

The Angus Campbells and the Origin of the Campbell-Ogilvie Feud

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It fell on a day, and a bonny simmer day,
When green grew aits and barley,
That there fell oot a great dispute
Between Argyll and Airlie.

In 1640 the Committee of Estates granted a commission of fire and sword to Archibald eighth Earl of Argyll to hunt down certain 'intestyne enemyes' of the covenant, among them the Earl of Airlie and his son Lord Ogilvie (*HMC* IV: App. 491–2). At that time James Graham fifth Earl of Montrose was recruiting troops in Angus for the covenanters' planned invasion of England. When the people of Angus learned of Argyll's commission they were greatly alarmed. News that he was advancing through Perthshire with his 'hielanders' 'did so affrighte and terrifie the people ther, who so feared for their homes, as they war most unwilling to suffer the regiments to remove until they had scaped that occasion' (Napier 1848: I. 359). Montrose obliged by taking Airlie Castle himself. He then told Argyll that there was now no need for him to march into Angus, while he himself headed for the Borders. Undeterred Argyll invaded the Angus Braes during the first week of August, ravaging Airlie Castle and sacking the Ogilvie estates; he also ordered the burning of Fortar Castle and sent a party to Inverquharity.

In the ballad tradition (Child no. 199A) Argyll craved a kiss of Lady Ogilvie who was alone in the castle. The request rejected, Argyll raped the lady.

He hath take her by the middle sa sma
And O, but she grat sairly,
And laid her down by the bonny burnside,
Till they plundered the castle of Airlie.

The suggestion that Argyll should have sought a kiss, let alone anything more ambitious, seems preposterous from all that is known of his character (Cowan 1980: 48–50). Historically Lady Ogilvie was not even present, and in the event she was to perform a feat remarkable for one with a 'middle sa sma' in that she gave birth to a daughter a few days after her supposed ordeal (*CSPD* I: 53).

The familiar events at Airlie in 1640 are not the concern of this paper. The

'Angusians,' however, had every reason to be apprehensive in that year. Memories were long on the braes of Angus and finely honed through regular recall: many could remember the feud between the Campbells and the Ogilvies which had been initiated, obscurely, in August 1591. A perceptive member of the Lindsay family lamented 'the devilish custom and barbarous cruelty of deadly feid taking their revenge of any pertaining to their enemy or of his name, although never so innocent of the fault' (Lindsay 1849: I. 476). This investigation begins with a simple question. How and in what circumstances did the feud between the Campbells and the Ogilvies originate? It is to be hoped that the rather complicated and somewhat imperfect answer may shed some light on what should be a central theme of Scottish history in this period, namely the feud itself, rooted as it was in the kin-based society (Cowan 1979: 132-57; Wormald 1980: 54-97). Secondly this paper will, it is hoped, illuminate a phenomenon which is not unparalleled in the annals of Scottish history but which is certainly fairly unusual, namely the plantation of a Highland kindred in the Lowlands. Some attention has been paid to Lowland plantations in Kintyre and Lewis but no-one appears to have investigated the reverse process. Lastly a word of caution. The feud is frequently dismissed as the product of primitive lawless societies. There is no narrative account of the developments discussed below. What follows is pieced together from the records of the privy council, the register of the great seal, the acts and decreets, the register of deeds and so on. In other words the very men who were involved in the feuds were sophisticated individuals with a good and close knowledge of the legal processes. Were it otherwise their history would be unrecorded.

James fifth Lord Ogilvie had declared for protestantism in the 1550s but he was known in 1589 to be sheltering priests (*CSP Scot.* X: 100). He presided over a brood of wild and restless sons for whom he was obliged to find caution in 1590 (*RPC* IV: 482-3). His eldest son, the Master, was so unpredictable that Ogilvie declined to give assurance for his good behaviour (Wilson 1924: I. 168). The rest of the family worked off some of their surplus energy by raiding and pillaging in the southern Highlands.

In October 1591 Lord James complained to the privy council that during the previous August Archibald Earl of Argyll 'upoun quhat motive or occasioun the said Lord knawis not, without ony deserving on his parte, haveing concludit the wrack of his hous or freindship and being informeit that he had reteirit himself in sobir and quiet maner to duell and mak his residence in Glen Ilay' sent a force of five hundred 'brokin hieland men off set purpos and deliberatioun to have slane (Ogilvie) and to have wracked and spulziet and cuntrey'. Ogilvie with his wife and bairns had managed to escape but others were less fortunate since eighteen or twenty persons were 'murderit' while large quantities of livestock and goods were carried off 'to the utter wrak and undoing of the hail inhabitantis of the cuntrey'. The invading force included the Campbells of Cabrachan, Inverawe and Glen Lyon as well as Archibald Campbell of Pearsie, Neil 'leech' in Lochaber, Allan Roy son of the laird of Glen Coe and John MacRanald in Lochaber (*RPC* IV: 682-4).

