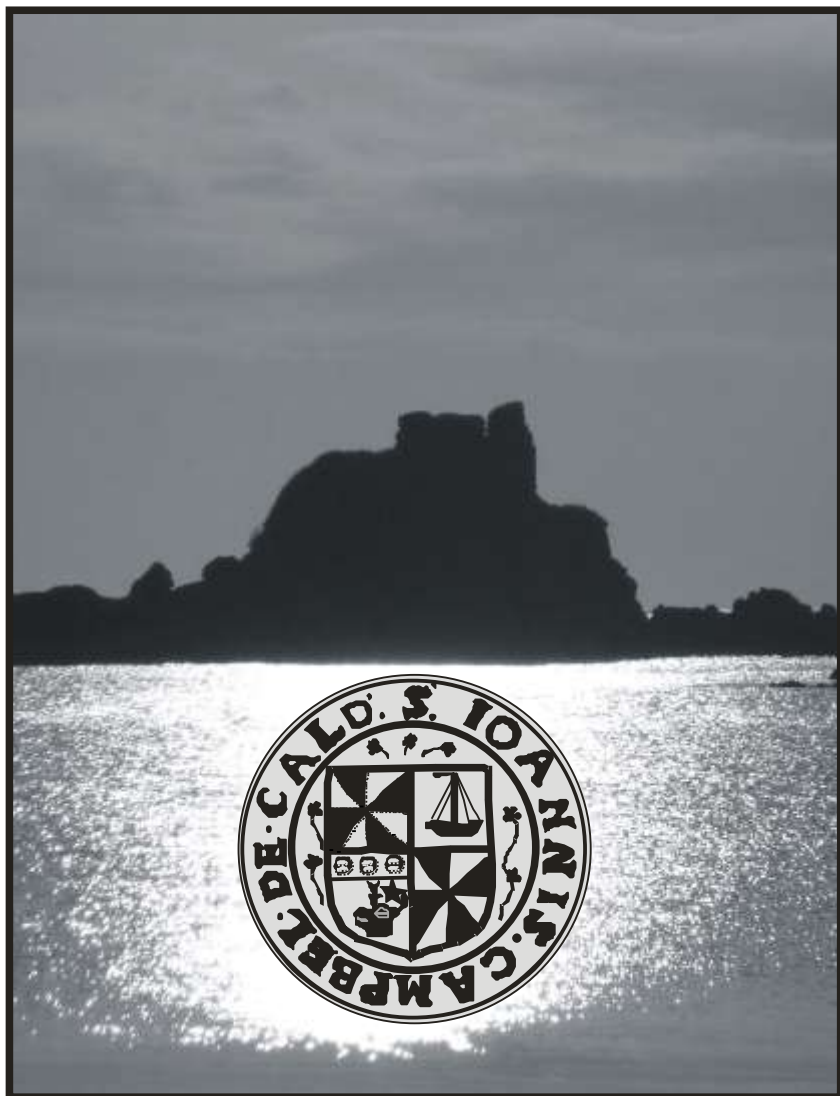


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Editorial

So here we are, one short of 100 editions of the Kist, hopefully we can make the next issue extra special, so please submit any articles you think should grace the 100th edition.

In this issue we have an article from Pete Creech on pine martens in Argyll. We also have the story behind the discovery of a Campbell stamp matrix at the stronghold of Dunyvaig castle on Islay. This story also resonates in the final part of the War of the Three Kingdoms and how it affected Argyll, particularly the confrontation between the MacDonalds and the Campbells. Not mentioned in the article is a statement that I came across while investigating the events of 1647 in Argyll, which gives an insight into how people may have understood their past at that time. Patrick Gordon in *Britanes Distemper*, tells us that Dunstaffnage castle '*a place of old the kinges themselves had builded and duelt in, But after the extermination of the Pichtes nation, they had chosin the hotter climate towards the south.*' A royal move I can perhaps understand, having spent the last few months digging at Upper Largie.

For several years NHASMA have been offering a scholarship/travel bursary to any young person who wanted to pursue a project in line with the aims of the society and last year £250 was awarded to James Urquhart to participate in West Region Scout Groups Expedition to Malaysia in July 2019 and we include his report of his involvement. – Roddy Regan

Cover note

The cover shows Calder stamp seal impression found at Dunyvaig Castle, which is silhouetted in the background.

Argyll, Rich in Martens

Pete Creech

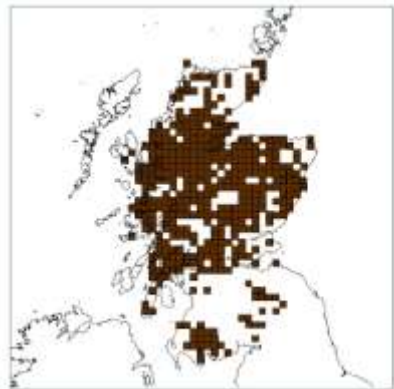
Iconic is a much overused word and is applied to a number of the species to be found in Argyll; pine martens included. But, in many ways their return is one of our more understated conservation success stories; there are now 4,000 or so in Scotland and Scottish pine martens are helping to reinforce relic populations in Wales and the English Lake District, as well as being reintroduced to the Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire.

Pine martens (*Martes martes*) have a Palearctic distribution: from western Siberia across Russia and Europe to Scotland and Ireland, and from the northern limit of the boreal forest to the Mediterranean and the Caucasus in the south. It is also found on many of the Mediterranean islands and is one of eight marten species found worldwide.

By the early years of the twentieth century pine martens had disappeared from all but the remotest areas of north-west Scotland, due to ruthless persecution for predation on game birds and poultry, conversion of land to agriculture, hunting for its fur, and deforestation.



1: Pine Marten distribution, Scotland and Eurasia



Since then they have made a slow recovery, partly as a result of reforestation and protection under the Wildlife and Countryside Act (1981), but have remained perilously close to extinction in England and Wales. A far cry from their previous status of Britain's second commonest predator. Some inclination of the diversity of our native species in Scotland can be found in the number of 'kills' recorded in the game books of the large sporting estates of the 19th Century. For example, between 1832 and 1834, 901 martens, polecats and wildcats were killed on the Duke of Sutherland's estate (Mackie 1911). Pine marten populations are extremely vulnerable to 'violent mortality', i.e. traffic accidents, poisoning and persecution. A 10% increase in adult and juvenile mortality can result in a 90% reduction in population growth (English Nature 1994)



2: Pine marten on feeder at Barrandaimh

In the UK our larger carnivores have been absent for centuries; bears in the early medieval, 1,500 years ago, lynx in the medieval period 1,300 years ago, wolves possibly hung on until the 18th century. The smaller members have been extirpated largely as a result of the intensive raising of game birds and the widespread perception of carnivores in general as vermin. This attitude (and persecution) persists in some sections of the community, and has been a principal impediment to the species' reintroduction in England. Conversely, in Europe, they have little impact on human activities, and, because they have always been part of the native fauna, their presence is largely ignored or accepted. As a result, they are relatively numerous.

