

Rev  ARTIN McILVRA

(c1600-c1687)

Born: c1600 (second son of Donald of Pennyghael)

Although he is not the first known Martin McGilvray it is possible he was given this name as a result of his parents' sympathies towards Martin Luther. This would indicate strong Reformation feelings within our ecclesiastical/legalistic family. There was also a St Martin of Tours (380AD) who was the uncle of St Patrick (223p.125), & a Kilmartin parish (near the Lord of the Isles old fortress of Dunadd) which could be the name's basis.

- Married:**
1. Isobel Maclean - youngest daughter of Lachlan Og, first of Torloisk (northwest Mull; he had 13 kids), & grand-daughter of Sir Laughlan of Duart).
But, she is believed to have been b.c1621 & thus she can't be Martin's first wife as is sometimes stated.
 2. ? McInnes (named in the 1625 piracy charge; see below)
 3. Janet Campbell (married c1635 as her daughter weds 1657)
 4. Florence Maclean - youngest daughter of Allan of Ardtornish, & like Cath McLean (wife #5) was a grand-daughter of John dubh.
Although she has been listed as the wife of Don gorm & hence Martin's mother, two other sources list her as the second wife of Mr Martin MacGilwra of Pennigail. (215 & 86p.58)
However, as will be seen, there is another Don gorum in Pennyghael, in 1675, who may be Martin's son & she may be his wife & thus Martin's daughter-in-law.
 5. Cath McLean - possibly Martin's third wife. (215)
She was the daughter of John Garve Maclean, Bailie of Ross. This John Garve was a half brother to Allan of Ardtornish & was himself married three times, as had their father, John Dubh Maclean of Morvern (c1531-1581). Allan was his second son. Another source says John Garve was son of Hector 4th of Coll. (215)
Chas, another son of John Dubh, married Julia, the daughter of Neil McGilvra of Glencannel.

Died: <2 Dec 1687; when Hector McLean of Kinlochaline obtained a decree, against Martin's nephew John, in the Lords of Council & Session. This document states that, even if he is not

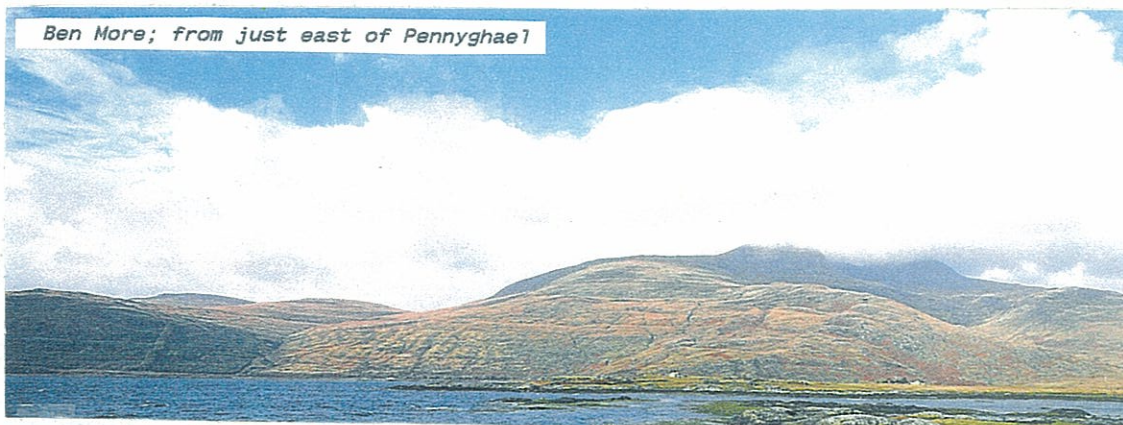
legally so, at least John is behaving himself as heir to Martin by intromission with the muiles & duties of his lands & heritage. (SRO DI23/2; & Fasti) There is also mention of "*his (McLean's) brother (minister? or in-law?) Mr Martine McIlvra*".

Martin may have died <1675 because he is not mentioned on that year's list of rebels (see Appendix 1). Don gorum (possibly his son) is said to be in Pennyghael, & Don & John are at Carsaig. However, being a minister may have exempted him. The last official mention of him occurs in 1662.

The confusion over Martin's wives may be due to the confusing number of Macleans. For example, yet another daughter of Allan of Ardlonish, Margt McLean, wed Dunc McGilvray of Glencanir, who died on his wedding night. She rewed MacNeil of Barra. (86p.57) Although there could be two Martin McIlvra's, the records of the time do not so differentiate. There was another Martine (not called Mr) McGillivray of Aborhulador, Inverness, & his spouse Cath, mentioned in an 1684 suit by John & Don McGillivray of Dunmaglass. (SRO CS138/3748) But, the Inverness-shire sept was not likely involved.

It is much more probable the confusion results from Martin's philandering (eg. the charge of fornication in 1651) which may indicate some of the above were not strictly wives, at least from the church's position. Because the term adultery was not used indicates Martin was single in 1651. It is also possible he was polygamous. A century before, Lachlan Cattanach McLean seems to have been married to at least three women; maybe at the same time. (158p.76) It was during Martin's era that the Crown limited succession to legitimate heirs. Thus, the question regarding the legality of wives could be the reason for the subsequent long delay in establishing the legitimate succession to Pennyghael.

Martin's son Don must have predeceased him because his nephew (i.e. his brother's son), John McIlvra, becomes heir. Thus, the high turnover in wives may have been an attempt to produce sons (as with Henry VIII).



KIDS: (to Martin McIlvra)

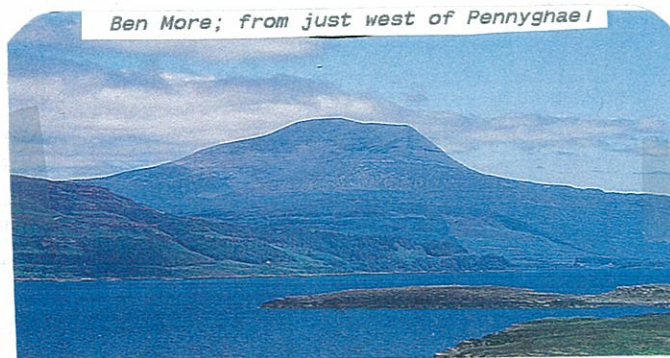
- a daughter of Isabel McLean (wife #1)
- Don b.c1620 (58v8p.339) He is likely the first son as he's named after his grand-father Don gorm. He may also be called Don gorum; as per the above 1675 list.

Don McIllivrae in Torloisk, is attorney for Moir MacLean, wife of Hector of Coll, on 13/16 July 1642. (28p.224&p.226 #683)

Another Sasine (RS51 #692) has Alex McIllivrae, 'a discreet man' (polite & well-behaved), brother german to Martin McIlliwrae, & sure attorney for Lachlan Macleane who was brother german of Murdoch Macleane of Lochbuie; signing at Torloisk 9 July 1642 before Mr Martin McIllewrae, minister at Kilninane, & his son Don McIllewrae.

- Fingwell (Finguella, Fionaghal; i.e. Fiona or Florence) b.c1637 daughter of Janet Campbell + Don Maclean (Donnald McCleane) of Torloisk; whose brother was likely Niall. Her great-grand-son= John of Lockbuy; laird 1751 (162v14p.197) whose daughter wed Hugh of Pennyghael

Fingwell's marriage contract was dated 19 Sept 1657 & was registered 10 Nov 1657. It was a sasine for a liferent on the 2 penny land of Einsay, Mull; given personally by Hector McLean, 2nd of Torloisk (Don's father's brother; i.e. uncle); to Alex M'Ilvra (Martin's brother) in Torloisk as attorney for Fingwell N'Ilvra, lawful daughter of Mr Martine M'Ilvra, minister in Mull, & future wife of Don McLean, son of grantor's brother. The marriage contract was signed @ Kellan, Mull on 1 July 1657 with the liferent to start when Don dies. The witnesses were Niall McLean (brother of Hector), John McLean (sometimes of Tiree), Don M'Farquhar V'Donald (servitor of grantor), Murdoch McRorie V'Murchie V'Neill (in Einsay). (28 vol II p.313/4 19 Sept 1657, Reg'd 10 Nov 1657 fo1 294 #959 & SRO RS2/13 p.294)



The McGilvray lands also cause considerable confusion at this time. On 7 Sept 1635, a sasine irredeemably, (76 vol XLIII 1st series v2p.177 #551 & 28) was given which covered the 1d land of Peniegaill, Fynnachie, Carsaig & Glenliddell, being a 3d land in all. The lands were in the Parish of Killenochan (Killenachan, i.e. Kilfinichen), formerly in the sheriffdom of Tarbert & now in that of Argyll. Martin also received the bailliary (the important office of bailie with its power of administering justice) within the bounds of the said lands. As well, he was given the office of 'seriand' (sergeant) or 'mair' (officers who put the sheriff's writs into execution) in the more encompassing lands of Brolas in the same parish.

The sasine had been given by Gillendreist M'Innollive in Torran in Brolas, as bailie, for Sir Lachlan M'Lean of Morvern, knight baronet, to Mr Martin M'Ilwra of Peniegaill, (so Martin was already known by that title) minister of the Gospel at Kilninan (Kilninian; although the Register of Sasine index says Kilmun (across Clyde from Gouroch). Martin Makilwra 'appeared personally & was not represented by an attorney' (as he himself was one). McLean's bailie did the symbolic handing over of earth & stone for the lands, & the wand & baton for the offices. The witnesses to the ceremony were Malcolm Mckilwra, servitor to Hector M'Lean of Celden (Kelden or Kalden) (not on Gazetteer; Kellan?), Nigel McIlintaig in Brolas, John Ker, McDonuil Cossan servant to Martin Macilwra, & Dunc Makerras servant to the notary. (Reg'd 18 Oct 1635, fo1 109).

A servitor could be an important position & could be a lawyer himself if a servitor to a writer. Thus, this Malcolm is likely the attorney mentioned in the next page. It is unlikely this is one of the Malcolms mentioned by the 1845 sennachie.

The precept of sasine was signed at Edinburgh on 1 Aug 1635, & was witnessed by Lauchlane McCleane, servant of the notary, Dunc McArthur, who was responsible for certifying that the transfer ceremony had taken place. Other witnesses were James Halyburton & Mr Geo Jamesone, servants of Francis Hay of Dalhousie, Writer to the Signet. As warrandice, the charter also included the lands of Glentanner & Gortenbowie in the same parish. (the Glencannel lands) A warrandice was an undertaking by the seller to the buyer, of property threatened with eviction through defect of title.

