p. 138; see above, pp. 121, 132; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th Feb. 1622; and *Deeds (Hay)*, 6th Feb. 1626, vol. 380, in *L.P.*, 452, 478, pp. 138, 145; other references to John ix are *Auchenbreck Charters*, 16th Jan. 1598, and *A. & D.*, 30th July 1616, cccvi, 441; *Argyll Sasines*, 20th Nov. 1617, i, 17; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th–22nd Jan. 1631, and *I.I.*, I, v, 9, all in *L.P.*, 414, 419, 515–7, pp. 129–30, 154; it is possible that John ix survived to 1631, as in last references his son Duncan of Achahoish is styled son of John of Monydrain (not of the late John); he may also be the John in *L.P.*, 501, p. 150 in 1629; *I.I.*, I, v, 4, and *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Feb. 1593–4, in *L.P.*, 354–5, p. 113 (relating apparently to the whole, not half, of Achahoish as do *L.P.*, 515–7 above); the “Gilbert McSorle Conoyche and his son,” in *Craignish Writs*, 15th Apr. 1589, in *Miscellany* of Scot. Hist. Soc., iv (1926), 266, may perhaps be an error for Gilbert i of Auchinbreck, and his son Donochie (Duncan).

11. *A. & D.*, 30th July 1616, cccvi, 441, in *L.P.*, 414, p. 129; *Auchenbreck Charters*, 14th Jan. and 22nd June 1585, and 17th June 1601, in which Duncan ii's father is uniformly referred to as Gilchrist, not Gilbert; see also *ibid.*, 16th Jan. 1598, for Duncane Mcillechrist VcSorlie in Auchinbrek; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Jan. 1631; and *Deeds (Hay)*, 6th Feb. 1626, vol. 380, in *L.P.*, 515, 478, pp. 154, 145; *I.C.(A.)*, 29th Nov. 1619; *Deeds (Hay)*, 14th Dec. 1629, vol. 424 (in *L.P.*, 505, p. 151); see above, pp. 137–9, 128; another descendant of the unknown Celestin was Duncan McGillespic VcSorle, *Poltalloch Charters*, 1572, as in note 7, and *A. & D.*, 1st Mar. 1614, cclxxxviii, 40, in *L.P.*, 407, p. 127; Drum was doubtless the Sorle Lawmound in the head of Lochellie in *A. & D.*, 8th Mar. 1639, cvii, 180, in *L.P.*, 613, p. 179; as to the mill, called the mill of Fernoch McSorley, see *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 8th Feb. 1622, in *L.P.*, 452, p. 138; *I.I.*, I, v, 6–8, and *I.C.*, 18th Feb. 1629, in *L.P.*, 497–8, pp. 149–150; the chief, however, could not pay the full price and had to grant a bond for 1900 merks, *Deeds (Hay)*, 4th Dec. 1629, vol. 424, in *L.P.*, 504, p. 151.

12. Donald x is nowhere expressly designed eldest son of John ix, but that seems the natural inference from, *inter alia*, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 8th Feb. 1622, in *L.P.*, 452, p. 138, and Donald's brother Duncan of Achahoish (*G.R.S.*, 2nd June 1640, xlix, 245) was definitely a son of John ix, *L.P.*, 515–7, as in note 10, though perhaps their mothers were different, *i.e.* Christian Lamont and Mary Campbell; *Deeds (Scott)*, 23rd July 1622, cccxxiv, 251, in *L.P.*, 455, p. 138; *G.R.S.*, 2nd Mar. 1662, ii, 309; *I.I.* and *I.C.* as in last note; *Deeds (Hay)*, 6th Feb. 1626, vol. 380 (in *L.P.*, 478, p. 145); *A. & D.*, 7th July 1632 and 23rd July 1633, cccliv, 45 and ccclxi, 406, in *L.P.*, 537, 552, pp. 159, 163. Donald x may, of course, have lived on in Ireland after 1633.

13. See above, p. 139; *L.P.*, 515-7, as in note 10; Duncan, Donald x's brother, is presumably the Duncan McSoirlie alias Lamont in Auchachoiss in 1630 in *G.R.S.*, 22nd Dec. 1630, xxix, 327; *ibid.*, 2nd June 1640, xlix, 245; see Burke's *Landed Gentry* for 1925, p. 278 and somewhat garbled pedigree in *Auchenbreck Genealogie, ut supra*; *L.P.*, 537, 552, as in last note; *Reg. Signatures*, 25th June 1635, liii, 257; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 25th Jan. 1633, and *Decrees (Dalrymple)*, 24th Jan. 1668, vol. 28 (in *L.P.*, 546, 886, pp. 161, 265); *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 19th Apr. 1672, xxxi, 267, giving Mary's Campbell relatives; *Auchenbreck Genealogie*, in *Highland Papers*, iv, 68; this John may be the John McCorle alias Lamont in Fernoch in 1629, *R.P.C.*, iii, 169, in *L.P.*, 501, p. 150, and possibly the John McCorle in Leckowerie in *Auchenbreck Charters*, 14th Sept. 1614, or the John McSoirlie who joined MacCailein's company mustered at Ballantoy for service in Ireland, on 17th Nov. 1642, see above, p. 159.

14. *Reg. of Retours*, 22nd Apr. 1642, xvi, 306; *Argyll Sasines*, 31st May 1622, i, 212, in *L.P.*, 455, p. 138; *G.R.S.*, 12th June 1635, xlii, 234; *Argyll Services*, 11th Oct. 1700, in *L.P.*, 1454, p. 435; see above, pp. 138, 141; other references to Duncan ii of Auchinbreck are in *R.P.C.*, 7th Mar. 1611, ix, 671, *A. & D.*, 1st Mar. 1614, cclxxxviii, 40, 17th Feb. 1616, ccxcix, 292, and 22nd Dec. 1618, cccxxix, 43, all in *L.P.*, 395, 407, 412, 432, pp. 125, 127, 129, 133; *Gen. Hornings*, 23rd July 1618, xxiv, 291, 11th Mar. and 16th Apr. 1619, xxvi, 325, 387; *Argyll Sasines*, 27th Feb. 1621, i, 146, in *L.P.*, 448, p. 137; *Reg. Retours*, 31st Mar. 1629, 12th July 1631, xi, 93, xiii, 2; the only other reference to Gilbert the apparent heir is in *Gen. Hornings*, 23rd July 1618, xxiv, 291; in *G.R.S.*, 29th Jan. 1657, xii, 243, Fernoch and Drum mill are said to have formerly belonged to Duncan Lamont, which is difficult to understand; see above, p. 181; this family of Maclachlans had Achchoish by 1707, *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 27th Feb. 1707, vol. 158 (but not, as that decret seems to imply, by 1674, as to which see *Argyll Sasines*, 2nd July 1674, i, 51).

15. See above, pp. 177, 193; there is no known record to the effect that Alexander xi was a son of Donald x, but that seems the natural assumption as he held lands which both before and after were destined to a very limited series of heirs and he does not seem to have been a nephew; *Inveraray Processes*, 1675, *Campbell v. Lamont*, box II, shelf 4; *Laing Charters*, 27th Feb. 1662, No. 2556, in *L.P.*, 805, p. 243; *Crawford MS.*, fol. 319; *G.R.S.*, 28th Mar. 1662, ii, 309; other early mentions of Alexander xi are *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 12th June 1662, vol. 5, and (*Dalrymple*), 20th July 1663, ix, 212; *Dunoon Deeds*, 16th Feb. 1670, vol. i, when he was cautioner for a Black in Kilmichael Glassary; *Dunroon Charters*, 10th Sept. 1669, in *Genealogist* (1918), xxxiv, 68, with John his son; see above, p. 213.

16. *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 25th Nov. 1673, xxxvi, 239; *G.R.S.*, 21st Mar. 1670, xxiv, 236, witnessed by John Black, alias McIlidive in Monydrain; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 5th July 1692, lxxv, 40; *Argyll Sasines*, 2nd June 1674, i, 42; *Argyll Inventories*, 21st Nov. 1699, vol. 8, fol. 3 (in *L.P.*, 1073, p. 315; containing among debts due to deceased, Alexander xi, "item, resting by the said Charles Campbell of joyntor due to his mother, £26, 13s. 4d.").

17. *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 5th July 1692, lxxv, 40; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 12th June 1662, vol. 5 (50 merks in 1659); *ibid.*, 18th May 1670, xxvi, 634 (200 merks in 1663), and 20th Dec. 1671, xxx, 486 (£81, 13s. 4d. in 1666), in *L.P.*, 883, 898, pp. 264, 267; *Inveraray Processes* as in note 15 (500 merks in 1671); *Dunoon Deeds*, 1st May 1673, vol. i (£40 in 1672); *Deeds (Durie)*, 17th Apr. 1674, xxxvi, 34 (£80 in 1673); *Inveraray Processes*, 1677,

McMillan v. Lamont (£36, 13s. 4d. in 1674); *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 14th Feb. 1683, lx, 504 (in *L.P.*, 1073, p. 315; 100 merks in 1682); *Dunoon Deeds*, 29th Feb. and 28th Oct. 1692, iii, 32, 128 (£100 and 82 merks in 1688); all of these were signed "Lamont" and not even used the alias "McSorley"; the total thus known to have been borrowed is £960.

18. See above, pp. 158, 253, 239-40, 244-7; Draft Procuratory of Resignation of 1697 by John McSorle alias Lamond of Monedreyan, in *Inveraray Sheriff Court Records*, box II, shelf 4; *Argyll Sasines*, 26th Mar. 1720, iv, 437, in *L.P.*, 1150, p. 338; see above, pp. 248, 253; a Donald Lamont of Drum in 1672 must surely be an error for Duncan Lamont in Drum, *Glassarie Writs*, in Macphail's *Highland Papers*, ii, 207, also referring to Hew McSorrill in Duncolgan, and Alexander Lamont in Menendryan, which last paid in teind for Monydrain 6 bolls of meal at £7 a boll and £9, and for Drum 3 bolls and £6 (as against 4 bolls at £6, 13s. 4d. and £9 and 3 bolls and £6 in 1629, see above, p. 138); another reference to a Duncan is to Duncan Lamont in Craigmurryll in 1683; *Inveraray Records*, box II, shelf 4; Duncan Lamont and seven others in the two Monidraines are listed among the fencibles of 1692, *Commons of Argyll*, p. 39.

19. See above, pp. 258, 265; *Argyll Inventories*, as in note 16; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Aug. 1699; Achahoish, of course, had passed to the Maclachlans of Craiginterive; *Decreeets (Mackenzie)*, 27th Feb. 1707, vol. 158; *Argyll Inhibitions*, 4th May 1706, in *L.P.*, 1092, p. 321; for other debts see *Dunoon Deeds*, 16th Sept. 1703 and 8th Feb. 1705, 20th Jan. 1724, v (iii), 123, 271, vol. —, fol. 309; other early references to John xii are 1669 *Duntroon Charters* and 1671 *Inveraray Processes*, as in note 15, 1670, *I.C.(A.)*, 3rd Dec. 1670, in *L.P.*, 888, p. 265, 1686, *R.P.C.*, xii, 234-5, and *Dunoon Deeds* as in last reference in note 17; for entry of John xii in poll tax rolls of 1699 see p. 262 above.

20. *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 4th Dec. 1721, vol. 115; *Argyll Charters*, 28th Mar. 1707, referring to Monidrayn *eichtriche*; *Argyll Sasines*, 26th Mar. 1720, in *L.P.*, 1150, p. 338; *Argyll Charters*, Aug. 1715; and *Knockdow Papers*, 11th Aug. 1715, in *L.P.*, 1132-3, pp. 332-3; *Argyll Sasines*, 18th May 1728, vi, 124, in *L.P.*, 1197, p. 349, to Robert Lamont, merchant in Melldalloch, possibly a brother of Auchinshelloch, witnessed by Coll, son of Neil Lamont in Kilmichael; *ibid.*, 9th Dec. 1720, iv, 472, in *L.P.*, 1156, p. 339; *ibid.*, 7th May 1725, v, 225-6, in *L.P.*, 1173-4, p. 344, latter witnessed by Coll Lamont in Auchindarroch; *Inventory* of 1774 in *I.C.*, x, 1-2; *Argyll Sasines*, 17th Aug. 1726, v, 374, in *L.P.*, 1182, p. 346; the following are probably early references to John yr. of Monydrain, John Lamont, tenant in Drum, *Inveraray Records*, 1674, as in note 18, John Lamont, tenant in Monydrain, *ibid.*, 1684, John Lamont of Drum, who was a witness for Silvercraigs, *Argyll Sasines*, 1st Nov. 1699, iii, 86; as John xii was only married in 1670 his son John born, say, in 1671 cannot have been the same as the John, merchant in Melldalloch, who had a son Coll of age to take infeftment in 1693, *Argyll Sasines*, 28th Apr. 1693, ii, 389, in *L.P.*, 1016, p. 298; further, if the Melldalloch merchant was sib his stock would never have been omitted from the destination of 1712 (see next note); *cf.* however, *Decreeets (Dalrymple)*, 22nd Jan. 1740, vol. xxiii (1); and *Argyll Inhibitions*, 7th Oct. 1740, in *L.P.*, 1222, p. 355.

21. *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie: Currie Office)*, *Lamont v. Lamont*, 1802, bundle III, No. 15; *Answers* of John Lamont (XVIII), 11th May 1803, and see *Defences* for same, 1803, narrating that "the lands of Monydrain were originally part of the estate of Lamont, and some time in the course of the 17th century the property was given off to a younger branch of the family, to be held feu for payment of a small feu-duty of 3 m. per annum," whereas in fact the feu-duty was still 5 merks as late as 1662

(*L.P.*, 805, p. 244), and the property was, of course, given off centuries before; as to Ascog family, see below, p. 409; *Argyll Sasines*, 5th Sept. 1712, 21st July 1722, iv, 165, 575, in *L.P.*, 1115, 1164, pp. 327, 341; for John, merchant in Melldalloch, see above, pp. 250, 259, *I.C.(A.)*, 9th Aug. 1692, *Argyll Sasines*, 28th Apr. 1693, 13th Jan. 1699, ii, 389, iv, 50, and *I.C.*, 8th Oct. 1694, in *L.P.*, 1016, 1033, 1069-70, pp. 298, 303, 312 (303 also in *G.R.S.*, lxxvii, 463); and *I.C. (L.-C.)*, 1st Feb. 1695 (in *L.P.*, 1038, p. 305).

22. See above, p. 250, and *Auchenbreck Genealogie*, p. 83; besides the chief JOHN XVIII the other defender in the litigation above referred to as to the right to Monydrain under the entail of Coll xiii was "Angus Munn, grocer in Greenock, nephew by the mother side to the said Coll Lamont"; *Summons*, 1802, in process as in last note; perhaps Angus's father was James Munn, merchant in Kilfinan, in *Argyll Inhibitions*, 20th Apr. 1754, in *L.P.*, 1248, p. 363; in *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 25th Jan. 1764, vol. 544; for Archibald, see *Argyll Sasines*, 5th Sept. 1712, 22nd June 1713, iv, 165, 186; and *I.C.*, 24th Apr. 1727, in *L.P.*, 1115, 1117, 1191, pp. 327-8, 348; for Dugald see as above, *L.P.*, 1016, 1115, 1117, 1164; see also *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 7th Apr. 1714 (in *L.P.*, 1127, p. 330); *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 9th Apr. 1720, vol. 112; *Argyll Sasines*, 12th July 1729, 1st Apr. 1742, vi, 257, vii, 340, in *L.P.*, 1203, 1224, pp. 351, 355; *Glasgow Matriculations*, 1733, No. 343; and *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 40 (relating to entail of 1740), see also below, note 26.

23. See above, pp. 251, 263, 291; *I.C.(A.)*, 9th Aug. 1692; *Argyll Sasines*, 28th Apr. 1693, ii, 389, in *L.P.*, 1016, p. 298, the future DUGALD XVI a witness; *Maclachlan Writs*, — Apr. 1693, ARCHIBALD XV a witness; Coll was a witness in his turn at Ardlamont in *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 3rd May 1693 (in *L.P.*, 1017, p. 299); *I.C.(A.)*, 27th Nov. 1697, in *Argyll Sasines*, iii, 22, and *L.P.*, 1059, p. 310; see also *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 12th Apr. 1698, ii, 162, presenting a call to Kilfinan parish.

24. *Argyll Testaments*, 16th Dec. 1737 (Ard. McAllister of Tarbert); *Inveraray Supply Records*, box IV, shelf 1, 11th May 1710, 11th May 1711, 11th Jan. and 13th May 1712, 1720; *Argyll Sasines*, 4th July 1710, iv, 90, in *L.P.*, 1104, p. 324; *Dunoon Deeds*, 10th Jan. 1712, and 9th June 1720, in *I.C.*, 9th June 1720; see above, p. 285; Coll of I. was witness for Knockdow in 1712, see *L.P.*, 1118-1120, pp. 328-9; *Dunoon Sheriff Court Miscellaneous Papers* re 1715 (*bis*); see above, p. 280; *Argyll Testaments*, 23rd Feb. 1733, 18th May 1742, viii, 334, in *L.P.*, 1213, 1225, pp. 353, 355; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 27th Nov. 1744, vol. 170; for Margaret, see *Argyll Sasines*, 5th Sept. 1712, 9th Apr. 1726, iv, 165, v, 316, in *L.P.*, 1116, 1177, pp. 328, 345.