Species that today we view with great fondness, such as red squirrels and hedgehogs were, in the red squirrel's case, hunted to near extinction in the 18th Century and were subsequently reintroduced. The majority of our current population can be traced to Scandinavian and other European populations. Subsequent threats have resulted from habitat loss and both competition and disease transmission from grey squirrels. Pine martens may have a role to play in aiding the restoration of red squirrel populations, one that is both cost-effective and beneficial to the martens' PR ratings with the general public. Researchers at Queens University, Belfast, and National Museums Northern Ireland found that the presence of pine martens increases the chances of red squirrels inhabiting an area and also reduces the likelihood of visits from grey squirrels. Similarly, research carried out by the University of Aberdeen's School of Biological Sciences confirmed that pine marten populations are suppressing grey squirrel numbers. Conversely, the presence of martens, a predator of red squirrels, was shown to boost their numbers. Their presence made the red squirrels more cautious, behaviour that is to be expected from a

species that has co-evolved with pine martens. On the other hand, grey squirrels showed no such caution, making them an easier prey item for the martens. This contradicts the 'landscape of fear theory' that would suggest the grey squirrels would actively avoid areas with pine martens (Sheehy & Xavier 2018).

As a result, pine martens, along with other species, from ospreys and white-tailed sea eagles to otters and wildcats clung on in remote areas of Scotland, often long after they had become extinct in the rest of the UK. In some cases, this has given rise to the belief that these 'wild' places are the preferred, or only, suitable habitat for these species, rather than being the 'edgelands' where they have managed to avoid total elimination. Ravens are a good example; a bird of cliff faces, mountains and remote places today, commoner than red kites in our towns and cities until 150 years ago (Shute 2018). Their slow spread across their former range is celebrated by many and viewed with grave concern by others. Intelligent opportunists (a trait they share with martens) their former world is much changed, and they have adapted accordingly; a recipe for conflict. Martens may be luckier in some respects; commercial forestry has aided their return, as has woodland restoration. However, these adaptable mustelids will make do with a variety of habitats.

Pine martens are omnivorous generalists feeding on small rodents, birds, beetles, carrion, eggs and fungi. In autumn, berries are a staple. In Argyll they have a particular fondness for rowan berries and have been known to defend a favourite tree from other competitors (Lister Kaye 2011). Their fondness is evident in their scat, that for a number of weeks seems to consist of little else. Fruit and nuts can make up over 10% of their diet. In common with other mustelids pine martens will cache food when

plentiful. At Barrandaimh they will visit the peanut feeders on a nightly basis and eat their fill.



3: Night-time egg collection

If we place eggs in the feeders however, their behaviour is decidedly different. Our trail cameras have shown a marten take six eggs in less than half an hour. Each egg is carefully removed and hidden before it returns for the remainder; quite a feat when you look at the size of their skull and jaws. I tried one for size, quite a squeeze, and I didn't attempt to climb headfirst down a tree with one in my mouth! Of all our mustelids the pine marten is the best equipped for an arboreal existence, having semi-retractable claws. Their territories vary according to their sex and prey availability; a male's can be up to 25 square kilometres. Where pine martens are widely distributed and few in number it can be very difficult

to establish the number of territories, as it appears they abandon the practice of territorial marking, probably because it is unnecessary and represents a waste of energy. Young (up to five) are born in early spring and emerge from their den in June.

The pine marten's habit of making dens in the remains of Scots pines probably accounts for their name. They were formerly known as 'sweet mart' due to their lack of odour, or possibly because their scat smells of violets (allegedly). The term was also used to distinguish them from 'foul mart' (polecats) for obvious reasons. The Gaels named them taghan, whilst they were known as mertrick in the Scots language (Pullar 2018).

Pine martens continue to make their quiet return to parts of their former range; partly by their own efforts and partly with the assistance of organisations such as the Vincent Trust. Meanwhile they are one of the species that visitors coming to the wildlife centre most want to see. Day light appearances are fairly infrequent, but memorable. The sight of one (fairly elderly) enthusiast lying full length on the floor to get the best camera angle for the marten feeding outside our window remains an enduring memory of last year.

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A Lead Seal Matrix from Dunyvaig Castle

Steven Mithen, Darko Maricevic & Roddy Regan

Seal matrices were used to make impressions on wax as a means of authenticating documents and/or to show that the documents had remained unopened.¹ Armorial seal matrices were commonly used by the Scottish nobility, but only a small number have survived and even fewer have been recovered from archaeological contexts. Here we describe the discovery of the seal matrix of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor (1576 – 1642), found during excavations at Dunyvaig Castle in 2018.

Dunyvaig (*Dùn Naomhaig*) Castle (NR44NW 24, NR 40593 45487) occupies the tip of the promontory on the east side of Lagavulin Bay, Isle of Islay. The castle survives in the form of a tower building, an inner and outer



courtyard, the latter with at least five internal buildings (Buildings A-E) and a 'sea-gate'. While the origins of the castle are very likely earlier, the current visible works are thought to date from the 16th century with later additions and repairs.²

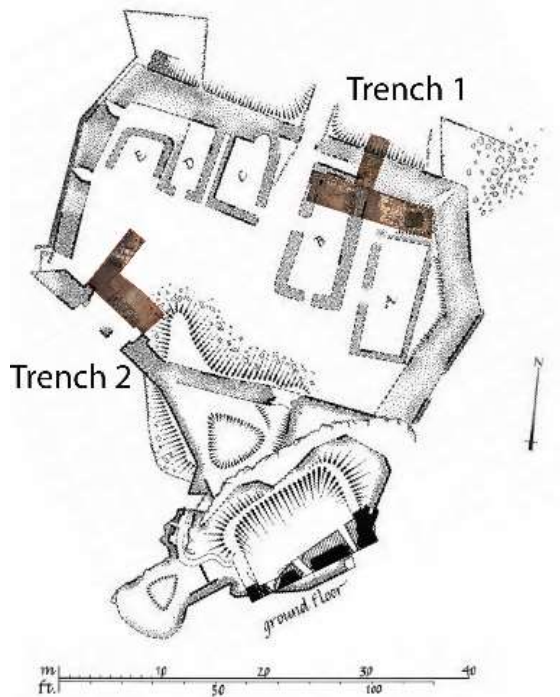
4: Dunyvaig Castle, Islay

The castle was one of the major strongholds of the MacDonalds of Dunyvaig and the Glens. The MacDonald Lordship of the Isles flourished throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, with its centre at Finlaggan on Islay, the island also containing the castle of Loch Gorm. The MacDonalds continued to hold Dunyvaig Castle until 1494 when, following several rebellions, it and their Islay lands were forfeited to the crown.