Also on 7 Sept 1635, a second sasine of the above lands (excepting the lands of Glencanner & Gortenbowie) was given by the same bailie to the said minister, on a precept of clare constat by the said Sir Lachlan M'Lean to Mr Martin Makilwra, as son & heir of the deceased Donald gorm M'Ilwra of Peniegaill, who died in the reign of James VI. (Reg'd 16 Oct 1635, fo1 111 #552) Clare constat (i.e. it clearly appears) was a writ granted by a superior in favor of the heir of a deceased owner (sustaining the transfer of ownership). *"It is clearly established by authentic instruments & documents produced & laid out in my presence that the deceased Donald gorm Makilwra of Peyngail is the father of Mr Martin Makilwra of Peynghaill."* The Pennyghael lands were thus clearly owned by Don gorm & were likely in our family from a much earlier time. It appears this procedure

just made official & legal what had been their lands all along. But, as Don gorm had died at least a decade prior to this it is curious why this transfer was so belated. Was there some doubt as to Martin's claim or were the McLeans tardy? This second sasine also omitted mention of the office of bailie.

And, Sasine #691 of 30 July 1642, concerns the lands of Arrois & Broilas formerly held by Sir Lachan Maclean of Duart (except the 1d land of Brolois occupied by Mr Martin McIlliwrae, minister; witnessed by Martin's brother Alex. As well, a 1658 sasine mentions lands formerly owned by Duart "excepting the 1d land of Pennygail occupied by Mr Martin McIlvra minister". (28pp.319/20 #975 Another source says Martin was given a charter to his land, in 1640, by Sir Laughlan More Maclean of Duart. (166)

These deeds are confusing. In a 1631 grievance to the Privy Council, Carsaig was listed as being already owned by Martin. And, as Pennyghael has long been in the family it seems odd that these would be given legally to Martin in Sept 1635. Was Martin trying to distance himself from the failing Duart? And, why was McLean of Morvern involved while Duart was still chief? Also, why does Duart duplicate this legality in 1640? Could Campbell have been trying to get his hands on these properties by raising doubt as to McGilvray's title? However, in 1637 Arch Campbell had laid claim to Brolos; "*excepta denariata de Pennygail per M. Martinum McIlwrae ministrum possassa*". (207) And, a note at Inveraray c1650, states that Pennyghael, Glen Liddle & Carsaig are not considered part of Duart's lands. (105 #471/154)

Despite this, Argyll sought to increase his power, at that time, by inducing or forcing small land holders to give up their position as free barons holding 'in capite' of the Crown. He wanted them to become ordinary vassals holding their lands in feu of a superior (himself) who held it from the Crown. (102p.320)



The 1675 list of rebels adds to this confusion. There is no McGilvray listed of Pennyghael or of Carsaig. The Rev Martin (if he was still alive), or whoever was chief, may have been exempted but the only McGilvrays here were Don gorum in Pennyghael, & John & Don at Carsaig. (Allan McLean is in Carsaig. A similar list for 1685 has Jo & Don of Pennyghael & John of Carsaig. (102)

And, there are the lands of Glencannel to consider. On 1 & 2 June 1635 a sasine was given by Donald dow M'Lachlan V'Ean dowie (servitor of Hector M'Lean of Kellin), as bailie, to Malcolm M'Ilwra (or McIllwra) (lawful son of deceased Niall M'Ilwra of Glentanner), as attorney for Sir Duncan Campbell, fiar of Auchinbreck, knight, on a charter by Niall, Bishop of the Isles, signed at Kilmichael in Glassary, 19 May 1635, before John M'Lachlan, lawful son of deceased Arch M'Lachlan of Craiginterve, Mr Dugald Campbell, minister of Kilvickocharmick, & Colin M'Lachlan, eldest lawful son of Don M'Lachlan, Captain of Inischonnell. The subjects, which have been apprized (i.e. sold to pay debts) from Hector M'Lean, elder, of Dowart, are the lands of Carsaig, Skridane, Thorine, Glasvildail & Lealt; the Church lands in Leirwalleneill, consisting of the lands of Kilwraneyne, Kilnyne, Beich, Kendgorroray & Kilmory; the Church lands in Aros, consisting of the lands of Kilphubill, Keldine & Cailzemore; the Church lands commonly called the lands of Gribone in Mull, namely Kingschyir, Ballemeanach, Tangzie, Ballenheyne. Killonmoir, Ballenahaird or Aird, & the Island of Inchkenneth; the Church lands commonly called the lands of Leirnacalloch in Mull, namely Darvovaig, Orsay, Gilhead, Skarisdaill, Knok & Clachaig; the lands of Glenligdale & Swy; & the lands commonly called the £20 land of Rossie in Mull, namely Schebay, Scur, Kilvickewin, Scheirpheyne, Uskyine, Ardchiavaig, Knoknafenaig, Pennymor, Ardaleneis, Teirzergane, Ellanerratt, Assaboill, Croingert, Ardachow, Catkine & Over & Nether Ardtun; & numerous others. Wits= Don Makrorok, lawful son of John roy M'Finlay oig V'Craink in Kilbrandon & others. (28v2pp.176/7 Reg'd 31 July 1635 fo1 355; vo1 XLII, 1st series #550)

The name McGilvray of Pennyghael & the gentleman's house situated there, suggests this was the centre of the clan's original holdings. Although they could have lived at Carsaig even when they rented it from the church they may not have moved there until Martin formally got title to it. It would seem to have been a better location for both aesthetic & communication reasons. If Carsaig was the home of the laird then a close relative likely lived at Pennyghael. In later years Pennyghael was probably rented to a tacksman. A map of 1654 shows houses at Bingael & at Karsaick. (10)

It was fortunate that a man of Martin's qualities was laird during these turbulent times when the church lands were being fought over & Duart was crumbling. Nationally, the impassioned divisions of both church & state caused a particularly vicious civil war to wrack the country. Through all this Martin prevailed as he proved to be a man for his time. He seems to have been just one of many McGilvrays with a photographic memory.

Not what's read but what's remembered makes learned. (131½)

His extraordinary abilities must have been obvious even as a youth for he was given the privilege of attending the University of Glasgow. He was likely encouraged towards this educational goal by his predecessors; Arch (p.101), who had risen in the church, & Don (p.119), who had been "*the first & maist leirnit student*" at this university. And, Martin made the most of his opportunity.

That the McGilvrays favored education is evident from the fact that in the 1600's, one of the two schools on Mull was near Pennyghael; while the other was in centre of the top portion. (248p.116) It is uncertain if the school in Iona, for which the Mull Heritors were willing to pay c1656, ever materialized. (173) The deplorable state of schooling in 1616 was not only due to a lack of local funding but also due to the corruption of the curriculum set by outsiders who merely wanted such schools to 'root out' the Gaelic.

Because the local grammar schools taught only to age 12, until even the late 1800's, it would have been necessary for Martin to begin university, or a Glasgow writing school, at this tender age. The average age of boys entering university was 14. (227p.449) Martin obtained his MA in 1620 (58v4p.114 & 38p.144) It is doubtful if his curriculum would have been much different from Don's in 1591. After graduating he joined the newly established Church of Scotland which had wrested control from Rome & England just a decade before Martin was born.



This increases the likelihood that he was named after Martin Luther, instead of the usual procedure of naming the second son after his maternal grand-dad, (in this case Allan), if, indeed, he was the second son.

It should be remembered that this was a much different church than we see today. Rich & dominant over the people; aloof & strong enough to challenge nobles & kings. Anyone who gained entrance to its select membership gained also its protection, its rights &, potentially, its power. With his strength & resoluteness Martin was ideally suited for, what would prove to be, a particularly difficult era. This was especially true in the Highlands where he, like many of his fellow ministers, invariably wore a sword, & knew how to use it.

About this time (Feb 1625) (162v14p.196) a Glasgow trading ship was pirated by Hector Maclean of Duart. Several crewmen were slain & the cargo was looted. The ship had likely entered Duart Bay on a trading mission or had possibly sought protection from a winter storm in Lock Spelvie. Surely the incident occurred away from Duart Castle because the pirates must have hoped to remain anonymous. But, how did the merchants know who to accuse? It is doubtful anyone from Mull would 'talk' so the robbers must have been previous customers. One wonders why they didn't act on the

belief that "dead men tell no tales"? The only certainty is they still believed in the age old way of doing business in the Islands & took violently that which they could not, or would not, buy.

In a Nov 1627 supplication to the Privy Council (208 II 363) the merchants named (among others) "*? McInnes, spous to Mr Marteyne McIlwra, Minister in Mull*", as having taken quantities of French & Spanish wine, herring & cloth. None of the accused appeared in court & were put to the horn & outlawed. Although undertakings were given later, to recompense the merchants, these were not fulfilled. In 1628 the court ordered "*Lauchlane McClayne for his brother & Mr Martine McIlrae to tak ordour for satisfioun of the marcheants of Glasgu for the goodis reft fra thame be the Claneane*". The final outcome is not recorded. It seems Martin chose wives to fit his own temperament.

Piracy was not limited to McGilvray women for, in Mar 1651, a Dunc McIlvory, dwelling in Arrell, & others, under the leadership of McLean of Aros, were censured for robbing Thos Hamilton of his bark. (173) This may be the Dunc McOlvory in Garvach? whose spouse Catrine nine vc Iver alias Campbell lodged a complaint in 1640. (173)

It appears Martin was posted to Mull for the first five years after he graduated. He would have experienced adversity almost immediately for there was a famine in the Hebrides in 1623. (161 Aug 1985 p.13). But, he is not there, in 1626, with the three known ministers in the single Mull parish: Ewen McClean, John Campbell & Ninian McMillan. (58 from Bishop Knox in Collect. de Reb. Alban.) This is an indication of the turmoil on this island, & the effects of the Reformation, for in 1549 there had been "*seven parochie kirkes within this iyle*". (58 from Dean Munroe & 246)

Possibly as a result of the 1625 piracy embarrassment he was transferred to the Church of Tiree & Coll from c1626 to c1630. (162v14p.196) While in Tiree he was a witness for a 1628 sasine. (211 ASGRp.75) It was reported that, from 1611-1638, Tiree & Coll ministers were ordained by Spottiswoodian Bishops. (?p.100) This likely refers to the Presbyterian leader at that time. (No relation to the John Spottiswod whose forfeited goods went to Arch in 1547.)

Martin must have settled his wife's piracy charge satisfactorily for he is transferred back to Killinchen (Kilfinichen, Mull). A Sasine of 2 July 1630, dealing with Maclean of Ardtornish, (28p.118) is witnessed by his brother german, Ferquhard M'Ilwrae, & says Martin is the minister at the above parish.