25. *Argyll Sasines*, 21st July 1722, 9th Apr. and 14th Aug. 1726, iv, 575, v, 316, 374, in *L.P.*, 1164, 1177, 1182, pp. 341, 345-6; see above, p. 285; *Argyll Inhibitions*, 10th Nov. 1732; *Argyll Sasines*, 12th July 1729; *Dunoon Deeds*, 28th Apr. 1738, vol. xii, in *L.P.*, 1209, 1203, 1463, pp. 351-2, 437; see also *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 30th Nov. 1757, vol. 497; *Monydrain Inventory*, 26th June 1740, No. 1 (for terms see *Register of Tailzies*, 2nd Dec. 1808, and Charter of Resignation of 3rd Apr. 1809, in *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 40); see above, pp. 308-10.

26. *I.C.*, 5th Mar. 1742; *Glasgow Matriculations*, 1733, No. 343; *Argyll Testaments*, 29th Mar. 1754, in *L.P.*, 1247, p. 362; for Coll xii in 1743 see *ibid.*, 22nd Apr. 1749, in *L.P.*, 1235, p. 358; for Coll xiv in 1742, see *Argyll Sasines*, 1st Apr. 1742, vii, 340, in *L.P.*, 1224, p. 355; *Argyll Inhibitions*, 29th May 1751, in *L.P.*, 1238, p. 360; *Process* as in note 21 above; *Defences* for JOHN XVIII, 1803; *Dunoon Deeds*, 7th July 1748, vol. xiii, in *L.P.*, 1466, p. 437; *Inverary Burgh MSS.*, 12th Jan. 1768; that James was

the son of a second marriage appears from *Lamont Cartulary* as in last note; *I.C.*, 12th Jan. 1768; *Services of Heirs*, 12th Apr. 1771, in *L.P.*, 1283, p. 371; for other references to Dugald see *L.P.*, 1203, 1463, as in last note.

27. See above, pp. 303, 320–2; see *L.P.*, 1235, 1238, 1247, as in last note; *I.C.(A.)*, 15th Mar. 1774, 12th May 1777; see also *I.C.*, 11th Apr. 1774; *Lamont Cartulary*, 5th May 1778, fol. 17 (feu-duty now 3 merks); *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 27th Nov. 1802, 286, 441; see above, pp. 326, 338; see next note.

28. Stewart's *Sketches* (1882), i, 479, in *L.P.*, 1339, p. 391; he can hardly have been only 51 in 1802, as that would place his birth about 1751, whereas his father Coll xiv died in 1748.

29. See *Process*, as in note 21 above, and above, pp. 338–9, 344, 355; *Services of Heirs*, 25th Jan. 1806, in *L.P.*, 1342, p. 392; *Unextracted Processes (Potts Office)*, *Coll Lamont v. Campbell*, 1796, bundle II, No. 80.

30. See above, pp. 358–9, 364, 366.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. For Auchety-Ewen see *e.g.* *L.P.*, 10, 267, 303, 323, pp. 7, 87, 97, 104; *cf.* Auchety-Malmory, p. 52, above.

2. *I.C.*, 14th June 1465 and *I.C.(A.)*, 17th Sept. 1472, in *L.P.*, 13, 43 and 14, 52, pp. 9, 19, 23, notarial transumpt of undated writs of c. 1309–23; *R.M.S.*, c. 1321–3, vol. i, app. II, No. 692; see above, p. 59; “Glencha” may perhaps have been Glennan, though that seems to have been attached to Ardlamont.

3. *I.C.*, 11th June 1468, in *L.P.*, 16, 48, pp. 10, 22, a notarial transumpt of a brieve of 31st Dec. 1356; the reddendo for southern Auchagoyl is given in the *Principality Rentals* (Reg. Ho.), see above, p. 61.

4. *I.C.(A.)*, 25th May 1481, in *L.P.*, 24, 63, pp. 13, 26, a notarial transumpt of an indenture of 17th Feb. 1432–3; *E.R.*, 6th July 1450, v, 413–4; see also, *ibid.*, 455, 666, *cf.* vi, 47, in *L.P.*, 33–7, pp. 16–17; see above, pp. 63, 68, 78, 88, 220; that the barony of Inveryne comprised (1) Inveryne, and (2) Ardlamont appears from *I.C.*, 9th Mar. 1546–7, in *L.P.*, 169, p. 55, and *A.D.C. et S.*, 24th Mar. 1546–7, xxiii, 22.

5. *A.D.C. et S.*, 30th July 1541, xvi, 108, and 18th Feb. 1541–2, xviii, 53, and *I.I.*, V, iii, 2, in *L.P.*, 187, p. 61, infer that Achourk-beg was part of the Ardlamont lairdship; *I.I.*, I, x, 3, and *R.S.S.*, 22nd June 1563, xxxv, 11, in *L.P.*, 35, 245, pp. 17, 79; for merkage of Lindsaig and Doire-nan-Corach see *L.P.*, 118, 124, 131, 278, pp. 41–2, 44, 89; for Glassary see below, p. 399.

6. *E.R.* as in note 4 above; the absence of any reservation such as terce to a widow indicates that Finlay's widow was dead; see also, *ibid.*, 1499, xi, 463 in *L.P.*, 81, p. 31; see above, pp. 68, 78.

7. *I.C.*, 14th June 1465, and *I.I.*, IV, ii, 1, in *L.P.*, 42–3, pp. 18–19; see above, p. 81; one of the witnesses was Dougall son of Luke, the earliest record of a McLucas in the Lamont country, see below, p. 140.

8. See above, p. 41; *L.P.*, 43, 48, 52, as above; above, p. 78; *L.P.*, 63, as above, witnessed by Neil Finlay Lamont and Neil John Lamont, surely sib.

9. *E.R.*, 1499, xi, 463, and *I.I.*, 13th May 1499, I, vi, 2; *R.S.S.*, as in note 5 above; *I.C.(A.)*, 23rd July 1511; *Argyll Charters*, 14th Oct. 1511; in *L.P.*, 81-2, 245, 85-6, pp. 31-2, 79; *Maclachlan Writs*, 28th Aug. 1520, I, 2; see below, p. 419; *My Lordis (of Ergile) Buk of Casualite* (MS. in Library of Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland, No. 3); *Argyll Charters*, 12th Nov. 1534; *R.M.S.*, iii, 1447, in *L.P.*, 118, 124, pp. 41-2; *R.M.S.*, iii, 1689, in *Argyll Inventory*, fol. 82, No. 130, and *L.P.*, 131, p. 44; *I.C.(A.)*, 16th June 1524, in *L.P.*, 100, p. 35; see above, pp. 86, 88, 383.

10. *I.I.*, I, x, 4; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Apr. 1536; *I.I.*, I, vi, 3-5; *R.M.S.*, iii, 1677; *R.S.S.*, 14th June 1537, xi, 8, in *L.P.*, 129-39, pp. 44-6; see above, pp. 88, 383.

11. *Argyll Charters*, 3rd Nov. 1540; *R.M.S.*, 18th Feb. 1552-3, iv, 756; *A. & D.*, 5th May 1554, viii, 471; *I.C.(A.)*, 22nd Apr. 1557, in *L.P.*, 157, 189, 195, 206, pp. 51, 63, 66, 69; *R.S.S.*, as in note 5 above; for other references to John vii, see *A.D.C. et S.*, as in notes 4-5 above, and 27th May and 4th July 1541, xv, 135, 189, *L.P.*, 488, and above, pp. 92, 94-5, 100.

12. *R.S.S.*, 22nd June 1563, xxxv, 11 (not fully transcribed in *L.P.*, 245, p. 79); see Alex. Duff, *Treatise on Deeds* (1838), p. 516, para. 392 (2); see above, pp. 220, 371.

CHAPTER XIX

1. See above, pp. 22, 24; John ii of Ascog and John vii of Ardlamont are both described as "*consanguinii*" of JOHN X in *Argyll Charters*, 3rd Nov. 1540, in *L.P.* 157, p. 51; Sir JAMES XIV referred to Robert iv of Ascog as his "cousen" in Draft *Petition* of c. 1653, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 13; in 1629 Robert is termed "speciall freynd & kinsman" to John iii of N. Auchagoyl (who was definitely descended from Sir John X, see below, p. 466), *Argyll Teind Report*, fol. 14; see below, p. 414; see above, pp. 399, 78; for another ancestry see p. 52 above.

2. Hugh McDonald, for instance, definitely confuses the two when he states in *Days at the Coast* (1857), p. 352, that the Ascog besieged in 1646 was in Bute; the Stewarts of Ascog had lands in Kilfinan parish in the 18th century, see above, pp. 259, 278-9; see *L.P.*, p. 481; Nicolson, p. 159.

3. The writer is indebted for the description to the late J. S. Fleming's *Lecture on Two Strongholds of the Lamonts*, printed in the "*Buteman*" of 20th Mar. 1908; see above, pp. 195-6.

4. Fleming as in last note; tradition of Mr Alexander Campbell, tenant of the small holding now representing the castle butt of the old charters; see above, p. 52; Neil Munro, *Doom Castle*, pp. 13-14, describing how the Count de Montaignon waded into Doom.

5. Information from Knockdow and Alexander Campbell; see *C.L.J.*, iv, 6.

6. *I.C.(A.)*, 4th Feb. 1476-7, *Argyll Charters*, 25th Mar. 1498, *I.C.(A.)*, 23rd July 1511, in *L.P.*, 55, 78, 85, pp. 24, 30-1; see above, pp. 78, 381; *Bannatyne Writs*, 14th

Aug. 1516, III, 21; as to meaning of "carnal" see note 17 to next chapter; see above, p. 81; *A. & D.*, 14th July 1542, i, 62, 3rd Feb. and 12th Mar. 1557-8, xvi, 300, 468; *Argyll Charters*, 14th Oct. 1511 and 16th Nov. 1513, former in *L.P.*, 86, p. 32; *Maclachlan Charters*, 28th Aug. 1520, I, 2.

7. *Argyll Charters*, 3rd Nov. 1540, in *L.P.*, 157, p. 51; see above, pp. 94-5; *A.D.C. et S.*, 27th May and 4th July 1541, xv, 135, 189; *I.C.(A.)*, 10th May 1548, *A. & D.*, 20th Feb. 1552-3, and *Deeds (Scott)*, 14th Feb. 1581-2, xx, 329, in *L.P.*, 178, 191, 311, pp. 58, 65, 99; see also *I.I.*, IV, ii, 3, in *L.P.*, 257, p. 82; *Crawford's Protocol Book*, 1541-50 (Reg. Ho.), 11th Aug. 1549, fol. 38b, 41a; *I.C.(A.)*, 18th Feb. 1552-3, *RM.S.*, iv, 756, in *L.P.*, 188-9, pp. 62-3; see above, pp. 83, 110, 399; 91, 103.

8. *Argyll Charters*, 2nd Apr. 1557, in *L.P.*, 1441, p. 425; *A. & D.* as in note 6 above; *Dumbarton Protocols*, 2nd Nov. 1558, *I.C.(A.)*, 27th May 1563-4, and *I.I.*, IV, ii, 3, in *L.P.*, 1444, 251, 257, pp. 426, 80, 82; as the original of the last is lost, full details are not available; see above, p. 381; that John iii could sign his name appears from *Deeds (Scott)*, 30th Sept. 1598, vol. lxvi, in *L.P.*, 365, p. 116.

9. *Glasgow Protocols*, 23rd Feb. 1569-70, iv, 1010, *I.C.*, 7th June 1579, and C. Fraser Mackintosh, *Last Macdonalds of Isla* (1895), p. 32, in *L.P.*, 276, 301, 1426, pp. 89, 97, 416; see above, p. 120; *Bannatyne Writs*, 15th July 1580, V, 134; *I.C.(A.)*, 25th June 1580, see also *ibid.*, 26th Nov. 1581, as to Stillaig, in *L.P.*, 307, 316, pp. 98, 101; *I.C.(A.)*, 12th May 1581 (*bis*), incompletely transcribed in *L.P.*, 313-4, pp. 99-100; *cymba* is translated "boat" in *I.C.(A.)*, 25th June 1666, in *L.P.*, 854, p. 256; no title seems ever to have been made up to the feu-duty of Monydrain, probably as it was not worth the expense of sasine; the "fortalice" is mentioned for the first time in 1581; Lamont Lamont of Ballochandrain, perhaps a cadet of Ascog, is a witness, for this family see above, pp. 123, 137-9, 152; Macdonald's *Gaelic Proverbs*, No. 315, Nicolson, p. 193, *am fear a gleidbeas long gheibbe la ga sedladh*; see Amy Murray, *Father Allan's Island* (1936), p. 179; see above, p. 123.

10. *Deeds (Scott)* as in note 8 above; see above, p. 125; John iii had also money dealings with the McAllisters of Tarbert, see *Glasgow Commissariat Deeds*, 28th May 1612, vol. ii, and *General Hornings*, 9th Oct. 1612, viii, 134; *McGilchrist's Protocols*, 24th Jan. 1610, notes, fol. 24; *Deeds (Scott)*, 19th Oct. 1613, ccxv, 167, in *L.P.*, 405, p. 127; for Coll see *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 22nd Jan. 1645 (in *L.P.*, 673, p. 193); Coll is sometimes erroneously styled brother german of Robert iv (son of Katherine), see *ibid.*, 10th June 1643 (in *L.P.*, 653, p. 189); for Duncan's birth, c. 1597, see *Depositions in Forfeiture Process, infra*.

11. *R.S.S.*, 23rd Nov. 1610, lxxix, 148; see above, pp. 124, 138-9; *McGilchrist's Protocols*, 15th Dec. 1613, notes, fol. 39; *Crawford MS.*, p. 156, and *Argyll Sasines*, 20th June 1618, i, 55, in *L.P.*, 1447, 424, pp. 427, 130; *McGilchrist's Protocols*, 11th Oct. 1616, fol. 61; see below, p. 456; *A. & D.*, 27th Jan. 1619, cccxxviii, 143, and *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 22nd Jan. 1645, in *L.P.*, 434, 673, pp. 133, 193.

12. *I.C.(A.)*, 1581, and *McGilchrist's Protocols*, 1613, as in notes 10 and 11 above; see index to *L.P.*, p. 458; *Argyll Sasines*, 20th Dec. 1620, i, 132, in *L.P.*, 446, p. 137; *Decreets (Mackenzie)*, 22nd July 1665, vol. 18; see also *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 15th Nov. 1665, in *L.P.*, 848, p. 254; *Memorial of* (29th June) 1738 in *I.C.(A.)*; *Argyll Sasines*, 10th and 20th Nov. 1618, i, 79-80, in *L.P.*, 426-7, p. 132; *ibid.*, 22nd Dec. 1618, i, 823, in *L.P.*, 430-1, p. 133.

13. *A. & D.*, 18th Sept. 1622, ccclxvi, 170, in *L.P.*, 460, p. 139; *McGilchrist's Protocols*, 6th Sept. 1627, fol. 2 (or ? Silvercraigs); *Deeds (Hay)*, 17th June 1630, vol. 430, in *L.P.*, 511, p. 153; *Register of Retours*, 11th Dec. 1632, xiii, 53; *I.C.(A.)*, 18th Nov. 1634, and *R.M.S.*, ix, 479, in *L.P.*, 561, 568, pp. 166-7; *Report of Sub-Commissioners of Teinds for Argyll*, fols. 12, 34-5, 14; his teinds were 34 bolls of oats and £24, and Stronalbanach's 2½ bolls and £6, 13s. 4d.; see above, pp. 138-9, 151, 134, 140-1; Ascog was also Sir COLL'S baillie for entering latter's second son Mr Archibald in the kirk lands of Kilfinan; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1635; see also *L.P.*, 574-5, 598, 864, 617, 627, 712, pp. 169, 175, 260, 181, 183, 201, and Index, p. 458.

