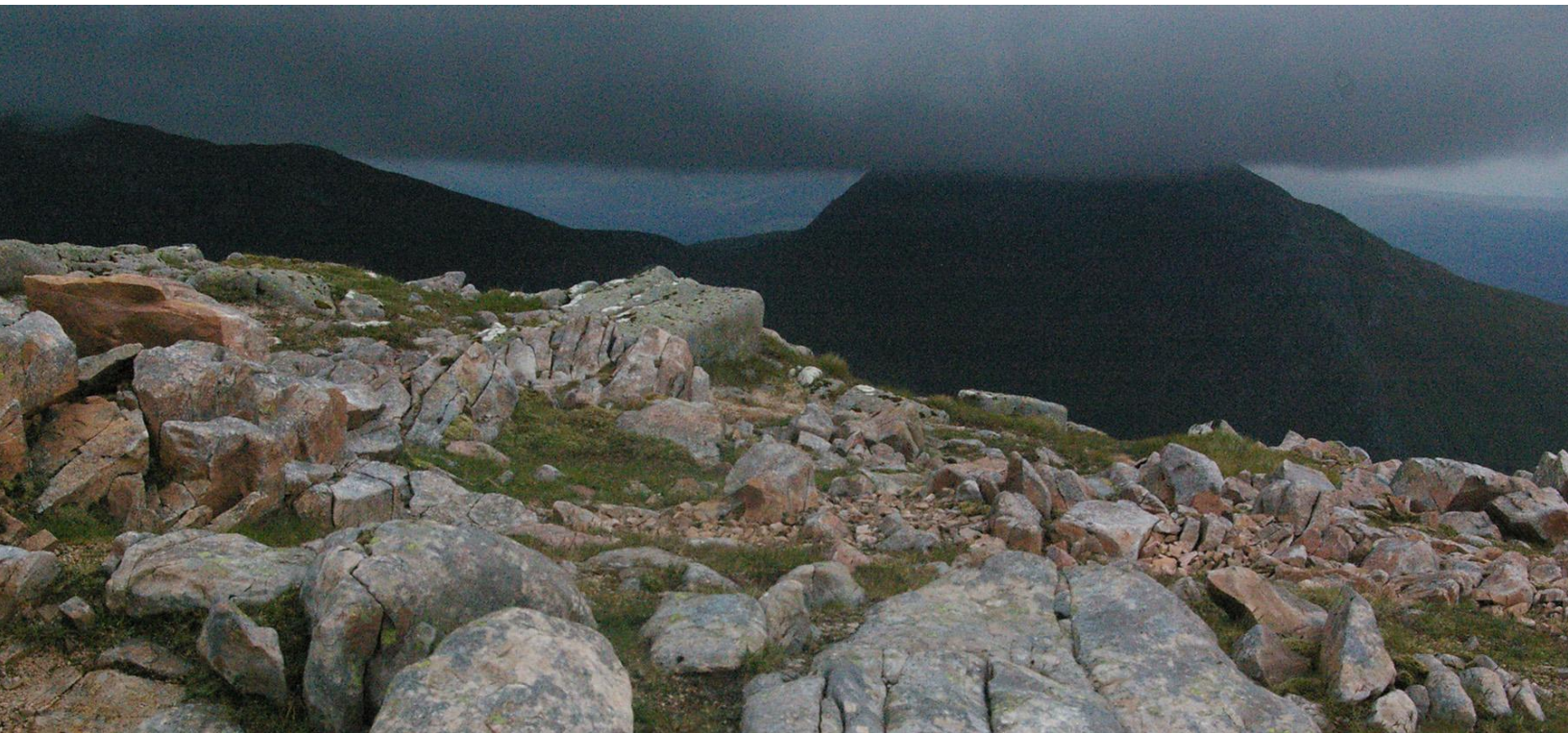


THE MACINTYRES OF LETTERBAINE

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November 2016



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Preamble

The following account is the fruit of over ten years' research. Martin L MacIntyre is currently putting the finishing touches to a comprehensive history of the Macintyres¹, though from a predominantly Glenoe perspective, building on pioneering work done by his father during the 1970s. This history of the Letterbaine Macintyres, the oldest branch of Glenoe to appear in the written record, was put together to augment his ambitious and wide-ranging clan saga. A transcript of this research will appear in his book, though the following gives a fuller picture, and may be of interest to family historians. The lateral spread of the tree – the original of which can be seen online as *Macintyre of Letterbaine* at Ancestry.com – has taken the author by surprise. The Letterbaine Macintyres have turned out to be well-documented, and many years of sifting through the National Archives for Scotland have brought to light several sub-branches of the family. Hopefully this will give Letterbaine descendents a leg up with their own research. Currently the Fortrose Macintyres are the senior branch, though that could change if the Clenamachie Macintyres, last heard of during the early nineteenth century, have living descendents. The Kayuga Macintyres in Australia are a well-documented junior line.

Basic genealogical information is set out in italics, accompanied by the historical background for each of the main characters, and - where available - excerpts from contemporary correspondence. A dry chronological head-count is seldom fun to read, though the individual players, once placed in their historical niche, become invaluable keys to the general sweep of events - here spanning Scottish history from the 15th to the 19th century. Collectively they give us an insiders' view of life – albeit glimpses - up to the historical faultline of the Highland Clearances. The narrative element takes off from the seventeenth century, when detailed records start to appear.

Background

The progenitor² of the line was Iain Buidhe (or "John Boy") Macintyre, who appears in the record as having led an attack on the Campbells close to the year 1440, in which he is said to have killed the foster brother of the powerful Colin Campbell of Glenorchy³. For Iain Buidhe the event had drastic ramifications, as he seems to have paid the ultimate price, though his descendents lived for many generations at Letters, (Leitire in the Gaelic), at the fork of Loch Awe, beneath the Beinn a' Bhuiridh arm of Ben Cruachan. To date the only branch of Glenoe to have formally ratified its cadet status with the Lord Lyon King of Arms is that of Camus-na-h-Erie, (or Camus na h'Eireadh), like Letterbaine connecting with Glenoe during the 15th century, and known to us via the oral tradition⁴.

¹ *A History of the MacIntyre Clan, a Journey into the Past*, Martin L. MacIntyre, anticipated publication 2017.

² MLM suggests that the progenitor of the line – i.e. the first generation from Glenoe - was Iain Buidhe's father and namesake, though this Iain is a speculative figure who remains undocumented. (See footnote 12).

³ National Archives for Scotland (NAS), Ref. GD112/1/99, Bond of Manrent to Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, 1556. The document mentions the skirmish, which happened over a century and a half earlier, by way of a preamble.

⁴ The current chieftain, Ian MacIntyre of Camus-na-h-Erie, has been an important contributor to the Letterbaine story: Julia Macintyre, of the Letterbaine family, (1761-1839), married into the Camus-na-h-Erie cadet, and it is partly on her handed down knowledge, (and/or that of a close family member), that this research was initially based. A short head-count, in the form of a sketch tree, hand-written some generations after her death, it has been invaluable in unlocking the documentary evidence at the National Archives for Scotland.

Homeland

The three-and-a-half merkland of Letterbaine borders directly onto Glenoe, and has three component parts. Lettermore, “The Big Slope”, plunges down from Cruachan summit to The Falls of Cruachan by Loch Awe, encompassing today’s Cruachan dam. Letterbeag, “The Little Slope”, is the Beinn a’ Bhuiridh limb of the mountain, which overlooks Kilchurn Castle and the entrance to Glenorchy. While Innischanon, (Innis Chonain on the map), is the small island at the fork of Loch Awe. Letters itself is close to the lochside in Letterbeag⁵. Much of old Letterbaine is now protected as the Coille Leitire Site of Special Scientific Interest, containing some of the finest ancient oakwoods in Scotland. Letterbaine, like Glenoe, lies in the parish of Ardchattan, though the nearest parish kirk is that of Glenorchy.



The southern slopes of Cruachan Summit, (Lettermore), from Beinn a’ Bhuiridh, (Letterbeag). Together – with the Island of Innischanon on Loch Awe, (off picture, left) – comprising the ancient *duthchas* lands of Letterbaine, described in the sasine of 1656

Clan Iain and Letterbaine

The Clan Iain Macintyres, (or “*Clanean*” as they were recorded in 1556⁶), are those descended from Iain Buidhe. This was the standard way of naming the subdivisions of a clan, *clann* simply being the Gaelic word for children or progeny. As the Clan Iain Macintyres occupied Letterbaine from the earliest times, Letterbaine and Clan Iain are synonymous terms. The Balquidder Macintyres look to be a junior branch of Clan Iain, settling in Perthshire from the early 16th century.

Divergence from Glenoe

Iain Buidhe, the wellspring of the line⁷, (born c.1415), appears to have been a younger son of one of

⁵ NAS Ref. GD112/2/104, 1656-1770. Successive instruments of sasine for Letterbaine.

⁶ NAS Ref. GD112/1/99, 1556 Bond of Manrent.

⁷ See footnote 12

the Glenoe chiefs, though his precise connection with the House of Glenoe remains unclear, as the pattern of succession during the early years of the clan remains obscure. What is clear, however, is that he is the oldest known figure among the Glenoe family not to have been chief himself.

Numbering the Letterbaine Chieftains

For accuracy's sake, the chieftains⁸ have been numbered from the first of them known to have held a formal sasine to the land: Malcolm I, in 1656⁹. In real terms, however, Malcolm would have been the VIII, if Iain Buidhe himself is taken as the starting point. Malcolm therefore appears under the heading Malcolm I (VIII). Similarly, the last of the Letterbaine chieftains known as such appears as John V (XII).



Loch Awe from Beinn a' Bhuiridh. The isle of Innischoonan, (or Innis Chonain), is the large island bottom left. Letters, at the base of the mountain itself, was the chosen home of the Letterbaine Macintyres by the C18th

The Wadset

A wadset – with accompanying sasine – was a form of land ownership, whereby a chief or laird would grant *de facto* possession in exchange for a loan. The land belonged to the lender and his heirs, who were guaranteed full autonomy, until the loan was repaid – often many generations later. As noted, the Letterbaine wadset was drawn up at the same time as that for Glenoe. The two documents were regarded by the Campbells as a single wadset granted to Clan Macintyre in its Cruachan heartland^{10 11}. In the case of Glenoe, the agreement may well have replaced the ancient symbolic rent of the snowball and white fatted calf, payable to the Campbell chief on Midsummer's Day.

⁸ The term "chief" denotes the head of a clan, "chieftain" that of a senior cadet branch.

⁹ NAS Ref. 112/2/104, 1656-1770. Instruments of sasine.

¹⁰ NAS Ref. GD112/39/2878, Letter written by John Campbell of Auchmore, lawyer in Edinburgh, regarding the wadset agreement.

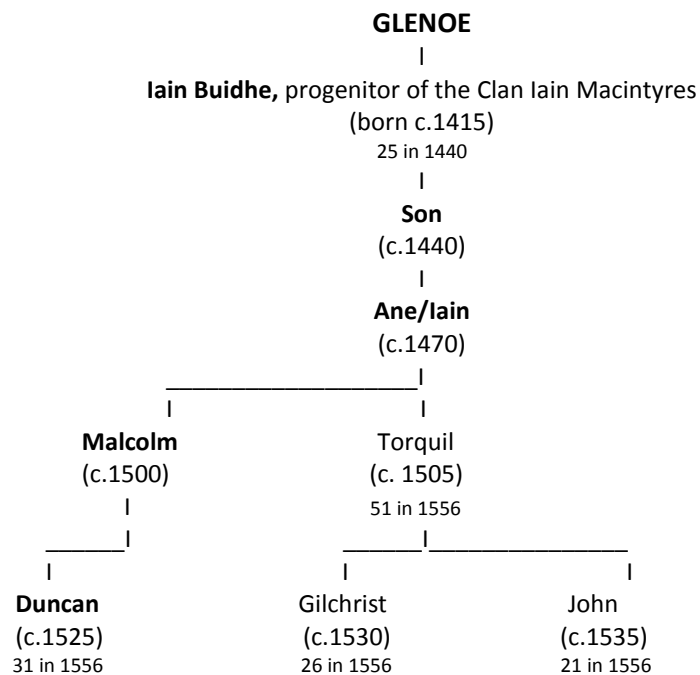
¹¹ The Macintyres listed among the 248 proprietors of land in Argyll, in 1751, were: Chief Donald of Glenoe, John of Letterbaine, and Donald of Grunachy, (modern day Crunach), a younger son of Letterbaine who was also tacksman of Kinchrakine. (The Valuation Roll of 1688 mentions only Glenoe and Letterbaine, indicating that Grunachy was acquired towards the final days of the clan system, therefore playing a minor role in the Letterbaine story).