The king had directed Argyll to withdraw these men to their own bounds but they lingered on the hills to invade Glen Isla and Glen Clova once again in September. On this occasion they murdered three or four innocent men and women, carried off a substantial amount of plunder and demolished Clova Castle (*RPC* IV: 682-4). The same session of the privy council, however, also received a complaint from George Campbell in Crunan and Archibald Campbell in Pearsie on behalf of the kin and dependants of the late Robert Campbell in Milhorne, William Campbell in Soutarhous, Thomas Campbell portioner of Kethick and John Campbell of Murestoun 'maist cruellie and unmercifullie murdereist' by a group of Ogilvies only five days before the first Campbell invasion of Glen Isla (*RPC* V: 684). There was considerable interest in both sets of complaints.

Argyll and his friends have appointed to be in Edinburgh about 1 October to call for redress against Lord Ogilvie and the Master for the slaughter of four Campbells; for although Argyll raised letters of horning against Ogilvie for his appearance yet by means of courtiers the king stays the process, purposing to reconcile the parties which shall be difficult (*CSP Scot.* X: 570).

The Ogilvies found cautioners to ensure that they would answer the complaint of the wives and children of the slaughtered Campbells. David Earl of Crawford put up caution of £10,000 for Lord James. £3000 was posted for George Ogilvie while bonds of between £300 and £50 were demanded for other Ogilvie supporters (*RPC* IV: 177). These sums were considerable. Several of the 'brokin men' of the Glen Isla invasion were MacGregors. Ogilvie and Crawford managed to capture two of them, having them executed at Perth before they could be brought to trial, so further offending Argyll whose protection or mastership the MacGregors claimed (*CSP Scot.* X: 573). The council decided that 'either party shall bring in or else by themselves banish or keep out of the realm the principal offenders in these outrages'. Argyll was charged with three of his name for whom he alleged he was not responsible although he offered to banish them if Ogilvie would take reciprocal action. Lord James, understandably thought this unfair 'because Argyll's dependers, being but broken and base men, had given just such occasion to Ogilvie and his sons to take revenge' (*CSP Scot.* X: 585).

After the invasion of 1591 the Master and his wife, Jean Ruthven, abandoned their residence at Airlie Castle for Bolshan some five miles south of Brechin (Wilson 1924: I. 167). Jean may be the original Lady Airlie of the ballad. The statement in the first verse about the sudden falling out of a 'great dispute' would better fit 1591 than 1640 since the two families had actually enjoyed quite a close relationship in the earlier period as will be seen below. The Earl of Argyll, however, later to become famous as the notorious Gill-easbuig Gruamach, was only sixteen years old in 1591 and there is no real evidence that he personally led the attack upon Airlie. The heat was to go out of the Campbell-Ogilvie feud because of an extraordinary series of events the effects of which were to reverberate throughout the whole of Gaeldom.

On 4 February 1592 an assassin fired a 'reid stokit hagbutt' through the window of the house of Knipoch on the south shore of Loch Feochain killing Sir John Cawdor as he sat by his fireside. Three days later his ally the Earl of Moray was slain by Huntly at Donibristle. Such was the pattern of feuds and alliances that the effects of these killings were felt in every part of the Highlands. It later emerged that Campbell of Ardkinglass, in league with Black Duncan of Glen Orchy, was behind a conspiracy to kill the young Earl of Argyll and his brother Colin. There had been great rivalry between Ardkinglass's father who was Comptroller of Scotland, and Campbell of Cawdor over the curatorship of the earl during his minority. It was to be many years before Clan Campbell recovered from this self-inflicted wound (Cowan 1979: 132–57).

Only five months before his assassination Campbell of Cawdor entertained 'certane of the Cambellis of Angus' to a glass of wine in his lodgings at Glasgow (Innes 1859: 203). In these Angus Campbells are to be distinguished the true origins of the Campbell–Ogilvie feud and a remarkable example of the planting of a kindred.