14. *Argyll Charters*, 20th Oct. 1643, 28th Nov. 1651; *Argyll Sasines*, 24th June 1645, ii, 73-4, in *L.P.*, 677-8, p. 194; see *Indictment* of 1601, in *L.P.*, 786, p. 223; Patrick is erroneously styled "eldest" son of Robert iv in *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th Jan. 1658, in *L.P.*, 767, p. 215; *Memorial* as in note 12 above; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Aug. 1631, and *I.I.*, III, v, 25 (1653), in *L.P.*, 525, 753, pp. 157, 212; *Duntroon Inventory*, 8th Nov. 1643, in *Genealogist*, xxxii, 94; *Argyll Sasines*, 3rd Dec. 1643, ii, 58-9, in *L.P.*, 665-6, p. 192; the provision of 650 merks (£433) on Patrick's wife was generous; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 10th June 1643, *Deeds (Gibson)*, 8th May 1646, vol. 559, and *I.I.*, III, iv, 10, in *L.P.*, 653, 685, 584, pp. 189, 196, 172; *Inveraray Deeds*, 12th May 1675, II, 4 (extract receipt narrating bond for 200 merks dated 13th Feb. 1644); see e.g. *Glasgow Testaments*, 6th Dec. 1655, vol. 29, in *L.P.*, 1433, p. 420.

15. *Rental* of 1642-6, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fols. 7-9; see above, pp. 153-4; the Campbells afterwards stated the rent of Ascog as £100 sterling or £1200 Scots, which was perhaps based on the rental in the 1629 teind reports, *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 117a; Sir JAMES XIV, in claiming reparation from the Campbells, stated the figure at £2666, an obvious exaggeration, *Draft Supplication to Commissioners on Argyll's Debts*, c. 1633, in *I.C.(A.)*; see also for Ascog figures *Accompt* of 4th Apr. 1668, in *I.C.(A.)*; see above, p. 185.

16. See index to *L.P.*, pp. 462, 465; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th Jan. 1658, *I.I.*, III, iii, 25, in *L.P.*, 767-8; *Rothsay Town Council Records*, 24th June 1658, i, 275-6; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 31st Jan. 1665, xii, 1055; index to *L.P.*, p. 463; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1635 and 22nd May 1638 (in *L.P.*, 607, p. 178); for reference to testament of a Coll Lamont, see *Letter*, in *I.C.(A.)*, 18th Dec. 1662; for possible descendants of Coll see above, pp. 388, 390; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Oct. 1662; *Indictment*, in *L.P.*, 786, p. 224; see index to *L.P.*, p. 467; see below, p. 410; *G.R.S.*, 1st June 1633, xxxvi, 265; see also *Maclachlan Charters*, 18th Nov. 1637, bundle VII; *Auchenbreck Genealogie* in Macphail's *Highland Papers*, iv, 69; *McGilchrist's Protocols*, 14th Apr. 1641, fol. 73; *I.C.*, 14th to 15th Apr. 1641; *Argyll Sasines*, 15th Oct. 1643, ii, 51, in *L.P.*, 662, p. 191; *Argyll Charters*, 1748, *Inventory* of Patrick Lamont of Stronalbanach; see index to *L.P.*, p. 461, and *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 14th April 1641 (in *L.P.*, 620, p. 181); the feu-duty for Kames included £16 and 80 creels of peats at Ardlamont, see *Rental* in note 15 above and *Inveraray Rentals*, 10th Aug., IV, 1; see above, p. 152.

17. See above, pp. 170, 176-7, 184, 186-7, 197, 190, 192-3, 199, and references in footnotes thereto; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 121, 124; *Dewar MSS.*, i, 482 ff; *Deposition* of Carswell of Carnassarie in *Forfeiture Process* of 1661; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 95, 107; *Indictment* of 1661 in *L.P.*, 786, pp. 223-4, 227-8; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 18th Sept. 1646; *Argyll Charters*, 10th Mar. 1648, in *Genealogist* (1921), xxxvii, 38; *Deeds (Gibson)*, 8th May 1646, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 10th June 1643, *I.C.*, 15th Mar. 1667, and *I.I.*, II, I, iii, 21, in *L.P.*, 685, 653, 862, 864, pp. 189, 196, 258-60; for incidental references to Patrick see index to

L.P., p. 458, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 14th Apr. 1641 (in *L.P.*, 620, p. 181), *G.R.S.*, 15th Mar. 1643, lii, 345, and *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 22nd Jan. 1645 (in *L.P.*, 673, p. 193); *I.I.*, III, v, 25, in *L.P.*, 753, p. 212; in a *Draft Supplication* of c. 1663 in *I.C.(A.)* Sir JAMES states that Robert iv was hanged, but that is probably an error for Patrick; Stronalbanach was 49 in 1646, see his *Deposition in Forfeiture Process*; for him see also *Argyll Synod Records*, 28th Oct. 1657, vol. i (ii, 203).

18. See above, pp. 198, 215-6, 219, 222-6; *Accompt* as in note 15 above; *Minute* 21st Oct. 1662 in *I.C.(A.)*; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1665 (in *L.P.*, 841, p. 252); *Memorial* of (29th June) 1738 in *I.C.(A.)*; *I.C.(A.)*, 25th June 1666, in *L.P.*, 854, p. 256; *G.R.S.*, 3rd July 1666, xv, 103; *I.I.*, IV, ii, 18, in *L.P.*, 809, p. 245; *G.R.S.*, 6th Nov. 1662, iv, 217; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 13th June 1665 (in *L.P.*, 844, p. 253).

19. *Accompt* as in note 15 above; see also *I.I.*, III, iii, 36-7, in *L.P.*, 870-1, p. 261; Silvercraigs paid the cess, *I.I.*, III, iii, 30, in *L.P.*, 827, p. 249; the person who was really entitled to the lairdship was Campbell of Kinnochtrie under his apprising for £1953, 6s. 8d., it not being affected by Home's apprising, see *L.P.*, 712, 864, pp. 201, 259; Macdonald, No. 240, Nicolson, p. 299; *Memorial* as in last note.

20. See above, p. 193; *New Road*, p. 290.

21. See note 16 above as to 1641; *G.R.S.*, 3rd July 1666, xv, 103; see also *Inveraray Processes*, 1700, *Dergachie v. Stronalbanach*; he did not make up a title till 1671, *Cumlodden Inventory*, 14th June 1671, No. 32 (*penes* Tait & Crichton, W.S., Edinburgh); see *I.I.*, III, ii, 11, in *L.P.*, 988, p. 292, and *Letter* of 16th Feb. 1687 in *I.C.(A.)*; see above, pp. 233-4, 238, 253; Kames was rentalled at £66, subject to a feu-duty of £16, *Inveraray Rentals*, 1687, IV, 1, and deducting $\frac{1}{3}$, *i.e.* £22, for outlays (see above, p. 139), could produce £28; *Inveraray Records*, II, 3, *Accompt of Rests charged upon Jon Campbell, late bailzie of Glendaruel*; *Glassarie Writs*, 27th Feb. 1672, in *H.P.*, ii, 212, 215; see above, p. 138; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 30th July 1681, in *L.P.*, 953, p. 281; see above, pp. 239-41, 247.

22. *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 14th Apr. 1691, lxvii, 1005, in *L.P.*, 992, p. 293; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 4th Nov. 1697; *I.C.*, 4th and 6th Nov. 1697; *Argyll Sasines*, 27th Nov. 1697, iii, 23, in *L.P.*, 1060, p. 310; see also *I.I.*, IV, ii, 8, in *L.P.*, 1011, p. 297; there are some differences between the subjects promised in 1686 and those conveyed in 1697, but the description in the latter (confirmed by the rental of 1687, *Inveraray Rentals*, 10th Aug. 1687, IV, 1) has been here accepted; see above, p. 250; see above, p. 258; another mention of Archibald ii is on inquest in 1687, *Retours of Quinquennial Possession*, No. 15.

23. *Argyll Testaments*, 26th July 1693, vol. iii (in *L.P.*, 1019, p. 300); *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 25th July 1694 (in *L.P.*, 1031, p. 303); see above, p. 259, the description of brother german "to the laird of Lamont" might be thought to indicate the then chief ARCHIBALD XV, but there is no trace of his having a brother Ninian and he never was laird at any time, so that Sir JAMES XIV is clearly intended (the signature "N. Lamont" appearing in *L.P.*, 1040, p. 305, is due to faulty transcription and should be "W. Lamont"); see also *Argyll Sasines*, 27th Nov. 1697, iii, 21, in *L.P.*, 1058, p. 310; the only known references to Alexander are in his mother's testament, above, and in *Argyll Presbytery Records*, 13th Oct. 1691, i, 2, and *Commons of Argyll*, 26th May 1692, p. 39; *Argyll Sasines*, 4th July 1710, iv, 90, in *L.P.*, 1104, p. 324.

24. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 17th Oct. 1700; see below, p. 458, and above, p. 273; a John Lamont and his son Robert were in Derybruich in 1667 and 1684-95 respectively, *G.R.S.*, 26th Mar. 1667, ix, 43, *I.C.*, 30th Jan. 1685, *G.R.S.*, 21st Feb. 1685, in *L.P.*,

976, p. 288, see also *Maclachlan Charters*, — Apr. 1693, VI, 7, and *Argyll Sasines*, 18th Feb. 1695, in *L.P.*, 1040, p. 305; in 1662-7 appears a John Black boat wright in Kilbride, *Accompt* of 4th Apr. 1668 in *I.C.(A.)*, and in 1666 a Duncan Black in Ascog, *Reg. Apprisings*, 27th Aug. 1666, xvii, 302; in 1668 Corra was leased to a Robert Lamont in Mentuich (presumably Mecknock), whose executor was James Lamont in Corra in 1680, *Inveraray Records*, 7th Apr. 1668, II, 4, *I.I.*, 3, 27, in *L.P.*, 959, p. 283; a Patrick Black from Corra enlisted in 1689, see above, p. 253; the indictment rolls of 1684, see above, pp. 240-1, mention in Corra James Lamont and John Black (see also *Decrees (Dalrymple)*, 8th July 1687, vol. 104 (in *L.P.*, 995, p. 294)), in Kilbride Hew Black, in Achadalvory Angus Lamont, and in Derybruich John Lamont; at the end of the century there were an Angus Black in Kilbride and an Angus Lamont in Corra; for other tenants, see endorsement on *Memorial* of 1739 in *I.C.(A.)*.

25. Scott's *Fasti* (1870 edn.), iii (i), 9, 13th Sept. 1693, in *L.P.*, 1021, p. 300; see above, p. 275; probably the merchant, Walter Graham, alias McIlvernock of Drumfin (see *L.P.*, index, p. 454), was a relative, having married a Jonet Lamont, see *Argyll Sasines*, 21st Nov. 1707, iv, 3, in *L.P.*, 1096, p. 322; see above, p. 271; strangely enough, a fictitious "Laird of Escog" appears in the roll, *A.P.S.*, 5th Aug. 1704, xi, 147, in *L.P.*, 1086, p. 319; *Inveraray Supply Records*, 27th Apr. 1708, 2nd June 1709, 11th May 1710, 11th May 1711, 13th May 1712, IV, 1; the rate of ferry seems to have been 6d. a beast and 8d. a man in the middle of the century, see note 40 to chap. xiv.

26. See above, pp. 409, 280-1; *Auchenbreck Genealogie*, in *H.P.*, iv, 69, 79; this source should be accurate as Sir James Campbell, 5th Baronet of Auchenbreck, acquired the superiority of Stronlbanach; *Argyll Sasines*, 8th Feb. 1678, i, 227, 26th Mar. 1720, iv, 438, and 15th July 1727, vi, 42, in *L.P.*, 934, 1151, 1192, pp. 275, 338, 348; *I.C.*, 26th Mar. 1718, and 10th Mar. 1720; *South Hall Charters*, 1st Apr. 1718, in *L.P.*, 1195, p. 349; *Stronlbanach Mural Tablet* on west wall of Kilfinan vault; *Cumlodden Inventory*, Nos. 33-4; *Argyll Sasines*, 1st Apr. 1742, vii, 340, in *L.P.*, 1224, p. 355; *Memorial* as in note 18 above; see above, p. 285.

27. *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie)*, *Lamont v. Lamont*, 1738, and *Letter* of 20th June 1739 and *Representations* of 28th Nov. 1739 therein; *Memorial* of 12th Feb. 1749 in *I.C.(A.)*; *I.C.*, 1st June 1739; *Kames Session Papers* (Adv. Lib.), No. 1633, 1st and 10th Jan. 1740; *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 6th Feb. 1740, vol. 377; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 2nd June 1742, vol. 167; Morison's *Dictionary of Decisions*, p. 6722; *Folio Dictionary*, i, 451; *I.C.*, 26th Nov. 1740, in *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 25th May 1768, vol. 203; *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Jan. 1741; see above, pp. 27, 31, 290, 293.

28. See above, pp. 295-6; *Knockdow Charters*, 30th May 1748, V, 3 (in *L.P.*, 1234, p. 358); *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 31st May 1748; see above, p. 303; as to Stronlbanach estate, see *Cumlodden Inventory*, Nos. 35-6, *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 25th Mar. 1776, ccxix, 321, and *Argyll Sasines*, 7th Oct. 1776, xi, 270; the McKellars bought the superiority from Campbell of Auchenbreck, *ibid.*, 11th Apr. 1774, xi, 42; a rental of 1751 is in *Argyll Charters*, 19th Dec. 1761; for Kames see *I.C.*, 17th Oct. 1748, and 22nd May 1751; the roll shows it had a pendicle called Taychuinlen, and that Portavaidue was then Port McIlmun.

29. *Rothesay Marriages*, 23rd Aug. 1753; *Argyll Testaments*, 23rd Nov. 1795, in *L.P.*, 1330, p. 388; *Dunoon Deeds*, 19th Apr. 1755, in *L.P.*, 1262, p. 366; *I.C.*, 24th Apr.

1759 and 3rd Mar. 1763; *I.C.*, 8th Nov. 1755 in *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 24th Jan. 1756, vol. 179; *I.C.*, 8th Nov. 1755 in *Argyll Sasines*, 22nd Dec. 1755, ix, 12; see also *Inventory of Patrick in Argyll Charters*, 1748; *Edicts of Commissary of the Isles*, No. 10, *McGilchrist's Notes*, No. 245; *Isles Testaments*, 23rd Apr. 1762, vol. vi, in *L.P.*, 1267, p. 367; *Glasgow Herald*, 3rd Sept. 1812; see above, p. 310.

30. *Rothsay Marriages*, 20th Feb. 1762; *Inventory of 1774*, in *I.C.*, ix, 1-2; *Dunoon Deeds*, 29th Jan. 1767; *Mural Tablet* on west wall of Kilfinan vault (Peter); *Knockdow Charters*, 28th Jan. 1780, V, 15, and *Argyll Sasines*, 12th Feb. 1780, xii, 3, in *L.P.*, 1306, 1308, p. 378 (both Patrick); *Unextracted Processes (Potts Office)*, *Lamont v. Campbell*, 1764, I, 94; *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 25th Jan. 1764, vol. 544; *I.C.*, 14th May 1762; *Argyll Sasines*, 28th June 1762, ix, 324; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 21st Apr. 1768, vol. 203 (2); *I.C.*, 17th July, 6th Aug., 16th Sept. 1766 and 31st Aug. 1768; see above, p. 325.

31. *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Feb. 1768; *Dunoon Deeds*, 8th Feb. 1768; *Kilfinan Marriages*, 1790, and *Births*, 1791-1813, *C.L.J.*, i, 177, 203-4, 206-7, 232-4, the daughters being Barbara, Mary and Aemilia; *I.C.*, 30th June 1791; *G.R.S.*, 18th Aug. 1791, 493, 42; *Argyll Testaments*, 23rd Nov. 1795, vol. xv in *L.P.*, 1330, p. 388; *Scots Magazine* (1794), lvi, 802; *I.C.(A.)*, 12th Oct. 1771; *I.C.*, 14th May 1762; *Inventory of 1774*, in *I.C.*, ix, 7-8; *Ardmarnock Titles*, No. 10, in *Argyll Sasines*, 21st Nov. 1808; see also *I.C.*, 25th June 1817; *Orderly Book of JOHN XIX*, 18th Apr. and 2nd June 1818, pp. 146, 154; *Scots Magazine* (1818), lxxxii, 393; see above, p. 351; it is doubtful if the Peter who married Aemilia Black is the same as Barbara's son; there are believed to be representatives alive of Jean, Mrs Robertson, *b.* 1727, *m.* 1753, *d.* 1812.

32. *I.C.(A.)*, 25th Oct. 1768, 27th Apr. 1782; *Kilfinan Marriages*, 1779, 1796, *Births*, 1742-52, 1780-2, 1784-93, in *C.L.J.*, vol. i, *passim*.

CHAPTER XX.

1. See, *e.g.*, *Knockdow Charters*, 11th May 1560 and 2nd Nov. 1627, I, 3-4, in *L.P.*, 227, 485, pp. 74, 147; as to courts held on Dunans at Ardyne, see *Old Statistical Account* (1793), v, 469; as to family in general, see Burke, *Peerage and Baronetage*, 1938, pp. 1476-7, and Knockdow's *Lecture* of 1899, pp. 27-9, 38-41, 44, 48-50.