JOHN (I)

Born c.1415. Scots English: “Johne Boy”, a corruption of the Gaelic: *Iain Buidhe*, or “John of the Yellow Hair”. Progenitor of the Clan Iain Macintyres – i.e. 1st generation from Glenoe.¹²

His name, in its Scots form, appears posthumously in a bond of man-rent to Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, dated 1556¹³. His descendents are *still* held to be culpable for his killing, in combat, of an earlier Laird of Glenorchy’s foster-brother around the year 1440, before the Campbells became Lords of Lorn. Whether or not Iain Buidhe struck the fatal blow, as a man of rank he was deemed to be the ring-leader, and his progeny were compelled to pay nominal allegiance to Glenorchy thereafter as a penance. That the Letterbaine Macintyres, over a hundred years later, were being reined in on such a tenuous pretext suggests that by the mid-sixteenth century they were once again a wilful presence in Lorn.

Those listed in the 1556 bond are “**Duncane Mc challum VcAne VcYnteire**”, “**Gillecreist Mc Torkill Vcinteir**”, “**Johne Mc Torkill VcYnteir**”, “**Torquil McAne VcInteir**”, “**Johne Glas McOlvarie Vcinteire**”, and “**Johne McAwin VcOldonych Vcinteir**”. (The colourful spellings vary within the document).



N.B. Small figures denote ages of personnel relative to *known* documents/events, from *projected* generation spans.

¹² 2nd generation according to Martin L MacIntyre, though this generation, if it exists, is not referred to in the 1556 bond. It is Iain Buidhe himself who is specified by name, and placed at the apex of the genealogical name clusters. It is therefore reasonable to assume that he is the first point of departure from Glenoe, and the progenitor of the Clan Iain Macintyres who bear his name.

¹³ The 1556 bond is the first surviving document relating specifically to the clan. Those mentioned are clearly senior clan members, though we now know that they were not, as was once believed, chiefs of Clan Macintyre. Instead they are the leading men of Glenoe’s oldest documented branch. The later bond of 1660 alludes to a previous bond of c.1470, relating to the chiefly line, though if it survives it has yet to come to light.

So, Torquil - Iain Buidhe's great grandson - had two sons, Gilchrist and John. For them both to have been old enough – 21+ – to sign the bond in 1556, and for their father to have lived long enough to do the same, (while his own father "Ane" was dead); and for Ane's grandfather Iain Buidhe to have been old enough to have fought with Glenorchy's foster brother, c.1440, the dates above have to be reasonably accurate:

SON (II)

Born c.1440. Name unknown.

JOHN (III)

Born c.1470. Grandson of Iain Buidhe. "Ane"; (a corruption of Iain). Identified as such in his grandson's name cluster, in the 1556 bond of manrent.

MALCOLM (IV)

Born.c.1500. Died before 1556. Identified by his son Duncan's name cluster, in the 1556 bond, as the son of "Ane".

DUNCAN (V)

Born c. 1525. "Duncane Mc challum VcAne VcYnteire" is first-named, and therefore pre-eminent, in the 1556 bond of manrent. (7) Duncan's position as chieftain at that point – and by extension that of his father Malcolm before him - is therefore manifest.

SON (VI)

Born c. 1557. Name unknown.

DUNCAN (VII)

Born c.1590. Died before 1656. Grandson of Duncan of the 1556 bond.

"Duncane in the Lettir", as he is referred to in a missive from 1635¹⁴, is the first of the line specifically placed by the written record in Letterbaine itself, although the connection undoubtedly started much earlier. As the premier long-term land holding in the Macintyre heartland after Glenoe, (with which it shares a boundary), it must have been occupied during an early phase of the clan's ancient presence

¹⁴ NAS Ref. GD112/39/56/4. Letter from Campbell of Glenorchy to his brother. Letterbaine's occupants would have been the senior members of this branch of the clan, and this helps us locate Duncan within the family hierarchy. "Duncane in the Lettir" could not have been an elder brother of Malcolm of Inverliever, (later of Letterbaine), as Malcolm is himself recorded as a first-born son. Neither could he have been an elder brother of Malcom's father, John of Corries. Had this been so, Letterbaine would have had to be inherited via Gilchrist, making Gilchrist, by extension, chieftain. He wasn't. It was Gilchrist's cousin and contemporary, Duncan, who was head of the Clan Iain Macintyres at the time of signing the 1556 bond. Therefore "Duncane in the Lettir", with no other candidates left, must have belonged to the line of "Duncan McOlchallum VcAne VcYntere" principal signatory of the 1556 bond, who, as chieftain, would naturally have been in possession of Letterbaine. Corries, the home of John, and most likely of his father Gilchrist, was a much smaller holding, and its occupants would have had junior status within the Clan Iain hierarchy. The recycling of the name Duncan - consistent with Highland tradition - from grandfather to grandson reflects this relationship.

in Argyll, as later population movements took the clan to all corners of the county, and well beyond into Perthshire. The 1635 letter, written by Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, indicates that Sir Colin has to speak to Duncan, as the “...grass of Inchcoman, (Innischonon), has grown foggie.” – i.e. gone to seed through lack of grazing. The note reveals the importance of the joint 1656 wadset agreement for both Glenoe and Letterbaine, as at this point Glenorchy is free to meddle in the Macintyres’ husbanding of their duthchas lands. It also puts into context, for the first time, all those mentioned - but not located - in the 1556 bond, showing that Letterbaine was synonymous with the Clan Iain Macintyres from the earliest times.

“Duncane in the Lettir” was the last of bond Duncan’s line. On his death, in 1656, it was the line of bond Duncan’s uncle, Torquil, who assumed the chieftainship of Letterbaine, when Torquil’s great-grandson, Malcolm, inherited right of possession there. ⁹

Relations with the Campbells during the early mid-17th century, appear to have been good. Glenorchy, in his missive, rates Duncan as highly as any man in the district, and intends to appoint him to survey the deer population “in these my hills”. Glenorchy, writing to his brother, instructs him to ask Duncan to meet him at Finlarig Castle - but only after he, Glenorchy, has written to him separately in order to convey his good wishes. Sound public relations no doubt, though the indications are that the two men were on good terms. In addition to appointing Duncan to the post, he has plenty of advice on how to bring the grazing on Innischonon back up to optimum capacity. Glenorchy’s freedom to interfere in the Macintyres’ affairs reveals much about their pre-1656 status in relation to Clan Campbell. But within ten years of Duncan’s appointment the Highlands, once again, were in turmoil: the Wars of the Covenanters against Charles I were to have a lasting effect on Clan Macintyre, and would dramatically alter the relationship between themselves and their all-powerful neighbours.

Torquil

*Born c.1505. “**Torkill McAne VcInteir**”. Son of Ane. Signatory of the 1556 bond of manrent. Younger brother of Malcolm, who was Letterbaine chieftain. Ancestor of Letterbaine chieftains after the extinction of Malcolm’s line, which ended with “**Duncane in the Lettir**” in 1656.*

Gilchrist

*Born c.1530. “**Gillecreist McTorkill VcInteir**”. Son of Torquil. Signatory of the 1556 bond. Brother to “**John McTorkill VcYntere**”. Cousin of “**Duncan McOlcallum VcAne VcYntere**”.*

John of Corries

*Born c.1565. John Dubh, (“**Eanduy**”¹⁵, or Dark-Haired John). Also described as “**John McIlchrist alias McIntyr**”¹⁶ in Corries. Son of Gilchrist. John’s eldest son became Malcolm I of Letterbaine, but it was a younger son who maintained the longstanding Macintyre presence at Corries. **Donald of Corries** is recorded, in 1673, as “**Donald McEan VcIlcreist Vcintyre**”¹⁷*

The one merkland of Corries forms an extension of Letterbaine, and consists, as the name suggests, of two imposing corrie features, Coire Glas and Coire Chreachainn. It abuts Glenoe’s eastern boundary at

¹⁵ NAS Ref. GD112/24/1/38. 1660 Bond of Manrent. (SeeAppendix).

¹⁶ NAS Ref. GD112/25/110, 1630-1633. Papers relating to the marriage settlement of John’s son, Malcolm of Letterbaine.

¹⁷ NAS Ref. SC54/17/3/2/35. Legal document relating to a dispute between Donald of Letterbaine, then in Inverliever, and his uncle, Donald of Corries.

the Lairig Noe, and the high peaks of Sron an Isean and Stob Diabh, Cruachan's easternmost summits. The lower ground of Corries follows the Allt Mhoille burn



Early morning, Corries, Beinn a' Bhuiridh to the left. Coire a' Chreachainn is in the foreground, Coire Glas beyond the ridge, left of centre. Letterbaine lies beyond, and Glenoe off picture to the right, over the Lairig Noe.

down to the small tack of Drishaig, which the Letterbaine Macintyres occasionally took on, to augment their duthchas lands when times were good. John also held lands, for a time, in Brouch, near Taynuilt, to the south-west of Glenoe.

The fact that Malcolm's son, Donald II of Letterbaine, had the sasine for Corries a generation later would seem to indicate that his uncle, Donald of Corries, (with whom relations were poor), had died without an heir. Brouch looks to have been a shorter term land holding, though the much longer association with Corries, seen in the light of the 1697 sasine, probably goes back to the early days of Clan Iain.

MALCOLM I (VIII)

*Born c. 1600. Died before 1673. Son of John of Brouch and Corries. **First of the Torquil-descended Letterbaines.** Elder brother of **Donald of Corries**, (c.1605-c.1684), and **John**, (c.1603-1681), sometime in Letterbaine. Malcolm also held lands at Brouch and Inverliever. Recorded as the "eldest lawful son of **John McIlchrist alias McIntyr**"¹⁸ in Corries, he married **Margaret**, a natural daughter of **John Campbell of Auchinyre**, (1596-1618), brother to **Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch and Glenorchy**. The marriage took place in 1630. Malcolm appears on the 1660 bond of manrent as "**Malcolm McEanduy VcEntyre in Inverliever in Glenetive**"¹⁹. He had at least two sons, **Donald II**²⁰ and **Gillipatrick**²¹.*

The Wars of the Covenanters in Scotland, during the mid-17th century, were closely connected to the Civil War in England. At the head of the Royalist army in the North was Graham of Montrose, under whose command the king's forces won a string of spectacular victories. When Montrose's captain, Alasdair MacColla MacDonald, seized the chance to settle old clan scores by ravaging the Campbell

¹⁸ NAS Ref. GD112/25/110, 1630-1633. Marriage settlement.

¹⁹ NAS Ref. GD112/24/1/38. 1660 Bond of Manrent. (See Appendix).

²⁰ NAS Ref. GD112/2/104, 1656-1770. Instrument of sasine.

²¹ NAS Ref. GD112/117/4, Item 7. (Macgregor Papers). Bond of Presentation.

heartland of Argyll, the Macintyre lands were spared, on account of the clan's ancient links with Clan Donald. MacColla and his allies among the Royalist army devastated the county, destroying the Campbell seat of Inverary, and despoiling the land. But his gesture of friendship towards the Macintyres was gratefully acknowledged, and prompted Glenoe's piper and several of the clan rank and file to join the Royalists. Irked by this development, the Earl of Argyll, commanding the Covenanters, compelled Glenoe himself and his kinsman Malcolm of Letterbaine to join him on the opposing side. Whether the two Macintyre factions met on the field at Inverlochry, in February, 1645, is impossible to say, though it must have served Glenoe and Letterbaine well to have had a presence among the Royalists – the carnage among the defeated Campbells was grim indeed, as the battle first became a rout, then a running massacre. Both men survived.

When the monarchy was restored in 1660 there were inevitable retributions against those who had taken up arms against King Charles I. The Crown, now in the hands of his son, Charles II, imposed severe penalties on the Covenanting clans, and the Campbells, at the forefront of the anti-Royalist campaign, bore the brunt of it. Among the smaller players penalised for their support of the Campbell chief – willingly given or not - was Malcolm of Letterbaine, who was fined 500 merks Scots²². That Duncan of Glenoe escaped royal admonishment was probably due to his minority: his father, who had actually taken up arms, was dead by 1660, and Duncan had been too young to fight²³.

