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"Barbarous, and yet mixed with some shew of civilitie:"

The Clan MacFarlane of North Loch Lomondside c.1570-1800

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Submitted for the degree of Masters of Philosophy

At The University of Glasgow

Faculty of Arts

December 2002

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ABSTRACT

"Barbarous, and yet mixed with some shew of civilitie:"[1]

The Clan MacFarlane of North Loch Lomondside c.1570-1800

This thesis is the culmination of several years part-time study of the development and progress of a community which was historically situated just north of the dividing range which separates the Highlands and Lowlands, near the site of the modern village of Arrochar. It was initially conceived to test the assumption that the clan MacFarlane was little more than a band of thieving caterans; a theory which has dominated the collective historical literature since the clan's departure from the Highlands, as a cohesive social unit, in the late 18th Century. The thesis's continued *raison d'être* has been the surprising significance of its findings.

Having appreciated quite early on that the surviving primary historical sources relating to the MacFarlanes were fairly scarce, I complemented this material with an assessment of the surviving archaeological remains. This joint disciplinary approach enabled me to achieve a far greater understanding of this people and its territory than has ever been attempted or realised before. The results demolished all previous conceptions of the clan, and, given the right method of application these findings will contribute greatly to current historiographical debates upon the relationship between the Highlands and Lowlands. Instead of a latter day unruly, lawless, barbarian tribe it was possible to discern, at times, a previously unknown stable, peaceable and constructive community. In essence, the MacFarlanes proved to be a people who truly were "Barbarous, and yet mixed with some shew of civilitie."

[1] James VI *Basilicon Doron* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1599) p. 42

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.P.S.	Acts of the Parliament of Scotland
G.U.A.	Glasgow University Archives
G.U.S.C.	Glasgow University Special Collections
Hill Coll.	William Henry Hill Collection, Faculty of Procurators Library, Glasgow
M.L.A.	Mitchell Library Archive
N.A.S.	National Archive of Scotland
N.L.S.	National Library of Scotland
O.S.A.	Old Statistical Account of Scotland
R.P.C.	Register of the Privy Council of Scotland

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of several people in the completion of this work. Principally my supervisors, Dr Stephen Driscoll and Dr Martin MacGregor, respectively belonging to the Archaeology and Scottish History Departments of the University of Glasgow. Their support and almost limitless patience and understanding throughout my studies, has been crucial to their completion. I would also like to thank Dr Alex Morrison, also of the Archaeology Department, with whom I have had many valuable conversations about my work. The staff of Glasgow University Special Collections and Archive, the National Library of Scotland, and the National Archive of Scotland have also been of great help. As has Mr Graeme Hopner, Local Studies Librarian, of Dumbarton Library. While Mr Ronald Black of the University of Edinburgh provided me with references and much to think about on the clan's Gaelic activities.

I would especially like to thank my family and my partner, Lauren, without whose never ceasing support and assistance, even on cold, wet and windy hillsides holding tape measures, this thesis would most certainly never have been completed.

DEDICATION

I should also like to take this opportunity to dedicate this work to the memory of James Simpson, my grandfather, Margaret Johnston, my great aunt, and James and Mary Buddie, my partner's grandparents, all of whom sadly died during the writing of this thesis. Their wit, knowledge and love will be sadly missed, but never forgotten.

DECLARATION

With the exception of Figures 3 and 4, taken from *The Loch Lomond Island Survey*, and Plates 4 & 5, photographed by Mr. Brian MacFarlane, I declare that this is totally my own work. Any mistakes, omissions and failings being entirely my own.

Signed Date

DJ Johnston-Smith

INTRODUCTION

The choice of the clan MacFarlane of north Loch Lomondside (or more particularly Arrochar) for a thesis has struck many as an odd one. At best an area and people marginalised, at worst one ignored, by historians and archaeologists alike, this locale has suffered too long from an embarrassing silence in national and regional studies. Such attitudes seem all the more curious when we consider the longevity of this particular clan's occupation of its territory, its activities throughout this period and its not insignificant contribution to the history of Scotland as a whole. Perhaps the lack of secondary analysis of this clan arose through an erroneous belief that little primary material relating to it had survived the two centuries since its chief's displacement from his *duthchas* in 1784. Patient research and a great deal of travelling have shown that nothing could in fact be further from the truth. The corpus of the clan papers (dating from 1395 to 1770) were found, deteriorating and almost forgotten, in a private library in Glasgow,[1] collected at the end of the 19th century by the notable Barlanark antiquarian William Henry Hill. The rest of the sources referred to in the text were spread across Scotland and by their very distribution help illustrate the widespread activities of the clan both before and in the years following its displacement from its north Loch Lomondside homeland.

Similarly, the archaeological remains relating to this period in the district, although virtually ignored until very recently,[2] upon further investigation were found to be both many and varied. Having seen little alteration in the two centuries since the terminal date of this project, the hills and glens are littered with the remains of this once proud clan. There are two fine castles upon the upper islands of Loch Lomond,[3] both built by chiefs of MacFarlane and utilised within our period. As well as evidence of mills, churches and an almshouse and a mass of the ubiquitous shieling settlements common to much of Scotland, across the upper slopes of the hillsides. Examined separately, the history and archaeology are incredibly rich but by no means unparalleled; once taken together they provide a unique and invaluable

[1]W.H. Hill Collection, The Procurator's Library, Nelson Mandela Square, Glasgow

[2]Baker, F., *Loch Lomond Island Survey*, 5 vols, (FIRAT Archaeological Services, 1994-1998) and in 2000-01 Dr David Starbuck, an American archaeologist, spent two seasons carrying out a survey of the archaeological remains in the Sloy Valley. Starbuck, D.R. [Ed.], *An Archaeological Survey of Clan MacFarlane* [Draft Report], (The Institute for New Hampshire Studies, Plymouth State College, 2001)

[3]Or more correctly one house and one castle

insight into the activities of a community on the fringes of Gaeldom.

The title *"Barbarous, and yet mixed with some shew of civilitie:" The Clan MacFarlane of North Loch Lomondside c.1570-1800* reflects the inherent view of the clan held by the crown and central government throughout the entire period under scrutiny. The commonly perceived notion of the MacFarlanes' warlike and barbarous nature which could, given time and nurturing, be tamed to rehabilitate them into a useful members of Scottish society, is a theme which will recur frequently throughout this paper. The clan's ability to be 'civilised,' was due in no small way to its enduring situation on the geographic and psychological periphery of so called 'acceptable society.' A position which it had occupied since it first settled North Loch Lomondside in the early 13th Century. Use of the term 'acceptable society' should not be taken only to mean that *as defined by the centre*, but also that as determined by the fringes too. Here was a community, in the uniquely ambiguous position of straddling two societies with competing, and oft-times mutually exclusive, social, cultural and political differences. As Highland and Lowland influences competed for dominance throughout the period the MacFarlanes found themselves having to choose their route from late medieval to early modern Scotland with great care. Such a history can inevitably become the story of the chiefs' actions rather than those of their vassals, but where possible the actions of other sections of the clan society will also be examined, especially where it deviated from that of its leaders.

Chapter 1, *Placing the MacFarlanes in Context* establishes the historical and geographic situation within which the clan MacFarlane existed, by discussing their neighbouring families and feudal superiors and elaborating upon the dichotomy of cultures which cohabited in the Lennox. It also examines the clan's geographic good fortune at being situated on a portage site, and touches upon their network of blood connections.

Chapter 2, *Friends, Foes and "Deidlie Feuds,"* deals with the clan's early reactions to central government's attempts to eradicate its so called "Highland Problem." It deals with the MacFarlanes' evolving relationship with its traditional clan allies, the MacGregors, as the crown and its officers begin to radically modify their dealings with the Highlands. It charts the growing dialogue beginning to emerge between the clan chief and the central authorities, and it highlights the dangers of an uncritical acceptance of the "Highland Problem," before examining the hardening resolve of the crown as its attempts to 'civilise' its Highland

subjects intensify.

Chapter 3, *The Poachers turn Gamekeepers*, examines the clan MacFarlane's reaction to this ideological onslaught from the crown. It principally focuses upon the chief's actions, but also attempts to look at the activities of those lower in the social strata, where possible; before questioning the perceived notions of what motivated the clan to acquiesce to the new civil ideals as laid down by the crown.

Chapter 4, *from Chiefs to landlords*, analyses the effects of the changes discussed in the previous chapters as expressed upon the physical landscape. This is done through and assessment of the surviving archaeological remains in the district, which present a far more stable image of the community than that traditionally depicted and accepted. The manner, location and style of constructions discussed exhibit clear evidence of the social messages their owners wished to be portrayed, both to their clan and the world at large.

Chapter 5, *From Patronage to Profit Margin*, examines the clan's involvements and activities in the middle decades of the 17th century, with a view to how these specifically affected the social and institutional fabric of the clan lands. It is shown that north Loch Lomondside was far from isolated from the political storm that engulfed much of the rest of Scotland at that time, and the chief's reaction to national events is placed within the context of the continued subversion of traditional patriarchal society in favour of more commercialism practices.

Chapter 6 *Professional Soldier, Clan Chief and Improving Laird*, is the first of two chapters which focus solely upon the activities two successive clan chiefs. In this case John MacFarlane, who, during the turbulent 1680s and 1690s, found himself in the unique position of being able to exploit both the geographic position of his clan and the still prevalent Lowland fear of Highland martial prowess, to rescue his clan and estates from the clutches of the financial ruin he inherited from his father. Building upon his successes in this venture, we are able to identify John as and early 'improver,' who put into motion several schemes which were intended to precipitate the completion of the previous century of civilising influences, but were sadly terminated before their results could be ascertained by John's early death in 1705.

Chapter 7, *The Antiquarian Laird*, examines the life and activities of the clan's most

famous chief, Walter MacFarlane. Remembered by Scottish historians for his unique "Geographical" and "Genealogical Collections," Walter's biography could fill a book by itself. This chapter only tries to identify those aspect of his life which had a direct bearing upon his clan lands. He proves to be a fascinating character, whose world was torn between his anachronistic and idealised view of Highland chieftainship and his role as a commercially driven landlord. This confused duality of purpose would, of course, have great consequence to his clan and his lands.

Chapter 8, *Notoriously Bankrupt and Utterly Insolvent*, presents the activities of the final MacFarlane chief and briefly examines those of the first non clan landlord who followed. It narrates both men's struggles to modernise and develop the estate, finally and irrevocably cutting those bonds of tradition and blood which slowed the economic growth of the community there, effectively concluding the two century process of clanship to commerce.

The final section of my thesis draws together the conclusions from the previous eight chapters and assesses the overall significance of their findings, examining the lessons learnt from the activities and ultimate demise of the House of MacFarlane from north Loch Lomondside, and how these findings can be applied to the wider history of the period under study.

As these brief chapter synopses hopefully show *"Barbarous, and yet mixed with some shew of civilitie:" The Clan MacFarlane of North Loch Lomondside c.1570-1800* is no simple estate survey. Similar in many respects to the aims and intentions of the authors of *Cromartie: Highland Life 1650-1914*,[1] its methodology is very different. Through careful scrutiny of the available primary sources, archaeological evidence and historical contextualisation of north Loch Lomondside and the clan MacFarlane, it became apparent that the objectives of the resulting thesis would be fourfold. It will serve to enrich our knowledge of Highland history, it will allow us to evaluate the importance of locality study to the advancement of this discipline, and it will place us in a better position to challenge and test the current historiographical models and theories on the era espoused by well known popular authorities, such as Robert Dodgshon, Alan Macinnes and Julian Goodare. But most importantly, and possibly most ambitiously, of all it will attempt to insert a little known

[1]Richards, E. & Clough M., *Cromartie: Highland Life 1650-1914* (Aberdeen, University Press, 1989)

community and an overlooked locality back into the history books.

CHAPTER 1

Placing the MacFarlanes in Context:

The Lennox, An Historical Overview

Having elected to concentrate on just one portion of the Earldom of Lennox, its Highland parish and the community which lived there, it will be most profitable to introduce the reader to a brief historical overview of the district as a whole.

The area called the Lennox or Levenax was already ancient long before its northern marches were settled by Gilchrist, brother of the 3rd Earl of Lennox, and his progeny in or around 1225. Its geographic extent (See Fig. 1) encompassed the entire modern county of Dunbartonshire (prior to the county changes of 1996), with the addition, at various times in its existence, of the parishes of Balfron, Baldernock, Buchanan, Campsie, Cumbernauld, Drymen, Fintry, Killearn, Kilsyth, Kirkintilloch and Strathblane.[1] Its main bulk was bounded by the Clyde and then Argyll on the west, Renfrewshire on the south and the Earldom of Menteith and Stirlingshire on the east. Its wedge shaped length stretched for approximately forty-seven miles and varied between two and eight miles in breadth.[2] Its northern landscape was dominated by high mountains, rolling hill ranges, large forest swathes and apparently impenetrable glens; whilst its southern portions were flatter, more extensively populated and much more geared towards agriculture. Consequently, the Earldom of Lennox possessed a clearly demarcated physical and socio-cultural boundary which separated its rich and fertile southern territories from its beggarly and infertile northern tracts; a fact which should have alerted Scottish Historians to the possibility of viewing pre-industrial Scotland in microcosm. Incredibly this opportunity has been ignored and the earldom itself has remained something of an historical enigma with writers often concentrating upon individual events as if they occurred within an historical vacuum. Given the Lennox's geographically central position within Scotland, the apparent silence within contemporary Scottish historical and archaeological literature becomes all the more deafening

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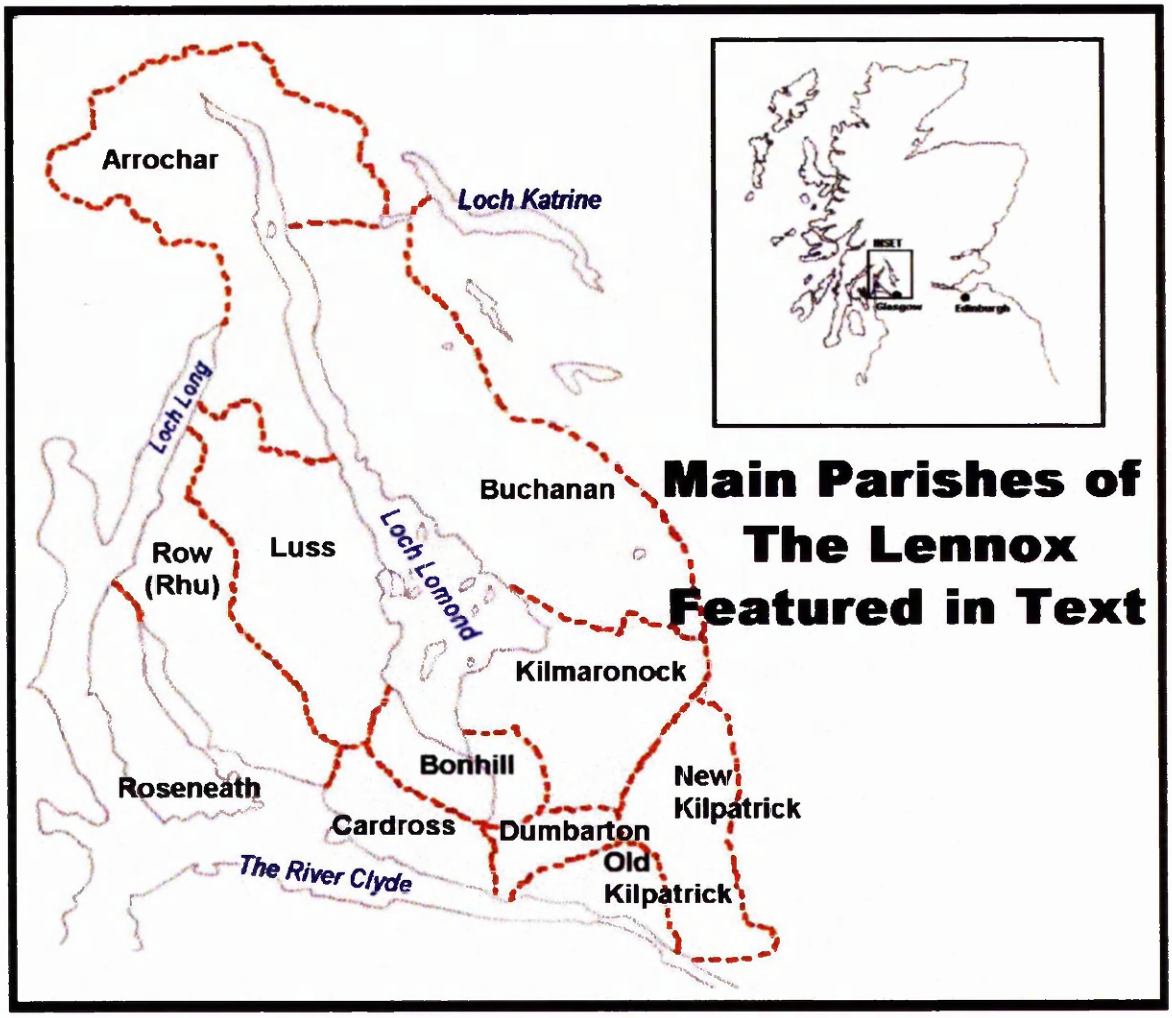
[1]MacPhail, I.M.M., 'Families of the Lennox: A Survey' in *The Scottish Genealogist* No xxii, 1975

[2]Fraser, W. *The Lennox* 2v (Edinburgh, 1875) vol. 1, p. 32-3

Figure 1: Map of the main Parishes of the Lennox



The area generated far more interest in the 19th century when the likes of Fraser, Irving, Napier and Dennistoun exhibited their often altogether too apparent partiality in their writings.[1] These authors often find their works dismissed by modern historians sometimes on the quite appropriate grounds of their occasional author bias, but more frequently because of the stigma of antiquarianism which the writers of such weighty tomes have attracted in recent years. Modern historiography has little patience for the antiquarian approach to historical study, and yet as historians we are time and again forced to adopt a diluted form of antiquarianism ourselves as we acquisitively search for disparate primary sources to increase our understanding of our subjects.

The archaeology of the Earldom has suffered in a similar vein. Although widely recognised as rich, its archaeological remains have been virtually ignored since the activities of our antiquarian predecessors. The 20th century saw only three attempts at a serious study of the archaeological remains in the district, and these were basically simple surveys, with little overall synthesis. The first half of the century saw the piecemeal endeavours of the archaeologist A.D. Lacaille, then, in the 1970s, the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments made their survey, and finally, in the 1990s, there appeared *The Loch Lomond Islands Survey*, fundamentally a comprehensive catalogue of archaeological remains to be found upon the islands of the loch.[2] Most often, archaeologists have tended to concentrate their efforts upon more acceptably historically significant remains, in particular Dumbarton Rock and Castle or the medieval remains upon the southern islands on Loch Lomond.

The family of primary importance in the Lennox throughout most of its history were the Earls (or later Dukes) of Lennox. Historians argue as to their origins prior to the 12th century, their pedigree after that can be followed with some degree of accuracy. By the 16th century the Earldom was in the hands of the Darnley Stewarts, and following the death of his grandfather in 1571 the title passed to James VI. In 1581 James granted Esmé d'Aubigny, a French Cousin, the title and honours of Duke of Lennox, in whose family it remained until 1672 when the 6th Duke died heirless and they reverted to Charles II who bestowed them upon one of his bastard sons, the Duke of Richmond, in whose family the titles remained

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[1] See bibliography for details of each author's works. Joseph Irving apparently omitted all reference in later editions of his *History of Dumbartonshire* to a Colquhoun chief's involvement in a 17th century necromancy-adultery scandal because of pressure from the family - Pers. comm. Mr. Graham Hopner, Local studies librarian, Dumbarton Library.

[2] Baker, F., *Loch Lomond Island Survey*, 5 vols, (FIRAT Archaeological Services, 1994-1998)

until 1876 when the 6th Duke of Richmond and Lennox was created 1st Duke of Gordon.[1] The Earls and later Dukes of Lennox were the feudal superiors of the Lennox. The position was often more legalistic than real in our period as various nobles vied for control over the vassals of the district. The Earl of Argyll and later the Earl of Montrose were two such notable magnates who took more than a fleeting interest in the affairs of the district throughout the period under discussion, as shall become more evident below.

The other large families of significance resident within the Lennox during the period in question were the Buchanans, Colquhouns, MacAulays and, of course the subject of this paper, the MacFarlanes (more on whom later). The Buchanans occupied that portion of the Lennox which hugs the south eastern bounds of Loch Lomond, centred upon Buchanan Mains, and the castle built thereon. They held their lands from the 13th century until the mid 17th century when by a combination of factors the estate passed outwith the family possession into the hands of the Grahams of Montrose. The Colquhouns held (and still hold parts of) the western stretch of Loch Lomond from just north of Alexandria up to Inverbeg, centred upon the lands of Luss and their nearby seat of Rossdhu, as well as lands in and around the parish of Kilpatrick along the north shore of the Clyde. The MacAulays, with their seat at Ardencaple Castle near the modern town of Helensburgh, seem to have come into possession of their lands sometime in the 15th century and continued to hold them until the 18th century when their lands were sold off mainly to the Colquhouns of Luss and the Dukes of Argyll.

Dispersed between and around these larger families of note within the Lennox were smaller but nonetheless significant families such as the Hamiltons of Barns, the Smolletts of Bonhill, the Galbraiths of Culcreuch, the Napiers of Kilmahew and a whole raft of others. In addition to these there were also distinct smaller kindred offshoots of the larger families, such as the MacFarlanes of Ardess or Ballencleroch or the Colquhouns of Camstradden or Garscube. Of similar import to the Lennox were the growing semi-urban middle class of Dumbarton, a royal burgh with all the concomitant privileges. The 17th century in particular "with the decline of traditional martial clan activities" offered growing opportunities for the heads or younger siblings of many of the families above listed to join the burgess classes of growing towns like Dumbarton.[2] They helped to swell the ranks of the existing merchant classes by creating a class of wealthy new incoming merchant families, the original *nouveau*

[1]MacPhail, I.M.M., 'Families of the Lennox: A Survey' p. 31

[2]Macinnes, A.I., *Clanship, Commerce & the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Lothian, Tuckwell, 1996) p. 37

riche. All of these groups, subgroups and families played out their roles in the Lennox, but only a few were as long-lived or as influential as the clan MacFarlane.

The principal branch of this clan occupied for almost six centuries the lands roughly contiguous with those labelled as Arrochar Parish since their separation from the parish of Luss in 1658.[1] The geographic extent of these lands form the northern stretch of the glacial corridor which contains Loch Lomond, the third deepest expanse of fresh water in Scotland. The parish is roughly bisected on the west by the sea water loch which juts out of the Clyde above Dumbarton, Loch Long, and bounded by the Glens of Falloch on the north and Douglas on the south. It is approximately fourteen miles long and between two and four miles wide in places, and for over seven hundred years formed the northernmost limit of the Earldom of Lennox and Shire of Dumbarton.[2] Although, the majority of the Lennox was undoubtedly in the Lowlands, the lands of Arrochar were unquestionably a part of the Highlands.

A significant neck of land for centuries, its most noted entry upon the national stage was in 1263 when a party of marauding Norse, half of King Hakon's entire fleet, dragged their 60 boats across the isthmus between Lochs Long and Lomond, an act known as portaging, in order to sack the rich heartlands of the Earldoms of Lennox and Menteith, and in so doing "draw Alexander III into negotiations." [3] It seems entirely likely that this was not the first time that the isthmus had been exploited in such away, particularly given its name of *Tarbet*. Once generally taken as a corruption of the term for "an over-bringing,"[4] this placename is now more commonly taken to mean "portage." The enormous significance of such sites to early-medieval Scotland has been clearly identified in a recent maritime archaeological thesis by D.M. McCullough.[5] In this work McCullough examines each portage site on an individual basis and assesses its significance with regards to local navigation, communication and trade; essentially determining its impact upon local and regional society

[1]Also sometimes labelled as Tarbet or Tarbat Parish

[2]Until local County Council boundary changes in 1996 saw it annexed to the newly defined Argyll and Bute District

[3]McCullough, D.A., *Investigating Portages in the Norse Maritime Landscape of Scotland and the Isles* (Glasgow, PhD Thesis, 2000) p. 298; See also Cowan, E.J., 'Norwegian Sunset - Scottish Dawn Hakon IV and Alexander III' in *Scotland in the Reign of Alexander III 1249-1286* [Ed.] Reid, N.H., (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1990) for a much fuller account of Hakon's expedition. pp. 121-2

[4]Watson, W.J., *The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland* - rept of orig. 1926 ed. (Edin, Birlinn Ltd, *1993)* p. 505

[5]McCullough, D.A., *ibid* See p. 350 for a concise definition of the terms *portage* and *portaging*

and economy. McCullough argues the case for the great antiquity of these sites, to such an extent that he believes the "portaging" or "over-bringing" of ships and or cargoes at such sites "was a standard navigational practice of the Viking Age."[1] Indeed there is even some scant additional placename evidence as well as some archaeological remains which suggest the possibility that earlier generations of Norse may have actually settled in and around Arrochar, Tarbet and the north Lennox possibly to control this valuable topographical amenity.[2] Certainly McCullough regards the site as one of the Scotland's best portage examples and one which rates further study; and notwithstanding conclusive proof of prolonged Scandinavian presence or not, the medieval Earls of Lennox recognised its economic, social and political potential a full generation before Hakon's fleet set sail when they settled the area with a body of men between 1225 and 1229. This act was confirmed in a charter to Gilchrist, the brother of the 3rd Earl of Lennox, granting him and his heirs "Terras superioris Arrochar de Luss."[3] The land would henceforth be known as "Arrochar MacGilchrist," but the people who lived upon it would identify themselves by a patronymic derived from the name of Gilchrist's grandson Pharlan (latinised as Bartholomew), and would henceforth be known as MacPharlans or more commonly MacFarlanes.

By the late 16th century the MacFarlanes had established satellite kindred groups across the fringes of the south western Highlands. Cadet branches were to be found in Gartartan in Menteith, Ballencleroch or Kirkton in Campsie, Ardess, Drumfad and Gorton in the Lennox, and even in Kintyre at places such as Clachan. Throughout the 16th Century most of these groups made no secret that their allegiances were due ultimately to the MacFarlane chiefs in Arrochar,[4] bringing them into direct conflict with their landlords. Such behaviour, although legislated against as early as 1587 remained a source of great strife throughout the Highlands until well into the 17th century and is one of many themes which shall be discussed as we examine the MacFarlanes of Arrochar in greater detail.[5]

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[1]McCullough, D.A., *Investigating Portages* p. 298

[2]This evidence includes a letter from Robert Burns sent from "Arrochar, near *Chrocharibas,* by Loch Loang" and there is a very significant Viking hogback stone in the neighbouring parish churchyard of Luss

[3]Taken from Walter MacFarlane's (20th Chief) handwritten genealogy of his family (c. 1730x1740) in the W.H. Hill Collection (Henceforth Hill Coll.) *MSS of Local & Antiquarian Interest* Vol. 1, 1/5

[4]"Mutual bond of Friendship between John Earl of Menteith and Malcolm MacPharlane, fiar of Gartavertane - 6th March, 1597" Transcript in Fraser, W., *The Red Book of Menteith,* (Edinburgh, 1880) Vol. 2, pp. 316-18

[5]A genealogy of the chiefs of the clan in our period is given in Appendix 1

CHAPTER 2

Friends, Foes and "Deidlie Feuds;"

Clan MacFarlane Relationships c.1570-1610

The onset of the 17th century brought difficult choices for the MacFarlanes as it became increasingly apparent that the traditional martial activities of Gaeldom would no longer be tolerated by the Scottish government. Prior to this, the clan and its chiefs had quite successfully fulfilled the obligations placed upon them by the two societies between which they resided. However, the cultural disparities between Highlands and Lowlands, which had mostly been differences in emphasis rather than content if we are to believe Smout,[1] had become mutually incompatible by the turn of the 17th century. James VI was about to get tough on those he considered barbarous his message was glaringly simple: "the 'Isle' over which he ruled was culturally homogenous, or at least ought to be culturally homogenous. Those of his subjects who had a different culture were now anomalous."[2] Before discussing this changing attitude and its effects upon the MacFarlanes it is imperative firstly to examine the clan within their immediate social situation. It will be necessary therefore to take stock of some of their more significant activities and involvements in the late 16th century and assess the effects that these had upon the nature and evolution of the clan itself. Only by reviewing the actions of the clan in this way can the content of the later sparse, but nonetheless available, primary sources be properly examined and assessed within their appropriate contexts.

Having heavily involved themselves in the civil troubles that gripped Scotland throughout the mid 16th century the clan MacFarlane's most significant and noted adventure came in 1568 on the field of Langside, near Glasgow. Here the clan under Andrew MacFarlane, chief for the entire second half of that century, fought what several contemporary commentators described as the decisive encounter of that battle, capturing three of Mary Queen of Scots' battle standards.[3] These valiant actions in the service of the

[1] Smout, T.C., *A History of the Scottish People 1560 - 1830* (London, Fontana, 1985) p43

[2] Goodare J. & Lynch, M., 'The Scottish State and its Borderlands' p. 205 in Goodare, J. & Lynch, M. [Eds.], *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 2000)

[3] See extracts of Holinshed's account of the MacFarlane's conduct in Irving, J., *The Book of Dumbartonshire*

infant King James would mark the apogee in relations between crown and clan before the final decades of the century would be dominated by the MacFarlanes' complicated and often turbulent interclan and intraclan relationships, particularly involving the MacGregors and Colquhouns.

The Clan Gregor has been the subject of many studies over the years and their name has become synonymous, rightly or wrongly, with brigandage and disorder; particularly as a result of Sir Walter Scott's efforts to create a Scottish Robin Hood in the "roguish" Rob Roy MacGregor. Dr Martin MacGregor's PhD thesis reinvigorated our perceptions of the clan as he revealed the previously unacknowledged extent of the MacGregor-Campbell synergetic expansionism east of Argyll, into Rannoch in the north and the Lennox to the south, throughout the century prior to about 1550.[1] This alliance, effectively one of brain and brawn, appears to have begun to seriously deteriorate by the mid 16th century as the Campbells of Glenorchy began their determined efforts to increase their influence and power. Clan Campbell, as a whole, it appears, began to renege on many of those aspects of established clan practices which no longer suited their purpose, such as the traditional bonds of clientage which formed the backbone to the previous century of MacGregor-Campbell co-operation, which unavoidably brought them into conflict with their former allies.

> ...It was as a direct consequence of this feud that the MacGregors first achieved the notoriety in the eyes of the wider Scottish opinion and of central government which would remain attached to them thereafter.[2]

The actions of the Campbells would ultimately harbinger the subsequent Highland-wide erosion of many of those praxes which had traditionally underpinned clanship in Gaeldom. Throughout the succeeding two centuries other Highland clans would gradually follow the Campbells' example and adopt a more discriminatory approach to those practices traditionally accepted without question. The MacFarlanes were one such clan as will become much clearer later.

Having expressed itself more militarily in the central and northern Highlands the MacGregor-Campbell feud would manifest itself in a less physical fashion within the Lennox

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[1]MacGregor, M.D.W., *A Political History of the MacGregors before 1571* (PhD Thesis, Edin Uni, 1989)

[2]MacGregor, M.D.W., ibid. p. 407

as the Buchanans and, more particularly, the MacFarlanes "took the more passive role of supplying and receiving stolen goods from some of the MacGregor groups who had settled in that area."[1] Without the powerful allies who protected Buchanan, he and the Earl of Argyll having formed a bond of friendship when Campbell had begun to extend his influence into the Lennox, Andrew MacFarlane of Arrochar and his clan were left extremely vulnerable to reproach from central government. There followed a protracted legal battle as Campbell of Glenorchy obtained legal letters against the MacFarlanes for their reset of the MacGregors and their culpability in the deaths of several of Campbell's men. The *Campbell Letters 1559-1583* reveal the extent of both the Laird and Lady of Glen Orchy's desire to end the "misbehaviour of the Glenfarlane [sic] and uther Lenox folkis."[2] They also give us an insight into Andrew MacFarlane's attempts to curry favour with his feudal superior the Earl of Lennox, under whom he and his father had loyally served throughout Stewart's wilderness years in exile.