But, evidently, this was not a move that was accepted by everyone. Martin complains, to the Privy Council, of the hostility & hindrance to his ministry at Kilfinichen by Murdoch MacLaine of Lochbuie. His complaint is that Murdoch, his neighboring landowner, not only refuses to attend the kirk but prevents his tenants from attending & has also threatened the minister. Specifically, he cites that one Sunday in Mar 1631, Murdoch & some

armed followers turned up at the kirk, where Martin was about to preach, & violently "*thrust him to the doores, locked the same, & vowed if he found him there againe he sould doe a worse turne to him*". MacLaine afterwards went to Martin McIlvrae's lands of 'Carsack' (Carsaig) where he broke in & stole a brown horse which he "*gifted to ane chairshacher (harpist) saying in derisioun that he sould gar the clairsacher ryde als long on him as the minister had done*". (208v4 2nd series pp.176/7) Such behaviour, claimed Martin through his procurator, if left unpunished would result in the breakdown of organized religion in the Isles. MacLaine did not appear at the Privy Council hearing & was denounced as a rebel & his property forfeit.

Four months later MacLaine submitted that he hadn't known of the hearing; otherwise he would have cleared himself. Nonetheless he paid a fine & found caution for his future behaviour. Murdoch then obligated himself to Martin that his tenants in the parish would pay their yearly dues, would conform to church discipline, repair the kirk & not attend any other chapel.

But, the quarrel was not finished so easily. Soon afterwards Martin called on Lochbuie for his due portion of the stipend & MacLaine's second son, Alan, noted Martin was armed & sneeringly asked if the minister meant to enforce his demand. Martin affirmed this (if it should prove necessary) & said he would relinquish his claim if Alan could back him to the wall. Both drew their swords & in short order Alan was on the ground. As he paid the money Alan observed that he liked to see a man who could maintain his living by his sword. (175p.737)

Nor seek nor shun the fight. (131½)



Draw me not without cause, nor return me without honor.

(written on a sword)

In 1631 the Commissariat Record listed Martin McIllura, McIlvara or McIlwra de Pennygaile. (132p.79) It was likely to do with Lochbuie's obligation to pay him his stipend from 22 Mar until 16 Aug 1631 when Martin was at Killean (& Kilinacher? or Killenachane or Killemchin, Torosay, near Loch Spelve, Mull). (58)

Martin was in Kilmun by 1635 which should have made Lochbuie happier. (211, 1631-1640; RS1/43 B04325 & RS1/51) Kilmun is on the lower Clyde & is where the Marquis of Argyll (who would be executed 30 years later) is buried. But, Mr Martin was back in Mull in 1639/1640 & in 1642 had returned to Kilinchine (Kilfinichen). (173). However, he wasn't there long because by 9 July 1642 he was minister at Kilinane (or Killininane; i.e. Kilninian & Kilmore, Mull) where he

witnessed another sasine; along with Malc & Don M'illiwrae, servitors to McLean of Duart. (28p.223/4 #682)

On 1 Nov 1643, Martin was transferred to the celebrated Isle of Icollumkill (Iona, in the Presbytery of Kilmore), (58v4p.114) although another source has him there in 1642. (173p.2) Yet, another source says he was there until 1689, (162v14p.196) but this is likely erroneous, especially as he died <1687. He is also said to have been at Kilvicuen c1650. (58) Martin is unable to attend the Argyll Synod in 1645 due to the 'troubles' on Iona. However, the Synod has heard he was not merely an innocent bystander but was, in fact, deeply involved with Sir Lachlan McLean & his rebels. His continued absence, in 1647, caused him to be sited by the Synod.

The mid 1640's were a turbulent time for Martin McGilvra. Any war is vicious but the English Civil War, against Charles 1 in 1642, was particularly vindictive. The Lowlanders supported Oliver Cromwell (& his very efficient Roundhead Army) while Montrose (who had switched sides) raised the Highlands to fight for the king.



Charles I



Oliver Cromwell;
by Sir Peter Lely



Montrose

Although the chiefs may have cared who won or lost, most Highlanders involved in this (& in most other wars) went south mainly for the plunder. It was their tendency to fight a quick action, grab as much spoil as they could carry & return to their glens to enjoy it.

In July 1644 the talk around the McGilvray home fires would have centred on the Irish auxiliaries who had landed in the West to help their 'cause'. Under Alex Macdonald, 1500 men took Meigray & Kinloch Alan Castles (likely Mingary & Lochaline) & then proceeded to Knoydart & Athole. However, their supporting fleet was destroyed as it lay in Loch Eishart (southeast Skye). (19v2p.273)

In the Battle of Tippermuir Montrose completely overwhelmed an army twice the size of his, thanks to some unarmed Highlanders who threw stones at the cavalry of the Lowland Presbyterian *Covenanters*'. Montrose won another battle near Aberdeen on 13 Sept. "*There was little slaughter in the fight, but horrible was the slaughter in the flight.*" No mercy was shown the town & the Irish were particularly cruel: only slightly more than the Islanders. Men were usually stripped, before they were killed, so as to not damage their clothing. The looting & killing lasted four days.

Argyll, with an army three times as large, hesitated to engage Montrose although he felt secure enough to do much raiding of innocent people's property. On Oct 28, at Fyvie, he at last attacked but was driven back after which he refused further battle & allowed Montrose (who was out of powder) to withdraw. Argyll was obviously unsuited to the task. His talents were more suited to cabinet intrigues.

To offset the losses of battle, & of those men who returned home with the spoils of victory, it was necessary for the Royalists to receive continual Highland reinforcements. On 7 Nov, Macdonald arrived with 700 Macleans (& certainly McGilvrays) who wanted the war carried into Argyll's territory in order to retaliate for the ruin he had caused earlier in 1644 to Mull. (171v1p.314) Despite the fact that his Lowland officers had departed, due to the approach of winter, Montrose & this new army proceeded to Castle Campbell. This Campbell Lowland stronghold, located 10 miles west of Stirling, was traditionally known as Castle Gloom. The Highlanders burnt this residence to the ground & laid waste the surrounding parishes. (19v3p.16)

Argyll, however, was at Inveraray where he felt so secure that he didn't bother to guard the mountain passes into his territory. His tranquillity was abruptly shattered when terrified shepherds brought him news that Montrose, instead of being 100 miles away, was but two miles from his door. The Highlanders had forced marched over snow & mountain, with their young, daring leader, in order to gain the advantage. Argyll wisely fled to a fishing boat from which he watched his town & castle burn.



For six weeks (13 Dec 1644 - 30 Jan 1645) three separate groups of Montrose's army traversed the whole county, without molestation; burning, wasting & destroying everything. Any cattle they didn't take were killed, as were all the men whom they caught. After this, some of the McGilvrays & Macleans returned home with their immense booty. Is it any wonder that later the Campbells would do the same to Mull & to the McGilvrays? However, they would use government troops to do it because it is said their clan never recovered from Montrose's devastations.

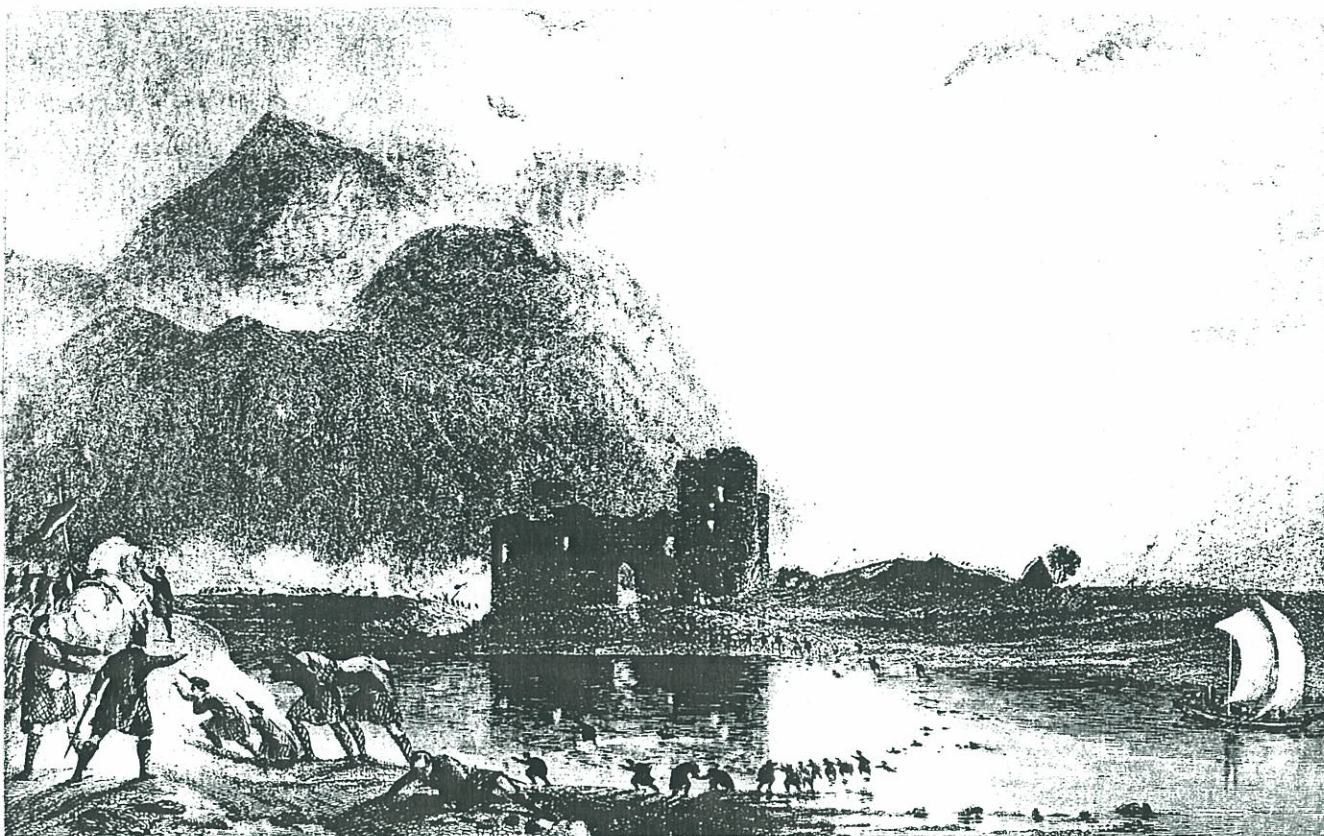
Only when Montrose left did Argyll dare to collect his forces & proceed to Inverlochy (near Fort William) where he wasted the district of Lochaber. In just over 24 hours, Montrose & his men, went 30 miles, in the dead of winter, through impossible mountains, to appear before the again surprised Campbells. Argyll once again abandoned his men & sought safety in his galley. The Macleans who had stayed with Montrose (likely those from the mainland) were in the centre & they, & the right wing, made a furious assault. One verse of the victory song, however, casts doubt on any McGilvray presence;

*"Alasdair of the sharp galling blades,
if you had had Mull's heroes with you,
you had made those who escaped of them,
wait". (137p.95)*

The battle, or rather the flight, of Inverlochy took place on Sunday, Feb 2 1645. *"Just as the sun rose over the shoulder of Ben Nevis the troops under Montrose advanced to the attack. The Argyll force was drawn up in a line of somewhat formidable extent. In the centre were their Highlanders, on the right & left the Lowlanders, on an eminence behind stood a small body of reserve, & within the fortress itself was a garrison of 50 men."*

"The ground on which they met was perfectly level, formed by the junction of the river Lochy with Loch Eil. Behind them, & still nearer the mouth of the river, the castle of Inverlochy raised its vast square form into the cold winter air." The provision galleys were moored nearby & it was to one of these that Campbell once again fled.