Inverliever, (Inverliver on the map), sits by Loch Etive immediately north of Glen Noe. In spite of his sasine for Letterbaine, Malcolm opted to stay on there after he became Letterbaine chieftain. His tenure at Inverliever appears, therefore, to have been one of life-rent. Perhaps he valued the close proximity of Inverliever to his chief in Glenoe. Letterbaine, though adjacent, was nevertheless a rough ride and half a mountain away. As immediate neighbours and comrades-in-arms it is likely that the two men were on good terms. The wadset was secured when Malcolm loaned 3,500 merks Scots to Campbell of Glenorchy. With the 3,000 merks²⁴ lent simultaneously by Glenoe it was a hefty sum that the Macintyres loaned to Clan Campbell, which was reeling financially in the aftermath of the Wars of the Covenanters. A further 500 merks was lent in 1666 by Malcolm's brother John to Campbell of Rahean²⁵. The collective loan of 7,000 merks indicates that, unlike the Campbells, the Macintyres had not been adversely affected by the conflict. In fact quite the reverse. At the end of it they had money to spare. So the goodwill and sense of kinship shown to the clan by McColla MacDonald, in 1645, had deep long-term ramifications. The Royalist general, in sparing the Macintyre lands from the torch when he ravaged Argyll, meant that the clan's herds remained intact during the hungry war years, and the hard times that followed, bringing them comparative wealth – and after 1656 – autonomy and a firm grip on the land.

It was Malcolm's younger brother John who occupied Letterbaine from 1656²⁶, presumably paying rent to Malcolm, as tacksman there. By 1673 he was holding it from Malcolm's son, Donald II, who had taken over from his father at Inverliever²⁷. It was not until 1681, on John's death, that Donald renewed the sasine to Letterbaine in his own favour, and moved there to formally claim his birthright. His long delay in doing so was presumably out of deference to his uncle.

²² *A History of Clan Campbell, Vol.III*, Alastair Campbell of Airds, Edinburgh University Press, 2000, p.6.

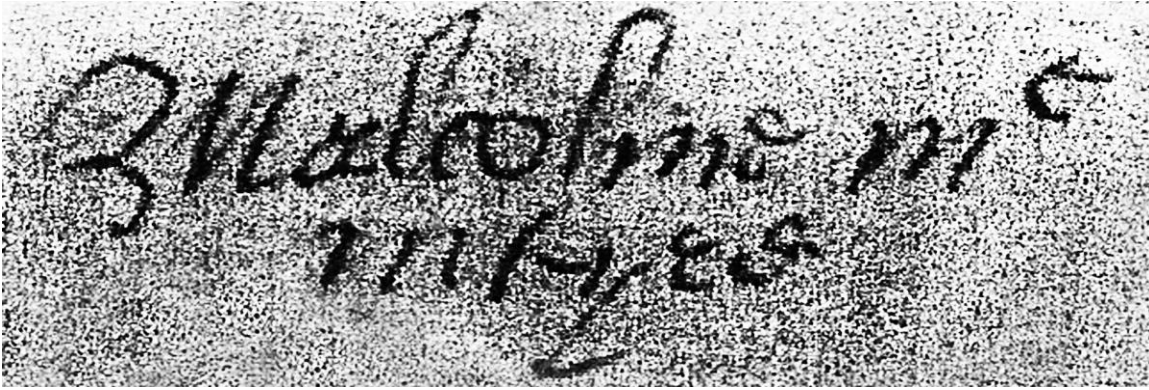
²³ Martin L. Macintyre, private correspondence.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ NAS Ref. GD112/23/44.

²⁶ NAS Ref. GD112/2/104. Instrument of sasine.

²⁷ NAS Ref. SC54/17/3/2/35. Donald of Letterbaine, (Inverliever), to his uncle, Donald of Corries.



Signature of Malcolm I (VIII)

DONALD II (IX)

Born c.1632. Died after 1697. He had four sons, **John III**²⁸ and **Malcolm**²⁹ by a daughter of **Campbell of Inveresragan**, (probably **Janet**)³⁰; and later **Duncan**³¹ and **John**³² by his second wife, **Elsbeth Campbell**³³. The presence of known half-brothers of the same name is significant when it comes to confirming the identities of the children of John III. (See below).

Donald lived in Letterbaine until the early 1690s. In spite of two successive Campbell wives, Donald had a stormy relationship with the Campbell lairds, and several attempts were made to bring him to heel. He was able to renew the Letterbaine wadset for his son John III only on condition that John entered into a contract of marriage with a Campbell spouse - the only time such a condition was imposed. His absence from Letterbaine also appears to have been a pre-requisite, as he is living at the substantially smaller 1 merkland of Corries, by May of 1697, the year he obtained the wadset there. The wadset and sasine for Corries have to be seen as an inducement for Donald to vacate Letterbaine in favour of his more compliant son, and even this was contingent on Donald's good behaviour.³⁴

As with "Duncan in the Lettir" in 1635, Donald also comes in for criticism from Campbell of Glenorchy – now styled the Earl of Breadalbane - for his husbandry of Innischonon. But unlike Duncan, who had simply allowed the pasture on the island to go ungrazed, Donald, in November 1689, is abruptly and dramatically over-stocking it – pointing firmly to Donald having been out raiding³⁵. Certainly Breadalbane's tone, in a letter to Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, is hostile: "... *Inischonon [is being] destroyed by Donald McIntyre who is... dwelling there and his beasts with him. I requyre you imediatly to goe down as you will be ansrable and bring up all the beasts to the [Finlarig] castle and lay [aside] two or three of the best of [them]. If he doe not ingadge undir his own hand to bring in the beasts undir the penalty of 500 ms [merks Scots]... thro down [his] house...Resolve to burn noe more*

²⁸ NAS Ref. GD112/2/104. Instrument of sasine.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Letterbaine sketch tree from the Camus-na-h-Erie archive.

³¹ NAS Ref. GD112/2/51. Instrument of sasine for Corries.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Donald acquired Corries both for himself and for his eldest son, Duncan, of the second marriage, though in fact Duncan and his younger brother John (*Eoin*) were already working the land there by 1684. NAS Ref. GD170/203/5/1. The brothers were living at Corries that year when they were granted the additional tack, (5 years), of the 1 merkland of Mainie. Exactly when Corries finally passed out of the hands of the Letterbaine Macintyres is unclear, though it must have been before 1751, as a John Campbell of Corries is recorded that year in the Argyllshire valuation rolls as proprietor of the land.

³⁵ NAS Ref. GD170/629. Breadalbane to Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, November 1689.

tyme...make noe capitulation [to] him untill the beasts be oure in the castle...". This episode has to be seen in the context of the first Jacobite rising. The Battle of Killiekrankie had been fought and won by the Jacobite clans just four months previously, and the Highlands were still in turmoil – as Breadalbane stressed in the letter, “*a troublesome tyme*”. The nature of the event, the timing of it, and Breadalbane’s venomous response, point to Donald having been present on the Jacobite raids, launched during the late autumn of that year, against Williamite leaders across the Western Highlands. One of those targeted was Breadalbane himself. “*Cunning as a fox and slippery as an eel*”³⁶, he had started the campaign ostensibly on the Jacobite side, but was now playing a double game. The emergence of Government commands on some of his estates now made them fair game for attack. Donald, who would have joined up during the recruitment drive in Argyll at the start of the campaign, now found himself at odds with his feudal superior, though at the outset they were – theoretically – allies. At any rate, Breadalbane’s ire was now turned on Donald. His co-raiders, after all – including the Glencoe MacDonalds – were harder to reach. Campbell’s rage towards him can be directly attributed to the stripping of his lands at Achallader, Lochdochart and Strathfillan as the autumn drew to close³⁷. It is known that a number of smaller clan leaders in Argyll fell in with the Jacobite commander, “Bonnie Dundee”, before the start of major hostilities, so we must assume, given the early date of the Jacobite muster there, that Donald fought at Killiekrankie. The postscript to the journey home from Perthshire was a grim one. When, returning victorious from the battle, the Glencoe MacDonalds took a leading role in the ravaging of the Campbell lands of Glen Lyon. It was the ruined Glen Lyon himself who, in retribution, oversaw the infamous Massacre of Glencoe, three years later. Whether Donald of Letterbaine travelled home to Argyll with the men of Clan Donald we will never know.

In the context of “bad boys” it is worth mentioning Donald’s younger brother, **Gillipatrick**, (born c. 1640). Along with **John MacIntyre of Glenceitlein**, he was responsible, in 1698, for **Duncan MacIntyre**, Glenceitlein’s son, then incarcerated at Finlarig Castle, ostensibly for raiding in Perthshire³⁸. The implication is that Gillipatrick was Duncan’s uncle by marriage, perhaps intermittently part of the Glenceitlein community, in Glen Etive, south of Glencoe. But in 1670 a Gillipatrick MacIntyre had himself infuriated Robert Campbell, second son of Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, by stripping him of his cattle, and driving them off to Rannoch Moor³⁹. Glenorchy writes to a younger son, Eoin, urging him to restrain his brother, who is beside himself with anger. His father laments that “*...it lyes not within his power to controle his passion...*” and fears this will be his undoing. Glenorchy is in no doubt about the culprit: “*I haf now certentie yt it was Gillipatrick Roy McIntyre who stoll hes kowis and drave hem to Rannach*”. No context is given to the name, so he clearly expects his son to know who Gillipatrick is. Either he is a senior figure among the Macintyres, or simply a well-known outlaw. Rannoch was notorious for its fugitives – but it was also the route from Perthshire back to upper Glen Etive, and Glenceitlein. The Highland cattle raid was not mere theft. It was an ancient and culturally sanctioned rite of passage. In a poor and overpopulated land cattle had always been regarded as legitimate spoils of war, (though more often of smouldering feuds), and the raid itself a proving ground for the young men of the clan.

³⁶ The quote, (unprovenanced), comes from *A Concise History of Scotland*, Fitzroy Maclean, Thames and Hudson, 1970, p.142.

³⁷ *A History of Clan Campbell, Vol III*, Alastair Campbell of Airds, Edinburgh University Press, 2000, pp.69-70.

³⁸ NAS Ref. GD112/2/117/4. Bond of Presentation.

³⁹ NAS Ref. GD112/39/116/14. Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy to his son Eoin, 1670.



The remains of Donald II's house at Corries. Among the ruins of the small township this building, with its very old heavy stone walling, is by far the largest. As dry building land above the marsh is restricted, successive constructions over the years would have been built up from long-established foundations

JOHN III (X)

Born c.1660. Son of Donald⁴⁰. His first wife was **Catherine**⁴¹, (born c.1668), daughter of **Duncan Campbell of Auchlyne**, a branch of the Glenorchy Campbells, living by Killin in Perthshire⁴². John and Catherine were married at Killin, in 1693. John's position at Letterbaine was contingent on the marriage, and when Catherine died in 1704, the sasine had to be renewed once again in his favour. The known children of this marriage were **John IV**⁴³ and **Dr Donald (the elder)**⁴⁴, (1704-1781), who became

⁴⁰ NAS Ref. GD112/2/104, 1656-1770. Instrument of sasine for Letterbaine.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Catherine's nephew, also Duncan, was the subject of Duncan Ban Macintyre's poem: "Song to Captain Duncan Campbell of the Edinburgh Town Guard".

⁴³ Instrument of sasine, as above.

⁴⁴ Dr Donald (the elder) was the uncle of Dr John, who is recorded, along with his siblings, in a document from 1778* as the son of Dr Patrick, John III of Letterbaine's eldest son by his second marriage. Dr Donald's son, Lieut. Gen. John, (India), mentions Dr John, then surgeon at Fort William, in a letter of 4th February 1783**, as his cousin. ("Cousin" then denoted an uncle, aunt, or first cousin; "friend" a more distant cousin). Gen. John, writing to a Col. John Macpherson, proposes Dr John as a potential guardian for his son, whom he is sending home from India. (*NAS Ref. GD112/15/429, Item 24, see footnotes 79 & 82; **Macpherson of Blairgowrie Papers).

Dr John's youngest sibling was Julia, Dr Donald's niece, who married into the Camus-na-h-Erie MacIntyres. The Camus-na-h-Erie genealogies, compiled during the early 20th century, list the family's known marriage links with other clans, among them the Macphersons of Cluny. This information must have come via Julia, a grand-daughter to John III of Letterbaine: the only member of Clan Macintyre to have married into the chiefly line of Cluny was Dr Donald (the elder), Julia's uncle, whose second wife was Isobel Macpherson, first cousin (once removed) to Chief Ewan Macpherson of the '45. As John III had another son Donald by his second marriage, this places Dr Donald among the children of John III's first wife, Catherine Campbell of Auchlyne. (As has been noted, same name half-siblings were common in Scotland at that time). Dr Donald's known birth year, 1704*, coincides with the year of Catherine's death, (instrument of sasine for Letterbaine), suggesting she may have died in childbirth. (*Donald's headstone at Dalmally; Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758- 1834*, Part III, p.47; also reiterated on the frame of Dr Donald's portrait, by Edward Dayes, at Newton Castle, Blairgowrie).

