

The CGILVRAY HRONICLE

The LEGENDS

The earliest stories, concerning specific McGilvrays of Mull, occur in the early 1500's. Of course, any concept of our heritage from that era must be based largely on legend & folklore. Although such tales were likely founded on fact, they have most certainly been embellished through innumerable retellings around the hearth during long winter nights. The violence common to all these stories appears to illustrate the temper of the times.



The Legend Begun, by Geo/P Chalmers

A number of stories pertain to McGilvray of Glencannel, the brother of Pennyghael. His lands were northeast of Pennyghael, in the valley on the other side of Ben More, above Loch Ba. He also likely owned nearby Gortebuy (i.e. garden of, or top end of Glencannel). The legends suggest the MacLeans secretly coveted these lands of their 'allies' which resulted in a pattern of destruction against our Glencannel family.

Early one morning a MacLean called at Glencannel & was told that McGilvray had gone deer stalking in nearby Glen More. Why anyone in the McGilvray household would have given a possible enemy this information, or why they would not have forewarned the laird, is unknown. In any event, this MacLean followed McGilvray, spotted him & his dog on a ridge & bushwhacked him. As a parting gesture of defiance, when he passed Pennyghael, he carefully placed a burnt stick in the thatch over the door. Continuing his flight he instructed the first person he encountered to "*tell McGilvray, when he gets up, that a fine buck lies dead in Glen More*".

When this 'lay-about' Pennyghael found the burnt stick & heard of the 'dead buck' he guessed what had happened. After finding his brother's body he related the events to his overlord, MacLean of Duart, who surmised that the murderer had fled to the nearest safe refuge, Colonsay, an island 15 miles south of Mull. At once Duart dispatched a messenger to its laird, MacPhee, demanding the head of the villain. Although a traditional enemy of MacLean, MacPhee acceded to this demand & had the man beheaded. A twig was passed through the eye sockets to form a handle & the head was carried back to Mull & flung at the feet of Duart.

MacLean was naturally incensed at the indignity thus shown to one of his clansmen. His angry outburst & vilification of MacPhee was soon conveyed back to Colonsay & the old enmity was rekindled. MacPhee launched an attack but was repulsed in the bloody battle of Port Bhethain on the southwest coast (at Scoor; six miles west of Carsaig).

The Glencannel branch, like Pennyghael, were followers of Duart whom they supported at the Battle of Bachdach Chearrira (on Kerrera) in the late 1500's. McGilvray of Glencannel was killed but was praised as having been the bravest fighter. (Could he have been deliberately exposed?) He was buried with honors, likely in the graveyard on the hillside at the top end of Loch Ba. The gravestones at Glencannel & Glenforsa would later be smashed by a clearance factor in an attempt to destroy the feelings of family & place enjoyed by the people. The broken pieces are now part of the sheep fence.

This Glencannel McGilvray's father (or grandfather) was Chancellor to Lachlan Cattnach MacLean of Duart (1475-1523). Lachlan was the 'natural' son of a MacIntosh chief's daughter, but his birth was legitimized in 1496 & he became chief in 1504. He didn't like his wife Elizabeth (a daughter of Arch, the 2nd Earl of Argyll) who, among other things, had tried to poison him. "*Following the advice of two of his vassals (possibly McGilvrays), who exercised a considerable influence over him from the tie of fostering*", he had her cast onto a rock in the sea (Lady Rock, off Duart Pt) so that the tide, & not he, would kill her. (84p.128 & 140v3p.71 & 162p.197) Fortunately, for her, some fishermen noticed her waving her petticoat & returned her to her own family. This family invited

Lachlan to explain the 'death' & halfway through the sad tale his wife appeared. He was told to leave but shortly thereafter, a brother, Sir John Campbell of Calder, met MacLean in Edinburgh &, being so incensed at the infamous affair, thrust his sword, sheath & all, through MacLean. (132 & 187p.123) Another version claims he 'dirked' him while asleep in bed in Edinburgh. (193ap.534) Lachlan was 48 when he was murdered 10 Nov 1523.