"When the Campbells, waiting to receive the attack, saw the disorderly band of Montrose issue forth, at the sound of the trumpet, from the dusky glen before them - when they saw their uplifted weapons flashing under the rays of the sun as they rushed forward at full speed - when they heard the wild yell with which they accompanied the discharge of their muskets & sprang forward to close in active combat - their hearts fairly sank within them, & they might be said to have lost the battle before it commenced. Most of them discharged their firelocks against the Royalists only once, & then, without drawing a sword, turned & fled." (7) It was now that the carnage began & half their army (1500 men) was lost as opposed to only three privates on Montrose's side.



T. Allen.

Inverlochy Castle

H. Griffin.

Montrose then moved northeast to Inverness & Banff; plundering all. As always, the innocent suffered greatly. Once again the Western Highlanders rejoined him but then had to leave to defend their own lands. Still Montrose beat another Covenanter army twice; at Auldearn (4 May 1645), & at Alford (2 July). At the next battle (Kilsyth) Montrose held a strong position. The Covenanters, instead of waiting for nearby reinforcements, listened to Argyll & a committee rather than to their general, & attacked. It was a hot day &, to show their bravery, the Royal army threw away their armor & fought only in their shirts. Ewan Maclean of Treshnish led a fierce charge (54p.117) & their yells & wild appearance caused the enemy to flee. The carnage was terrible &, once again, Argyll was one of the first to flee. It is said he never paused to look over his shoulder until he was 20 miles away & safely in another boat. (19v3p.22)

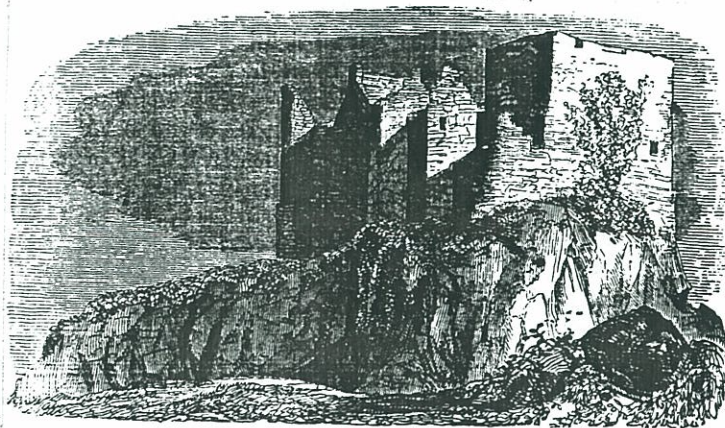
As a result of these overwhelming victories, all Scotland submitted to the royal cause in Aug 1645. When Macdonald withdrew (4 Sept) with many of his Highlanders, to fight Argyll, Montrose's small remaining army went on to Philipaugh (Selkirk) where they were surprised by Cromwell's General Leslie. This small battle (13 Sept) lost them everything they had won. Although Montrose escaped, all Royalists who were captured were executed (mostly without trial) on orders of the Presbyterian Church ministers.

The devastation of war contributed to the spread of another plague in Scotland. The soldiers of Montrose are said to have carried it, & between $\frac{1}{4}$ & $\frac{1}{2}$ the population died. Kintyre is known to have suffered but no mention is made of Mull. (227p.153)

When Charles I surrendered his Cavalier Army in 1649, Montrose was forced to disband his remaining troops & to flee to Norway. He returned later but was betrayed & taken to Beaully (near Inverness) & hence to Edinburgh where they cut off his head. The traitor, Niall MacLeod, never did receive his 30 pieces of silver. (68p.283)

*"He either fears his fate too much
Or, his desserts are small
That dares not put it to the touch
To gain or lose it all." - Montrose*

It was now the Campbell's turn to plunder & kill. Mull was invaded & a terrible vengeance was wrought on the defenceless people. Aros Castle was besieged & captured, & Duart Castle given up to General Leslie. MacLean may have saved his lands by surrendering but an eyewitness says that he did so with the loss of his reputation. Sir James Turner stated *"he gave up his strong castles to Leslie, gave his eldest son for hostage of his fidelity, &, which was unchristian baseness in the lowest degree, he delivered up fourteen prettie (steadfast) Irishmen, who had been all along faithful to him, to the lieutenant-general, who immediately caused hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from Maclaine, but inexcusable ill done in him to betray them. Here I cannot forget one Donald Campbell, fleshed in blood from his very infancie, who with all imaginable violence pressed that the whole clan Maclaine should be put to the edge of the sword; not could he be commanded to forbear his bloody suit by the lieutenant-general & two major-generals; & with some difficulty was he commanded silence by his chief, the Marquis of Argyle. For my part, I said nothing, for indeed I did not care though he had prevailed in his suit, the delivery of the Irish had so irritated me against that whole clan & name."* (245p.100) It is to be hoped a McGilvray did not advise Duart to take this action.



Castle Duart.

The Covenanters were Presbyterians. They favored the more democratic method of having congregations choose their ministers & to set standards, while the Church of Scotland (like the Church of England) wanted bishops to be appointed by the king & the ministers picked by the lairds. Many Highland clans, when they had any religion at all, were mostly Popish; particularly in the Northern Isles. Even Lochbuie reconverted to RC. (198p.14 & 146p.650)

A generation before, Argyll too had been converted to RC by his wife. He tried to avoid the royal censure by travelling secretly on a pilgrimage to Spain, where he also met with the Macdonald rebels. But, the king had long ears & Argyll was declared a traitor & became an exile until the Protestant James I died in 1638. This gave the Macleans a short reprieve but, under the next regime (Charles I), Argyll had returned home to his scheming & the Macdonalds were allowed to live in England. (84p.399)

In 1650 Charles II returned from France & tried to raise a counter attack on the Puritans. He landed in Scotland (two years too late to be effective) & this brought back Cromwell who won a tactical victory at Dunbar. But, it was at Inverkeithing (across from Edinburgh; 20 July 1651) that the Highlanders were wiped out. Of the 800 MacLeans & their followers present, 760 were killed, including their young chief, Sir Hector of Duart (the 16th chief).

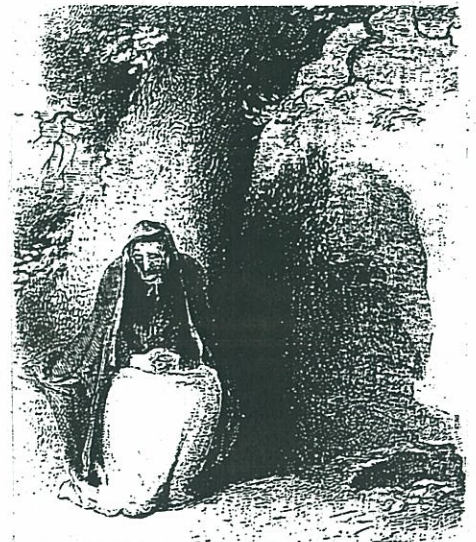


Also killed were all his foster brothers: each one crying as he stepped forward, "*another for Hector*". (198p.108) There were 140 men from Ross & Iona alone. (221) It is unknown how many McGilvrays were killed but it is likely they were proportionally represented & slaughtered.

Although half the fighting men were usually left for home defence, the biggest & bravest would have gone to their graves. Such losses would be particularly grave for a small clan such as ours & would take generations to replace. Martin was either smart enough to have been absent or lucky enough to have survived. Their Lowland allies had run off & it is claimed that Argyll (this time supporting the Royalists) had deliberately held back reinforcements. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of the Campbells suffering such grievous losses. Charles fled back to France.

*"The mist is on the mountain &
there's darkness in the glen,
And women's eyes are tearful
through vain watching for their men,
Who went gallantly to battle
for the honour of their chief,
And now sleep among the heather,
while their clachan lies in grief."*

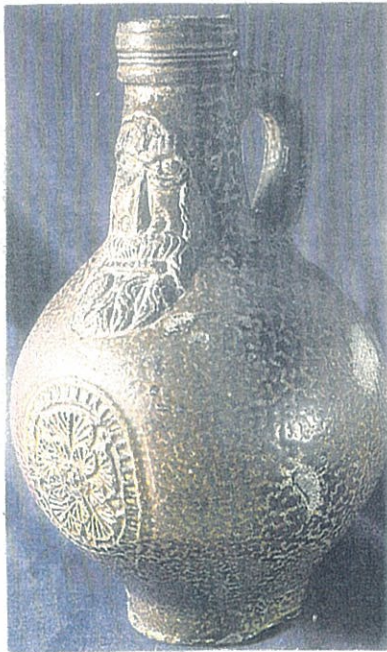
(170p.41)



The loss of the Duart chief was particularly unsettling at this time. Hector had been a youngster when he succeeded his father, Lauchlan, in 1640 (or 1649), & now the heir was Hector's infant son, Allan (1645-1675). A relative, Don MacLean of Broilass, became the child's tutor. Such minorities inevitably bring instability & this family's grave financial situation did not improve throughout these two consecutive ones.

Highland feuds were becoming wars & warfare was evolving into economic attrition (as it is today). This meant there could be no winners as the clans merely stole ever-decreasing resources from each other. Nor did peace bring prosperity for increasingly the chief's extravagant living costs were added to the heavy war debts. Argyle bought up these McLean notes & thus established a claim on their lands that he had never been able to gain by force.

The disaster at Inverkeithing sealed the fate of the intractable Macleans of Duart. In less than a century they would sink from being the most powerful family in the Hebrides to being dispossessed of land & influence. Their decay had begun with their senseless feud with their original benefactors, the Macdonalds, & ended with their thankless support of the Stuart kings.



The new Commonwealth was now in complete control. But, the MacLeans of Duart, with the Earl of Glencairn, did not care for Cromwellian rule & revolted. (It is difficult to understand such masochism.) Cromwell ordered six warships to Duart Bay & the McLeans prudently decamped to Tiree with their new eight year old chief.