The oldest photograph in the Letterbaine archive, (Fortrose Macintyres), is a daguerreotype, (c.1850), of Julia's son, Capt. Peter MacIntyre of Camus-na-h-Erie, again reflecting Dr Donald's close relationship with Julia and her siblings, a bond that persisted among later generations. Julia's recollections formed the basis of the hand-written Camus-na-h-Erie sketch tree of seven Letterbaine generations, transcribed several

the first known of a long tradition of surgeons among the Letterbaines. (Donald's role as a healer may well reflect an older tradition of Highland "blooders" within the family). The overlap of dates suggests that Catherine may have died in childbirth. The second wife was **Mary**, (b.c.1670), daughter of **Colin Campbell of Bragleen**.⁴⁵ Mary was a grand-daughter of **Patrick I of Barcaldine**, through her mother **Gilles**, (the Gaelic form of **Julia**), whose sister Mary married Duncan MacIntyre I of Glenoe. John had three sons by Mary: **Dr Patrick of Glenforslan**, **Donald of Kinchrakine** and **Malcolm**. That gives us two Donalds of the same generation, as with the half-brothers John of the generation above. (Same-name siblings were not uncommon in C18th Scotland, especially in the case of half-siblings).

John was on much better terms with his Campbell in-laws than his father Donald appears to have been. In a chatty, family-centred letter of 1728 to Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine, he clucks away about Barcaldine's infant daughter, and chastises her sister Annabel for sending her on a long journey to Sunart "...so ill provydit of shirts oyr linnings as she did. It were little onnoure for a pribate man's bairne to send her so to anour conntree...".⁴⁶ In an earlier letter, of 1698, to Patrick's father John, he relates a dream laden with dark omens, and warns him to be on his guard: "I dreamed last nyt that...you would need to pray for your being protected from barb byting lyeing lips or ye force of ane strange bogle."⁴⁷ His cordial relations with the Campbell lairds probably account for his extensive interests beyond Letterbaine itself, from Barbreck at the south end of Loch Awe to Glenorchy in the north. By 1719 he had been a long-term holder of the tack to the trout and salmon fishing on the River Orchy, and had other interests in the glen.⁴⁸ As such, he or his son John would have been expected to join Breadalbane's men, on the Jacobite side during the rising of 1715. As a tacksman beyond Letterbaine – a supplementary role to his independent status as chieftain there – he would have been required to muster men-at-arms for Breadalbane during times of conflict, and to officer them in the field. (His middle son by the second marriage, Donald of Kinchrakine, did just that in 1745). Breadalbane, in 1715, in opposition to his own chief, the Duke of Argyll, raised 400 men for the Old Chevalier, half of them from Glenorchy. In stark contrast to normal clan symmetry, Breadalbane's levies fought alongside Clan Donald at the battle of Sheriffmuir, and routed the Government troops facing them. John III, in his fifties, seems to have elected to send the young John IV to lead the Letterbaine contingent in his place, as he was then in his twenties and of optimum fighting age.

Certainly by John's lifetime, (and possibly well before), the Macintyres living in nearby Glenorchy looked to Letterbaine for leadership, and, in times of trouble, representation. In a letter from 1709 John takes up the case of two Macintyres accused on thin evidence of adultery. He appeals to Campbell of Breadalbane, in frank language, to intercede, as the good name of the clan, as well as the prospects of the men themselves, are at stake. "There is two McIntyres apprehendit and sent prissoners to Inverary out of Glenurchay...upon very frivollous pretences & not proven or made opene against one of them but....upon the assertion of a very vile woman.... I thought it was never yor (Lordship's) will to send these or any such to Inverary until (you) were first advised and the reassone and cryme known".⁴⁹

decades after Julia's death in 1839. Julia's siblings are likely to have augmented the oral history, if relations within the extended family remained strong over the years).

Dr Donald's full story is told in *Dr Donald Macintyre (1704-1781), Surgeon to Cluny's Regiment in the 'Forty-Five*, pp 59-65, *Creag Dhubh*, the annual publication of the Clan Macpherson Association, 2011, Number 63, Alistair K. Macintyre.

⁴⁵ Hand-written sketch tree for Letterbaine, from the Camus-na-h-Erie archive. As the Auchlyne connection checks out, (reduced to "Achlian" by the oral history), there is no reason to doubt the Bragleen reference from this very reliable source. The name of Mary's son, Dr Patrick, is consistent with his connection, as is that of his daughter Gilles.

⁴⁶ NAS Ref. GD170/853/2. Letter from John Macintyre, written Letterbaine, 29th January 1728, to Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine.

⁴⁷ NAS Ref. GD170/675, Letter from John Macintyre, written Corriechoille, Glenorchy, 21st July 1698, to Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine

⁴⁸ NAS Ref. GD112/10/1/3. Draft tack by John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane.

⁴⁹ NAS Ref. GD112-39-226-24

John, like his forebears known simply as “Letters”, lived to a great old age, and very probably outlived his eldest son, also John. In the absence of a specific date of death, however, the son is presented here as John IV, in order to maintain the sequence of succession. It was John IV’s son who became John V and Last of Letterbaine, and who, in the old man’s final years, had power of attorney – from overseas - on behalf of his aged grandfather.



The River Orchy, looking west to Letterbaine. Separating Letterbaine from Glenorchy is the small tack of Drishaig. Beinn a’ Bhuiridh, (Letterbeag), to the right.

JOHN (IV) (XI)

*Born c. 1694. Died, date unknown, probably in Europe. Married **Ann Campbell of Clenamachie**, by whom he had two sons, **John V**, (c.1725 - well after 1770), and **Dr. Donald (the younger)**, (c.1730-1815).*

John IV is something of an enigma. He was the only member of the family to not renew the wadset and sasine. In fact, the sasine remained unratified between 1704 and 1770, the year the Letterbaine wadset was renounced by his son, John V - and that was just a legal nicety paving the way for a formal annulment. After the battle of Sheriffmuir, where John IV is believed to have been an officer among Breadalbane’s Jacobite levies, he disappears from the radar completely. Exile in Europe, the usual fate of the Jacobite officer corps, is the likeliest explanation, as officers faced automatic execution if caught. This would explain not only John IV’s absence from Scotland, but also the life-long presence in Europe of his son John V, a career soldier with the Portuguese Army. John IV is likely to have died during the 1730s, as an unsuccessful bid was made by his father, in 1727, to renew the wadset in his absence; no further attempt was made. John IV is missing completely from successive instruments of sasine for Letterbaine⁵⁰, suggesting that he may have died soon after the birth of his youngest son, Dr Donald (younger)⁵¹.

⁵⁰ He is, however, mentioned in the final sasine of 1770 as never having been formally served heir.

⁵¹ A document from 1727 (NAS Ref. GD112/39/287/8) mentions that John III and his son are eager to ratify the sasine to Letterbaine. The question is raised of John IV’s presence as a pre-requisite to formalising the wadset – implying strongly that he was not around at that time. And we know that, in spite of John III’s entreaties, the sasine was **not** renewed during John IV’s lifetime. This can only point to John IV’s continuing absence from Letterbaine. In 1727 – long before the formation of the Black Watch as the first Highland regiment of the line, and unlike many from succeeding generations of Highland soldiers – he would not have been in Europe on behalf King George. This and his son John V’s known exile, in Portugal, make a compelling case, especially as the Portuguese Army, in which John V served, was a well-known



Dr Donald Macintyre, (the elder), by Edward Dayes. By kind permission of Sir William Macpherson of Cluny, Newton Castle, Blairgowrie. (A copy also hangs at the Black Watch Museum).

The issue of John IV's role during the '45, looks to be academic, but his brother **Dr Donald (the elder)**, (1704-1781), served on the Jacobite side as a fighting surgeon with Macpherson of Cluny's Regiment. Before Cluny's was raised he had tended the Jacobite wounded after the First Siege of Ruthven, one of the first engagements of the rising. He was also present on the March to Derby, the Prince's advance into England, and fought at the Battle of Clifton, before volunteering to remain behind with the garrison at Carlisle. When the city fell to the Duke of Cumberland he was imprisoned in the castle, and in 1747 transported to Maryland, USA, though later returned to Scotland. Donald's headstone at Dalmally, supports two distinctive Jacobite roses. Writ large across the back of the slab is the single Gaelic word "*Chruadach*", or hardship, an echo of the clan motto, but a clear reference, too, to his ordeal. (The stone also bears witness to Letterbaine's Glenoe origin, as the reverse side of the slab carries a fine bas-relief carving of the Glenoe arms. (See photographs, final pages)). Like many younger sons of clan leaders, Donald had joined The Watch – enlisting in his home county of Argyll⁵² - but by 1731 was stationed at Ruthven Barracks in Badenoch. Here he met and married his first wife, **Ann** of

haven for Jacobite refugees. Whether, like others of the Jacobite officer corps, John was entitled to return home, but chose to stay on the Continent is impossible to say.

⁵² The Watch, made up of a number of independent Highland companies, was originally formed during the reign of Charles II, as a local police force. After it failed to keep the peace during the rising of 1715 it was suspended, as many had ditched their red jackets and joined their kinsmen in the Jacobite army. It was revived during the late 1720s. By 1740, as noted, the independent companies had been amalgamated into a formal regiment of the line, The Black Watch. However, this was done in flagrant breach of the terms of enlistment, which specifically exempted recruits from foreign service. The betrayal of those who had joined the old Watch as local law enforcers, on the understanding that they would not leave the Highlands, prompted the Black Watch Mutiny of 1743, when the regiment was ordered to France. The ringleaders, who tried to march their men home from London before departure, were executed. The event caused much anger in the Highlands, and contributed greatly to anti-government sentiment during the build-up to the '45.

the **Badenoch Macintyres**⁵³. He hung up his red tunic soon after, and became part of the staunchly Jacobite community of Kingussie in the Clan Chattan heartland.

There are six known doctors among the Letterbaines over four generations, (seven if the Clenamachie connection can be confirmed). This may reflect a longer term tradition within the family pre-dating formal medical training. The hereditary Highland “blooder”, or healer, was often preferred to the military surgeon, who was considered by some to be over-ready with the saw. At a time when infection was believed by the medical establishment to be the result of airborne miasma, traditional healers - well ahead of their time - were using sphagnum moss not only for its cushioning and absorbent properties, but also as an anti-septic. So the description of Dr Donald as a “quack doctor” by his English captors, in 1747, was probably wide of the mark. Dr Donald returned to his home district from Badenoch on the death of his second wife, some time during the 1760s, settling with his family at Edindonich, next to Letterbaine, where he remained as Glenorchy surgeon until his death. Whether, by that stage, he had augmented his traditional knowledge with further medical training is not known.

Dr Donald’s line – the **Fortrose Macintyres** - is currently the senior line among the Letterbaines, though his nephew, the younger Dr Donald, (junior in years but senior within the clan), looks to have had several grandsons, very possibly with living descendants. (See below).

*The known children of Donald and Ann were: **Ann**, (born 1732); and **John**,⁵⁴ (born c.1737). Some, perhaps most, of Ann’s children, however, were born off the record, owing to a gap in the Kingussie Old Parish Register between 1737 and 1746. ⁵⁵ Donald’s second wife was **Isobel**, sister to the poet **James “Ossian” Macpherson**. Their children were: **Lt. Gen. John Macintyre**, (1750-1828)⁵⁶ - not to be confused with his cousin, **Gen John**, V of Letterbaine; and **Ann**, (b.1754).*

Dr Donald’s brother-in-law, James “Ossian” Macpherson,⁵⁷(1736-1797), buried in Westminster Abbey, is a controversial figure. His *“Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands of Scotland”*, published in 1760, supposedly transcriptions from an ancient manuscript, caused a sensation throughout Europe. Evoking a Gaelic embodiment of Rousseau’s *“Noble Savage”* against the heroic landscape of the Highlands, he played a major role in kick-starting the later Romantic Movement. Napoleon himself never went on campaign without a copy. The trouble was that *“Seumas Ban”*, in brilliantly anticipating the mood of the times, had penned much of it himself. One of his greatest detractors was Dr Samuel Johnson, who had claimed that the rough Gaelic tongue was incapable of producing poetry; while a vociferous defender – and outspoken critic of Dr Johnson - was the Macintyre chief, James III of Glenoe. Glenoe’s dislike of Johnson was vitriolic, and became something of an obsession.

⁵³ Kingussie old parish register. 23rd November, 1731.