MacFarlane had evidently gone to Stirling to support the Earl at his inauguration as Regent in July 1570,[3] in the hope that his show of support would be reciprocated by the latter's aid in repelling the attacks of Glenorchy and his envoys. If indeed this was the case, he had gravely miscalculated his standing with Lennox. Subsequent Campbell letters make clear that the Regent would in no way tolerate the misdemeanors of his vassals and that he had specifically threatened MacFarlane with eviction, or worse, should he fail to present his tenants involved in the deaths of some of Glen Orchy's men or continue in his reset of the Clan Gregor. It was with an evident degree of pleasure that William, 4th Lord Ruthven wrote Lady Glenorchy in late October 1570:

> MacFarlan hes writtin ane letter to my Lord Regent aggaging his hard handling towart the chairpe chargis hes bein derectit againis him. Bot it is lytill regardit and chairper is to follow without he mend his hand shortlye lyk as ye salbe mair amplye informit heirefter.[4]

Indeed Ruthven's delight was of a particularly personal nature as he had received from Lady Glenorchy's own hand a severe censure earlier in the month after his inability to secure a

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[1]Dawson, J.E.A. [Ed], *Campbell Letters 1559-1583* (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 1997) p43

[2]Dawson, J.E.A., ibid. Letter 147, p199

[3]Dawson, J.E.A., ibid. Letter 117, p170

[4]Dawson, J.E.A., ibid. Letter 184, p228

pursuivant or messenger-at-arms in Edinburgh who either knew the way, or were perhaps willing to go, to Arrochar in order to deliver the legal letters against MacFarlane. He had only solved this problem by appealing to the Regent who in turn instructed the Scottish Treasurer, Robert Richardson, to arrange for officers based in Glasgow to carry out delivery.

The assassination of the Regent in Stirling in September 1571 was no doubt greeted by little mourning in the lands of Arrochar. His death meant that the legal measures adopted by Glenorchy and Lennox against MacFarlane and his clansmen appear to have subsided, having had little, if any, effect upon the activities of that clan. In January 1579 we find Andrew and two of his men summoned before the Privy Council to give evidence in the Earl of Montrose's action against Andrew's brother, Duncan, in a murder case. MacFarlane and his men failed to attend and were consequently put to the horn.[1] Either serving to further highlight the central government's ineffectiveness in their punishment of the previous action, or bearing testimony to Andrew's ingenious excuses, we find him once again summoned before the Council in 1585. This time to give information as to the most efficient and prudent means by which the current state of lawlessness so prevalent on the Highland-Lowland borders may be repressed.[2] The Privy Council's attempt to meet members of the clan elite in order to discuss this matter does detract somewhat from Julian Goodare's neat theory that all policy regarding the Highlands was imposed from the Edinburgh, with no thought to consultation; a topic which will be examined in greater detail below. However if Andrew turned up at all, it is unknown whether he offered a great deal of advice to the Privy Council in this matter. A view confirmed in 1587 when the Scottish Parliament included him both amongst the "landlords and baillies of landis duelland on the bordouris and in the heilands quhair brokin men hes duelt and p[rese]ntlie duellis" as well as on "the Roll of the clannis that hes capitnes chieffes and chiftanes qohme on thai depend oftymes againis the will of thair landlordis alsweill on the bordors as hielandes."[4]

Much is made by historians of this act and the subsequent associated legislation by the Privy Council six years later in 1593. These laws are seen as the first decisive action taken by central government officially recognising the perceived lawless behaviour in the

[1]RPC 1578-9, III, p92

[2]RPC 1584-5, III, p718

[3]Goodare, J., *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* p. 255

[4]APS 1587, III 465b and APS 1587, III 466-7

Highlands. Arguments abound as to the nature of this disorder, with writers such as Macinnes emphatic in their efforts to have us adopt a more critical view than the traditionally accepted one. He alludes to several explanations why the situation may have been greatly over emphasised both at the time and in the years since.[1] Central government mismanagement cover ups, Edinburgh lawyers' attempts to garner business, bardic hyperbole, over reliance on Privy Council or similar records which fail to give the whole picture, all could have played a role in the accentuation of the typically portrayed image of anarchy in the Highlands. Macinnes insists that:

> ...The persistence of banditry was not so much an aspect of social or political protest as a perennial feature of rural economy from which surplus pools of landless labour sought subsistence through banditry.[2]

Similarly K.M. Brown makes the case that the violence and bloodshed traditionally associated with the Highlands was no greater than that found elsewhere in Scotland at the time.[3] Such writers downplay the difference in Highland-Lowland culture as one of degrees, offering an image of internal stability within the Highlands unlike that traditionally portrayed or accepted. This theory can be put to the test by the subsequent episodes in which the MacFarlanes involved themselves.

In February 1589 Andrew MacFarlane was listed as one of King James' justices and was ordered to actively aid the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Atholl and Montrose, Lord Drummond and several others in their commission of fire and sword against the Clan Gregor.[4] Again in July the following year, when this commission was regranted, this time under the direction of Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, MacFarlane was once more specifically listed.[5] The effectiveness of these commissions in their aims was debatably negligible. Their importance lies in the fact that here we can recognise the first clear signs that central government had identified the MacFarlanes as a clan which, given the right handling and incentives, could be brought into line with their developing schemes for the

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[1]This opinion is almost a leitmotif in Macinnes' works and is especially well expressed in Chapter 2 of *Clanship, Commerce & the House of Stuart, 1603 - 1788* pp 30-55

[2]Macinnes, A.I., ibid p32

[3]Brown, K.M., *Bloodfeud in Scotland 1573-1625: Violence, Justice and Politics in an Early Modern Society* (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1986)

[4]RPC 1589-90, IV, p454

[5]RPC 1590, IV, p. 509

Highlands. The political might brought to bear by the royal lieutenants, Huntly and Argyll, and the other loyal notables listed would ensure that the only question which would trouble Andrew MacFarlane was not could he pull off such a volte face and actively pursue his former friends and allies, but really whether he could afford not to. It seems at first he felt secure enough to choose the latter.

MacFarlane's relationships with his neighbours within the Lennox had become steadily more strained in the final decades of the 16th century. In March 1591 Andrew, his son John and several members of the clan gentry were bound over by the Privy Council to find surety to provide for the safety of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss and several members of his clan.[1] The following month the Colquhouns were being bound over to promise the safety of the MacFarlanes.[2] These efforts at maintaining the peace evidently came to nought with the MacFarlanes' involvement in the death of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss in July 1592 at his castle of Bannachra. To what extent the MacFarlanes actually participated in this slaughter has been a matter of great debate amongst historians. Recorded oral traditions from the MacFarlanes are clear in that clan's assumption of full responsibility for the homicide following an act of infidelity between the wife of John MacFarlane, Younger of Arrochar and the chief of the Colquhouns;[3] other accounts differ considerably. Fraser lays the murder at the hands of a combined MacGregor-MacFarlane raiding party, aided by a treacherous Colquhoun turncoat (possibly although by no means certainly the Laird's own brother John); this raid being a culmination of several years of similar raids or *spreidh* carried out upon the Colquhoun lands.[4] Alternatively, Professor E.J. Cowan removes the MacFarlanes from the scene altogether by citing Alasdair MacGregor of Glenstrae's confession to the murder shortly before his execution in 1604, supposedly at the encouragement of Argyll.[5] Clearly a source of some controversy and debate.

The only primary source which survives within the MacFarlane Muniments which

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[1]RPC 1590-91, IV p. 599-600

[2]RPC 1590-91, IV p. 606-608

[3]cf. Winchester, Rev. H.S., *Traditions of Arrochar and Tarbet and the MacFarlanes* (Privately Published, c1917) pp. 20-22 or Newton, M., *Bho Chluaidh gu Calasraid - From The Clyde To Callander,* (Stornoway, Acair Pub, 1999) henceforth Newton, M. *Bho Chluaidh* pp. 216-225 after Dewar, J. *The Dewar Manuscripts* Vol 1 (Glasgow, William MacLellan & Co.. 1964)

[4]Fraser, W., *The Chiefs of Colquhoun,* 2 Vols, (Edinburgh, 1869) Volume I, p. 156-160

[5]Cowan, E.J., 'Clanship, kinship and the Campbell acquisition of Islay' in the *Scottish Historical Review* No. 58, 1979 p. 141

makes reference to the matter is an act of condonation granted in King James' name by "R. Somerset" to Alexander Colquhoun of Luss as he lawfully pursued members of the clan MacFarlane, they being "airt and pairt of the crewall slauchter...wthin the house of benchra" of Humphrey Colquhoun and the subsequent ravishing of his daughter Jean's home as well as various other crimes and depredations.[1] This appears to have been granted after the utter rout of Colquhoun forces by the MacGregors at the Battle of Glen Fruin over a decade later, at which point few in central government would have possessed either the will or the inclination to oppose any action of Alexander Colquhoun. Prior to the bloody events of 1603, however, opinions in Edinburgh and elsewhere were apparently not quite so polarised.

In the years after Humphrey Colquhoun's death raiding parties made up of MacFarlanes of Arrochar and their leading kin group, the MacFarlanes of Gartartan, appear to have carried out extensive raids upon the Colquhoun lands. Fraser transcribed an extensive list which he discovered amongst the Colquhoun muniments, now unfortunately missing, of their plunder in those and preceding years which was again written sometime after Glen Fruin (reproduced here in Appendix 2). It amounted to some £4371 in lost livestock alone, in addition to which, Alexander also claimed on behalf of himself and his clansmen for stolen household gear and other goods, as well as damaged property and monetary interest in the intervening period, total compensation amounting to the enormous sum of £155, 501 and 8 shillings.[2] This claim, as mentioned, was made after 1603; in the intervening period three of the leading members of the Colquhoun elite (Camstradden, Mylnton and Garscube), realistically recognising the unlikelihood of receiving any compensation from the MacFarlanes of Arrochar or Gartartan, raised legal actions not against them but against their cautioners for the bonds of 1590-91. The primary bondsmen were William Cunningham of Polmais and, more importantly, John Erskine, Earl of Mar.

The significance in Mar's, and later the MacFarlanes' feudal superior Ludovic Duke of Lennox, involvement in the affair is that they did so on behalf of the MacFarlanes. Clearly satisfied that the clan were worth risking a security on, Mar not only stood by his earlier bond but reaffirmed his support for the clan in 1597. This evidently supports MacInnes' claims that the situation in the Highlands, at least this part of it anyway, was not as turbulent or

[1]Hill Coll, *MacFarlane Muniments* Vol , No 5

[2]Fraser, W., *The Chiefs of Colquhoun,* Volume I, p152 & p170, the original appears no longer to be among the family papers (M.L.A., *Colquhoun Collection*, T-CL)

unmanageable as some would have us believe. King James himself took a personal interest in the affairs of the area and not only appointed Lennox a Commissioner of Justiciary to bring the various factions to some sort of truce, but summoned members of each of the parties before him in Edinburgh on several occasions. The king's direct involvement lends further support to the sincerity of his belief that there was two sorts of Highlander, as defined in *Basilicon Doron*, one which was capable of being reformed and 'civilised,' the other which must be stamped out like a wild and vicious animal.[1] This dichotomy was further emphasised when the uneasy peace in the Lennox, which was achieved following the king's intervention, was rudely shattered by the nefarious activities of the Clan Gregor in 1602 and 1603. Their raiding parties on Colquhoun tenants in Glen Finlas and Glen Fruin, culminating in the bloody affair in the appropriately named "Glen of Sorrow" in February 1603, would decisively terminate any last lingering elements of a quasi *laissez-faire* attitude, within central government, towards its so-called "Highland Problem." That the MacGregor hosts were undoubtedly reset, if not actually complemented, by MacFarlane clansmen and yet both clans did not share similar fates is worth further discussion.

A great deal has been written on the battle of Glen Fruin, particularly because of the decisive and terrible consequences it held for its victors, the MacGregors. The chronology of events leading up to it and immediately after are subject to a great deal of confusion and need not occupy us here. Something that is of interest, however, is a document secreted within the Colquhoun Muniments which sheds an interesting light on the affair. It is a 17th century copy of a letter to Alexander Colquhoun of Luss from Thomas Fallasdail, a Dumbarton burgess. In it Fallasdail recommends that Colquhoun appear before the King in Stirling at a specified time "becaus the French Ambaissadour that is wyth his maiestie" would be present; and when there he should address the assembled dignitaries "wyth as mony bludied sarks as ather ar deid or hurt of your men togithir with as mony women to present them."[2] Colquhoun followed the advice to the letter and put on a spectacle guaranteed to both shock and publicly embarrass the king in the presence of his court and foreign dignitaries. An act of pure theatre, offering a particularly unsubtle example of the over-exaggeration of events in the Highlands as portrayed to those in central government, calculated to manipulate their opinion and ultimate actions. That King James' response and the repercussions for the MacGregors would

[1] James VI *Basilicon Doron* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1599) p. 42

[2] M.L.A. *Colquhoun Collection*, T-CL Bundle 97

be negative was never really in doubt at this point, only the degree of severity was unknown. Such uncertainty did not last long. The acts of proscription which followed signify the stern hardening of the crown resolve to root out that behaviour which it regarded as "allutterly barbares" from the Highlands once and for all, and the unfortunate MacGregors would make a grim and conspicuous example of its sincerity in this enterprise.

The Gartartan MacFarlanes were the first to recognise the ultimate futility of a continued feud with the Colquhouns after Glen Fruin, for the latter's influence at court was simply too great. In October 1603, as Fraser narrates, Malcolm MacFarlane, Fiar of Gartartan, and Alexander Colquhoun came to an arrangement whereby Colquhoun promised to drop the legal proceedings against MacFarlane as a result of the latter becoming bound to the former in a bond of manrent. MacFarlane stipulated however that his acquiescence in no way affected Colquhoun's claims against either his chief, Andrew MacFarlane of Arrochar, or his sons.[1]

The quarrel between the houses of Arrochar and Luss, however, continued unabated for a while longer. Andrew MacFarlane, was so indiscreet in allowing his clan's continued reset of members of the Clan Gregor that he was admonished by the Privy Council in 1605.[2] In 1607 an exasperated James VI wrote to the Earl of Dunfermline, the Scottish Chancellor, from his palace at Whitehall demanding that the feud be brought to an end. We may speculate that the reason the MacFarlanes did not simply share a similar fate as the MacGregors was that, unlike in the late 1560s, they had finally found a powerful ally, this time in John Erskine, Earl of Mar. King James finally ordered Erskine, MacFarlane, Colquhoun and all of his aggrieved kin to submit their grievances to an arbitration panel, of theirs or the Privy Council's choosing, that "our peace and the quyetness of the cuntrey may be fullye secuired."[3] Both sides prevaricated. Colquhoun refused to treat with "the King's Rebells" and Mar responded "that he could not submit and leive thame [the MacFarlanes] owt that had bene joynit with him in the querrel."[4] The arbitration panel was eventually agreed upon to the satisfaction of both sides and it wrought tirelessly for nearly a year before appearing before the Privy Council in April 1608, having failed to draw the parties to any

[1]Fraser, W., *The Chiefs of Colquhoun,* Volume I, p182

[2]RPC 1604-07, VII, p41

[3]RPC 1545-1625, XIV, pp 378,474 & 528

[4]RPC 1545-1625, XI, p601

"reasounable mindis or compositioune."[1] The Council accepted the arbiters' resignations and took the matter decisively into their own hands. The records are unfortunately silent as to the exact manner in which it was ultimately resolved, but an entry in the Privy Council records on 15 February 1610 makes clear that a precarious truce had been achieved by that date at least.[2] A somewhat chronologically confused oral tradition collected in the area in the 19th century suggests the matter was settled in the time-honoured fashion of a show of arms by the two clans in the glen between modern Arrochar and Tarbet. It is suggested that both parties finally recognised, in the futile nature of a pitched battle between two such evenly matched sides, that both would be the eventual losers if the struggle continued any longer. Consequently, terms for the ultimate and lasting cessation of hostilities were reached.[3]

The MacFarlanes had enjoyed an easy autonomy for much of the 16th century, as they supplied, aided and reset the MacGregors in their dubious activities, generally perceiving "themselves at the centre of their own world."[4] When aristocratic patronage failed them, they had relied upon their mountain fastness retreats as a shield to effectively escape punishment or censure. Their continued co-operation with that outlawed clan, even after their specific inclusion in the Commissions of Fire and Sword against the MacGregors in 1589-90, hints at their exceedingly self-indulgent belief in their immunity from prosecution even at that late date in the 16th Century. The stringent measures with which James VI dealt with the MacGregors after 1603 therefore probably took the MacFarlanes by surprise, almost as much as it did the MacGregors themselves. Undoubtedly it was their relationship with the Earl of Mar which ultimately prevented the MacFarlanes from sharing the MacGregors' fate. Such a theory lends support to the argument of K.M. Brown who ascribes the ultimate decline of this type of bloodfeud to the personal intervention of the Scottish nobles in the last decade of the 16th and first decades of the 17th centuries. He contends that the nobility "had no interest whatsoever in prolonging violence" because it suited their ends better to "work with the king in finding a more acceptable level of peace."[5] And peace is exactly what the king intended to

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[1]RPC 1607-1610, VIII, p73

[2]RPC 1607-1610, VIII, p414. The Act of Condonation to Alexander Colquhoun alluded to above is probably a by product of the forced truce.

[3]Newton, M. *Bho Chluaidh* p225

[4]Goodare J. & Lynch, M., 'The Scottish State and its Borderlands' p. 205 in Goodare, J. & Lynch, M. [Eds.], *The Reign of James VI*

[5]Brown, K.M., *Bloodfeud in Scotland 1573-1625* p. 269

have.

Whilst the nature and severity of the so called "Highland Problem" remains a matter for conjecture, and the contention that the portrayal of instability within the Highlands was greatly exaggerated may hold some water, the actions in Glen Fruin were simply too odious for central government to bear. Where before the "Problem" was relatively confined in the barren north-west, this time it had reached right into Lowland territory. One of Scotland's most significant burghs, Dumbarton, had not only lost several of its burgesses and townspeople, but its very security had been threatened. Such open defiance and disorder could never be tolerated, particularly in such a sensitive political year as 1603. That such feuding behaviour was arguably ubiquitous to the whole of Scotland in varying degrees, may indeed be the case, and that the "Highland Problem" may have been just as equally a "Lowland Problem" depending upon your viewpoint is most reasonable;[1] but there can be no doubting the sincere personal sleight felt by the crown, nor the veracity of the royal action in punishing the recalcitrant MacGregors. The MacFarlane's senior cadet branch, Gartartan, was first to show that it was cognisant of the new wind which was about to sweep northwest into the Highlands from Edinburgh and London. The MacFarlanes of Arrochar were a little more laggard, but the message was soon pushed home. The Statutes of Iona, which followed six years later, although principally directed at the Hebridean Clans, made manifest, for the first time, all of those facets of Highland society which we may suspect many Lowlanders at that time perceived as encouraging incivility and barbarity amongst the Gael. A new acceptable code of behaviour, a code that the government expected all of *Gaidhealtachd* to adhere to, and a new strategy to implement it was being devised. The crown's recognition of the clan MacFarlane's potential to be reformed, and the clan's proximity to the Lowlands, would mean that they would be among the first clans to be exposed to these new ideals of "civilitie." The clan's reaction to this ideological onslaught, as reflected in their behaviour and activities, will be discussed in the following chapter.

[1]Goodare, J., *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, University Press, 1999) Chapter 8

CHAPTER 3

'The Poachers turn Gamekeepers'

The *Rehabilitation* of the Clan 1610-1630

> In the opening decades of the seventeenth century the Crown lacked the political commitment as well as the financial resources to effect the wholesale transformation of rural society within Gaeldom[1]

Instead King James and his councillors identified the greatest problem areas and tried to concentrate their efforts there. As mentioned above, James VI used his kingcraft handbook, *Basilicon Doron*, to divide the Gaels into two classes, "the virtually irredeemable islanders and the redeemable Highlanders."[2] James' scribe, and no doubt close collaborator, in this work was his long- term court favourite, since childhood, Sir James Sempill of Beltrees. In March 1616 Walter MacFarlane, Younger of Arrochar (Andrew's grandson) married Sempill's daughter Margaret. Through these means, and others that will become apparent, the 'civilising' efforts of central government took their first fitful steps into the southern Highlands via the clan MacFarlane; effectively the Scottish Crown's first not unwilling human palimpsests onto which the new codes of civility could be redrawn. The changes in MacFarlane attitudes began to tangibly manifest themselves soon after the cessation of hostilities with the Colquhouns.

A charter of land confirmation and an instrument of sasine both dated May 1581[3] reveal that Andrew MacFarlane had been merely the titular head of his clan since that time, having legally passed his lands over to his son, and reserving to himself only the liferent of certain lands adjoining his island home of Elan Vow. The "Hero of Langside" died in 1610 and John was elevated to the full chieftainship of the clan.[4] John celebrated his inheritance by immediately accepting the Privy Council's commissions of fire and sword against the MacGregors, thereby aiding his clan's former enemies in their vigorous pursuit of his clan's

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[1]Macinnes, A.I., *Clanship, Commerce & the House of Stuart, 1603 - 1788* p. 58

[2]Macinnes, A.I., *ibid* p. 59

[3]Narrated in Fraser, F., *The Cartulary of Colquhoun* (Edinburgh, 1873) p. 222-3

[4]Walter MacFarlane's (20th Chief) handwritten genealogy, Hill Coll., *MacFarlane Muniments* No 3

former allies. He and several other lairds and chiefs from across Scotland appealed to the Privy Council in late 1610 for immunity from prosecution for those tenants who reset or abet the MacGregors or in any other way refuse to obey the Council's concurrences. The Privy Council declined a general immunity but offered it upon an individual basis in return for information and aid, if necessary, in the prosecution of such persons.[1] An undated letter in the Colquhoun papers suggests that he and other "Gentlemen of the Lennox" were not slow to co-operate with the good Lords' wishes, as it grants them remission from any previous acts of reset with the Clan Gregor and gives them the unusual authority to hire *broken* or landless men in their pursuit of the same.[2]

By May 1611, central government clearly did not feel the proscription of the MacGregors was going fast enough, with more promises of help than actual arrests and trials, so stepped up their campaign by giving the Earl of Argyll the Royal Lieutenancy for the pursuit of that clan. Their prudence in giving this commission to arguably one of the greatest sources of the troubles need not concern us here, more important are the specific orders he received. Foremost among these was the right to quarter his troops throughout those territories notable for the presence of MacGregors. Presumably not yet fully trusted by the Privy Council, John MacFarlane of Arrochar was ordered to surrender his house of "Innerdouglas" and Malcolm MacFarlane of Gartartan his house of "Fatlipps" to Argyll upon six hours notice, under pain of rebellion should they refuse.[3] In an attempt to prove his loyalty, the following year John MacFarlane sat as a member of an assize which sentenced seven MacGregors to death for slaughter, fire-raising and theft. The year after that, presumably having a taste for it, he sat, this time as chancellor, of an assize which condemned a further six MacGregors to the scaffold for similar charges.[4] The cruel irony in both trials is that at least two of the convicted were charged with being involved in the raids on Glen Finlas in 1602-3, raids in which members of the MacFarlanes, possibly even John himself, were almost certainly involved either before, during or after the fact. MacFarlane compounded his actions by actually delivering the death sentence on the unfortunate MacGregors himself. However, his attempts to ingratiate himself with central government by

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[1]RPC 1610-15, IX, p. 583

[2]M.L.A. *Colquhoun Collection,* T-CL Bundle 96, No. 11

[3]RPC 1610-15, IX, p. 178-180

[4]Pitcairn Vol. 3, Pt 1, pp. 232-3 & pp. 249-251

assuming an uncompromising stance against what they perceived to be the criminal element in the Highlands would be badly damaged by the intense and debilitating feud in which his son and his clan became embroiled shortly afterwards.

Robert Pitcairn, in his account of some of the more salacious elements of this quarrel, which emerged in the subsequent litigation process, remarked that students of Scottish criminal history would be hard pressed to find another case "possessing incidents of such varied and frightful interest."[1] It seems to have begun through the lawless antics of one Andrew Moir MacFarlane, "ane notorious theif and lymmer," who was a tenant of Malcolm MacFarlane of Gartartan in Menteith. It seems Andrew Moir spent the period from about 1612-13 to 1619 stealing from "certane of his Maiesties guid subiectis in the Lennox," principally members of the clan Buchanan. The Buchanan testimony avers that an elderly tenant of the Earl of Perth, one William Buchanan, eventually took a stance against Andrew Moir by taking out letters of law against him to recover some of the stolen goods. Having been declared rebel and put to the horn as a result, Andrew Moir is alleged to have retaliated by gathering together a small band and capturing the 72 year old William Buchanan while he was out alone hunting with dogs. He was then accused of torturing the unfortunate septuagenarian overnight before finally murdering him and mutilating his corpse by swapping his tongue and entrails with those of his dead dogs.

Initially the Buchanans appear to have appealed to their feudal superiors, the Earls of Perth and Glencairn, for legal recourse. Both earls duly responded by exerting their influence with the Privy Council to have members of both clans and their neighbours called to Edinburgh to give evidence in the matter.[2] It seems that the legal process moved slowly and the depredations against individual members of the Buchanan clan continued unabated. Commissions of fire and sword were issued to the Earls of Perth, Menteith and Glencairn as well as Campbell of Glenorchy, Sir John Buchanan of that Ilk and William Buchanan of Drumakeill, to hunt down the murderers. From the conflicting evidence offered later before the Privy Council it seems likely that the Buchanans prosecuted their commissions a little too vigorously. They zealously hunted down and dealt a swift form of retribution to Andrew Moir MacFarlane, unfortunately killing his young son in the affray. The young man was, by the Laird of Buchanan's own later admission, innocent of the original murder but implicated in

[1]Pitcairn Vol. 3, Pt 2, pp. 545-552

[2]RPC XI, 1619, pp. 634-35, 550, 552-55

other nefarious activities since. The MacFarlanes, led it seems by Walter MacFarlane Younger of Arrochar, sought revenge for this unlawful killing and the feud accelerated to a new level.

An exasperated Privy Council spent the years 1620-24 cajoling, threatening and bribing members of both clans in various attempts to settle the affair. John MacFarlane, Senior of Arrochar, was offered "letteris of relief of his cautionarie againis suche of his clan whose names he shall give up" in June of 1623.[1] Ever aware of the futility of long-term opposition to central government, as the experience of the Clan Gregor so readily testified, MacFarlane provided a comprehensive list and submitted himself wholeheartedly to the will of the Council and its arbiters. His son and leading gentry were not quite so amenable. Only John appeared before the council in December 1623, his son and the Younger and Senior MacFarlanes of Gartartan providing "verie frivolous excuissis absentit thame selfis."[2] Undeterred the Privy Council continue with the arbitration process. The panel's final decision appears to be that both parties were equally culpable in the whole affair. Aware that such an outcome would never satisfy the two factions, a great conference of Highland lairds was called to take place over three days in mid March 1624 to settle this and other issues concerning the better pacification of the Highlands.

> Representatives of both sides of this feud being present among the assembled landlords, in the persons of John MacFarlane and his eldest son for the MacFarlanes and the Younger Laird of Buchanan for the Buchanans, there is submission of the feud, so far as these persons are concerned, to whatever decreet-arbitral the Council may pronounce, with arrangements for winding up such rigged ends of the feud as depend upon absentees.[3]

In addition the Privy Council enacted several statutes to better police *Gaidhealtachd.* Principal amongst these was the issue of accountability. The affirmation that Highland Landlords would be responsible for *all* those men who dwelt upon their lands could have been written with John MacFarlane of Arrochar in mind. At a stroke of the pen his feudal obligations to those of his name outwith his lands around Loch Lomond, most particularly the troublesome Gartartan MacFarlanes, were effectively and decisively ended. When the final arbitrary panel met in April 1624, to conclude the hostilities of the two clans, it was the Earl

[1]RPC XIII, 1623, p. 257

[2]RPC XIII, 1623, p. 386

[3]RPC XIII, Introduction xliii

of Menteith who was forced to assume the responsibility for these repeatedly delinquent clansmen, John simply had to keep his headstrong son under control.

MacFarlane Senior's acceptance into Lowland society was almost complete, and he embraced his position within the new order wholeheartedly. In June 1624 John sat on an Edinburgh assize which convicted and sentenced to death a man for the murder of his own brother-in-law; a matter completely unconnected with either the Highlands or MacFarlane's clan.[1] Of much greater significance, in July that year John and several members of the leading gentry of the clan sat upon an assize which convicted several men of their own name and belonging to the Arrochar lands, of various acts of lawlessness ranging from theft and fire-raising to reset and murder. The sentence was death by hanging at the "Burrow-mure" of Edinburgh.[2] A better example of a clan chief's "rehabilitation" in line with the demands of central government could not be offered. Having spent several years energetically prosecuting and chasing his former allies the MacGregors, MacFarlane had finally condemned several of his own clansmen to die upon an Edinburgh scaffold in order to secure the trust of the Privy Council. He was rewarded, in 1624, with a share of the fines exacted from his clansmen and tenants for the reset of the Clan Gregor over the preceding years and would be listed as one of Dumbartonshire's Justices of the Peace ten years later.[3]

Summing up similar examples of acquiescence to central government's demands at a Highland wide level, Macinnes defines it as part of a universal shift from paternalism to commercialism:

> The legislative reforms which prompted and accelerated the assimilation of the *fine* into the Scottish landed classes gradually but inexorably subordinated their patriarchal and protective instincts to their proprietary interests.[4]

In John MacFarlane we see a chief who stood upon the cusp of change in the Highlands. He had personally taken part in and led the last great MacFarlane *spreidh*, he had witnessed first hand the terrible repercussions meted out upon the MacGregors following the rout of the Colquhouns at Glen Fruin and ultimately he would be amongst the first chiefs to acquiesce to

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[1]Pitcairn Vol. 3, Pt. 2, p. 565

[2]Pitcairn Vol. 3, Pt. 2, p. 565-68

[3]RPC XIV, 1624, p. 649 and RPC 2nd Series V, 1634, p. 283

[4]Macinnnes, A.I., *Clanship, Commerce & the House of Stuart, 1603 - 1788* p. 80

the laws of King and State. MacInnes' statement neatly sums up the process which saw men like MacFarlane publicly jettison those values formerly taken for granted in Gaeldom as being totally inherent to Highland chieftainship (inter-clan hospitality, loyalty, patriarchy, etc.). Chiefs like John MacFarlane were shrewd enough to recognise early in the first and second decades of the 17th century the precarious nature of their positions. The punishments meted out to the MacGregors, the Statutes of Iona (and subsequent associated legislation) and the ever increasing power and wealth of the Campbells all served to illustrate the sheer folly of long-termed resistance to central government and the riches and rewards which could be theirs through acquiescence and obedience. Having identified this, the most successful of this generation of chiefs, attempted to deftly unshackle themselves from the social pressures and obligations being exerted upon them from below; whilst remaining mindful that too much compliance with central government could be equated with submission, which could mean loss of respect, censure and eventually loss of status and power. As Lynch writes "Clans were not necessarily as receptive to the process of civilising as their chiefs."[1]

John MacFarlane was one chief who grasped these dilemmatic horns firmly. Having abandoned, only to pursue, his former allies and friends, the MacGregors and then, in the ultimate test of governmental loyalty, having sacrificed his own recalcitrant clansmen by personally condemning them for similar crimes in which he himself had more than once participated, he was financially and socially rewarded by central government. That he was able to win the support for his actions from the clan *fine* is suggested by their inclusion upon the panels which condemned these outlaws to death. Similarly the financial gains made by MacFarlane could not have been lost wholly to the gaming tables and merchants of Edinburgh, as later writers would have us believe, but must have at least been partially reinvested in the clan. In order to secure and maintain his status as chief it would have been necessary for MacFarlane to divert his clan's attention away from what was not only a betrayal of their fellow clansmen but also a betrayal of many of those principles reputedly central to Scottish Gaeldom prior to this time. We must speculate as to how much the injection of central government capital sugared the pill of their chief's abandonment of traditional Gaelic practices. Certainly, the Records of the Privy Council, note instances of individuals from the lower levels of clan society aiding the chief as he hunted down "broken

[1]Lynch, M., 'James VI and the 'Highland Problem'' p. 225 in Goodare, J. & Lynch, M. [Eds.], *The Reign of James VI*

men" and "sorners."[1] So there may have been at least a tacit acceptance of his actions as testified to by their involvement.