2. See *Rothsay Kirk Session Register*, 4th Feb. 1701, pp. 139-140, and above, p. 154; *I.C.(A.)*, 22nd July 1772, in *Dunoon Deeds*, 25th Aug. 1775; rights of servitude were declared over Knockdow's property in favour of Ardyne and Buaille-na-bratach tenants; see also *I.C.*, 27th July 1771; as to Blairbuie, see *C.L.J.*, iii, 222, and as to abandonment in 1712, *Dunoon Deeds*, 10th Jan. 1712, fol. 506, and 9th June 1720 in *I.C.*; see also Pont's *Map* of c. 1600 in end paper to this volume; information supplied by present Knockdow; see also next note, and above, p. 15.

3. There was a mill at Inverchaolain, see *Map* as in last note, and *Kn. Ch.*, 2nd Nov. 1627, I, 10, in *L.P.*, 485, p. 147; the writer is greatly indebted to Miss Augusta Lamont of Knockdow's *Place Names of the Knockdow Estate* in *Transactions of Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1925-7), xxxiii, 203; as to alleged right of way, see *ibid.*, pp. 207-8, Pont's *Map*, and *Reports of Ministers*, 1750 (MS., 16. 1. 7, in Nat. Lib.), v, 2336, 2333; for incident in Toward Kirk, see *Fife Herald*, 4th Dec. 1895, at which Mr Finlay of Castle Toward was the first to leave, followed by Knockdow; another well-known story of a

“Knockdow” and the kirk appears in a footnote to Sir Walter Scott’s *Heart of Midlothian* Border Edition of Andrew Lang, 1893), ii, 422 (not in 1st edn. of 1818), but is difficult of reconciliation with known facts, see Knockdow’s 1902 *Lecture*, pp. 30–1.

4. See above, p. 67; *Argyll Charters*, 24th June 1431, in *L.P.*, 23, p. 12; *Knockdow Place Names*, p. 211 (*Cnocan an Aoraidh*); Rev. John Smith, *Agriculture of County of Argyll* (1798), p. 17; Knockdow’s 1902 *Lecture*, p. 28; for other examples of a baron *ruadb* in other parts of the Highlands see Stewart of Garth’s *Sketches of the Highlanders* (1822), i, 95, note, and M. of Lorne, *Adventures in Legend* (1896), p. 234; *Kn. Ch.*, 11th May 1560 and 6th Jan. 1604, I, 3, 9, in *L.P.*, 227, 380, pp. 74, 121; this evidence of kinship was accepted in Lyon Court in 1898 when the present Knockdow matriculated arms as a cadet of the chiefs, *Lyon Office Register*, xv, 35; for a possible 13th-century ancestor of the family, *Art Doll*, McGorrie, see above, p. 41; for tradition see *Coire-an-t-Sith* in *Rothesay Express*, 21st Sept. 1898.

5. *Kn. Ch.*, 14th June 1531, I, 1, in *L.P.*, 115, p. 39 (where “row” is inaccurately transcribed as “how”); see Amy Murray, *Father Allan’s Island* (1936), pp. 11–12, 50, 74.

6. *Liber Collegii nostre Domine*, 1549 (ed. for Maitland Club, 1846), p. 182, in *L.P.*, 53, p. 23, as to Ardtarigh and Stroyne; see above, p. 78; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Oct. 1523 (not 1522 as in *L.P.*, 95, p. 34); *I.I.*, I, ix, 5, in *L.P.*, 107, p. 37; see last note; *Kn. Ch.*, 26th Aug. 15[4]0, I, 2, in *L.P.*, 83, p. 31 (as to date of this, see note 8 below); *Argyll Charters*, 13th Mar. 1514–15; this early use of McGorrie without further patronymic perhaps indicates that his father was a Godfrey.

7. See note 5 above, and above, p. 37; Bridocht may mean either thief (*bradaidh*) or dwarf (*brideach*), but most Lamonts will prefer the former; *R.S.S.*, 12th Nov. 1529, vol. ii, No. 436; later evidence discloses that, next to John and Gorrie, Duncan was the commonest family name among the McGorries.

8. *Kn. Ch.*, 26th Aug. 15[4]0, I, 2, in *L.P.*, 83, p. 31; the original is dated 1500, but it seems clear that this was a slip for 1540, the word “*quadragesimo*” having been omitted; a similar slip appears in *I.C.(A.)*, 27th May 15[6]3–4, in *L.P.*, 251, p. 80 (where also Jan. appears for May). The reasons for so thinking are as follows: (1) the grantor is John Lamont of Inveryne, who must be Sir JOHN X as JOHN VIII died in 1488; now Sir JOHN X was aged 2 in 1500 (see above, p. 81) and could not have granted charters without consents; (2) it is witnessed by John Lamont, clerk of Kilfinan, the grantor’s brother, who was a younger brother of Sir JOHN X, and, if born at all in 1500, could not then have been a priest; he flourished about 1540 (see above, p. 82, and index to *L.P.*, p. 465); (3) it is endorsed in an early hand 1540, and is numbered “2,” No. “1” being dated 1531. The earliest references to John v or anyone else in this family as baron are in the *Protocols* in notes 16 and 14 below.

9. Sheriff Macphail’s view (in *H.P.*, ii, 241, 155, note) that a baron had the *jus gladii* hardly squares with the Bute barons who were only feuars, see King Hewison’s *Bute*, ii, 135 ff.; *I.C.(A.)*, 8th and 22nd Apr. 1557, in *L.P.*, 205–6, p. 69; *Dumbarton Protocols*, 12th Aug. 1564; as to the apprising of Knockdow in 1553 by the chief’s brother Mr Archibald of Stillraig, see above, p. 90.

10. *Kn. Ch.*, 30th Mar. and 31st May 1540, II, 1–2, in *L.P.*, 151, 155, pp. 149–150; see *Teind Valuation* in note 21 below; it was also called Toward-Fleming; John also witnessed deeds of Argyll at Glenshellish at Loch Eck head, *Poltalloch Writs*, 18th June

1547, in *Genealogist* (1922), xxxviii, 139, and as Ian at Carrick Castle and at Inveraray in *Argyll Charters*, 31st Mar. 1545 and — Nov. 1550; *Argyll Inventory* (Reg. Ho.), 30th Dec. 1524 and 11th Nov. 1539, fol. 152, No. 13, and fol. 79, No. 61, in *L.P.*, 1400, 1405, pp. 410-1; see note 26 below; the reddendo for Toward-nuilt was £4, 4 bolls bere, 1 mart cow and 1 mutton, with services unspecified by land and sea.

11. *Dunoon Charters*, 8th and 17th Oct. 1523, II, 8-10; the Gaelic saying is “*is ann a bhios a' chòir mar a chumar i*,” Nicolson, p. 212; see eviction proceedings in *Dunoon Charters*, 24th July 1561, inaccurately transcribed in *L.P.*, 1423, p. 414, where Innellan ewes are represented as producing 3 lambs a year, and Innellan mares 3 foals !!; cf. *Argyll's Scotland*, ii, 254; information from Knockdow.

12. See above, pp. 93, 95; *Broclach* means badger, *Knockdow Place Names*, pp. 212-3; Pont's *Map* shows Brackley as wooded in 1600; *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Aug. 1548, and *A. & D.*, 5th May 1554, viii, 468, in *L.P.*, 180, 194, pp. 58, 66; see last note; *Dunoon Charters*, 3rd May and 7th and 9th July 1568, II, 11-13; Argyll granted Ardnadam to the Campbells in warrandice of Innellan, *ibid.*, 31st Dec. 1568, and 2nd Feb. 1568-9, II, 14-15.

13. *Kn. Ch.*, 8th and 20th Aug. 1565, 13th June and 23rd July 1569, II, 4-5, III, 1-3, in *L.P.*, 254-5, 271, pp. 81, 87-8; the feu-duty in Dunoon was 6s. 8d. Scots; *I.C.(A.)*, 18th Feb. 1573-4, and *Kn. Ch.*, 6th Jan. 1604, I, 9, in *L.P.*, 284, 380, pp. 90, 121; see Knockdow's *Lecture* of 1899, p. 28; in the *Rental* of 1646, fol. 10 (see note 21 below), the duty for Stron dharaig is given at 80 merks money, but in *Decreets (Mackenzie)*, 20th Feb. 1686, vol. 133(4), fol. 1, as valued at £38, 13s. 4d., i.e. 58 merks; *Knockdow Place Names*, pp. 209-210, suggests “*Sron ghearr eig*” as the correct form, i.e. the “promontory of the short notch”; as to wills, see above, p. 111.

14. Sir John Crawford's *Protocols Book*, 1541-1550 (Reg. Ho.), 11th Aug. 1549, fol. 38b, 41a; see note 13 above; *Reports of Ministers*, 1750, v, 2331; there was also litigation as to teinds when the vicar was himself a Lamont, *A. & D.*, 8th June 1575, lx, 29; in an *Argyll Charter* of 1576 Gorrie McVarison Lamont witnessed a collation at Kilmore in Lorne, but who he was is unknown.

15. See above, p. 97; *Liber Officialis Sti. Andree* (Abbotsford Club, 1845), 11th Oct. 1559, p. 169, in *L.P.*, 216, p. 71, and D. Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland* (1910), pp. 504-5; *Kn. Ch.*, 27th Oct. 1557, II, 3, in *L.P.*, 208, p. 69; Nicolson, p. 288; *Kn. Ch.*, 11th May 1560, I, 3, in *L.P.*, 227, p. 74.

16. *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Aug. 1548 (in *L.P.*, 180, p. 58), the letters being notarially executed; *Dumbarton Protocols*, 8th July 1569 (John McGorrie, son and apparent heir of John Barroun McGorrie); see above, pp. 113-5; *I.C.(A.)*, 18th Feb. 1573-4, in *L.P.*, 284, p. 90; (*A. & D.*, 6th July 1576, lxiii, 344; for bows-and-arrows at Dunoon see *Old Statistical Account* (1791), ii, 384; John og was still only fiar in 1580-3, *I.C.*, 25th June 1580 (in *L.P.*, 306, p. 98), *I.C.(A.)*, 25th June 1580, and *Dunoon Charters*, 20th June 1583, XVII, 12, in *L.P.*, 307, 1427, pp. 98, 417.

17. See last two notes; *Duke of Roxburgh v. Ker*, 1822, 1 Shaw App. 137, 6 Paton 820; see also note in *L.P.*, 227, p. 75; see *I.C.(A.)*, 25th June 1580, in *L.P.*, 307, p. 98; *Kn. Ch.*, 30th Mar. 1540, II, 1, and 26th Nov. 1601, I, 6, in *L.P.*, 151, 375, pp. 49, 119, notary attesting illiteracy in latter; *ibid.*, 6th Jan. 1604, I, 9, in *L.P.*, 380, p. 121; see above, p. 383.

18. *Dunoon Charters*, 7th July 1578, I, 6-7, *Kn. Ch.*, 31st May 1540 and 11th May 1560, II, 2, and I, 3, in *L.P.*, 1425, 155, 227, pp. 415, 50, 74; see above, p. 420; *Argyll Valuation* of 1751 (inaccurately transcribed in Brown's *Cowal*, pp. 29-30); in *Argyll Sasines*, 1st Oct. 1618, Garrachoran is described as a 15s. land of old extent.

19. *Kn. Ch.*, 26th Nov. 1601, I, 6, in *L.P.*, 375, p. 119 (Archibald Lamont in Dunloskin, witness); *Deeds (Scott)*, 26th Dec. 1618, vol. 218, and *Argyll Sasines*, 28th Feb. 1618, i, 33, in *L.P.*, 406, 423, pp. 127, 131; from the fact that he could apparently sign in 1601 one assumes the new laird had been schooled in Dunoon and was probably the Duncan McGorrie in Dunoon who witnessed a sasine for Knockdow in *Kn. Ch.*, 25th May 1610, III, 5, in *L.P.*, 392, p. 125; *Argyll Sasines*, 28th Feb. and 1st Oct., i, 33, 70, in *L.P.*, 423, 425, p. 131; probably the late laird is the Duncan Lamont alias McGorrie in Gleckavoil by Eilean Greg in *Deeds (Scott)*, 1st Mar. 1624, vol. 356, in *L.P.*, 468, p. 141; Duncan Lamont alias McGorrie witnessed sasine at Raschailzie, *Duntroon Charters*, 9th Sept. 1606.

20. *I.C.*, 15th Mar. 1600, in *L.P.*, 369, p. 117; he was again witness for Sir COLL XIII at Kildavaig in *I.C.(A.)*, 23rd Jan. 1619, in *L.P.*, 433, p. 133; King Hewison's *Bute*, i, 137, 168, ii, 295; Kelspoke is marked on sheet 17 of Thomson's *Atlas* of 1832 as the end of the road between Lubas and Dunagoil; it has now disappeared; see *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 17th Apr. 1695, and *Rental* in next note; *Kn. Ch.*, 6th Jan. 1604, and 25th May 1610, I, 8-9, and III, 4-5, in *L.P.*, 379-380, 392, pp. 121, 125.

21. *Report on Teinds*, 1629, pp. 2, 7-8; see above, p. 138; the figures are Toward 7 bolls meal at 10 merks and £6, 13s. 4d., i.e. £266, 13s. 4d., Inverchaolain, Knockdow and Strondharaig 9 bolls and £21, i.e. £405; *Rental* of 1642-6 in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 10; the tenants paid £200 in money, 6 stones butter, 40 dozen eggs, 2½ dozen fowls, 17 wedders, 7 fed veals and 4 fed kids, *ibid.*; see above, pp. 138-9, 154; in 1750 the minister's horse fed on the neighbouring mountain, *Reports of Ministers*, v, 2331; *Argyll Charters*, 30th Nov. 1635, in *L.P.*, 577, p. 170; *Teind Papers (Argyll)*, 4th June 1635, Gorrie Lamont mentioned on 17th June as witness to execution on Gilbert vii.

22. Gilbert's son Duncan is still fiar in *Edinburgh Testaments*, 22nd Jan. 1636, vol. lx, in *L.P.*, 580, p. 171; in an *Inventory of Writs* in *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 27th Jan. 1735 (in *L.P.*, 1218, p. 354), is mention of a bond of 9th and 14th June 1641 by Sir JAMES XIV in which Duncan was designed "of Knockdow," implying that his father was then dead; it is recorded but the volume is missing.

23. See above, p. 151; *G.R.S.*, 2nd Feb. 1619, ii, 376; *Deeds (Scott)*, 1st Mar. 1624, vol. 356, in *L.P.*, 468, p. 141; *Synod Records*, 10th Oct. 1642, 25th May 1643, vol. i (modern copy, fols. 58, 74); *Reports of Ministers*, v, 2337; *Kn. Ch.*, 25th May 1610, III, 4-5, in *L.P.*, 392, p. 125; *ibid.*, 2nd Nov. 1627, I, 10, and *Deeds (Scott)*, 31st Jan. 1631, vol. 435, in *L.P.*, 485, 518, pp. 146, 154; see above, p. 135; *Deeds (Durie)*, 1674, No. 261 (registered 25th Mar. 1674, xxxv, 608, but so inaccurately as to omit the material part); for John see note 26 below.

24. *Decrees (Dalrymple)*, 30th July 1667, recorded as *licet* under 30th July 1669, vol. 29, and 3rd July 1668, vol. 28 (1000 merks), and *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 27th Jan. 1735, item 8 (in *L.P.*, 1218, p. 354, 2000 merks); see above, p. 151; *Inveraray Deeds*, 13th Feb. 1642, II, 4 (200 m.); *Inveraray Processes*, 1670, *Freelands v. Lamont, ibid.* (£100); John's only appearance in record is at his death, see next note.

25. *Precognitions* of Duncan Currie and John Cuninghame in Knockdow in *Forfeiture Process* of 1661; see above, pp. 177, 181, 187, 176; curiously enough the baron was not designed "of Knockdow" in the list of the slain, but his identity is made clear, *L.P.*, 786, p. 230; he may have been one of the two Duncan Lamonts who participated in the capture by Toward garrison of Baron McGibbon, *Stonefield MSS.*, ii, 119.

26. *Deeds (Durie)*, 1st Jan. 1662, iii, 424; *Indictment* of 1661, in *L.P.*, 786, p. 230; see above, pp. 181, 199; in an action by the Dunoon miller for multures of Toward McGorrie, Ninian was only called to account from 1660, *Inveraray Processes*, 1669, *McArthur v. Multuris*, box II, shelf 4, the only reference to him as baron McGorrie; for John see *G.R.S.*, 28th July 1653, v, 185, and 14th Apr. 1649, lx, 19; for Ninian's illiteracy see *Deeds (Durie)*, 1662, No. 1 (regd. 1st Jan. 1662, iii, 424), and *Kn. Ch.*, 9th May 1666, I, 11, in *L.P.*, 851 (11), p. 255.

