

# RECORDS OF ARGYLL

## PART II: THE MACNAUGHTONS OF DUNDERAVE

In Archibald Campbell's 514-page book "Records of Argyll [1] there are fourteen sections containing 135 stories, two notes on Highland dress, and ten Appendices. In the first section, "Records and Traditions of Inverary," there is one story (pp. 46 to 49) about our Clan—"The MacNaughtons of Dunderave," with an 1833 etching by Charles Laurie of Dunderave Castle (Fig. 1). Unless other sources use different spellings of the name, I have used Archibald Campbell's spelling—MacNaughton.

**Figure 1. Dunderave Castle on Loch Fyne (etching dated 1833 by Charles Laurie).**



### DUNDERAVE CASTLE

"THE following inscription, in Roman letters, can still be traced above the door of Dunderave Castle, on the shores of Loch Fyne: —

**I • MAN • BEHALD • THE • END • BE • NOCHT • VYSER • NOR • THE • HIESTEST  
I HOIP • IN • GOD.**

The name is derived from Dun-an-Rudha, the "knoll on the promontory." Here a knoll or bluff of rock rises up almost perpendicular from the sea, and behind this the castle had been built, now pronounced Dùn-da-ràmh, and in English Dunderav or Dunderave."



**Figure 2. Members of Clan Macnachtan Association Worldwide gather behind the knoll between Dunderave Castle and Loch Fyne, August 2004.**

Campbell misquotes the beginning of the inscription as 'I•MAN' and adds a 'T' at the end of 'HIESTES' where there is none. Subsequent scholars, such as Angus Macnaghten [2], have explained that IM and AN are the initials of the owner and his wife. This was Iain (or John) MacNaughton who married Ann MacLean. In a record dated 1587, eleven years before the date on the lintel of the castle, the wife of John McNauchtane of Dundarrow is listed as Anna Nykelane. The

patronymic Nic or Nyk signifies 'daughter of' just as Mac means 'son of.' Hence IM and AN stood for Iain McNauchtane and Ann Nykelane. There are other interpretations of what Dunderave means, but Campbell, writing in 1885, and having supposedly gathered these stories all across Argyll, thinks it refers to the knoll between the castle and the edge of Loch Fyne, which certainly is a dominant feature (Figs 2-5). If the Dubh Loch castle was built on a crannog as is supposed and was also called Dunderave, it is possible that the knoll at the new site reminded the Clan of the old site.

**Figure 3. The knoll and the castle.**



## WEDDING NIGHT

“MacNaughton of Dunderave, Sheriff of Argyleshire in 1685, left one son, who had been engaged in marriage to the second daughter of Maciain Riabhaich Campbell of Ardkinglas (*Aird-chonaghlais*). In those days it was customary that the bride and bridesmaids should wear a veil over their face at a marriage, and it was also customary that marriages should take place in the evening, when dancing began, in which the young couple took part until midnight, when the bridesmaids took away the bride and put her to bed, after which the bridesmen took away the bridegroom and put him to bed, and carried away the candle. Now, at the marriage the eldest sister had personated her younger sister, and having been put to bed as described, MacNaughton did not notice the deception until morning. On coming to breakfast he remarked that there had been a mistake made last night. Ardkinglas, however, excused himself by saying that it was customary for the eldest daughter to get married first, and that she would make as good a wife as her sister. MacNaughton brought home his wife, and when near her confinement the sister came to attend to her. In time Mrs. MacNaughton presented her husband



with a son and heir. Some time after, it began to be whispered about the place that the young lady was in an interesting, or perhaps in an uninteresting, way to MacNaughton, and eventually he was apprehended and lodged in the old tower of Inveraray. The young lady visited him, bringing ropes under her mantle to enable him to escape over the prison walls; and, according to agreement, she and a lad named MacLean, a native of Dunderave, with a fisherman, came into the bay below the old tower of Inveraray in MacNaughton’s barge at night.”