On the same day as the wife was cast on the rock, her three year old nephew was seized & forced to run naked around a roaring fire, prodded by hot apples. These bruises resulted in his being called Iain gorm (Blue John). His nurse couldn't pass the circle of men until McIllworrie (McGilvray) of Glencannel surreptitiously let her through his legs, & she grabbed the boy & escaped. (171v2#12p.99)

Another episode, concerning McGilvray of Glen Cannel, occurred c1523 when he, as Chancellor to Duart, recommended the hanging of a tax collector, one Stewart of Appin. When the relatives came seeking revenge, McGilvray & his friends fled to a cave at Ardtornish, two miles southeast of Lochaline in Morvern. Later, a group of bounty hunters, led by 'One-eyed John McColl', caught him unawares, threw him from a cliff, & presented his head for the reward. (48p.299 & 141v1p.170&p.231 & 48p.299) It appears this McGilvray had stolen a cow from a local boy who informed on his whereabouts. McGilvray made a further mistake when he carelessly neglected to post a vigilant lookout. Again, it is curious that Duart could not (or would not) protect his own Chancellor.

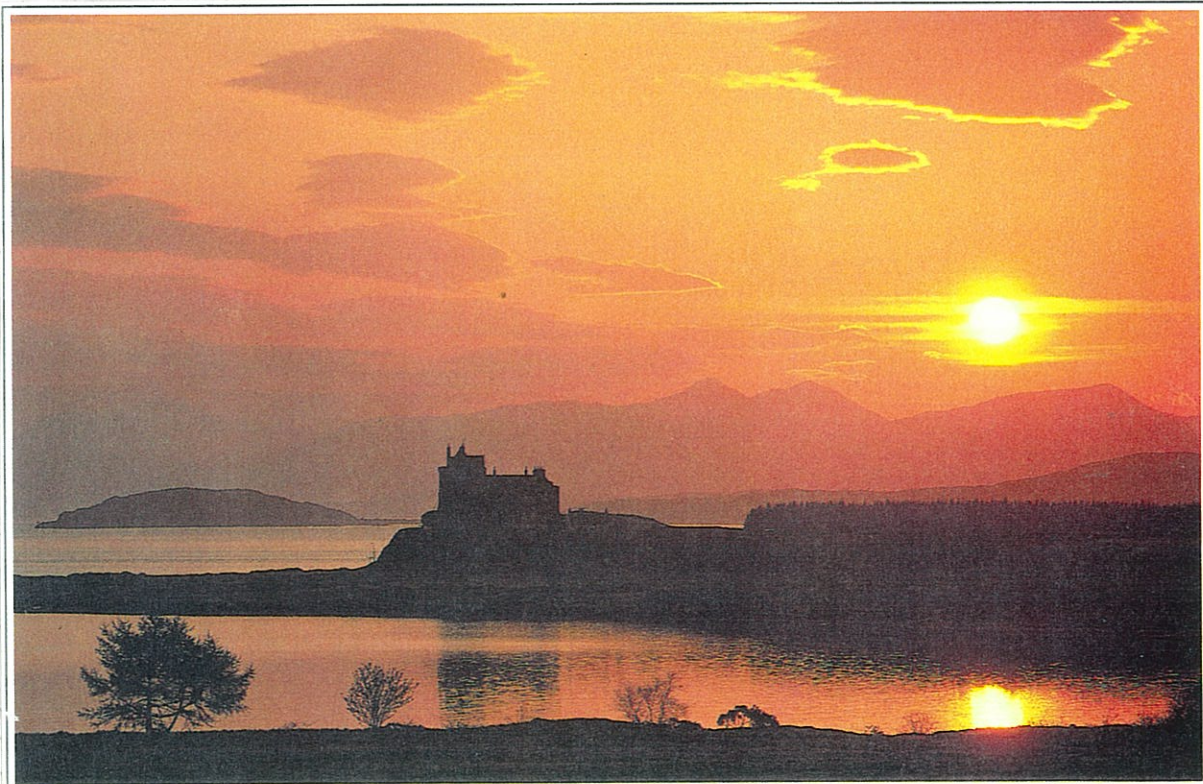
Although supposedly a friend of Duart, another Glencannel chief wasn't liked by MacLean of Aros who coveted his valley. One night Glencannel was treacherously attacked while a dinner guest at Aros & received a vicious head wound before being rescued by his attendants. Safely home, the 'Mull Doctor' found that only a thin membrane covered his brain; yet the patient began to recover.