The Campbells held Redcastle, the aptly named sandstone pile at the mouth of the Lunan, during the reigns of Robert I and David II (Warden 1881: III. 446–8; *SP* V: 491). Thereafter the Campbell connection with Angus was apparently severed until the sixteenth century. On 22 January Magister John Campbell became Treasurer of Scotland (*RSS* I No. 2857). A week earlier, appropriately enough, he had received expenses of 42s. for three days spent in Angus (*TA* V: 98). That same year he received a grant of the lands of Thornton in East Lothian (*RMS* 1513–46 No. 141; *TA* V: 100). He also acquired a precept of legitimation for himself and his two bastard sons, both named John. The precept indicates that he was the illegitimate son of Colin first Earl of Argyll (*RSS* I No. 2910). In 1517 John's wife, Isobel Gray, is also recorded for the first time. She was the daughter of Andrew second Lord Gray, sheriff of Forfar, who had received a charter of the lands of Lundie forfeited by Lord Lyle in 1489 (*RSS* I No. 2933; *SP* IV: 276). In 1526 her husband is first styled 'Mr John Campbell of Lundye' (*RMS* 1513–46 No. 355; *Exch. R* XV: 217). Campbell had the reputation of being a learned man. Hector Boece gratefully acknowledged his debt to John and to the third Earl of Argyll who supplied him with ancient volumes in writing his history, John taking the books from Iona to Aberdeen. Boece referred to Campbell as one of the sources upon which he relied most heavily and at one point he describes John as 'scriptor historiae Scotorum' (Boece 1527: aiii. 118). That Campbell did not restrict his interests to history is indicated by his possession of Dietrich Dorsten's *Botanicon* in which he noted the Scottish names of the plants therein illustrated (Durkan 1980: 350n.).

Master John enjoyed a distinguished career as a member of the royal household and as an important component of the Campbell clique surrounding young James V. He was treasurer from 1517 to 1526 during the financially difficult period of James's minority. By the time he resigned office he was out of pocket by £3704 (*TA*

XII: xli–ii). As treasurer he was preoccupied with royal debts, with various aspects of trade and with several commissions on the coinage. His responsibilities ranged from paying the maintenance of five Italian minstrels to supplying the expenses of a German named Quyntire Leich who was engaged to import miners from Germany 'to labore in the golden myne' (*ADC*: 237, 323). He took care to register an assignation to his son John of all the debts due to him by the king and others, yet so chaotic were treasury affairs at this period that it was claimed that John owed the Crown rather than the Crown him (*ADCP*: 275; *TA* XII: xlii).

On resigning from the treasury he specialised in diplomacy, receiving his first commission to visit Zealand to discuss the Scots staple at Veere in 1526 (*ADC*: 236). Three years later a crowded schedule included secret discussions with Margaret, archduchess of Austria at Liège, a meeting with Odulph of Burgundy, negotiations about the Scots staple in Flanders and a commission to 'inquir of the maneris', and to inspect the person, of the widowed queen of Hungary who was being considered as a possible wife for James V (Hannay 1954: 156, 159, 163, 191). On the occasion of this embassy James granted a letter of respite and safeguard to his 'lovit familiar servitour and counsalour' who now enjoyed the dignity of knighthood in keeping with his ambassadorial status. The king took into his protection John himself 'his kynnismen, freyndis and servandis with his and thare propir men, tenentis, familiaris, servandis, actouris, factouris, firmoraris, procuratouris and intromettouris with their landis etc.'. No fewer than seventy-five individuals were named in the letter though only three of them were Campbells, two being Lawers and his brother (*RSS* II No. 59).

John was one of three commissioners appointed in 1530 and again in 1533 to negotiate a truce with England (*ADCP*: 339–40, 405; Hannay 1954: 244–5). Relations with England and Henry VIII were potentially volatile. In 1523 John had been appointed Master of Artillery; in 1528 he was keeper of Edinburgh Castle. When in 1533 negotiations broke down he was appointed captain-general to all the 'futbandis' of Scotland as well as collector of the contribution for the Scottish expedition to the Borders (*ADCP*: 173, 285–6, 403–4, 406). He became a lord of session, a member of the privy council, a justice-depute and a senator of the College of Justice. As justice-depute he was involved in the persecution of protestants (*ADCP*: 368, 518, 597; *RMS* II No. 4099; Calderwood 1849: I. 171, 175, 263, 268). In 1540–1 he led an embassy to Emperor Charles V stopping off en route to visit Henry VIII (Hannay 1954: 415, 418). Those mentioned in his letter of respite on this occasion included many of his Angus tenants but Finlay Campbell of Corswell topped the list and a number of Galloway men were included therein (*RSS* II No. 3666).