**Figure 4. Modern sculpted goats graze on the knoll overlooking Loch Fyne.**

“Then, as the beautiful song composed by Mrs MacNaughton tells us, MacNaughton escaped. On a Monday they set sail never to return, and landed at Port Rush, where they got married. At that time loyal chiefs such as MacNaughton were much wanted. He soon rose into power, and was knighted. MacNaughton and his wife No. 2 sent their eldest daughter, named Jean de la Coeur MacNaughton, to Ardkinglas, where she remained all her days; and there were people alive in 1817 who remembered seeing her.”

**Figure 5. Looking over the knoll from Dunderave Castle Ardkinglas is across Loch Fyne and further to the left or north.**

“Ardkinglas brought home to Ardkinglas Mrs MacNaughton No. 1 and her son. The boy, it is said, grew to be a promising youth; but one day when he had been out sailing with his grandfather in an open barge, he fell overboard and was drowned off Ardkinglas. Some time after, Ardkinglas, with his own son and heir, were out pleasure-sailing, when the boat was upset and both were thrown into the water near the place where the young MacNaughton had been drowned. When a boat that had put



off from the shore to the rescue was getting near them, Ardkinglas cried to them to save the young man first; which they did; but before they could reach him, he sank and was drowned. Then, it is said, the gossips had it that the drowning of Ardkinglas was a mark of the displeasure of Providence because he threw young MacNaughton out and drowned him, so that he and his heir would get the MacNaughton estate. It is not likely, however, that he would drown his own grandson.”

While this is a charming story and may have some allegorical value, Angus Macnaghten dismisses most of it as inconsistent with known facts [3].

