

Iain / John dubh MacConnochie Campbell

Tutor of Inverawe (circa. 1557-1604)

A 'Captain' with the Islemen in Ireland and Sought as an Agent for Elizabeth of England

Chapter 5

Revised, 4th of September 1998 and June-July 2004. Again in January 2010.

Dougall of Inverawe's younger half-brother Iain, was known on record as John *Dubh*, or dark John. He was even more phlegmatic than their father Archibald. He appears to have plunged keenly into raiding when still in his teens. Then the Elizabethan fears about Spain and Catholic Ireland offered him a way to advance into notorious leadership with the forces of the Islemen supporting the Earl of Tyrone against the English army in Antrim. Brought home through his responsibility as 'Tutor' or guardian for his nephew, Dougall's son Archibald, heir to Inverawe, he served the young Earl of Argyll on various ventures. The only thing he seems to have feared was being landless. Only young Archibald lay between himself and the lands of Inverawe. Meanwhile attempts were made to turn him to betray the Islemen and aid the English in Ireland. In a scheming and blood-laved era, he was ruthless.

John *Dubh* was a highland 'Captain' who was apparently able to raise large numbers of followers to go over to Ireland with the Islemen and Angus MacConnell. The *Dubh* suggests black hair and a black beard. He was a much younger half-brother to the Dougall Campbell of Inverawe who died in circa. 1582-3 and, as 'Tutor,' was guardian of the heir, Dougall and Christian's infant son Archibald.

Although he is variously known as MacConnochie (with various spellings) and John *dubh*, the spelling used here will be John *Dubh* MacConnochie. Judging by his reputation with the Earl of Tyrone, he must have had considerable success in leading Highland 'redshanks' or mercenaries against the Elizabethan forces between 1579 and 1583. The O'Donnell mentioned in the main source of the Calendar of State Papers for Scotland is likely MacDonnell, chief of the southern or Antrim MacDonalds, whose descendants would eventually become earls of Antrim. The O'Neill was by this time Earl of Tyrone, while the then O'Donnell later became Earl of Tyrconnel.

Iain *Dubh* is usually known in record as John *Dubh*. He was the son of a second marriage of his father Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, likely to Margaret, daughter of Campbell of the Ardkinglas family. Activities seemingly related to his parent's marriage contract occur in 1556, so that Iain could have been 18 to 20 when he appears on raids on MacLean lands in 1577 and 1579, after which he could have made his name in Ireland between his 21st year and the age of about 27 when he returned to Inverawe as Tutor.

As presently researched, Iain first appears on record as Tutor of Inverawe in July 1583¹. He had become Tutor following the death of Dougall, who must have died shortly before, since a Gift to James Campbell of Ardkinglas of the Ward and Marriage of Dougall's heir

Archibald was dated at Holyrood on the 28th of December 1583². Dougall's eldest boy had seemingly died young, for in 1566 his heir was Alan but in 1583 it was Archibald, who was a minor. There is a legendary reference to Dougall's castle of Fraoch Eilean on Loch Awe being burned

by one Alan *nan Sop* in Torloisk, a pirate with the Macleans, who hung his wife and children at the gate while Dougall was away at 'Ardchonnell' or perhaps in fact at Innis Chonnell the stronghold of his kinsman of Lochawe, the Earl of Argyll.

Like his contemporary and namesake of the Duart family, Iain *Dubh* left a reputation in tradition and record appropriate to the darkness of his byname which no doubt merely described his looks and black hair. That he was a man of great energy and charismatic leadership, but equally of a bloodthirsty and potentially treacherous disposition is clear from the record. Reading between the lines he may also have been something of a threat to the ladies. Following the death of her husband, Dougall's young widow, Christian Carswell, did not stay on at Inverawe or even at Fraoch Eilean, but took herself off to her brother Archibald at Carnassarie Castle, which he had inherited from his father, Bishop John Carswell in 1572³. Since the heir Archibald does not appear on record at the time as being with his mother or with Iain *Dubh*, he was seemingly with foster parents. This is supported by a traditional tale 'Uncle & Nephew' translated from the Gaelic and published in *Records of Argyll* (1884), in which he was said to have been fostered initially by a family of MacPhersons at Bunawe.

Then in 1588-9, Donald Campbell in Ardeonaig⁴ brought an action against Iain *Dubh* for wrongful ejection of himself and his sons from the lands of Carie, a part of Ardeonaig on the south shore of Loch Tay⁵, and in 1590 he brought another action against his own second wife Agnes Graham for absconding with his goods and with Iain *Dubh* MacConnochie to whom she had borne an illegitimate son.⁶ Agnes and Iain may have later been married, since their sons are not afterwards mentioned as being of born out of wedlock.

In the autumn of 1591 James, Lord Ogilvie of Airlie, put forward a complaint against Argyll and among others Iain *Dubh* for coming into Glen Ilay and murdering a number of people, and for having remained among the hills from where they were committing depredations.⁷ In the same year there was another complaint by Charles Campbell, servant to the Laird of Abercairny, that Iain *Dubh* MacConnochie, Tutor of Inverawe, and others had raided his dwelling place in Breadalbane.⁸ The following year Iain's brothers Duncan and Patrick stole horses and cattle from the lands of Gibnestoun. Then in December 1593, James, son of Campbell of Arngibbon and others interfered with Lennox of Blairshogill while he was holding a Court upon his lands and afterwards a party including 'McCondoquhy Inuerraw's son' broke into his house and then continued to interfere with his tenants for some time afterwards.⁹ While it might be argued that this must have been Archibald the heir rather than Iain or his brother, there is no other evidence of raiding by Archibald, while the action is highly characteristic of Iain's style. Archibald would appear to have been still a child of about ten at this date, having been born after his father's death in circa. 1583. This conclusion is based upon the young age of his mother at the time and the above 'ward and marriage' of 1583.