John MacFarlane's actions, and those of the clan aristocracy, also impact upon the current debate between Julian Goodare and Keith M. Brown which questions the stimulus effecting the behavioural and institutional changes beginning to take place at this time across the Highlands. Brown favours the view that social change came from within the society itself, from "the combined voices of local kinsmen, friends, lords and dependents who wanted peace in their community." Whereas Goodare believes exactly the opposite is true:

> Policy for the Borders and Highlands was not made by, or for, or even in consultation with the local people - even the local elite; it was imposed upon them from outside. [2]

Both historians make convincing cases. However, the surviving historical evidence tends to favour Brown's assertions far more. Goodare's argument relies somewhat too heavily on the power of the state to coerce its opposition into line. Brown makes the alternative suggestion that no coercion was needed, and that the individuals concerned showed a willingness to behave within new acceptable social perameters which went far beyond that which could be hoped for by even the most virulent of 'civilised' Lowlanders. Certainly there is no evidence of John MacFarlane having to be actively coerced into stepping into line; quite the opposite. His acquiescence, particularly after about 1610, was secured far more likely by the social and financial rewards he received from his son's marriage to the daughter of a court favourite, the bounties for information and capture of outlawed clansmen and his developing relationships with influential nobles such as Campbell of Argyll.

This fundamental shift in the chiefs' and the clan elite's ideologies over this period of radical change is not only discernible in the historical record, but may also be observed in the 'vocabulary' of the archaeological landscape. The next chapter explores exactly how the MacFarlane chiefs communicated their altering approaches to chieftainship, as expressed in the surviving archaeology of the district. By examining these remains it may be possible to formulate a more decisive opinion upon the Goodare/Brown debate.

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[1] cf. RPC 2nd Series VI, pp. 138-39 & pp. 319

[2] Brown, K.M., *Bloodfeud in Scotland* p. 59 Goodare, J., *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* p. 255

CHAPTER 4

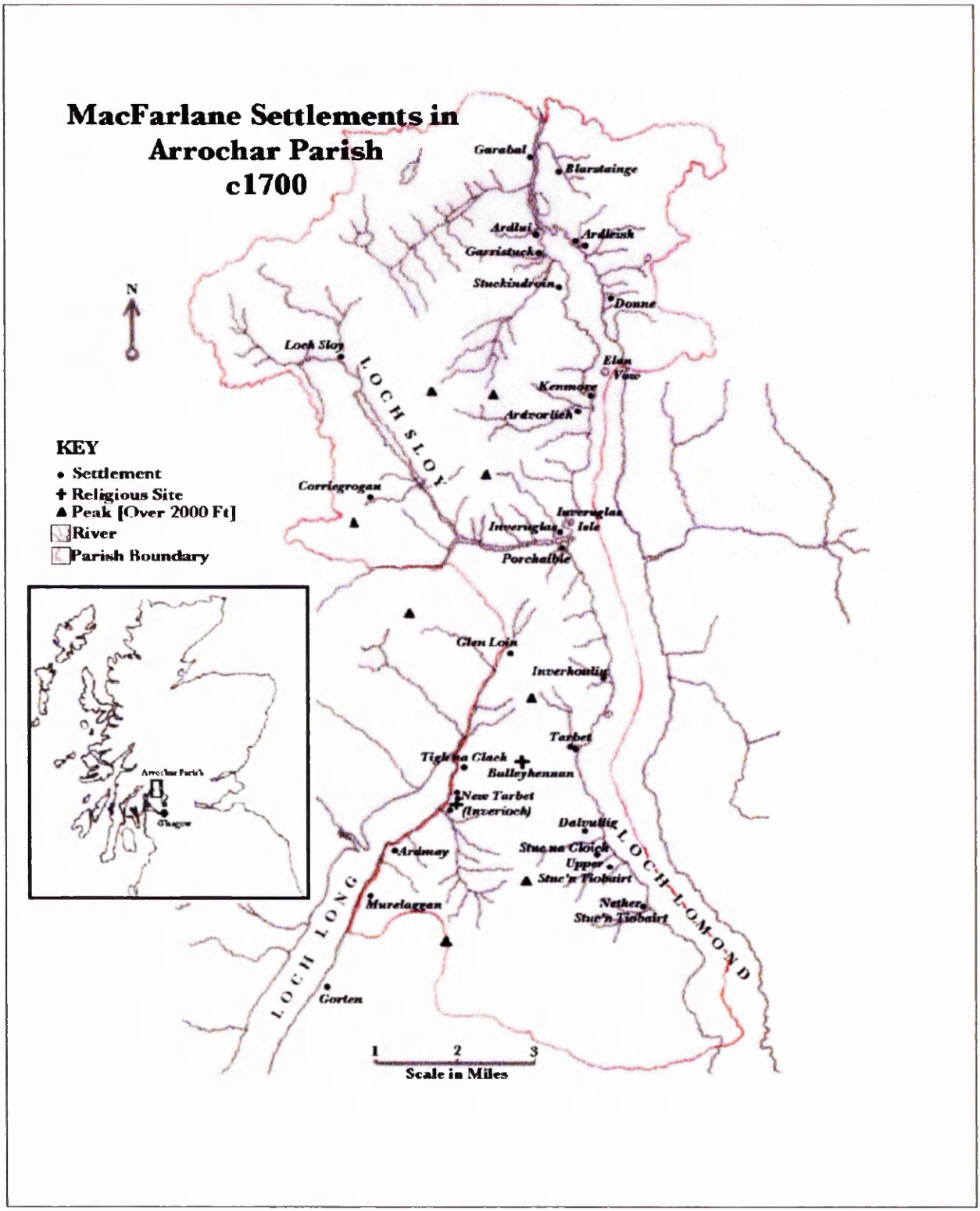
"From Clan Chiefs to Landlords:"

The First Local Expressions of Physical Change

As we have seen above, the late 16th and early 17th centuries brought a great many changes to the Highlands, as government efforts to radically alter the Gaelic mindset dramatically intensified. Much of this intervention was of a simple legal nature, like the apprehending of certain wanted individuals or groups, something not often expressed upon the archaeological record. This is not always the case. The government's attempts to curtail those activities which they perceived to be wrong or immoral slowly had the desired effect upon the prevailing methods of social control and institutional forms present in the Highlands. These effects might go unnoticed, due to the dearth in appropriate local historical sources, but for the occasional expressions of physical change as seen on the archaeological landscape. The clan MacFarlane chiefs were amongst the first to articulate these changes on their lands and it is these that will be discussed here.

The territory of the clan MacFarlane is shown in greater detail on Figure 2. This gives the position of all of the identified settlements which the clan occupied for most of the two centuries encompassed by this thesis. In the early to mid 17th century the political centre of the territory was Inveruglas Isle with its castle and ancillary buildings. Of secondary importance was the large house on Elan Vow and the settlement on the banks of Loch Sloy, to which the clan retreated in times of strife. In addition to these there were over two dozen small townships or *baile*, within which the majority of the clan resided. There was a grain mill at Porchaible, on a small promontory overlooked by the castle of Inveruglas. There was an almshouse on the shoreside at the point where visitors to the chiefly island residence of Elan Vow took to their vessels. And finally, there is scant archaeological and cartographic evidence of a small ecclesiastical site at Balleyhennan prior to the separate erection of Arrochar into a distinct parochial entity from Luss in 1658. These will be discussed in turn in the following pages (with the exception of the last which we will come to in Chapter 5) as we examine the edifices erected by the clan over this period.

Figure 2 - Map of identified MacFarlane Settlements



The past decade has seen a survey of both of the ruined 'castles'[1] on MacFarlane territory carried out as part of the *Loch Lomond Island Survey*, as well as a more comprehensive survey of Inveruglas carried out over the course of two seasons by a group of American archaeologists in 2000-01.[2] Their surveys concur that both buildings exhibit substantial signs of differing purpose in construction. Inveruglas declares clear evidence of having had an obviously defensive function, while Elan Vow appears to have been possessed more of a domestic function.[3] The differing styles in architecture and purpose can be seen most clearly on the plans drawn up by *The Loch Lomond Island* Survey in 1995, which I have included here as Figures 3 & 4.[4] In addition to the castles, the islands possess several ancillary structures, most likely of a domestic nature, as well as substantive jetties or landing platforms able to accommodate both small or medium sized vessels. Nearby to the Island of Inveruglas were at least two, possibly three, small farming townships and the chief's grain mill. Only one township appears to have been located near to Elan Vow, but, as mentioned above, on the mainland opposite the castle was situated an Almshouse, established by John MacFarlane early in the 17th century.

Primary historical references to these two high status island residences are relatively few.[5] But perhaps, by far the most distinguished note of their existence is their depiction upon two maps drawn by the father of Scottish cartography, Timothy Pont. Working from circa 1590 to 1600, Pont mapped most of mainland Scotland and, though receiving little recognition in his lifetime, his partially revised charts would half a century later, in 1654, form the corpus of the maps of Scotland published by Dutchman Johannes Blaeu in his *Atlas Novus*. Much neglected and undervalued, his maps languished in virtual obscurity until the late 1990s and the work of *Project Pont.* One of the most significant findings to emerge from this group's work is that of Professor Charles MacKean who has satisfactorily established that many of Pont's drawings of buildings on his maps may have been more than merely representative, but might in fact be small sketches of what he actually saw.[6] One complete

[1]Professor Charles McKean's recent book *The Scottish Chateau* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing Ltd., 2001) throws into question the over use of this term 'castle' when describing the buildings of the Scottish elite.

[2]Starbuck, D.R. [Ed], *An Archaeological Survey of Clan MacFarlane* [Draft Report]

[3]Baker, F.M., *Loch Lomond Islands Survey, Report on Phase 1* (1995), pp. 26-40 and pp. 147-158 and Starbuck, D.R. [Ed], ibid. pp. 36-60

[4]Baker, F.M., *ibid* p. 26 and p. 147

[5]They are mentioned in passing in a few entries in the Records of the Privy Council, eg. supra - p. 20.

[6]McKean, C., *The Scottish Chateau* pp. 28-30

Figure 3 - Plan of Inveruglas Isle, castle (left) and ancillary buildings (reproduced from *The Loch Lomond Island Survey*)

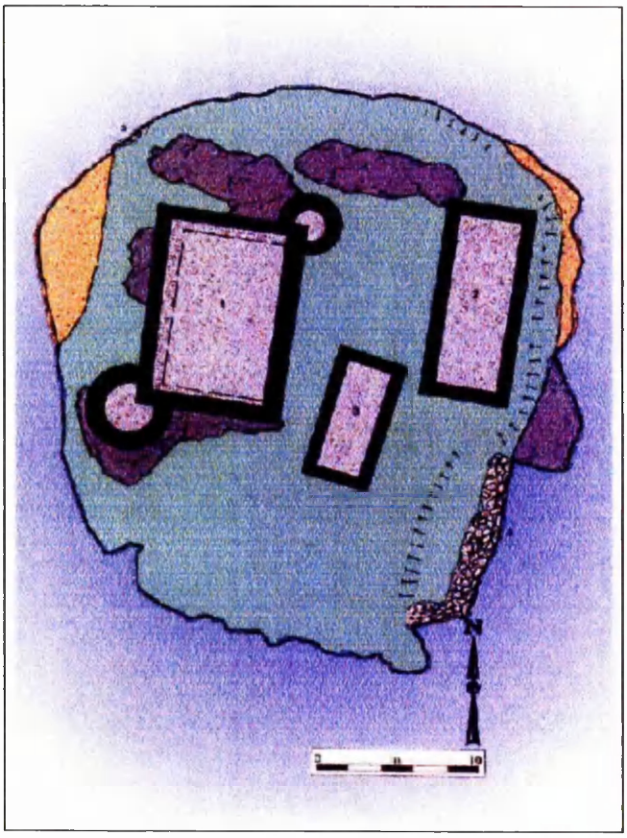


Figure 4 - Plan of Elan Vow, showing castle (bottom right) and ancillary buildings (reproduced from *The Loch Lomond Island Survey*)

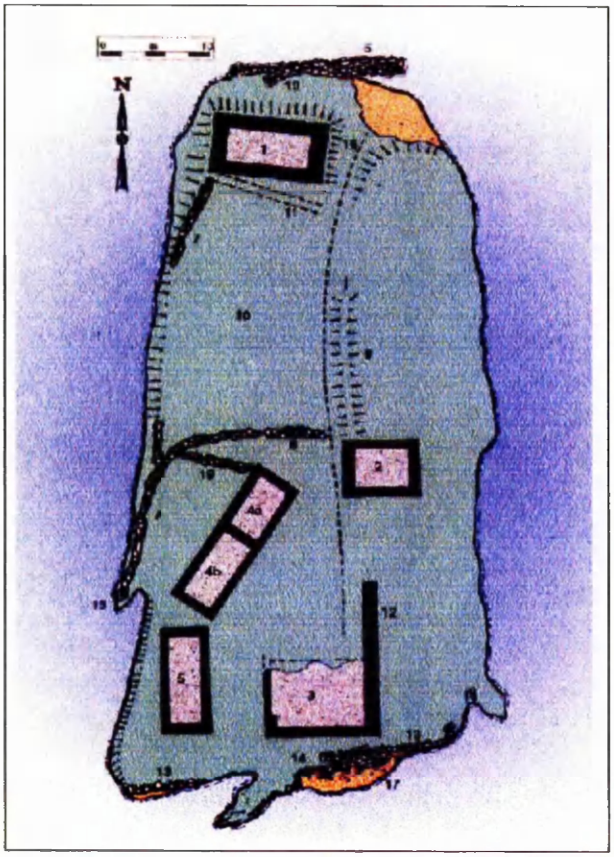
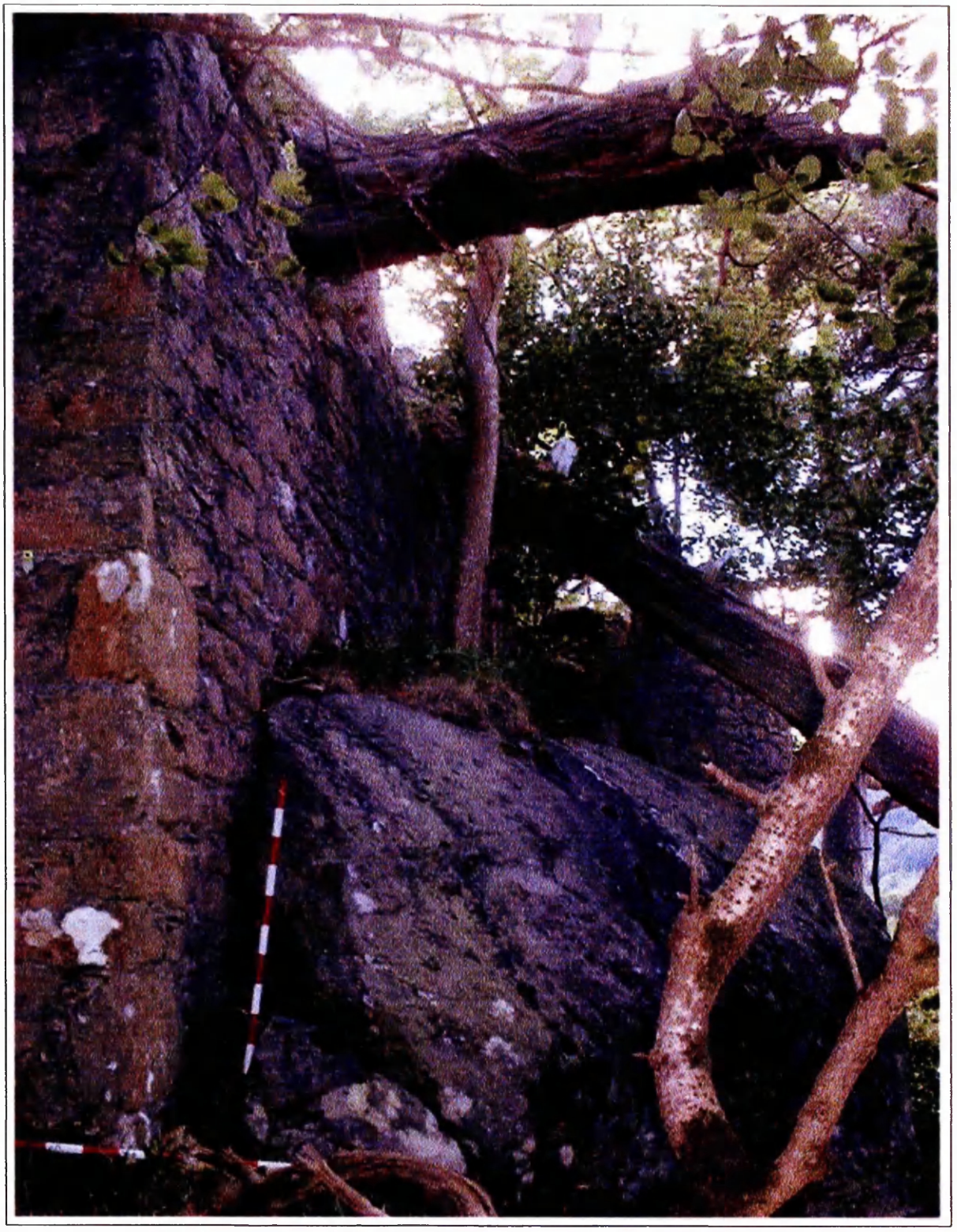


Plate 1 - Corner of Inveruglas Castle showing join with island bedrock



map of Loch Lomondside survives amongst Pont's maps, Number 17 in the National Map Library, and both of the buildings on Elan Vow and Inveruglas (although the latter is named "Castel Terbert") are pictographically represented. The size and nature of the structures depicted do indeed, in some details, correspond to the surviving ruins but will need further digital enhancement to enable a more comprehensive comparison. The single most significant thing about these maps is their production at all. The fact that a Lowlander such as Pont could come on to and map the lands of "Errawhar," as he calls them, in the 1590s helps confirm the theory, elaborated upon above, that the "badlands" image of this area as portrayed by the Privy Council at this time (and recounted in Chapters 2 and 3) was probably somewhat over exaggerated. Pont was able to, over what must have taken many days, if not weeks, make an extensive plan of the hills, rivers, lochans and several MacFarlane settlements in addition to the castle sketches, as well as note down a few pieces of information about the clan.[1] All of this must have required at the very least the clan's acquiescence if not its actual assistance; particularly given the inclusion of the Arrochar lands amongst those listed in the 1587 and 1593 parliamentary lists of troublesome territories. Pont's freedom to roam hardly presents the picture of lawlessness certain quarters would have us believe. Indeed, if we closely examine the area in an historical vacuum, ignoring its portrayal in external sources and concentrating instead upon the surviving *local* archaeological and historical record, a very different image emerges. This is a stable, thriving and vibrant community, quite unlike what we might have expected as the homeland of the transitory, capricious and volatile broken men represented in Lowland documents.

The construction date of the two island focal centres appears to have been in the late 16th century, during the actual and titular chiefship of Andrew MacFarlane of that ilk. The 18th century clan chief and renowned Scottish genealogist and antiquarian Walter MacFarlane gives the dates of 1577 for the house on Elan Vow and 1592 for the castle of Inveruglas, although the latter has until of late been afforded a much earlier foundation.[2] Andrew MacFarlane and his wife, Agnes Maxwell a daughter of Sir Patrick Maxwell of Newark, built their fine house and garden on the island of Elan Vow, probably at least in part

[1]Its war-cry and reputed genealogical descent from the Earls of Lennox

[2]Handwritten genealogy of the clan dating c.1730-1750 (identified as Walter's work by handwriting and signature comparison), Hill Coll. *Clan MacFarlane Muniments* Vol. 1, No. 3. The date given by MacFarlane is perhaps corroborated in the opinion of Alan Rutherford, of Historic Scotland, by the "quality of its construction" (Starbuck, D.R. [Ed], *An Archaeological Survey of Clan MacFarlane* [Draft Report], p. 37

with the proceeds of her *tocher*, and seem to have retired there shortly afterwards.[1] It was his son who, having succeeded his father during the latter's own lifetime and no doubt in an endeavour to impress his fellow clansmen, built the substantially different style of castle on the island of Inveruglas in 1592. From the plans and surveys recently carried out and referenced above, as well as the corpus of oral traditions which relate to this period, it is evident that each castle stepped beyond their purely functional purpose and personified their builders' own outlooks.

Andrew MacFarlane was only about 20 years old when he led his clansmen onto the field of Langside to play a vital role in winning the day for the king's men. This action secured for Andrew an element of prestige, both in *Gaidhealtachd* and Lowland Scotland, except perhaps amongst adherents to the Marian faction! He, like his father before him made many trips into the Lowlands, and he had even found himself a well connected wife belonging to the Maxwell family of Newark, in Renfrewshire. Prior to building his island retreat he purchased with his wife "several tenements and gardens within the burgh of Dumbarton" in November 1569.[2] Having been raised just across the Clyde from Dumbarton, Agnes Maxwell, was no doubt an enormous influence in shaping the tastes and outlook of her husband and their children. A home in the capital of the Lennox may even have been a prerequisite of their marriage in the first place. Perhaps it was MacFarlane's strained relations with his Lennox neighbours in the following decades that led to the construction of his island retreat in 1577, more likely however it was intended to send a message of middling wealth and social stability to all that passed it by. The surviving ruin fits well the two and a half storeyed, L-Plan, "ground-hugging," horizontal buildings described by McKean as fairly typical in this period, built for lesser noble families, "minor scions of a family, or for successful merchants and professionals."[3] His island home therefore presents something of a dual-personality. On the one hand it was a retreat, a place of entertainment and revelry, a last lingering reflection of the medieval halls of the old Gaelic chiefs of a bygone poetic age; on the other it was the very image of contemporary Lowland upper middle-class style. Here the tales of Andrew's martial valour in a Lowland battle, could be eulogised by Gaelic bards in front of the coat of arms he was personally granted by the national government (in the person

[1]As mentioned, inferred from the charters mentioned above and narrated in FRASER, F., *The Cartulary of Colquhoun* (Edinburgh, 1873) p. 222-3

[2]Fraser, W., *The Cartulary of Colquhoun* (Edinburgh, 1873) p. 374

[3]McKean, C., *The Scottish Chateau* pp. 141-143

of Regent Murray and which Andrew had carved above the mantle of his great hall[1]) and here was a home in which the king himself would be comfortable.[2] The main building itself took up only a small part of the island (See Figure 4), leaving plenty of room elsewhere for workshops, stores and the accommodation for the chief's courtly retinue and guests; portraying a greater sense of community than can be seen in the plan of Inveruglas Island. The clan *filidh* would rejoice in Andrew's generosity and liberality and recite his traditional bardic epics and compose new poems, along the lines of the one eulogising Andrew's father, Duncan, preserved by John Dewar.[3] Here Andrew could essentially seal himself off in his self sufficient and self indulgent mini-kingdom, isolated from the outside world and its many changes, but preserving an internal image of traditionalism and an external appearance of modernity. Most significantly of all however, here for possibly the first time in MacFarlane history the chief had provided for his clan a tangible communal focus. Here could be concentrated what little estate surpluses there might have been, in addition to the normal exactions, duties and mails taken from the clan lands. As the status of Elan Vow grows we begin to detect the first tangible evidence of the reorganisation of the traditional redistributive exchange system towards a more extractive system which benefits the centre rather than the whole. This is a theme central to R.A. Dodgshon's work *From Clan Chiefs to Landlords* and is one we shall return to at the end of this chapter.

John MacFarlane similarly embraced his father's successful application of a subliminal vocabulary of architecture when he built his own island stronghold. Although possessing several obviously militarist features, its construction was clearly intended more as a social gesture than as a defensive measure; the ease with which it was ultimately destroyed in c.1653-4 at the hands of the occupying Cromwellian troops testifies to that fact. Constructed to what McKean describes as the "purest expression of the [earlier] Marian plan - a rectangular main house with circular towers on opposing corners,"[4] the choice of location was no accident. Its symbolic fusing to the bedrock of Inveruglas Isle (see Figure 3 and Plate 1) gave it an air of permanence and longevity. While its domination of much of the space available upon the island, as seen from the shore, would give the impression of size and bulk

[1]Fraser, W., *The Chiefs of Colquhoun and their Country* vol. 2, pp. 78-9.

[2]James MacFarlane quotes a well known oral tradition that James VI was entertained here not long after its construction. MacFarlane, J. *A History of the Clan MacFarlane* (Glasgow, DJ Clark, 1922) p. 67

[3]Printed in its original Gaelic in Campbell, J.F., *Leabhar Na Feinne....* (Irish Uni. Press, 1972) pp. xvii-xviii and in the original and translated forms in Newton, M., *Bho Chluaidh...* pp. 166-171

[4]McKean, C., *The Scottish Chateau* p. 114

to the onlooker, in spite of its actually compact nature. John had contracted an excellent second marriage, from a political point of view, to the daughter of an earl, albeit one who was out of favour,[1] and his castle was undoubtedly a swaggering demonstration intended to publicise the ascending star of the house of MacFarlane. His third marriage to a daughter of the Earl of Argyll and his fourth, and final, to a daughter of the Laird of Strowan would be commemorated in similarly ostentatious displays. In 1612, he raised a vault to house his ancestors' and descendants' remains near the medieval church of Luss, which the clan MacFarlane and clan Colquhoun shared. The vault was apparently demolished during the building of a new church in 1771 but the memorial stone from above the doorway was saved and is pictured in its present position in the wall of the current mid-Victorian church at Luss (Plate 2).[2] After his fourth marriage John erected the "noble almshouse" opposite Elan Vow, already mentioned, "for the reception of poor passengers, which he endowed with competent revenues to provide them with all sorts of necessaries and accommodations."[3] The evidence suggests that this building work too may have been in part financed by an advantageous marriage, for above the door was "handsomely cut on stone, his armorial bearing, with party *per pale, baron* and *femme*, three mullets being the arms of Margaret Murray his last lady."[4]

All four of these architectural additions to the north Lennox should then be analysed far beyond their simple functionality. They each exude the air in which their builders perceived themselves, and indeed how they wished to be perceived. Mixed in with the bricks and mortar were strong social messages. Andrew, in his great bardic hall, could relive past glories whilst portraying himself to his clan as a chief of the old school, but he could do this while living in a home which offered all the comforts offered to any of his contemporary Lowland peers. John, as we have seen from his actions above, had taken stock of the sharp lesson offered in the ever accelerating demise of his clan's former allies, the MacGregors. Gone were the days when the clan MacFarlane could enjoy the isolated existence which had protected them from the likes of the King's messengers-at-arms in the 1570s. Scotland was becoming a smaller place, so to speak, and the Highlands were shrinking right along with it.

[1]Lady Helen Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Bothwell, see Appendix 1

[2]The almost totally eroded inscription on it, under the well carved symbols of death and mortality, reads "Here is the place of Burial Appointit for the Laird of Aroqhar Buildit Be Jhone Macfarlan Laird thairof. 1612. Efter Deathe. Remains. Vertew. Memento. Mori. J.M. 1612" MacFarlane, J. *ibid.* p. 96

[3]Douglas, Sir R., *Baronage of Scotland...* (Edinburgh, 1798) p. 96

[4]Douglas, Sir R., *ibid.* p. 96 A survey of the shoreline opposite Elan Vow has revealed no trace of this building, although the James MacFarlane intimates that traces of foundations were visible at the turn of the 20th century MacFarlane, J. *A History of the Clan MacFarlane* p.106

Plate 2 - MacFarlane chiefs' vault memorial slab, Luss Parish Church

He did not intend to lose his heritage as the MacGregors had done and quite in fitting with his aspirations he erected an island home which was intended to symbolise its owner's command and holding over his lands. Inveruglas was no great defensive stronghold, it enjoyed "the *garb* of martial nobility but not its *substance*,"[94] but this in no way detracted from its clear and unambiguous social imagery. With similar duality of purpose in mind, the utilitarian benefits of building a family vault could be judged as a distant second place to its utility as a social and civil expression of the longevity of MacFarlane lineage; reminiscent of the family of Argyle's tomb in the church of Kilmun in Cowal. Furthermore, on a superficial level the construction of the almshouse could be perceived either as a genuine gesture of piety or, on the other hand, it could be taken as yet another example of John's attempts to better himself in the eyes of the crown; he may simply have been following their dicta to the letter with regards to the institutions which they deemed necessary to ultimately civilise the Highlands and the Isles.[1] As a consequence, the inherent socio-political value of these four high status constructions cannot be overemphasised. They offer historians, in the absence of written evidence, a reasoned insight into these two chief's mindsets at a critical time in the development of the Highlands, as well as early-modern Scotland.

What of the other, lower status, buildings on the MacFarlane territory at this time? As previously mentioned, it has been possible to identify through careful examination of legal documents and processes, clansmen lists and surviving rentals some two dozen settlements which showed continual habitation almost to the end of the period under study and these are identified on Figure 2. Many of these have been obliterated from the landscape by modern settlements, roads, farming, forestry and the like. Few have been so irretrievably lost as the important settlement of Loch Sloy which now sits in the depths of the enlarged Hydro-Electric reservoir of that name. Of those that survive, secreted in the woods or off the beaten track, few exhibit any obvious evidence of predating the 18th century (and these remains will be discussed in Chapter 8) The only tangible signs of earlier occupation are offered by two lines of stones which sit under the ruins of one of the buildings at the settlement of Blairstainge (Figure 8) and a building at Ardleish which is clearly built on top of the remains of its predecessor (Figure 9). Without exploratory excavation however, dating of these building phases would be impossible to estimate. We are consequently presented therefore with an unfortunate dearth of physical remains from this period other than the two

[1]Amongst the Statutes of Iona of 1609 was a mandate ordering the construction of almshouses and inns across the Hebrides, and by inferred extension, across the Highlands too RPC vol. ix, pp. 24-30

castles already discussed, perhaps with one possible exception. Near the site of the lost settlement of Porchaible,[1] on a small promontory overlooking the castle and mainland settlement of Inveruglas, is a ruined structure slightly out of the ordinary, and possibly dating at least in part to the mid 17th century.

Having been alerted to the significance of the site by one of John Dewar's tales, collected locally in the original Gaelic in the 19th century, it is worthwhile quoting from the relevant passage here in full. It is a story recounting the traditions connected to one of John's younger sons, the mischevious Duncan *Dubh*, and his efforts to repel a body of raiding Atholl men sometime in the early 17th century. Its relevance and social significance will become apparent.

> Duncan decided that he would... Get the lads who loitered around the mill at Port a' Chapaill whom some called 'The Big Mill Lads.' They were strong but idle lads who made their living by laying a levy upon everyone who came with a sack of grain to be ground at the mill. Each of them would get as much meal as he could enclose between his two hands and carry between the meal-sack and the door of the mill without spilling any of it.[2]

Having identified the mid 18th century site of the settlement of Porchaible on General Roy's *Military Survey* of the area,[3] it was possible to approach the local landowner who was actually able to identify what he believed was the traditional site of this mill with its nearby mill lade.[4] Preliminary investigation suggested that the ruin he identified was both too large and in the wrong position to be the mill, and this was corroborated by the interpretation of the team of American archaeologists who carried out a trial excavation on part of the site in the summer of 2000.[5] The real mill lade runs almost parallel to the ruined structure several hundred feet to the west; the error in identification may be accounted for by a sunken trackway which runs almost perpendicular from the lade which almost meets the southern tip of the ruined building. It seems likely that the mill itself was situated just off of Inveruglas Water where the natural pressure of water to turn the wheel would have been at its greatest,

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[1]Now levelled beneath the extensive *Loch Lomond Camping and Caravan Park*

[2]Newton, M., *Bho Chluaidh...* p. 175 and a slightly different translation of the original Gaelic MS in MacKechnie, Rev. J. [Ed.], *The Dewar Manuscripts - Scottish West Highland Folk Tales* vol. 1 (Glasgow, William MacLellan, 1964) p. 103

[3]The British Library, *Roy's Military Survey of Scotland*, Sheet 14, 6/3

[4]Mr. John Duncan, Inveruglas Farm

[5]Starbuck, D.R., *An Archaeological Survey of Clan MacFarlane* [Draft Report], pp. 33-35

Plate 3 - Porchaible Mill tailrace

Plate 3 shows the point where the water may have first entered the mill "tail race" having passed through the under-house of the mill itself. From the sizes of the lade, the suspected wheel pit it and the tail race, it may be conjectured that this was a 'horizontal' or 'Norse' mill, of the type traditionally associated with *Gaidhealtachd.*[1] It was undoubtedly a small compact affair, housing the minimum amount of milling machinery necessary and either sitting directly over or immediately adjoining its water wheel. Future clearing and excavation would reveal a great deal of additional information. It does seem likely, however, that there would have been no room to store grain here.