27. *Deeds (Durie)*, 1st Jan. 1662, iii, 424; John came of age in 1684, see *R.P.C.*, 16th August 1683, and — Aug. 1684, viii, 556, and ix, 323; James died in 1739 aged 75, see *Tombstone* in Knockdow burying-place at Inverchaolain kirk door; in 1684 John x was living at Inverchaolain, *Minutes regarding Penal Statutes*, 5th Nov. to 4th Dec. 1684, *Inveraray Records*, II, 4; *G.R.S.*, 20th June 1664, x, 60; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 17th Sept. 1661, ii, 539; see also *Kn. Ch.*, 17th Oct. 1666, in *G.R.S.*, 29th Oct. 1666, xv, 374, and *L.P.*, 851 (13), p. 255, and *G.R.S.*, 30th Oct. 1666 and 29th Feb. 1668, xv, 377, and xviii, 405, where he is designed both as "McGorrie's son" and as Ninian's brother.

28. *Kn. Ch.*, 9th May and 17th Oct. 1666, and *Crawford MSS.*, fol. 277, in *L.P.*, 851, 1451, pp. 255, 429; *G.R.S.*, 29th and 30th Oct. 1666, xv, 374, 377; John's saine included Toward-nuilt (in which was a Gilbert Lamont), to which Argyll had never granted entry; the entry from Sir JAMES XIV was really invalid, the apprisers being the legal superiors of the barony; no attempt was made to deal with the Dunoon property; writing to ARCHIBALD XV on 17th Nov. 1664, the family lawyer added "I shall advert to Mcgoirres business according to your letter," doubtless referring to these transactions; Ninian renounced the succession to his father, *Decreets (Dalrymple)* as in note 24 above; one creditor adjudicated Duncan viii's whole estate, *ibid.*, 12th Feb. 1669, vol. 31 (*McNeill v. Lamont*); Archibald v and last of Silvercraigs witnessed an execution on Ninian on 16th Oct. 1669, *Freelands v. Lamont* as in note 24 above.

29. *Kn. Ch.*, 27th Feb. 1670, I, 14, in *G.R.S.*, 4 Mar. 1670, xxiv, 208, and *L.P.*, 882, p. 264; see index to *Argyll Sasines, s.v.* "McKinnie"; see below, p. 431, above, p. 234; *Dunoon Charters*, 8th July 1678, bundle X; *Argyll Charters*, 19th Feb. 1679; *Kn. Ch.*, 19th Feb. and 28th Mar. 1679 (in *G.R.S.*, 5th May 1679, xlii, 128), in *L.P.*, 937-8, pp. 276-7, 435; John x is also styled baron in *Argyll Charters*, — Nov. 1679, in *L.P.*, 941, p. 278, and *Crawford MSS.* as in last note; the old miscellaneous feu-duty was now commuted into a money payment of £46 odds.

30. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 9th Sept. 1681; *I.C.(A.)*, 1686, *Information for the Laird of Lamont*; cp. *Decreets (Mackenzie)*, 20th Feb. 1686, vol. 133(4) in favour of Bishop of Isles; *R.P.C.*, 16th Aug. 1683, viii, 556; see also *Argyll Charters*, 19th Feb. 1679; *G.R.S.*, 25th May 1685, lii, 24; as to Archibald see also *G.R.S.*, 5th May 1679 and 2nd June 1683, xlii, 128, and xlix, 4 (latter in *L.P.*, 964, p. 284); *Argyll Charters*, — Nov. 1679, in *L.P.*, 941, p. 278; see above, p. 236.

31. *Kn. Ch.*, 3 Mar. and 22nd May 1683, III, 6-7, in *G.R.S.*, 2nd June 1683, xlix, 4, and *L.P.*, 964, p. 284; *R.P.C.*, 16th Aug. 1683 and — Aug. 1684, viii, 556, and ix,

323 (for 500 merks with uncle Archibald and £1000 with Campbell of Doire-nan-corach); see above, pp. 239-40, 250; *Minutes* as in note 27; *Crawford MSS.*, fol. 277, in *L.P.*, 1451, 938, pp. 429, 435; *Decrees* as in note 30; for tenants see *Commons of Argyll*, p. 54.

32. James xi first appears in *I.C.(A.)*, 3rd June 1688, and *Argyll Sasines*, 15th Sept. 1688, ii, 245, in *L.P.*, 997, 999, p. 295; for alias McGorrie see *L.P.*, 1109, 1114, 1227, pp. 325-7, 356, and for baron *Bute Rental*, 1696, and *Inveraray Supply Records*, Jan. 1694, Apr. 1696, II, 4, and 9th Mar. 1724, IV, 1; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 17th Apr. 1695; Nicolson, p. 303, for *ma chaidh i do 'n allt, cha b' ann le clùd nan soithichean*; *Rothesay Kirk Session Registers*, 13th and 30th July 1691, ii (76-7); see below, p. 431, and above, p. 253; *Argyll Justiciary Records*, 7th Nov. 1691, ii, 46; he was at Dunoon fair at Michaelmas 1703, *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 14th Dec. 1703, ii, 368-9; *Kn. Ch.*, 1st Jan. 1694, No. 9.

33. James xi could at least write, see, e.g., *Dunoon Deeds*, 16th Sept. 1703, v (vii), 123, *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 17th June 1731, vol. 149, and *Inveraray Supply Records*, 1st June 1709, IV, 1; *ibid.*, Jan. 1694, and Apr. 1696, II, 4; see above, pp. 260-1, 274, 283; *Dunoon Charters*, 21st Feb. 1694, 3rd Jan. 1692 and 11th Jan. 1697, bundle X; see also *ibid.*, 1 Dec. 1697, 16th Jan. 1718, 1st Feb. 1723, 22nd Feb. 1732, 27th Jan. 1738; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 29th June 1703, ii, 359; *Kn. Ch.*, 15th Feb. 1697, 26th Mar. 1698, and 15th Apr. 1774, I, 15-17, in *L.P.*, 1055, 1061, 1295, pp. 309-10, 375; *Rental* of 1729, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 48.

34. Brown's *Cowal*, p. 106, and *Letter to Knockdow*, 20th Oct. 1904, in *C.L.J.*, iii, 107; *Tombstone* at Inverchaolain recording that Jean Fullerton, mother of Rev. Mr Alexander xiii of Knockdow, died in Oct. 1756, aged 73; *Argyll Sasines*, 23rd Aug. 1712, vi (i), 164 (providing annuity of 250 merks from Toward-nuilt and Strondharaig); their daughter married in 1719, see below, p. 428; for Fullertons see *Kn. Ch.*, 8th Oct. 1713, II, 9, and *Argyll Sasines*, 26th Oct. 1713, iv, 194, in *L.P.*, 1118-20, pp. 328-9, *index* to *L.P.*, p. 453, and Brown's *Cowal*, pp. 106-7; *Rothesay Kirk Session Registers*, 10th Dec. 1703, vol. ii (pp. 175, 211); he must not be confused with another Archibald Lamont in Rothesay later, see *ibid.*, 17th Nov. 1726 (p. 396), from Kilfinan parish, who left issue, see *Rothesay Marriages*, Apr. 1712, and *Births*, *passim*.

35. *Argyll Sasines*, 23rd Aug. 1712, iv (i), 164, as to both; the second bought a horse in 1706 for £4, 10s. from a McNab in Invernoaden at Loch Eck head; as to *Tigh-na-crich* see *Dunoon O.P.R.*, *passim*, *I.C.(A.)*, 4th Jan. 1712 (change-house), and *Dunoon Deeds*, 10th Jan. 1712, fol. 506; see *L.P.*, 1109, 1114, 1161, 1234, 1240-1, 1280, pp. 326-7, 340, 358, 361, 371, and *Dunoon Ch.*, 5th June 1745, ix, 30; see also *Rothesay Marriages*, 1731, *Inverchaolain Marriages*, 1763, and *I.C.(A. & L.-C.)*, 17th Aug. 1775; for Donald Black in T. see *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, — Mar. 1696, ii, 85; the late Miss Mary Turner, Kirknewton, and Mr A. C. Turner, Clynder, are descended from Archibald in *Tigh-na-crich*.

36. *A.P.S.*, 5th Aug. 1704, xi, 147, in *L.P.*, 1086, p. 319; *Inveraray Supply Records*, 27th Apr. 1708, 1st June 1709, 11th May 1710, 11th May 1711, 12th May 1712, — 1720, box IV, shelf 1; as to distances see *Reports of Ministers* (1750), v, 2333; *Argyll Justiciary Registers*, 23rd Dec. 1710, ii, 247, 251, 257, 260; *Kn. Ch.*, 19th Oct. 1711, II, 8, and *Argyll Sasines*, 23rd Aug. 1712, iv (i), 163, in *L.P.*, 1109, 1114, pp. 326-7; the return included a "parapsis" of butter (a rounded dish, see Du Cange, *Glossarium*), and "hosting and stenting" in battle, war or quarrel.

37. See above, p. 258; *Argyll Sasines*, 21st July 1722, iv, 575, in *L.P.*, 1164, p. 341; *Inveraray Supply Records*, — 1710, see also 11th Jan. 1712, both IV, 1; see note 31 to chap. xiii, and *Facsimile* at Glenakil, Tarbert, and in *Scottish Antiquary*, xiii, 126; Knockdow met his chief at Achafour, *Dunoon Deeds*, 10th Jan. 1712, fol. 506, at Rothesay, *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 29th June 1714, and at Ardlamont, *Argyll Sasines*, 17th Aug. 1726, v, 374, two last in *L.P.*, 1130, 1180, pp. 330, 346.

38. *Argyll Sasines*, 8th Jan. 1725, and *Glasgow Univ. Muniments*, 13th Feb. 1721, iii, 220, in *L.P.*, 1172, 1158, pp. 344, 339; undesigned in latter, but doubtless same as the Colin yr. of Knockdow in *South Hall Charters*, 1st Apr. 1728, in *L.P.*, 1195, p. 349; *Glasgow Matriculations*, No. 1276 of 1732; see above, p. 283; *Argyll Sasines*, 23rd May and 25th Nov. 1728, vi, 141 and 201, in *L.P.*, 1195, 1198, pp. 349-50; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 17th June 1731, vol. 149; *Inveraray Supply Records*, 14th June 1733, IV, 1; see *Old Statistical Account* (1793), v, 471; *Knockdow Papers* as in note 41 below; James consented to a new glebe at Dunoon, see *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 4th Jan. 1698, ii, 152; *Tombstone* as in note 34 above.

39. *Kn. Ch.*, 13th Oct. 1744 and 30th May 1745, II, 10-11, in *L.P.*, 1227-8, p. 356; he never made up title to the Lamont section, see *L.P.*, 1295-6, in note below; *Militia Levy* in Dunoon Court House, 1745; Knockdow's 18 merk lands should be 13, and Kilmichael's 15 should be 23 if Achafour be included; *Old S.A.* as in last note; *Valuation Roll*, 1711, in *L.P.*, 1237, p. 39, not including Achafour; *Kn. Ch.*, 23rd Sept., 19th Nov. and 24th Dec. 1701, IV, 1-3, in *L.P.*, 1080-82, pp. 317-8; the £1000 included Killellan and Achafour, for which they got £1233 sterling from Dr George Lamont in 1753, *Kn. Ch.*, 31st Oct. 1753, V, 9, and *I.C.*, 31st Oct. 1753 in *L.P.*, 1244, p. 362; as to improvements, see *I.C.(A.)*, 13th Aug. 1741.

40. *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie)*, 1734, *Lamont v. Melvill*; *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 28th Mar. 1747, vol. 173; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 20th Dec. 1749, vol. 166; *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 26th June 1752, vol. 461, *I.C.(A.)*, 13th Aug. 1741; *Kn. Ch.*, 30th May 1748 and 22nd July 1751 (in *Argyll Sasines*, 11th July 1748 and 24th Aug. 1751, viii, 6 and 240), 31st Oct. 1753 (also in *I.C.*), and 4th May 1754, V, 3-9, *I.C.*, 4th May 1754 (in *Argyll Sasines*, 2nd July 1754, viii, 416), *Argyll Sasines*, 2nd July 1754, viii, 417, all in *L.P.*, 1234, 1240-1, 1244, 1249-53, pp. 357-8, 360-4; see above, p. 303; *luchd nan casag* was a common name for lowlanders, see Nicolson, p. 301; incomers in Argyllshire estates were resented, Rev. John Smith, *Agricultural Survey of Argyllshire* (1798), p. 13.

41. See Nicolson, p. 242, for *is fhearr aon sine na ceathramh coirce*; *Reports of Ministers*, v. 2330, 2328; *Knockdow Papers*, 21st Feb. 1766, in Knockdow's 1902 *Lecture*, p. 27; the minister was then next in income to the laird, see Smith's *Survey*, p. 42, note; Scott's *Fasti*, iv, 29.

42. *Knockdow Papers*, 22nd Nov. 1755, *Dunoon Deeds*, 4th Oct. 1763, and *Kn. Ch.*, 8th June 1781, VI, 19, in *L.P.*, 1258, 1268, 1310, pp. 365, 368, 379; Alexander's wife succeeded in her own right to $\frac{1}{2}$ the 4 merk lands of Torranmore, *Dunoon Deeds*, 7th Jan. 1755 and 15th Apr. 1791, in *L.P.*, 1255, 1473, pp. 365, 439, as to which see Knockdow's *Cowal Lecture* (1909), p. 26; his children benefited from the estate of their mother's mother, see *Kn. Ch.*, 8th June 1781, above; see *Session Papers* in note 57 below; *Dunoon Charters*, 11th Jan. 1750, VIII, 20, in *L.P.*, 1236, p. 358; the tocher was £100 stg. or £1200 Scots; *Dunoon Marriages*, 1750.

43. *Dunoon Charters*, 23rd May 1752, IX, 21; Colin had been witness for the chief at Ardyne in *I.C.(A.)*, 31st May 1748; *Inverchaolain Births*, 1750, 1752-3, 1755 and 1757, in *C.L.J.*, ii, 928, 124-6; *Register of Retours*, 10th Mar. 1769, lxxviii, 308; the death of the sons is omitted from *L.P.*, 1275-6, pp. 369-70; the death of Lilly and Agnes is to be presumed from their omission in 1780, see entail in note 51 below; "Mr" William was at Inverchaolain in 1766, *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Nov. 1766; for Helen see notes 49 and 51 below.

44. *Reports and Knockdow Papers* as in note 41; *Old S.A.* (1793), v. 472, 465-7; *Reports of Ministers*, v, 2336; see above, p. 307.

45. *Old S.A.* as in last note; George Williamson, *Old Greenock* (2nd series, 1888), pp. 183-4; *Inverchaolain Births*, 1746 and 1749, in *C.L.J.*, 11, 67, 96; the only corroboration of the Carlisle incident is that the deaths for 1753 in Carlisle were unusually high in number according to information supplied by the public library there.

46. The Session Registers for 1721-73 existed in 1888, see Rev. Thos. Burns, *Church Property* (1905), p. 240; *Kilfinan Births*, 1767, in *C.L.J.*, i, 127; *Reports of Ministers* as above, see above, p. 291; *Knockdow Papers*, 22nd Nov. 1755, in *L.P.*, 1258, p. 365; Scott's *Fasti*, iv, 29; none are entered in *Kilfinan Births*; Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* (1938), p. 1477; *Dunoon Deeds*, 25th Nov. 1754 and 5th Jan. 1756, in *L.P.*, 1467, 1259, pp. 437, 366; *Glasgow Matriculations*, 1766, No. 2492; Williamson, p. 184.

47. See *I.C.*, 27th July 1771, *I.C.(A.)*, 25th Aug. 1775, *Inverchaolain Marriages*, 1776, 1779; Nicolson, p. 75; *Knockdow Papers*, 21st Feb. 1766 (also 28th Dec. 1764) in Knockdow's *1902 Lecture*, pp. 26-7; Knockdow was baptising children in his colleague's parish in 1766, *Inverchaolain Births* in *C.L.J.*, i, 182, 184.

48. *Register of Retours*, 10th Mar. 1769, lxxviii, 308; *Kn. Ch.*, 10th Mar. 1769, V, 10, in *L.P.*, 1275-6, pp. 369-70; to Toward and Strondharaig by *Kn. Ch.*, 6th May 1769, II, 12, and *Argyll Sasines*, 21st July 1769, x, 222, in *L.P.*, 1277, 1281, pp. 370-1; to Kilmichael and Brackleys by *Kn. Ch.*, 6th and 25th May 1769, V, 11-12, and *Argyll Sasines*, 21st July 1769, x, 221, in *L.P.*, 1277-80, pp. 370-1; see also *Kn. Ch.*, 20th, 21st and 28th Jan. 1780, V, 13-15, and *Argyll Sasines*, 12th Feb. 1780, xii, 2-3, in *L.P.*, 1304-8, pp. 377-8; to Knockdow by *Kn. Ch.*, 15th Apr. 1774, I, 17 (in *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 8), and *Argyll Sasines*, 4th Aug. 1775, xi, 170, in *L.P.*, 1295-6, p. 375; *I.C.(A.)* as in note 2 above.