⁵⁴ The elder John, (half-brother to Gen. John), appears in the Glenorchy Old Parish Register, living with his father Dr Donald at Edindonich, by the mid 1760s, close to Letterbaine. He fathers three children there, Mary, (1761), Ann (1763), and Donald (1765). The second daughter and only son are named after his own parents, in accordance with Highland tradition.

⁵⁵ We know from Gen. John that he had at least two (half) brothers, both dead by 1807. In a letter of that year, to his cousin and father-in-law, Col. Allan Macpherson of Blairgowrie, he laments the loss of parents and siblings. (Macpherson of Blairgowrie Papers). On his father’s memorial plaque*, which he raised in 1810 by the altar of Glenorchy Parish Kirk, he further records that he is Dr Donald’s last surviving son. The names of two of Gen. John’s natural sons – John and John Duncan – are probably in honour of his elder sibling. (*An additional monument to the gravestone outside).

⁵⁶ Gen. John figures prominently in Prof. Stephen Foster’s book *A Private Empire*, which chronicles several generations of his kinsmen, the Macphersons of Blairgowrie and Cluny. The book, nominated for two major literary awards in Australia, draws from a rare archive of letters spanning the entire imperial epoch. **NB the birth of Gen John’s children, Donald, Ann, and John-Duncan took place during the 1780s, not, as the author suggests, after 1804. They were born/conceived during John’s term of leave in the U.K. between 1784 and 1789, not after he permanently returned home from India in 1804.** *A Private Empire*, Pier 9, Murdoch Books, 2010, ISBN 978-1741965056.

⁵⁷ Macpherson clan historian, Alan G. Macpherson, amplifies the relationship between Gen. John and his uncle, James ‘Ossian’, in *Lieut. - Gen John Macintyre, the Laird of Balavil that Never Was*, pp 71-77, *Creag Dhuhh*, 2007, Number 59.

GENERAL JOHN MACINTYRE, V AND LAST OF LETTERBAINE (XII)

Born c. 1725. Died well after 1770. John V was probably born in Europe, where his father John IV, appears to have been in exile.

The failure of John IV to secure tenure on his ancestral lands was in all probability a direct result of the events of 1715. John V spent most – if not all - of his life in Portugal, rising to high rank in the Portuguese Service⁵⁸. Several famous Jacobite families in exile are associated with the Portuguese Army, among them Forbes of Skellater, and Fraser of Lovat. In 1770, about 45 years old and ranked Lieut. Colonel, John V formalized the wadset and sasine, from Lisbon, in order to formally renounce it. From 1770 Letterbaine became a tack allocated to John V's uncle Donald, who was already tacksman of nearby Kinchrakine, in Glenorchy.⁵⁹ (See below).

The 1770s were a milestone in the break-down of Highland culture and the clan system. It was the decade that most of the great lairds began calling in wadsets across the region, giving them direct control of the land. Next to be dispossessed, during the years and decades that followed, were the tacksmen - the middlemen of the clan – and finally the rank and file, who had no formal stake in the land, and no documented right to occupy it. The socially highly nuanced clan system thus made way for a southern-style landlord-tenant arrangement. The chiefs, tempted by powerful new market forces from the south, and shackled by culturally corrosive government legislation, abandoned clan responsibilities altogether and simply let their newly consolidated land holdings – land that from time immemorial had belonged to the clan itself - to the highest bidder. The result was the tragic mass exodus known to us as the Highland Clearances. Clan Macintyre, a small clan which had not collectively owned land outright since it left Skye during the early Middle Ages, went the same way as the rest.

John V, as with many career soldiers - and like his cousin and namesake of the same rank - appears to have married late in life. The only child of whom we have mention is a **daughter**, (name unknown), who reputedly married the Portuguese Marquis de Saldanha.⁶⁰ Since John V appears to have had no male issue, and the ancient *duthchas* lands of Letterbaine⁶¹ had been relinquished by him, the chieftainship, for all intents and purposes, ends with him.

⁵⁸ NAS Ref. GD112/2/104, 1656-1770, instrument of sasine for Letterbaine. According to the sketch-tree for Letterbaine, (Camus-na-h-Erie archive), John later attained the rank of general. As it also – correctly – lists his brother, Dr Donald (the younger), as Inspector of Hospitals, this source again looks solid.

⁵⁹ Kinchrakine was a witness to the transaction, though it was his youngest brother, Malcolm, living in Drishaig next to Letterbaine, a baillie of the parish of Ardchattan, whom John V appointed as his representative. At face value it seems odd that Malcolm, the youngest brother, a carpenter in Drishaig, should have been chosen. However, Dr Patrick was living in Sunart/Moidart at that time, and although Dr Donald senior is known to have been in Glenorchy, his conviction for treason after the '45 and his ambiguous legal position as a returnee from the colonies, would have ruled him out of any formal involvement. His nephew, Dr Donald junior, was in fact based in Letterbaine by this stage, though would have been away with the military. His appointment as Surgeon Major with the 43rd in 1772, must mean that he had spent many years previously with the army, and his previous known presence in Letterbaine was in 1764, with the birth of his daughter Jean. The final brother, Kinchrakine, of course, was involved as a witness.

⁶⁰ Hand-written sketch tree for Letterbaine, (Camus-na-h-Erie archive). The specifics of the Saldanha reference are unclear, though given the reliability of this source, it is unlikely not to be rooted in fact. Who the "marquis" was we don't know, though possibly he was of the family of Manuel Saldanha de Albuquerque, (d.1771), a governor of Madeira, and one-time viceroy of Goa, India. His son, (perhaps one of several), Aires José Maria de Saldanha, (1755-1827), himself had two sons and two daughters, (one of whom married in England). If Gen. John of Letterbaine had married late in life, as many career soldiers did*, the "marquis" may have been Joao Carlos de Saldanha, (1790-1876). Perhaps the "marquis" reference was rounded off in the telling over several generations, before the information on the sketch-tree was finally committed to paper: he may have been a *younger* son of the "marquis", (conde/count)... (*His cousin, Gen. John Macintyre, (India), was married at nearly 60 to a bride 36 years his junior).

⁶¹ *Duthchas* was the right of ancient possession. By it the chief, or chieftain, guaranteed land to clan members in return for military service and/or payment in kind. It also reflected the right of the clan, collectively, to possess the longstanding lands of their ancestors.

Dr. Donald (the younger)

Born c. 1730. Died 1815. Brother of John V. Both are likely to have been born in Europe.

Donald was a surgeon with the 43rd Monmouthshire Regiment by 1772, and fought for the Crown during the American War of Independence.⁶² He was one of very many Scottish surgeons drawn to the British Army during the later 18th century, as Scottish doctors were highly esteemed, Edinburgh then being pre-eminent in the field of medicine. In 1796, as Surgeon-Major, he became Assistant Inspector of Hospitals in the Leewards Islands, West Indies. He had four children⁶³, all born in Letterbaine, so in spite of John V's continuing absence, the younger Dr Donald must have connected with his ancestral home some time before 1750. In so doing he must have taken over from his uncle, Dr Patrick, who left Letterbaine for Tyndrum⁶⁴ during that time. In the absence of John IV, after 1715, Dr Patrick had been right-hand man there to his ageing father, John III.

*The younger Dr Donald had four children, all of them born at Letters: **John**, b.1755; **Duncan**⁶⁵, b.1760; **Jean**, b.1764; and **Catherine-Ann**,⁶⁶ b.1784. It is highly unlikely that John, the first-born, was not **John Macintyre, Tacksman of Clenamacrie**⁶⁷ - given that Dr Donald's grandmother was **Ann Campbell of Clenamacrie**. However, there is no documentary evidence of this as yet - though the chronology, along with the perpetuation of longstanding family names strongly reinforces the case. John had a large number of children, all born at Clenamacrie, to his second wife, **Jess MacDougall**⁶⁸, a grand-daughter of **Coll MacDougall of Ardencaple**. They were: **Hugh**, (born 1802); **Dr Coll**, (1803-1867), a surgeon with the East India Company; **Donald**, (b.1805); **Margaret**, (b.1806); **Colin**, (b.1808); **John**, (b.1810); **Helen**, (b.1811); **Duncan**, (b.1813). The name of John's first wife is unknown, though they had a daughter **Ann**, who married **Donald MacEachern**, ("Mackichan"), an Oban Taylor, in 1801.⁶⁹*

⁶² *Commissioned Officers in the Medical Services of the British Army, 1660-1960*, p. 44, Volume I, A. Peterkin & William Johnston, The Wellcome Historical Medical Library, London, 1968.

⁶³ Glenorchy Old Parish Register.

⁶⁴ NAS Ref. GD112/15/429, Item 24. Patrick confirmed as *chyrurgeon at Tayindrom* in 1749. (Tyndrum in Glen Lochy). He moved to Strontian, Sunart, soon afterwards.

⁶⁵ Probably Capt. Duncan of the 100th Regt. of Foot, who was born at Letters on 13th July, 1760, and died on 21st Aug.1826. According to his headstone, at Inishail, he died "aged 65", though ages on old memorials are notoriously unreliable. (Moreover, no Duncans were born in the parish of Glenorchy and Inishail in 1761 to tally with the age on the inscription). The headstone, raised by his son, Surgeon Frances MacArthur Macintyre, Glasgow, describes him as one-time "Governor of the Bermudas", though this may indicate an interim position, as his name does not appear in the roll-call of official appointees.

⁶⁶ In the case of Catherine-Ann, clearly a surprise late pregnancy – which happened while Dr Donald was home on leave from America. The child, conceived in January, was born in October, two months after Donald rejoined his regiment in Annapolis, Maryland. Hence the Glenorchy Old Parish Register's unusual entry: "*Dau. to Mrs McIntyre*". It is deemed to be self-evident who she is and where she resided, "*Mrs*" then being a mark of respect. The absence of the father's name, (which is normally associated with illegitimate births, but here simply indicates his absence), confirms the chronology. As all "*Mrs Macintyre's*" other children were born at Letters, we must assume Catherine Ann was, too.

⁶⁷ John of Clenamacrie would have been holding the land from the Campbells of Dunstaffnage, who had inherited it from Dougall Campbell, V and last Laird of Clenamacrie. Dougall's daughter, Ann, (b.1735), an only child, married Donald Campbell, 14th Captain of Dunstaffnage. Their sons, Dugald, Niall, Angus, Alexander and John, were of the same generation as John Macintyre, and were probably his second cousins. As tacksmen, - the laird's immediate tenants, who then sub-let the land - usually came from his extended family, this would be consistent with tradition. Clenamacrie itself is in Glen Lonan, near Oban, Argyll.

⁶⁸ Muckairn Old Parish Register.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* In addition, the Glenorchy OPR lists a number of children, born to a John McIntyre in Letters, who MAY have been a young John of Clenamacrie, before he acquired the Clenamacrie tack. Letters John married Mary McIntyre in "*Innergassachan*" in 1779. (Probably Inverghiusachan, Upper Loch Etive). Their children were Patrick, poet and parish schoolmaster of Inishail, (b.1782); and Donald, (b.1784). Also born to a John McIntyre in Letters were Mary, (b.1792), and John, (b.1793), so probably of the same brood. The wedding took place nine years after annulment of the wadset. John V was still alive, though no longer possessor of Letterbaine, so Letters John, had he been the young Clenamacrie, was "in" not "of" the place, as the OPR correctly states. The poet **Patrick Macintyre, (1782-1855)**, is best known for "*Cruachan Ben*", written in the Gaelic, lamenting the absence of the clan on Ben Cruachan, in the wake of the Clearances.

Perhaps the descendents of one of the above has information in the family archive that might clinch the connection between John Macintyre of Clenamacrie and the younger Dr Donald? If so, it would be his descendents, the “**Clenamacrie Macintyres**” not those of the elder Dr Donald’s – the Fortrose Macintyres – who would have seniority among the Letterbaine descendents.

It is worth noting here that Clenamacrie is very likely to have been the John Macintyre who co-farmed Glenoe with the American-born Chief James V, during the early years of the nineteenth century,⁷⁰ (before the latter returned to the United States), and who later took on the full tack himself – the last of the Macintyres in Glenoe. It is hard to see who among the remaining clan but Letterbaine had the means to take on the land – albeit for a brief spell - given the exorbitant rents demanded by the end of the century - another pointer to Clenamacrie’s probable origin. So the close bond between Glenoe and Letterbaine may well have persisted two generations after Culloden.