John's impressive services received suitable reward. He already held through marriage the barony of Lundie at the head of the Dichty some nine miles northwest of Dundee. In the course of his career he received grants of Tealing, Balgray, Balcalk, Balkello, Shielhill, Pethcammo and Polgavy, extending in a band east of Lundie and north of Dundee (*RSS* II No. 2405; *RMS* 1513–1546, No. 2621). John was one of

those, Argyll was another, who solemnly swore in 1528 never to take the part of Archibald Douglas the disgraced Earl of Angus (*ADCP*: 290). His pragmatism was rewarded with the acquisition of some of the forfeited Angus estates. By the date of John's death in 1562 or 1563 (*RSS* v No. 1252) the Campbell presence was well and truly established in Angus. Throughout his life he retained close contact with his clansmen, being regarded himself as one of the most prominent of the name. There is some evidence that his son John first married a daughter of Finlay Campbell of Corswell in Galloway, the family to which Bishop John Carswell in all probability belonged (Meek and Kirk 1973: 9; Matheson 1959: 183). In 1565 Jane Campbell 'dochter to John Campbell of Lundie oy and ane of the heirs of umquhile Finlay Campbell of Corswell' married George Kennedy, flagrantly disregarding those who had the gift of her marriage (*RPC* 1: 326-7). The first Campbell of Lundie was also called upon to settle disputes between members of the clan. He was named second in a list of ten Campbells charged with arbitration in one of the periodical disputes between Argyll and Duncan Campbell of Glen Orchy: the earl

hes nocht hed hym to his said cousing Duncane as ane overlord and cheiff aucht to haiff him to his kynnisman and tennand in the defendance of him or otherways and siclyk the said Duncan has nocht had hym to the said earl as ane kynnyisman and tennand aucht to haiff him to his cheiff and overlord in his service or ony otherwise (*OPS* II Pt. 1: 144-5).

Lundie was similarly involved in a dispute between the Campbells of Ardchattan and Cawdor (Paton 1922: VI. 4). It was the first criterion of clanship to keep contention, whenever possible, within the clan.

But Campbell of Lundie was not the only member of his kindred sinking roots in Angus at this time. In the longer term the strenuous efforts of Donald Campbell, youngest son of Archibald second Earl of Argyll, were of much greater significance. There was some opposition to Donald's appointment as abbot of Cupar in 1526. King James appealed to Pope Clement VII on Donald's behalf describing him as his 'kinsman, member of a powerful house, a young man of excellent character and genuinely interested in the religious life' (Hannay 1954: 199). The estates of Cupar Abbey lay along the banks of the Isla only some six miles west of Lundie: Abbot Donald nakedly exploited them in the interests of advancing his clansmen.

Dr Margaret Sanderson has convincingly demonstrated that the feuing of church lands was much less socially disruptive than has often been claimed. She calculates that on the Cupar Angus estates 57 per cent of grants were made to occupants. Of a total of sixty seven feuars thirty were non-occupant (Sanderson 1973: 121). A survey of the Cupar Register would suggest that the Campbells operated a two-stage process. Firstly Campbells were brought in as tenants paying tack-duties, presumably displacing others. They were thus the sitting tenants when feuing took place. To take examples cited by Dr Sanderson, lands of Cupar Grange 'which between 1542 and 1558 had been leased to 14 tenants for 19 years and to 7 tenants for life were feued en bloc to John Campbell of Skippinch in 1560'. The same year the lands of Cambock

previously leased to eight tenants were feued to Argyll (Sanderson 1973: 129). She notes that during the abbacy of Donald Campbell 'there was a definite trend towards stabilisation in the pattern of landholding' (Sanderson 1974: 34). It could be added that much of that trend favoured the *Sliochd Diarmaid*, not infrequently some of its humblest members, as when Thomas Campbell and his wife Besse Barne received a tack of Kethick or Andrew Campbell and his spouse received Chapelton (Rogers 1880: II. 46-7, 60). Andrew's brother John was given a third part of Owar Muretoun (*op.cit*: 67). There is likely evidence of a lease to a Campbell bastard when the 'auchtane pairt of the west syde of Balbroggy was rented to Katryne Cryste relict of the late Johann Hetoun and to Johann Campbell hir soun whom failing to William Hetoun, son of the late Johann Hetoun' (*op.cit*: 62).