On 16 Sept 1653, a sudden storm sank three of the English ships as they lay off Duart Point: The Swan, The Martha & Margrett, & The Speedwell. The troops on shore were fortifying Duart & were aiming to launch an offensive on Dunstaffnage Castle when the storm broke. Although the English force had difficulty in getting out of their predicament they eventually made it to Dumbarton. The three wrecked ships remained on the sea bed, where, after 340 years, they were recently found.

During this Civil War the church had held a synod at Inveraray, the centre of the Argyll Campbells &, as mentioned, Martin McIlvrae did not attend. In April 1648 he confessed to the General Assembly (173p.120) that he had gone with MacLean & his men, in 1645, to join Montrose & 'Colkitto', the renowned Alastair Macdonald. This was the grandson of Macdonald of Colonsay, & the son of Coll MacGillespic (or Coll ciotoch) ('left-handed Coll'). Alastair was lieutenant to Montrose & was a man of great strength, great stature & great ferocity. (22p.33)

Martin admitted to spending three nights with the rebel army & to having shaken hands with Colkitto but claimed he had been forced to go with them by Sir Lachlan McLean. When asked to explain how it was that this army had burned & destroyed the houses & lands of neighboring ministers yet had left his own unmolested, Martin confidently replied "*it was God's good providence & the love they (the rebels) had to have the gospell continued within their bounds*"! (38p.120)

Rev Martin was deponed (11 Nov 1648) "*for complying with the rebels*". But, the next year, he admitted he couldn't subsist outside the church & begged forgiveness. The General Assembly considered his "*hard case & condition*" & reinstated him to the church of Lorne (1 Aug 1649) where he was made minister of Ardnamurchan. (173p.171) He was still there in May 1650.

Martin was not exaggerating for it was at this time that the first known loan was taken out on the McGilvray lands. On 3 Dec 1649, he borrowed 10,000 merks & the loan was guaranteed by Sir Hector McLean of Duart & others. (SRO DI23/1)

Martin (of Kilninian) faced more trouble in 1651 when the Presbytery of Kilmore (Oban) was instructed, by the Presbytery of Lorn, to enquire further into the scandal "*which is on Mr Martin McIlrae anent fornication*"! (173p.212) As might be expected, he does not attend the next Synod. Martin seems to have a rather cavalier attitude in this regard (especially for a churchman) for he was also censured in 1651 for not mentioning the fornication charges against Sir Hector of Duart & others in his Kilmore Parish register; which the Synod says is full of nonsense.

The outcome isn't recorded but he seems to have lived down the allegation because, in 1652, while minister at Ardchatane (just east of Dunstaffnage), Kilmoire, he is a Ruling Elder (38, 11 p2) &, in 1657, he was a nominee (albeit unsuccessful) for the position of Moderator of the Provincial Assembly. However, by 1654 he seems to have become more of a replacement minister. Then, on 27 Oct 1658, he was sharply rebuked "*for 10 weeks absence from his charge on private secular affairs without leave, & also for grosse unchristian asseverations*" (solemn declaration). (173p.189) Unfortunately, there are no details to satisfy our curiosity.

Martin's obvious abilities continue to keep him in the church. A Synod, held at Inveraray 2 Nov 1660, gave parts of Bible to be translated into Gaelic. Nehemiah was to be done by Mr Martin McIlvra at Kilninian. (16p.372 & 173p.224) Whether it was completed is unknown. He was still in Mull on 29 May 1661 at which time he was the only minister on the island (either at Iona or Kilninian). (55p.17)



In May 1662, Martin McGillvra, minister at Kilnynane in Mull, was a witness to a sasine. (28p.341 #1039) He was still there in 1668 when he borrowed money from Nicoll Zuill, the younger, of Inververy?, (RD2/21/798) & when he & two other ministers borrowed money from Robert, Bishop of the Isles. (RD2/22/141) In 1669 he was a cautioner to a bond for Jon McLean of Kinlochlein. (RD4/23/325) On 14 Aug 1682, Mr Martine McIlvary, minister of Kilnyne (Kilninian) was mentioned in a list of cautioners for Sir Hector McLean of Duart. (RD2/58/752)

The English monarchy was restored in 1660, after Cromwell died for, like any efficient regime, the Puritans became deeply unpopular. Cromwell had brought peace & prosperity - rare things before & after him. Charles II was invited back & immediately reinstated the Church of England & the Church of Scotland.

With this new regime in power Martin reconfirmed to Episcopacy, where his true convictions lay. He petitioned the Privy Council because *"for his loyaltie to His Majestie, & adhering unto his interest, he was deposed from the ministrie, robbed & spoiled of all his goodes to the hazard of his utter ruin"*.



Charles II

The sad, and very likely true, tale was heard kindly & an Act was passed, on 8 July 1662, allowing Martein MacGilvra, minister at Mull, £100 Stirling out of the readiest of the vacant stipends. (1 Vol vii App p.87 & Petition to Parliament, Act of Recompense) Whether this was ever paid to Martin is unknown. In any event, this reimbursement was not sufficient because, as noted, he was forced to borrow in 1668. And, it appears he continued to work well into his 80's.



Merk (13s 4d)
1669 Charles II

Many Scottish ministers, however, refused to return to the old religion & held their own services - often in the outdoors for they could no longer use church facilities. The reprisals, in the 1680's; always most severe when religion is involved, became known as 'the Killing Time'. The government went so far as to encourage 10,000 Western Highlanders to pillage Lowland Covenanters in 1678. (146p.608) Half of the Highland host of 1679, that invaded the west of Scotland & Glasgow, was said to have been armed with only shovels; plus sacks to hold their plunder. (Glasgow? v1p.272)

During this very eventful century Martin McGilvra would have been witness to hardships which equalled the Viking onslaught. *"The destruction occasioned by the civil wars in the days of Charles I & Cromwell, & a famine & pestilence during the reign of William & Mary, almost depopulated the whole parish (of Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon). In King William's time, people died for want upon the high road, & were buried where they lay down: their few surviving relatives having neither strength nor means to carry the bodies to the common burying places. Upon the whole coast of Brolas, it is said only two families survived, & very many parts of the other districts were, by the same causes, desolated."* (221 & 132p.80)
Contributing to the agricultural collapse was the fact that a little ice age affected Northern Europe from 1550 to 1700. (158p.134)



This famine caused repercussions to Mull's churches & their ministers. The depopulation of Mull by 1688 caused all the small 'Kil..' parishes to be combined; the Northern portion became Kilninian & Kilmore, while the Southern became the Parish of Ross. Fifty years later this Southern portion was split into Torosay & Kilfinichen. Kilfinichen had originally been only the area to the north of Loch Scridain but now included Kilvickeon (Ross & Brolas) & Inchkenneth. (170p.9 & 194v2pt1p.314) Unfortunately, there are no remaining early records on these southern parishes.

The famine was truly a tragedy for Mull. It would be interesting to know if there was any official involvement in this very effective method of dealing with the Highland problem. Those who doubt that any government could be so cruel should read how Sir John A McDonald (Canadian Prime Minister, 1881; born in Scotland) starved Sitting Bull into returning to the USA & punishment for killing the sadistic General Custer. (235) Or, ask any Irishman or Islesman about the 'potato famine'.

Such duplicity can result also from a decision to do nothing & from a Lowland perspective the calamity could easily be viewed as divine retribution for centuries of Highland depredations. It was at this time that the long-standing Lowland hatred of the Highlanders began to be enacted into government policy. This complete shift in power to the Lowlands proved irreversible. It was due to the rapid increase in population & money in the commercial centres; to the growth of government & international trade; &, to the demand for security (provided by the English army).

Of those refugees who could move to escape the famine most are said to have moved to Ireland, & no doubt others went to Glasgow. (161 Apr 1990 p.8) Even in the late 1700's it is reported that great numbers from Mull were moving to Ireland. (246) Many descendants of those who went to Ulster were likely forced to return to the Lowlands when famine struck the Irish poor in the 1840's.

Although almost all of the factors impacting on Mull would have been beyond the control of Rev Martin McIlvra it was fortunate for our clan that a man of his abilities was guiding their affairs during, at least most of, these unprecedented changing times. He was, obviously, a man ideally fit for his era. Intelligence & education gained him position in life; strength & courage allowed him to keep it. He had access to all levels of society & he was not cowed by authority or by powerful neighbors. Yet, he retained much of the coarseness of a Highland laird: involving himself in rebellion, piracy, fornication &, always in need of money. The financial troubles which plagued his successors probably began with the collapse of the McLeans & were compounded during the misfortunes of King William's reign. Even a man with the depth & complexity of character of Martin, would have found it impossible to overcome the severe limitations of land ownership on Mull.

Undoubtedly, he would have been a fascinating person to meet.



At the heart of Celtic mythology lies heroic tradition, a belief of reaching towards one's full potential whether deity, human, or beast. The adorned zoomorphic bird, symbol of inspiration, must itself push beyond the boundaries of its invisible shell to spread its wings and realize its destiny as messenger between the heavens and earth. Without inspiration there is no quest.

The Hero's Egg; by Lorraine Bruce-Allen

DUART'S DEMISE

The fighting & the losses to all sides, during the Civil War, seem to have brought the financial crisis of the McLeans to a head. As early as 1604 Duart had begun to be in serious arrears with his rents due the king & this was exploited by an astute Argyll who coveted the McLean lands. In 1633 Argyll loaned Duart sufficient funds to pay off his other creditors. But, MacLean couldn't check his spendthrift ways & his debts grew. Argyll then bought up more of Duart's notes. Duart was also careless regarding adequate records for in one instance a receipt was lost & he was forced to make a large payment twice. Possibly the document was never requested, for Highlanders were said to be scrupulously honest & had no need of receipts. (19v1p.255)

Like any large debtor facing disaster Duart made repeated demands for help to his faithful followers. Bankruptcy was considered a disgrace & thus it was a matter of honor that such 'requests' be met to the best of each clansmen's ability to pay. If anyone became obstinate in such a matter, to his kin, he would be cast out of the tribe by general consent; a fate considered worse than excommunication. Our family's slide into economic ruin began also at this time & may well be linked to Duart.