The documentary evidence we have for the mill site at Porchaible shows that it was probably utilised for this purpose throughout the entire two centuries under discussion, revealing precious little other information than that. Without appropriate primary written sources we are forced to rely upon the experiences of elsewhere in Scotland at that time. Of the available secondary literature on milling and millers of the period John Shaw's *Water Power in Scotland, 1550-1870* and Enid Gauldie's *The Scottish Country Miller* probably offer the most valuable general insights into the mechanics and lives of both. The key feature relating to milling common to much of Scotland, which each author elaborates on, is the complicated system of restricting tenants to a single mill known as *thirlage.* This practice kept the chief or landlord always informed as to the exact quantities of meal his tenants were producing, meaning that he could value their and their land's productivity accordingly. As a condition of the *thirl* the proprietor or tenant of the mill extracted a *multure*, a percentage of the total ground meal, from each tenant's grain. This exaction could vary, according to Shaw, from as much an 1/11th or 1/13th of the total flour yield, to the more common 1/16th or 1/24th.[2] Additionally, a further exaction known as *knaveship* could be made, this was a "small proportion of the grain ground at the mill which was the perquisite of the under miller or miller's servant."[3] We shall never know the exact details of what nature the system of thirlage practiced in the MacFarlane lands took because no records appear to have been kept on the matter. Indeed, at an appearance before the Lennox Barony Court in 1705 the then miller, Alexander MacKinnie, intimated that he could neither read nor write, so the

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[1]cf. Cheape, H., 'Horizontal Grain Mills in Lewis' in *Highland Vernacular Building* (Edinburgh, Scottish Vernacular Buildings Group, 1989) or Batey, C.E., 'A Norse Horizontal Mill in Orkney' in *Review of Scottish Culture 8, 1993* et al. listed in the bibliography

[2]Shaw, J. *Water Power in Scotland 1550-1870* (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1984) p. 32

[3]Shaw, J. *Ibid* p. 549

likelihood is that the exactions he made were almost certainly of a verbal and implicit nature.[1] Like the levy made by the 'Balaich Mhòr' a'Mhuillean' (Big Mill-Lads), narrated in the oral tradition, which was accepted as an unwritten "law of the country in those times,"[2] and which bears a striking resemblance to the *knaveship* impost mentioned above. This at least is some evidence of burden placed upon the tenants by the miller or his helpers.

What then might have been the purpose of the nearby substantial ruined building, until recently identified as the mill? The size and extent of the ruin is shown in detail in Figure 5. It is approximately 20 metres in length and on average about 6 metres wide, with a further 6x4 metre extension roughly bisecting its western wall. The team of American archaeologists partially cleared the site and dug a small trench across the southernmost compartment of the structure. The excavation turned up masses of red earthenware pantile fragments and a few pieces of chimney or stove pipe as well as a few sherds of post-medieval pottery. Their findings conclusively ruled out this building as being the mill as no trace of a raceway, bringing water to the millwheel could be discerned.[3] Its size and thickness of walls are comparable to only one other building surveyed herein and that is the isolated longhouse foundation south east of the main cluster of buildings at the settlement of Stuc na Cloich (see Figure 7). The structure's southernmost room has been built into the natural banking adjoining it and possesses a double thickness of wall connecting it to the rest of the building. It is likely that this part predates the rest. The sunken pathway leading away from the mill and its lade tailrace would have terminated here had the area not been disturbed by modern landscaping. The purpose of the path connecting to this part of the building remains important. It is entirely possible that this may have been initially a secure store, built to hold the Laird's victuals, often known as a girnal or bowhouse. Its secure nature is emphasised by its sturdy walls and half buried situation. The ceramic roof tiles are one further connotation of a higher than average status, we would have expected a thatched roof for a building of this type. Indeed, separate girnal houses are known of elsewhere in the Lennox as late as the 18th century, belonging to the Duke of Lennox and the Buchanan chief, "The very existence of which" Dodgshon writes, "in a society racked with scarcity... could be a very potent symbol of a chief's position."[4] The ruin's location is certainly most appropriate, sitting right under

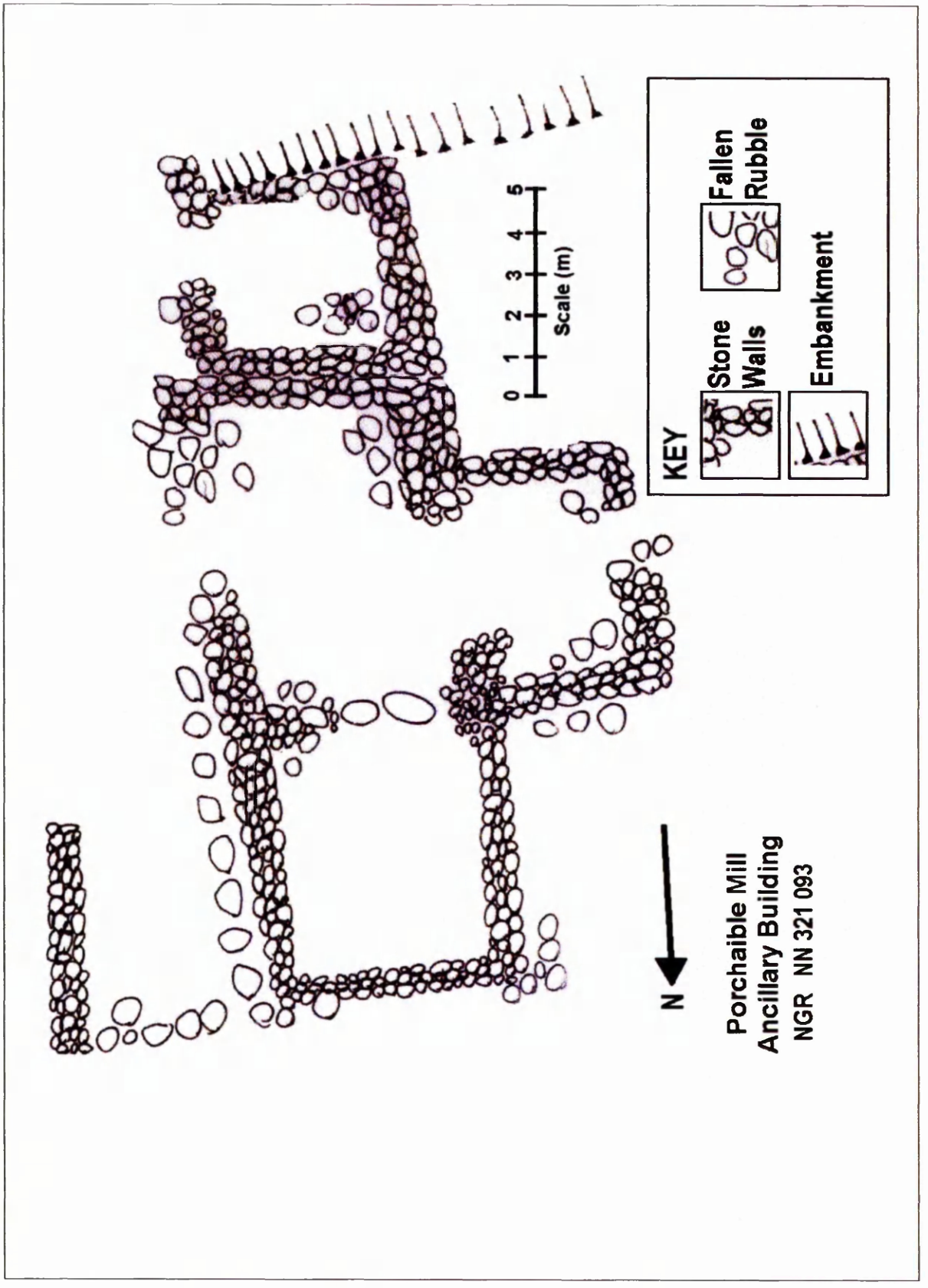
[1]N.A.S. GD 220/6/491

[2]MacKechnie, Rev. J. [Ed.], *The Dewar Manuscripts* p. 103

[3]Starbuck, D.R., *An Archaeological Survey...* p. 33

[4]Dodgshon, R.A., *From Chiefs to Landlords* p. 15

Figure 5 - Porchaible Mill - Plan of ruined ancillary building (completed using taped offset method).



the watchful gaze of the chief's island stronghold on Inveruglas. If we consider the 'Balaich Mhòr' a'Mhuillean' as something of a guard body then the evidence for such a theory is quite compelling. When the chiefly residence of Inveruglas was given up in the mid 17th century the purpose of the building may have changed. The rest of the structure may have been added in stages, most likely latterly becoming perhaps the miller's own not insubstantial home. Unfortunately, until further excavation work is carried out this must remain sheer supposition.

So, through a closer examination of the piecemeal archaeological remains dating to the Late 16th and early 17th century it has been possible to gain at least a fresh new insight into the nature of the clan community at that time. The structures identified have been shown as stepping beyond the purely functional needs of a subsistence society, thus indicating a stability and economic buoyancy which would have gone undemonstrated had we relied solely upon the documentary evidence. As the balance of central power shifted to one of zero tolerance on bad behaviour from the Highlands we begin to see signs of the determined efforts of the MacFarlane chiefs to reorganise what Dodgshon calls their "redistributive exchange" economy and to confirm and strengthen their place at its centre. This system had developed, probably since the early medieval period, around chiefly displays of feasting, martial prowess and wealth in men, money and food.[1] The many facets of this system were imbued with strong social messages and symbolism. The onset of the crown efforts to curb their "Highland Problem" had changed the rules. The Statutes of Iona of 1609 and similar legislation, left no one any doubt as to the affirmed intention of the crown to curtail what it perceived as unacceptable behaviour across *Gaidhealtachd*, and by so doing better position itself to exploit this virtually untapped economic periphery of the Scottish/British kingdom. Positioned, as they were, on the border of the Lowlands, the clan MacFarlane were close enough to appreciate central government's sincerity in this quest. Having perhaps recognised that the crown intended to alter the traditional Highland "redistributive exchange" economy for its own ends by 'tinkering' with its institutions, Andrew MacFarlane was the first MacFarlane chief to attempt to reorganise his estates in such a way that would place himself and Elan Vow at the centre of the newly developing economic resource extractive system.

John MacFarlane, when still *fiar* of his clan, was astute enough to build upon his father's institutional adjustments, by attempting to modify the sensibilities and notions of clanship of his clan. Old alliances were broken and new symbols of socio-political value

[1]Dodgshon, R.A., *ibid* pp. 7-15

were introduced to the chiefly economy. John's success was due to the careful integration of these Lowland ideas and practices into the fabric of the existing Gaelic institutional framework in such a way as would be palatable to his clansmen. His building works satisfied the demands of both societies in their own way, and reflect his successes in this task. The castle, with its military connotations fulfilled the martial expectations placed upon him by the clan while, at the same time, it gave the impression of internal stability and strong government to the powers in Edinburgh. His family vault appeased the Gaelic deference to ancestors and genealogy and, when taken with the establishment of the almshouse, offered central government the image of a pious, cultured and rehabilitated laird. His apparent accomplishment in appeasing both state and clan guaranteed both his position and the security of his clan, it was now up to his successors if this fragile stability was to be maintained.

CHAPTER 5

From Patronage to Profit Margin: The Transformation Continues, c.1635-85

The intervening centuries have witnessed the writing of a wealth of national histories recalling Scotland's experiences in the last two thirds of the 17th century. Both the content and sheer volume of work produced signify the importance that this turbulent century had in shaping those which followed. Conversely, there has been a distinct paucity of secondary literature illustrating those experiences at a local level. The pioneering work by Ian Whyte in the late 1970s, attempted to redress this balance somewhat by laying the groundwork for future writers as he attempted to look beyond the previously perceived views of that society.[1] By seeking out and making full use of the scarce primary materials he was able to shed new light and present a well argued case contradicting the popular portrayal of Scottish society as static and conservative prior to the mid 18th century.

His work falls short, by his own admission, of dealing properly with the Highlands. Instead he issues a challenge to others to write a "fuller account of their character at this time."[2] This challenge would finally be accepted by the independent works of A.I. Macinnes and R.A. Dodgshon. Utilising comparable primary materials, this time relating to the Highlands, these authors would ultimately draw similar conclusions to those of Whyte. They detected in the Highlands, by the 17th century, the same fluidity to society he identified in the Lowlands, with the only difference being the stimuli effecting those changes. At the core, all three authors appear to be in accordance that the most noteworthy change of the century was in the attitude of the landowning classes:

> Instead of viewing land as the direct basis of political power in terms of the number of inhabitants it could support, they gradually came to consider it as a source of profit, and moreover one where profits could be increased by efficient management and the shrewd investment of capital.[3]

Evidence has shown that by the early decades of 17th century the relationship between the chief and his clan, particularly in and around the fringes of Gaeldom, was

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[1]Whyte, I., *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1979)

[2]Whyte, I., ibid. p. 4

[3]Whyte, I., ibid. p. 259

undergoing a dramatic overhaul. The contributing factors effecting this transformation were many, of which central government intervention as discussed above, was just one. Whyte suggests, in his closing paragraph, that the best way to analyse these catalysts of change is through "a series of case studies examining agriculture and rural society on individual estates."[1] Consequently it is the activities of the clan MacFarlane *within* their north Loch Lomondside territory to which we now turn. As the struggles and political upheavals of the Scottish nation during this troubled century are well known they need not be reiterated at length here. Instead, this chapter will further examine the clan MacFarlane mainly at a local level, making reference to national events only where relevant. Having taken stock of the foundations laid by John MacFarlane prior to the mid 1630s towards a more commercial outlook, we will look here at how his successors built upon those actions. We shall examine the involvements, behaviour and activities of the clan, particularly the chief and the clan 'aristocracy,' as they began the process which would see them "re-orientate the management of their estates to serve as proprietors rather than as patrons and protectors."[2]

We may assume that the government adjudged Walter MacFarlane, younger of Arrochar, sufficiently rehabilitated, since his involvement in the damaging feud with the Buchanans, to name him as one of the Justices of the Peace for Dumbartonshire in November, 1634.[3] Since it had only been two months prior to this date that his father John had been confirmed in this post it is likely that the elderly chief was no longer capable of holding the post. Still described as 'fiar' in a supplication filed with his father before the Privy Council in September 1636, Walter appears to have assumed full control of his clan sometime before 1644 when he styles himself "of Arroquhir" in his daughter's contract of marriage to Adam Colquhoun of Glens.[4] His assumption of the chieftainship could not, however, have come at a more difficult or testing time in Scotland's history. The 1640s sorely stretched crown loyalties and the question of whether Walter would continue in the same vein as his father of maintaining "the peace of the Highlands" was a vexed one.

Walter's first test came in the winter of 1645 when the Scottish Parliament ordered him to send 30 armed men to form part of the regiment of foot being raised by the Earl of

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[1]Whyte, I., *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* p.262

[2]Macinnes, A.I., *Clanship to Commerce...* p.114

[3]RPC 2nd Series V, 1633-5, p. 427

[4]RPC 2nd Series VI, 1635-7, p. 319 and Hill Coll. *Clan MacFarlane Muniments* No. 22b

Argyll to stave off the attacks of Alasdair MacColla.[1] Presumably unbeknown to the government, Walter had already answered the rallying call of the Marquis of Montrose, joining him in his lightening campaign of 1644-5. His duplicity was eventually discovered and as a consequence he was fined the hefty sum of 3000 merks by the parliament on 19th July 1646.[2] Having retired once more to his lands of Arrochar his loyalty to the Stuart dynasty would once again be tested a few years later, this time as the Lord Protector's forces attempted to subdue Scotland. This time it would be the rising of William Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn which would bring fresh trouble to the lands of Arrochar. Little has previously been written upon MacFarlane's involvement in the rising; the clan historian puts this down to a deficiency in available primary source material.[3] However, two letters from among the Glencairn Muniments, at the National Archive of Scotland, shed a little light upon the affair. One, from a John Graham (possibly of Duchray) to Glencairn recounts how:

> The enimie did advance thise forwards my house till they heard of m^c^farlane and [the tutor of] m^c^gregor and some my friends convening upon quich thei reteirit and now waitts onlie upon our remeining frome the cuntrie quich thei ar informit we are to do presentlie.[4]

In the other letter Walter himself writes to the earl that, having witnessed the enemy advance first hand on John Graham, he feared he could not properly "fortifie his houss" of Inveruglas against these enemies, but that he would nevertheless "with god his assistance stryve to garisine and stand all."[5]

Further scant evidence suggests that MacFarlane's loyalty had not always been so steadfast however. A letter from James Thompson, Governor of Dumbarton Castle to Major Dean of the Commonwealth forces stationed at Dalkeith, dated April 6th, 1652, intimated that:

> I have receaved a l[ette]re from the Lard of Muckfarlinge wherein he signifieth his willingnesss to become obedient to the Parliament of England, if his Burden may but equall with the rest of his neighbours, for oppression from them as he saith, hath bin the Cause of his Standinge out.[6]

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[1]APS 1645, VI p. 495a

[2]Douglas, Sir R., *Baronage of Scotland*... p. 96

[3]MacFarlane, J. *History of the Clan MacFarlane* p. 117

[4]GD 39/2/45, 28th July, 1653

[5]GD 39/2/59, 25th July, 1653

[6]Terry, C.S. [Ed], *The Cromwellian Union, Papers Relating to the Negotiations for an Incorporating Union*

His offer of terms of surrender apparently fell upon deaf ears though because Walter dictated his last will and testament in March 1653 before a Dumbarton notary[1] and once again pinned his colours to the eventual loser's mast. It is unclear whether it was through loyalty to his king, pressure from Glencairn or, as he writes himself, because of the oppression of his neighbours but it appears he did indeed fortify his home against forces loyal to Cromwell, which resulted in two short sieges, probably sometime between October 1653 and May 1654. The date is uncertain, but may be surmised at by the troop movements in the area (particularly heavy in late May) which were recorded in the dispatches sent by Colonel Lilburne and General Monck to Cromwell over that period.[2] Walter's great grandson, of the same name, asserts the final outcome of the second of the sieges was devastating; "The Castle was burnt to the ground... And in it several ancient writs belonging to the Family," the only consolation being that Walter "was amongst the last in the West Highlands who were forced to submitt to the intended authority of the Usurpation."[3]

As a consequence, the castle of Inveruglas was abandoned and never occupied again. After little over half a century's use, Walter was forced to quit his father's castle and take up residence in the more moderately sized house on Elan Vow. However, he may also have taken this as an opportune time to spend more time at the tenement which his grandfather had purchased in Dumbarton. As hinted at above, extended periods of feuding with neighbouring clans had probably made long-term residence there, for the chief, extremely difficult if not impossible and this may account for the lack of mention of this building over the decades following its purchase. Andrew and John no doubt felt a great deal more secure walking in their 'barbarous' Highland glens, surrounded by an armed and loyal retinue, rather than in the 'civilised' streets of a Lowland Scottish burgh, the likes of which had seen many an assassination.

These buildings do not feature upon the historical record again until 1632 when a housemaid at the laird's tenement, named Mary MacFarlane, pled a case before the Privy Council complaining about her ill treatment at the hands of the burgh provost and a few other

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between England and Scotland 1651-52 (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 1902) p. 154

[1]Hill Coll. *Clan MacFarlane Muniments* No. 25

[2]Firth, C.H. [Ed], *Scotland and the Commonwealth... August 1651 to December 1653* (Edinburgh, University Press, Scot Hist Soc, 1895) pp. 240-2 & pp. 264-6 and Firth, C.H. [Ed], *Scotland and the Protectorate... January 1654 to June 1659* (Edin. Uni. Press, Scot Hist Soc, 1899) pp. 107, 111 & 113

[3]NLS Adv. MS. 34.3.10, the work of Walter MacFarlane of that ilk, c.1760

Lennox notables.[1] She alleged that they had falsely imprisoned her in the town tolbooth in order to steal her family inheritance. The *Dumbarton Burgh Records* tell a different version of events, alleging that she was a danger to the town, having set fire to the laird's and another gentleman's house, seriously risking the safety of the burgh. With such a body of influential men against her the result was never likely to be in Mary's favour and she was banished from the town forever, under pain of public scourging should she return.[2] The house does not feature again until Walter's hastily contrived will of 1653, mentioned above, in which he infefted his son "in the houses & yairds Lyand in dumbartane on the north syd of the hie street thereof pertaining to me & my predicessours."[3]

The significance of the MacFarlane chiefs' continued possession and maintenance of a house in the centre of one of Scotland's thriving Lowland burghs throughout this period is worthy of discussion here for two reasons. Firstly, it established the foundations of so-called 'absentee landlordism.' It was the precursor to the purchasing of homes in Edinburgh and then London in the 18th century, which brought prolonged periods of absence from the Highlands. Secondly, the impracticality of its continued possession, when it was probably invariably empty and tying up useful capital, was symptomatic of a struggle Lynch labels as "the Rise of the Middling Sort." A movement characterised by a 'keeping up with the Joneses' mentality, which saw the Scottish lairds assert themselves as an independent class vying for status and wealth with the likes of the lesser nobles and the burgeoning professional classes of lawyers and ministers.[4] Where an island castle home would emphasise affluence and social rank in the Highlands, a county townhouse would do likewise in the Lowlands.[5] However, keeping up appearances would be difficult for everyone in the wake of civil war and foreign occupation which had brought "land devastation, social dislocation and increased public and private indebtedness" to most of Scotland.[6] Consequently, the restructuring of their Highland estates towards an ever increasing market-led economy would need to be very much a priority of more settled times.

[1]RPC 2nd Series IV, 1630-32, p. 460

[2]Irving, J., *Dumbarton Burgh Records 1627-1746* (Dumbarton, 1860) p. 35

[3]Hill Coll. *Clan MacFarlane Muniments* No. 25

[4]Lynch, M., *Scotland: A New History* (London, Pimlico, 1992) pp. 247-263

[5] It is indeed greatly to be regretted that so little material relating the chief's activities in his Dumbarton townhouse survive. The interaction between the Highland and Lowland properties and the activities and preferences of their residents would shed enormous light on the chiefly mindset at the time, but without further documentary evidence further assertions would be entirely speculative.

[6]Macinnes, A.I. *From Clanship to Commerce...* p. 114

It was Walter MacFarlane's son, John, while still fiar of his clan, who would take the first faltering steps in this direction, since the time of his grandfather, a full generation before. In January 1659, he solemnly bound himself, before the Presbytery of Dumbarton, to provide land and adequate means for the building of a kirk and manse, with the provision of an acceptable glebe, to enable the erection of a separate parish of Arrochar, divorced from that of Luss.[1] This he did on the provision that the teinds of the new parish, worth 400 merks a year, were paid directly to him and no longer to Colquhoun of Luss, and that MacFarlane of Gartartan, who owned the lands of Nether Arrochar,[2] would pay the vicarage. Gartartan would have had little choice as he was officially a heritor and Colquhoun apparently eagerly agreed. For the latter it was probably a price worth paying to have complete autonomy over the more socially significant Luss site and an ending to the problems he and his predecessors had had uplifting this money from MacFarlane lands in the past.[3]

Tradition asserts that the MacFarlanes had, since medieval times, shared the church of Luss with the clan Colquhoun upon whose territory it was situated. The parish church here was the single most sacred site in the Lennox, having been founded early in the 6th century AD by St. Kessog and granted the privilege of 'Gyrth' or Sanctuary in 1315 by King Robert I. It is evident that from the late 16th century onwards, if not earlier, the chiefs of the clan MacFarlane saw their burial there as a matter of pride, imbued with tangible social meaning, testified in the erection of their family burial vault. There must, however, have been many times when the inconvenience of travel and the hostile relationships between the two clans made the sharing of the church most intolerable. It has been shown elsewhere that the church had at least three, possibly four, satellite chapels upon the parish lands, but only the barony of Arrochar is traditionally assumed to have lacked one.[4] There is some evidence to the contrary however, indicated by the presence of an ancient burial ground at Balleyhennan, halfway between the modern villages of Arrochar and Tarbet. The site is labelled 'Killchean' or 'Killchoan' on Roy's Map of c.1750 (See Plate 4),[5] and is most probably the place referred to

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[1]Hill Coll. *Clan MacFarlane Muniments* No. 27

[2]Roughly defined as the area between the modern village of Tarbet and Stuckgowan House

[3]G.U. Special Collections, Murray Collection, *Acts and Decreets Relating to Dumbartonshire,* Vol. 205. Fol. 254. - List of defaulters in the payment of "teinds, rents, etc. of the parish kirk and parish of Luss" 1600-01

[4]Cf. MacFarlane, W.B., The Church of the 'Clan MacFarlane,' *Trans. Scot. Eccles. Soc.*,vol. V, pt 2 (1919-18) or Irving, Joseph, *The Book of Dumbartonshire* (Edinburgh, W. & A.K. Johnston, 1879), vol. 2, p. 276

[5]British Library, *Roy's Military Survey of Scotland,* Sheet 14, 6/3, the name is partially obliterated by the addition of a stream on the hand painted map. The 'Kil-' prefix, meaning "cell of," denotes a site of religious significance from the early medieval period onwards in Scotland.

Plate 4 - Detail from General Roy's *Military Survey of Scotland* showing possible early ecclesiastical site, 'Kilchoan' (British Library, Sheet 14, 6/3)

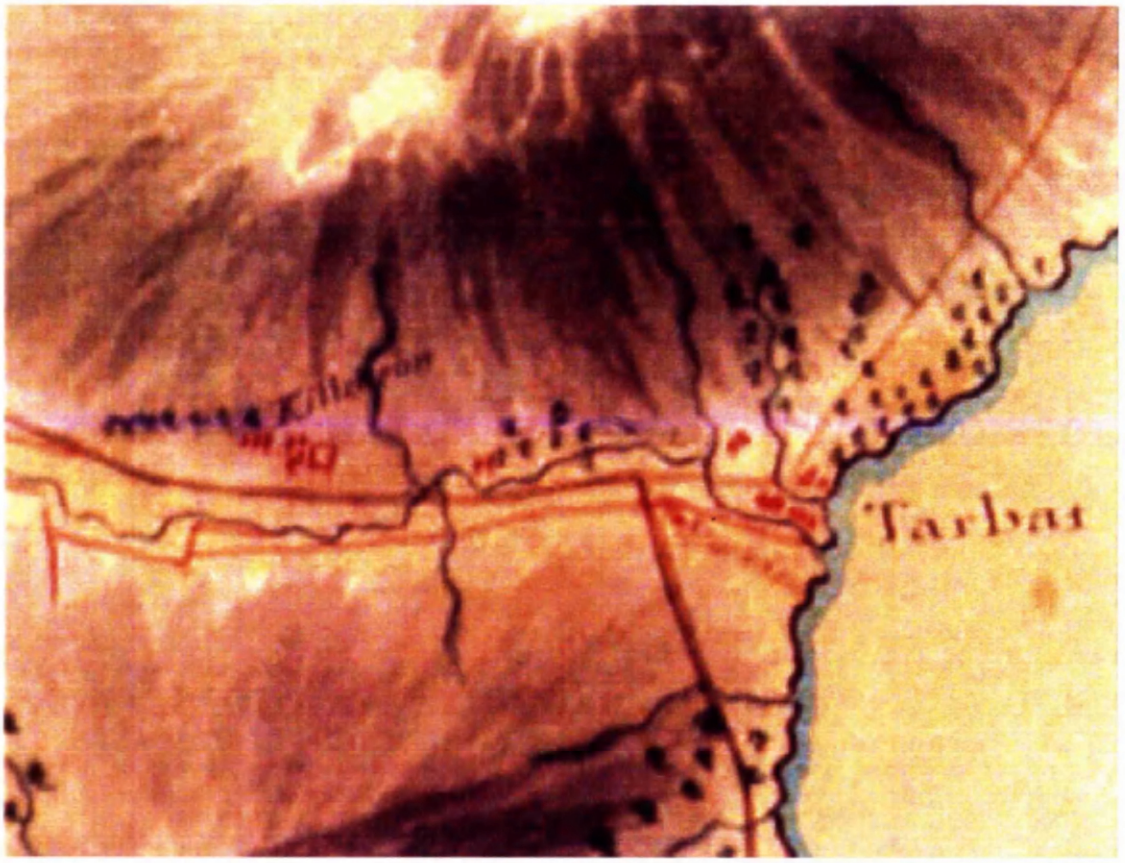

Plate 5 - Possible medieval west Highland style recumbent grave stone, Balleyhennan.

as 'Kilhoran' in a rental of 1708.[1] In the centre of the graveyard is an unrecorded, roughly hewn, recumbent stone slab upon which is carved a broadsword and saltire engrailed, the latter being the chief of MacFarlanes earliest known coat of arms. (See Plate 5). This stone, although undoubtedly crude by comparison, is highly reminiscent of those found in Kintyre and across the western seaboard dating from the period of the Lordship of the Isles and associated with sites of religious importance, like Kilchoman and Kildalton in Islay, and most definitely predates the 17th century.[2] Its presence here then, one possible indication of ecclesiastical activity at a date much earlier than customarily acknowledged.

However, the collected primary and secondary literature is uncharacteristically in accord on this matter. All sources are universally insistent that there was no church prior to John's obligation of 1659, and that no church would actually be built until 1733, by which time almost three-quarters of a century would have lapsed since the erection of a separate parish.[3] Such lack of commitment by MacFarlane did not though prevent the church authorities from presenting one Archibald MacLachlan as minister to the new parish before the ink was dry upon his agreement. The situation has been summed up by a later parish minister thus:

> While the Presbytery set the ecclesiastical machinery in order, and put in a minister, and while John MacFarlane had perforce to pay the stipend, he paid little heed to his promise to provide a church and manse.[4]

This writer fails to take into account that MacFarlane had made his obligation to Dumbarton Presbytery, under pain of 3000 merk penalty for failure to comply. Had he not at least partially fulfilled the terms of the bond the Presbytery would almost certainly have instigated proceedings against him to extract the said sum, to be "imployed be them for pious uses within the s[ai]d lands of Arroquhar."[5] John could clearly afford to pay such a sum, having put up bail for the parole of one "James MacFarlane, sometime indweller in Drumond

[1]Hill Coll. *Clan MacFarlane Muniments* No. 49

[2]Pers. Comm. Dr Stephen Driscoll, University of Glasgow, cf. Also Steer, K.A., & Bannerman, J.W.M., *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, R.C.A.H.M.S, 1977)

[3]This is most adequately shown by the second incumbent who was excused from his unwanted charge after just three years, having satisfactorily proved to the Presbytery that there "was neither church, manse, glebe, kirk-session, nor school in the parish" in 1705 - Irving, Joseph, *The Book of Dumbartonshire*, vol. 2, p. 276

[4]Winchester, Rev. H.S., *Traditions of Arrochar and Tarbet and the MacFarlanes*, p. 24

[5]Hill Coll. *Clan MacFarlane Muniments* No. 27

[Drymen]" in 1662 to that exact amount.[1] But as no such action appears to have taken place, we might be justified in assuming that John must have at least, in some measure, satisfied the presbytery's requirements. There is evidence to suggest that the early ministers were in fact housed by the chief, perhaps even in his own home, and that they performed their acts of public worship in whatever accommodation was available to them.[2]

The question arises of what effects the presence of a minister and a parish would have upon the Arrochar community. Of the individual himself, the parish entry in the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* and other sources show that MacLachlan held the office for the rest of the century, finally demitting it in 1701 on the grounds of "infirmity of body and various secular discouragements."[3] From the same sources we discover that at least by 1697, his offices were in great demand as his failure to provide them brought the threat of complaint to the presbytery if he should not mend his ways. However, we really know more about his life after retirement than before it.[4] Of the introduction of institution of regulated religion which he represented, regardless of the presence of a kirk or not, we can only surmise as to its overall effects upon the community at large.