49. *Kn. Ch.*, 5th Sept. 1778, 29th Mar. 1779, 29th June 1784, 5th Nov. 1785, 23rd Nov. 1789, 5th Oct. 1790, and 6th Apr. 1798, VI, 14-16, 20-1, 24, 26-7, 32, in *L.P.*, 1298-1300, 1314-5, 1318, 1322, 1326, 1336, pp. 376, 380-3, 387, 390; as to William see also *I.C.(A.)* as in note 2 above; *Kn. Ch.*, 11th Apr. 1787, VI, 25, in *L.P.*, 1320, p. 382; as to Helen see *Unextracted Processes (Adams)*, *Lamont or Black v. Heirs of Glasgow Town Clerk*, 1790, bundle II, No. 64, index to *L.P.*, p. 464, above, p. 316, and note 51 below.

50. *I.C.*, 27th July 1771; *Edr. Marriages*, 23rd Apr. 1779, iii, 411; *Glasgow Mercury*, 27th Apr. 1779; *Scots Magazine*, lxi, 221, in *L.P.*, 1302, p. 377; see index to *L.P.*, p. 479; *Greyfriars Epitaphs* (1867), p. 172, in *L.P.*, 1303, p. 377; *Scots Magazine*, lxi, 341; other references to him are in *I.C.(A.)* as in note 2 above, *L.P.*, 1295-6 as in note 48 above, and *Kn. Ch.*, 1779, in *L.P.*, 1301, p. 377; the tombstone is in the N.W. sector.

51. Scott's *Fasti*, iv, 29; *Old S.A.* (1795), xiv, 252, note; *Kn. Ch.*, 24th May 1780, and 7th May 1825, VI, 18 and VII, 19, in *L.P.*, 1309, 1355, pp. 378, 396; *Register of Entails*, 10th Aug. 1780, x, 3, No. 686; *Argyll Sasines*, 10th July 1781, xii, 71; see above, p. 325; Knockdow made his will the same day, *Argyll Testaments*, 17th Aug. 1781, vol. xv, in *L.P.*, 1311, p. 379; for Helen see *Scots Magazine* (1786), xlvi, 621, *L.P.*, 1310-11, 1331-4, 1471, pp. 379-80, 388-9, 438; JOHN XVIII was at Inverchaolain in 1779, see *Kn. Ch.*, 8th June 1781, VI, 19, in *L.P.*, 1310, p. 379; see *L.P.*, 1296 as in note 48 above, and *O.S.A.* (1793), v, 471.

52. The account of Colin in Williamson's *Old Greenock*, p. 184, although corroborated in essentials, is probably inaccurate in small details; *Glasgow Matriculations* do not mention Colin, and the entail shows that he was a tutor before the minister's death; in William's will, *L.P.*, 1320, as in note 49, Colin is a "well beloved friend," *i.e.* relation, but Dugald is a "nephew," phraseology which supports the descent from Ninian, rather than from Elspeth Campbell; for the Youngs see *Scots Magazine* (1780), xlii, 563, *Glasgow Mercury*, — Sept. 1780, *London Courant* and *Westminster Chronicle*, 4th Oct. 1780, index to *L.P.*, pp. 464, 484, Knockdow's 1902 *Lecture*, pp. 32-3, and *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk* (1819), iii, 180; *Argyll Testaments*, and *Fasti* as in last note; Burke as in note 46 above; Williamson, pp. 182, 155.

53. *Knockdow Papers*, 27th Mar. 1787 (extract of 10th Dec. 1890 from Presbytery Register); *Knockdow Place Names*, pp. 216-8; *Inverchaolain Births*, 1784-5, in *C.L.J.*, ii, 255; *ibid.*, 1782, ii, 235; *Session Papers* in *Crown v. Lamont*, 1856, 18 D. 374, pp. 12, 54, etc.; see also 1857, 19 D. 779; the mother was Isabel Clark and died some years before him; he was not the same person as the John Lamont, writer in Greenock in 1803, as was assumed in *L.P.*, p. 458; *Kn. Ch.*, 21st Dec. 1784, VI, 22, in *Argyll Sasines*, 3rd Feb. 1785, xii, 247, and *L.P.*, 1316, p. 381; see also *Kn. Ch.*, 6th Apr. 1798, VI, 32, in *L.P.*, 1336, p. 390; *Trans. Highland Soc.*, i, lxxvii; see above, pp. 313-4; *I.C.(A.)*, 13th Aug. 1741 at p. 4, contrasting Kilmichael with Achafour; Smith's *Survey of Argyllshire*, pp. 305, 42, 46-7.

54. *O.S.A.* (1793), v, 466, in 1899 *Lecture*, pp. 40-1; see also Smith's *Survey*, p. 78, note, in *Cowal Lecture of 1909*, p. 28; the present average yield on the Knockdow estate is 45 bushels, increasing to 48; for the chief's yield see above, p. 332.

55. 1899 *Lecture*, p. 41; note in *Knockdow Papers*; *O.S.A.*, v, 467, 465, 471-3; *Session Papers* in *Dunoon Heritors v. Minister*, 1813, W.S. Lib., vol. 643, No. 22 (ii), p. 2; Thos. Dunlop, *Notes on Dunoon* (1885), p. 24.

56. *Inverchaolain Births*, 1784 to 1802, in *C.L.J.*, ii, 255, 279, iii, 331, 389; Burke as in note 46 above; *Kn. Ch.*, 19th May 1800, VII, 1, in *L.P.*, 1338, p. 390; see note 63 below; information from Knockdow; Burke's *Landed Gentry* (1863), ii, 833; 1899 *Lecture*, p. 43; *C.L.J.*, iii, 652; *Letter* at Knockdow with excerpts from Admiralty records; *Log Book* at Knockdow; *Kn. Ch.*, 26th Aug. 1861, IX, 14, in *L.P.*, 1376, p. 402; see above, p. 326, and below, pp. 436, 440; *Scots Magazine* (1802), lxiv, 275; see *Kn. Ch.*, 8th Feb. 1808, VII, 7, in *L.P.*, 1344, p. 392; for John see note 53.

57. *Kn. Ch.*, 11th Apr. 1787, VI, 25, in *L.P.*, 1320, p. 383; *Services*, 1793, in *L.P.*, 1328, p. 387; Burke, as in note 46 above; Margaret was litigating over her liferent of Torranmore in 1801, see *Session Papers* in *Campbell v. Lamont*, in W.S. Lib., vol. 428, No. 49, and vol. 432, No. 62; *C.L.J.*, iii, 600; 1899 *Lecture*, p. 48; *Glasgow Mercury*, 12th Mar. 1788; Lt. Roderick Mackenzie, *Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultan*, 1789-92

(Calcutta, 1794); Major Dirom, *The War with Tippoo Sultan* (1793); information from Lt.-Col. John Graham, Lingo, Largoward, Fife; a portrait of Eliz. Robertson not considered a good likeness was given away to Chas. Cook, W.S., at 48 Great King Street, Edinburgh, 3.

58. Note among *Knockdow Papers* and *Letter* from A. L. Macbeth, 13th Mar. 1902; among the *Knockdow Papers* is a rental of Arran, 1804-11, compiled by James as chamberlain; *1899 Lecture*, p. 41; he insured the house in 1792 for £1300, *Kn. Ch.*, 28th Feb. 1792, in *L.P.*, 1327, p. 387; *Plan* at Knockdow; *Marriage Contract*, of — 1783, in *Kn. Ch.*; *Dunlop's Notes*, p. 19; *Kn. Ch.*, 8th Nov. 1806, 5th July and 21st Aug. 1809, VII, 3, 10-11, and *Argyll Sasines*, vol. 847, fol. 38, in *L.P.*, 1343, 1345-6, pp. 392-3; the tradition at Knockdow is that James was a Tory, otherwise probably the chief would not have sold; see also Bridges' *Political State of Scotland* (1812), p. 16, and above, p. 340.

59. See above, pp. 322-3; his assignation of the lease of the standard-bearer's holding would extinguish the servitude created in 1772 (see note 2 above), and he bought an acre from Kirkman Finlay, *Kn. Ch.*, 17th Nov. 1786 and 5th Dec. 1827, V, 16, and VII, 21, in *L.P.*, 1319, 1357, pp. 382, 397; he developed the Dunoon property also, see *Kn. Ch.*, 8th Aug. 1803 and 15th Jan. 1810, VII, 2, 12, in *L.P.*, 1340, 1348, pp. 391, 393; *Argyll Sasines*, 31st Aug. 1810, xx, 151; *A Picture of Glasgow* (1812); see above, p. 337.

60. *Session Papers* as in note 53 above, pp. 12-13, etc.; present Knockdow, *A Trinidad Plantation in Tropical Agriculture* (1928), v, 167, *Problems of Trinidad* (1933), p. 224, and *Life of a West Indian Planter 100 years ago in Public Lectures to Trinidad Historical Society*, 1935-6, pp. 13-30, where the whole career of John has been written up in detail; as to slaves see note 70 below.

61. References in last note; *Trinidad Land Register*, 23rd Nov. 1819 and 1st Mar. 1823, and *Trinidad Almanac*, 1823, in *L.P.*, 1476-8, p. 439; L. M. Fraser, *History of Trinidad* (1896), p. 115 (which puts "James" in error for "John") in *L.P.*, 1350, p. 395; see also *Port of Spain Gazette*, 21st Feb. 1826 and 7th Mar. 1827, and *Trinidad Gazette*, 23rd Mar. 1825; *C.L.J.*, iv, 52.

62. *Session Papers* as in note 53 above, p. 13; *C.L.J.*, iii, 601-2; Burke as in note 46 above; *1899 Lecture*, pp. 49-50; *Scots Magazine* (1816), lxxviii, 557; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1824), xciv (i), 173, in *L.P.*, 1354, p. 396; *ibid.* (1812-4), lxxxiii (i), 277, 371, and lxxxiv (ii), 371; *Knockdow Museum Catalogue*, No. 161; *Kn. Ch.*, 23rd Jan., 1st and 12th Feb. 1830, in *L.P.*, 1358-60, pp. 397-8; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1828), xlvi (ii), 171; among the plate of the 91st Regiment is a cup presented by Capt. Norman won by his chestnut mare Columbine in the Park Military Races, Jamaica, on 18th April 1826; *Argyll Testaments*, 1829.

63. *History of W.S. Society* (1936), p. 217; his signature as clerk to Crawford Tait, W.S. (now Tait & Crichton, 41 Northumberland Street), is on the *Stronachan Inventory* of 1818; see *Unextracted Processes (Potts), Lamont v. Tait*, 1828, v, 89; see above, p. 342; he set up for himself at 19 Broughton Place in 1824, *Edinburgh Directories*, 1824-5, p. 119, 1825-6, p. 162, 1832-3, p. 102, etc., the last being 1856-7, p. 123; see also *Hunter v. Duke of Queensberry*, 1827, 6 S. 89; Burke as in note 46; *Kn. Ch.*, 26th Aug. 1861, 27th Mar. 1854, and 19th Nov. 1860, IX, 14, 13, 7, in *L.P.*, 1370, 1373, 1375, pp. 401-2; *Inverchaolain Marriages*, 1829; *Inverchaolain Births*, 1835, in *C.L.J.*, iii, 472;

Deeds, 8th Apr. 1829, vol. 384, fol. 590, and 14th Jan. 1840, vol. 632, fol. 690; see also above, pp. 351, 354-5, 361.

64. *Edinburgh Directory*, 1824-5, p. 120, shows "Lamont, James, R.N., 1 Hart Street"; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1854), xli, 222, in *L.P.*, 1372, p. 401; *C.L.J.*, iii, 652; *Knockdow Museum Catalogue*, No. 171; Burke as in note 46; *1899 Lecture*, p. 42; there is a photograph of this portrait at Knockdow from the original in the hands of the Attorney-General of Massachusetts; *Scotsman*, 6th July 1839; *Edinburgh Directories*, 1834-5, p. 51, 1839-40, p. 65.

65. Williamson, pp. 155, 184-5; Weir, *Greenock*, p. 119.

66. Weir, pp. 73-4, 107, note; Williamson, pp. 185-6; John Donald, *The Robertsons* (Greenock, 1925), pp. 3-4.

67. Williamson, p. 185, note; *Greenock West Births*, 1790; Dugald Campbell, *Historical Sketches of Greenock* (1879), i, 225-6, 266-7; Weir *ad finem*; *Greenock West Deaths*, 1868, erroneously states the wife as Jean McGlashan; see note 83 below; *Services*, 28th Nov. 1881, clix, 67.

68. The portraits were recently purchased by Miss Elizabeth Lamont, Altamont, Millbrook, New York, are described as painted in Greenock about 1830, and are supposed to be of a certain Mr Daniel Lamont, whose son or daughter brought them to America. There can be little doubt, however, from the instruments, etc., depicted that Colin is the subject; Williamson, p. 184, note.

69. *Edinburgh Directories*, 1840-1, p. 65, and 1841-2, p. 66, show the firm at 4 Royal Circus and 33 Great King Street, at which latter address it remained until the last year of entry 1854-5, p. 113; the laird was definitely out of practice by 1848, the date of the first *Law List* or *Index Juridicus*; *Buteman*, 24th Aug. 1861; *Lyon Register* (1898), xv, 35; Burke, 1863, ii, 833, 1938, p. 1476; *C.L.J.*, iii, 602; information at Knockdow; Fowler's *Bute Directory* for 1836, in *L.P.*, 1480, p. 439; *C.L.J.*, v, 52.

70. *Trinidad Land Register*, 7th July 1829, in *L.P.*, 1479, p. 439; see note 60 above; *Session Papers* as in that note, pp. 27-8, 40, 54, 24-5; *Colonial Office Library*, Cd. 215, List A, pp. 157-71, List C, p. 323; presumably the first entry in the former (No. 1087 B) relates to St Ellena and that James is an error for John; see *Session Papers*, p. 33, as to interest acquired by Alexander xv by 1849, and p. 25; *C.L.J.*, iii, 601; *1899 Lecture*, pp. 49-50; *Kn. Ch.*, 27th Oct. 1835, 27th July 1846, 20th May 1844, and 26th Aug. 1861, VIII, 9, 22, 21, and IX, 14, in *L.P.*, 1363, 1371, 1370, 1376, pp. 399-402; *Gentleman's Magazine* (1831), ci (ii), 560, and (1843), xx, 641.

71. *C.L.J.*, i, 69; iii, 602; *Session Papers* as in note 60 above, pp. 24, 27, 32-3, 36, 49; the boll contained 8½ imperial bushels by Auchenbreck standard and 6·3 by Inveraray standard; see *C.L.J.*, v, 60-2.

72. *Session Papers* as in note 60 above, pp. 36-9, 29, 35-6, 54, 57, 4-5; information from Knockdow; *San Fernando Gazette*, 23rd Nov. 1850, in *L.P.*, 1481, p. 440; see note 53; the value of sugar plantations slumped heavily after emancipation.

73. Williamson, p. 184, note; *L.P.*, 1372, as in note 64 above; *Kn. Ch.*, 5th Jan. 1860, and 13th Nov. 1861, IX, 6, and X, 6, in *L.P.*, 1374, 1379, pp. 401-3; *Edinburgh Inventories*, 25th Oct. 1853, lxxxi, 192; Burke as in note 46 above; a third daughter Elizabeth was born in 1830 and died in infancy; Jean's descendants are the next heirs

female after Miss Augusta Lamont of Knockdow; *Scotsman*, 22nd Aug. 1861; *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 24th Aug. 1861; *Kn. Ch.*, 2nd and 26th Nov. 1861, 2nd and 7th Jan. 1862, IX, 23, 26, X, 1-3, in *L.P.*, 1378, 1380-3, pp. 402-3.

74. Information and relics at Knockdow; General Sir Ian Hamilton in *Bulletin*, 20th Sept. 1937, p. 25, and 28th Sept. 1937, p. 18; *C.L.J.*, i, 70.

75. *Session Papers* as in note 53 above, pp. 4-5, 54; he did not succeed to the Trinidad estates by inheritance as is inferred in *C.L.J.*, i, 69, but to one-third of a residue of say £75,000; as they were worth £31,000 he had to sell Benmore to pay for them; *Buteman*, 1st Aug. 1913; *Seasons with the Sea Horses* (1861), pp. 1, 297, etc.; *Lecture on American Civil War* (1864), p. 6; *More Letters of Charles Darwin* (1903), i, 143-4, 179; *L.P.*, 1354, as in note 62 above.

76. Information from sheriff-clerk, Dunoon; *C.L.J.*, i, 69-70, 245, iii, 93, and iv, 8; *Buteman* as in last note; *1899 Lecture*, pp. 39-40; information from Knockdow; uncle John had also been an anti-slaver, see *Session Papers* as in note 53 above, p. 20; *American Lecture*, p. 13.

77. See note 75 above; *A Trinidad Plantation* as in note 60 above; *Trinidad Land Register*, 7th Aug. 1859, in *L.P.*, 1482, p. 440.