The relationship between the MacDonalds and another powerful west coast family, the Campbells, are complex, but prior to the forfeiture, their relations can perhaps be described as being that of cautious neighbours. After the forfeiture, the crown relied on successive earls of Argyll to exercise royal authority in the west. This increasingly resulted in Campbell encroachment on lands traditionally part of the MacDonald patrimony. In 1519, for example, the Earl of Argyll deputed his brother, John Campbell of Calder, as keeper of Dunyvaig; although the castle was regranted to the MacDonalds in 1545. By the early 17th century, riven by infighting and mounting debts, the MacDonalds of Dunyvaig had also lost their ancestral base of Islay, their chief, Angus, surrendering Dunyvaig Castle to the crown in 1605, before renouncing ownership of the whole island in favour of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor in 1615. This resulted in increased animosity towards the Campbells by the remaining members of the MacDonald Dunyvaig family.³

Excavations at Dunyvaig

In August 2018, Islay Heritage – a charity devoted to promoting the archaeology of Islay – and the University of Reading opened two excavation trenches within the castle to evaluate the archeological remains.



5: Location of Trenches 1 and 2

Trench 2 investigated the sea-gate that had been partially blocked by a turf structure, and the remains of a burnt building. Trench 1 identified that the partially ruined stone and mortar walls of the outer courtyard had also been fortified by turf walling. Trench 1 also exposed the north end of Building B, a large rectangular building measuring 11.5m by 4.5m internally, with substantial clay bonded walls.



6:Trench 1 with Building B at bottom right of picture

This building, like that in Trench 1, had been burnt prior to its collapse, possibly indicating a widespread conflagration within the castle courtyard. The seal matrix was discovered on a clay floor which lay beneath the wall collapse of Building B.



7: The seal matrix as found



8: The seal matrix after cleaning

The Seal Matrix

Analysis has shown that the seal matrix was made from an alloy of lead and tin but also had traces antimony and silver. It measures 36 mm in diameter and is cast in the form of a flower, a uniquely 16th and 17th century Scottish phenomenon. ⁴

The front of the seal has a broad-pointed armorial shield bearing the arms of the Campbells of Calder (or Cawdor) whose quartered arms derive from both the Campbell family and Thanes of Cawdor, when the families were united in marriage after 1511. The Campbell elements on the arms include the gyronny and a lymphad or galley (representing the galley of Lorne), while the stag's head, star and buckles are elements that derive from the Cawdor family arms.



The armorial shield is encircled by a Latin legend in Roman capitals, reading **S·IOANNIS· CAMPBEL·DE·CALD'** while the area between the shield and inscription have a simple floral decoration. The S at the beginning of the legend, as in many seals, represents the word '*Sigillum*' (seal).

On the reverse side encircling the ribbed handle, or stalk handle, is a floral decoration of eight petals. An engraved cross or X marks the top of the seal and either side of this lower down are a date, 1593, and a maker's mark, this, the conjoined initials DM (see image A below).



9: The seal impression or cast

The seal matrix bears a striking similarity to a seal matrix of James Hamilton now in the collection of the National Museum of Scotland.



10: James Hamilton seal matrix, 1601

This seal matrix has the same initials DM, but bears a slightly later date of 1601. Caldwell has suggested that the DM might be the mark of David Mylne, an Edinburgh goldsmith who was admitted to the guild in 1573 and this fits well with the dates on both matrices.⁵ If so, the similarity in design and the type of punches used in the decoration suggest the two matrices were likely produced in the same workshop and possibly from the same original blank, which would have been kept ready to be engraved or punched to the specifications of any client.

David Caldwell suggested that the initials DM are a silver hallmark and that the original seal matrix was made in silver, presumably for John Campbell himself, after which a certain number of copies would have been made in lead for various Cawdor administrators (David Caldwell pers. comm.). The use of a cast of the original silver seal matrix to produce copies may account for the traces of silver within the Dunyvaig seal.

In heraldic terms the coat of arms is quartered and would be described by the elements within each quarter:

Quarterly 1st and 4th a gyronny of eight, 2nd a galley or lymphad (image C), sails furled, 3rd a hart's head coupé with a star between the attires, on a chief 3 buckles.

A 'hart' being a stag, 'coupé' meaning the head cut off at the neck (image B), 'attires' are the antlers while a 'chief' is a horizontal band at the top of coat of arms.

As mentioned above, the coats of arms on the seal matrix combine heraldic devices used by the Campbell and Calder families.



11: Colin Campbell seal, 1296

The Campbell elements are present in the gyronny of eight (a gyron is a heraldic term for a triangular shape) and the galley (or lymphad as it is sometimes known in the heraldry).

The origins of the Campbell gyronny of eight are somewhat obscure and the meaning lost, but it may represent a division of a shield combining a cross and saltire design.

The earliest Campbell arms appear on a seal from 1296 belonging to Colin Campbell, the Cailen Mor from whom today's Campbell chiefs take the patronymic MacCailen Mor.

The galley was a device used by the many Hebridean families, in particular by two important families descended from Somerled; the MacDonalds who used what became known as the 'Galley of the Isles' and MacDougalls who used the 'Galley of Lorne'. A single galley appears on a copper alloy seal matrix recovered from the shore near Dunstaffnage Castle and dated to the 13th or 14th century.⁶ Given the castle's association with the MacDougall family, it is attractive to see this as a representation of the Galley of Lorne, however the lettering that can be made out include ... **MARI DE IN...**, the 'DE IN...' signifying *De Insulis*, a designation used by the Clan Donald.



12: Dunstaffnage seal matrix, 13th -14th century

However, a seal of Alexander MacDougall, Lord of Lorne, dating to 1296 similarly uses a galley on its own, which no doubt is a representation of the Galley of Lorne and is used in family armorial devices after this date.⁷

The Galley of Lorne became incorporated into Campbell armorial devices when they became Lords of Lorne in the 15th century. How the Campbells became Lords of Lorne is quite an involved story, but ultimately the lands of Lorne came into Campbell hands through the marriage of Colin, the first Earl of Argyll, to Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of John Stewart, Lord of Lorne, who became 1st Earl of Lennox, and claimed descent from the MacDougall Lords of Lorne. Thereafter, the Galley of Lorne is found quartered with the Campbell gyronny as seen within a seal of Archibald the 2nd Earl of Argyll dating to 1495.⁸



13: Archibald Campbell seal, 1495

The Calder elements on the Dunyvaig seal matrix are the stag's head, the star and the buckles. The Cawdor family chiefs were known as the Thanes of Cawdor and one of their earliest surviving seals dates to 1431, this the seal of Donald Cawder, Sheriff of Nairn, which has the legend **S DONALD**

de CALDOR and depicts a stag's head and on a chief, a buckle in the dexter (right side).⁹



14: Donald Cawder seal, 1431

Two stars appear on the seal of William Thane of Cawdor and Sherriff of Nairn, dating to 1458 and bearing the legend **SIGILLUM WILIMI DE CAWDOR**.¹⁰



15: William Cawder seal, 1458

No one seems quite sure what the buckle and star elements represent, although the buckle was also used by the Stirling family (of Moray) which might suggest a marriage alliance. The one buckle of Thane Donald was increased to three buckles within later armorial devices and it has been postulated this might indicate further acquisition of lands through marriage or inheritance.¹¹

The Campbell and Cawdor heraldic elements were combined when in 1510 John Campbell, the second or third son of Archibald the 2nd Earl, married Muriel Calder, heiress of the Cawdor estate and both their seals appear on a document of 1511. The story of the marriage of the heiress Muriel to John Campbell has all the elements of intrigue and skullduggery that often attach themselves to the perceived aggrandisement of the Campbells, a tale which will be related in a later edition of the Kist.