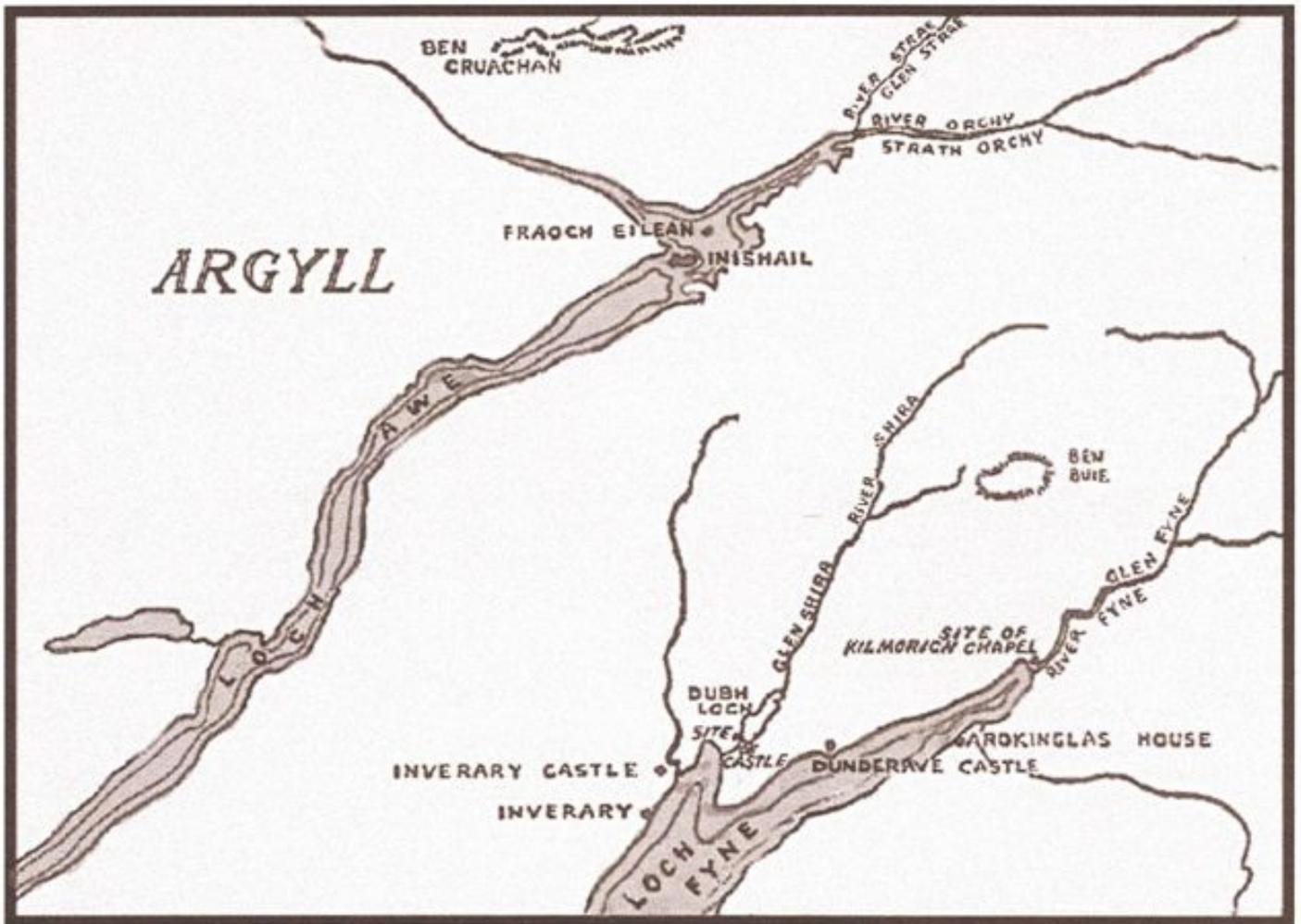


Figure 6. Area of the MacNaughton lands in Argyll [4].

### DISPOSAL OF THE LANDS

“MacNaughton had feued off Glenshera before he left; and it was said that Argyll and the Hon. John Campbell of Mamore had lent MacNaughton money, on the security of the estate. However, Ardkinglas got the estate from and including Dunderave to the head of Glen Fyne (*Gleann-fine*). Argyll got Ben Buie (*Beinn-bhuidhe*, which means Yellow Hill) and Ben-an-tean (*Beann-an-t-sithein*), and the feu-rent or superiority of all Glenshera and part of Glenaray (*Gleann-aora*); and Mamore got Achnatrabh (*Acha-na-tràghad*), Stron, and Blar-uisdein (Hugh’s Ground)—pronounced Blar-ain—a farm with two tenants on the hillside above the upper end of the Dùloch, east side, where some of the foundations of the buildings are still to be seen. Who resided in Dunderave after MacNaughton left, or if anyone, is perhaps not now known. But long after, Mamore came to reside there, and found Achnatrabh himself, and resided there until he became Duke.”

The MacNaughtons moved from Fraoch Eilean in Loch Awe to the castle on Dubh Loch in Glen Shira and finally to Dunderave on Loch Fyne (Fig. 6). Here Campbell deals with the disposition of the remaining MacNaughton lands when they gave up Dunderave and he names three beneficiaries—Ardkinglas, Argyll and the Hon. John Campbell of Mamore.

In 1668, Sir Alexander MacNaughton borrowed money from Sir Andrew McDougall and in the same year, the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Argyll (1629-1685) apprised the MacNaughton lands. In 1689, after the battle of Killiecrankie, the MacNaughton lands were forfeited by the Act of the Estates; this was reinforced in 1690 by the Scottish Parliament. In 1695 MacNaughton lands were sold to Archibald Campbell (1658-1703), the 10<sup>th</sup> Earl and 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Argyll. In 1704 Argyll granted a charter of MacNaughton lands to Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas (1666-1752), just across Loch Fyne from Dunderave. Sir James was a member of parliament for

Argyllshire from 1702 to 1734 and for Stirlingshire from 1734 to 1741. He succeeded to the title 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet of Ardkinglas in 1709; on his death his baronetcy became extinct. The Hon. John Campbell of Mamore (1671-1729) was the brother of the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke and the father of John, the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke.