Abbot Donald had at least five other children who received lands carved out of the abbey estates. One of these, Master David, was bailie of Cupar; he held lands in different parts of the abbey's holdings. He took his style from Denheid but he was also granted the teinds of Glen Isla and the lands of Persie next door to Cortachy. By 1557 Master David had four 'sons of law' which shows how the brood of Abbot Donald was multiplying. Donald granted other lands in the barony of Glen Isla to Master Nicholas Campbell, Dean of Lismore, whom failing to David of Denheid, whom failing to David's sister Margaret (*RSS* v No. 1650). Another son, Colin, received the tack of Crunan and it was probably a grandson, John, who was granted Soutarhous of Kethick (Rogers 1880: II. 120, 137). In some interesting tacks the recipient was not a Campbell himself but he had a Campbell wife, for example Donald Ogilvie who married Donald's daughter Margaret (*op.cit*: 104, 113, 141). Nor were Campbells at some remove from Cupar forgotten. Tacks were granted to Archibald Campbell burgess of Dundee and to John of Causaend. Argyll and Skippinch have already been mentioned. There was a tack to John, son of Robert burgess of Ayr, so the 'English Campbells' of Ayrshire were not forgotten either (*RMS* IV No. 1779).

Abbot Donald was a regular attender at Parliament. He became one of the lords of the articles, a senator of the College of Justice and, briefly, keeper of the privy seal. Just before the Reformation he was an unsuccessful candidate for the bishopric of Brechin. To expedite the bulls he paid twelve hundred crowns of gold to Timothy Cagnioli at Rome. Bonds for other sums expended in the same connection were witnessed by Campbell of Lundie and Colin of Denheid. Throughout his life he was closely involved in clan affairs as arbitrator and as a witness to the charters of the earls and of Campbell of Cawdor (Rogers 1880: I. 100-13). Donald died in 1562. He could truly be described as the father of the Angus Campbells and he might have found a fitting epitaph in the book of Genesis—'I will give unto thee and to thy seed after thee the land wherein thou art a stranger.' Yet there was at least one other luminary of Clan Duibhne upon whom the good Lord smiled.

In 1566 Alexander, a younger brother of Campbell of Ardkinglass, became Bishop

of Brechin '*cum potestate sibi, dare et disponere singula beneficia, tam spirtualitatis quam temporalitatis dignitatis*' (RSS V No. 2806). That same year he granted a large tract of diocesan land to Archibald Earl of Argyll (RMS IV No. 1764). Alexander and Argyll drew up a contract with an Edinburgh burghess in 1569 for the sale of some of the victual of the bishopric (Paton 1922: VI 20). The bishop was a mere boy when first appointed, going off to study at Geneva in the mid 1570s. Although all commentators have followed Keith who claimed that Alexander 'alienated most of the tithe lands and tithes of the bishopric to Argyll' (Keith 1824: 166) there is not a great deal of evidence to support this contention. It cannot be denied, however, that whenever possible he favoured his clansmen. One Dougal Campbell, possibly another member of the Ardkinglass family, became Dean of Brechin in 1581 (Watt 1969: 45).

Time would show that the men of Angus did not view this Campbell-planting with equanimity. The second half of the sixteenth century was a great period of Campbell expansion. Through their acquisitions in Angus they managed to create a Campbell corridor extending from Dundee on the east coast up the Isla to the Angus glens which by the way of Glen Shee gave them access to their empire in the west. The MacCombies of Glen Shee, a branch of Clan MacIntosh, seem to have been allies of the Campbells though the evidence is rather scanty (Smith 1887: 478). It is known that a descendant of Abbot Donald became the wife of John MacCombie or M'Comie Mor in the earlier seventeenth century (Smith 1887: 47-8). It is just conceivable also that the MacCombies considered themselves subject to agreements drawn up between Cawdor and the chief of MacIntosh in the sixteenth century (Innes 1859: 188-9).

The fortunes of the Lundie kindred began to dip during the lifetime of the second laird. He received the gift of nonentry of the lands of Pittedie and others in the barony of Kinghorn on the death of John Lord Glamis as well as confirmations of his Angus estates (Paton 1922: VI. 19; RSS V: 3006-7). Nonetheless it is clear that John experienced acute financial difficulties before his death in 1577 (Paton 1922: VI. 33). He failed to pay feu-fermes and other duties with the consequence that his lands with the exception of Lundie were granted in 1576 to Thomas Lyon, Master of Glamis (RSS VII Nos. 744, 760). The third John Campbell of Lundie was a minor who with the consent of his curators, Argyll and Campbell of Lawers, agreed to relieve Alexander Bishop of Brechin of cautionry of two hundred marks (Paton 1922: VI. 34). This Lundie was to come to a sticky end in October 1581 though the episode, alas, is not well documented. In 1583 David Lindsay of Edzell with some members of his family and a number of others was granted remission for the killing of John Campbell of Lundie, and the mutilation of one John Lyon of Cossins who was wounded in the knee (RMS V No. 602).