John Campbell's seal of 1511 has the legend in gothic letters **S·(?) IOHANIS CAMBELL DE...MI(LITIS)** and has a gyronny of eight with crest in sinister chief.¹²



16: John Campbell seal, 1511

The seal of Muriel, Lady of Calder, 1511 bears the legend in gothic letters **S MURIAL OF CAVDOR D EODE** and has a hart's head cabossed (head no neck showing) with a buckle between the attires.



17: Muriel Calder seal, 1511

The armorial devices can be seen combined within a seal of 1561 of John Campbell of Calder which has been quartered with 1st and 4th gyronny of eight, 2nd lymphad (galley) sails furled, oars in action, 3rd a stag head cabossed, on a chief a buckle between two stars. Thereafter these armorial devices are subsequently used by the Calder Campbells in various arrangements, including those on the Dunyvaig seal matrix.



18: John Campbell seal, 1561-62

The date of 1593 on the Dunyvaig seal matrix is also an inauspicious one for the Calder family, as in the previous year John Campbell of Calder was assassinated by other members of his clan.¹³ His heir and son, another John, however, was a minor at the time of his father's death and his estates were initially administered by Donald Campbell, himself only 22 and an illegitimate son of the murdered Calder. His title of 'Mr Donald' when he first appears on record indicates he had been educated at university and initially trained for the church, becoming Dean of Lismore. Donald, on the death of his father, now took control of the affairs of the family and later as Campbell of Ardnamurchan, became one of the strongmen of the Campbell family. In 1593, the young Calder is referred to as '*Johne Campbell now of Calder*' in a discharge by the Earl of Mar, although he was not retoured of his father's estate until 1596. Despite this delay in officially inheriting his father's titles and the fact he was still a minor does not seem to have prevented a new seal being made in 1593 just after his father's death, possibly to ensure that grants and charters and other official family business could continue in the young heir's name. It seems likely that the seal matrix was being used in this capacity by a family official at Dunyvaig.

The Seal Matrix and the Siege of 1615

The history of the castle in the 17th century is complex and it is documented to have been attacked at least four times by MacDonald clansmen who were successful in taking the castle from government/Campbell control in 1614, 1615 and 1647; each time, the castle was retaken from the MacDonalds following a siege or threat of siege and it is highly likely the seal matrix was deposited within Building B during one of these episodes.

At present, the most likely scenario is that it was lost or hidden during the events of 1614/1615. In 1614, following its loss to MacDonald forces, the castle was besieged by government troops led by Sir John Campbell of Calder and Sir Oliver Lambert, and its walls were partially destroyed by a bombardment in early 1615.

The excavation showed that Building B had been constructed over, and possibly from, the rubble of the partially destroyed castle walls. It seems likely then that Building B, perhaps along with the other buildings within the courtyard were constructed after Lambert's siege. This was a period when the castle was occupied by the Campbells and became John Campbell of Calder's administrative centre on Islay, this perhaps underlined by the presence of the seal matrix in Building B. Building B was a substantial structure measuring 11.5m by 4.5m internally and built against the courtyard wall parallel to the eastern side of the entrance gateway. It may be that the building was occupied by the constable of the castle or Campbell officials during this period, thereby requiring the use of the seal matrix.

In the summer of 1615 the castle was again attacked and re-taken by Sir James MacDonald after his escape from crown custody, when the constable of the castle, Alexander MacDougall, was killed and it may be to this period that we can ascribe the loss of the seal matrix.

We also know that Building B had been burnt; this event could, of course, be an accidental fire, but we also know that, at least, Building E had suffered the same fate, which might suggest the same date for their destruction during a violent takeover of the castle. In both cases the burnt remains of the buildings were succeeded by the turf refortifications.

The castle was not retaken by Campbell/government forces until October 1615 and prior to this Sir James MacDonald may have constructed the bulk of the earthen ramparts over the ruined walls of the castle, as it was reported that his men were also constructing earthworks at Loch Gorm. Here in the same period they had been '*bissie fortiefying the eyllan of Ellanlochgorme with ane baoune of feall of ane great breid, as the reportis tuanttie foote bread*'; a more modern reading would be 'busy fortifying the island of Loch Gorm with a wall of earth (or turf) of great breadth, reported to be twenty foot broad'. ¹⁴

Summary

The Campbell seal matrix is a well-preserved artefact that unusually provides a manufacture date and identifies its owner. The historical and archeological evidence from Dunyvaig Castle provide a testament to the prolonged and violent struggle for the control of Islay in the 17th century. The conflict between the MacDonalds and the Campbells encompassed wider political, economic and religious change that affected Scotland and beyond from the 16th century. As such, the seal matrix is a highly symbolic artefact placed at a specific time and place during this conflict which continued into the 18th century, the legacy of which reverberates down to the present day.

Notes

1. A **seal** impression is sometimes called a **cast**. The term '**matrix**' (from the Latin 'mater' meaning mother) implies that the design is cut into the surface; the equivalent in relief is called a 'patrix'. The matrix was pressed into hot beeswax usually mixed with a small amount of tree resin and some pigment that gave it colour.
2. RCAHMS. 1984. *Inventory of Argyll, Vol. 5: Islay, Jura, Colonsay and Oronsay*, 403, 268-375
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7. MacDonald, W, R. 1904. Scottish Armorial Seals, 39, 5
8. MacDonald, 325, 36
9. Ibid. 312, 35
10. Ibid. 314, 35
11. Innes, C. 1869. The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor, xiv-xv
12. MacDonald, 341, 39
13. Regan, R. 2018. 'James Campbell of Ardkinglass and the 'Great Contract' *The Kist*, Issue 95, 23-43
14. Smith, G G (ed.) 1895. Book of Islay, 322, notes

Expedition to Malaysia

James Urquhart

For several years NHASMA have offered a scholarship/travel bursary to any young person who wanted to pursue a project in line with the aims of the society and last year £250 was awarded to James Urquhart to participate in West Region Scout Groups Expedition to Malaysia in July 2019.