Donald of Kinchrakine, was John V’s uncle, the middle son of John III’s second marriage. He was the “*Captain MacIntyre of Ceann a’Chraicinn*” mentioned by Somerled Macmillan in his “*Bygone Lochaber*”.⁷¹ Though his elder half-brother Dr. Donald declared for the Prince, Kinchrakine fought on the Government side at Culloden, and attempted to get the stricken **Donald MacIntyre of Camus-na-h-Erie** off the field during the slaughter of the Jacobite wounded. The story relates that he gave the young Camus-na-h-Erie his horse, but the youth was weak from loss of blood, and slipped from the saddle, presumably falling victim to the ensuing massacre. A decade before Culloden Kinchrakine wrote a letter⁷² concerning a dispute between Campbell of Inverawe and the people of Grunachy, (Crunach), over the right to cut peat at neighbouring Ichrachan.⁷³

The Ichrachan affair is of broader interest to the Macintyres as a whole, as it represents just one phase of an ongoing feud with their neighbours, the Inverawe Campbells. John Campbell of Auchmore, writing to Donald in 1735, warns him to expect a fight: “*If you do not think fit to defend yourself you may let it alone*”, adding that in his opinion, “*you should be stopt by blows.*”⁷⁴ Eight years earlier the same John Campbell was recording a previous eruption of the feud: “*There seems to be a suspension of hostilities, for how long I cannot tell, betwixt Inverawe and the McIntyres...It is not a general peace*”, he says, as is demonstrated “*by the violence done*” to Campbell cattle. It was high time, he fumed, “*to put an end to these insults.*”⁷⁵ There are two sides to every argument, however, and in 1735, at least, Inverawe was at fault, as his new tack encompassing Ichrachan was pre-dated by the Macintyres’ longer term right to lift peat there. Trivial as this seems, peat was the staple fuel - both for cooking and surviving the harsh Highland winter. The core clan heartland of Glenoe/Letterbaine borders directly onto Inverawe’s land. No distinction is made by the Campbells between these branches of the clan in relation to the conflict, so it gives us a useful insight into Macintyre solidarity and clan identity during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Donald of Kinchrakine’s children were: John (b.1756, d. young); Donald, (b.1759); Gilles (Julia), (b.1760); John, (b.1762); and Margaret, (b.1763). Kinchrakine, one of the elders of the parish of

⁷⁰ Source: Martin L MacIntyre

⁷¹ Somerled Macmillan, “Bygone Lochaber”, 1971, p.107. (Printed for private circulation. Printers: K & R Davidson Ltd., West Geog Street, Glasgow).

⁷² NAS Ref. GD170/851/1-3, (p.139-143). 7th June 1735, Donald of Kinchrakine to John Campbell of Auchmore. Other letters exist from him from 1732, (NAS Ref. GD170/851/1-3, 1732-5), and his distinctive signature is clearly recognisable from that point on until the late 1770s. (He apparently lived until the 1780s).

⁷³ Kinchrakine is clearly responsible for the Grunachy township, identifying him as the “*Donald MacIntyre of Grunachy*” mentioned in the 1751 Argyll land register. (Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell*, Vol. I, Edinburgh University Press, 2000, pp.218-9.

⁷⁴ NAS Ref. GD170/851/1-3 (p139-143)

⁷⁵ NAS Ref. GD112/39/287/8

Glenorchy, witnessed the renunciation of the Letterbaine wadset by John V in 1770. According to a now partially nameless daughter's headstone at Dalmally, he was for a time "Tacksman of Letters". (NB Care is required when viewing the Glenorchy Old Parish Register, as there was more than one Donald McIntyre in Kinchrakine at that time⁷⁶).

Dr. Patrick, (c.1707-1776), was John III's eldest son by Mary Campbell of Bragleen. He lived at, and oversaw, Letterbaine for his ageing father until Dr Donald (younger) settled there from Europe during the mid/late 1740s. Dr Patrick then became surgeon at Tyndrum, Glen Lochy, before moving to Strontian, on Loch Sunart, to the south-west of Fort William, in 1750.⁷⁷

Dr Patrick and his full siblings, Donald and Malcolm, were 2nd cousins of James MacIntyre III of Glenoe, through their mutual great grandfather, Patrick Campbell I of Barcaldine, (1592-1678). He married a daughter, (name unknown) of James Campbell of Raray,⁷⁸ first-born son to Alexander Campbell II of Barcaldine, (so again 2nd cousins). Dr. Patrick was tacksman and later part-owner of Glenforslan, Moidart. His daughter, Julia,^{79 80} (1761-1839), married Alexander XI of Camus-na-h-Erie,⁸¹ (c.1747-1814) and is buried on Eilean Munde, Loch Leven, the ancient resting place of the Camus-na-h-Erie MacIntyres. Her son Peter XII of Camus-na-h-Erie, (1786-1855), was a captain in the Royal Marines during the Napoleonic Wars. Most of her siblings lived either in the town of Fort William, or in the nearby district of Sunart/Moidart. Her brother, Dr John of Glenhurich, (c.1732-1802), was the town surgeon; the first-born, James, younger of Glenforslan, (b.1730/31), was a Fort William lawyer; and another brother, Donald, (later of Blairmore, Glenartney⁸², in Perthshire), had farming interests in the

⁷⁶ At the very start of the Glenorchy OPR, inserted after 1766 -thirteen years after the record began - is a group of three siblings born to a Donald McIntyre in Kinchrakine. They are: Mary (b.1750); James (b.1756); and Ann (1766). The minister was clearly at pains to distinguish between the two Donald McIntyres in Kinchrakine at that time. Those not included in the list of three - the majority - can safely be regarded as the children of Donald who, by 1770, had become Tacksman of Kinchrakine. Like the other Donald, the latter was still "in" Kinchrakine, not "of" it when his children were born. **NB The IGI Index goes astray here.**

⁷⁷ Dr Patrick's whereabouts are made clear in GD112/15/429, Item 24. (See footnote 79). He was in Tyndrum in 1749, and some time later moved to Strontian. 1750 is the year given by Tim Robertson in his online *Moidart Timewarp*, quoting from Iain Thornber's *Glenmoidart Notes*, Bonallie/Impey Papers, Ref 38: "*Patrick MacIntyre, a drover...("doctor"?)...from Strontian...(Strontian is where Dr Patrick had his practice)...came to Moidart in 1750 as tacksman of Glenforslan and Duilad, where he found 'poor mean wattled huts' and suggested the building of stone cottages*". Thornber further quotes from *Glenmoidart Notes* that in 1755 "*there was a Dr MacIntyre living at Glenforslan, probably of the great piping family*". (Bonallie/Impey Papers, Ref. 16). This, however, is not correct.

⁷⁸ NAS Ref. GD112/15/429, Item 24. The siblings below, (footnote 79), refer to their uncles, Donald of Kinchrakine, and – on the maternal side – John Campbell, Tacksman of Raray. The latter was the son of James of Raray, eldest son of Alexander Campbell II of Barcaldine.

⁷⁹ NAS Ref. GD112/15/429, Item 24. Document from 1778 relating to the repayment of the loan of 9,400 merks Scots to Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell. The siblings John, Archibald, Alexander, Donald and Gilles (Julia), the recipients, are recorded as the younger children of the deceased Dr Patrick Macintyre of Glenforslan, Kinlochmoidart, (formerly "*chyrurgeon at Tayindrom*", Glen Lochy), who originally made the loan in 1749. Also identified is Donald of Kinchrakine, Dr Patrick's brother. Donald, an elder of the parish of Glenorchy, was executor both of this part of his brother's will, and previously, in 1776, to the principal part, naming the eldest, James, as inheritor of the rest of Dr Patrick's estate. (Argyllshire Inventory, Commissariat of Argyll, No. 509, Testaments, 2nd January, 1776). Also present as witnesses on the 1778 document are James III of Glenoe, and the younger Donald of Kinchrakine.

⁸⁰ The one significant quirk in the hand-written sketch-tree for Letterbaine, (Camus-na-h-Erie archive), is the placing of Julia as sister to John V and Dr Donald (the younger). She was without doubt the daughter of Dr Patrick Macintyre, their uncle.

⁸¹ Julia and her husband, Alexander MacIntyre XI of Camus-na-h-Erie, (c.1747-1814), had several children, 6 sons and at least 2 daughters: the twins John, (1783-1798), and Alexander; Margaret (Peggy), (1785-1801); Capt. Peter, (1786-1855), who became XII of Camus-na-h-Erie, and had a decent reputation as a poet; Lieut. James, also of the Royal Marines, (d. Portsmouth, 1813); Angus, who died in Demerara before 1803; Ewen, (d.1827); and Jessie, (d.1828). Peter XII of Camus-na-h-Erie, whose Gaelic verse was published about 1840 in the anthology *Am Filidh*, died without issue in Inverness, a burghess of the city. According to his headstone on Eilean Munde he was 69 when he died. (Camus-na-h-Erie family archive).

⁸² NAS Ref. GD112/15/429, Item 24. This key document in establishing the identity of the younger children of Dr Patrick comes from 1778, with the repayment of the 1749 Lochnell loan. In this document we have multiple signatures from each of the siblings, (apart from Julia who was under age, and Dr John, who seems to have been indisposed): Archibald, Alexander, and Donald, (later of Blairmore, Glenartney). This gives us an invaluable cross reference, as Donald's signature is consistently identical with those on the estate letters to Barcaldine. (Donald always signed his letters to Barcaldine "Donald McIntyre Jnr" to distinguish himself from his uncle, Donald of Kinchrakine, who lived into the 1780s, and who, as a senior tacksman and elder of the parish of Glenorchy, was also in regular correspondence with the Campbell lairds). The transaction was overseen by Donald of Kinchrakine, who had also been cautioner in Dr Patrick's will of 1776, naming James as the eldest son, and heir to Glenforslan. Also present as witnesses on the 1778 document are James III of Glenoe, and the younger Donald of

Sunart/Moidart area. The other siblings were **Alexander**⁸³ and **Archibald**. Dr Patrick died in 1776, so during the later years of Julia's minority in Fort William she must have been living with the brothers, her guardians. Their mother bore her children over a very long period: c.1731 – 1761, so there was a full generation-span between Julia and her elder siblings. **Dr John of Glenhurich** appears to have been a life-long bachelor. His natural son **Alexander**, (born to an unknown Glenorchy woman in 1763), married **Margaret Allen**. Their son **Alexander**,⁸⁴ (1791-1852), is buried with his grandfather at Craig Cemetery, Fort William. Alexander's wife, **Grace**, was the daughter of **Captain Angus MacDonald of Tulloch**, a cadet of Keppoch, and also lies in the family grave at Fort William.

Donald of Blairmore, Glenartney⁸⁵, (c.1745 - after 1799), became factor to his cousin, Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, it being common at that time for a laird's near-relative to take on the role. The impact and precise timing of the Clearances on the Barcaldine estate are not clear. However, no reference to evictions is made in the numerous letters written by Donald to his employer. This is probably explained by the fact that the Campbells, led by their chief, the Duke of Argyll, were the first clan to introduce sweeping agricultural reforms - and much of this process, with attendant social upheavals, took place before Culloden. One of Donald's letters is worth mentioning. In identifying Glenartney as Dr Patrick's son, the final dot over the "i" came from an unlikely source. Perthshire is a long way from Donald's boyhood home of Sunart/Moidart, on the West Coast, and although the documentary evidence pointed firmly to this father-son relationship, the final word went to Donald's horse. In 1786 Donald writes to Barcaldine, about the loss of his mount, which is apparently homesick and has gone walkabout. He plans to go directly to the Ballachulish Ferry, on Loch Linnhe, the furthest point west that the animal – like himself, "*Sounart bredd*"- can reach on the way home from Perthshire. The horse, Donald tells us, "*is well acquaint with the Road from that (Ballachulish) to Glenertny*".⁸⁶

Archibald of Glengalmiddle, Sunart/Morvern, (born c. 1750), was the younger brother of the above, with whom he co-owned, or co-held, Glengalmiddle, some three miles south of Loch Sunart. As Donald later possessed land in Glenartney, it is likely that Archibald, too, had farming interests in Perthshire at some point. He was in Sunart in 1793,⁸⁷ when, in middle age, he travelled to Glenorchy to marry his cousin, Margaret Macintyre, daughter of Donald of Kinchrakine - probably a second

Kinchrakine.

⁸³ Alexander was alive in 1778, when the Lochnell loan was repaid. (See footnote 79 and 82). Nothing more is known of him. He MAY, however, given the family's close connections with India, have been the Capt. Alexander Macintyre, whose daughter Mary was baptized in Madras, on 14th February, 1799. All the other brothers had land within 6 miles, (as the crow flies) of Loch Sunart. His absence may therefore point to a military career.