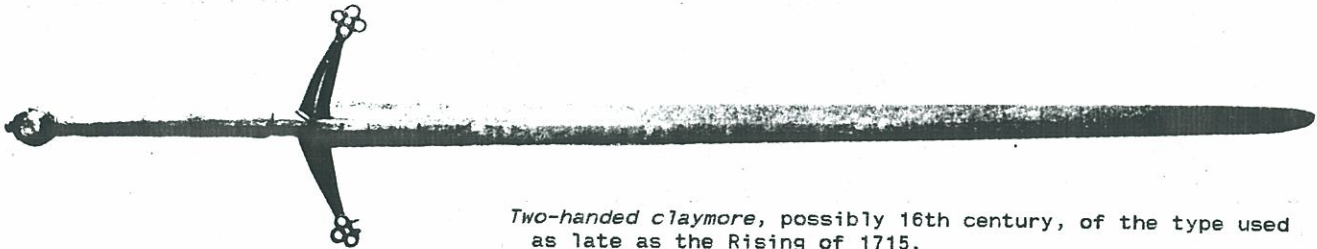
When Duart was unable to satisfy the Campbell demand for payment the matter went to court; which meant additional costs in fees & bribes. Finally, in 1659, Duart's lands were adjudged to Argyll, as principal creditor. As a result, MacLean promised to pay the Duart rents (from his tacksmen) directly to Argyll. It seems this arrangement postponed things for 15 years but the Campbells bided their time & the McLeans didn't change their ways.

As always, the McLeans found some local enemy to punish for an earlier depredation or to plunder for current needs &, on 15 Oct 1671, Sir Allan Maclean invaded Ardnamurchan. He landed at Kilchoan with all his own men, & his friends (including the McGilvrays), totalling about 450 men. One of those plundered was John McEan Vc Gillevorie at Ormsagbeg. (36 from the Argyll Charter Chest vol xviii p.21 "info from Alex Campbell of Lochinell... vs Allan MacLean of Duart"; & 161p.20 Oct 1671)

The seriousness of the financial situation did, however, bring about clan unity as the McLeans realized their whole clan faced a common enemy. To this end, Duart seems to have secured the support of Lochbuy, as well as of the lairds of Ardgour, Torloisk & Kinlochaline. But, it was too late.

Once again Argyll had the Duart lands adjudged to him. To this end, a list of Duart lands was made up which included place names in the Ross of Mull & Brolass. Of course, the independent McGilvray lands were not included. (171v1p.259)

As would be expected, any attempted physical takeover by Argyll would cause feelings to run high &, on 21 Aug 1674 (or 1673), "*Lawchlane M'Laine in Brolois & his complices, to the number of seven score men, armed with fyrelocks, swords & targets, (were) in a posture ready to fight, with their plaids throwne from them, standing & drawne up hard by the house of Dowart ...*". To stress their point, several guns were fired from Duart Castle. The government soon ordered the McLeans to lay down arms & to disband (171p.265) but such orders were meaningless as they ignored the state of open warfare which existed between the two clans.



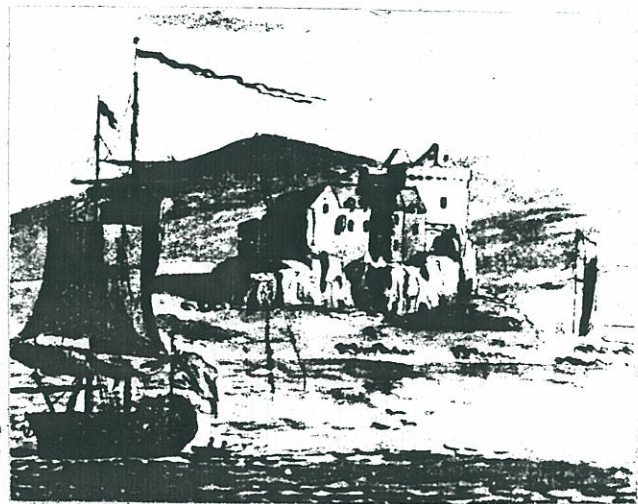
Two-handed claymore, possibly 16th century, of the type used as late as the Rising of 1715.

In 1674, Archibald, 9th Earl of Argyll, procured letters of ejection against the MacLeans & cited them to appear at Inveraray before Campbell 'justice'. "*Here there would be 15 Campbells in the jury box & the biggest Campbell of all (the Earl) sitting cocking on the bench.*" MacLean & his supporters dared not appear & Argyll obtained a 'commission of fire & sword' & launched an invasion of Mull with 2000 Campbells. Another source claims it was 5000 men but, in any event, it shows that Campbell did not want to take any chances.

They landed at Duart & two other places, without opposition, & stripped the island of cattle & anything else they could move. (85p.72) It is doubtful that any McGilvray possessions would have been exempt from such devastation, especially as we had been part of the 1645 depredations of the Campbells. This is assuming we had any possessions remaining after the invasions of 1644 & 1647.

Argyll left a garrison in Duart Castle & although he was reported to be repairing it, in 1679, such castles would soon become anachronisms & it was a ruin by 1786. (116) Moy Castle at Lochbuie would also be taken on Jan 1679 by John Campbell, on orders of Argyll. (22p.54)

On 18 Sept 1674 a proclamation was issued that "*All gentlemen & tenants of Duart shall acknowledge Argyll as the new lord, & Campbell will settle the lands of Brolas, etc, onto Lauchlan MacLean who will be the follower of Argyll.*" (?)



Duart Castle 1748, Board of Ordnance drawing
It ceased being a residence c1740; was in ruins in 1800; & was rebuilt in 1911

It thus appears that Brolas was attempting to secure his own interests by making a separate peace with Argyll & agreeing to become "*faithful followers of the Earl & his successors*". This grant to Brolas was to be made "*in such a manner as the same may not prejudge the Earl as to his right of the rest of the estate of Duart*". (108) Because of this arrangement, an Argyll rental of 1674 does not include Brolas.

But, the clan as a whole refused to accept this settlement & Brolas was forced to repudiate it &, in Apr 1675, Lachlane McLaine of Brolois & 24 others seized & garrisoned the castle of Kerneburg (Carneburg). Criminal proceedings were accordingly taken against them in a court held at Inveraray, on 23 June 1675, by Mr John Campbell of Moy as a depute of Argyll, in his character of Justice-General.

In 1675 hostilities were resumed & Letters of Caption & Ejection were issued against the recalcitrant tenants, including those of Brolas. Even this proved unavailing & letters of Fire & Sword were once again issued. Finally, all Duart's tenants & gentlemen were forced to capitulate.

Although it is claimed that MacLean held out in the hills until 1680 (36) the clan gave up the struggle in Feb 1679 when they formally surrendered their arms. These totalled; 385 swords, 95 guns, three pistols, five lochabir axes & one two-handed sword. (171v1p.317) Lauchline McLeane of Brolase was allowed to keep his lands but he, too, had to acknowledge Campbell. (152v20p.7) The long struggle was almost over.

The importance of these new lands to Argyll is indicated in his 1770/1 rent summaries: (42)

-Ancient Argyll estate	£2,965
-Knapdale (from Macdonalds in 1476 }	
-Kintyre (from Macdonalds in 1607 }	4,811
-Mull & Morvern (from Duart in 1674	1,656
-Tiree & two ends of Coll	852

To reward friends, to maintain a military following & to preserve order in the annexed lands, Argyll began immediately to displace MacLean tacksmen with his own Campbell chieftains. Some of the evicted tenants from McLean lands may have been McGilvrays. However, the survival of wadsetts & jointure rights (previous legal arrangements which precluded Campbell's claim) of the forfeited estates enabled many an ex clan chieftain to legally continue in residence (albeit minus their incomes). (42)

When MacLean lost his lands, his clansmen (& possibly the McGilvrays) paid two rents; one to Campbell & one to MacLean who had gone to France. (140v14p.161) These common people believed their chief held the same authority, due to kinship, even though he had lost his estate. A noble deed but surely an onerous burden.

A separate land owning clan, such as the McGilvrays, although remaining in possession of their property, would be placed in an awkward position. Their new masters certainly considered them enemies & knew their hearts lay with their old friends. However, the practicality of the permanently changed situation would mean that once again our small clan would have to adapt. They were likely forced to give a bond of manrent to their new lord, by which they bound themselves to follow him as their chief & to give him the customary acknowledgement of the calpe?. They thus became a dependent sept under a clan which did not consider them to be equal members. This would have been particularly arduous for the McGilvrays if Martin were deceased & there were no legal chief to manage the clan's affairs.

In Apr 1675 an Argyll court issued a letter of ejection, against John MacLean of Duart (the next chief), which listed the names of 455 men including his McIlvray followers on Mull. (171, 2ndv1pp.296&298&299) (See Appendix 1) It is uncertain if this list included only the tenants, rather than all the men who had fought for the McLeans, & thus excluded cottars, crofters & workmen. As there were 400 McLeans at Killiecrankie (see p.155) in 1689 (plus another 400 at home) this tends to confirm the above exclusions. However, comparisons between this list (16 McGilvrays in Ross & Brolass) and the 1716 Arms List in Appendix 3 (16 McGilvray men), & with the 1779 census in Appendix 4 (16 McGilvray families or 25 fencible men) would indicate they are all compatible & that everyone was included. But again, the 19th century parish & census records indicate much larger numbers of McGilvrays for Mull. Basically, it is a guess whether these 'rebel' lists of Mull (which have relatively few McGilvrays) are 'censuses'.

Similar lists, pertaining to Lorne (Appendix 2), indicate there were 39 McGilvray men (30 families) living there at this time. These 'off' Mull numbers are higher than initially believed & are not substantiated by later census & parish details which show a much higher proportion of the family in Kilfinichen than elsewhere.

Of course, parish records are extremely suspect due to their varying recording periods & to the fact that church disruptions affected some areas more than others. However, if only the one generation period of 1805-1835 is considered, the number of McGilvray households are: Mull 121, Islay/Jura 70, Lorne 26, & Ardnamurchan, Morvern, & Kilmallie 15. (133½) It seems likely, therefore, that there was considerable overlap in the Lorne names & that these 'off Mull' McGilvray families, being nearer to 'civilization', were disproportionately represented in the records.

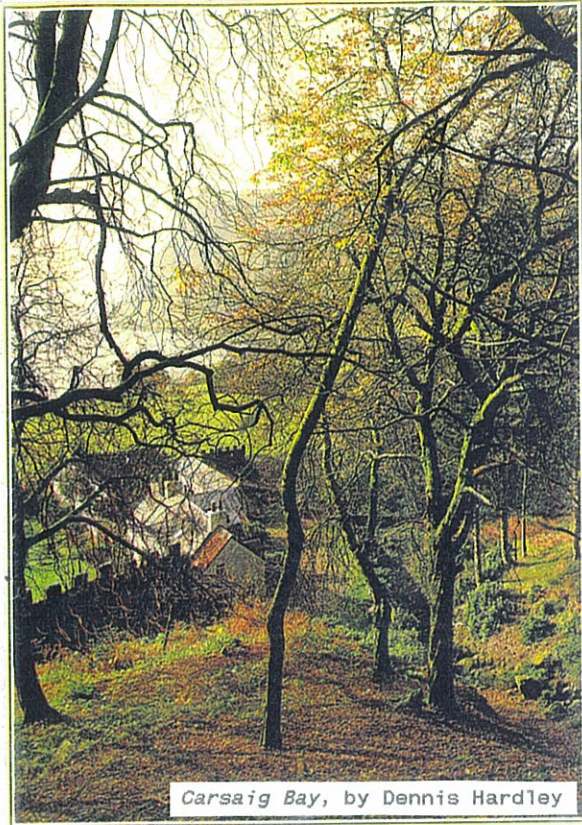
Basically, all such a comparison can do is to cast doubt on the low 1675 numbers for Mull. Is it possible that some Mull & Islay/Jura clansmen left those troubled regions, at this time, & settled in the more stable Campbell lands? Or, as some would later do, did they move to Ireland? However, one thing is obvious -- the McGilvrays were a very mobile clan even at this early period.