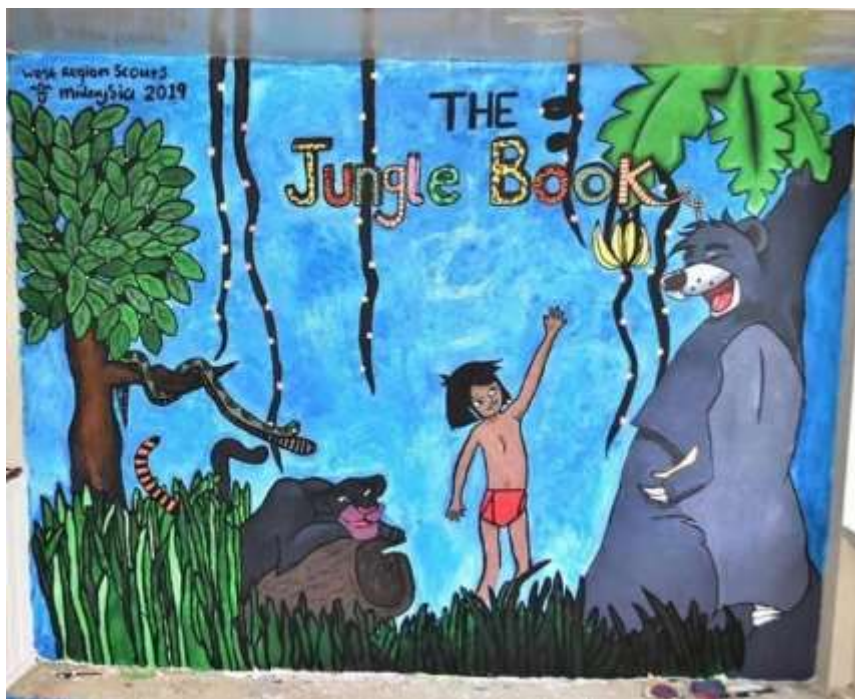
Along with members of other Scout Groups from the west of Scotland, the 19th Argyll Scouts were based in the Belum rainforest, one of the oldest in the world, working with the Orang Asli tribe in a remote village close to the Thailand border. The village was established a number of years ago following the creation of a man-made hydro power lake that displaced the Orang Asli, and their relocated village now contains some 200 individuals with access to only limited facilities. There is only pre-school education available for children aged 3 to 6, and the rainforest is a dangerous environment, so the youngest members of the community are restricted to staying in the village – there are no dedicated play facilities. The village is at least 2 to 3 hours from the nearest shop, so food options are very limited.

To address some of these issues the expedition committed to three projects in the village:

- Renovate a meeting room to make a classroom to allow a primary school teacher to be recruited.

The Scouts transformed the school room from a dark, unloved space into a clean, bright facility. The teaching of language will be a key focus – in addition to cleaning and painting the building inside and out, the team

brought out a selection of age appropriate books and learning aids. Whilst we were on the project, four of the team, following discussion with the pre-school teacher, created a jungle book mural. The Jungle Book will now be used as a cornerstone of future language teaching.



19: The Jungle Book mural

- Create a field to allow fruit trees, vegetables and herbs to be grown.

Over the course of nine days the team transformed an area of scrubland into a field, ready for planting. All the work was undertaken by hand using azada digging hoes. On the final day, the field was planted with fruit trees, vegetables and herbs. To ensure a sustainable legacy, the project has been

taken over by an agrarian who will train and mentor the members of the village in crop husbandry.



20: Working on the field for crops

- Build a playpark to provide a dedicated facility for the youngest members of the village.

This part of the project and other aspects of the expedition are given in 19th Argyll Scout James Urquhart's own words:

In July of 2019 I embarked on trip with Scouts from all over the West Region of Scotland to the Malaysian rainforest to work alongside the native Orang Asli tribe. We undertook several projects in the remote village including; the construction of a play park for the children of the tribe, renovating a meeting room into a classroom to allow a Primary school teacher to be recruited and created a field to allow fruit, vegetable and herbs to be grown. I was most heavily involved in the construction of the play park. This was challenging due to limited equipment and



unexpected materials on arrival, we had expected to have been using bamboo to build the park but when we arrived there was only steel pipes. Nevertheless, we managed to finish the park, and all the other projects, on time. We succeeded in building a large swing fixed with concrete and an exciting obstacle course and were proud to see the children of the tribe play in the park after completion. The village itself was very isolated and the villagers rarely travelled outside, partly due to the long distance to the nearest

towns. Communication was difficult due to language barriers however we did spend time with the children, learn local dances and play football.

Belum rainforest, where we were working, is one of the oldest in the world and I was lucky to be given the opportunity to spend some time exploring it. I was taken on a boat ride through some of the rivers of the rainforest and travelled on foot to see a Rafflesia, the world's largest species of flowers and to swim in a pool below a waterfall. The rainforest was very hot and humid with temperatures ranging from 35°C to 40°C.

I am grateful for the NHASMA Bursary that contributed to transportation cost (flight to Kuala Lumpur then bus to Belum rainforest), accommodation and equipment such as drills, materials and other construction tools. The trip to Malaysia has been life changing, I have learnt many new skills and been given the chance to see and learn about

a remote culture very different from our own and explore one of the oldest rainforests in the world.



21: West Region Scouts with the people of Orang Asli

The Seeds of the Red Roots of Dunoon,

Part IV

Roddy Regan

Alistair MacColla had wintered with his men in Kintyre and on the 22nd February 1647 it was reported that *‘Kilketto is supposed to be about foure thousand strong, his army consisting of one thousand Horse, and three thousand foot, most of them completely armed, and very expert Souldiers’*.⁵⁴ Aware of the looming threat of the Covenanter force MacColla proceeded to carry out a ‘scorched earth’ campaign to spoil the lands through which Leslie would advance, meaning of course another wave of destruction for Argyll’s inhabitants. Archibald MacDonald of Sanda and Duncan MacDougall led some 400–500 men through Kilmartin, Kilmichael and Kilberry, destroying anything that remained, while in April Angus MacDonald of Largie, with 1,000 men, many from Clanranald, burned Inveraray while the *‘lands of Cowal, Skipney, Kylflait, Knapdale and certain other bounds within the sherifffdom of Argyll were all burnt and destroyed by the said rebels’*.⁵⁵

On 5th May 1647, Alastair, still styling himself as *‘Sergeant Major General of his Majestys forces’* appointed his *‘well-beloved father, Coll MacDonald’*, as commander of Islay and the other islands, while also occupying Dunyvaig castle.

However, from this point in time things for Alistair MacColla and the remaining Royalists in Argyll would go awry and the folklore story of Alistair MacColla and the *‘Mill of Gocam- gó’* might give us a reason why.

Apparently, as a child, Alistair’s nurse had cast a spell with a ball of blue yarn and prophesied *‘Ni thu móran gaisge fhathast agus théid gach blár*

leat gas gun sáth thu do bhratach aig muileann Ghocam-gó, agus tha théid leat tuille 'na dhéidh sin!' (You will perform great deeds of valour yet and you will be successful in every battle until you set up your standard at the mill of Gocam-go, but you will never be successful after that!). While preparing to burn the mill at *Ghocam-gó*, the miller offered some Alistair some snuff. The gesture appears to have appeased Alistair, who accepted the millers offer and ordered his men to spare the mill. However, when taking the snuff, Alistair set his standard on the ground and a lucky penny or charm, which was embedded in the staff, was lost. Alistair, with the loss of his charm and now being aware of the name of the mill, apparently lost his resolve (it is not related what happened thereafter to the miller or the mill).

Whether the story is true or not, it does appear that MacColla had perhaps given up his aspiration of holding Kintyre and was planning a strategic withdrawal to Ireland.⁵⁶

The government force under General David Leslie had quartered in Strathallan until 17th May, moving to meet with Argyll at Dunblane before reaching the devastated Inveraray by 21st May. Argyll at this time was acting in his capacity as a member of the Committee of War and Colonel of his regiment which, like that of Ardkinglass, formed part of Leslie's force.