⁸⁴ Alexander, (1791-1852), was born in Fort William, and became billet-master there. Grace was born in Kilmonivaig parish in 1794. Her father was Capt. Angus Macdonald, VII of Tulloch, who fought at Waterloo, and before that for the Crown during the American Revolution. The couple's children, according to the 1841 Census, were: Angus, (born c.1823); Catherine, (c. 1826); Harriet, (c.1828); John, (c. 1830); Ronald, (c. 1832); and Duncan, (c. 1834). Ronald moved to London with his wife, Elizabeth MacIntosh. (They apparently had four sons there: Alexander, (b.1862); Duncan Charles, (b.1864); Augustus (b.1866); and John Andrew).

⁸⁵ The Kirk minister at Comrie consistently records the Glenartney Macintyres as "Daniel" and Mary, though not so the minister at Callander. Donalds and Daniels are frequently interchangeable in the old parish registers, perhaps to distinguish from other Donalds – of which there many – though it was also a fashionable anglicisation adopted by some bearers of the name. The elder children were born in Comrie parish, the younger in Callander, while Donald was living at Leney House. As the relationship between Peter, (Comrie), and siblings John and Mary, (Callander), is well documented in connection with their Australian adventures, there is no doubt that the records of the two parishes relate to the same family.

At least one elder sibling existed: probably Neil, (b.1773). He and sister Ann, (b.1775), were born in Maryburgh, Fort William, to a Donald and a Mary Macintyre. This Donald was at that time a vintner. The very long period of Mary's child-bearing – if the same parents – casts some doubt, but appears to be corroborated by a letter of 26th March, 1789, from Donald, (in Glenartney), to Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, (NAS Ref.GD170/1900/4). In it he mentions a son old enough to have worked on the farm stocked by Donald, and his brother Archibald, at Glengalmiddle. Neil would have been 16 at the time. Given Donald's connections with Fort William, it seems plausible – though Neil is not a family name...

⁸⁶ NAS ref. GD170/1900/2

⁸⁷ Glenorchy OPR

marriage. The Glengalmaddie Macintyres were distinct from the celebrated piping family in the district - a branch of the Rannoch piping dynasty - though there may have been marriage connections.⁸⁸

Julia of Camus-na-h-Erie, (1761-1839), Archibald's sister, is the source of an oral family history of seven generations of the Letterbaine Macintyres, written down some time during the early/mid 20th century. In spite of minor quirks and foibles picked up over several generations of narration, it has proved extremely reliable, and has been the "Rosetta Stone" of this research. The faded, yellowed note forms part of the Camus-na-h-Erie family archive. Julia, as the one player bridging both Letterbaine and Camus-na-h-Erie, must have been the originator of the oral history. The Fortrose Macintyres have an old daguerreotype image of her son, Peter XII of Camus-na-h-Erie, taken c.1850,⁸⁹ so given ongoing close relations among later generations, it is likely that Julia's extended family made their own contribution to it.

Three of the sons of Donald of Glenartney and his Macintyre wife **Mary** emigrated to Australia.⁹⁰ **Capt. Peter**, (1783-1842), chartered the ships carrying the first free settlers to New South Wales in 1824, and guided the explorer Allan Cunningham across the Liverpool Range. Cunningham named the **Macintyre River** after him as a mark of respect. **John**, (1796-1830), was murdered by convicts soon after arrival. **Donald**, (b.1793), the last to arrive - from Canada - became a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council in 1851. Their brother, **Dr. James** (1795-1837), stayed at home and became a surgeon in Newcastle upon Tyne. Little is known of **Elizabeth**, (b.1787), or **Jannet**, (b.1799). **Mary**, though, (b.1791), accompanied her brothers to Australia. Donald, who named his ranch after the Native American Kayuga tribe, with whom he spent a number of years in Canada, has several living descendents, the **Kayuga Macintyres**. As their line springs from a younger half-brother of Dr Donald (the elder), the Kayuga Macintyres are a junior branch of Letterbaine.

The descendants of Dr Donald (the elder) served for generations in India. His son **Lt. Gen. John**, (1750-1828), of the Bengal Artillery, arrived at Calcutta in 1771, one of many Highlanders looking East to restore blighted prospects in the decades after Culloden. Dr. Donald's grandson **Maj. Gen. Donald**, (1831-1903), was awarded the Victoria Cross for leading his men over the ramparts at the storming of Lalngoor in 1872.⁹¹ Donald and his brother, **Lt. Gen. John Mackenzie Macintyre**, (1827-1902), were the first of three generations to serve with the Gurkhas. Their father, **Donald**, (c.1787-1836), a merchant with the East India Company, married **Margaret**, (1792-1865), daughter of **Capt. John Mackenzie of Kincaig**, (1750-1822).⁹²

Donald's brother-in-law, **Dr William Brydon**, (1811-1873), was the famous "**Last Man**", sole survivor of the doomed 15,000 who took part in the Retreat from Kabul in 1842.⁹³ The image of Brydon, during the First Afghan War, tottering towards Jalalabad on an exhausted horse, became one of the most reproduced prints of the Victorian era. As ill luck would have it, he was also present at the infamous Siege of Lucknow fifteen years later. Brydon's wife, **Colina Macintyre**, (1820-1890), kept a diary during the ordeal, and her account, since published, gives a rare female perspective on the event.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ We don't know, for instance, the origin of Mary Macintyre, the wife of Archibald's brother Donald, who like Archibald himself, grew up in Sunart, and would probably have known the piping family well.

⁸⁹ The image was sent some time after Peter's death in 1855, with his obituary glued to the back.

⁹⁰ Keith Robert Binney, "*Horsemen of the Last Frontier, 1788-1900*", and "*The Serpent's Legacy*", ISBN 0646 44865 X, pp 223-244.

⁹¹ *Rosemarkie Connections*, Freda Bassindale, pp.35-41, Bassman Books, Dingwall, 2015. ISBN978-0-9567908-7-3.

⁹² John Mackenzie of Kincaig was a younger son of Roderick Mackenzie, VII of Redcastle, (Black Isle), a cadet of Kintail.

⁹³ *Rosemarkie Connections*, pp.30-34.

⁹⁴ Alison Blunt, "Spatial Stories Under Siege, British Women from Lucknow in 1857", published in *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol. 17, issue 3, Sept. 2000, pp. 229-246. More of Colina's writings have been assembled by Geoffrey Moore in "Diaries of the Doctor's Lady", (Huntingdon, 1979).

During WWII **Capt. Donald G.F.W. Macintyre**, (1904-1981), grandson of the younger General John, fought in the Battle of the Atlantic, and is best known for capturing Germany's foremost U-boat ace, Otto Kretshmer. For his contribution to the U-boat war he received a rare clutch of three DSOs. He later became a respected naval historian and author, publishing several books and acting as historical advisor to director Lewis Milestone in the film "Mutiny on the Bounty".⁹⁵

His cousin, **Capt. Ian A.P. Macintyre, CB, CBE, DSO**, (1898-1967), son of Donald VC, was a recipient of the Légion d'Honneur, and is the subject of the book "*Through The Waters*" by Gunnery Officer Robert Hughes, chronicling the story of HMS Scylla and its role among the Arctic convoys.⁹⁶ Away from the military, **Margaret Macintyre**, (1865-1943), a daughter of the younger General John, was one of the most celebrated sopranos of her day, described by Scottish historian Charles Fraser Mackintosh as "The Prima Donna of the North". Making her debut in 1885, she later sang at La Scala in Milan, as well as New York's Metropolitan Opera House, and made regular appearances at Covent Garden, London. The brothers, Generals John and Donald, who both settled at Fortrose, on the Black Isle, when their campaigning days were over, have many living descendants, the Fortrose Macintyres.



Maj. General Donald Macintyre VC, (1831-1903)

⁹⁵ "*U-Boat Killer*", Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1956; Cassell Military Paperbacks, 1999; Rigel Publications 2004; "*The Battle of the Atlantic*", William Clowes & Sons Ltd., London, 1961; "*The Naval War Against Hitler*", B.T.Batsford Ltd., London, 1971. And others.

⁹⁶ Robert Hughes, "*Through the Waters*", William Kimber & Co. Ltd., London, 1956

The author's full genealogical research on this branch of the clan can be accessed at Ancestry.com under "*Macintyre of Letterbaine*". It is not a tree gleaned from the Ancestry site, but added to it as a *fait accompli*, drawn from many years of trawling the National Archives for Scotland. It contains much that owing to lack of space, has not been included here.

NB As nothing has been published in connection with the Letterbaine Macintyres prior to this research, (the term "Letterbaine" itself was taken from the deeds of sasine), any references to Letterbaine on the Ancestry site are – directly or indirectly - derived from it. It is therefore advisable to consult it as a first port of call, as the primary source when exploring this line of the clan.



Glenoe arms on the headstone of Dr Donald, (the elder), Dalmally



The headstone, (left), was raised in 1792, eleven years after Donald's death.



Glenoe crest and motto. Beneath the arms is inscribed the single Gaelic word *Chruadach* – “hardship”- an echo of the motto, but a reference, too, to Donald's ordeal in the aftermath of the '45. The Jacobite roses, left and right, were a clandestine symbol of Jacobite support, often engraved onto wine glasses used to toast “*the King over the Water*”.

The headstone to the right of Dr Donald's is that of Archibald Macintyre, "*Tacksman of Drimliaravich*", (1731-1826). The two stones form a conspicuous pairing, standing apart from other graves, indicating a close family bond - reinforced by the long term presence of both men in Edindonich, Glenorchy. However, he was not Dr Donald's son. It is likely that he was born in Badenoch, to Donald's first wife, Ann Macintyre, before the two were married in November 1731, and that Donald took him on. Perhaps Ann was widowed young, or perhaps Archibald was illegitimate? Whatever the story, the bond appears to have been strong. It is very likely that Archibald, as Donald's adopted son, raised the 1796 headstone in his honour. (Gen. John, (India), raised the 1810 wall-plaque to his father inside the church, recording for posterity that he was the last of Donald's (de facto) sons). Archibald's wife was Euphemia McVarquish. Their children, all born in Edendonich, were: John (b.1769, d. young?); Duncan, (b.1771), a lawyer in Callander; Catherine, (1776); John, (b.1778), who was living at Stronmachagan when he raised his father's headstone; Donald, (b.1780, d. young?); and Donald, (b.1783). Archibald lived to the ripe old age of 95.

Alistair K. Macintyre
1st November 2016

Appendix

Discussion of Letterbaine's Point of Connection with Glenoe, with Reference to the 1660 Bond of Manrent

Iain Buidhe's precise point of connection with Glenoe has yet to come to light. The 1556 bond of manrent makes it clear that he is a senior figure within the clan, and in this author's opinion leaves little doubt that he is the progenitor of the Clan Iain Macintyres, to whom he gives his name. (Martin L MacIntyre prefers to put the progenitor back a generation, though, as has been noted, this Iain does not appear in the record).

So, if we place Iain Buidhe at the first point of departure from the main line, Glenoe, we then have to consider the nature of that departure. But the 1660 bond – the most comprehensive encapsulation of Clan Macintyre that exists in a single document – points to a schism within the clan, thereby muddying the waters in relation to the early chiefly succession, and Letterbaine's position relative to it. Two lines of chiefs appear to be indicated, the one descending from a Chief Gillipatrick, (born late C14th/early C15th), the son of a Chief Donald; and the other, from an unnamed ancestor, comprising the majority line of chiefs, assuming power from a later date. The line of Gillipatrick does not die out, as his descendents are mentioned in the 1660 bond – though by this time it is the rival line that has gained control.

Some of the eighteen may not actually belong to the *line* of the unmentioned ancestor as such – as it is possible they were descendents of Gillipatrick’s younger brother(s). As a group, however, the eighteen are quite distinct from the line of Gillipatrick himself.

Martin L Macintyre talks at length in his book about a macabre clan legend, *Duncan and his Two Sons*, in which disinheritance and power-shift within the clan are central themes. As the 1660 bond points strongly to internal factionalism and power struggle it may well be that the legend reflects – albeit in distorted form – a basic truth. All that can be said with any certainty, however, is that Iain Buidhe was a younger son, (or, as MLM believes, grandson), among the Glenoe family, who may have belonged to either one of the two groups. Whichever line it was, Iain Buidhe is the oldest recorded member of the Glenoe family not to have become chief himself.