78. Information from Knockdow; see note 75 above; *Return of Owners of Land in Scotland* (1874), pp. 13, 199; Disentail Petition in S.S.C. Library, 3rd May 1883.

79. Information from Knockdow; *C.L.J.*, iii, 493, 603; inscription in Eton College Ante-Chapel, 20th Oct. 1897, in *L.P.*, 1385, p. 404; *Letter in Oban Times*, 22nd Jan. 1918; see above, p. 370.

80. *C.L.J.*, iii, 340-1, ii, 283, iv, 12; information from Knockdow; *Trinidad Guardian*, 4th Jan. 1934, p. 2; *Lyon Register* (1898), xv, 38.

81. *C.L.J.*, ii, 37, 40, 305, iii, 90, 111, 131, 153, 181-3, 340, iv, 243.

82. *C.L.J.*, i, 160, ii, 77, 260-1, 304, i, 246, iv, 8, 20, 234; see note 3 above.

83. Campbell's *Greenock*, i, 266-7; *Index to Services of Heirs*, 1870; *Minute Book of Renfrewshire Sasines*, 1870, No. 1339; *C.L.J.*, iii, 656; information from Greenock Provident Bank and A. N. Lindsay, Esq. (through courtesy of Col. G. H. Black of Rossie); there is no record of Colin Daniel's death in the bank's books as he did not receive a pension; *1899 Lecture*, p. 42; *Copy Probate*, 23rd June 1898, in Edinburgh Commissary Office (wife's surname not stated); *C.L.J.*, ii, 283, iii, 338; *Times*, 6th Mar. 1934, pp. 15-16.

84. *C.L.J.*, iii, 70, 42, 93; *A Trinidad Plantation* and Burke as in notes 60 and 46 above; see entail as in note 51 above; *Petition*, 8th Nov. 1897, S.S.C. Library.

85. *C.L.J.*, i, 70, 72.

86. *C.L.J.*, i, 92-3, iii, 340, 396; *A Trinidad Plantation* as in note 60 above; *1899 Lecture*, p. 43.

87. *C.L.J.*, i, 215, ii, 310, 132, iv, 48-9, 102, i, 56, iii, 340, iv, 52, 139, 167, 252, iv, 10; a photograph is prefixed to his *1902 Lecture*.

88. *C.L.J.*, i, 24, 89, 130, 183, ii, 275, iv, 139, 75, 142, 172, ii, 92, i, 152, iv, 15, 53, 66, 112, i, 91, 114.

89. Information from Knockdow; *C.L.J.*, iii, 452, 322, v, 54-5, with photographs.
90. *C.L.J.*, iv, 8, 46; in Gaelic *cha 'n fhiach tigh mór gun straihlich*, Nicolson, p. 119; see also *C.L.J.*, i, 173, for photographs of Knockdow House; see above, p. 358; *Cowal Collection of Highland Bagpipe Music*; for description of house and relics see Miss Hume Douglas in (Glasgow) "*Evening News*," 25th Sept. 1934, p. 7.

CHAPTER XXI

1. See Cosmo Innes, *Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities* (1872), p. 270.
2. For holding of chiefs see above, pp. 78-9; for ward see *Rental* of 1642-6, in *L.P.(L.-C.)*, fol. 7, 10; it is peculiar, however, that an "annual-rent" of 5 merks out of Coustoun and Strone (which sounds like a feu-duty as in the case of Monydrain, see above, p. 379) was given by Sir JOHN X in 1554 to his younger son, Mr Archibald of Stillaig (*I.C.(A.)*, 21st June 1554, in *I.I.*, II, i, 1-2, and *L.P.*, 199, p. 67), and held by the latter's descendants till resigned to Sir JAMES XIV in 1641 (*I.I.*, II, i, 10, in *L.P.*, 623, p. 182; see also *L.P.*, 197, 224, 316, 413, pp. 67, 73, 101, 129); Colstane was sometimes rendered "Colfstane," as, e.g., *L.P.*, 145, 197, pp. 48, 67.
3. *Argyll Charters*, 25th Mar. 1498, in *L.P.*, 78, p. 30; see above, pp. 83-4, 69-70, 87; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Oct. 1522, 10th May 1525, *I.I.*, I, v, 2-4, in *L.P.*, 95, 102, pp. 34, 36; *Rentals of Principality*, 1468-1624, shows Killellan, 6 merks, as (?) rented to Effrick Mcfatrick in 1504-5.
4. *A.D.C. et S.*, 27th May, 4th and 30th July 1541, xv, 135, 189, xvi, 108; see also *I.C.(A.)*, 18th Feb. 1552-3, in *L.P.*, 188, p. 61; see above, p. 90; *R.M.S.*, iv, no. 756, in *L.P.*, 189, p. 63; this Patrick may or may not be the undesigned person of that name who appears in 1522, 1540 and 1569 in *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Oct. 1522, *Kn. Ch.*, 26th Aug. 15(4)0, and *I.C.(A.)*, 15th Jan. 1568-9, in *L.P.*, (95), 83, 268, pp. (34), 31, 87.
5. *Kn. Ch.*, 8th Aug. 1565, II, 4, in *L.P.*, 254, p. 81; *Duntroon Charters*, 21st and 30th Dec. 1585, in *Genealogist* (1920), xxxvi, 78-9; see also service on jury at Inveraray of Gilbert Lamont "of Toustill" in *Register of Retours*, 29th Mar. 1574, i, 106, his seal being unfortunately lost; *Ballochyle Charters*, 6th Dec. 1599; *Kn. Ch.*, 26th Nov. 1601, I, 6, in *L.P.*, 375, p. 119; an unidentified John McDonald McPhadrack alias Lamont appears as witness at "Killenan" in *I.C.(A.)*, 4th June 1582, in *L.P.*, 321, p. 104, perhaps descended of baron Duncan; for Donald Dou Mcpatrik in Bute see *Bannatyne Writ*, 20th Mar. 1567-8, iv, 102, and for Allester Mcphadrack's son at Dunoon, 1595-8, see *Argyll Regality Rentals*, i, 6, 26b, 46b, 85a.
6. The Synod of Argyll disjoined the lands of Ard a Chapuill (at Loch Riddon head), Tawnich (by Auchenbreck in Glendaruel), and the two Stillaigs on Loch Striven side, from Inverchaolain parish on 10th Oct. 1642 "by reasone of the farre distance therefrom, being 7 or 8 myles, and of ane interveening ferry," which was presumably that of Coustoun, *Registers*, i, i (modern copy i, 58); as to these lands see *G.R.S.*, 4th Dec. 1620 and 20th Mar. 1626, vii, 47, and xix, 117-9.
7. *Argyll Sasines*, 10th Nov. 1618, i, 79, in *L.P.*, 426, p. 136; *I.C.(A.)*, 23rd Jan. 1619 (in *L.P.*, 433, p. 133), giving Coustoun in error for Troustan); see above, pp.

138-9; *Teinds Papers (Argyll)*, *Summons* of 4th June 1635; *A. & D.*, 23rd Feb. 1643 and 16th Jan. 1639, vol. 522, fol. 234, and vol. 514, fol. 151, in *L.P.*, 650, 611, pp. 188, 179; *Glasgow Testaments*, 6th Dec. 1655, vol. 29, in *L.P.*, 1433, p. 420; *Rental*, as in note 2 above; see above, pp. 153-4; Coustoun and Strone (the former twice as fruitful as the latter) yielded 300 merks, 3 stones of butter, 20 dozen eggs, 1 dozen fowls, 4 wedders, and 5 fed veals each; Troustan and Ardbeg together yielded 180 merks, 5 stones of butter, 33 dozen eggs, 1½ dozen fowls, 5 wedders and fed veals and kids each.

8. *Glasgow Testaments* as in last note; see above, pp. 176-81, 187; *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1635; *Argyll Sasines*, 13th May 1621, i, 161, *Deeds (Scott)*, 1st Mar. 1624, and 13th Mar. 1637, vols. 356 and 509, in *L.P.*, 450, 468, 597, pp. 137, 141, 175, and *Reg. Retours*, 21st Nov. 1634, xiv, 13, all refer to a Patrick Lamont alias McBarron at the mill of Ardentraive, by Colintrave, figuring in record between 1621 and 1637; there was an Archibald McIlphadrick in Invervegain in 1664, *G.R.S.*, 20th June 1664, x, 66.

9. See above, pp. 195, 198-9, 140; *Argyll Registers*, 9th May 1649, i (171); see *Indictment* in *L.P.*, 786, p. 229; *Inveraray Processes*, *Dergachie v. Stronalbanach*, 1700; *I.C.(A.)*, 17th June 1698; *G.R.S.*, 24th Mar. 1682, xlvi, 429, transcribing "Symond" for "Leymond"; *Inveraray Records*, box II, shelf 4; for details of the estate of Archibald McCaragan alias Lamont in Coustoun see *Argyll Testaments*, 2nd May 1695, iv, 22, disclosing a son Neil, in *L.P.*, 1043, p. 306.

10. See above, p. 240; *Inventar of Rentals* at Inveraray, Aug. 1687, box IV, shelf 1; *I.C.(A.)*, 17th June 1698, *Stilage's Claim agt. Keames*; information from Knockdow; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 8th Jan. 1679 (in *L.P.*, 936, p. 276); see above, pp. 250-1; *I.C.(A.)*, 4th Dec. 1700; *I.C.(A.)*, 30th May and 3rd June 1688, and *Argyll Sasines*, 15th Sept. 1688, ii, 245, in *L.P.*, 96-9, pp. 294-5.

11. *Inveraray Supply Papers*, Jan. 1694, box II, shelf 4; not specifically mentioned *ibid.*, April 1696; see above, pp. 258, 260-1; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 17th Apr. 1695; *Decrees (Durie)*, 20th Feb. 1695, vol. 157; cited at Edinburgh cross as out of the country on 17th Apr. 1695, *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 16th Apr. 1695, in *L.P.*, 1042(a), p. 306; *Unextracted Processes (Mackenzie)*, *Lamont v. Campbell*, 1697; *I.C.(A.)*, 30th May and 3rd May 1698; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 31st May 1698; see above, pp. 263-4, 270; *I.C.(A. & L.-C.)*, 4th Dec. 1700; *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 6th Aug. 1698, choosing curators, and 9th Dec. 1698; the records vainly searched include *Durham Wills*, *Newcastle Poll Books*, 1722-1859, *Newcastle Directories*, 1778-1834, in Newcastle Public Library.

12. *Dunoon Presbytery Register*, 29th June 1703, ii, 35; see bond of thirlage by Inverneilbeg in *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 27th Nov. 1744, vol. 170; see above, p. 390; former mills were at Inverchaolain and Ardentraive; see above, p. 420 and note 8; *Argyll Sasines*, 5th Sept. 1712, iv, 165, in *L.P.*, 1115-6, pp. 327-8; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 9th Apr. 1720, vol. 112; *Argyll Inhibitions*, 4th July 1720, in *L.P.*, 1154, p. 339.

13. *I.C.(L.-C.)*, Marts. 1731, fol. 48; see also *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Aug. 1705, in *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, vol. 97, and *L.P.*, 1088, p. 320; the *Valuation Roll* of 1751, in *L.P.*, 1237, p. 359, gives valued rents of £6, 2s. 6d. and £4, 10s. for Coustoun and Strone respectively, and valued rent was half of net real rent; see *Inverchaolain Births*, 1736, 1749, in *C.L.J.*, ii, 41, 96, etc.; *Inveraray Supply Papers*, 9th Mar. 1724, box IV, shelf 1.

14. *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, 14th Oct. 1742, vol. 168; about this time the valued rent was £112 for these 6 merk lands and the cess £21, 18s., according to *Stonefield Papers*, bundle I; *I.C.(A.)*, and *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, vol. 97, 14th Aug. 1705, in *L.P.*, 1088, p. 319; *G.R.S.*, 6th June 1747; *Inventory* of 1774, in *I.C.*, II, 8-9, 23; see *Valuation Roll* as in last note; *Glenstriven Titles* in hands of Messrs Davidson & Syme, W.S., Edinburgh, particularly 24th Dec. 1734; *I.C.*, 8th Jan. 1741 and 1st May 1747; *South Hall Charters*, in hands of Messrs J. & F. Anderson, W.S., Edinburgh, 1st June, 7th and 13th Aug. 1799, and 11th Oct. 1813; *Lamont Cartulary*, fol. 35; *I.C.*, 21st July 1809.

15. These registers are printed in *C.L.J.*, beginning ii, 41; *Inverchaolain Marriages*, 1763, and *Dunoon Marriages*, 1753; *Letter* to Mr Wm. Lamont, Glasgow, dated 5th July 1830, in *C.L.J.*, ii, 99, in hands of Col. Wm. Lamont, V.D., C.A., lately of Ardfenaig, Ardrishaig, grandson of the inquirer, and hereinafter referred to, for whom see also above, p. 33.

16. James Dorret's *Map*, see above, pp. 310, 320; *I.C.(A.)*, 3rd Apr. 1782; *Inventory* of 1774 in *I.C.*, II, 23, referring apparently to this Archibald as tenant of Ballecreggan.

17. See above, pp. 371, 31; *C.L.J.*, v, 17, 52, 67, with photograph of Prof. Daniel; for another brother, John Macnab Lamont, M.B.E., J.P., solicitor, Rothesay, see *C.L.J.*, i, 57, iii, 550; Mr Duncan Lamont, Innellan, of Messrs D. & A. Lamont, Glasgow, a cousin of Prof. Daniel, should also be mentioned, see *C.L.J.*, i, 24, 177; see below, pp. 482, 485-6.

CHAPTER XXII

1. See above, pp. 39, 269, 399, 107, 88-9, 93, chap. xxi, note 2; for Mr Archibald in general see above, pp. 94, 100-1, 121; for families of Stillaig, Row and Auchinshelloch see index to *L.P.*, in which the latter two families are not sufficiently identified.

2. *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Feb. 1561-2, and *I.I.*, III, iii, 5, in *L.P.*, 240, 408, pp. 78, 128; see above, pp. 88, 123; for marches of Auchinshelloch see *I.C.(A.)*, and *Dunoon Deeds*, 15th Nov. 1776; see above, pp. 305, 362, 127.

3. *L.P.*, 408, as in last note; see above, pp. 406, 138-9 (*re* status in 1629), 151; *Deeds (Scott)*, 13th Oct. 1638, vol. 514 (in *L.P.*, 607, p. 178); for second family of Stillaig see index below.

4. The last reference to John ii is in *I.C.(A.)*, 29th Nov. 1619; *I.C.*, 30th Apr. 1610; see above, pp. 152, 409, 151; *I.C.(A.)*, 10th Mar. 1641; see above, pp. 177, 180-1, 187, 199, 211, 232, 222; Row was sold by Sir JAMES XIV in 1672, but apparently he had already acquired the property from his cadet as it was certainly carried by the chief's disposition to the Stewarts of Bute; see also above, pp. 235, 238-9, 250, 258-9, 261-2, 384; for absence see, *e.g.*, *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 25th Mar. 1685, lxxv, 774, "indweller in Kilmichael Inverlussa"; the last reference to him is *I.C.(L.-C.)*, 17th Oct. 1700.

5. *Argyll Sasines*, 27th Nov. 1697 and 25th Apr. 1701, iii, 22 and 193, in *L.P.*, 1059, 1078, pp. 310, 317, former also in *I.C.(A.)*, latter inaccurately transcribed; see above, p. 283; *I.C.(A.)*, 13th June 1712, *Argyll Sasines*, 2nd Aug. 1712, and *L.P.*,

1112-3, p. 327; see above, pp. 264, 270-1, 274-5, 284, 265, 232, 290-1, 335; *I.C. (L.-C.)*, 2nd June 1742, in *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, vol. 167; see also pp. 303-4.

6. *L.P.*, 1078, as in last note; *I.C.*, 12th May 1777; see *Valuation Roll*, 1751, in *L.P.*, 1237, p. 359; see above, pp. 324, 318, 362.

CHAPTER XXIII

1. See above, pp. 42-3, 357; information from Mr McTavish, Castleton Cottage; the charter rock is some 50 yards out from the island; it is not the rock visible from the hill above the cottage; Chas. Fraser-Mackintosh, *Last Macdonalds of Isla* (1895), p. 95; original MS. of Timothy Pont's *Maps* in National Library, No. 15 (not reproduced in Bleau's *Atlas* of 1648; in *A. & D.*, 9th Apr. 1575, lxiii, 75, McPherson's lands seem to be spelt "the Craigs"; *I.C.(A.)*, c. 1560, and 27th May 1563, and *I.I.*, I, x, 9, in *L.P.*, 228-9, 244, pp. 75, 78, the first inaccurately transcribed as it reserves the 40d. land and ferry to McPherson, whereas it was conveyed to Robert; as to family in general see index to *L.P.*, p. 461, and *Silvercraigs Inventory* in *I.C. (L.-C.)*, — Oct. 1696.