It was reported that before leaving Edinburgh, Argyll had lost his temper with the Frenchmen, Jean de Montereuil, who suggested he let MacColla depart on terms, at this suggestion Argyll flew into a rage replying that *'...the only agreement he would come to was whether they were to make him shorter or longer than he was'*, this of course meaning he would behead or hang him.

On the 24th May the Covenanter army, numbering perhaps 2,500 men, moved into Kintyre and on the following day engaged and defeated some of MacColla's troops at Rhunahaorine, near Largie Castle (now demolished), south of Tarbert. For the loss of only nine wounded, the Covenanters killed sixty-eight of the enemy, capturing three of their leaders and clearing the way into the south of Kintyre. The slain were reputedly buried within the castle gardens.⁵⁷

Aeneas MacDonell of Glengarry, one of MacColla's commanders, had retreated with his regiment down the Kintyre Peninsula to Dunaverty Castle where he met MacColla.

With the campaign in Kintyre all but lost, Alistair and Glengarry evacuated as many men from Kintyre as their limited number of galleys would allow, with preference given to Irish troops, who probably had less chance of being spared than the Highlanders many of these now released from service to make their way home as best they could.

It was decided that Aeneas MacDonell would go to Islay to help defend Dunyvaig Castle with 200 men, while Gilleasbuig MacGilleasbuig of Sanda and his son, Gilleasbuig Ogh, with 300 men, including many MacDougalls from Lorne, would occupy Dunaverty. Alasdair MacColla would go to Ireland to help persuade the Earl of Antrim to organise and send Irish reinforcements. Some troops (possibly MacAlistairs) also garrisoned Lochhead (Lochkilkerran, Campbeltown).⁵⁸

After this, MacColla crossed to Gigha with a number of his troops, ostensibly to collect reinforcements, although General David Leslie's less sympathetic account of 24th of May states '*...that Alaster and his father had fled, in disorder...*' .

Many of the 'country people' of Kintyre, including those that had been supporters of MacColla, appealed to Leslie and the Marquis of Argyll to grant them pardon if they submitted. However, this appeal was refused on the grounds that if they had been serious about asking for a pardon they should have stopped MacColla's flight along with that of Irish, the refusal perhaps indicating the hardened attitude of both Leslie and Argyll.

By the 26th May 1647, Leslie had laid siege to Lochhead and had by the 31st May received and accepted the surrender of the garrison.⁵⁹

Another local tradition tells how at this time Hector MacAlastair, of Loup, along with two of his sons, were captured by Argyll while on their way to relieve Dunaverty. Argyll had them hung at '*Cnoc-na-Murce*' (Whinny Hill near Loch Kilkerran) and reportedly said '*first hang the whelps and then the old fox*' for which he was cursed by Hector's wife, a Campbell kinswoman. Another tradition tells us that it was the MacAlisters of Glenlussa who were executed along with some MacKays. Both stories of course may be true.⁶⁰

From Lochhead, Leslie moved to besiege Dunaverty and one of the main accounts of what happened next was provided by Sir James Turner, Leslie's Adjutant-General. Turner relates how MacColla had '*...put in 300 of his best men in a house on the top of a hill, called Dunavertie, enviroind with a stone wall, where there was not a drop of water but what fell from the clouds*'.⁶¹

At Dunaverty the Covenanters, after an assault on the defences, managed to take a ditch or outwork protecting the castle's water supply, with a loss to the Royalists of forty men as opposed to five or six Covenanters. Without water, the defenders recognised their plight and duly sued for a parley after which they were offered terms.



22: Dunaverty Castle

James Turner tells us that;

'We beseegd Dunavertie, which keepd out well enough, till we stormd a trench they had at the foot of the hill, wherby they commanded two stripes of water. This we did take in the asiault. Fortie of them were put to the sword. We losd five or sixe, with Argiles Major. After this, inexorable thirst made them desire a parley. I was orderd to speake with them; neither could the Lieutenant Generall be movd to grant any other conditions, then that they sould yeeld on discretion or mercy; and it seemd strange to me to heare the Lieutenant Generalls nice distinction, that they sould yeeld themselvs to the kingdomes mercy, and not to his'.

The fact that terms had been offered is also stated in a later account of the siege which was given in a decree by Sir John Fletcher, the King's Advocate, on behalf of John MacDougall Laird of Dunollie (then a minor) and other MacDougalls which states;

'the fort of Dunavertie in Kintyre, which not being able to hold out Ther being ane message sent into these within the fort that if they did not come forth again ten hours the next day they should not have quarters, and if they came out they should have quarters. And the said Johne M'dougall being within the fort with his friends, who having punctually as was desired at the verie hour of the day com forth and rendered themselves'.⁶²

As Turner's account stated however, Leslie made it clear that they were yielding to the kingdom's mercy and not to his, Turner then tells us that once the garrison had surrendered;

'...and after they were comd out of the Castle, they were put to the sword, everie mothers sonne, except one young man, Mackoull, whose life I begd, to be sent to France with a hundreth countrey fellows whom we had smoakd out of a cave, as they doe foxes, who were given to Captaine Cambell, the Chancellors brother'.⁶³

The statement made by Sir John Fletcher firmly blamed the Marquis of Argyll for the atrocity;

'they wer all be the instigation of the deceast Archibald Campbell, late Marquess of Argyll, to the number of fyve hundredth men, officers and souldiers, cruellie and inhumanelie butchered in cold blood (The said John M'Dougall being then a child and in nonage wes only spared).'

The 'grand indictment' against the Marquis of Argyll charges that;

'he caused to be slaughtered and murdered, the number of 260 of them or 300...' and '...did dispose of the rest of them at your own hand, without lawful warrant to captains William Hay, and Archibald Campbell, to serve in the French wars'.⁶⁴

The numbers killed are confirmed by another account written by Thomas Henderson (Leslie's Secretary) on 6th June 1647;

'wee have made great execution upon the rebels, killed thrie hundredth that were in the fort of Dounaverty, non were spared but fourscoir that were permitted to goe to france with Captian Campbell.'⁶⁵

Of the 90 victims named on a list held at Inveraray, 49 were MacDougalls, including two of the Chief's brothers, three of his first cousins, the nephew of MacDougall of Raray, together with the lairds of Ardmore and Degnish. The rest of those listed have Scottish, and recognisably Argyllshire names. If, as stated, up to 300 people were killed, it is possible any unnamed victims may have been Irish or they were just unknown to the killers.⁶⁶

While the above accounts might suggest the massacre took place immediately after the surrender of Dunaverty, other accounts indicate that that it may not have happened until sometime after. One of these relates how '*Angus M'Eacharin of Killelan*' managed to hand over '*ane Litell reid box full of writtis*' via James Turner to the Marquis of Argyll being unsure at the time '*whidder he sould be killed or sent over seas*', which suggests the high degree of menace surrounding the captured troops.⁶⁷

How the members of the garrison were killed is uncertain but various traditions exist, one which suggests they were thrown from a cliff while another tells us they were tied up in pairs and shot by Campbells whose families had been killed by MacColla's men at the 'barn of bones'.⁶⁸

Bishop Guthry later blamed Leslie for the massacre along with a minister Mr John Nevoy (Leslie's Chaplain), who along with the Marquis of Argyll had encouraged the Covenanters to take revenge.