John's agreement to a parish separation, undoubtedly guided in the first instance by the attractiveness of the teind money, was a huge step in the reorganisation of his estate towards a market led economy. The uplifting of regulated teind payments may have given MacFarlane a taste for the better regulation of his own land rentals and tenurial holdings. Recent general Highland histories have illustrated the development of such rentals across the region, over the course of the 16th and 17th Centuries. Institutionalised payments of service and/or victuals, peculiar to the Highlands, throughout these centuries had been gradually converted into fixed and standardised payments. These initially continued as renders in kind, but soon money became the more acceptable payment.[5] But, as there are few references to rents for the Arrochar lands prior to 1705, we cannot discern if it was the effect of teind collection which ultimately brought regulated money payments into being at this stage, it only remains a tempting possibility.

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[1]RPC 3rd Series I, 1661-64, p. 235

[2]Whyte, D., *Walter MacFarlane: Clan Chief and Antiquary* (Aberdeen, Aberdeen & N.E Scotland Family History Society, 1988) - [henceforth Whyte, D., *Walter MacFarlane*] p. 1, and see below page 57

[3]Irving, Joseph, *The Book of Dumbartonshire* (Edinburgh, W. & A.K. Johnston, 1879), vol. 2, p. 276

[4]He carried on living in the parish until his death in 1731, surviving upon an annual allowance of about £100 out of the teinds, and during which time he was several times accused of solemnising "clandestine marriages."

[5]See for example Dodgshon, R.A. *From Chief to Landlords*, Chapter 3 "The Nature of the Chiefly Economy"

English Occupation had not lessened the resolve of those in power to maintain order in the Highlands; it merely emanated from a different source. The years following the Restoration would see the immediate resumption of the approach taken in the early part of the century by the Scottish government towards the so called "Highland Problem." As early as August 1660, the MacFarlanes' old commander and ally William Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, issued a new directive of social and legal responsibility of all landlords for their tenants, as Macinnes writes "ominously" adding "that more effective means might be required for the suppressing of disorder in the Highlands."[1] The following year saw the Privy Council begin the resurrection of the measures it had previously put in place to maintain order and discipline among the Gael. Central government was not about to allow the Highlanders to backslide into their old ways.

From evidence in the MacFarlane Muniments it appears John MacFarlane eventually succeeded Walter as chief about 1663 but did not long enjoy his new status because he died some time before July 1667.[2] He was succeeded in turn, not by his offspring who were all female, but by his brother (See Appendix 1). The new chief was a very different breed to all that had come before. Having never been intended for the position of chief Andrew MacFarlane had taken possession of a small settlement of Ardess on the south eastern side of Loch Lomond before settling to a life of advancement among the middling classes of the Lowland Lennox. He married into the Buchanan family who owned the neighbouring lands and had, by March 1667, succeeded in obtaining entry to the prestigious Guild of Dumbarton Burgesses, by which time he is already styled as "of Arrochar."[3] Andrew belonged essentially to the MacFarlane clan *fine*, without his elevation to the chieftaincy, we most probably have had no records of activities, like so many of the previous generations of younger sons of the clan chiefs. This indeed is a recurring problem for researchers wishing to analyse the response of the clan *fine* to the changing nature of the Highland economy and culture. Little material beyond their witness signatures on legal documents survives relating to the Arrochar MacFarlane *fine* amongst the clan papers. This perhaps explains why James MacFarlane, in his normally detailed account of the clan and its chiefs, has almost nothing to say of Andrew,

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[1]Macinnes, A.I. *From Clanship to Commerce...* p. 125

[2]Hill Coll., *MacFarlane Muns.* Nos. 28, 29 & 92. This is contrary to the dates of death and succession given by the clan historian James MacFarlane in his history of the clan.

[3]Roberts, F. [Ed.], *Roll of Dumbarton Burgesses and Guild Brethren 1600-1846* (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 1899) p. 39

hardly filling two short pages of biography.[1] It seems likely, however, that given that Andrew had probably spent his entire adult life in the Lowlands of the Lennox, freed from the chiefly obligations to either clan or state which fettered his father and brother, he would have been relatively free to adopt whatever lifestyle he chose. He was under no obligation to work within the perameters set by the government's economic and social initiatives. However, the wealth of the burgesses of Dumbarton, with whom he doubtless spent a great deal of time, would make a far greater impression on Andrew in favour of the voluntary involvement in those economic enterprises and opportunities that were supported and sponsored by the crown. In the two decades following his ascendency to chief, Andrew MacFarlane would use the lands of Arrochar as security for debts amounting to almost £25,000 Scots. Such actions are clearly not without consequence, a matter which will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

The inauguration and actions of Andrew as chief marks an important landmark in the evolution of the Arrochar lands and the chiefly mindset. His actions when chief, if remarkable for little more than the accruing of enormous debts, offer the first indisputable evidence of the lands of Arrochar being viewed primarily as an asset by their owner. Where in earlier years we can detect faint movements towards commercialism, we cannot adequately prove its wholesale adoption. Andrew's brother John, when fiar of the clan, may have laid the groundwork with the collection of teinds, but it is Andrew MacFarlane who leaves us the first conclusive historical evidence that regular rents were being uplifted, describing them as the "rents, mealls, presents and dewties of my Lands and Estate of Arroquhaire."[2] Andrew's complete assimmilation into the Lowland mindset was firmly cemented by the raft of legislation which the Privy Council enacted over the 1660s and 1670s to decisively pacify the Highlands.[3] The legal requirement to find cautioners to provide surety for bonds of good behaviour was of particular importance, because it ultimately encouraged chiefly indebtedness by demonstrating the easy availability of capital loans. Highland chiefs, like Andrew, would find themselves caught in an ever tightening financial noose of their own making, no doubt much to the delight of central government.

As it had for many chiefs across Gaeldom, the troubled years of the mid 17th century and the destruction of their lands and property, had only served to further encourage the

[1]MacFarlane, J. *A History of the Clan MacFarlane* pp. 124-125

[2]Hill Coll, *MacFarlane Muns.* No. 37

[3]See in particular RPC 3rd Series VI, 1678, pp. 34-44

MacFarlane chiefs' subversion of their patriarchal principles in favour of more commercial ones. Increased exposure to the commercial Lowlands, via the thriving burghs like Dumbarton and their enforced regular trips to Edinburgh, had highlighted the growing disparity between their lifestyles as Highland Lairds and those of their urban and noble contemporaries. The attraction which those lifestyles came to hold became altogether too alluring, with the outcome that many chiefs became hopelessly overextended to their creditors.[1] Andrew MacFarlane became one such casualty. He was effectively given a "blank chequebook" when he came into his unexpected inheritance and there was no shortage of individuals willing to lend him money with his heritage as security. His desire to match the lifestyles of men like his fellow County Commissioners of Supply, the Earls of Argyll, Kilmarnock and Wigtown,[2] would leave a long-lasting legacy. In his own lifetime, he left his son the unenviable task of bailing both him and the estate of Arrochar out of bankruptcy; and it is to the latter's success in this venture that we now turn.

[1]Macinnes, A.I. *From Clanship to Commerce...* pp. 126-128

[2]RPC 3rd Series V, January 1677, p. 100

CHAPTER 6

Professional Soldier, Clan Chief and Improving Laird

John MacFarlane c.1660-1705

Few of the chiefs that ruled over Arrochar prior to the 1680s packed as much into their long lives as John MacFarlane put into his short one. The year of his birth can only be guessed at as around the time of the Restoration, as his earliest adventure may have been to lead a detachment of the clan against the Covenanting faction at the Battle of Bothwell Brig in 1679, something which would have required the maturity of, at the very least, late teenage years.[1] As his spendthrift father outlived him by several years he should technically only be styled "Younger of Arrochar." However, from 1686 onwards he was effectively chief of his clan when he assumed full responsibility for nearly £25,000 (Scots money) of his father's debt, on condition that Andrew relinquished to him all control of his lands. The mammoth task of paying off these debts from an estate whose total yearly income had not even reached one twelfth of that sum nearly twenty years later will be discussed here along with the other aspects of John's interesting life that shaped the development of North Loch Lomondside.

As hinted at in the opening paragraph we know relatively little about the first years of John's life. His father had remarried after the death of Elizabeth Buchanan, his mother, to one Jean Campbell, a daughter of the Laird of Strachan and his only full brother had died young. The second marriage only added to the already heavy burdens placed upon the estate by specifically providing for the generous sum of 6000 merks to be shared among the offspring of that union when they reached the age of fourteen. In 1684, with debts already reaching nearly £15,000, Andrew arrived at the first understanding with his son helping relieve him of his debts.[2] It appears that no conditions were attached to this first settlement and that it was most probably a legal arrangement drawn up to satisfy the demands of his many creditors. Two years later, however, the first of his children from his second marriage approached the required age for payment, resulting in a further rise in the still unpaid debts, which by then had almost risen by a further £10,000 Scots.[3] Consequently, a new agreement was drawn up during July of 1686. This comprehensive list records 37 creditors, with debts

[1] Although the clan were almost certainly at the battle (MacFarlane, J., *History of the Clan MacFarlane* pp. 118-119 quoting Scott in *Old Mortality*), it is unknown who actually led them.

[2] Hill Coll. *MacFarlane Muniments* No. 35

[3] Hill Coll. *MacFarlane Muniments* No. 98,.

ranging from a few pounds to several thousand, totalled £24,268 2/8 Scots Money (see Appendix 3). Perhaps somewhat surprisingly only four MacFarlanes featured on the list, not counting Andrew's offspring by his second marriage. The remainder were a diverse selection of fellow lairds, ministers and private citizens, presumably merchants and the like, with a geographic spread from Kilberry, in Kintyre, to Glasgow. The largest single loan of £3466 13/9 was made by John Graham of Dougalston, near Stirling. He like most of the others had not received any payment for two and half years, others record a bad debt of fifteen years standing, and several creditors had even died in the intervening years since lending their money! Andrew had borrowed heavily and his Arrochar estates could clearly not, under his management at any rate, repay these debts. Accordingly Andrew agreed that upon John's total assumption of all debts (including the obligation to the children of the second marriage) as well as a payment of a year's "rents, mealls, presents and dewties" from the entire estate to him and his wife, he would divest himself of any further claim upon those lands. John signed the contract the very next day and the lands were immediately confirmed to him by an Instrument of Sasine of the same date.[1] Although the debts run up by Andrew were by no means as prodigious as those run up by the MacLeods of Dunvegan during the 17th Century, they may indeed be analogous. Macinnes uses the Hebridean clan as an example of chiefly/*fine* excesses and conspicuous expenditure run wild.[2] Until further research is carried out into the individual debts concerned we must refrain from making such a generalisation. The heavy debts Andrew ran up simply further reinforce the notion touched upon already that there was an all too ready supply of credit available to Highland chiefs, regardless of their actual ability to repay it; which served to further promulgate the Crown's desire for a shift towards a more commercial *Gaidhealtachd.* However, any plans John might have had for the repayment of his father's debt would soon have to be put on hold as Scotland was once more plunged into a period of Revolution and civil strife in which he would have a significant place.

John and his clan's elevation in importance in the late 1680s can be put down quite simply to their geographic location and, quite ironically, their martial prowess, the latter of which central government had spent four generations trying to eradicate. The strategic significance of the northern passage into the "Isle above the Leven," as this area was contemporarily known, had not been so keenly appreciated since the clan's original

[1] Hill Coll., *MacFarlane Muniments* Nos. 35, 36a, 36b, 98, 99 & 100

[2] Macinnes, A.I., *Clanship to Commerce* pp. 149-150

colonisation of the area in the 1220s (see above p. 14). Once again control of this narrow 'back-door' into the Lennox heartland was being fully exploited by those who possessed it, as evidence suggests it may have been back in its medieval heyday as a navigable portage. As early as the beginning of the decade, probably in response to the expanding black cattle trade, there is evidence to suggest that the very shrewd John MacFarlane may have already re-established the better regulation of the watch on the Arrochar passes through which many of the Highland raiders into the Lennox and south-west central Scotland would travel; particularly on their return journeys laden with booty and driven beasts. On the 2nd October 1680, Sir James Colquhoun of Luss presided over a group of Lennox landowners gathered in the Kirk of Cardross to write a letter of complaint to the Earl of Argyll. In this letter they intimated that they had lately met with MacFarlane to seek his aid in preventing the "great thefts and depredations" with which they had recently been afflicted, but having "offered him more than the accustomed pay... he had refused the watch, unless they yielded to his terms."[1]

The levying of this "mhàil-dhubh," literally "blackmail," was not new to the Highlands, or even to the MacFarlanes. Oral traditions suggest that the clan had practiced it intermittently throughout the 17th century as occasion merited.[2] Effectively a protectionist racket, it often received the disapprobation of central government in their pacifying legislation. However, as the Privy Council actively encouraged landlords to personally hunt down the bands and individuals who were attacking their estates it was inadvertently promoting the growth of these private watch enterprises. Often lacking the physical capability, manpower and necessary knowledge to mount a successful manhunt into the wilds of the Highlands, it is little wonder that Lowland proprietors turned to the clans who lived on the fringes of *Gaidhealtachd* for help. Macinnes lists the MacFarlanes and the Farquharsons of Braemar and Deeside as being the most successful of all clans in this field of expertise.[3] Having developed their skills in the early 17th century hunting down MacGregors and recalcitrant clansmen this should come as no surprise and only serves to further debunk the 19th century myth of Highland hospitality and friendship. By this period it was already every man (or in this case clan) for himself. The burgeoning cattle trade presented an unmissable economic opportunity for the MacFarlanes to exploit their position on one of Scotland's

[1]Fraser, W., 'Report on the MSS belonging to the Duke of Argyll' in *6th Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS* (London, G.E. Lyre & William Spottiswoode, 1877) p. 619

[2]Newton, M., *Bho Chluaidh...* p. 173

[3]Macinnes, A.I., *From Clanship to Commerce* p. 34

busiest drove routes - and this they did to the full.

It was not so much the Highland robbers, though, that the Government feared could enter the Lowlands via the Arrochar passes by the mid 1680s, but the forces of a tenantry loyal to the rebellious Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll. As a means of countering such an eventuality it appears that John MacFarlane was supplied with government guns and ammunition sometime before the end of August 1684. But, for reasons unknown, these weapons were recalled shortly afterwards. His failure to do so to the satisfaction of Lieutenant-General Drummond (governor of Dumbarton Castle) resulted in his imprisonment there, "for his alleged detention of arms belonging to the King and placed in his custody," a crime he flatly denied.[1] A release order was issued shortly afterwards, but Drummond's actions, likely influenced by anxious Lennox Lowlanders, undoubtedly guided the tenor of John MacFarlane's future relations with his Lennox neighbours. They must have wondered at the seriousness of their mistake by November 1687 when the burgesses of Dumbarton were in panic as rumours began to circulate of a force of "Highlanders in open Rebellion" supposedly gathering at the "head of Lochlong and Tarbett" preparing to attack the burgh.[2] Fortunately for Dumbarton, the expected attack never came.

MacFarlane's loyalties would be properly put to the test the following year. In early October he received a letter from Chancellor Perth instructing him to march a force of "Fourtie highland men who are fittest for service - to be commanded by the Laird of Luss" to Stirling and to provide them for fourteen days service in the field on the King's service.[3] With the bad feeling which has already been shown to have existed between Colquhoun and MacFarlane it must have been with some relief that the latter received a missive, shortly afterwards, from the Earl of Breadalbane, countermanding Perth and instructing him to disband his force.[4] This though was shortly followed by another letter from a more desperate sounding Perth asking on this occasion for just ten men, this time to join a force of the Laird of Struan's men at Stirling.[5] It seems MacFarlane must have complied with the last of his conflicting orders because receipts for food, clothing arms and pay amongst the records of the Privy Council show that throughout November, and into mid December, he and his men

[1]RPC 3rd Series IX, 1684, p. 81

[2]Irving, Joseph., *Dumbarton Burgh Records 1627-1746* p. 96

[3]Hill Coll. *Royal and Other Notable Autographs* No. 21,

[4]Hill Coll. *ibid.* No. 22

[5]Hill Coll. *ibid.* No. 23

(one lieutenant, one ensign, two sergeants and a piper) formed a company on his Majesty's service with the Laird of Struan. The downfall and imprisonment of Perth in that month brought to an end this hastily convened force and MacFarlane is shown to have returned home forthwith.[1]

The disorder and lawlessness which followed in the months after King James' flight to Dublin placed John MacFarlane in an excellent position to exploit the fears of his Lowland neighbours. Early in the year the county sheriff was instructed to:

> represent to the Councill the sad Conditionne of this Countery by the insults of the hieland robbers who pretending K[ing] J[ames'] Commissione gather togither for robbrie and depredatione in greater numbers... and in all probabilitie will lay all winter upon the borders of the hielands in Dumbartonshire and the west end of Striviling Shire And that he represent to the Councill that the garrisons planted are not able to deal with them neither for their number nor the problems of their travell and bounds in which they hairm as wee latlie seen in the garrisone of Drummakill at the hership taken out of Kilmaronok.[2]

In May 1689, MacFarlane duly offered to raise a regiment of six companies of foot, fifty men in each company, "for guarding and securing the pass betwixt the highlands and Dumbartonshire lyeing betwixt Lochlowmont and Lochlonge within the parochine of Tarbat" undertaking to pay the cost of one of the companies himself. His offer was accepted and the Commission of Estates gave him the rank of colonel of his regiment and, in a delicious twist of fate, ordered the keeper of Dumbarton Castle to personally arm the new force with "thirtie pound weight of powder and ball."[3] The National Museums of Scotland currently have in one of their storerooms a large silk banner or standard, embroidered with the arms of the clan MacFarlane and a saltire. If not created for, it was undoubtedly carried by John's regiment of foot throughout this period. The large size and detail of the flag are shown in Plates 6 and 7. The neatly excised rectangle removing the savage's genitals is thought to be the deliberate work of a later more prudish owner![4]

In July of 1690 MacFarlane would finally have his revenge upon those who had convened at Cardross Kirk to complain about him, exactly ten years previously, when the

[1]RPC 3rd Series, XIII, 1688, pp. 354-5, 362, 367, 369, & 371

[2]Mitchell Library Archives, *Hamilton of Barnes Collection* , TD 589/981

[3]APS IX, 1689, Appendix 22a & 30a

[4]I am indebted to Mr. Brian MacFarlane, vice president of *The Clan MacFarlane Society Inc.*, both for drawing my attention to this flag and for the photos used here.

Plate 6 - Flag of the clan MacFarlane, National Museums of Scotland (Photograph courtesy of Brian MacFarlane, VP Clan MacFarlane Society Inc.)

Plate 7 - Detail of the flag of the clan MacFarlane, National Museums of Scotland (Photograph courtesy of Brian MacFarlane, VP Clan MacFarlane Society Inc.)

Earl of Argyll wrote a letter to the Laird of Luss which was to be communicated to all the gentlemen and heritors above the Leven. In it Argyll let it be known that he was greatly displeased by their "slack payment" to MacFarlane following the terms of the contract they had entered into for his "keeping of the Isle above the Leven which was a very reasonable action especially at this juncture and since." He goes on to add that "the watch," meaning MacFarlane, shall decide if and when their financial assistance should be withdrawn; and concludes by ordering swift and speedy payments of all sums resting and yet to be asked for.[1] We can only guess at the shared sense of discomfort with which this must have been viewed by the southern Lennox landowners, and the pleasure it would have brought John MacFarlane. His rising fortunes were further assisted that month by his eventual payment for his official, government-endorsed regiment, having finally proved to the satisfaction of their treasurer that his men were actually in arms during the period in question.[2] He was, therefore, effectively being paid twice for the same job and both the Privy Council and Argyll had given him a free reign to continue as long as was necessary to put down the disorders. MacFarlane celebrated his reversal of fortune by concentrating all of his efforts back into his Arrochar estates. The added bonus of two incomes for the one job saw to it that he finally had the means to begin clearing his father's legacy of debt, and allowed him to set about the most ambitious programme of capitalist and social reform ever seen in the MacFarlane lands.

Having become fully aware of the important travelling routes that passed through his lands, in late 1690 MacFarlane petitioned the Scottish Parliament for the right to hold weekly markets and an annual fair at Inverioch, near the head of Loch Long, and Tarbet, on Loch Lomond. He chose these sites because they were "the center of the remotest corners of four severall shyres viz. Argyle, Perth, Stirling and Dumbarton... And all travellers must pass through these districts." The parliament agreed with the spirit of his request, but restricted him to only five annual marts, rather than the weekly ones he asked for, and designated particular days for these fairs at each site.[3] This was an enormous undertaking, but with the growth and development of the black cattle trade reaching its peak and the growing popularity of the Falkirk, Comrie and Crieff trysts, it was a logical step in the exploitation of

[1]Hill Coll. *Royal and Other Notable Autographs* No. 25

[2]RPC 3rd Series, XIII, 1689, p. 475

[3]June 17-18, July 26-27, September 2-3 and the October 14-15 for the fairs at Inverioch, and March 12-13 for the fair at Tarbet - APS IX, 1690, p.184 c.33

the geographical position of MacFarlane territory.[1] Unfortunately, no evidence survives, in either the oral traditions or primary documents, to suggest that the markets ever took place.

In February 1696 " John MacFarlane of that ilk younger" was specifically named on a handwritten proclamation as one of only eight trustees tasked with the erection of "schools of learning for the instructing of the Youth in the Knowledge & practice of religion And for introducing of civilitie good policy and ordour" across the borders of the Highlands. His fellow trustees were "John, Lord Murray; Lord Cardross; David, Lord Ruthven; Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre; Thomas Hay of Dalhousie; William Drummond of Megginsh and [blank] Steuart of Ardvorlich." For the purpose of building and supporting these schools, King William himself donated £150 (Sterling) yearly out of the "rents, duties and casualties of the Bishoprick of Dunkeld" which had recently fallen in to his hands, to be spent as a quorum of the trustees saw fit.[2] MacFarlane was present at a meeting of the trustees two years later in Edinburgh where they saw fit to grant the sum of 100 merks each to the parishes of Drymen, Luss, Tarbet [Arrochar], Row, and Roseneath for the "erecting of schools and schoolmasters houses." This they did on the condition that the heritors of each parish contributed to a salary of 100 merks per annum for their schoolmasters.[3] For the first time in its history Arrochar parish was set to get a school. Alas it was never to be however; a document dated 7 January, 1699 answered John's request for the promised funds in the negative, intimating that it was doubtful that he would ever receive money for the erection of his "scool."[4]

As befitting a man with growing social aspirations, John took as his new wife Lady Helen Arbuthnott, the daughter of Robert, 2nd Viscount Arbuthnott sometime in 1697. This union would produce five children, three of whom would live into adulthood. He built for himself, and his new bride, at Inverioch, one of the "tounes" he had proposed for the development of a cattle fair, a new and substantially different style of home to those built by his great and great-great grandfathers. Probably part-financed by both the proceeds of the sale of his family tenement in Dumbarton in 1696[5] and his wife's tocher, this house, which he named "New-Tarbet," was of a style in keeping with the pretensions of this Highland Laird.

[1]Macinnes, A.I., *From Clanship to Commerce* p. 143

[2]Hill Coll. *MSS of Local and Antiquarian Interest*, No. 20A

[3]Hill Coll. *ibid*, No 20d

[4]Hill Coll. *ibid.* No. 8

[5]A new tenant is recorded in the tenement "latlie possesed by the Laird of MacFarlane" in December 1696, Irving, Joseph., *Dumbarton Burgh Records 1627-1746* p. 101

Its form is shown in Plate 8, one of only two drawings known to exist of the building executed before its demolition in the early part of the 19th century. Only the date stone is thought to have survived the destruction and it is shown in Plate 9 in its current position above the door of the present building occupying the site (The Gaelic inscription is a later addition commemorating the original house). For the only extant description of the character of the house and its builder we must turn to an extract of a letter by the Honourable Andrew Erskine, who frequently stayed at the house over long periods some sixty years later as a guest of John's son, Walter MacFarlane, the next chief.

> The Castle [sic] is of Gothic structure, awful and lofty: there are fifty bed-chambers in it, with halls saloons and galleries without number. Mr M[acFarlane]'s father who was a man of infinite humour, caused a magnificent lake to be built, just before the entry of the house. His diversion was to peep out of his window, and to see the people who came to visit him skipping through it; for there was no other passage, then he used to put on such huge fires to dry their cloaths that there was no bearing them. He used to declare that he never thought a man good company till he was half drown'd and half burnt.[1]

The image we get from the letter is of a house and grounds whose grandiose appearance was intended to impress upon the visitor a sense of its owner's affluence and nobility. This, of course, may not have been entirely illusory. Within a year of its erection John had finally paid all of the money owed to his half-siblings, as well as all liferents owed to his father and stepmother.[2] Therefore, it is entirely likely that John had succeeded, by this time, in paying off his father's many debts, as family obligations tend generally to take last position in a queue of creditors. Further proof of a financial base of considerable mans may be had by John's financial speculation of £200 in the ultimately disastrous Darien Scheme.[3]

John MacFarlane did not long enjoy his sumptuous new home however. He died exactly six months, to the day, after he signed his last will and testament, dated November 13, 1704.[4] Donald Whyte believes that it was John's failing health, hinted at by this will, and fear of his impending demise, which prompted him to attempt to purchase the feudal

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[1]Boswell, J. & Erskine, A., *Letters between the Honourable Andrew Erskine and James Boswell Esq.* (London, Samuel Chandler, 1763) p. 23

[2]Hill Coll. *MacFarlane Muniments* No. 40

[3]Barbour, J.S., *William Paterson and the Darien Company* (Edinburgh, 1907) p. 273

[4]Hill Coll. *MacFarlane Muniments* No. 44

Plate 8 - Copy of a painting of Inverioch House/New Tarbet, c.1824

Plate 9 - Original surviving datestone from Inverioch House (later Gaelic inscription)

superiority of Arrochar MacGilchrist, a final act which he would have thought would have long-term benefits for both his family and the development of the MacFarlane territories.[1]

Having only recently inherited his titles, James Graham, 4th Marquis of Montrose, purchased in 1703, with the aid of his friend and factor Mungo Graeme of Gorthie, the estates of the Lennox and Darnley from the disponees of Charles, Duke of Lennox. With the title to the land came the heritable jurisdiction of all of Dumbartonshire and much of west Stirlingshire.[2] Several bundles of documents among the Montrose MSS at the National Archive of Scotland illustrate the delicate negotiations which dogged the sale, both before and afterwards.[3] The greatest sticking point came with the intervention of Queen Anne. She apparently wished to restrict the huge influence which Montrose would achieve as a result of his purchase. Accordingly, she made it a condition of sale that her vassals in the Lennox must be given the option of buying up their feudal superiorities. Montrose was incensed at her interference and threatened to call off the whole process at one point.[4] An incomplete document among the MacFarlane Muniments, endorsed as "Answers to the Queries of the Vassals of the Lennox" and dated only 1705, makes it clear that he ultimately acquiesced to his sovereign's wishes.[5] Gorthie was instructed to find out which of the Lennox heritors wished to purchase their superiorities, at which time John MacFarlane must have acknowledged his interest because his intention is noted in a letter from Montrose dated March 1705.[6] A judicial rental of all of these estates was then ordered to be carried out by the Regality Court, which eventually processed the Arrochar lands on 28 May, 1705, two weeks after John MacFarlane's death.[7] The sale was eventually completed in September by Lady Helen as tutrix to Walter, her eldest son, and the next chief. The total purchase price agreed upon was £5017 18/4.[8]

John MacFarlane's determination to purchase the heritable jurisdiction of his lands may have stemmed, if we are to believe Whyte, from his awareness of the many feudal

[1]Whyte, D., *Walter MacFarlane* pp. 3-5

[2]Paul, Sir J.B. [Ed.], *The Scots Peerage: A History of the Noble Families of Scotland* (Edinburgh, David Douglas Publishers, 1905) vol. VI, p. 262

[3]GD 220/6/252-3, GD 220/5/793/3 and GD 220/5/797/20

[4]GD 220/5/793/3

[5]Hill Coll. *MacFarlane Muniments* No. 110

[6]Hill Coll. *MacFarlane Muniments* No. 45

[7]Regality Court Minutes - N.A.S. GD 220/6/491, MacFarlane's death recorded in N.L.S. Adv MS. 34.3.10

[8]N.A.S. GD 220/6/252 & GD 220/6/1612/18

casualties his wife and children would have been burdened with if he should die when his heir was still a minor.[1] Whilst this could indeed have been a contributing factor, his actions might be better explained as a further logical step in the reorganization of his family landholding, following the example of the House of Argyll. The Campbells had recognised earlier in the 17th century the usefulness of their huge heritable jurisdictions to aid the development of better capitalist practices upon their estates. The institution had become a "vital tool" to loosen the grip of traditional clan practices in favour of newer commercial ones.[2] Consequently, just as the Campbells had utilised this institution to assist their economic development on a large scale, so too could MacFarlane on a smaller one. Unfortunately, his untimely death means we shall never know what his ultimate reasons or plans were. His prudence of action was however borne out in October 1714 when agents for his son Walter, who had not yet attained his majority, answered a summons to the Lennox Regality Court with the message that "he was not oblidged to answer at this court," as his father had "bought his Superiority from the Duke of Montrose" and his lands were held "blensh of the Crowne." The court could only accept the legitimacy of the claim, conclusively proving that the purchase of the heritable jurisdictions of Arrochar had been a worthwhile one.[3]

John MacFarlane, as can be clearly seen from his actions throughout the quarter of a century he led his clan, was an astute and intelligent man. He took charge of a debt ridden estate from his profligate father and in a matter of a few years turned it around into a profitable enterprise; the success of which was mainly due to his adroit exploitation of the major political and social upheavals which were then enveloping Scotland. He attempted to introduce regular markets to profit from the growing cattle trade and he contemplated the establishment of a school for the education of the youths upon his lands. Most significantly, he endeavoured to ensure the longer-term benefits of his estates by purchasing his heritable jurisdiction from his superior. His early death undoubtedly denied Scotland of one of its earliest improving lairds.

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[1]Whyte, D., *Walter MacFarlane* p. 4

[2]Macinnes, A.I., *From Clanship to Commerce* p. 146

[3]N.A.S. GD 220/6/492/2

CHAPTER 7

The Antiquarian Laird:

Walter MacFarlane c.1699-1767

The most surprising fact about Walter MacFarlane Esq. of that Ilk is that only one substantial biography has so far been written on his interesting life.[1] His existence is only known to most historians through his collections of geographical and genealogical papers held in the National Library of Scotland. These were partially published in the early 20th century by the Scottish History Society but contain little account of the man himself.[2] The opposite seems to be true in his own lifetime; well known to scholars, nobles and politicians across Scotland, he appears to have attracted both praise and criticism from a variety of quarters. His famed erudition made him, in the words of his biographer, "almost a legend in his own lifetime."[3] However, it falls within the remit of this thesis to relate only those details of his life which directly affected the development of his estates in north Loch Lomondside.