Aros met the doctor & was infuriated to hear that McGilvray would live. He offered Beaton (the doctor) the lands of Pennycross (near Pennyghael) if he would finish the killing. After getting this deal in writing, Beaton visited his patient & broke the membrane. McGilvray, when he realized what had been done, grabbed his sword but, regrettably, missed the doctor while the force of the blow nearly split the bed in two. Unfortunately, this effort killed the patient. (141p.263) When McGilvray's brother discovered the body he realized his own vulnerability, &, collecting his family, he fled from Mull. It is curious why he didn't go to Pennyghael. As well, he must have been less a man than his brother to cut & run.

*To be feared of a thing - & yet to do it,
is what makes the prettiest (bravest) kind of man. (233p.139)*

How much truth is in these tales is unknown but the McGilvrays of Glencannel did fade out & Beaton did receive Pennycross, in 1572, from (Glencannel's 'friend') Hector of Duart. (85p.43) Once again, it seems strange that Duart did not stand by his dependant & let Aros go unpunished. Possibly he too was involved & merely had his Shenachies alter the story as do the victors today. But, the land remains linked to McGilvrays as late as 1635 when Glen Tanner (Glencannel) & Gortenbuie were given to the Reverend Martin McGilvray under a warrandice (see p.130). When or why this property was ultimately relinquished, by the family, is not known. What is known is that by 1742 Alex McGilvray of Pennyghael is renting these lands from Argyll after Argyll had wrung them from Duart. So Duart did get his hands on them.

All these legends concerning Glencannel indicate that family suffered serious reverses in the 1500's; three murdered, one killed in battle (& likely another one or more killed at Flodden), one died on his wedding night (discussed later) & one (or more) fled. For a small clan, such as the McGilvrays, this would have been a disaster. Was it a coincidence or a conspiracy? This branch may well have been the more senior &, but for the above losses, our history might have been titled 'McGilvray of Glencannel'.



Duart Castle at sunrise, by Nick Gordon

The Beatons were famous physicians & herbalists during the Middle Ages on the sacred island of Iona where they used their medicine & knowledge for the service of the Christian mission. They came originally from Bethune, France (hence Beatouns) c1320. (85p.35) Another source claims they came to England with William the Conqueror & had moved on to Scotland c1165. From Iona their descendants spread to the Ross of Mull & were hereditary physicians to Duart. This version says Pennycross was given as remuneration 'for honest labor'. (171v1p.299)

Hector MacLaine of Duart, on 20 Oct 1572, gave Piencofs to Andrew McDonald Vikinoldif, his servant, whose son was Malcolm Vikinolduf (commonly called Malcolm Beaton). They paid £20 Scots feu duty to Duart. (105 #1014)

Malcolm's two sons were;

1. Don = Angus = Malc d.1725/6 no issue, thus to Rev John (below)
2. John = Abraham
 - = Jim
 - = John (Min of Kilninian) = Edmund
 - = Neil (became a barber/surgeon)

In the late 1500's, a Beaton became the chief court physician to the Scottish King James VI (before he became James I of England). However, Beaton was poisoned by jealous courtiers after they had first hidden all his possible antidotes. If it was the same Beaton as in our story, he was justly served. A cross on a cairn, erected to his memory in 1574 or 1582, still stands just west of the village of Pennyghael where he once grew his herbs. (3 & 4½)



Beaton Cairn; dated 1582

There is also an interesting tale of the MacLaines of Lochbuie which occurred at this time & place. 'Iain the Toothless' of Lochbuie fought his son 'Ewan of the Little Head' at Loch Squaban (Squabain or Scridain) in 1538. Ewan lived on a small island at the end of this Loch, possibly at the Aird of Kinloch where there was the ruin of an old castle. (170p.51 & 154p.237 & 124p.86) During the battle, Ewan was decapitated but his body did not fall from his horse until it reached the McGilvray's lands of Glencanner. It is his ghost that reputedly rides around Moy Castle whenever a MacLaine of Lochbuie is about to die. A brother was also killed in the fight & both were buried in Iona. John later had a son, Murdoch, who became the 6th lord.



These much abridged versions of fine old tales illustrate the bloodlust of the past. The outraged dignity, honor, vengeance & retribution were all ingredients of an eagerly heard Highland tale lovingly told by the Shenachies. The point of real significance is that these are the first mentions of McGilvray of Pennyghael &, of his relation, Glencannel. Also noteworthy is the fact that most of these legends pertain to McLeans taking over Mull lands from the McGilvrays. This certainly removes any doubt the McGilvrays were here well prior to the arrival of that larger clan.