'But having surrendered their arms the Marquis [of Argyll] and a bloody preacher, Mr. John Nevoy, prevailed with him to break his word, and so the army was let loose upon them and killed them all without mercy'.⁶⁹

However, Guthry was not present and his version must have relied on other accounts, while Turner relates that Leslie regretted the affair;

'It is true David Leslie hath confessed it afterwards to severalls and to myselfe in particular oftener than once that he had spared them all if that Nevoy put on by Argile had not both by preachings and imprecations instead of prayers led him to commit that butcherie'.⁷⁰

Leslie and Turner both primarily blamed Nevoy, with Leslie apparently saying to the minister *'Now, Mr. John, have you not once gotten your fill of blood?'*⁷¹

Argyll, in his later defence at his trial, stated that as Alistair MacColla and his men had *'...continued in arms contrary to his majesty's order...went to the house of Lochhead and Dunabarty, out of which David Lesley took them, without any capitulation, and disposed of them as the council of war thought fit...'*

According to folklore after being refused Christian burial in the nearby chapel, the bones of those killed were gathered and buried in a communal grave on the seashore under the walls of Dunaverty just west of the fortress.

There are few redeeming stories attached to all this reported carnage but one tells how young Ranald mac Gilleasbuig Ogh of Sanda, still a baby, was

smuggled out of the castle by his nurse, Flora MacCambridge who was then detained by Captain Campbell of Craignish. Flora claimed that the child was her own and in one act of kindness Craignish while pointing out that *'It has the eyes of a MacDonnell'* went one to say *'but, no matter, it wants clothing'* cutting off a piece of his own plaid and gave it to Flora as protection for the child.⁷²

Despite this, the Covenanter pursuit of Royalists continued across the islands. On the 19th June Dougall Campbell of Inverawe, along with 220 foot and eighty horse, proceeded to Gigha where they were joined by Leslie on the 23rd June, although due to a shortage of boats Leslie could only take half his infantry and eighty cavalry with him, the remainder of the Covenanters left on the mainland, under Colonel Robert Montgomery.⁷³

Few escaped the wrath of the Campbells and on the 24th June the Covenanters had moved to Islay and laid siege to Dunyvaig castle.

On 5th July 1647 Ranald and Donald Gorm MacDonnell and Captain Donald ÓNeill were given written articles in which Argyll and Leslie promised that;

'Upon the performance whereof, we, Archd. Marquis of Argyll & Gen. Lieut. Leslie, promise, and oblige our soldiers, to grant unto all and every one within the said fort, their lives; and to promise all the country people, or Scotch men, to pass home and enjoy their own livings peaceably.'

James Turner again relates what happened;

'Dunnaveg, after a stout resistance, for want of water, came to a parley, I am appointed to treat with one Captain Oneale and one Donald Gorum, who came out of the house on the Lieutenant Generalls word. Life was promised to them; all the officers to goe where they pleased; the others to be transported to France, and given to Henry Sinclair my old Lieutenant

Colonell. The articles I saw couchd in writeing and signd by both Argile and Lesley. This capitulation was faithfullie observed.'

However;

'...the old man Coll, comeing foolishlie out of the house, where he was governour, on some parole or other, to speake with his old friend the Captaine of Dunstaffage Castle, was surprisd and made prisoner, not without some staine to the Lieutenant Geineralls honor. He was afterwards hangd by a jury of Argiles sheriff depute, one George Cambell, from whose sentence few are said to have escapd that kind of death'.⁷⁴

The fortalice on the Isle of Loch Gorm; '*A litle skurvie ile in the end of Yla was keepd by a bastard sonne of Coll Kittoch*', managed to hold out for some days but eventually fell to Leslie. The siege of Dunyvaig and Loch Gorm appeared to be much less bloody affairs than those that had preceded them, although Alistair MacDonald's father, the '*old man coll*' in Turners description, and his son were taken prisoner and later hung near Dunstaffnage.

Moving on to Mull, the Covenanters received the submission of Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart Mull saving his lands '*with the losse of his reputation, if ever he was capable to have any*'. MacLean offered up his son as hostage and handed over fourteen Irishmen who were hanged by Leslie.

Turner, who may have become a bit weary of the bloodletting, criticising both Leslie and MacLean that '*It was not well done to demand them from Macklaine, bot inexcusablie ill done of him to betray them.*'

That some Campbells still were not satisfied in their revenge is shown by Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan (nearly 80 years old) of whom Turner wrote;

'Here I cannot forget one Sir Donald Cambell, a very old man, fleshed in blood from his verie infancie, who with all imaginable violence pressd that all the whole clan of Macklaine sould be put to the edge of the sword....and with some diffcultie was he commanded silence by his chiefe the Marques of Argile'.

The Covenanter army crossed to the mainland and took Clanranald's Castle Tioram.

Campbell recriminations continued as the Marquis of Argyll remained the hereditary Justiciar of Argyll and Isles and instigated legal proceedings in his own court to strip Lamont and MacDougall elites of their titles and estates, while other Campbell kinsmen forced Royalist families to transfer land into their hands.

Some MacAlister officers, who at Lochhead had surrendered on terms to Leslie, were recalled from parole or seized and along with sixteen of the leading gentry were executed. Other MacAlisters along with some survivors of Dunaverty were also sent to join the army for service in France.⁷⁵

For the Lamonts, their suffering at the hands of the Campbells had not ended at Dunoon. For example, Patrick *'fiare of Escog'* and John of *'Auchingylle'* were tried at Inveraray in 1648 (possibly on trumped up charges) and while Patrick was sentenced to death, John was found not guilty. However, George Campbell, Justice and Sherriff Deputy for Argyll stated *'that it was not fit for one young man should die alone'*, whereas John was retried and hanged along with his kinsman.

Sir James Lamont was held in various Campbell strongholds, including Carnassarie, Dunstaffnage and Innischonnel;

'Sr James himselfe and his brethren they were keeped seven years prisoners in great want and misery for Sr James had neither shirt nor cloaths for four yeares together but the same hee had upon him when hee was taken The which in the said space did all rott of him So that there did not keepe so much together as cover his nakednesse And at last there was given him one shirt and one suite of very coarse gray cloth'.

Not only was Sir James forced to resign his lands into Campbell hands but he was pursued for debts and even charged '*...4,400 marks or thereabouts, for alledging four years entertainment...*' while held captive in Dunstaffnage.

In 1651 Sir James, still held in Campbell captivity, was transferred to Stirling Castle to answer charges by the Committee of Estates for aiding Alasdair MacColla during the devastation of Argyll. While the Covenanting forces who were holding the castle surrendered to General Monck and James Lamont was released.