2. Lines written on visiting a Scene in Argyllshire, see *New S.A.* (1845), vii (ii), 684; *Deeds (Hay)*, 14th Dec. 1629, vol. 424, incompletely transcribed in *L.P.*, 506, p. 151; see above, pp. 88, 95, 399, 382; *A.D.C. et S.*, 27th May, 4th and 30th July 1541, xv, 135, 189, and xvi, 108; Duppinn is shown with twin towers in Bleau, and Thomson's *Atlas* of 1832, sheet 17; see above, pp. 102, 107, 405; *I.I.*, V, iii, 2, *I.C.(A.)*, 18th Feb. 1552-3, *R.M.S.*, iv, 756, *R.S.S.*, 18th Feb. 1552-3, xxv, 59, all in *L.P.*, 187-90, pp. 60, 63.

3. *Deeds (Scott)*, 5th July 1558, iii, 40, incompletely transcribed in *L.P.*, 212, p. 70; the merkage is stated in many different ways in various deeds in *L.P.*; *Valuation Roll* of 1751 in Reg. Ho., fol. 28; *I.C.(A.)*, 25th June 1580, in *L.P.*, 307, p. 98.

4. See above, pp. 42, 102; *I.C.(A.)*, 8th Mar. 1557-8, and 12th Feb. 1594-5 (latter in *R.M.S.*, vi, 215), and *I.I.*, II, v, 6, all in *L.P.*, 210, 356, 243, pp. 70, 113, 78; *A. & D.*, 2nd Apr. 1568, xli, 186; *R.S.S.*, 12th Feb. 1594-5, lxvii, 59; *G.R.S.*, 12th Dec. 1636, xlv, 135; *New S.A.*, vii (ii), 684; *Glasgow Herald*, 4th Feb. 1933, p. 11; see below, p. 466; *I.I.*, I, vii, 3, and *I.C.(A.)*, 25th June 1580, in *L.P.*, 222, 307, pp. 73, 98; Archibald was 15 in 1590, *A. & D.*, 12th Aug. 1590, cxxvi, 211; see above, pp. 115-6, 120; *Silvercraigs Inventory*, No. 5, *Teind Valuation* of 1629, fol. 34.

5. See above, pp. 123, 406, 125, 423; the term "liberal" is translated in Du Cange's *Glossarium* as of full rights, thus implying legitimacy; it occurs twice in the *Bannatyne Writs* in 1575, *Inventory*, 113, 118 (applied to a daughter and to an apparent heir), once in *Dunoon Charters*, 4th Oct. 1574, VI, 4 (liberal son served heir to his maternal *avus et abavus*), and once in the *Strachur Writs* (according to the late J. R. N. Macphail, K.C.); *I.I.*, IV, ii, 4, III, iii, 7, 12, in *L.P.*, 384, 458, 542, pp. 122, 139, 160; see above, p. 128; *Deeds* and *Teind Valuation* as in last two notes; see also *Deeds (Hay)*, 17th June 1630, vol. 430, in *ibid.*, 511, p. 153; the £1480 is exclusive of Achnaba and Ardnaherrer, temporarily in the hands of the McAllisters, for which add about £300; see above, pp. 137-9.

6. See above, pp. 136, 134, 151, 198, 141; *Achenbreck Genealogie* in *Highland Papers*, iv, 78; *I.I.*, I, xi, 6-7, in *L.P.*, 907, 817, pp. 269, 247; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 15th Nov. 1672, xxxiii, 704; *Inveraray Processes*, 1675, *Campbell v. Lamont*; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Aug. 1699; see above, pp. 167-9, and below, next note.

7. Marquis of Lorne, *Adventures in Legend* (1898), p. 235; see also reference to "Ard-na-cirer" on p. 233; the reference to trees may indicate summer, in which case Robert must already have been in Kerry, but the trees may have been pines or other evergreens; see above, p. 181.

8. See above, pp. 185, 198, 152, 192, 204, 210; *Stonefield MSS.*, i, 137; *Register of Apprisings*, 16th May 1655, ix, 233; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Aug. 1699; *Hospital of Glasgow v. Robert Campbell*, 1664, *Stair's Decisions*, i, 216, in *Morison's Dictionary*, p. 6419; *G.R.S.*, 6th Nov. 1662, iv, 213; *Glasgow Burgh Records*, 1630-62, ii, 477, 488, iii, 138, note, iv, 139, last two in *L.P.*, 1437-8, pp. 421-2.

9. *Glasgow Burgh Records*, ii, 483, iii, 12; the reference to Archibald v as eldest son of Robert iii in *I.C.(A.)*, 21st Mar. 1665 (in *L.P.*, 841, p. 252) should be "eldest surviving son"; see above, pp. 225-6, 233; *I.C.(A.)*, 17th Nov. 1664; see above, pp. 222-3, 410, 225; *Decrets (Dalrymple)*, 9th Nov. 1665, vol. 18; see above, pp. 225, 272, 242, 251, 260-2, 238-9; *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 23rd June 1664, fol. 30-1; *I.I.*, I, x, 19-20, *I.I.(Addtl.)*, iii, 4, in *L.P.*, 838-40, pp. 251-2; *G.R.S.*, 29th Mar. 1665, xi, 372; *I.I.*, III, iii, 41, in *L.P.*, 881, p. 264; see above, pp. 240, 243, 263-4, 270; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 10th June 1701, ii, 282; see also above, pp. 384, 413, 285.

CHAPTER XXIV

1. Information from present Knockdow; Thomson's *Atlas* of 1832, sheet 17; Brown's *Cowal*, p. 81; *Auchagoyl Titles*, 16th May 1831, No. 35, *penes* Messrs Rankin & Nimmo, W.S., Edinburgh; see above, pp. 397-9, 456.

2. The earliest mention of Watty is in 1558 in the destination-over of Kilfinan, failing lawful heirs of the Silvercraigs family, see above, p. 461; see above, pp. 82-3, 107, 102, 405; Nicolson, p. 184; *R.S.S.*, 12th Aug. 1595, lxxvii, 184.

3. *I.C.(A.)*, 15th May 1610; information from Duke of Argyll that Margaret was married again in 1720 to Hector son of Gorrie McAllister of Loup; *Achenbreck Genealogie*, in *H.P.*, iv, 81, says "Calen More of Kilberry" who died in 1619 (*A. & D.*, cccxxxv, 36) had ". . . daur. marryd to Lamont of Achagyle"; *Argyll Sasines*, 22nd Dec. 1618, i, 82, in *L.P.*, 430, p. 133; *I.I.*, III, iii, 18, in *L.P.*, 589, p. 173; *Deeds (Scott)*, 1st Oct. 1613, ccxv, 144; *R.P.C.*, 11th Sept. and 1st Oct. 1623, xiii, 362, 373, in *L.P.*, 466-7, pp. 140-1; see above, pp. 125, 138, 181, 184, 186, 409, 192-3, 199; *Indictment* of 1661, in *L.P.*, 786, at pp. 223, 227-8; see also above, p. 408.

4. See above, pp. 199, 245, 211, 222; *G.R.S.*, 26th Mar. 1668; *I.C.(A.)*, 17th July 1668, in *G.R.S.*, 29th July 1668, xx, 11, and *L.P.*, 872, p. 262; see also *Glasgow Burgh Records*, 29th Sept. 1694, iv, 139, in *L.P.*, 1438, p. 422; see above, pp. 230-1, 242, 248, 256-7, 238-41, 257-8, 250, 245-6; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 21st Jan. 1691, 13th Jan. 1692, and 16th Dec. 1693, lxxii, 827, lxx, 98, and lxxvii, 484; *I.C.(A.)*, 1st Dec. 1691 and 26th July 1710, latter in *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, vol. 107, and *L.P.*, 1105, p. 324;

Greyfriars' Interments Register, 16th Jan. 1690 and 20th Jan. 1691, p. 372; see above, pp. 254, 263, and as regards Auchagoyl lairdship in general, p. 258.

5. *Argyll Sasines*, 13th Jan. 1699, iii, 49, in *L.P.*, 1069, p. 312; *Argyll Synod Records*, — Feb. 1696, ii, 74, 77; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 25th Sept. 1695, 1st July and 18th Aug. 1696, 12th Apr. and 21st June 1698, ii, 66, 92, 95, 162, 173; see *ibid.*, 15th Dec. 1696, ii, 106–110; *I.C.(A.)*, 14th Aug. 1705, in *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, vol. 97, and *L.P.*, 1088, p. 320; *Inveraray Processes*, 1705, *Fiscal v. Lamont*; *Argyll Sasines*, 21st Feb. 1719, iv, 388, in *L.P.*, 1145, p. 337; Nicolson, p. 255; see above, pp. 254, 263, 276–7, 282; an Angus Lamont was inn-keeper at *Tigh-na-rathaid* in *I.C.(A.)*, 3rd Jan. 1758; *Argyll Testaments*, 18th Jan. 1710, v, 91, in *L.P.*, 1103, p. 324; see also *I.C.(A.)*, 26th July 1710, in *Deeds (Mackenzie)*, vol. 97, in *L.P.*, 1105–6, pp. 324–5, and *L.P.(L.-C.)*, 19th Oct. 1709, fol. 44–5; *Dunoon Presbytery Registers*, 23rd July 1706, ii, 499.

6. *L.P.*, 1145 and 1103, as in last note; see above, pp. 293, 285; *Decrees (Mackenzie)*, 9th Dec. 1761, vol. 528, and 1st Mar. 1763, vol. 538; there was an Archibald Lamont in Auchagoyl possibly so excluded, see *I.I.(Addtl.)*, iv, 37–8, and *Argyll Inhibitions*, 26th Nov. 1719, in *L.P.*, 1097–8, 1148, pp. 322, 337; *Deeds (Dalrymple)*, 7th Nov. 1743, vol. 154; *Session Papers* in *Duke of Argyll v. Creditors of Tarbert*, 1762, in *Campbell Collection* in Advocates' Library, vol. xiii, No. 5; £29 was the gross rental of Auchagoyl in 1751, see above, p. 303; see above, pp. 293, 348.

7. *Argyll Sasines*, 9th Jan. 1760, 21st Sept. 1761, 25th Sept. 1765, ix, 224, 285, 492, in *L.P.*, 1263, 1265, 1270, pp. 366–8; *Lamont v. Lamont's Creditors*, 4th Dec. 1789, in Morison's *Dictionary of Decisions*, pp. 5, 494, 10, 230, in *Faculty Collection*, x, 174 (and *L.P.*, 1323, p. 383), and *Session Papers* thereof in *Campbell Collection*, vol. lv, No. 44; *Rothsay Marriages*, 15th June 1765.

8. *L.P.*, 1270, as in last note; *Inventory* of 1774, in *I.C.*, II, 20; *Session Papers*, as in last note, lv, Nos. 43–4; see above, pp. 311, 314, 318, 390; *Argyll Sasines*, 5th Oct. 1772, x, 417, in *L.P.*, 1288, p. 373; see above, pp. 322–3; *Auchagoyl Titles*, see note 1 above; the leading case on feudal casualties of *Rankin's Trs. v. Lamont*, 1876, 6 R. 739, 1880, 7 R. (H.L.) 10, relates to N. Auchagoyl.

CHAPTER XXV

1. Martin of Clermont, *Genealogical Collections*, i, 327, in *Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections* (ed. J. T. Clark for Scot. Hist. Soc., 1900), ii, 157; *Exch. Rolls*, 13th July 1528, xv, 447, in *L.P.*, 106, p. 37; see above, p. 329.

2. *A. & D.*, 21st March, 1542–3, i, 280–1; *Early Records of University of St Andrews*, 1413–1579 (ed. J. Maitland Thomson for Scot. Hist. Soc., 1926), p. 230; *Kn. Ch.*, 26th Aug. 15(4)0, I, i, in *L.P.*, 83, p. 31 (as to date see note 8 to chap. xx); see above, pp. 24, 112, 225, 266, 289.

3. Martin, ii, 158; *A. & D.*, 18th Jan. 1632, cccclvi, 249, in *L.P.*, 529, p. 158; for Henry and his son James see above, pp. 105, 111, 122; this Mr Robert is not the same person as the Ensign Robert of the Scots Guard in France above referred to, pp. 26, 47, 225, 297.

4. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, v, 112, 116-7, ii, 294, 312; *Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton*, 1649-71 (Maitland Club, 1830), *passim*; the diarist is often incorrectly identified as, e.g., in the preface thereto and in Wood's *East Neuk of Fife*, pp. 469-74; see index, *s.v.*, Lamonts of Newton and North Burton, and Lamonts in Fife.

5. *Fasti*, ii, 414, 285; W. A. Stark, *Book of Kirkpatrick-Durham* (Castle Douglas, 1903), p. 117, from which photograph is taken; records of Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh; information from Mrs Cecil A. Houson, Deane's Chambers, 33 Rowe Street, Sydney, through the good offices of Miss Marcie Lamont, "Kareela," Meadow Crescent, Meadow Bank, New South Wales, niece of EDWARD LOUIS XXII and COLL ANDREW XXIII and cousin of the present RONALD COLL XXIV; see above, pp. 289, 324-5, 329-30, 353, 359-61, and *C.L.J.*, ii, 148, iii, 468.

CHAPTER XXVI

1. See above, pp. 371, 14; information from Col. Wm. Lamont, C.A., V.D., late of Ardfenaig, Ardrishaig, and late Robert Lamond, LL.B., Glasgow; see above, p. 455; *C.L.J.*, ii, 178.

2. *Clan Lamont Society Pamphlet* (1899); see above, pp. 366, 441, 370, 342, 368, 444, 455, 351; Society's *Minute Books*; information from present Knockdow; *C.L.J.*, iii, 493, 406, i, 151, 178; see note 11 to chap. xvi.

3. *C.L.J.*, iv, 127; information from Donaldson Turner and Rev. John Lamond; see above, pp. 368, 455; *Clan Lamont Society Pamphlets, 1899 and 1903*; *C.L.J.*, i, 26, ii, 99, 250, v, 6.

4. Knockdow's 1897 and 1899 *Lectures* in *Pamphlet of 1899*; 1902 *Lecture*; 1903 *Pamphlet*, pp. 10-11, 5.

5. *Clan Lamont Society Prospectus* (7th ed. 1913); *Dunoon Observer and Argyllshire Standard*, 29th Sept. and 6th Oct. 1906; all lent to the historian by the late Col. G. Hedger Black, V.D., of Rossie, Collessie, of a family long in Greenock, but originally from Glendaruel; *C.L.J.*, iv, 11-17; Col. Black was a member of Council from 1903 to 1920, and his father before him (Provost John Black of Greenock) in 1901; see *C.L.J.*, i, 25, and note 52 to chap. xv.

6. See last note; *C.L.J.*, i, 220, iii, 663; above, p. 30.

7. *C.L.J.*, i, 69-72; *An Inventory of Lamont Papers, 1231-1897*, collected, edited and presented to the Scottish Record Society by Sir Norman Lamont of Knockdow, Baronet (Edinburgh, 1914).

8. *Clan Lamont Journal*, Oct. 1912 to date, printed for private circulation to members; *ibid.*, i, 96, ii, 151-3, iii, 637, 646-8, iv, 98; see note 53 to chap. xv.

9. *C.L.J.*, iii, 374-6, 432-3; i, 24, 177-9, ii, 302-3; also iii, 323, 372, 427, 469, 519, 580; note 17 to chap. xxi.

10. *C.L.J.*, iii, 582, 585, iv, 31; 1934 seems to be the only year in which the Cowal Property Account appears as a separate item in the published accounts; for gatherings see *ibid.*, iii, 636, iv, 41-2, 64, 108, 129.

11. *C.L.J.*, iv, 125-8, i, 5; see above, pp. 371-4; *C.L.J.*, i, 208, v, 37; see above, pp. 358-9, 363-4, 366, 369.
12. *C.L.J.*, iv, 132, 158; for Harry A. Black see *ibid.*, iv, 91; for Thomas W. Lamont see *ibid.*, ii, 274; *C.L.J.*, iv, 161, 171.
13. *C.L.J.*, iv, 200, 230, v, 15, iv, 190, 220, v, 18, 37-8, 54-5, iv, 231, 191.
14. *C.L.J.*, v, 64-5, 55; *Scotsman*, 29th Sept. 1935.
15. *C.L.J.*, iii, 562, ii, 5-6, 48.
16. *C.L.J.*, iv, 242.

INDEX OF LAMONTS

Individual Lamonts, except the Chiefs of the Clan, are not here listed: for them readers are referred to the very detailed index of persons appended to Sir Norman Lamont of Knockdow's *Lamont Papers*, 1231-1897. This index is divided into five sections: (1) Forebears of Chiefs; (2) Chiefs of Clan; (3) Old Territorial Families; (4) Miscellaneous Tenants in Lamont Country; and (5) Settlements beyond Lamont Country. Thus clansmen searching for references to forebears who lived, say, in Greenock or Kirkcudbrightshire will find them under head (5). There is a separate index of Blacks and other sept names.

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