But, such stories were not appreciated by everyone. In order to break the spirit & independence of these Highlanders the church (which invariably represents the rulers) would ultimately make it a terrible sin for common folk to tell these tales of older times. Then the people grew ashamed of their history. (140v18p.67) These few (often cruel) stories that survive make us regret the many that have been surely lost. The same tactic was used against the Indians of North America.



ISTORY; >1500

The 1500's were a period of great change in these hitherto isolated islands, as they were throughout Europe. Following the displacement of the Lord of the Isles, by the Scottish King, these island clans were drawn increasingly into mainland affairs. Although some of the island chiefs continued to prove troublesome to James IV, many were won over by his fairness & they & their men were amongst his bravest in the huge Scottish army thrashed by the English at Flodden. There (southwest of Berwick, near Coldstream), on 9 Sept 1513, the Scots were almost annihilated due to their usual poor leadership. Hector, the 9th chief of Duart, was slain & the dead bodies of the men of Mull literally formed a wall around their fallen chief. (155v2p.?) This would surely mean that Pennyghael & Glencannel (& many other McGilvrays) would have been present at this battle & that they never returned.

James IV was also killed &, in the resulting government confusion, the Islanders rebelled yet again. They were led by Donald of Lochalsh who dreamed of becoming Lord of the Isles. In Nov 1513, the new chief, Lachlan of Dowart, & his men retook Carneburgh Castle & then Dunskaich Castle (Dunscaith) at Sleat (Skye).

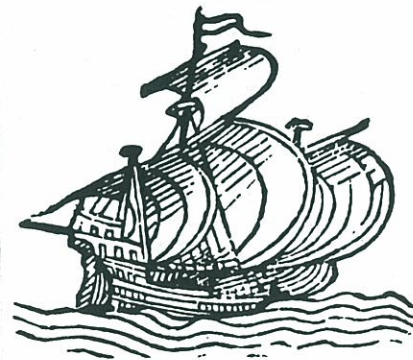
Argyle & MacIain of Ardnamurchan (another King's toady from a Mull point of view) were set against the rebels. But, in 1517, a considerable body of Islesmen expelled MacIain, ravaged all Ardnamurchan & took possession of Mingarry Castle which they razed. However, Donald grew too reckless, even for these times &, later in 1517, Dowart, Lochbuy & the lesser clans that followed them, petitioned the Regent for pardon. Argyle was authorized to accept their submissions & to take hostages because "*the men of the Isles are fickle of mind & set little value upon their oaths & written obligations*". (84p.120)

Such fickleness is illustrated in the 'bonds of manrent' which Duart & other chiefs gave to Argyle as early as 1519. This was, theoretically, a continuation of the voluntary linkage which had existed between these chiefs & the Lord of the Isles. Such a system of mutual obligations made unrelated, inferior neighbors become as kinsmen to their local lord. The chiefs did not consider themselves vassals of Argyll but rather promised to follow & serve him in exchange for his protection. Duart successors repeated this ceremony again in 1543 & 1577. (161 Mar 1989 pp.5/6)

But, such a system could not work between the fiercely independent Island chiefs & an overlord intent on making these clans his feudal vassals. Argyll's duplicity caused the Clandonald of Islay to rebel in 1529 & they were joined by the MacLeans who still wanted revenge for the Campbell murder of Lachlan in Edinburgh, five years earlier. They ravaged the Campbell lands of Roseneath & Craignish but Argyll retaliated that Aug &, with cannon & powder provided by the government, laid waste much of Mull, Tiree & Morvern.

A list of Island tenants (including many McLeans but no McGilvrays) was given to Argyle & they were summoned to appear before the king on 24 May 1530. (84p.134) They did not attend the court until 1531 but one result of their talks was that James V & his council began to realize that many Island disturbances were secretly fomented by Argyle for his own benefit. Argyle was imprisoned for a short time & lost all power in the Islands for the remainder of this king's reign. Another result was that Hector Mor McLean decided this was the opportunity to gain favor with the king through cooperation. It paid off because he was granted the patronage of all churches on his lands. (158) As will be discussed later, one of his appointees was a McGilvray.