After his release from captivity the Campbells tried to hunt down Sir James Lamont raiding '*...the house of Southanon belonging to my lord Sempell, and the house of Corsby belonging to the laird of Auchnames, where the said persons did make search for the said sir James...*',

Despite this Sir James managed to escape to Arran under protection of Duchess of Hamilton although Argyll unsuccessfully tried to get a warrant from parliament for his arrest. Eventually the 'contract' that Sir James had been forced to sign was overturned and he regained its lands, but was still surrounded by Campbell adversaries.

Despite the events at Dunaverty, the Campbells and the Covenanters now moved north to deal with the remaining Royalist MacDougalls.

Dunollie castle was besieged by a Covenanter force under Colonel Robert Montgomery and the captain Dougall MacDougall of Dunach was forced to surrender on terms. The unfortunate captain of the castle was then imprisoned for 18 months in Innischonnel castle where he was kept in chains *'which consumed his flesh and sinews of his legs until, by torment and pain for safety of his life'* he resigned his lands of Ballicharry and made payment of a 10,000 merks in cash to the Marquis for his expenses during his imprisonment.

Gylen castle was also besieged by the Covenanters, where they *'threatened those that were therein with hanging to death if they did not burn'* the castle. After the surrender of the castle the Brooch of Lorn is said to have been taken by the Campbells of Bargleen during the ensuing looting.

The lands of MacDougall of Dunollie were also devastated by the Campbells who *'cruelly robbed and took away the whole bestial, goods, corn and plenishing that was upon the said lands to the value of £12,000 sterling; of the which rebellion, robbery, murder, slaughter, burnings, depredations and other crimes foresaid committed'*

John MacDougall of Raray, (whose eldest son had been killed at Inverlochy) had his lands plundered and was forced to flee. Returning to his lands in 1648, he was arrested, aged eighty, and imprisoned at Inveraray before being forced to resign his house and ninety merklands of Ardmaddy.⁷⁶

Alistair MacColla returned to Ireland where he planned to raise further forces to continue his campaign in Scotland, but these were thwarted by the intensification of the Confederate War. He joined the Confederate army of Munster as lieutenant-general to Viscount Taaffe but was taken

prisoner by English Parliamentarian soldiers and shot after the battle of Knocknanuss on the 13th November 1647.

Montrose, after his defeat at Phillphaugh, tried again raise the clans in the Highlands; but failed and in September 1646 he embarked for exile in Norway. From there he led another attempt to raise troops for the exiled Charles II, was defeated and eventually captured in disguise with *'two followers, four sorry horses, little money and no baggage'*. He was tried and sentenced to death by Parliament and executed on 21st May 1650.⁷⁷

While Argyll remained a powerful figure he never recovered from the indebtedness he had incurred during the war and was even arrested in London by his creditors, although quickly released.

However, after the Restoration, Argyll was arrested by Charles II and indicted for Treason, and part of the indictment against him was that he bore the responsibility for the massacres at Dunoon and Dunaverty. In his defence, he argued that the actions at Dunoon had been undertaken under James Campbell of Ardkinglass, who had been acting on behalf of parliament. In Ballie's account of Argyll's trial;

*'it was pleaded for him that his Act of Indemnitie kept him from all that was libelled before the year 1651; and that with regard to the charges of his cruelty towards the Lamonds, M'Donalds and others, much of that guilt lay on his deputy, George Campbell, and on his friends, Ardkinglas, M'Conochie, and others'.*⁷⁸

Following this the Committee of Estates cited *'...the Laird of Ardkinglas and others before them for alleged contravention of some articles granted to Lammount at the Intaking of his house of Toward without any proper summons or charge...'*

However, nothing came of this indictment, although it caused some resentment amongst the Campbell gentry such as Duncan Campbell of Inverawe who thought '*...it extremely hard that men, who had faithfully served the public, should be called in question by the public for anything they had done against the rebels...*' the action '*...a great discouragement to honest men*'. Most of the Campbells undoubtedly had little sympathy for the Lamonts who they regarded as turncoats, traitors, perpetrators and facilitators of atrocities against their clan.

During his trial, the Marquis of Argyll also managed to argue that the offer of surrender at Dunaverty was conditional and was at the discretion of the Covenanted army's council of war. He also argued that pursuing the Lamonts, the MacAllisters and the MacDougalls were part of his commission authorised by the Covenanted Parliament of 1644 which had been upheld by the Treaty of Breda, which had formalised the relationship between the Covenanters and Charles II, and as such he and his clansmen along with David Leslie were covered by the Act of Oblivion.⁷⁹

Although Argyll was acquitted of any involvement in the massacres and indeed of complicity in the death of Charles I, he was sentenced to death on proof of his collaboration with Cromwell's government. At the end of his life, Argyll admitted that all of his plans and schemes had gone awry. Awaiting execution he described himself as '*a distracted man, a distracted subject, of a distracted time wherein I lived*'. He was beheaded by a guillotine named the 'Maiden' on 27th May 1661.⁸⁰

The events during the civil war left Argyll a broken place, with a surviving population devastated and traumatised by these events and it would have taken the residents of the shire a long time to recover, if they ever did.

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Covid-19: Kilmartin Museum's Response



Due to the ongoing restrictions on non-essential gatherings put in place to limit the spread of Covid-19, with a heavy heart, we are very sad to announce that as of Friday 20th March 2020, our Museum gallery, café and shop will close to visitors until further notice.

This decision has not been made lightly. Kilmartin Museum is an independent charity reliant on income from our trading operations. However, it has become increasingly clear over the past few days that action must be taken to ensure the safety of our staff, Trustees, volunteers and visitors as well as the wider community.

All our events, including weekly volunteer-led guided Glen walks and other volunteer activities will also be cancelled or postponed until further notice. This includes the Easter events on 10th and 13th April at Heart of Argyll wildlife centre, the winter talk scheduled for 16th April, the Children's Archaeology and Wildlife club (Auks), and all education service visits to schools and community groups.

Some staff will be in the offices during the closure period and can be contacted by phone or email. We very much hope that this is a short term closure and that we can be fully operational again very soon.

Please keep an eye on our website and social media channels for further updates.

We wish all in our community the very best in these challenging times.

NHASMA: your local wildlife and history society

In line with government advice, as of 20th March 2020 all meetings of the Natural History and Antiquarian Society of Mid Argyll (NHASMA) have been suspended and the programme of 2020 summer activities has been cancelled.

Please check our website www.kist.scot for updates.

We wish all our members and the wider community safety and good health at this time.

The KIST is a joint publication between Kilmartin Museum
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Cost per issue within the UK £3.00 (inclusive of post and packing).
Cost per issue outside of UK £3.00 (plus cost of postage and packaging).

Back issues of the Kist can be obtained from <http://kist.scot/>.

NHASMA membership subscriptions (incl. 2 issues of the KIST): Single £7.00,
Couples £10.00, Student £5.00.

Contact Moira Young, email: membership@kist.scot
Cheques payable in Sterling to N.H.A.S.M.A.

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