At this point it will be useful to look at the 1660 bond in detail. In it are all the major branches of the clan in Argyll and Perthshire, (the two main exceptions being the Camus-na-h-Erie Macintyres in Lochaber, and the Badenoch Macintyres among the Clan Chattan, both beyond the Campbell sphere of influence). It reads as follows:

Bond of manrent by:

Duncan McDonill VcDonchie VcEntyre in Glenno (Chief Duncan I of Glenoe)
Malcolm McEanduy VcGillichreist VcEntyre in Inverliever in Glenetive (Malcolm of Letterbaine and Inverliever)
John McOlchallum VcEane VcDoinel (M’tyre) in Glenketlin (Glenceitlein)
and Donald VcEanduy VcDonill (M’tyre) in Achnaba
Gillipatrik McGillespik VcEane VcDonchie (M’tyre) in Achnacreeve
Johne Du McNicoll VcGillipatrik (M’tyre) in Stron Milachane (Stronmilchan, Glenorchy)
Malcolm Macilchallum Roy (M’tyre) in Achnaba
Gillepatrik McDonchie Duy (M’tyre) in Barbrek, Lochow (Barbreck, Lochawe, i.e Craignish M’tyres)
John Du McGillchallum VcEane VcDonchie (M’tyre) in Achnacha
Molchallum McGillipatrik Vceanduy (M’tyre) in Achnaba
John McGillipatrik Vceane (M’tyre)
John McNicoll VcEane Glas (M’tyre) in Ardeachaine
Torquil McEane VcDonchie (M’tyre)
John Du McDonche VcEan VcDonchie (M’tyre)
Donald McGillipatrik (M’tyre)
John McEntyre in Crag in Bradalbin (Breadalbane, Perthshire)
and Donald McGillipatrik (M’tyre) in Bar (Barrs, Glen Etive)
for themselves and for all decended and to be decended of their loins and loins of their successors, and (my emphasis) those decended of loins of Gillipatrik McDonill VcEntyre who took division in Lorne from the Laird of Glenurchay and for all those of their race that shall hereafter subscribe to this Bond, all those of the surname McEntire renew bond and tie of service and manrent due to the Lairds of Glenurchay, to John Campbell, younger of Glenurchay, conform to tenor of first Bond.

1660 March 27 (NAS Ref. GD112/24/1/38)

“And” is the operative word here. The eighteen signatories, headed by the chief, Duncan of Glenoe, are clearly the leading men of the clan – but they do not belong to the line of Chief Gillipatrick. This line, for whatever reason, has been disinherited. Perhaps the son and heir was considered unfit for the chiefship, and was overlooked in favour of a near relative? (This was precisely what happened to the line of the Campbells of Glenorchy. Lord Breadalbane’s eldest son, given the courtesy title of Lord Ormelie, was set aside in the succession in favour of his younger brother, Ormelie himself being considered simple-minded).

Preparing a bond of manrent was a bit like plumbing. The lawyer had to ensure that all the lateral pipes, (the branch lines), connected directly at source - to avoid leakage. It was the hallmark of a good lawyer, who also had to double up as a genealogist, that all seals were watertight. This is why the first-named player was so important, and is in fact the whole premise upon which a bond of manrent was written.

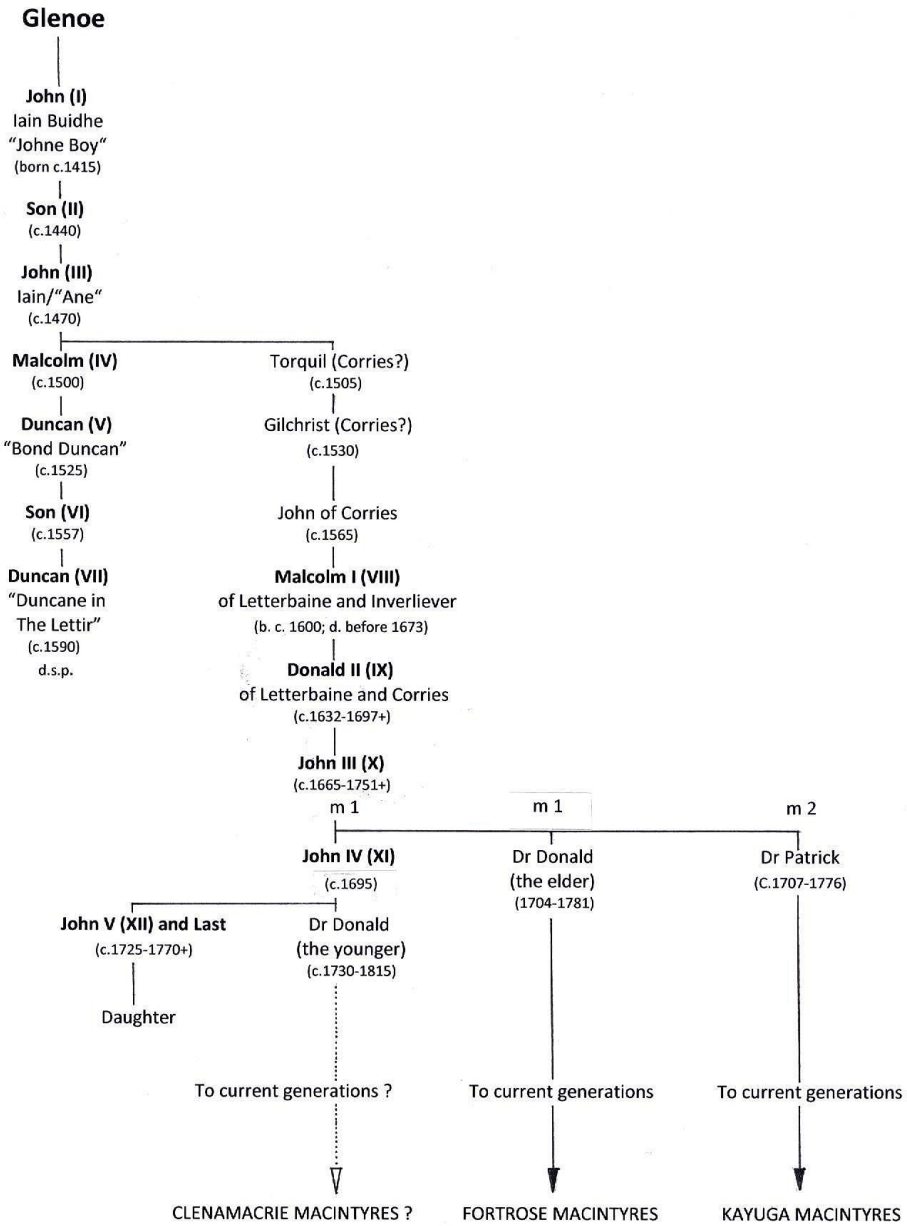
First-named in 1660 was Chief Duncan of Glenoe, and all *his* descendents. In 1556, (in pinning down the branch line of the Clan Iain Macintyres), it was Iain Buidhe and all *his*. As the 1660 document was drawn up in order to rope in the whole clan, all players within Campbell reach are mentioned, including the by now marginalized descendents of Chief Gillipatrick, their lower status within the clan, by that stage, reflected in their position as “also-rans” in the document.

A bond of manrent, in spite of the unequivocal – often draconian - language used, was seldom as final as it sounded – and the more vehement the tone the more unruly the subject of the bond had generally been. Bonds, like alliances, came and went, and were often ignored altogether soon after signing. Even large clans like the MacLeans – bitter enemies of the Campbells – had at one time or another, under duress, signed bonds to them, only to resume hostilities shortly after the ink was dry.

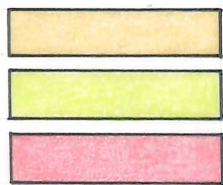
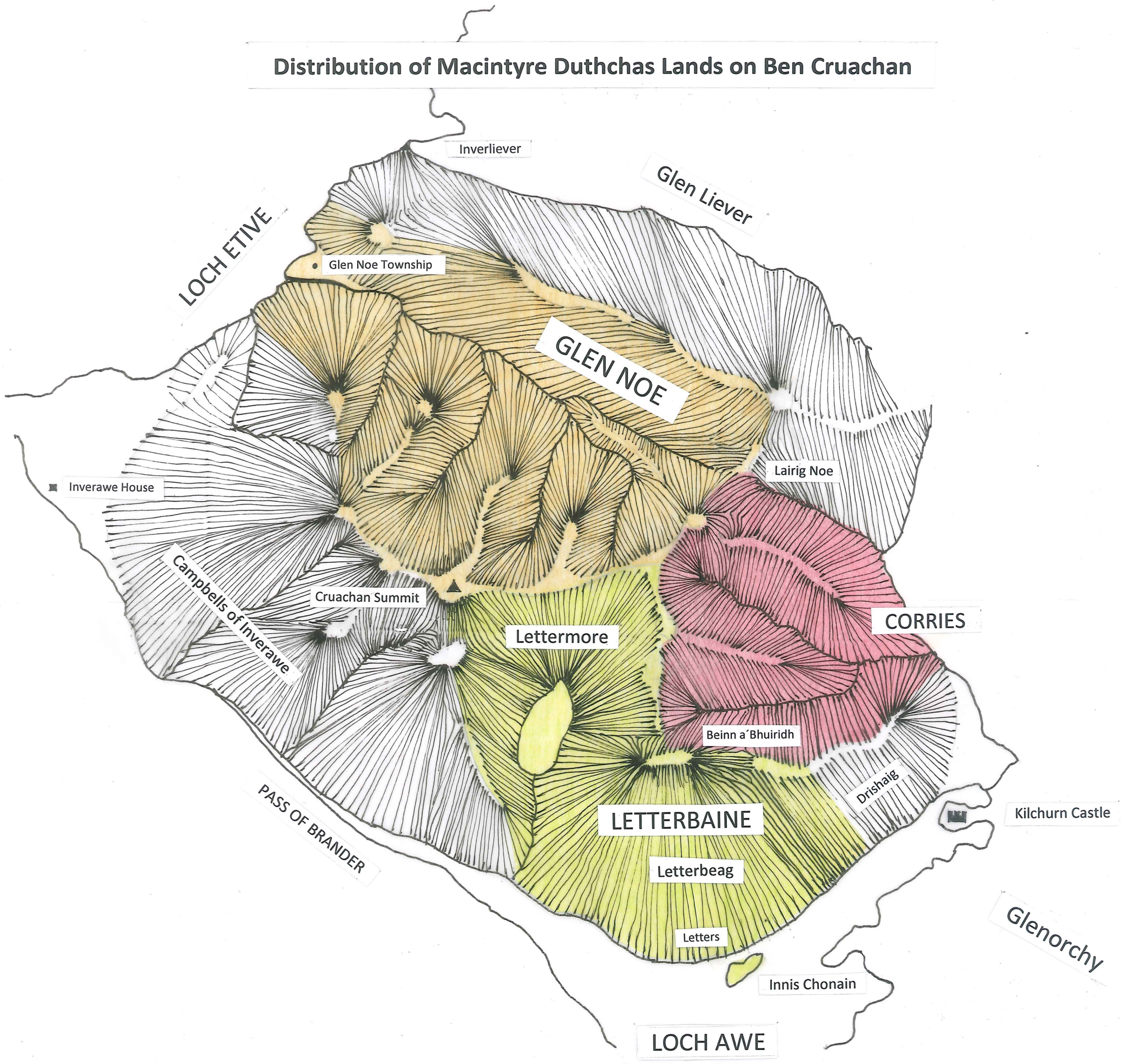
With regard to the 1660 bond, the recurrent name Gillipatrick among the eighteen is puzzling, given the clear distinction made by the document between Chief Gillipatrick’s line and the eighteen themselves. This might be explained by ongoing marriage ties between these two senior lines of the clan, the name of second-born sons reflecting that of maternal grandfathers. Certainly intermarriage was common within the clan at all levels of clan society, and it would be unlikely, given the tensions and complexities affecting the succession over later generations, that the two lines did not intermingle over the course of time.

Martin L Macintyre, in setting out his case for reconciling the legend with historical events, has a different interpretation of the 1660 bond. Readers must decide for themselves.

Letterbaine Chieftains

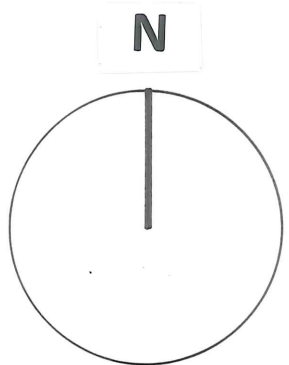


Distribution of Macintyre Duthchas Lands on Ben Cruachan



5 merkland of Glen Noe
 3.5 merkland of Letterbaine
 1 merkland of Corries

("Merkland" denoted land value/productivity rather than acreage)



5 miles