Campbell divides the MacNaughton lands between Ardkinglas, Argyll and Mamore. **Ardkinglas** got Dunderave and the land from Dunderave to the head of Loch Fyne, a distance of six kilometers. **Argyll** got Ben Buie (a 3,113-ft peak 11 km north east of Dunderave between Glen Fyne and Glen Shira); *Beann-an-t-sithein* (an 1,877-ft peak 41 km east-north-east of Dunderave); the feu-rent or superiority of all Glenshera (which extends 13 km NEN from just north of Inveraray through Dubh Loch, the River Shira and Rob Roy's house to Loch Shira); and part of Glenaray (which enters Loch Fyne at Inveraray where the Campbell headquarters, Inveraray Castle, was erected 1745-85). **Mamore** got Blar-uisdein (Hugh's Ground)—pronounced Blar-ain—a farm with two tenants on the hillside above the upper end of the Dùloch (Dubh Loch), east side. He also got Achnatrabh (*Acha-na-tràghad*) and Stron. I have a map of Central Scotland that marks the promontory midway between Inveraray and Dunderave as Strone Pt., but I have not been able to identify Achnatrabh, unless it is the same as Auchnabreac, which is marked on another map on the east coast of Loch Fyne between Furnace and Inveraray. Compared to the other two, it seems Mamore got slim pickings, perhaps befitting a brother thirteen years younger than Argyll. Campbell says that Mamore came to live at Dunderave, but he also says Mamore became Duke—and that was his son.

Archibald Campbell, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Argyll, died 25 September 1703 and was succeeded as Duke of Argyll and Chief of Clan Campbell by his son John, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke, who held this office until he died 4 October 1743. Hence it would have been John, in his second year as Duke, who granted Dunderave and associated MacNaughton lands to Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas in 1704. When John died, he was succeeded in October 1743 by his brother Archibald, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Argyll, who lived until 15 April 1761. It would have been Archibald, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke, who supervised the start of building of the present Inveraray Castle in Glen Aray in 1745. When Archibald died 9 November 1770 he was succeeded by John, the son of The Hon. John Campbell of Mamore, brother of the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke. Mamore never became Duke, as implied in Campbell's Records of Argyll, although his son did.

## GENEALOGY

“The chief of the MacNaughtons had his castle on the beautiful island of Fraoch Eilean (Heather Island). They owned lands from the head of Lochow to the river Fyne; also from the head of Loch Fyne along the shore yet known as *Leter (Leitir) MhicNeachdain*—MacNaughton's water-line—to the Inverary burying-place. The name appears in MSS. 1450, and begins with Moris, son of Malcolm; and they are traced up to Fercherfada, a petty prince of the Irish Scots of Argyleshire, and even further back to Lorn, reputed son of Eric, one of the leaders of the colony from Ireland A.D. 506. The lands of the clan were within Lorne on Lochoweside. On the forfeiture of John, grandson of Alexander de Fusulis, Alexander, then chief of the name, got a charter of his lands, dated in or about 1344, from David II, and again in the reign of Robert III. Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow granted to Moris or Maurice MacNaughton, one of the succeeding chiefs, certain lands in Over Lochow. In Alexander III's reign another charter is granted to Gilchrist MacNaughton for the custody of the castle and islands of Fraoch in Lochawe. The name is derived from Nichtan or Nuchtan, of which name there were many Pictish kings, the best known of these being Nichtan, who founded Abernethy. From this it appears that, like the MacDonalds, the MacNaughtons claim direct descent from Royalty.”

The opening two sentences allocate *all* the land between Loch Awe and Loch Fyne to the MacNaughtons. This appears to have been true until a portion passed to Argyll, probably around 1661. On pages 37 and 44 it is explained that Sinclair feued Boshang from MacNaughton—from the south side of Dubh Loch to Kilmalua, the (Campbell) Burying place close to Inveraray Castle—and gave the rights to the Marchioness of Argyll. It is my guess that this was after 1661 when the Marquis was executed, otherwise it would have gone to the Marquis.