David of Edzell was the son of the ninth Earl of Crawford. The former's nephew, the eleventh earl, rekindled the long-standing feud with the House of Glamis. As one commentator beautifully described their relationship 'David Lindsay Earl of Crawford

and John Lyon, Lord Glamis, Chancellor—men whose birth made them move in a high sphere—were dissonants not consonants' (Lindsay 1849: I. 297). On 17 March 1579 the two men met by chance in School-House Wynd, Stirling. There, in what Spottiswood euphemistically termed an 'unhappie accident,' Glamis was shot through the head. The victim's uncle, Thomas, Master of Glamis who had been granted the Lundie estates, was intent upon revenge (Lindsay 1849: I. 298). In August 1579 the Earl of Crawford told a correspondent that

we ar suirly informit that Jhone Lyoun, younger of Cossinis is presently in Strivling awaiting on Mr. Thomas Lyonis ordors, and specially in our contrair quha come with the maistir off Glamis as ane of the mest speciall interpryssouris to haiff murderit ws in our bed, quhilk wes fer by his dewetie.

Crawford was particularly incensed because

the maist parte of his lewing that presently he hes to leiff upoun he halds off ws in wedset under redemption, quhilk we as yit wald nathir redeme our selff nor yit mak na uther assigney thairto, albeit that syndry times we haiff fund occasioun mowit be him to haiff done wtherwayis and the small dewety that he aucht to pay yeirly to ws we could nevir obtene thankfull payment thairoff.

The prudent earl thus had the necessary excuse, which he duly used, to put Cossins to the horn (*Spald. Misc.* IV: 62). John Lyon was outlawed at about the same time as he allied with Campbell of Lundie and in June 1581 he was escheated (Ross 1901: 34–5). There was a further connection however for John Lyon's wife was Margaret Drummond widow of John Campbell of Murthlie, a Perthshire estate also carved out of the lands of Cupar abbey. That lady, with the consent of Lyon, granted a tack of Murthlie to Campbell of Lawers in 1577 (Ross 1901: 34). It would therefore appear that Campbell of Lundie lost his life as a by-product of the Lindsay-Glamis feud when John Lyon's private disagreements with the Earl of Crawford led him to seek Campbell backing. The Campbells, characteristically, were not about to let the slaughter pass unavenged.

Shortly after the killing, John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir, informed his brother, David of Edzell, that

the malicious information of the Laird of Ardinglass, the only guide of the Earl of Argyll, hes so movit the said earl that for revenge of the . . . slaughter of Lundy . . . there is ane enterprise devisit to harry and spoil all Glenesk be the means of MacGregor with the number of 300 haberschons [breastplates], 200 bowmen, and ane hundreth hackbutters, whilk the earl will oversee.

He suggested that although David had perhaps received no advance warning of such an expedition 'yet ye might think the same very likely gif ye wald consider the malice of all Highlandmen, the guiding whilk Ardinglass hes of the earl, how easily they may perform the said enterprise and how glad thieves and limmers will be to be imployit in sic ane turn'. He advised him to keep a close watch on the country and to

make overtures to such chiefs as Lovat, MacIntosh, and Farquharson 'that ye may be quietly advertisit gif ony thing be meanit against you and that ye may knaw the Earl's mind sa far as ye may'. Menmuir told Edzell that all this trouble stemmed from his rash consenting to assist the Earl of Crawford 'to do ane manifest wrang', namely the slaughter of Lundie, which terminology may imply that Lundie was still a minor at the time of his death. Menmuir concluded by eloquently urging reason in a world of chaos:

Consider how troublesome is the world, how easilie ony man who is stronger nor ye at ane time may do you ane wrang, and how little justice there is in the country for the repairing thereof. Therefore I wald desire you above all things to travail to live in peace and concord with all men, otherways your life and pairt of the world shall be very unpleasant, ever in fear, danger and trouble, whereof the maist pairt of them who calls themselves your friends wald be glad (Lindsay 1849: I. 339–41).