Frequent visits by the king kept the "*wicked blood of the Isles*" (146p.268) quiet except for the usual minor quarrels such as those between the MacLeans & the Clanchameron, & between Dowart & Lochbuy. In May 1540, the king sailed through these islands with 12 strong ships. He picked up all the chiefs, including Dowart, & these chiefs regained their liberty only after giving promises & hostages. Also, some castles received royal garrisons.



When James died in 1542, the Islesmen took advantage of the situation &, with the help of 10 English ships, invaded Argyle in 1543 (the very year McLean & Argyll swore mutual friendship). In 1545 Angus Og's son, Black Donald (dubh), the grandson of John, the last Lord of the Isles, escaped from Edinburgh & convened a Council of the Isles at Finlaggan. To it came every chief of any account. Thus, the McGilvrays would have joined in the proud (yet naive) common declaration that they were "*auld enemys to the realm of Scotland*".

One-third of Donald's councillors were MacLeans. (185p.117) They included Hector of Duart, Murdoch of Lochbuy, Allan of Torloisk, John of Coll, John of Ardgour & Don of Kengarlich: plus MacAllaster, MacLeods, MacDonalds, MacIan, MacNeill, MacKinnon, MacQuarrie & Ronaldsons (but no McGilvray is listed). Such was their hatred of Argyll & the 'new' state of affairs that they would do anything to restore their former power & position as it had been under the Lord of the Isles. They also felt a sense of duty to the successor of that ancient title that they had long followed &, of course, there was English gold. Henry VIII had 400 chiefs in his pay to foment trouble in Scotland.

In Aug 1545 these chiefs were at Knockfergus (Carrickfergus, just outside Belfast, Ireland) where they took the oath of allegiance to the King of England. This was despite the Scottish victory over the English at Ancrum Muir & the subsequent Scottish threat to ruin the West if it continued to support Henry. A witness at the Irish ceremony



said there were "3000 very tall men, clothed for the most part in habergeons of mail, armed with long swords & long bows but with few guns: & 1000 tall mariners that rowed in the (fleet of 180) galleys". An equal number of warriors had been left behind to protect the homeland. (84p.171)

At this meeting the Islanders agreed to harass Scotland from the west. For this service, 3000 of them were to receive pay from England for two months. A further 2000 Irish were recruited. (230) "A ship came from England with the supply of money. It landed in Mull & the money was given to Dowart (who was prominent in this intrigue) to be distributed among the commanders. But, they were dissatisfied with the split & caused the army to disperse." (176) There is no mention of Duart repaying the English money.

Donald of the Isles died while returning to Ireland, in late 1545, & with him died the last attempt to restore the Lordship of the Isles. Henry paid for a lavish funeral to impress the Islanders but they split up & formed new alliances. Without a common interest, the great chiefs began to fight amongst themselves for supremacy. (208v1p.311) This would prove their undoing.

Slowly the rebellion dried up & the government prevailed. Some 4,000 Islanders even joined Argyll & were with the Scots at their severe defeat at Pinky (just east of Edinburgh) in 1547. After this battle the English foreign mercenaries were allowed to absolutely terrorize the Lowlands. The Scottish king had died before this battle & once again the country was in the hands of a Regent. Peace was signed with England in 1550 & the Highland chiefs were ordered to appear at Aberdeen on 17 June 1552 & at Inverness in July, 1552 & July, 1556. Hostages were taken to ensure future good conduct & the chiefs were obliged to conduct the king's justice in their territories. Just more of the same old talk, talk, talk.

But other events began to displace the Islander's petty feuds. Martin Luther had nailed up his list of grievances in 1517 & in 1534 Henry VIII had broken with Rome. In Scotland, the Catholic Church was extremely corrupt & degraded. It was also immensely rich, controlling more than half the national wealth. Parliament was dominated by the church & it banned, but could not stop, the new, printed English Bible. The impact of its reading by laymen was revolutionary. Protestantism swept the country &, under the leadership of the fiery John Knox, it prevailed in 1560. Basically the old church died of its own corruption.

Whether this religious competition was really beneficial to the average Christian is open to question but it certainly cost many lives. As with all revolutions the Reformation began with noble ideals. But, as soon as they gained power, the reformers began to persecute anyone who didn't agree with them. The old dictatorship by far-off Rome was to have been replaced by local democracies but was instead ultimately displaced by the pettiness of fanatical clergy & austere kirk sessions who suppressed all fun & song.