The McGilvrays listed in 1675 are;

Angus M'Ilvorish (Sheba)
Arch M'Ilvray (Starfine i.e. Serphin or Serphein)
Arch M'Ilvray in Teerfine
Don M'Ilchallum vic Iloray in Forwachlie (Funary - Morvern ?)
Don M'Ulvoyll in Knockulligan
Don gorum McIlray in Pennygail [note: not of Pennyghael]
Don McIloray (Larsaig i.e. Carsaig)
Don grave M'Ilvray in Starfine (Serphine)
Don M'Ilray in Teerfine (Tiergan or Tirgan)
Don M'Ean vic Ilvray (Kilvicewn i.e. Kilvickeon)
Don M'Ilraw Balliwilling (Ballinaheine ?)
Dunc M'Ilvray (Scur i.e. (Scour); rent= £30 + produce
Ewin M'Ilvray in Scur
Ewin M'Ilvray (Knock)
Hector M'Iloray Pennycross [Don Bittoune in Pennycross]
John dow M'Ilvray in Knock
John dow M'Iloray (Glentiddell)
John McIloray (Larsaig) [Allan McLean in Larsaig]
John M'Ilvorrie Isle of Erraie (Erraid)
John McIlvorish in Kentalline (n of Salen)
Lauchlan M'Ilvray (Knock)
Malc M'Iloray in Glentiddell (Glen Liddle)
Malc M'Ilvray in Killive (Killeen?; Kildavie?; n Mull)
Malc M'Iloray (Tormtarroch i.e. Torranicrach)
Malc M'Ilvorrie (Forwachlie)
Martin M'Onochie vic Ilvray (Larnish) (≈Usken)
Martin M'Donald vic Ilvray (Larnish)
Martin M'Donald vic Ilvray (Teerfine)
Martin M'Donachie vic Ilvray (Teerfine)
Martin Neelchallin M'Ilvray in Ardchevage (Ardchirvaig; sw Ross)
Neil M'Ilvail (Pennygail)
Neil M'Ilvray (Glenrannar i.e. Glen Cannel)
Neel M'Ilvray in Dissag (Disaig; n of Ben More)
Neil M'Ilvray (Sallochar (≈Erraid Is)

Those McGilvrays residing on non-Duart lands, such as Lochbuie & Iona, were excluded (although those on the directly subservient lands of Pennyghael were named). The names & farms were likely obtained from the rent rolls which Duart would have had to have given earlier to Argyll when he assigned his rents. (Appendix 1 lists all those involved.)





Carsaig Bay, by Dennis Hardley

Such lists of McGilvrays usually give rise to numerous questions. Donald gorum of Pennyghael had died 50 years prior. Does this mean the Campbell list was out of date, or could Martin's son be nicknamed the same as his grand-father? But, that Don (jr), the attorney, never uses this nickname in his legal work & even sons of owners were called 'of'. The word 'in' rather than 'of' was always used carefully & meant these persons were not the proprietors. Martin had certainly obtained the deeds to his lands in 1635. Could this Don gorum be Martin's younger brother, & the father of John? (the next laird; see p.160) And, who is the Allan McLean in Carsaig & why is he there & what becomes of him? Surely it isn't Sir Allan of Duart who would die in 1675.

If Martin is alive the omission of his name indicates he had wisely kept out of any direct involvement with the rebels for it is unlikely he would have been excluded from the list because of his church affiliation or age of 75. It is doubtful he is the Martin, son of Don at Teerfine as he would have been called Mr Martin.

If the actual McGilvray owners & their lands were not considered part of the McLean debt then why would their tenants be subject to eviction? Was it because of their armed rebellion rather than any debt? Or, was this the procedure Campbell had to take in order to assert his lordship over these individuals?

There is also confusion with some of the other McGilvrays. Does the same person (eg. John dow) occupy two farms? However, this does seem to be a common enough name because another John dow McIlvory, in Jura, borrowed £1 sterling from John Campbell of Ballichlavane; at Knockcrome 1 Aug 1712. (102p.121) And, one of the above Malcolms may be the Malc McGillivrae included in a 1673 supplication by McLean. (208 3rd V p.3/4)

If nothing else, these lists show little cohesion between McGilvray clansmen. Their independent movements likely occurred for economic reasons. When they occurred & whether there was interflow is unknown. It does indicate they were fully integrated with Duart's own clansmen; & even with the Campbells.

The 1674 Duart rentals had locations listed but few tenants. Neither Brolass nor Pennyghael were noted & there were only two McGilvrays; (102p.280&p.284 & 171v1p.277)

- Scour, Ross; $\frac{1}{2}$ d land possest by Dunc & Hew McIlvrays
& pays of money £30, of butter 1 qrt, of cheese
1 stane, of wedders 1, of victual 1 stane.
- Knockteirmartine, Torosay; possest by John dow McIlvray
& pays of money £66 13s 4d, of butter 2 quarts
of cheese 2 stone, of wedders 2, of victual 2
stone

A Malc McIlvra, drover in Mull, was a 1674 wit at Dowart (102p.39);
& in Oct 1677, a Dunc McOlvorie, was in Ardoa And. (102p.80)

The rental of 1679 shows clear signs of the damage done by warfare. In 1674 the rental of the Mull estates, excluding Brolos, was £3896 Scots; while in 1679 it had dropped by 18% (in just five years) to £3183. Many farms were described as 'waste'. Killuntaig paid nothing. Torranbeg, Torranovachtrich & Torranichtrich (ie, Little Torran, Upper Torran & Lower Torran) paid £66 $\frac{1}{2}$ compared to £80 in 1672; & Beach paid £26 $\frac{1}{2}$ compared to £133. Pennycross yielded only £20. Pennyghaell, Carsaig & Glenleidle are listed together paying £53 $\frac{1}{2}$. Glencannoir & Gortenbuy each pay this amount (with Glencannoir also paying 1 stone cheese, 1 crt butter & 1 sheep). (171v1pp.312/314) To gain a perspective on these rents, it has been said that in 1674 a cow was worth £12 (which must be £12 Scots for in 1764 a cow was said to be worth £1 stirling).

The McGilvray lands are listed as part of Argyll's Broloiss lands (totalling £503 in 1679) which confirm the Campbells had displaced the McLeans as McGilvray overlords. The tenants' list gives the names of two at Pennyghael, three at Carsaig, & two in Glenleidle; while sub-tenants & others aren't listed. (source ?) Glencannoir was listed in Argyll's Torissay rentals in 1679.



By; David Munro



James II

A brief ray of hope fell on the McLeans in 1681 when Argyll was condemned for high treason for refusing to subscribe to the (religious) Test Act. He had fled with his estates forfeit. In an attempt to regain his position Argyll led a rebellion, in 1685, against James II. He was unsuccessful & lost his lands & his head (a fate that supposedly had been foretold to him). (134) However, the next Campbell regained their lands while the king temporarily kept Duart's lands. Obviously, the king needed the Campbells more than he needed the McLeans. Brolos was the acting chief of the McLeans at this time.

About 1686 the government offered to repay the debts of the Western Highland chiefs to Argyll in the hope of keeping the area calm. Many accepted the settlement & took the oath of allegiance; although some of these rebelled again in 1689 & in 1715. A separate deal was to be offered to the chief of the MacLeans for the resolution of his particular difficulties. However, the government negotiator was a Campbell &, of course, they didn't want any repayment because they wanted MacLean's lands. Therefore, these negotiations failed. (198p.116)

The few Highland hopes for the return of the good old days rested on James. But, he was as out of touch with reality as his father had been & similarly provoked parliament, which, in 1689, decided to exchange him for his Dutch son-in-law, William of Orange. James fled & another civil war began, with the Highland Jacobites, as usual, supporting the losing side (James). It is obvious that their soothsayers with second sight were not too accurate regarding politics or battles.



William & Mary

There were 400 men under the MacLeans at the Battle of Killiecrankie, Perthshire on 27 July 1689. This was half the number they had mustered at Inverkeithing (1651) & indicates they had not recovered from that slaughter. The Macleans still hoped to regain their lands & although outnumbered two to one, they utterly defeated William's troops. But, they lost their leader (John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee) & faded back to their glens. How they ever hoped to prevail over Parliament & its standing army is beyond comprehension.



The people of Mull had to support much of the rebel army during the winter of 1689/90 & the next summer they were ravaged by the Royal Navy. These were desperate times for Jacobites. The fighting shifted to Ireland where, at the Battle of the Boyne, James' hopes were ended. It is unknown if any McGilvrays were there.

The Campbells were certainly astute politicians & their new chief was one of William's most active supporters in Scotland. So, in 1690, the final order to reduce the MacLeans was given by the courts. In the summer of 1691 Mull was invaded by 2500 Campbells; Duart Castle was given up & all men were forced to swear allegiance to William. Argyll's domination of Mull, the MacLeans & the McGilvrays was now complete. [A full description of Campbell's take-over of Duart is given in 155v2p.90]

However, the transfer must have continued to be turbulent for the 1693 Poll Tax could not be collected in Mull, Coll or Tyree as they were in rebellion. The Hearth tax, which was collected in Argyll in 1694, excluded Mull which was stated to be still in rebellion. No doubt these arrears would have been soon demanded in spite of the impending famine.

The other septs of MacLeans shared in this downfall; (84p.420)

- Duart dependants (including Kinlochaline, Ardtornish, Drimnin; all in Morvern, & the Isle of Muck);
- Lochbuy (Tapul & Scallasdale; both in central Mull);
- Coll (& Brolas);
- Ardgour (south of Fort William) (including Borrera in North Uist, & Tressinish);
- & the McGilvrays of Pennyghael.

Although these other septs kept their debt-laden lands they were forced to become vassals of the Campbells.