Throughout the letter there are references to 'the bishop . . . ane of Argyll's principal friends, albeit as it were a stranger in this country'. Lord Lindsay, who edited the letter, erroneously identified the bishop as John Campbell of the Isles whereas the correct identification is obviously Alexander Bishop of Brechin. In the event the predicted invasion of Glen Esk never took place. Lindsay was granted remission for the killing, and Colin sixth Earl of Argyll was preoccupied elsewhere. The question naturally arises, however, of whether the slaying of Campbell of Lundie had any connection with the Campbell-Ogilvie feud.

In the first place many of the Lindsays, like many of the Ogilvies, were recusants. But there was a much closer connection, for James fifth Lord Ogilvie and David Lindsay of Edzell were sons of the same mother—Katherine Campbell, daughter of the first John Campbell of Cawdor. She was first married to the Master of Ogilvie and then after her husband was killed at Pinkie, she became Countess of Crawford. She was widely regarded as a most noble lady. 'She is the earliest that I can point to', wrote Lord Lindsay, 'in the dim twilight of the past, of a line of excellent mothers whom it has been my delight to recognise among our female ancestry, to whose early culture and watchful love many a virtue and many a blessing with which our forefathers have been gifted are under God attributable' (Lindsay 1849: I. 338). Throughout her life she was fiercely loyal to both her sons. As early as 1539 Abbot Donald Campbell granted the lands of Glentullacht and Auchindorye to James Master of Ogilvie and his spouse, Katherine Campbell. In the same year Ogilvie received a grant of the bailiary of Cupar Abbey (Rogers 1880: II. 1–3). It was doubtless through Katherine's influence that Donald sold Meikle Fortar to Lord Ogilvie in 1557. Two years later Ogilvie purchased the rest of the Fortar lands as far north as the Tulchan. About this time he built the castle at Fortar which still stands to guard the pass through to Glen Shee (Rogers 1880: II. 175–6). So long as Lady Katherine lived (she died in 1578) she was able to bind the Ogilvies to the Campbell interest. Nonetheless there was ample opportunity for friction between the two

families. Ogilvie began to instal his kinsman at the head of Glen Isla, so displacing members of the Clan MacKerrow who had long enjoyed the protection of the Campbells. In 1574 Colin Earl of Argyll and Alexander Bishop of Brechin entered into a contract with James Lord Ogilvie granting the lands of Farnwell in feu to the latter for twenty thousand marks to be paid with an infestment of Bolshan in security thereof (Paton 1922: VI. 20, 37; VIII. 112, 172). Ogilvie's failure to pay up led to protracted litigation over this curious transaction which would have given the Campbells possession of a fortress only five miles from their original fourteenth-century Angus holding at Redcastle. Fear of losing Bolshan seems to have kept Ogilvie out of the Campbell-Lindsay feud although David of Edzell obviously expected his assistance (Lindsay 1849: I. 342n). An action over the Farnwell lands was raised in Argyll's name in July 1590 (Paton 1922: VIII. 112).

There was at least one other matter which gave Ogilvie cause for concern. The slaughtered John Campbell of Lundie died without heirs of his own body though he did have three older married sisters. On 11 and 13 April 1583 Colin Earl of Argyll entered into contracts dated at Castle Campbell and at Forfar with Margaret, Marion and Elizabeth, daughters and apparent heirs of the deceased John Campbell of Lundie (d. 1577) and sisters and apparent heirs of the deceased (*i.e.* slaughtered) John Campbell of Lundie 'for entering their portions as heirs to their said brother and father . . . and thereafter infesting the said earl and his countess and Colin Campbell their second son for payment of certain sums of money' (Paton 1922: VI. 42; VIII. 128; *RMS* v No. 574). The witnesses were James Campbell of Ardkinglass and Alexander Bishop of Brechin. Thus Colin, younger brother of Gill-easbuig Gruamach became Colin Campbell of Lundie and the comital presence was truly established in Angus for the first time. The importance of the Angus holdings in Campbell eyes requires no greater or more significant corroboration. Lundie's slaughter had brought the boar to the heart of Angus. The sixth earl died in 1584 and affairs were quiet, whatever Ogilvie's private apprehensions, until Gill-easbuig's curators re-opened the Farnwell-Bolshan transaction in 1590. All the old anxieties of the Angusians now erupted—the antipathy towards the Lundie branch, hatred of Bishop Alexander's alienations, and the fear of the ever-increasing bastard brood of Abbot Donald. A letter of 1591 links all these factors together and specifies the immediate origins of the Campbell-Ogilvie feud:

Upon controversy betwixt the Earl of Argyll and Lord Ogilvie for the 'seignorie' of Cupar Abbey the Master of Ogilvie, understanding that the Dean of Brechin was keeping the court for Argyll, did take and ruffle the Dean with such disgrace that some of Argyll's men killed 15 or 16 of Ogilvie's tenants. . . . In revenge the Master of Ogilvie slew four of the Campbells dwelling near him and ever ready at his commandment (*CSP Scot.* X: 566–7).

