

The Background, Character and Motivation of Colin Campbell of Glenure.

Loyalist, Jacobite, self-serving pragmatist?

Colin was the second son of Patrick Campbell, the fourth Laird of Barcaldine, the eldest of 12 children by his second wife Louisa or Lucy Cameron, daughter of Sir Ewan Cameron, chief of Clan Cameron. On Patrick's death in 1738 his lands were divided between his two eldest sons with John "Iain Dubh" his eldest inheriting the Barcaldine estate and Colin "Cailean Dubh" the smaller Glenure estate which his father had held in feu from the Earl of Breadalbane since 1719.

While a youth Colin gained some experience as an estate administrator prior to joining Loudon's regiment. When the rebellion of 1745 broke out the regiment was employed against the Jacobites and Colin, by then a lieutenant, therefore found himself in the disagreeable position of trying to suppress his mother's folk.

Following the rebellion he and his half-brother Barcaldine became Factors on certain forfeited estates. Colin managed Ardshiel, Callart and Mamore in the Lochiel country.

In May 1749 he married Janet, the eighteen year old daughter of Hugh Mackay of Bighouse and niece of Lord Reay. Glenure was fond of good society and ambitious, although his new position was not particularly desirable for its own sake and involved him in inevitable friction with his neighbours and his mother's relatives. His pay was modest at £10 10s 7d per annum for a position that required him to apply for armed protection when rent collecting. These facts, to me, infer that Colin regarded his appointment merely as a stepping stone to some more honourable, safer and more lucrative employment in the service of the government.

Glenure was known to have sired at least four illegitimate children, all daughters, by four different women. Their names are recorded as MacCalum,

Mackilekene, Macpherson and Sinclair. At the time illegitimate offspring were often recognised and provided for, but even so it must have appeared generous when in 1747 Glenure executed a bond of provision because of the *“paternal love and fatherly affection I bear for my daughters”* making over a sum of £100 sterling to each of his daughters if they were unmarried at the time of his death. Three of these daughters benefited from their father’s foresight following his death, but only at the discretion of Glenure’s trustees’ permission and approval had been sought before any of them took a husband. If the trustees, namely half-brother John Barcaldine, Archibald Campbell of Melfort and Glenure’s full brothers Duncan Campbell the petitioner and Robert Campbell disapproved, then the daughter in question *“should forfeit and lose one half of her provision.”*

The fourth daughter, Jean Campbell, had married a John MacIntosh prior to Glenure’s death.

A legal petition dated January 23rd 1760, brought by Glenure’s brother, having succeeded as Duncan of Glenure, against John Mackintosh illustrates Glenure’s clear disapproval of his daughter’s marriage. It stated;

“Glenure was very careful of the support and education of his natural daughters; but Jean thought fit to take a husband, not only without consent of her father but also to his great dissatisfaction; which he expressed in the strongest manner, and never would see her, or give her the smallest countenance after her marriage.”

Glenure’s foresight and paternal love is clear to see through this generous provision for his daughters. To me, a harder uncompromising side of his character may be illustrated by his hard stance on Jean’s defiance of his wishes, and seeming desire to exert a strong degree of control over his daughter’s future lives and relationships.

Setting aside not inconsiderable sums for his daughter’s future, must have put some financial strain on his small estate although the pay Glenure

received as a lieutenant in Lord Loudon's regiment from June 1745 would have helped to increase his income.

In February 1746 as Cumberland's army marched north through Perthshire pursuing the Jacobite army, some of his forces were stationed behind the main army to guard strategic locations. Glenure commanded two companies stationed in Rannoch. On March 17th a combined force of Jacobite soldiers, surprised the various government outposts at Rannoch and took around 400 mainly Campbell prisoners. It is suggested that many of the Campbells were too drunk following a funeral wake to put up any resistance. Glenure was absent from his post on that night, and this was reported to Cumberland by General John Campbell in the following terms, *"I would faint hope the conduct of the officers has not been so bad as represented to me, if it is I hope they will be punished as they deserve."*

Luckily for Glenure, Lord Glenorchy intervened on his behalf and explained to the military authorities that Glenure and his fellow officer Campbell of Knockbuy had been near Taymouth on business related to their commands. Glenure had written several letters requesting meal for his men and on March 16th went to try and arrange for a regular supply to be sent. He then went to Taymouth to see his brother Barcaldine and returned to his post the following day only to discover what had happened overnight.

As senior officer leaving his post at this time appears poor judgement. Why not send someone else to chase up the supplies? In retrospect it was, but you suspect he was grabbing the opportunity to catch up with his half-brother Barcaldine. This complacency could have had even more serious consequences if it wasn't for his kinsman and mentor Lord Glenorchy.

He told Lord Glenorchy in his defence that he had thought all danger from the Jacobites had passed and many of the country people, who had appeared in arms in the hills, had come down again to their homes. He also said his positions could not possibly be defended at night because they were scattered far from one another.

Glenure and Knockbuy appear fortunate to have avoided court-martial and got away with only a reprimand.

Glenure was away on leave in Aberdeen visiting his injured brother Alexander on April 16th 1746 and therefore avoided the carnage at Culloden. It must have been apparent to government army commanders for some time that a major showdown was looming, so it does seem surprising that an officer of Glenure's seniority be allowed to take leave at this time, particularly following his recent scrapes with authority.

Following the '45, rumours concerning Glenure's conduct towards Jacobite prisoners abound. He was engaged as a Gaelic interpreter and was described as *"busily hunting out and obtaining information regarding the rebels, and delivering them over to the law."* He was said to have frequently behaved in a vindictive manner towards Jacobite officers and it was said his testament led to frequent executions of those who otherwise may have escaped with their lives.