Just prior to this the government tried again to buy Highland submission. John Campbell, the Earl of Breadalbane, was given £12,000, in 1691, to distribute to some chiefs (list?) in an

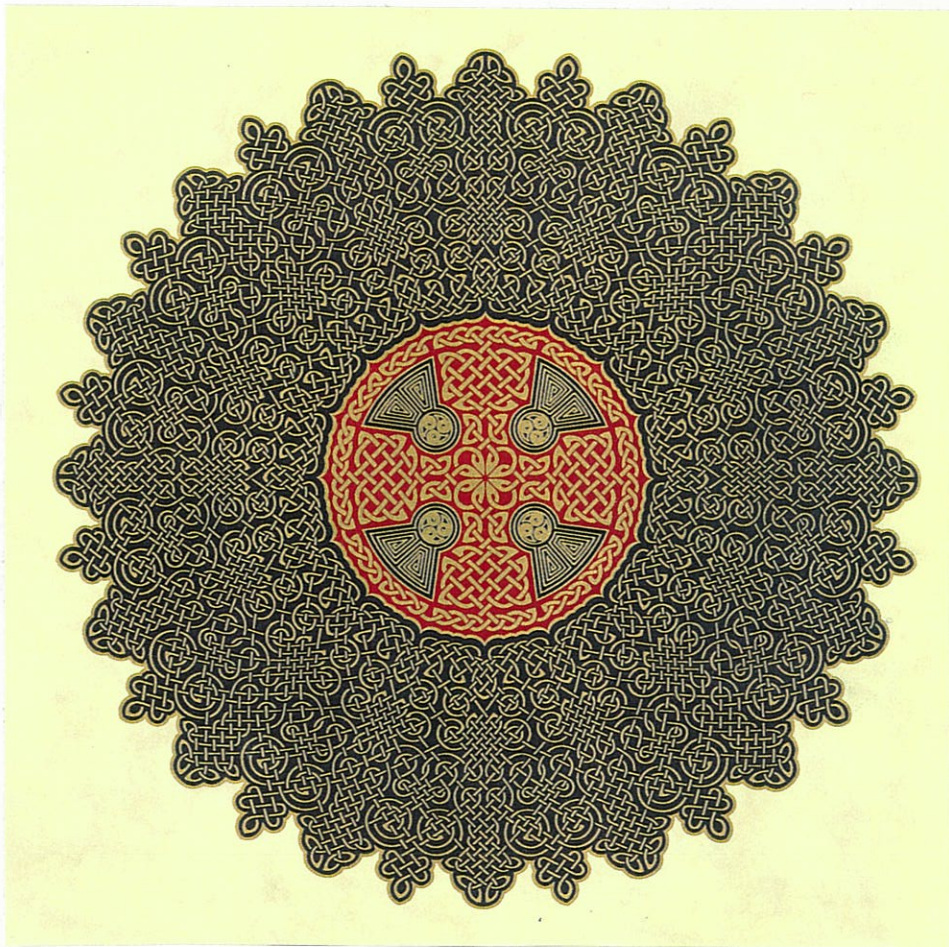
attempt to buy their loyalty. Most lairds refused & one result was the treacherous 'massacre of Glencoe' by the Campbells in 1692.



Sir John Maclean, who died in 1716, fought for the Jacobites at Sherrifmuir and Killiecrankie.

Sir John MacLean of Duart fled to France, in 1693, but was allowed to return to England in 1704. However, his involvement in the useless 1715 rebellion cost him his government pension. In 1716 he formally conveyed the lands & castles of Duart over to Argyll & soon after died. His son lived abroad & died childless. Such is the sad ending of the McLeans of Duart.

They had lasted for only 350 years.



Stuart Neesham; Ink Enterprises

Other Clansmen

The Synod books (38, 39, 173) & the register of Sasines (182½) begin to mention a number of other McGilvrays at this time.

- Mr Don McIlvory, minister at Inveraray on 24 Apr 1639, was chosen moderator of the Argyll Synod on 7 Oct 1642. He died before Oct 1648, when his relict, Jannet Campbell, petitioned for relief. She received 100 marks & re-applied in 1649 & 1650.
- Arch McIlvroid's son Don got help from the Inveraray session in 1649 & this was followed in 1651 with 100 marks for the Inveraray grammar school. This indicates the church paid for the education of some laymen's kids (no doubt the ones that showed exceptional promise). Help continued with 200 marks in 1652, again in 1654, & in 1659 for the Divinity College. It is curious that this Don does not make a name for himself.



Going to school

- John MacGillerwe in Balblair (Beaully, Inv) was to be persecuted for not confirming a will in 1607. (208v14)
- Don MacGillevorie in Pettizer?;
- Dougal MacIlvorie in Glenlyon (Fortingall par, Perth); &
- Pat MacIlvorie in Cosh of Drongie?;
- were all fined for re-settling Macgregors in 1607. (208v14)
- John &
- Don M'Colvorie (brothers) in Stronalbannock?;
- were witnesses June 1617 (28p.11)
- Malcome McGilevrey in Moir (Glenlochay, Perth), & others; were charged with illegally carrying firearms in 1618. (208v11pp.372/4)
- Dougall McGillevorie in Girodill?, &
- Gilleone McIloure in Achaterie (Achateny, Ardnamurchan?), &
- others; were named in a legal action with Campbells, Nov 1618. (208 & 35)
- Ewne McFinlay VcIlvre in Kilchoan (Kilbrandon, Lorne), &
- John McEwne VcIlvre, & other Ardnamurchan tenants;
- were charged in 1622. (208 xi 382)

- Dunc M'Doull V'Illevorie, as bailie in Feorling, gave land in Glassary (Feorling) & Ariskeodnish to Ever Campbell, June 1622. (28p.64) The family must have remained in Glassarie & Gartanranoch (also called Kilmichell; north of Lochgilphead); because John Mcilvuy was on a fencible list of 1685; & Don & Alex Mcgileven were rebels there in 1692. (174)
- Ewne McIlvre & two MacGillevories were wanted for manslaughter in 1626. (where?) (208v1 2nd series)
- Don Moir McGilwrey admitted to James Grant of Freuchie, in 1646, that he'd been engaged in spoilzering (plundering). (76p.240)
- Don McOlvorie was Provost of Inveraray in 1649, 1651, & 1660, & attorney there 1658. (28p.166&p.175) He was uncle (father's brother) to Mr Don M'Olvorie, minister at Strachur (across Loch & five miles south of Inveraray) on a 1662 sasine.
- Niall McIlvorie in Bracklie?; was a witness in June 1650. (28p.112)
- Arch M'Ean V'Olvorie in Auchindown (Auchindoune, Lismore Is ?); was a witness in July 1650. (28p.111)
- Don Ban McIlvory was excommunicated in 1651. (173)
- Simon MacGillvry, tenant in Wist (Uist?), was a witness in Sleat in 1657. (35 iip.786)
- Arch McIlvorie in Fincharne (Loch Awe), was attorney for Christy Campbell, Jan 1660, for a sasine given at Inveraray. (28p.166)
- Arch M'Ilvorie in Ardlarich in Craignish (northwest of Lochgilphead), was a witness 18 June 1660. (28p.173)
- John McIlvorie V'Intyre in Kilmund, Lochow by Craignish was an accuser. (102p.27, 1664-1705)
- John dow M'Ean V'Illevorie of Ardsleignish? & Ewne McIllevorie, there; sat on a jury 1667. (102p.4)
- John McIlrewie in Glenderischok (Glendrissock), par of Ballantrae (south of Girvan, Ayr) & Christen Drynnen, his wife; were mentioned 31 July 1665. (Commissariat of Glasgow Index 1547-1800, SRO CC9/7)
- Malc M'Gilvra, who was a notary, had a servant, Malc McTavish, who was a witness in 1668 in Tabermore? parish. (28p.464/5 #1434)
- Gilliecallum McOlvrud was a tenant at Leckamore, Luing (an island off the coast south of Oban) in 1669.
- Ian & Margt McOlvorie were tenants at Kilchattan, Luing. (171 iv)
- Don McIlvorie or Morison, minister in Ardnamurchan, formerly of Kilmaglass, was indulged by the Privy Council 2 Sept 1669; & 5 Nov 1771. (58p.81 Argy11) Don Illvorie was Chancellor at Inveraray Court 1670 (28p.11) & in 1670/3/4/5/8 he (Don M'Olvorie in Inveraray) was on jury lists there (28p.10) & on a 1873 sasine. He was also called Morison in 1675 & 1680. Could this be the Don McIlvorie in Garvie who was fined £10 for contumacy (stubborn disobedience) & absence in Nov 1676 by the Inveraray court? (105p.74)
- John McColvorie was in Stronalbannoch? with his brother Don. (28p.11) (date?)
- John McIlvorie in Kenchracken? was to find caution that he would appear in 1673 (102p.31)
- John McIlverie in Dalavich (between Oban & Inveraray) sued for the return of a stolen cow, in Inveraray court in 1677. (171p.20)
- John Mcilvra in Campbeltown was listed as a 1685 rebel. (174p.2)
- John McIlreavie, ferrier in Machrimore?, was a 1710 witness at Campbeltown (28v2p.239)

JOHN McOLVRA

This is another McGilvray whose parentage is unknown. John resided on the mainland & was often recorded in legal records. In 1656 Mr John McOlvra was listed as factor for uplifting the vacancies of Icolmkill & Killvickean (38v.iip.130), which indicates some area parishes must have been long vacant. A May 1658 sasine (28 #970) has John M'Olvorie in Barcaldine as a witness. (10 miles north of Oban) Another sasine, on 27 Jan 1658, (28 #965 pp.315/6) has John McIlvorie, indweller in Inveraray & bailie, given up? to Glasgow merchant by Dan'l McLean of Broilas @ Duart Castle. The witness for this sasine were John dow McIlvra in Little Torran & Don McQueen, servitor to Mr Martin McIlvra, minister in Mull.

John M'Olvorie was a witness in Culgaltro, May 1652 (28p.132), & an indweller in Inveraray, when he was listed as bailee & sheriff officer in 1659 (28p.159). John McIlvorie was a witness in Inveraray, 1660 & Oct 1673, & was also said to be bailie to Don Campbell. (28p.159&p.183) He (John M'Illevorie in Inveraray) was witness 9 Aug 1660 regarding a tenement in Inveraray belonging to Don M'Olvorie, sometimes provost there. (28p.175) A John McIlvorie, in Inveraray, was witness to a number of sasines in June 1674 & in 1675. (102p.39 & 28v1p.41&p.81)

This is likely the Rev John whose father John McIlvory was also a minister. (38p.1&p.7&p.124) Mr John Sr was minister at Ardchattan & Muckairn parish (northeast of Oban) on 24 Apr 1639 & Oct 1640. But, he is also listed at Killespickerral? on May 1640. He died prior to May 1642 when his executors & kids are mentioned. One of kids is John McOlvory, son to umquhile (deceased) Mr John, who received funds from the Synod in Oct 1648, to attend church school. It may be John Sr's relict, Mary McIlvory out of Clachandysert?, who got four bolls relief from the Synod in 1651.