Every parish was to have its school but greedy nobles took over the church lands & there remained no funds to pay for this education (which, in any event, was too dangerous a thing to be encouraged amongst the crofters). Church roofs were stripped of their lead & their walls became stone quarries. (146p.347) As a result, religion in the Islands was still in a deplorable state 50 years later.

The Lowland Protestants decided that, where swords had failed, the new religion might be more successful in subduing the Highlanders. These 'learned' churchmen decided that any means was justified in achieving their bigoted desire to break the Islander's steadfastness to the Catholic Church. Knowing of his love of ancestors & of his attachment to the great deeds of old, they hoped to break his spirit by denouncing, as sinful, the old songs, the stories & the dancing.

A Synod was held at Iona shortly after the change & it decided to destroy all the beautiful books remaining in that once great library. Some of these texts went back in time to Fergus II, who supposedly had been with Alaric the Goth, who had sent a coffer of Rome's books. (140v14p.11 from 213) Thus, the Hebridean manuscripts,

including those on medicine & science, shared the fate of the Maya's records which had been destroyed deliberately by the Conquistadors. (85p.66) Some authors, however, believe Iona's library had long before disappeared, with some books taken to Ireland (39p.3 or p.21) but that most had been destroyed. Whatever the cause, the destruction of this once large & irreplaceable library was a great loss to the world.



The Story of Mull & Iona, by Nick Hesketh p.17

Stained glass windows in the old cathedral were smashed, because of the stories they told, & 360 Iona crosses & some Druid stones were broken & thrown into the sea. This was done to discourage those gentlemen of the Isles who persisted in wanting to be buried there. (78p.118) After that official vandalism, only the wind whispered where once monks had prayed.



Grave slabs at Iona Museum, by Finlay, Ross Ltd

Prior to the arrival of the MacLeans, & possibly even before the McGilvrays, all of the area west of Pennyghael (i.e. all of Iona, the Ross of Mull & most of Brolass) had belonged to the church. Over the years preceding the Reformation, however, Duart had come to hold much of the church lands in Mull as tenant & vassal to the Abbot of Iona. This church office had been held traditionally by the MacKinnons of Mull since the 1300's. (85p.36) But, as mentioned, Duart was given the power of appointment & he chose Ruari MacAllaster as Bishop of the Isles & Patrick MacLean (his brother) as Justice of the Isles & Bailie of Icolmkill (Iona).

The original details regarding these lands are in Latin. They are very difficult to interpret & are full of pitfalls. (207 #2264 & #2329, & 121 yr1509) These & later reviews show Duart (c1500) leasing Brolass (but not Ross), Carsaig & even the lands of Pennyghael, as well as Glenkenair & lands in Torosay. (107p.70 & 159p.72) This could indicate a previous church connection with the McGilvrays of Glencannel as there likely was with Pennyghael.

A 1561 rental of church lands lists all of Iona plus another nine pennylands in Mull, including; (78p.118 & 166)

Rosse (Ross of Mull) 20 lib
Brolos with Lower Torrains, 'callit' Torrinishtrade or
Torrinishtrache, & Beach (ane pennieland) 1d
Cairsage (Carsaig) (Pennie land) 1d

The lands granted to Duart in 1567, by the Abbot of Iona, include Torrains & Carsaig. (158p.153) And, in 1574, lands belonging to the Nunnery of Iona, including Glenleidle, were feued to Hector of Duart by John Carswell, Bishop of the Isles. (159) Lochbuie got the church lands of Scallastle. Altogether these church lands represented a large portion of Duart's total holdings &, in 1625, Charles I tried to regain them. (158p.142)

There is no doubt that Duart dramatically enlarged his estate from these church land grabs. Did the McGilvrays also seize the lands they had rented or paid feu on &, did Duart desist from usurping their claim because of assistance from McGilvray churchmen in this business? Although they didn't receive title to Carsaig from Duart for another century that formality may merely indicate that Duart may finally have given up trying to get these lands away from the McGilvrays. This later legal transaction occurred during the time of the very forceful Martin McGilvray & also when Duart was facing the loss of everything to Campbell. And, as explained, part of Beach (i.e. Pennycross), which was said to have been McGilvray land, falls into Beaton hands about this time (in 1572).