The MS 1450 is a manuscript written about the year 1450 consisting of eight parchment leaves, the last of which is covered with genealogies written in the old Irish character, perhaps by someone called Maclachlan. The MacNachans are traced back thirty generations from Moris—through Malcolm, Moris, Malcolm, Gibon, Ferchar, Gilchrist, Donald, Nachtan, Arthur, Gibbon, Nachtan, Isaac, Martin, Angus, Imared, Nachtan, Nachtan, Nachtan, Donald, Ferchar, Feredach, Fergus, Nachtan, Colman, Buadan, Eocha, Murdoch, Lorn, Erc, to Eocha muinreamhar. Campbell identifies one of these, Fercherfada, as a petty prince of the Irish Scots of Argyleshire. He also comments on “Lorn, reputed son of Eric, one of the leaders of the colony from Ireland A.D. 506.” This Lorn supposedly gave his name to the providence of Lorn in Dalriada and to the Lordship of Lorn. Campbell says that the lands of the MacNaughton Clan were “within Lorne on Lochoweside.” Remember that this area was dominated by Picts—including the Nechtans—and the Dalriada Scoti, who were connected with the northern part of the present County Antrim, Northern Ireland. It wasn't until the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century that king Kenneth I MacAlpin brought the Picts permanently under Dalriadic control and the whole country became known as Scotland.

Campbell speaks about three Royal charters to the MacNaughtons. “Alexander, then chief of the name, got a charter of his lands, dated in or about 1344, from David II.” David II (1324-1371) was the son of Robert the Bruce by his second wife Elizabeth de Burgh. David became King of Scotland in 1329 at age 5. Following a series of Guardians and the defeat of the Scots by Edward III in 1333, David was sent to France for safety. He was able to return to Scotland in 1341 but in 1346, under the terms of the Auld Alliance, he invaded England in the interests of France and was defeated. Macnaghten tells us Alexander was given the grant by David II in 1346 [2]. Campbell says the charter was renewed in the reign of Robert III (1340-1406), when “Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow granted to Moris or Maurice MacNaughton, one of the succeeding chiefs, certain lands in Over Lochow.” Sir Colin gained the title of Lord of Lochow on 10 February 1315 and died before 2 May 1343. Robert III—whose father Robert II was a nephew of David II—had a troubled reign 1390-1406; one of his sons became James I of Scotland. Macnaghten confirms this grant but does not give a year. Finally Campbell refers to the well known 1267 charter by Alexander III “to Gilchrist MacNaughton for the custody of the castle and islands of Fraoch in Lochawe.”

Campbell mentions the derivation of the name MacNaughton from the Pictish kings and says that Nichtan founded Abernethy in Perthshire. Undiscovered Scotland tells us that Abernethy’s history can be traced back two thousand years [5]. There is a Pictish symbol stone at the foot of the round tower dating back to 600 A.D. King Nechtan IV founded a cathedral here in the early 700s and it is possible the name Aberfeldy is derived from the Gaelic “Obair Nechtan” or “Nechtans work.”

Angus Macnaghten warns us [2] about theories of Clan origins and in particular about the Skene manuscript of 1450. There is no firm documentary evidence of MacNaughtons before the thirteenth century. Hence we must take Archibald Campbell’s book for what it is—a book of legends—and conclude that the Scots may have been just as good at telling stories as their Irish cousins [6]. Campbell’s prodigious work covers a wide scope but presumably he did not have access to many of the sources that scholars in subsequent ages have. He concludes his section on the MacNaughtons of Dunderave: “it appears that, like the MacDonalds, the MacNaughtons claim direct descent from Royalty.” And who would disagree?

## REFERENCES

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