What should be made of these tales? During the '45 the authorities distrusted the Campbell's and questioned their motivation to fight and loyalty to the crown in general. It was remembered that both Lord Glenorchy's father and grandfather had joined the Jacobites in 1715.

Glenure had been reprimanded for neglecting his duty at Rannoch and it was suggested Highlanders serving with the government army need to especially assert themselves against Jacobites following Culloden to prove their loyalty to the government. Glenure's brothers Allan and Robert had been held prisoner by the Jacobites, his cousins Ardchattan and Ballieveolan were captured and sent to France and his brother Alexander was disfigured and disabled by Jacobite weaponry.

Would he have felt a desire and indeed a responsibility to reinstate personal and family pride through lashing out at those Jacobite's he could reach?

There is little doubt that Glenure's Cameron blood caused suspicion at the highest levels, with the Prime Minister Henry Pelham writing to the court of Exchequer;

"I find that Campbell of Glenure and Campbell of Barcaldine are not only Highlanders related in some degree to the Camerons and other rebels but that there is very good reason from good intelligence to suspect the loyalty of both these factors themselves. If this is the case, as I believe it will be found to be, I am of the opinion that proper persons should be appointed factors of the estates where they are now concerned in their rooms."

In February 1752 Glenure and Barcaldine came to Edinburgh to clear their accounts with the Court of Exchequer. They had held their offices of Factor for only three years on the estates they managed. Again accusations of leniency on the part of the Factors were rife amongst the powers that be.

Glenure and Barcaldine appealed to Lord Glenorchy to intercede on their behalf. He obliged by writing a long memorial to ministers in London and the King;

"Mr Campbell of Glenure is indeed related through his mother to Cameron of Lochiel's family, and a handle was taken from thence to insinuate that he acted in everything in concert with Cameron of Fassefern, brother of the late Lochiel, who, not having been openly in the Rebellion, lives at home. But after the strictest inquiry made by the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland, his conduct was in every step approved and the falsehood and malice of his accusers evidently appeared.

Mr Campbell of Glenure is at the greatest variance with Cameron of Fassefern. He has brought several well affected Tenants into the Estate of Lochiel, of which he is Factor, and daily bringing in more, which makes him hated by the people of that country, and is the true cause of his being accused privately by those who cannot do it openly.

Upon the whole, as Lord Glenorchy would not have recommended Mr Campbell of Barcaldine and Mr Campbell of Glenure if he had not been

thoroughly sure not only of their being well affected to the Government, but likewise of their being every way fit for that employment, where knowledge of the Country and Resolution are requisite, he will venture to the loss of Mr Pelham's good opinion, which he values, if upon a fair and impartial Enquiry those Gentlemen's Principles are not to be found to be perfectly right."

Glenorchy was about to become 3rd Earl of Breadalbane on his father's death and clearly had his own agenda and motivation for supporting his kinsmen so wholeheartedly. He was determined to be elected a representative Scottish peer to the House of Lords and needed the support of leading ministers including the Prime Minister and Lord Chancellor to put his case before the King. If Glenure and Barcaldine were considered closet Jacobite's this support was unlikely to be forthcoming. Breadalbane eventually got his position in the House of Lords with the minister's support despite the King's misgivings.

Glenure returned from Edinburgh determined to take action to clear his name once and for all. The evictions of the Ardshiel tenants followed, to be replaced by various Campbell's.

Glenure clearly felt under intense scrutiny and his reputation and livelihood were under threat unless he acted with great decisiveness. Was he really as ferociously hard hearted as the tales present? Evidence suggests he worked behind the scenes to try and find alternatives for the evicted tenants.

He knew that the Campbells were now going to have to co-exist with Jacobite loyalists in Appin and the help of these ousted tenants would be needed to successfully work the land.

Surviving records from Ardshiel estate records (E737) show the majority of ousted tenants actually either retained their possessions after all, or obtained other lands nearby.

John MacCombich moved to Keil, a farm owned by Campbell of Airds, who the previous year had provided James Stewart with the farm of Aucharn.

Donald MacCombich was given land at Auchindarroch held by Glenure and Ballieveolan.

Another John MacCombich and Duncan MacColl remained as Bouman to the incoming tenant Alexander Campbell.

Other tenants moved to Cuil and Lagnaha now held by Glenure and at Auchar all three tenants remained in possession.

Even following Glenure's murder, suspicion as to his true leanings persisted. The Duke of Cumberland told Lord Hardwicke that it was Glenure's knowing he was suspected of being a Jacobite which caused him to, "*exert himself too late so as to bring this unhappy fate upon himself.*"

The Duke of Newcastle told Hardwicke he, "*always imagined that they would say, that the poor man had brought cruel event upon him, by having acted a part contrary to what the rebels had reason to expect of him.*"

The fact was Glenure had taken no action against the Jacobites of Appin for three years after he became Factor and acted decisively only during the three months before his death, once he realised suspicion of him in high places threatened his position and future prospects.

Glenure's parentage and upbringing clearly had a major influence over the way he led his life. It must have been difficult for him to balance conflicting loyalties, politics and ambitions.

Did he have Jacobite sympathies?

I think he probably did.

Roderick Campbell (16th of Barcaldine and 9th of Glenure Baronet)

Transcribed by Brian A. Whiting (Editor) from the original document.

(The italics relating to the quotations from the document, are mine. B. A.W.)