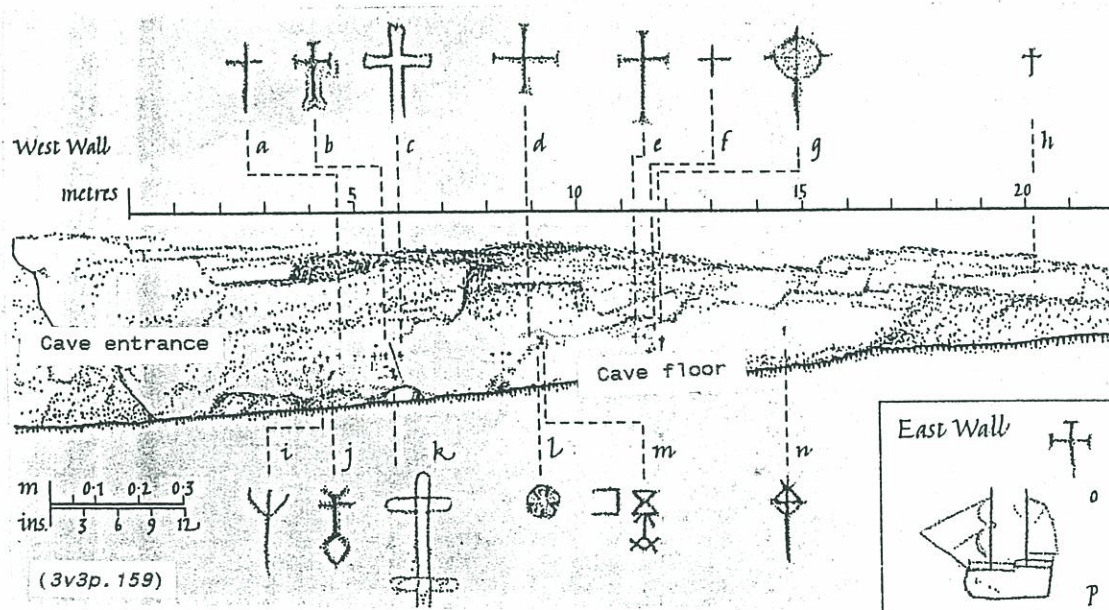
It is my contention that although title may have changed hands, the actual use of these lands continued with their long-term occupiers, the McGilvrays. I believe such occupation originated with our clan's very prolonged connection with the church. Such a land transfer had occurred earlier when the McDonalds gave their overlordship of non-church Mull lands to the McLeans. And, I also contend (but cannot prove) that the McGilvray lands had been much

larger prior to the arrival of the McLeans & that they included all of Brolass, Glenbyre, Kinloch, Rossal, all the other lands between Pennyghael & Glencannel, plus Gruline & Knock (which in early times were under water); & possibly much more, for the McLeans had to have displaced someone when they arrived. It has been said that Mull was likely very sparsely populated after the Viking era & the McLeans probably just elbowed the McGilvrays out.

Such speculation depends on your point of view. Territorial disputes were a continual source of trouble in the Highlands. There has even been considerable contention over the exact boundaries of Brolass. One map shows Brolass extending from Glen More to half way to Bunessan (126) while in his court case with Coll, Argyll tried to prove the boundary was at Torranuachdrach (Little Torrains ≈ Beach). However, the 1716 Arms Survey (made by Campbells) & the Argyll 1779 Census have Brolass extending as far west as Kilpatrick & even including the north shore of Loch Scridain.

One point that seems quite definite is the Church's long association with Carsaig. The McGilvray quarry (two km southwest of Carsaig) is believed to have supplied stone for the monastery at least as early as the 1100's & possibly earlier. A geologist, in 1789, observed suitable stone for refurbishing the Abbey on the "southwest coast of Mull, in the property of Mr Macgilvray of Bennigoil, under those astonishing & romantic basalt cliffs called Benunimor & Bennen Gorridh. The same freestone appears in the high basalt cliffs further east near Karseg" where a horizontal stratum "probably furnished the freestone in the ruins of Icolmkil." (105 #615 p.111, 27 July 1789 letter from RE Raspe) Stone from here was used in 1899 when Argyll restored the Cathedral.