The eldest of three brothers to survive childhood, Walter succeeded as we saw above, to his father's estates in May 1705, when he was around six or seven years of age. In accordance with his father's last will and testament, he and his brothers were to be raised by their mother. It is likely that when she remarried in 1710, to John Spottiswoode of that Ilk, that he and his siblings travelled to Berwickshire to her new home there.[4] Little else is known of his early life, no trace of formal schooling can be found, but since both of his brothers, William and Alexander, received a university education, it seems unlikely that he would have missed out.[5]

Walter had barely inherited his lands when Dumbarton Presbytery began to insist

[1]Whyte, D., *Walter MacFarlane: Clan Chief and Antiquary*

[2]See bibliography for details

[3]Whyte, D., *ibid.* p. 16

[4]Barry, T. & Hall, D., *Spottiswoode: Life and Labour on a Berwickshire Estate, 1753-1793* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 1997) p. 26

[5]William studied at Leyden and graduated Rheims M.D. in 1725, graduating St. Andrews *ad eundum* 1727 Whyte, D, *Walter MacFarlane.* p. 14 and Alexander graduated M.A. from the University of Glasgow in 1728 - Addison, W.I. [Ed.], *A Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, Macklehose and Son, 1898)

upon the erection of an adequate church, manse and glebe, upon the terms of the original parish separation of 1659, signed by his great-grandfather and still binding. The presbytery had been greatly frustrated by the demittal of office by the Rev. Robert MacFarlane in 1705 (see above, page 42, note 123) and consequently set about ensuring a similar situation did not arise again. In 1707 a new minister, Mr. Daniel Reid, was presented and settled in the parish and over the next two years Dumbarton Presbytery members made several visits to the estate. In November 1709, having heard Mr. Reid preach his sermon "first in the Highland tongue and afterwards in the English... In a Barn nixt to Inverioch which is the ordinary place of worship in the said parish," they instructed a surveyor and mason to make plans for the building of a proper church and manse.[1] The total cost was estimated between 2500 to 2600 merks to be paid by the heritors of the estate, the majority by MacFarlane of Arrochar but with a contribution by his kinsman MacFarlane of Gartartan. The latter prevaricated due to his increasingly straitened circumstances, while the agent of the former, who was still a minor, asked for a delay until Walter was at least fourteen and could "chuse his curators."[2] However, the presbytery would accept no more excuses and obtained a decreet from the Court of Session ordering the building work to commence.[3]

Despite the legal command, whether through financial incapability or obtuseness, building work did not commence until 1733 when a small T-shaped kirk was raised a few hundred yards from Walter's seat of Inverioch, with a manse and glebe attached close by. The building was almost totally demolished during the construction of a new church in 1847, but enough survives of its front elevation and side wall to give an impression of its size and layout (See Figure 6 and Plate 10).[4] General Roy's *Military Survey* of the mid-18th century shows that near to the Laird's house there was also a small settlement and mill site (See Plate 11).[5] John MacFarlane may have built a home for himself in a distinctly new architectural style but he situated it within an entirely familiar geographical layout, bearing a close similarity to the arrangement of the chiefly residence, settlements and mill of Inveruglas and

[1]M.L.A. T-CL Addt Bundle 73, Handwritten extracts of the records of Dumbarton Presbytery p. 4

[2]*Ibid.* pp. 5-8

[3]Irving, Joseph, *The Book of Dumbartonshire* (Edinburgh, W. & A.K. Johnston, 1879) Vol. 2, p. 276-7

[4]Described by Dorothy Wordsworth in 1822 as akin to a "neglected Italian Chapel, but wanting a tower or spire," in Wordsworth, D., *Journal of My Second Tour in Scotland, 1822*, (Tokyo, Kenkyusha, 1989). The most interesting surviving architectural feature of note is the sundial just above the front door and date stone.

[5]British Library *Roy's Military Survey of Scotland* Sheet 14, 6/2 & 6/3 - the church is signified by a small red 'T' to the south of New Tarbet/Inverioch

Figure 6 - Plan of Arrochar Parish Church, 1733 - Front view and ground plan (taped offset method).

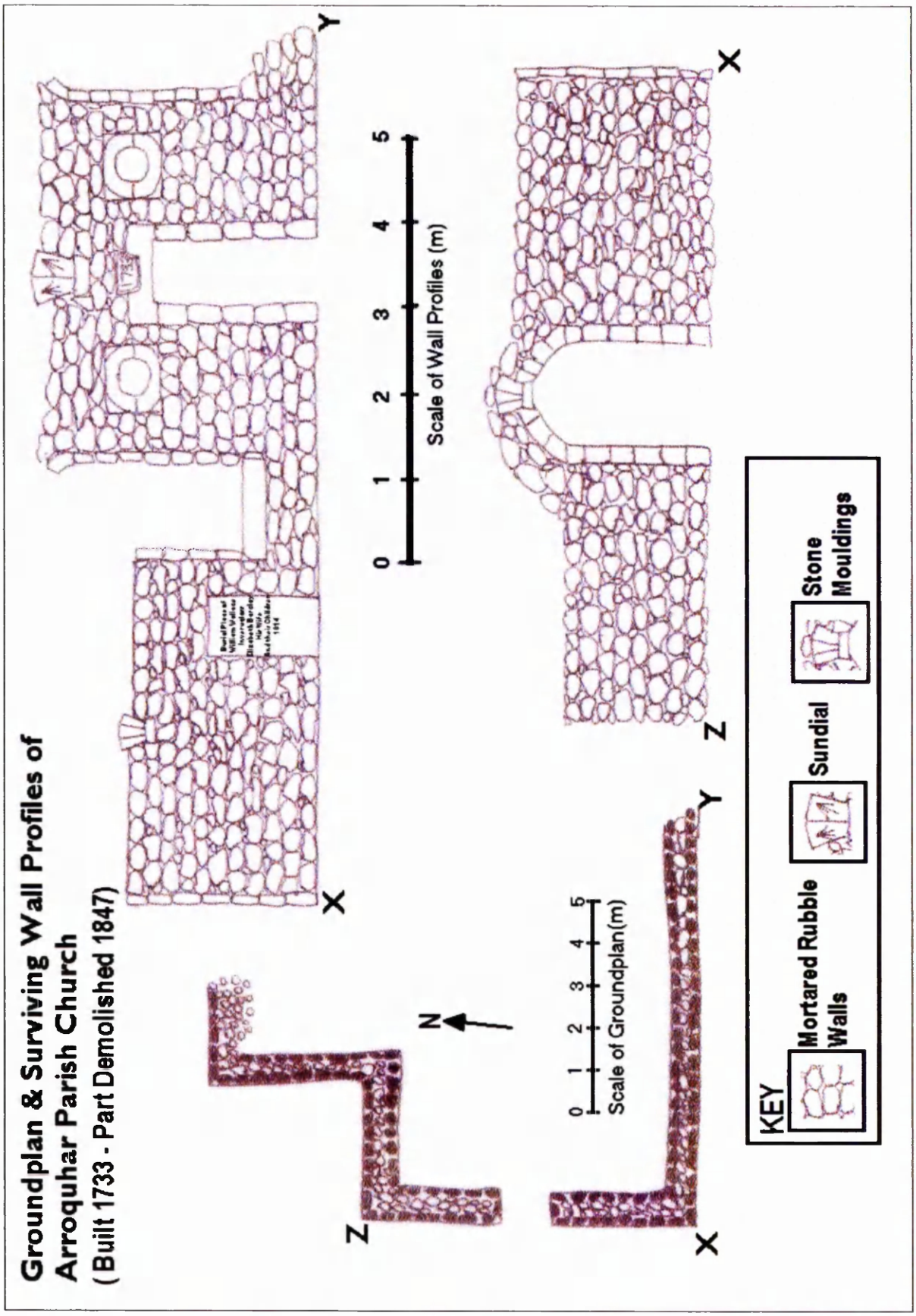

Plate 10 - Arrochar Parish Church, 1733 - Front View

Plate 11 - Detail from General Roy's *Military Survey of Scotland* showing the parks and avenues of Inverioch/New Tarbet planted by Walter MacFarlane of that Ilk (British Library, Sheet 14, 6/2 & 6/3).

Plate 12 - Walter MacFarlane's personal piper's grave, 1733 (front).

Plate 13 - Walter MacFarlane's personal piper's grave, 1733 (rear).

Porchaible discussed in Chapter 4. The site of the new church was carefully selected upon similar lines, intended to further emphasise and complement Inverioch's status as the centre of the community, not to create a new and separate focal point. All of MacFarlane's tenants would have to come to either *his* church or *his* mill, most probably both. By situating them immediately adjacent to his home each visit would reinforce the message that their physical and spiritual well-being was entirely in his hands; a subtle but nonetheless very effective means of social control.

Walter MacFarlane has left precious little evidence of his other activities in his estates prior to the erection of his church. His mercantile interests are illustrated by his admittance as a burgess and guild brother, along with his brother William, to Glasgow in 1723 and to Inverary in 1728;[1] while his chiefly pretensions are illustrated by the grave he raised to his personal piper he kept at Inverioch (See Plates 12 & 13) and the matriculation of his coat of in 1730.[2] These two activities do however reveal a great deal about the dual character of the man. The desire for acceptance to Lowland society via the burgh guilds speaks for itself, but the somewhat anachronistic raising of a monument to a faithful Highland retainer hints at the desire to remain true to his Gaelic roots. This Highland-Lowland split-personality would remain a perennial feature of Walter's character for much of his life, as he attempted to retain to himself the best of both worlds. By 1735 he was evidently taking a great deal of interest in the landscaping of his mansion's prospects when he wrote to Mungo Graeme of Gorthie thanking him for his:

> ...kind offer of giving me some firs, I shall send for them very soon; and I should reckon myself very much oblidged to you if you could spare me any other kind of barren trees, especially a hundred or two of beech, for I have one side of ane avenue already planted with them but cannot get so many as will finish the other side, I know this is your favourite timber, and therefore I shall not insist any further; but gratefully accept what other barren timber you can conveniently spare.[3]

The results of his plantings can clearly be seen on Roy's Map (Plate 4), executed about fifteen years later, by which time many of his trees would have matured sufficiently to form

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[1] Anderson, J.R., *The Burgesses and Guild-Brethern of Glasgow, 1573-1750* (Edinburgh, 1929) & Beaton, E. & MacIntyre, S.W. [Eds.] *The Burgesses of Inverary 1665-1963* (Edinburgh, Scottish Record Society, 1990)

[2] Hill Coll. *MacFarlane Muniments* No. 15

[3] N.A.S. GD 220/5/1342

the geometric walks and avenues so favoured at this time by the landed gentry.[1]

Walter also spent much of the 1730s attempting to rid his lands of his kinsmen the MacFarlanes of Gartartan. The full extent of this branch's landholding in Arrochar Parish is unclear, but it seems to have been concentrated around the modern village of Tarbet and was known as Nether Arrochar. The Gartartan MacFarlanes had become financially insolvent before the 1720s as a result of their fiar's imprudent financial and social activities[2] and they were forced to give up title to their lands in Menteith and Arrochar by the Duke of Montrose. John MacFarlane of Gartartan, Senior, attempted to repurchase his Arrochar lands, or failing that obtain a lease of them, from Montrose in 1729. His efforts were apparently thwarted by Walter who used his influence with Mungo Graeme of Gorthie to intercede with the Duke to first set a short-term tack of the lands to one of Walter's friends, and then, in 1736, to allow Walter to purchase them in their entirety.[3] Having been separated from his ancestors' patrimony for at least a century, if not longer, Walter had succeeded in reunifying the entire lands of Arrochar, but only at the expense of a kin group and close former ally of his family.

The Duke was so disposed to Walter that within a few months of the sale he gave him a loan of £9085 Scots money. Walter paid this back in instalments, which took nine years to complete, the last one being paid in July 1745 during the Jacobite rebellion. The money was difficult to come by at times, as several letters to Gorthie over the period, many like this one from his home in Edinburgh, indicate:

> Tis with great Grief and Shame I'm obliged to acquaint you, that I can't conveniently pay the Balance I ow to his Grace the Duke of Montrose against Whitsunday next, for which I hope you'll be so good as to make my Apology: Times are so bad that we can gett no Rent from the Country, and the late necessary importation of Corn Meal, & c., from England has occasioned such a Run upon us from thence that there is no money to be had in Town; but so soon as ever I can procure any it will be the first Debt I shall pay[4]

This letter reveals a number of things about Walter's activities other than his obvious

[1]Williamson, T., *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth Century England* (Stroud, Allan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1995) Chapter 2

[2]His undoing would appear to have been his infidelity to his wife, the daughter of Graham of Killearn, the latter then used his influence with his kinsman, the Duke of Montrose, to bankrupt MacFarlane and his family who were severely financially over extended.

[3]N.A.S. GD 220/5/1088, 220/5/1090/1-2, 220/5/1122/1-2, 220/5/1374/2; Hill Coll. *MacFarlane Muniments* Nos. 50-63 & 105

[4]N.A.S. GD 220/5/1544/8

inability to pay his debts. We do not know when he procured his Edinburgh townhouse, it was probably well before the sending of this letter (dated April 1741), but from the extract we can clearly see that he was kept informed of events at home in Arrochar. Walter's evident self-belief in his role as father of his clan, which literally translates as "children" from the Gaelic, also shines through by his importation of corn meal and his decision not to force rents out of his tenants in a time of scarcity and famine. To run the estates in his absence, Walter entrusted his home and his lands to his capable kinsman Mr. Duncan MacFarlane.

Duncan was a trained minister, licensed to preach in 1732 by Dumbarton Presbytery, but without a parish. At least four of his letters survive, sent in his capacity as factor to Mungo Graeme of Gorthie and dated between May 1740 and January 1741. In these we read of his many activities on Walter's estate, which included bridge building, herring fishing and salting, spirit running and extensive lime burning. In fact, Duncan seems to have been producing such large quantities of lime at Inverioch that he was able to sell it on to other Lennox landholders.[1] In April 1741, Walter again used his influence with Gorthie to intercede with Montrose to obtain for his valued factor the parish kirk of Drymen, whose current incumbent was expected to be deprived of his office for his "ill behaviour and imprudent conduct."[2] Duncan was presented to the parish the following year and ordained in May 1743, but seems to have continued in his capacity as factor of the Arrochar estates for a few years longer, during which time he would account for himself in a manner most unlike the usual image of 18th century parsons.

In an unusually detailed tale, again collected by John Dewar in the 19th century, an account is given of Duncan's formidable fighting skills as he led the chase and capture of a raiding party of murderous brigands who had assailed one of Walter's tenants in Glen Loin sometime in 1747.[3] Described in glowing terms as he "threw aside his black coat and breeches, arrayed himself in his kilt, and armed himself with gun and sword," Duncan is said to have called out the last MacFarlane "host" to hunt the miscreants down. Once caught, they were presented before Walter, who was in residence at the time. They were imprisoned at Inverioch overnight before being arraigned in front of the chief's heritable court the next day. His sentence on the wrongdoers was not one of death, as his people expected, but that they

[1]N.A.S. GD 220/5/1507/1-3 & GD 220/5/1544/4

[2]N.A.S. GD 220/5/1544/8

[3]MacKechnie, Rev. J. [Ed.] & MacLean, H. [Translator], *The Dewar Manuscripts - Scottish West Highland Folk Tales* vol. 1 (Glasgow, William MacLellan, 1964) pp. 107-11

should be pressed into His Majesty's Navy for the rest of their lives. The storyteller asserted that this was not to the liking of his clansmen, who expected their revenge for the murder of a guest of the attacked tenant to be of a more final nature. "They were grieved that... the guilty got off so cheaply," but accepted their chief's decision as absolute.[1] The men were taken to be put on a ship at Greenock but escaped from custody as they were being handed over.

The fact that the whole episode was related to Dewar in such detail over a century after it took place, with the names of all the participants and places involved carefully added, is testament to the strong feelings which the events provoked. The greatest surprise about the whole episode is that it took place at all. Given Walter's serious attempts at reorienting his estates towards more commercial practices, the fact that a host could be raised with such ease must have given the chief somewhat mixed feelings. On the one hand his martial Highland spirit could not fail to have been roused, on the other his disappointment that his people still showed such a quick and easy desire to fight rather than farm, in spite of his estate reorganisation, must have been great. Given his clansmen's appreciation of a good fight it is probably no coincidence, therefore, that the earliest surviving example of the clan's disapprobation of their chief should come so soon after the last Jacobite uprising. Walter's opinions upon Jacobitism remain something of a enigma. In his later years, when it was most safe to do so, his Jacobite sympathies are alluded to by both his relatives and acquaintances but he certainly does not appear to have taken any active part in either the '15 or the '45.[2] But it is in the aftermath of the latter that we detect a noticeable change in Walter's character, with particular regard to his attitude towards clanship; a development in the chiefly mindset which is observed across Gaeldom at this time according to Macinnes.[3] The episode narrated above is so important because it signalled the beginning of a general decline in the relationship between the chief and his clan which would only worsen during the remainder of Walter's life. This is a process worthy of further discussion.

Prior to the '45 Walter had been able to maintain, at least upon a superficial level, the dignities and appearances of a traditional and patriarchal leader. The evidence of this is in his actions, the importation of corn, the relaxation of rents in times of strife, the maintenance of a personal piper at his home, and may also be inferred from the praise he received from one

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[1] *Ibid* p. 110

[2] Although Allan Macinnes has discovered evidence that some of his tenants may have been forced 'out' in the '15, most probably by MacGregor influence - Macinnes, A.I., *From Clanship to Commerce* p. 167

[3] Macinnes, A.I. *Ibid.* p. 211

of Gaeldom's most outspoken poets of the time Alastair MacMhaighstir Alastair (Alexander MacDonald). Perhaps best remembered for his most inflammatory work *Aiseirigh na Seann Chànain Albannaich* ('The Resurrection of the Ancient Scottish Tongue'), the poet dedicated it to Walter in 1751. It was a scurrilous collection of "32 poems of which... No less than 25 were offensive to somebody."[1] Variously anti-establishment, anti-Hanoverian, anti-Campbell and anti-women, MacDonald could hardly be accused of subtlety in his dispraise where he saw signs of failure to live up to a Gaelic ideal. The poet writes in his preface that the poems were composed "some time ago for the for the amusement of a private gentleman," but fails to say who exactly this was. Ronald Black conjectures that this may have been Walter himself.[2] So it is exceedingly doubtful that Walter exhibited many signs of betraying his *duthchas* prior to the book's publication or MacDonald would most likely have taken notice and rather than dedicate his book to him, would have probably composed a suitable satire.

From the mid 18th century onwards however, there is a strong body of evidence highlighting the increasing sense of disillusionment and dissatisfaction that the people felt for their chief and his actions. Its foundations appear to coincide with the arrival of the single greatest physical alteration ever to have taken place in the Highlands, the introduction of the military road network. The section of road which passed right through the MacFarlane territory, cutting directly through Walter's gardens, connecting Dumbarton to Inverary was begun by Major William Caulfield almost immediately after the cessation of hostilities of the 1745-46 Jacobite Rebellion and completed by 1750. The purpose of the stretch of road was not military but political and economical, built at the behest of the Duke of Argyle to ease his travels to and from the south.[3] The consequence of better access routes was an acceleration of the influx of Lowland ideas, practices and settlers into the Highlands, with the lands of MacFarlane among the first to be exposed. Writing a generation later, the Rev. John Gillespie, minister of Arrochar from 1782 to 1817, ably recounts the details of the most significant changes that the road brought:

> The settlement of some graziers here, from the low country... as first considered by the natives as

[1]Black, R., *Alastair macMhaghstir Alastair: Another Flawed Giant for Scotland* - (O'Donnell Lecture, University of Edinburgh, 30 May 1998) p. 3 - I am indebted to Mr. Ronald Black, of the University of Edinburgh, both for sending me the text of his lecture and for drawing my attention to MacDonald's dedication in the first place.

[2]Black, R., *ibid.* p. 1

[3]See Chirrey, J., *The Loch Lomondside Military Road* (Dumbarton District Libraries, n.d.) & Taylor, W., *The Military Roads in Scotland* (Colonsay, House of Lochar, 1996) pp. 28-29

> aliens, and invaders of property, to which they had no natural right, being neither lineal descendants, nor collateral branches of the MacFarlane race. Such was their antipathy that they made several abortive attempts extirpate them.[1]

The incomer and Lowland reverend's assertions are supported by one of his predecessors, the noted Gaelic scholar and writer Alexander MacFarlane, who was minister of Arrochar between 1754 and his death in 1763. He composed a satire on MacFarlane's new factor which was as much a reflection upon the chief as it was upon his officer. Part of it reads:

> MacFarlane has a factor, and if I am not deceived he is of the race of the gelding
> He gave us a rammer of clothing and a lout of a foxlike debauchee
> The greed of the turkey is in John's two white eyes for the Hallowe'en rents
> Mercy! I've seen an old woman who could cast that lot over the Leven with her distaff![2]

Alexander is also thought to have composed a poem lamenting the introduction of "Lowland churls, sheep and a dog" to the Arrochar lands, in which is written:

> It is a strange improvement for the land
> To be cleared of its people!
> To give it over to delicate sheep
> Who were never meant to be enemies
> Or curses of the people
> But blessings, warmth and possessions
>
> This is what the laird said
> "By my word, they are profitable
> They will increase my earnings daily:
> I will glean the profits of every island -
> Sport, clothing and food
> And I will consume it forever more"[3]

The poem concludes with a prophetic warning for MacFarlane that the "the lord of sheep will be tossed into a very small corner... your spending will soar/ Beyond the winning of your

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[1]Gillespie, Rev. J., 'Statistical Account of the Parish of Arrochar' in the O.S.A vol. IX, p. 8

[2]Newton, M., *Bho Chluaidh...* p. 253

[3]*Ibid.* pp. 252-3

flocks." These lines are a particularly early example of the type of criticism which would be commonplace by the closing decades of the century, as more chiefs, factors and incoming farmers and their sheep came under strenuous poetic attack.

The arrival of these incomers may have marked the beginning of what MacInnes calls "piecemeal tenurial tinkering."[1] It is possible that Walter may have introduced competitive bidding practices for the tacks of farms on his estate. This led, throughout Gaeldom, to the eradication of the distinct social class of tacksmen, who had occupied a middle level in Gaelic society for several centuries. With no surviving rentals for Arrochar from the period, it is difficult to prove if this was the case or not. However, there could be archaeological evidence to support such claims. In the graveyard at Balleyhennan there are several recumbent and upright gravestones which possess well carved MacFarlane coats of arms (see examples of these in Plates 14 and 15). Since the coat of arms strictly belonged only to the chief or his family, and they tended to be buried at Luss, the inclusion of such heraldic designs intimates the social standing of the grave's owner. It is likely that most of these stones were raised by members of the tacksman class, traditionally descended from the younger sons of long dead chiefs, who commemorated their pedigree in their grave monuments. These stones cease to be erected by the late 1740s, which may infer that this section of society had been eliminated. This evidence when combined with the strong sentiments expressed in the satire certainly offer a strong argument for Walter's participation in a little tenurial reorganisation. However, the real change in Walter MacFarlane's outlook towards his clan and lands as a whole can be detected in earnest following the death of one of his brothers in 1755.

Being the youngest son of the late laird, Alexander MacFarlane had little prospect of any significant inheritance of his father's property so consequently, like many in his position, he had emigrated sometime in the late 1720s early 1730s, to make his fortune. His years on the island of Jamaica were distinguished by remarkable success in this venture; by the time of his death he owned several plantations on its east and west coasts, had become one of its assistant judges and a member of the island's legislative assembly.[2] In his will he bequeathed a quantity of the most advanced astronomical instruments then available to his *alma mater*, the University of Glasgow, which subsequently founded The MacFarlane Observatory, to house the equipment. The university also bestowed upon Walter the honourary degree of

[1]Macinnes, A.I., *From Clanship to Commerce* p. 222

[2]MacFarlane, J., *A History of the Clan MacFarlane* p. 127

Plate 14 - Possible tacksman's gravestone 1742, Balleyhennan

Plate 15 - Possible tacksman's gravestone 1729, Balleyhennan

LLD as a mark of thanks for his brother's generosity.[1] Alexander left the rest of his extensive estates and holdings to Walter.

This moment, with the suddenness of new found wealth, marks a significant watershed in Walter's life forcing his complete transition from clan chief to landlord. Having extensively commercially restructured his Arrochar estates, with enormous effect upon the local physical and cultural landscape, but negligible effect upon his coffers, he was suddenly propelled from his semi-impoverished position on the fringe of Edinburgh society, where he had happily spent the previous half a century, into its very centre. Where before his antiquarian researches had been the key to building a social relationship with Scotland's rich and aristocratic elite, Walter must have always been keenly aware that his limited means prevented him from being seen on an equal footing. Now the situation was very different. With his Jamaican estates as security, the merchants of Edinburgh and Glasgow would be only too happy to extend lines of credit, finally allowing Walter to live as his pretensions warranted. In 1757 he commissioned the little known, but nonetheless talented, artist John Thomas Seton to paint his portrait (Plate 16).[2] Walter is shown in his velvet and silk finery and periwig, portraying himself as every inch the enlightened and wealthy Edinburgh savant, rather than as a poor benighted Highland laird. This was a portrait which would hang easier upon the walls of his Edinburgh townhouse than adorn those of his Arrochar mansion. Its painting was followed closely by his marriage at the advanced age of 60 or 61 to Lady Elizabeth Erskine, eldest daughter of Alexander Erskine, 5th Earl of Kelly, who was 35 years his junior and remarked as one of the fairest women in Scotland (See Plate 17). This union would effectively dog Walter's affairs for the last seven years of his life and ultimately send him careering towards utter financial ruin.

Lady Elizabeth Erskine, or Lady Betty as she is more commonly known, belonged to a noble family whose financial affairs were in a grievous state because of her father's adherence to the Jacobite cause. For the first two years of her marriage she kept with her, at MacFarlane's homes at Inverioch and Edinburgh, her two sisters and at least one of her three brothers, and doubtless several of her family retainers as well, before finally persuading her husband to take a house in London's fashionable Leicester Street. What we know of this period is gleaned mostly from the diary of Johnson's biographer, James Boswell, and his letters to and from the Hon. Andrew Erskine, Lady Betty's brother. In a series of letters sent

[1]Mackie, J.D., *The University of Glasgow 1451-1951* (Glasgow, Jackson & Son, 1954) p. 218 & pp. 222-3

[2]Now in the possession of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, but on loan to the National Galleries of Scotland

Plate 16 - Portrait of Walter MacFarlane, attributed to John Thomas Seton, 1757, (National Galleries of Scotland)

Plate 17 - Possible portrait of Lady Betty MacFarlane, unknown artist, (Dumbarton Library, Murray Collection)

from Inverioch during 1761-2, Andrew records the serious dilapidation of MacFarlane's house and estate and the increasing poverty of his tenants.[1] Meanwhile Boswell, writing during the couple's time in London, leaves us in no doubt as to his belief that the marriage was an utter travesty, although this was tinged with an evident degree of jealousy.

> I pitied Macfarlane, who is very narrow, and had now house and footmen and coach and dress and entertainment all kinds to pay. Captain Erskine [Andrew] said he was past pity, for he only knew the value of money in trifles; and he also said that to the length of five guineas the Laird might retain some rationality, but when the sum exceeded that, he became perfectly delirious. What an absurd thing it was for this old clumsy dotard to marry a strong young woman of quality. It was certainly vanity, for he has paid very heavily. Her marrying him was just to support herself and her Sisters; and yet to a woman of delicacy, poverty is better than sacrificing her person to a greasy, rotten nauseous carcass and a narrow vulgar soul.[2]

Ignoring his diatribe, as it was probably coloured by Lady Betty's rejection of his amorous advances, Boswell's opinion of the marriage is given certain credence by the lady's actions within five months of her marriage. In September 1760, she wrote to her friend Miss Fletcher, daughter of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (Lord Milton), to ask her to obtain her father's influence in procuring a regiment for one of her brothers from the Duke of Argyll. She tells Miss Fletcher that Walter has promised to levy the necessary men from his "Grounds," something she promised could be done easily.[3] In the event her brother did not get the regiment (probably as a result of his unshakable Jacobite family connections)[4] but Betty's actions, in using her new husband in this way, tend to further imply that, at least for her, the marriage was simply one of convenience. Walter, however, may have felt somewhat differently.

MacFarlane and his extended family were forced to withdraw from London in March 1763, only about four months after taking a house there, as Lady Betty's bills began to engulf them; "They fell around her like flakes of snow. They lighted upon the Laird. They rendered

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[1]Boswell, J. & Erskine, A., *Letters between the Honourable Andrew Erskine and James Boswell Esq.* (London, Samuel Chandler, 1763) p. 24 ff.

[2]Boswell, J., *Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763*; - Pottle, F.A., [Ed.] (Surrey, Windmill Press, 1951) p.64

[3]N.L.S. MS 16716 f.123

[4]Gleig, G., *A Short Account of the Life and Opinions of Archibald 7th Earl of Kellie* (Edinburgh, John Brown, 1797) and Irving, Joseph, *Eminent Scotsmen* (Paisley, Alexander Gardner, 1881)

him frigid."[1] It seems likely that MacFarlane had finally begun to appreciate the difficulty of obtaining large amounts of hard cash from his estates in Jamaica. Wealth on the Caribbean island was a relative matter, it did not travel well nor quickly and any attempt "to remove the balance from a Jamaican account book and place it on the credit side of a British ledger, might not have seemed worth the effort" by the time commissions and a 25% depreciation in value were taken into account.[2] Walter managed to extract himself from the cycle of debt just in time, an example unfortunately not followed by his successor. It also stands as testimony to his character, if not his sense of economy, that in spite of the onslaught of creditors and what we may think of the nature of their marriage, when Boswell impugned Lady Betty for spending so much, Walter immediately stood to her defence.[3]

Precious few primary documents remain to enlighten us as to Walter MacFarlane's activities during his final years. He certainly kept his house in Edinburgh because we learn from his obituary he died "in his house in the Canongate" on the 5th of June 1767, before being buried shortly afterwards within the walls of Greyfriars church.[4] Exactly how much time he spent in Arrochar between leaving London and his death remains though something of a mystery. Two months before his demise a contract, preserved in the family papers, reveals that Lady Betty was conducting the estate business acting as his "attorney." In this she sells to a Glasgow stonemason most of the timber on the Arrochar estates, reserving only the avenues along the highways that Walter had so carefully planted, a few hundred oak standards, a small quantity of timber for the tenants and all the trees on the islands at the upper end of Loch Lomond.[5] The price she agreed upon is £1120 sterling, which must have gone a great way in ameliorating the couple's debts. A month later, Walter gave his wife a liferent of £300 per annum of his lands of Tullichintaul in Luss, which he made binding upon his heir, whom he named as his brother William,[6] and by the following month he was dead.

We can clearly see that Walter's life formed two distinct phases. In the first part he lived the life of a fairly typical Highland Laird of moderate means. He effectively lived from

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[1]Boswell, J., *Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763*; p. 215

[2]Karras, A.L., *Sojourners in the Sun, Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and in the Chesapeake, 1740-1800.* (Cornell University Press, 1992) pp. 51-2

[3]Boswell, J., *Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763*; pp. 215-216

[4]*The Scots Magazine* and the Cash book of William MacFarlane of Portsburgh, W.S. Quoted in MacFarlane, J., *A History of the Clan MacFarlane* p. 132

[5]Hill Coll. *MacFarlane Muniments* No. 66

[6]Fraser, W., *The Cartulary of Colquhoun* p. 205

hand to mouth much of the time, borrowing from one source to pay back a debt from another. In 1742, his mother even had to release him from his obligation to pay her an annuity out of the Arrochar lands which had been part of her marriage settlement.[1] He lived among his people much of the time, he knew their language, he held court with them and he helped them in their times of need. The Jacobite Rebellion and more particularly the death of his wealthy brother in the middle of the century changed all of that. The Hanoverian Regime intended to crush, once and for all, all remnants of clanship and it was made abundantly clear to the Scottish upper and middle classes that they were either with or against the government in this venture. There was no longer any middle ground. The message was not lost on Walter, whose new found wealth was put to good use as he embarked upon a far more robust programme of commercial and economic reform on his estates than he had ever attempted before; most notably he introduced sheep walks and dispensed with the services of tacksman class. He spent ever increasing periods away from his estates, giving fresh meaning to the term 'conspicuous consumption' as he attempted to become fully assimilated into the "Anglo-Scottish landed classes."[2] But the fact that his socially aspirant efforts resulted in eventual failure was not so much a consequence of his financial embarrassment, as much as it was probably the ultimate realisation that he did not really belong there. In the somewhat schizophrenic battle that raged within Walter between the Highland laird and urban savant, the former ultimately proved victorious. He could have driven his estates unrelentingly into bankruptcy in order to satisfy his young wife's social ambitions as others might have done. To his credit he chose not to.