The evidence however, suggests that Ogilvie's slaughter of the Angus Campbells preceded the Campbell invasion: the Ogilvies were certainly adjudged the guilty party since on 11 August Lord James and his allies had solemnly subscribed a bond of

caution at Bolshan promising that they would not harm a list of Campbells. Those mentioned were Bishop Alexander of Brechin, George Campbell of Crunan, Archibald of Persie, George in Lundie, David in Denheid and his brother Archibald, Patrick of Kethick and Colin in Glen Isla. The three Campbells named in the bond who were murdered exactly a week later were Robert in Mylnhorne, Thomas portioner of Kethick and William in Soutarhouse. The other Campbell victim of the Ogilvies, John of Murestoun, was not included in the bond (*RCP* IV: 675). Four days later Bishop Alexander put up caution of £1,000 against his harming Lord Ogilvie, the Master or Ogilvie of Craig (*RPC* IV: 671).

As so often in these feuds those who suffered most belonged to neither of the warring clans. The Campbells were particularly incensed by Ogilvie's erection of Fortar Castle which neatly plugged the routes to north and west. William MacNicol, whose forbears are recorded in Glen Isla in 1443 and whose family had held the office of *studarius* from the abbots of Cupar since 1470, complained that in 1591 he was 'spuilzied' of all his goods, sheep, cattle and horses with the exception of seventy cows which he sent to Glen Shee for safety. Campbell of Glen Lyon with forty 'broken men' drove off the seventy cattle 'quhairthrow (William) being sumtymes ane honest houshaldir and interenyair of ane grite househaldir and familie is now brocht to miserie and povirtie'. The unfortunate MacNicol was unsuccessfully claiming restitution fourteen years later (*RPC* IV: 688; Tod 1929: 18).

The Ogilvies were originally sentenced to banishment for their part in the affair but the feud was finally halted through an ingenious variation upon shuttle diplomacy. Lord Ogilvie was charged with reconciling Crawford and the Master of Glamis while Glamis was commissioned to reconcile Ogilvie and Argyll (*CSP Scot* X: 592-3). For years to come the Ogilvies and their tenants were to petition for compensation for the raid of 1591, certainly long enough to keep the Campbell incursion fresh in the memory and sharp in the telling.

The fears of the men of Angus in 1640 were fully justified. Argyll took Airlie while his Campbells pillaged Alyth, Lintrathen, Glen Isla and Cortachy. Crops, houses and standing timber were burned. There was not left 'in all the lands a cock to crow day' (*CSPD* 1640-1: 53). It was estimated that £7,000 worth of damage was done and the Earl of Airlie received no rents for fourteen months (Cowan 1977: 95-6). One hostile and not altogether reliable account states that Argyll at the demolishing of Airlie 'shewed himself so extremlye earnest, that he was seen tacking a hammer in his hande and knocking downe the hewed work of the doors and windows, till he did sweate for heate at his worke' (Gordon 1841: III. 165). Before leaving the district he ordered that Fortar should also be destroyed. 'If ye find it will be langsome,' he wrote, 'ye shall fyre it weill, that so it may be destroyed. Bot yee neid not to lett know that ye have directions from me to fyre it' (*AT* July 1640). It is tempting to distinguish a near pathological element in Argyll's behaviour or at least a degree of obsession. The wars to come were to be wars of attrition, the grinding down of the enemy's resources, the

destruction of his sustenance and the very annihilation of his means of existence. Montrose was just as guilty in this respect as his great rival. Argyll was also motivated by religious conviction. He deplored, despised and above all feared the Catholicism of the Ogilvies. He believed that the tentacles of Anti-Christ had seized a grip on the Angus Braes. He was also a prisoner of History and this was what was, and always had been, the most diabolical aspect of 'the devilish custom of deadly feid'. Individuals and families found themselves entrapped by mindless hatreds whose origins they could barely discern and whose quenching they seldom bothered to contemplate. Throughout the sixteenth century the Ogilvies and the Lindsays were acutely aware that those Campbells taking root in Angus were simply the advance troops of a mighty army in the west. Equally *MacCailein Mór* judged it essential to strike first before the enemies of Clan Campbell could unite against the Covenant.

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