These spectacular cliffs are often penetrated with foreboding caves. One is the Nun's Cave situated a mile west of Carsaig.



This cave has some rudimentary Celtic crosses on its walls which are said to have been drawn by nuns who found shelter there after they were displaced from Iona at the time of the Reformation. This also tends to indicate a church association.

On the other end of the social spectrum this cave is said to have protected & hidden armed groups of pirates & rustlers. It is claimed the cave was once large enough to hide 100 cows or 300 men. The south shore of Brolas & Ross has always been barren & thus ideal for such activities.

Besides church lands, Duart also stole much of the Iona's plate but this came back to haunt him. When Argyll was attacking Duart, in the 1600's, the Clan Glengarry came to Mull to help Duart. But, during the welcoming feast the wine was served in a golden chalice which an ancestor had acquired in the stripping of Iona. Glengarry (an ardent RC) refused to drink & said, "*Since you have made God your enemy, no human hand can aid you.*" MacLean gave him the cup but he left anyway & kept the chalice safe until it could be presented to the Catholic Church. (The RC's had been outlawed in Scotland in 1560.) (139p.63) In 1843, however, it was stolen from its Glasgow church & melted down. (140v14p.14) Oh, how much easier it is to destroy than to create in this world!

The exiled Mary returned from France in 1561, & was crowned Queen at the age of 18. Her turbulent life ended with her execution in 1587 but not before Scotland had suffered through the evil times of the 1570's which had been brought on by her incessant schemes & wars. She had little interest in these Islands & left them for Argyll to manage. In Apr 1567, he received official license to attack Duart who had been ravaging Gigha (an island off Kintyre). In another raid on Gigha in 1579 Duart got 500 cattle & 2000 sheep & goats (208 1st iii p.135) However, in that topsy-turvy world of 1578, the government had to prohibit Duart from joining with Argyll to fight Glengarry (the same clan that later came to help Duart). As well, MacLean's island of Loyng?? was soon to be invaded & plundered by Colin, the 6th Earl of Argyll, who was made the Lord High Chancellor of Scotland in 1579. Even friendly Coll had been ravaged by Duart & his 'complices', in Aug 1561, when the MacLeans there sought their independence. It's a wonder the McGilvrays could keep straight who were their enemies each year.

Despite all these local disturbances, the Islanders (mainly MacDonaldis) found time to help the Irish rebels on at least four occasions between 1551 & 1565. And, in 1575 & 1577, Queen Elizabeth



Irish Soldiers 1521, by Albert Durer in (29)

requested her Irish Lieutenant to ask the Scottish Regent to keep home those of "*the oute Isles that dayly swarm hither to the annoyance of the north part of this realme*". (9p.223) The Irish called the Islanders 'Red Shanks'; likely because of their bare legs in winter. Sorley Buy MacDonald controlled Knockfergus & Dunluce Castles in Ulster & when he finally came to terms with the English the Islanders had to find other people to fight.

Following Eliz I's death, in 1603, James VI of Scotland became the English King **James I**. Initially, he too used the divide & conquer approach to pacify the Highlands. By issuing 'Letters of Fire & Sword', he allowed one clan to deal with an erring neighbor in any way they wished. Now, with Britain one nation, the Islanders could no longer play Scotland off against England to maintain their independence. And, now they had to deal with a very much more powerful & rich king (of England & Scotland) who had an efficient, standing army & navy. The times were changing.



The Argyll Campbells were one clan that seemed capable of seeing these changes & adjusting to them. During this period they were rapidly increasing their power & domains through politics & treachery (read practical & astute if you are a Campbell) rather than with the sword. (233p.139) They tended to associate themselves with the power brokers & increasingly that was the Protestant Lowlands. To that end, Argyll chiefs had long associated themselves with the 'government' & had signed the first (religious) Covenant about 1558. Their success would make them the most hated & feared clan in the Western Highlands.

On the other hand, the McLeans' inability to see the changes that were occurring in their world, & their refusal to adapt to these changes, meant that they & their followers, the McGilvrays, must suffer the consequences. If, however, we were trusted counsellors to Duart, & failed to foresee these changes, then the McGilvrays must share this blame. It would be comparable today to those groups who fight the Information Revolution rather than making the tough sacrifices & expending the hard work required to convert to, & gain from, the new wave.

He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils.
Francis Bacon