[1]Hill Coll. *MacFarlane Muniments* No. 65

[2]Macinnes, A.I. *From Clanship to Commerce* p.233

CHAPTER 8

"Notoriously Bankrupt and Utterly Insolvent:"[1]

Out with the Old and in with the New

From 1767, until the end of the century the lands of Arrochar would be held by two very different lairds. Unlike the situation for most other Highland estates of this time, very little primary documentation has survived to illustrate much of their day to day activities, but some information on the overall trends can be obtained from the archaeological remains. This chapter intends to look at both these sources together to try and build up a clearer picture of the estate and its community as they finally and conclusively divest the last elements of Highland clanship to become totally immersed in commercial practices.

When Walter MacFarlane of that Ilk died in June 1767, his late marriage having produced no heirs, his brother, Dr. William MacFarlane, inherited the lands of Arrochar by default. Like his grandfather, Andrew MacFarlane of Ardess, William was never intended to be chief. Consequently, he had made a career for himself as a hardworking chirurgeon, successively licensed by the burgesses of Glasgow, Rutherglen and Edinburgh to practice his skills in those towns.[2] He married a daughter of James Dewar of Vogrie, a wealthy Edinburgh merchant and landowner, and from the available evidence seems to have settled with his wife in this city.[3] At some point, with the money he made from his occupation, he was apparently able to purchase two small landholdings, one in Lanarkshire and the other in Berwickshire, most probably for his sons.[4] Like his grandfather before him, William too had matured into late adulthood unshackled by the fetters of the title of chief. Although an antiquarian of some standing like his brother, having struggled for half a century to amass a small personal

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[1]M.L.A. *Colquhoun Collection* T-CL Bundle 31, No 4 - Description of the last MacFarlane chief and his son taken from the decreet of sale of the Lands of Arrochar

[2]Glasgow and Rutherglen Burgess tickets in Hill Coll. *MacFarlane Muniments* Nos. 11 & 13 and Watson, C.B.B. [Ed], *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren 1701-1760* (Edinburgh, Scottish Record Society, 1930)

[3]N.A.S. GD 170/850 & N.L.S. MS 17519 f. 143

[4]Hay, C., *Memorial and Abstract of the Prepared State in the Process of Sale at the Instance of Hugh Mossman...against William MacFarlane, John MacFarlane Younger thereof, and their Creditors* - July 7, 1784 (Henceforth Hay, C., *Memorial*)

fortune through hard work at his chosen profession, it is doubtful that he possessed anything of the patriarchal spirit Walter had spent most of live subverting in his own character.

It is not altogether clear how much time William actually spent in Arrochar, once he inherited; a later clan historian has concluded that he was the definitive absentee landlord who left the clan "pretty much to its own resources."[1] He was at least present at his family seat to sign a bond dated "New Tarbet - 12th May, 1768" recording the loan of £300 sterling to William from Walter's old factor, the Rev. Duncan MacFarlane.[2] But other than this we only have two undated receipts, which may be tentatively dated from their contents to the early 1770s, which also place William at this address.[3] In his later years he seems to have left the day to day running of the estate to his able and competent daughter, Janet, as we shall see below.

From the letters of Andrew Erskine, dating from the early 1760s, it is clear that the house and grounds were already in quite a poor state by then, Walter's attentions having been apparently focussed elsewhere by that point. Erskine described the decline of the once magnificent mansion house and grounds in detail, noting that even with "so many bed-chambers in it" it could not "conveniently lodge above a dozen people," whilst the once "magnificent lake" outside was little more than "a dirty puddle."[4] The asset-stripping forestry sale transacted by his sister, Lady Betty, in 1767 would have only made the estate seem all the more destitute. It was against this not altogether promising backdrop that William inherited the estate.

In the early 1770s work began upon a large stable block, coach house and offices, located to the rear of the family mansion. The stables and coach house were demolished in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but the offices survive today as converted apartment accommodation. Fraser tells us that these buildings were all of a "considerable extent, all being of substantial and neat masonry."[5] This statement is certainly supported by the surviving building, shown in Plate 18. A conventional farm steading, with a datestone

[1]MacFarlane, J., *A History of the Clan MacFarlane* p. 140

[2]As appears on an inventory of writs in the possession of his son, also the Rev. Duncan MacFarlane, who became principal of Glasgow University and rector of Glasgow Cathedral in 1824, G.U.A. DC/9/22

[3]Unfortunately uncatalogued and without and access numbers, M.L.A. *Colquhoun Collection* T-CL Addt

[4]Boswell, J. & Erskine, A., *Letters between the Honourable Andrew Erskine and James Boswell Esq.* (London, Samuel Chandler, 1763) p. 24

[5]Fraser, W., *The Chiefs of Colquhoun and their Country* vol. II, p. 31

Plate 18 - View of 1774 farm steading built by William MacFarlane of that Ilk

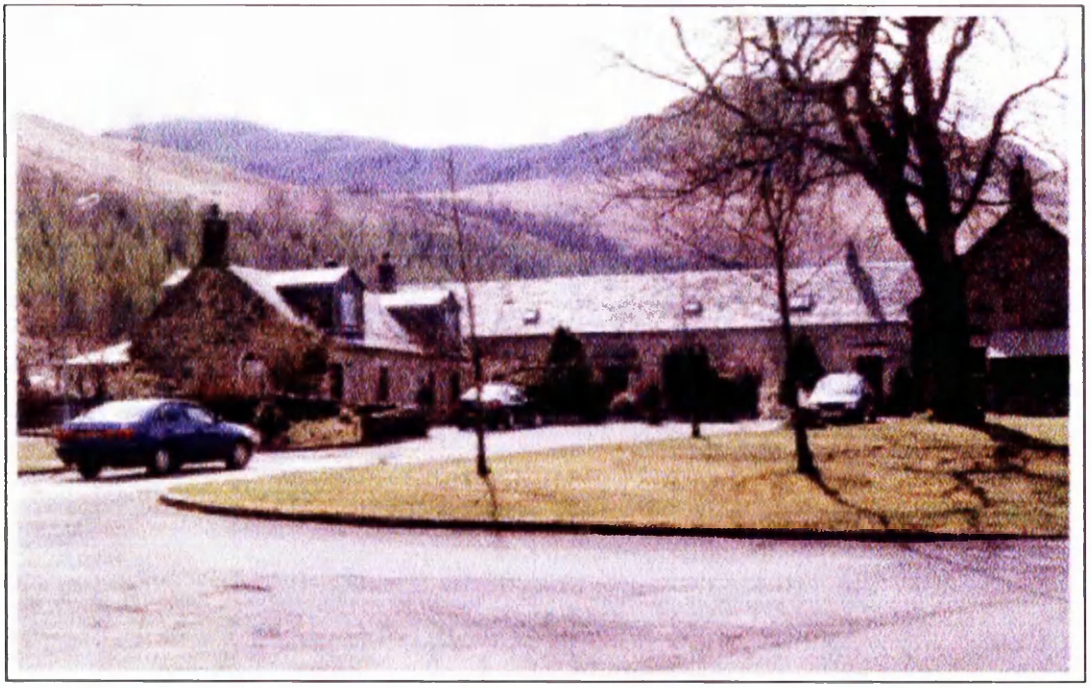
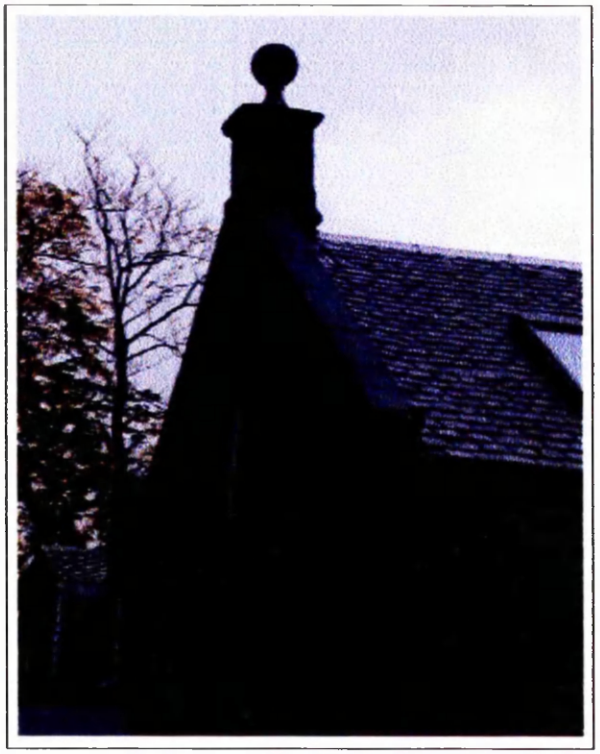


Plate 19 – Side view of same farm steading showing architectural details



bearing the inscription "1774," it was constructed with three conjoined blocks around an open courtyard. Its trim lines, stone finials and skews (See Plate 19) and considerable size would have required a large outlay of capital. To have committed such sums suggests that William intended to turn the declining fortunes of his estate around. It was probably to help alleviate the building costs that he was forced to sell part of the lands of Nether Arrochar, territory his brother had spent so long trying to buy in the 1730s, to a Glasgow merchant called George Syme in 1777.

It is hard to ascertain the exact nature of the further improvements William may have made to his estate as there is only one surviving rental from this time, taken in 1784 by the court appointed officers who had come to poind his property.[1] This does have its uses however, because it records that even by this late date William had at least 40 tacksmen for his comparatively small estate, more than half of which were not of the name MacFarlane. Most leases had been granted during William's tenure and were to last for periods ranging from 12 to 29 years, the majority being in the 15 to 19 years range. The tacks also show that most tenants, in addition to the payment of money, still paid a proportion of their rent in kind; only the most recently issued tacks had been given a fixed conversion rate for these goods, as the testimony of MacFarlane's tenants, as they came to prove their leases, revealed.[2]

This information is significant because it offers evidence of William MacFarlane's tenurial activities and reforms. It certainly appears that his brother Walter may have indeed introduced competitive bidding practices for tacks which would perhaps explain the abundance of non-MacFarlanes resident upon the estate. It also seems that William was attempting to reduce the amount of perishable produce he was receiving as rent payment, a logical move, as few Lowland builders probably accepted either butter or wedder lambs in payment for their services. He was also granting long leases which would have encouraged better farming practices upon his estate, with tenants more inclined to invest in their holdings with the security that it would be theirs' the next year. But all such improvement measures ultimately counted for nothing as his and his son's debts grew to immense proportions.

The first signs of real trouble appear to have emerged in January 1779 when William's Edinburgh lawyer, William MacEwan, wrote a letter to Patrick Campbell of

[1] In this situation it is usual practice to use a parish entry in the OSA to make generalisations about such trends and activities. In this case it would prove counter-productive because there is no way of knowing if the changes described came before or after the massive upheaval of landlord change which took place prior to its writing.

[2] M.L.A. *Colquhoun Collection* T-CL Bundle 31, No. 4 and Hay, C., *Memorial*

Ardchattan in which he estimated that the MacFarlanes' debt was approximately £80,000 sterling, while their assets were worth somewhere in the region of £156,107 and 15 shillings.[1] The problem was that only £22,863, plus change, represented Scottish assets, while the remainder was tied up in Jamaican estates on the other side of the Atlantic.[2] As touched upon in Chapter 6, plantation capital did not travel well nor quickly. To make a success of absentee landlordism in the colonies required a great deal of business savvy and acumen; skills sadly deficient between the two 18th century clan chiefs, Walter and William MacFarlane.

Inevitably the long list of creditors began to get edgy and began to press for their money. In March 1779, William voluntarily had a notary draw up a list of his creditors. In it he offered to turn over all of his assets, including the plantations with their "sugar works, lands, tenements, panns, negroes, cattle, mules" etc., into the care of several trustees who would run the estates solely to the effect of paying back every single debt.[3] The list of people William MacFarlane and son owed money to was long and geographically extensive, as can be seen in Appendix 4. The final sum reckoned to be owed to over 160 creditors was a staggering £89,661 and 8 shillings and 1/12 pence sterling, which if equated to today's money (2001) would amount to a little over an incredible £6,250,000.[4]

William's scheme of repayment was presumably deemed unacceptable by at least one of his creditors,[5] who initiated bankruptcy proceedings against him at the Court of Session in Edinburgh in late 1780. MacFarlane ignored a court summons in January the following year, so the judges ordered an independent creditor list be drawn up. This eventual list, once completed, apparently ran to over 300 pages in length.[6] Lord Gardenston, the presiding judge, ordered a comprehensive listing of all MacFarlane's assets, the result of which is discussed above. This appears to have taken a further three years to complete, due in no small measure to the efforts of the formidable Janet MacFarlane, the Laird's eldest daughter. She was staying at the family mansion when the officers sent to ascertain the rental values arrived.

[1]Taken from an unreferenced note in the research papers of the late Ronald MacFarlane OBE, now in the possession of Helensburgh District Library and awaiting cataloguing.

[2]Hay, C. *Memorial* p. 12

[3]N.A.S. RD 4/225/1

[4]Source - *Economic History Services Website,* http://www.eh.net/ehresources/howmuch/poundq.php (2001)

[5]Hugh Mossman, writer in Edinburgh, who was most likely piqued because he does not appear to be included on William's list of creditors.

[6]This list has unfortunately been misplaced/lost by the Mitchell Library Archive, so was unavailable for consultation.

She flatly refused any form of assistance to them and they were forced to take refuge in the only neutral territory they could find, the house of George Syme, by then called Stucgowan. When Janet discovered that all of her father's tenants were being called before them, she immediately proceeded to Syme's house and prevented those still to give evidence from any further co-operation with them. Much to the astonishment of the court officers, she physically removed the tenants' tacks, putting them in her pocket, before ordering them home![1]

In the end though, Janet's efforts only prolonged the inevitable, and her family's land was sold by public roup between 22 December 1784 and 10 August 1785. The lands of Arrochar fetched £28,000, over £8,000 up on their valuation, while their possessions in Berwickshire and Lanarkshire fetched £1,297 and £1,392 respectively. The sums raised did not come close to recompensing the creditors, so the Court of Session set in motion the sale of the Jamaican assets. This would be a slow process. The Arrochar Kirk Session Records recount that they were still receiving payments towards a bad debt, from Walter MacFarlane's time, in installments until October 1801.[2] The new owner of the Barony of Arrochar was an east coast improving laird from Fife and it is to this man's early activities that we now turn.

William Fergusson of Raith had inherited an extensive estate near Kirkcaldy from his uncle in the latter part of the 18th century.[3] Unlike the false pretensions of previous generations of MacFarlane lairds, Fergusson actually had a social standing amongst his Lowland peers, as reflected in a painting by Johann Zoffany completed not long after his accession to his lands (see Plate 20). Consequently, a purchase of this magnitude, where such a large outlay of capital was being put out for lands returning so little,[4] would have required very careful consideration of Arrochar's potential for major commercial re-development. This was no doubt made much easier by Fergusson having absolutely no connections to the Highlands or the MacFarlane clan whatsoever, leaving him free from any last lingering social obligations which may have fettered the final MacFarlane chiefs as they had attempted to improve their estates. The new owner was a straightforward, no-nonsense commercial entrepreneur. His lands were a commodity to be exploited for all of their worth. With no

[1]M.L.A. *Colquhoun Collection* T-CL Bundle 31, p. 61

[2]N.A.S. CH2 445/2

[3]Ferguson, J. & Fergusson, R.M., *Records of the Clan and Name of Fergusson, Ferguson and Fergus* (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1895) pp. 312-3

[4]The findings of the court officers declared that the lands produced £662, 5 shillings and 4 & 11/12 pence per annum free rent - Hay, C., *Memorial* p. 5

Plate 20 - Portrait of William Fergusson of Raith and friends celebrating his accession to his estates (Fergusson pictured on extreme left), Johann Zoffany, c.1780 (Private Collection)

Plate 21 - Photograph of Tigh na Clach settlement, c.1895 (Courtesy of Mr Parlane MacFarlane)

Plate 22 - View of settlement of Tigh na Clach (foreground), c. 1895 (Author's personal collection).

intention of settling at New Tarbet, which paled into insignificance by comparison with Raith House, one of his earliest acts was to set it in tack to the Duke of Argyll, who used it initially as a stopover on his trips southwards, before converting it into an inn shortly afterwards.[1] This lease, of £110 per annum, was more than a sixth of the *total* rental of the estate just two years previously. Such a rise would have given cause for reflection, accordingly Fergusson turned his attentions to the rest of his new estate, and its many tenants.

The lands of Arrochar were at this time, like the rest of the Highlands, still dominated by small individual farming townships, or *baile*, as they were known in Gaelic. These small-holdings were an institutionalised feature of Highland life, continually occupied throughout the centuries but seen by the improvers as something of an anachronism by this late date. Each township was traditionally rented directly from the chief by a tacksman, who in turn most often sub-let portions of their land with a home to sub-tenants. The inhabitants of such settlements operated a mixed economy of pastoral and agricultural activity, most often with a heavier reliance placed upon the former. Prior to the mid 18th century their staple crops were 'bere,' a low yielding cereal of the barley variety, and oats; the cultivation of both of which was gradually reduced and replaced by the potato upon its introduction to the Highlands, traditionally thought to have begun in South Uist in 1743.[2] Each township's livestock holdings generally consisted of a herd of black cattle, trade in which had seen a remarkable growth in the late 17th century, a few sheep, goats, hens and a some horses. The tenants employed a system of transhumance, taking their animals up to the hill pastures in the harvest months to prevent damage to the young crops. The roots of the demise of this system of joint tenancy farming has sparked something of an academic debate in recent years over the traditionally perceived view that the practices and methods employed by the *baile* economy were both conservative and static by the late 18th century. Dodgshon suggests that this was not the case, but that the system exhibited signs of a more fluid and changeable nature from the early 17th century onwards.[3] Regardless of the initial causes of the decline, historians are in agreement however, that the Scottish improving movement, which really began to accelerate initially in the Lowlands after 1750, saw the practice as an anathema; an impediment to the development of productive and profitable agriculture. The result was the eventual and utter eradication of the shared tenant township, in favour of the single tenant

[1]Dated 02/01/1787 - M.L.A. T-CL Addt Bundle 14

[2]Macinnes, A.I., *From Clanship to Clearance* p. 221

[3]Dodgshon, R.A. *From Chief to Landlords* pp. 159-196

farm. This movement spread rapidly across Scotland and would ultimately result in the period emotively referred to as "The Clearances."

The significance and development of the *baile* system in north Loch Lomondside is difficult to assess throughout the period under study, due to the lack of extant rentals. The system's dominance is however revealed from placename evidence on charters, bonds, legal summonses, etc., which show that around two dozen sites were continuously occupied throughout the period, and from older maps it is possible to identify these sites' locations (see Figure 2). The surviving ruins unfortunately rarely exhibit any surface evidence obviously predating the 18th century, but they can tell us a great deal about that time. The nature and size of many of these individual holdings can be better seen in the surveys carried out, using the taped offset method, of several of the better preserved examples and shown in Figures 7 to 10.

These surveys revealed that the biggest of these sites could probably comfortably support perhaps, at most, two dozen people. The most notable feature of several of the MacFarlane townships is the addition of a large stockyard, which emphasises their particular reliance upon pastoral activities. Most of the buildings surveyed were of a longhouse construction typical to the West Highlands, but only one possessed any discernible internal feature; a milk or dairy store built into the corner of one of the buildings at the settlement of Blairstainge. The obvious separation of the longhouse at Stuc na Cloich from the main cluster of the settlement by both distance and a stone escarpment tends to suggest that this may have been the tacksman's own home. Both of these last named settlement sites are also noticeable for the addition of substantial corn drying kilns upon which their tenants could dry their grain before taking it to the chief's mill at either Porchaible or Inverioch. All of the settlements identified were situated either near or on passing waterways, while only Blairstainge showed signs of having regulated its water supply by use of artificial underground channels. The archaeological surveys of the Association of Certified Field Archaeologists and Dr. David Starbuck and his team, as well as the work of local historian John Mitchell, have revealed that the hills above these settlements are overspread with the scattered remains of transhumance sites, or shielings, to which these people took their animals in the summer months.[1] This then was the landscape which greeted the arrival of a new laird.

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[1]Mitchell, J., *The Shielings and Droveways of Loch Lomondside* (Stirling, Monument Press, 2000) & Starbuck, D.R., *An Archaeological Survey...*

Figure 7 - Plan of ruined settlement of Stuc na Cloich (completed using taped offset method).

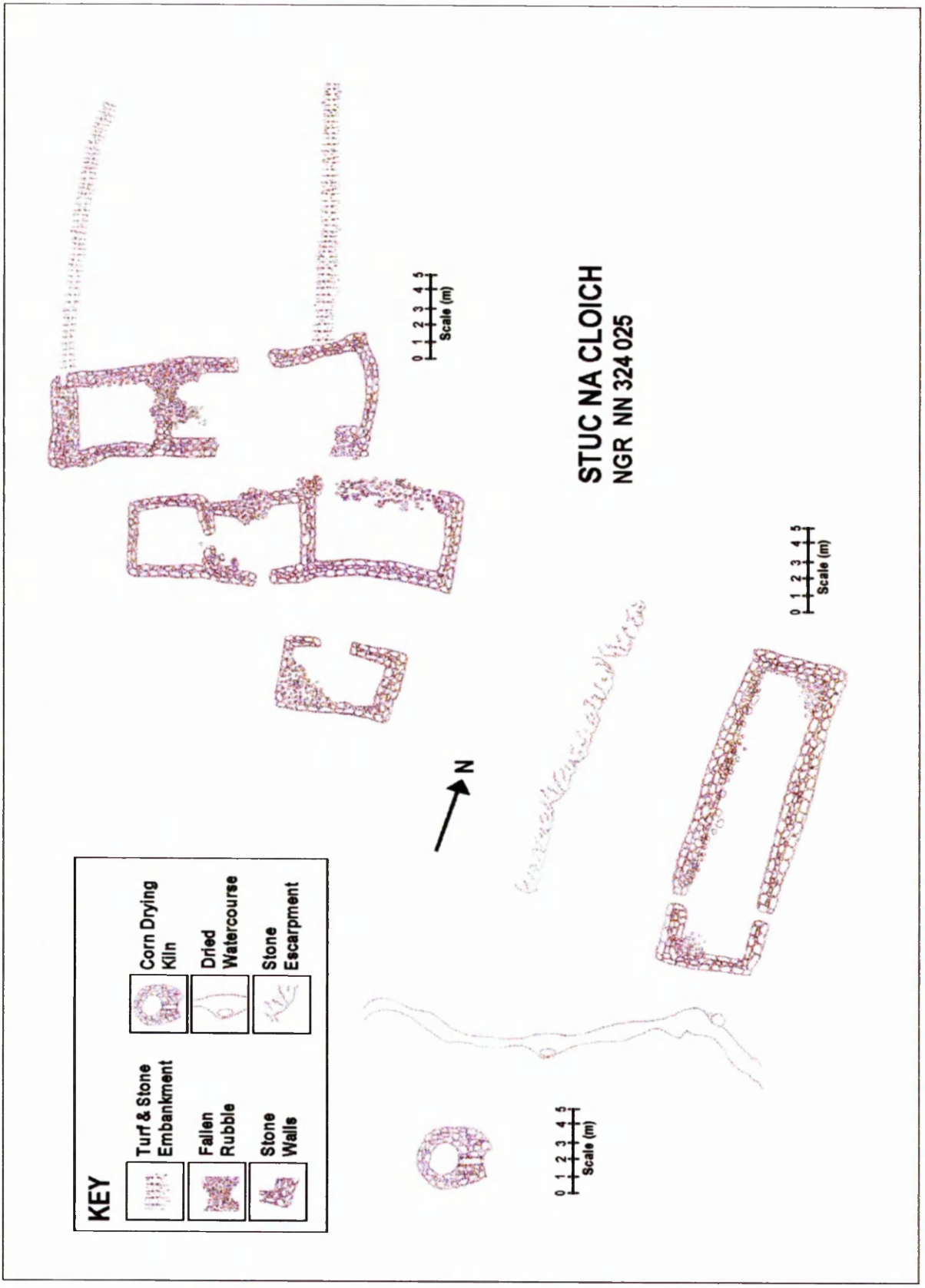


Figure 8 - Plan of ruined settlement of Blairstainge (completed using taped offset method).

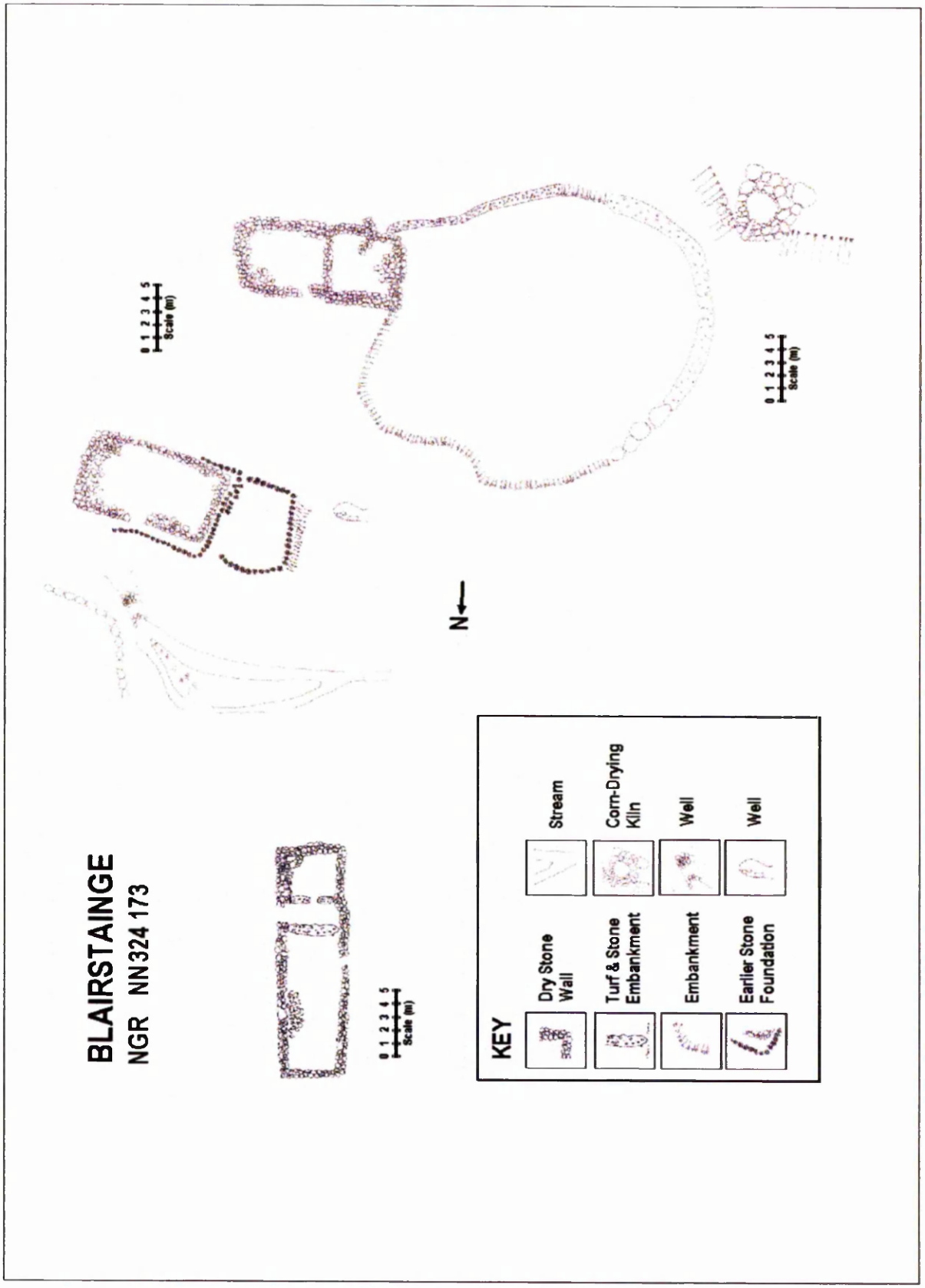


Figure 9 - Plan of ruined settlement of Ardleish (completed using taped offset method).

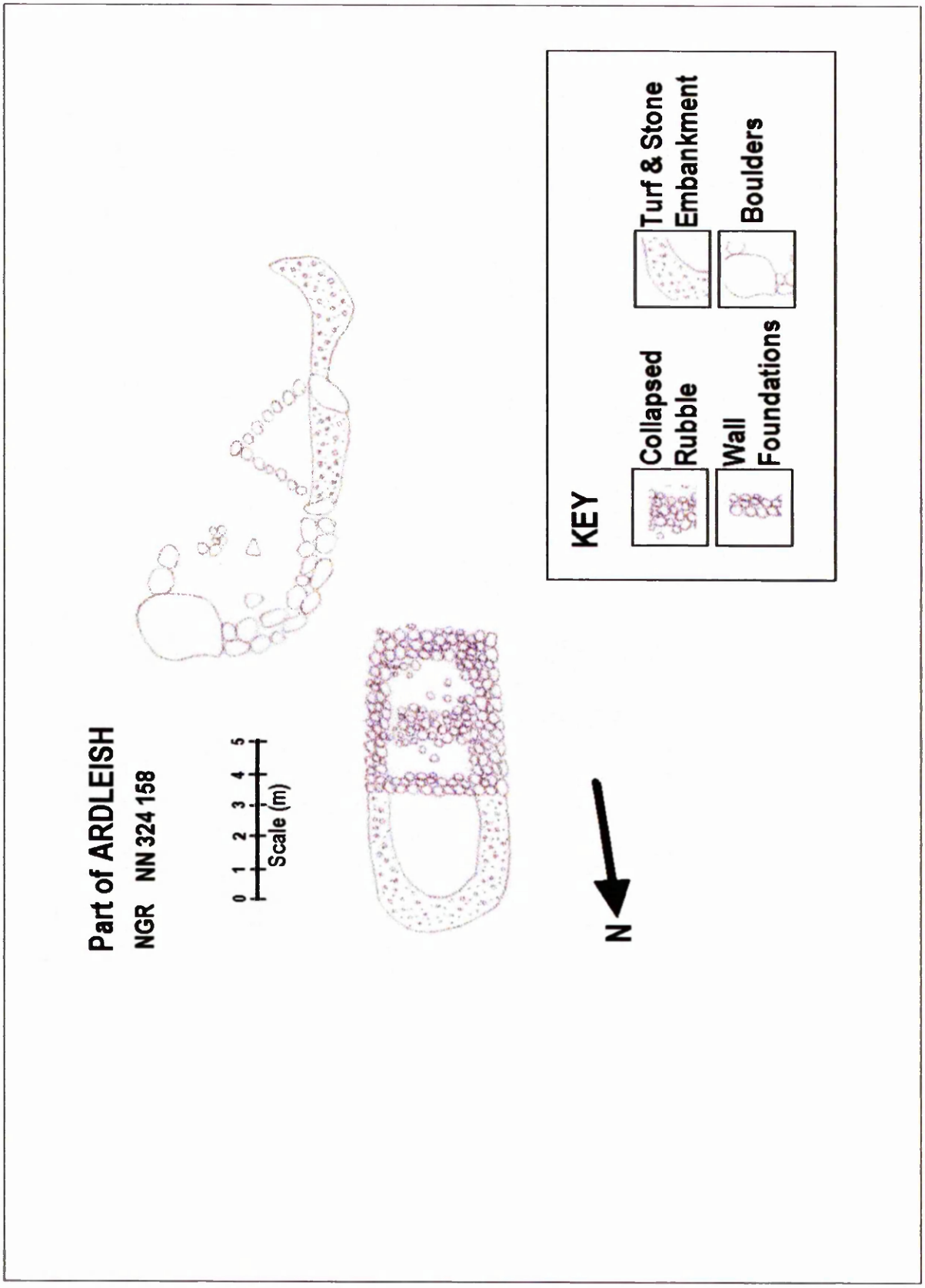
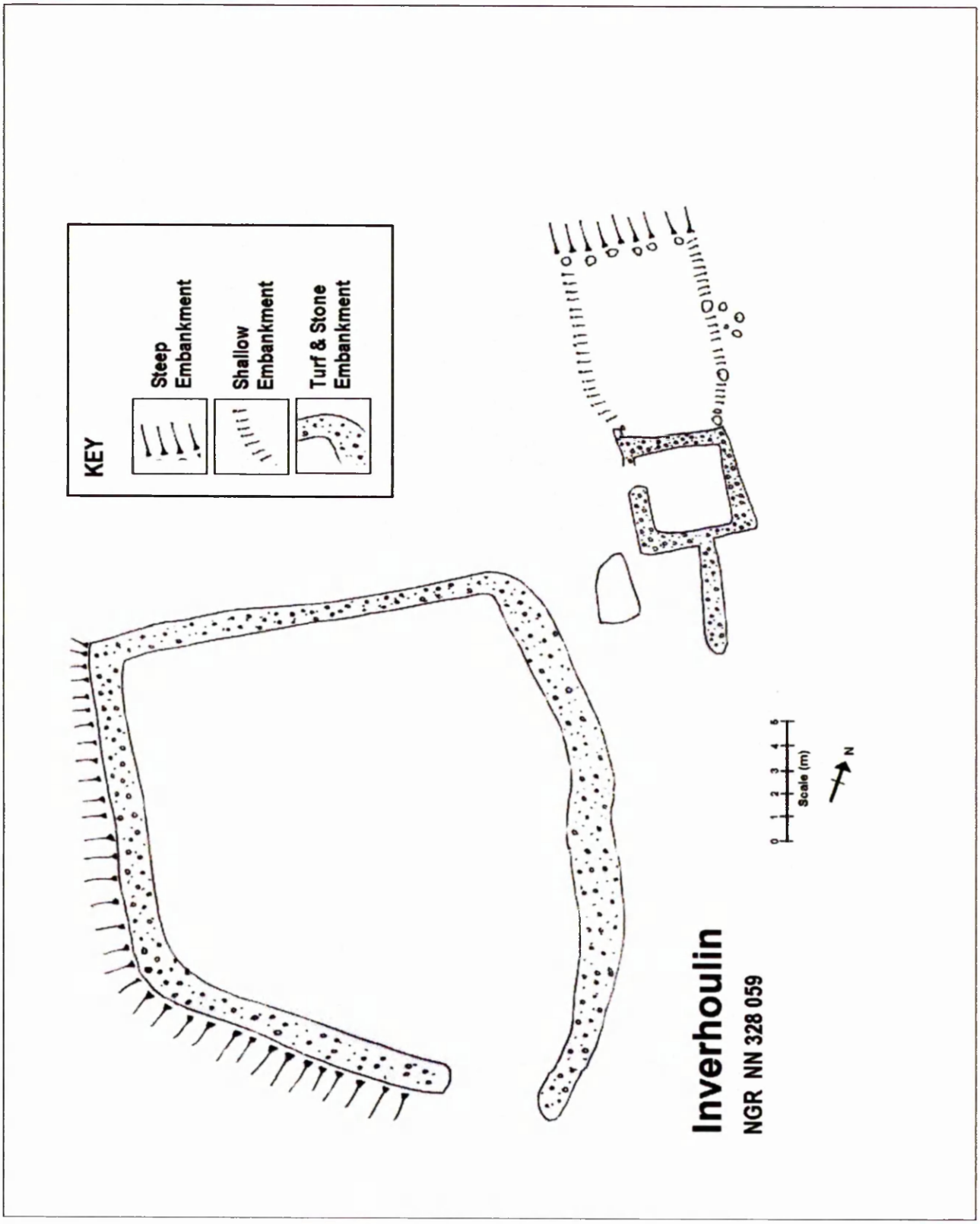


Figure 10 - Plan of ruined settlement of Inverhoulin (completed using taped offset method)



The eventual sale of the Arrochar lands by William Fergusson's son, less than forty years later, meant that few records relating to the period have survived. Amongst these we are fortunate to have two handwritten surveys of the estate, one from c.1807, the other from c.1812.[1] In these, we can clearly see the developments which had taken place over the previous twenty five years or so since purchase. It is immediately clear that most of the joint tenant farms, identified on Figure 2 and discussed above, had been reorganised into single tenant occupancy; with three, four and sometimes five farms being joined together as one. This had led to a huge increase in rental income for the landlord. The earliest of the two surveys warns that the way to continue this trend was to give a tack of the largest farms only to a gentleman farmer possessing capital of between £4,000 and £5,000, as:

> A man who is obliged to borrow money to pay a great part of the Cattle he purchases, labours under great disadvantages, especially if, owing to one or two bad seasons, he suffers any severe losses.[2]

This survey also records the writer's dismay at the still prevalent practice of sub-letting of small pockets of land on the shores of Loch Long. He believed that the landlord should be the only individual who leased out land, as two, or in this case at least five, sub-lets would only prejudice the tenants by making them pay higher rents than their lands were actually worth. He also recommends that the last remaining hill farms be turned over into sheep walks, as this practice had already proved so beneficial in the others, as well as the introduction of a fishing station on a promontory jutting into Loch Long. The other survey gives a complete account of each farm on the estate; of particular interest are the remarks on the two townships of Stuc na Cloich and Blairstainge. These farms are described as long since turned over to sheep walks with their buildings already showing signs of decay, and starting to disappear.

The observations made in these documents are significant in several ways. They illustrate the forced gradual abandonment of the traditional settlements, as they were turned over to sheep pasture. They show that in spite of the loss of these townships the practice of sub-letting lingered on, at least in part. Most importantly they account for the rise of the modern village of Arrochar. As the members of the clan were moved off the hills the

[1] M.L.A. *Colquhoun Collection* T-CL Addt Bundles 5 & 14

[2] *Ibid.* Bundle 14

evidence suggests that they were able to get tacks of single "houses and pendicles" around Loch Long. The settlements of Tigh na Clach, Ardeich, Teighness and Murelaggan, which sat on either side of the old Laird's mansion house at Inverioch, grew in size until they joined together by the mid 19th century; by which time around a dozen large villas had been built by wealthy merchant families. Plates 21 and 22 show the settlement of Tigh na Clach as it was c.1885, with its later 18th century longhouses still occupied and intact. These would ultimately be demolished in the early 20th century.[1]

The sale of the Arrochar estates in 1784 brought to an end nearly six centuries of titled possession of this land in one family's hands. William MacFarlane, having been predeceased by all of his sons, maintained his chiefly dignities until he died in 1791; being buried in Glasgow Cathedral under his personal armorial bearings.[2] His daughter Janet, and granddaughter Margaret-Elizabeth, would visit their family lands many times, most frequently staying as guests of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, who referred to the formidable old lady as "The chief."[3] However, the ownership of the lands by a MacFarlane were gone forever. It is to be regretted that William's tenure as chief, like that of his grandfather, has become noted only for the accumulation of enormous debts. There is evidence to suggest that he attempted to turn the estate into a more profitable concern; and it was this process which would be continued by the new landlord, an improver from the east coast, with an eye only for the bottom line in his account books. Between the two of them, these lairds would ultimately conclude the process of clanship to commerce in this community on the edge of Gaeldom.

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[1]I am grateful for the permission of Mr. Parlane MacFarlane for the permission to use the picture featured in Plate 21, Plate 22 is from the author's own collection.

[2]This had disappeared by 1849 when the Rev. Principal Duncan MacFarlane wrote to the cathedral authorities for permission to replace it. - G.U.A. DC/9/696

[3]Fraser, W. *The Chiefs of Colquhoun and their Country* p. 101

Conclusion

> I write this on my tour through a country where savage streams tumble over savage mountains, thinly overspread with savage flocks, which starvingly support as *savage inhabitants.*[1]

It is without doubt the single greatest irony in the history of the clan MacFarlane that they should be called "savages" at a time when they were undoubtedly the most "civilised" they had been throughout their entire existence. This single line of invective, written by Scotland's national bard, towards the end of an unhappy (and unprofitable) publicity tour in the western Highlands in the late summer of 1787, neatly summarises the ultimate result of two centuries of cultural and social change, which witnessed the gradual replacement of a community with a commercial enterprise.

Historians such as Ian Whyte, R.A. Dodgshon an A.I. Macinnes have provided national and regional models to explain and account for much of the social, cultural and economic transformation which took place over these centuries. Their observations and assertions need to be tested, by their own admission, by a series of individual case studies. This work has attempted to provide exactly that. By examining the clan MacFarlane through its archaeological and historical remains it has been possible to question many of the themes and trends identified in these national and regional histories.

For example, historians may be correct in asserting that many Highland clans of c.1570 "perceived themselves at the centre of their own world" when they were in fact in the process of "being firmly placed at the margin of someone else's."[2] They should be careful however not to labour this point too strongly. This study has shown that while many clans did use their geographic seclusion as a shield from censure, reproach and even revenge throughout the 16th century and earlier, by the end of the century this option was becoming increasingly impracticable. Similarly vexing is the question of the so called "Highland Problem." Contention rages about both the contemporary *perception* and *actuality* of the problem. There is also a debate as to whether the crown actually possessed the capability to

[1]Robert Burns, Letter to Robert Ainslie from Arrochar, June 25th 1787 in Ferguson, J.De Lancey *The Letters of Robert Burns* 2 vol (2nd Ed edited by Roy, G.R.) - (Clarendon Press; Oxford, 1985) p. 124 [my italics]

[2]Goodare J. & Lynch, M., 'The Scottish State and its Borderlands' in Goodare, J. & Lynch, M. [Eds.], *The Reign of James VI* p. 205

effect its desired radical reform of the Highlands, and then there is even some disagreement as to why the clans concerned eventually acquiesced to these cultural impositions. Looking at the specific history and archaeology of the clan MacFarlane has provided information which contributes much of value to these general discussions.

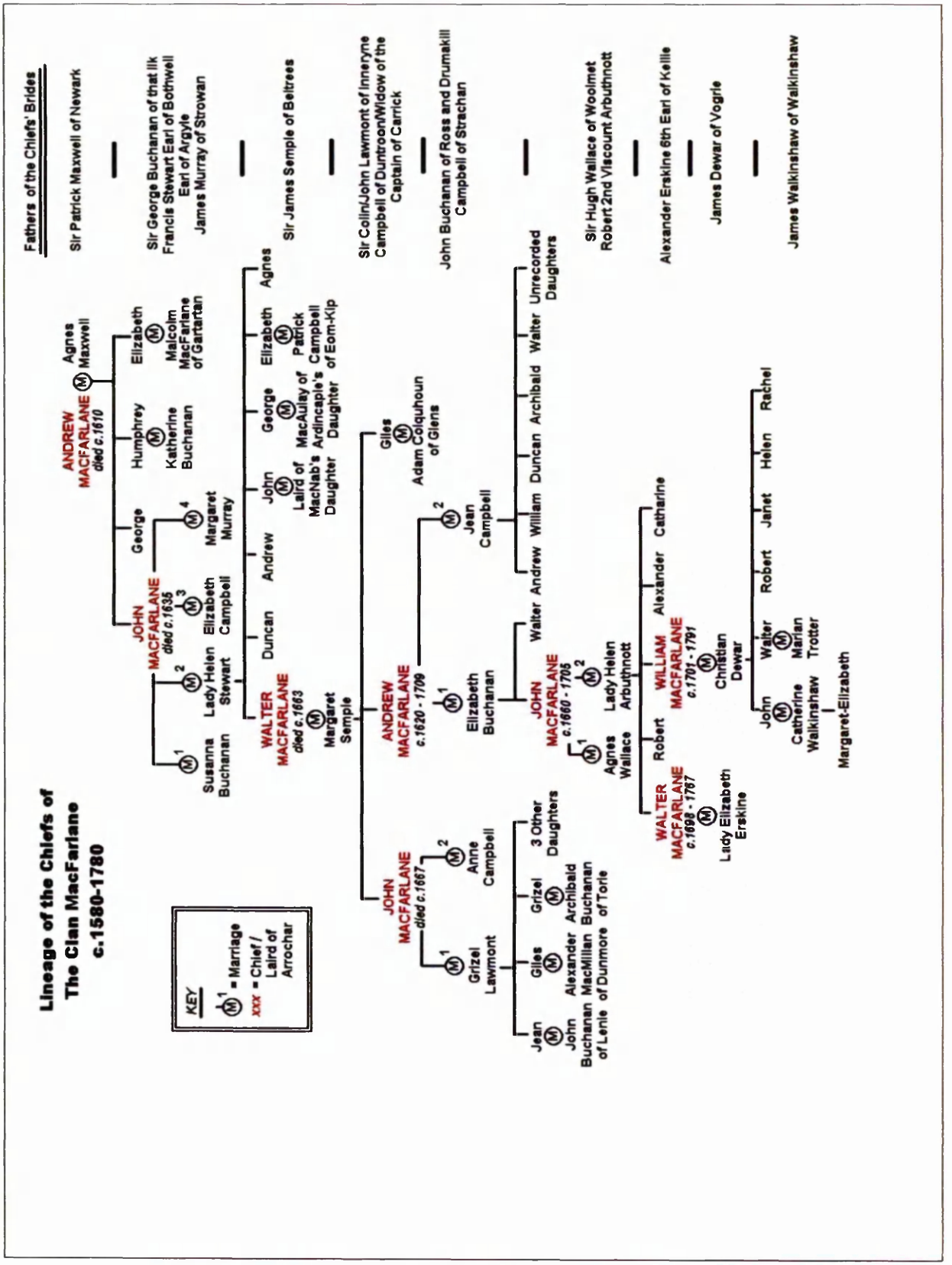
The evidence related in *Barbarous, and yet mixed with some show of civilitie...* has corroborated a theme central to the works of Dodgshon and Macinnes, namely that the "Highland Problem" was as exaggerated contemporaneously as it has been in the intervening centuries. They recognised that the uncritical acceptance of this hyperbole has coloured the majority of the literature on the Highlands, and have set out to dispel such notions. Dodgshon's attempts to prove the existence of a rigid socio-political system which cemented Highland society together through the control of food production and consumption, have been quite convincing in making the case for a far more stable society in *Gaidhealtachd* than that traditionally portrayed or accepted. Both historians build heavily upon the work of Malcolm Gray, who first mooted the idea of a more fertile and therefore stable 'Southern Highlands' in his seminal work back in 1957.[1] These authors do not deny that Gaelic society was violent and bloody at times, but offer the opinion that this was a difference of degrees to the neighbouring Lowlands. This accords neatly with the views of Keith Brown, who rejects Julian Goodare's assertions that Highlanders had to be coerced into ceasing their hostile practices. Brown seems to be the first historian to make the astonishing suggestion that maybe, just maybe, late medieval-early modern Scots sometimes preferred peace to warfare! It seems incredible that such a simple and fundamental notion, that the Gaels could have contemplated the possibility that a season's farming and trading was far more beneficial to their families and communities than a season spent fighting, should have been dismissed for so long.

Throughout the period under scrutiny several of the MacFarlane clan chiefs exhibited an excellent grasp of the developing national political and social situation within which their clan was becoming more heavily embroiled with each passing year. Their sagacity is reflected in the nature of their various activities and their surviving remains, which, when interpreted together, reflect the stable and economically buoyant society which existed in north Loch Lomondside; which traditional accounts massively fail to acknowledge. As their community prospered they were quick to appreciate that it was in their best interests,

[1]Gray, M. *The Highland Economy 1750-1850* (Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1957)

financially and socially, to work with the government and its initiatives and not against it. They did not need to be coerced, the rewards were plain to see. Consequently there followed approximately two centuries of state sponsored, rather than imposed, cultural transformation, as MacFarlane chiefs gradually dispensed with traditional patriarchal obligations in favour of more commercial practices; a process hopefully made a little clearer by the preceding paper.

APPENDIX 1 - The Lineage of the Chief of the Clan MacFarlane



APPENDIX 2 - A list of "the bestiall, and guidis, and geir spoilzeit be the Macfarlanes fra the Lard of Lus his tennents, and profits alswa the prices of the samyn as thai are reclamit in the zeires 1590-1594"[1]

1590	***lib.***	***s.***	***d.***
5 horse, price	126	6	8
2 staiggis	20	0	0
21 meires & 11 fallowers	625	6	8
21 ky	248	0	0
5 oxen	62	0	0
20 sheep	25	0	0

1591	***lib.***	***s.***	***d.***
8 horse	148	0	0
2 staiggis	20	0	0
15 meires & 3 fallowers	197	6	8
26 ky	322	13	4
11 oxen	138	0	0
68 sheep	102	0	0

1592	***lib.***	***s.***	***d.***
7 horse	436	0	0
2 staiggis	26	13	4
13 meires & 5 fallowers	262	0	0
34 ky	357	0	0
10 oxen	140	0	0
44 sheep	95	0	0

1593	***lib.***	***s.***	***d.***
1 horse	20	0	0
1 staiggis	10	0	0
3 meires	36	13	4
4 ky	46	0	0
4 oxen	56	0	0
8 sheep	12	0	0

1594	***lib.***	***s.***	***d.***
4 horse	96	13	4
1 staig	6	13	4
20 mares	197	13	4
37 ky	385	0	0
10 oxen	132	0	0
14 sheep	21	0	0

Total Sum of Losses over the Period 1590-4	**4371**	**0**	**0**

[1]Fraser, W., *The Chiefs of Colquhoun,* Volume I, p. 152 and continued on p. 170

APPENDIX 3 - "Inventar or list of the propper debts & soummes resting be the Laird of McFarlane be his Creditors and undertaken to be payed be John McFarlane his sone Conforme to the right & dispostitione of the lands & estate of Arroquhair & the lands of Ardashe made be his father to him of the date heirof" Dated 21 July, 1686 (W.H. Hill Coll, 98.2)

(_____) signifies that either illegible or missing text

1	Laird of MacFarlane, his children of the second marriage	4000 - 00 - 00
2	Ja[mes] Colquhoune of Glenns	2233 - 06 - 08
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent [interest] resting thereof	335 - 00 - 00
3	Jo[h]n Grahame of dougalstoune	3466 - 13 - 04
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	520 - 00 - 00
4	Mr Archibald _____eith	733 - 06 - 08
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	110 - 00 - 00
5	Mr Patrick Sympsone	666 - 13 - 04
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	100 - 00 - 00
6	Thomas Walker, sheriff clerk of dumbartane	533 - 06 - 08
	fyve yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	176 - 00 - 00
7	James Elphingstoune in dumbartane	666 - 13 - 04
	two yeares & ane quarters ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	90 - 00 - 00
8	Issobel Sympsone Indweller in Glasgow	666 - 13 - 04
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	100 - 00 - 00
9	Mr _____ Baille in Glasgow	666 - 13 - 04
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	100 - 00 - 00
10	Andersone of dowhill	666 - 13 - 04
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	100 - 00 - 00
11	The relict & representatives of Niniane Anderson in Glasgow	1000 - 00 - 00
		666 - 13 - 04
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	250 - 00 - 00
12	Campbell of Kilberrie	733 - 06 - 08
	one yeare & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting th/ereof	66 - 00 - 00
13	W[illia]m Stewart	666 - 13 - 04
	halfe an yeares ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	20 - 00 - 00
14	Cockburne of [?]piltoune	133 - 06 - 08
	thrie yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	28 - 00 - 00
15	James McFarlane of Keithtoune	240 - 00 - 00
	sex yeares ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	86 - 08 - 00
16	Mr Robert Mitchell	100 -00 - 00
	two yeares ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	12 - 00 - 00
17	Janet McHutchesoune at Luss	66 - 13 - 04
	thrie yeares ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	12 - 00 - 00
18	Duncan Fisher in Inverary	100 - 00 - 00
	thrie yeares ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	18 - 00 - 00
19	W[illia]m govane of drumquhassell	266 - 13 - 04
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	40 - 00 - 00

20	Edward Govane sometyme in Glasgow	60 - 00 - 00
	four yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	16 - 04 - 00
21	Jo[h]n Cunynghame of drumboy	333 - 06 - 08
	ane year & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	30 - 00 - 00
22	Jo[h]n McFarlane in Tarbert	266 - 13 - 04
	ane year & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	24 - 00 - 00
23	the representatives of Adame ?Hunkater	200 - 00 - 00
	fyve yeares ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	60 - 00 - 00
24	John Buchanane in Stirling	66 - 13 - 04
	ane year & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	6 - 00 - 00
25	the aires of W[illia]m Kirk or James Rae in Glasgow	266 - 13 - 04
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	40 - 00 - 00
26	Margaret Broadie widow	60 - 00 - 00
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	9 - 00 - 00
27	the representatives of Jo[h]n McKean in Glasgow	50 - 00 - 00
	ane year & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	7 - 10 - 00
28	_____ _____	90 - 00 - 00
	ane year & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	7 - 18 - 00
29	Donald Leitch	66 -13 - 04
	ane year & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	6 - 00 - 00
30	the representatives of Duncane McFarlane of Gortane	66 - 13 - 04
	fifteine yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	62 - 00 - 00
31	Laird of Arnepryor	80 - 00 -00
	ane year & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	7 - 04 - __
32	Archibald Buchanane of Torrie	48 - 00 - __
33	William Cunynghame in dumbartane	66 - 13 - __
	ten yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	42 - 00 - __
34	Jo[h]n Naper in Glasgow	109 - 00 - __
	two yeares & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	16 - 05 - __
35	The aires of Thomas Garvine	115 - 00 - __
	ane year & ane halfes ann[ua]l rent resting thereof	10 - 07 - __
36	Jo[h]n McFarlane in Glendochart	866 - 13 - __
37	Jo[h]n McFarlane in Glenlung	400 - 00 - __
37	Donald Govane in Glasgow	60 - 00 - __
		24268 - 02 - 08

APPENDIX 4 - List of creditors of William MacFarlane of that Ilk, and his son John, drawn up by the former. Dated 13 March, 1779 (National Archives RD4/225/1 [PP649-673])

( ) signifies that a space was left on blank original

1	Mark Davis, Bristol	13,000
2	Hugh McInnes of Ormiston	10,000
3	John Gringle of Haining	2, 500
4	Royal Bank of Scotland	5,000
5	Gilbert Laurie of Polmine	2,000
6	[Thompson] Messrs Mansfield Ramsay & Co, Bankers, Edinb^{r}	1,600
7	Bank of Scotland	1,500
8	James Bouchier, London	2,000
9	Capt David Brodie at Balp	2,200
10	Mr Tho^{s} Javier there	2,000
11	Dr William Laing, Physician, Edinb^{r}	1,400
12	Mrs Mary Douglas, exec of David Walter Adv^{t}	1,200
13	Duncan Graham at Lauriston	1,200
14	Mrs Shaw widow of John Shaw upholsterer Edinburgh	1,100
15	Capt Alexander Hart, Regiment of Foot	1,000
16	Thomas Rigg of Morton	1,000
17	Dr John Rutherford, Physician, Edinburgh	1,000
18	Thomas Gibson one of the princ^{l} Clerks of Session	1,000
19	Lady Charlotte Erskine widow of Thomas Erskine of Alloa	1,000
20	Col Robert Campbell of ?Phinat	1,000
21	Alexander Campbell, London (late of Calcutta)	1,000
22	Alexander Alison late deputy cashier of excise	1,000
23	John Carmichael at Calcutta	1,000
24	Alan Arbuthnot of Kirkbraehead	1,500
25	John Eiston Writer in Edinb^{r}	1,500
26	James Kerr in Blackshield	700
27	Dr Robert Bell Min^{r} of the Old English Chapell, Edinb^{r}	700
28	Lieut John Arbuthnot of the Hamilton Regiment	700
29	Dr Colin Drummond, physician in Bristol	620
30	Sir William Forbes, Ja^{s} hunter Esq and Co	741 - 14 - 04
31	James ?Drummond at Stirling for Mr Alexander, late purser in the Navy	600
32	James Home Rigg of ?Gamieshiells	500
33	John Graham of Duchry	503 - 11 - 2 9/12
34	John Livingston at Parkhall	500
35	Wilkinson of Chesterhall	500
36	Mrs Watson	
37	Mrs Scott	500
38	Dr Robert Innes, physician in Edinb^{r}	500
39	Alexander Keith of Ravelston	500
40	The children of the late William Murray, upholsterer	500
41	Alexander Graham of Duntroon	500

42	Dr Shaw, late of Montserrat	500
43	James Dewar Mer[t] in Edinb[r]	594 - 12 - 05 ½
44	William McEwen, Writer in Edinb[r] Factor of the Creditors of Greenhall	500
45	Arch[d] Stewart M[c]Arthur Esq[r]	500
46	Ja[s] Douglas Watson, late of Edrington	500
47	William Spott of Janefield	480
48	Capt James Taylor at Queensferry	400
49	Heirs of the deceast William MacFarlane of Kirkton	450
50	John Lindsay at Cotbridge	400
51	Mrs Straton at Montrose	400
52	James Lauder of Carrolside	400
53	William Jonlach in Dunbar	400
54	William bertram, Merchant in Edinb[r]	400
55	John Campbell, Writer there	400
56	John Campbell, Writer there (?possibly an error in transcription by the clerk)	400
57	James Falconer of Monkton	430
58	Sir Robert Dalyelland Mrs Nairn	300
59	Alexander Reid at Anstruther	300
60	Mr George, miller in the Abbey	300
61	Mrs Moabray residinf in Edinb[r]	300
62	William Pillans at Leith	300
63	Andrew Gray at Dalhousie	350
64	Mrs Lynette Walkinshaw	300
65	George Innes of Stow	300
66	Children of Ruddiman	300
67	Miss Mary Robertson dau[t] of George Robinson [sic] of Craiginall	300
68	Mrs Mary Lyon, dau[t] of the deceast Lyon min[r] at Tannadyce	300
69	Lady Bankton widow of Lord Bankton	300
70	Mrs Campbell of Baltimore	316
71	The ?still Bank of Glasgow	350
72	Alexander Anderson at Currie	300
73	James Burnet of Wheethope	300
74	Alexander Torrence at Borthwick mains	300
75	Duncan MacFarlane, Min[r] of Drymen	300
76	Mrs Dalgliesh	250
77	Miss Bertram	250
78	Dr Hugh Blair Min[r] of the Gospel in Edinb[r]	200
79	Mrs Dickie relict of John Dickie, writer to the Signet	200
80	Miss Boyle	200
81	George Carfrae at ?Haprig	200
82	Mrs Lester at Dolphinton	200
83	John Brown at Carnwath	200
84	Mrs Ann Binning	200
85	George Brown at Gorgie	200
86	Alexander Carfrae at Laufield	200

87	Mrs Leith's Exec[rs]	200
88	John Maridie, Merchant in Bristo strat [sic]	200
89	Archibald Hepburn, tenant in Upper Hailles	300
90	Mrs Pitcairn	200
91	Capt Bruce	220
92	Mrs Colquhoun of Barnhill	107 - 2 - 2 8/12
93	Allan Boyle Merchant on Glasgow	111 - 2 - 2 8/12
94	Porterfield, relict of Bertram of Nisbet	150
95	Lady Christian Carnegie	100
96	Miss Eleanora Wauchope Dau[t] of Francis Wauchope of Cathmuir	100
97	Miss Marg[t] Wauchope also Dau[t] of Francis Wauchope	100
98	Robert Fisher of Quarryhead	100
99	Alexander Wood, surgeon in Edinb[r]	100
100	John Gloag, mechant there	144 - 19 - 5
101	John Mosman, merchant there	150
102	Allan McDougal, Writer to the Signet	100
103	Andrew MacFarlane Stabler in Edinb[r]	150
104	John MacFarlane at ?Auchreg	90
105	Legatees of Donald MacFarlane late at Lianach	92
106	Mrs MacFarlane of Finart	£70 - 0 - 0
107	James Stoddart, merchant in Edinb[r]	£90 - 0 - 0
108	James Thomson in Leith	£75 - 13 - 00
109	Alexander Cunningham, Writer to the Signet	£60 - 0 - 0
110	John Lauder. Coppersmith in Edinb[r]	£40 - 0 - 0
111	James Clark, farrier there	£38 - 5 - 3
112	Peter Falconer in Edinb[r], writer	£80 - 0 - 0
113	Mrs Helen Spottiswood, relict of James Garthshore WS	£155 - 0 - 0
114	Mr Seyth, upholsterer	£51 - 7 - 5
115	Thomas Elder and Co	£28 - 14 - 10
116	Mess[rs] Home & Cleghorn, coachmakers in Edinb[r]	£52 - 7 - 5
117	William ?Mackenzie in Pleasance	£122 - 0 - 0
118	Mr Neal, haberdasher in Edinb[r]	£23 - 3 - 5
119	William Dempster, jeweller there	£16 - 17
120	Alexander Gardner, jeweller there	£20 - 13 - 10
121	Mess[rs] Inglis and Horner, merchants there	£48 - 6 - 5
122	William Gibson and Co, haberdashers there	£27 - 11 - 6
123	Mess[rs] Dalmahoy & Son, shoemakers in Canongate	£16 - 5 - 2
124	Parlane Macfarlane, grocer in Glasgow	About £70
125	Messrs Alexander Scott & Co in Edinb[r]	£21 - 0 - 0
126	Patrick Campbell, merchant in Glasgow	£20 - 10 - 4
127	George McFarquhar & Co in Edinb[r]	£26 - 11 - 0
128	Walter MacFarlane in Criagentuie	£215 - 0 - 0
129	Archibald ?McNeilladge at Ottar	£81 - 11 - 0
130	Martin Morebray for Mess[rs] Thomas Bannerman & Co of Aberdeen	£35 - 0 - 0
131	Miss MacFarlane legatee of Walter MacFarlane Esq	£200 - 0 - 0
132	W[m] Simpson in Pleasance	£50 - 0 - 0
133	Baillie Blenshall, sadler in Edinb[r]	£0 - 0 - 0

134	Peter Ramsay stabler there	£629 - 0 - 0
135	Alexander Gardner, jeweller there	£289 - 0 - 0
136	Duncan Graham Esq at Laurieston	£200 - 0 - 0
137	John Bell, bookseller in Edinb^{r}	£180 - 0 - 0
138	Andrew MacFarlane, stabler there	£110 - 0 - 0
139	Alexander Callender at Falkirk	£84 - 18 - 0
140	The Countess of Errol	£60 - 0 - 0
141	Abraham Leishman, merchant in Falkirk	£25 - 17 - 0
142	Smith, merchant there	£54 - 0 - 0
143	Thomas Elder & Co, merchants in Edinb^{r}	£80 - 0 - 0
144	Steel, merchants there	£30 - 0 - 0
145	Forrest Dewar, surgeon there	£50 - 0 - 0
146	Edward Lothian & Co, jewellers there	£17 -13 -6
147	Walter Seton, merchant there	£24 - 0 - 0
148	Mess^{rs} Home and Cleghorn, coachmakers there	£74 - 0 - 0
149	Charles Elder, bookseller there	£14 - 0 - 0
150	Ja^{s} Cowan, watchmaker there	£14 - 0 - 0
151	James Carfrae, merchant there	£26 - 0 - 0
152	David Gourlay Esq of Thipdarroch	£52 - 0 - 0
153	Tho^{s} Dundas Esq at Carronhall	£27 - 0 - 0
154	Ja^{s} Wise at Falkirk	£10 - 0 - 0
155	John Grant, merchant in Leith	£8 - 2 - 0
156	Arch^{d} McDowall, merchant in Edinb^{r}	£11 - 0 - 0
157	Scyth, upholsterer there	£16 - 12 -11 ½
158	Walter MacFarlane, grocer there	£8 -11 - 5
159	Spalding, grocer there	£5 - 0 - 0
160	Hugh Bell, merchant there	£5 - 6 - 0
161	George Knox at Ballochmyle	£40 - 0 - 0
162	Murray, shoemaker in Edinb^{r}	£0 - 3 - 6
163	John Dalmahoy & Son, merchants there	£12 - 10 - 0
164	John Clarkson, merchant there	£120 - 0 - 0
165	James Dewar Esq of Vogrie	£191 - 19 - 2
166	Baillie Blinshall, sadler in Edinb^{r}	£4 - 4 - 0
167	To the sum of £500 st[e]r[ling] con^{td} in a bond granted by John MacFarlane as cautioner with Archibald Earl of Eglinton for Malcolm Fleeming of Barrochan to the deceast John Belscher of Invermay.	£500 - 0 - 0
	TOTAL	£89,661 - 08 - 00

1/12

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GD 171 - Forbes of Callendar Papers

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