What is clear from these incidents is that Iain *Dubh* led an unruly group of kin and, although not a Breadalbane, he believed in 'birsing yont,' presumably finding a pastoral life at Inverawe lacking in stimulation or adequate wealth after the exhilaration of campaigning in Ireland. Nine years later some of these incidents would be brought as evidence against Argyll, who protested that Iain was not in fact 'his man.'¹⁰

The Elizabethan intelligence network of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, had evidently reached through Robert Bowes, the English Ambassador to the Scottish Court and his agent Colville, to enlist James Campbell, younger of Lawers, as a field agent for Elizabeth in Scotland.¹¹ James

was the son of John Campbell, second of Lawers, who died before 1611 when James is on record as Laird of Lawers himself. His mother was Beatrix, daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy.¹² He married (contract 21st and 23rd of June 1595) Jean, daughter of James, first Lord Colville of Culross and this relationship with the wily Colville was likely significant in his enlistment as an agent. His eldest son John would be raised to the peerage as Earl of Loudoun in 1633 and serve as Chancellor of Scotland (1641-60).¹³

On the 21st of March 1594, young Lawers wrote to Colville that 'I am this week again to go to the Isles...(where) ... there is but three to dress for our effect,' namely Donald Gorm, Angus MacConnel and MacConnochie [Tutor of] Inverawe. 'To hold MacConnochie to order I have caused my brother-in-law... Glenlyon to give him... dwelling in his lands.'¹⁴ In 1594 Campbell of Glenlyon was 'mad Colin,' third of Glenlyon, who had built the tower of Muggernie in 1582, two years after his father Duncan's death. Colin had married a sister of Sir Duncan of Glenorchy and would die in 1597.¹⁵

Young Lawer's actions, in attempting to reduce Highland and Island support for the Irish fighting Elizabeth of England, were in accord with the policies of his 27 year old king, James VI, but where James was holding back (to avoid spreading the conflict to Scotland?) Lawers was enthusiastic. His motives no doubt combined the inevitable Highlander's need for cash with, perhaps, an ambition to create a good impression upon both Colville and the English administration before the likely union of the crowns when Elizabeth of England died.

In May 1594, Bowes was writing to Burghley that 'Mar has returned from Argyll and has prevailed to stay his personal invasion of Huntly. Nevertheless, MacConnochie gathers Argyll's forces with purpose ... to ride against Huntly.'¹⁶ Then in June he was writing that MacConnochie 'with some of Argyll's forces has come into Huntly's bounds and taken some prey of cattle which was rescued...'¹⁷ Apparently Iain *Dubh*, who had already made a reputation for himself both as a cattle raider in Scotland and as a Captain in Ireland, was also used by Argyll to lead his expeditions. These events were building towards the Battle of Glenlivet on the 3rd of October 1594. Argyll, then 18 and a personal rival of Huntly, was sent ahead by the King and his army to chastise Huntly for his opposition to the reformed Kirk, but found himself chastised.

John Erskine, 2nd Earl of Mar, had been brought up with James VI who called him 'Jockie o' the sclates' for finding his way over the roof into the young king's bedroom. He had succeeded his father at the age of 12 in 1572, joined the 'Ruthven Raiders' and so gone into exile from 1583-85, but now, aged 34, appears to have been back in favour at this point and mediating between Argyll and Huntly. George Gordon, 6th Earl and later 1st Marquess of Huntly, was a man of 32 who had been responsible for the murder of the 'bonnie' Earl of Moray two years earlier. Under pressure from the King after Glenlivet, he would go into exile in 1595, but in 1596 would return and come to terms with James VI, who favoured him despite his Catholic leanings. Archibald *grumach*, 7th Earl of Argyll, was 18 and 19 years old in 1594 and had narrowly escaped death by poisoning two years earlier in the same plot which ended the lives of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor and the Earl of Moray. He would escape death again at Glenlivet, when Campbell of Lochnell's signal to Huntly, showing Argyll's position, resulted in Lochnell's own death instead of the Earl's. Lochnell was next in line should Argyll die without heirs.

In January of the following year, 1594-5, Ambassador Bowes received a covering note from Colville enclosing a letter from Lawers. Colville wrote of Lawers 'you may perceive what service he is minded to do in these Irish matters. He has gone to the Isles and if he cannot stay their 'overgoing' he will cause MacCondochy, who will be one of their chief captains, to keep intelligence with any trusty Irish in that country... Unless you provide [a way to get his intelligence from him in Ireland] I do not see that either the king or the other [Argyll] will take great care of it...'¹⁸ An attempt was being made to enlist Iain *Dubh* as a spy.

Lawers reported that a messenger from O'Neill, O'Donnell and O'Dochertie had come to Argyll on the 8th of January 'desiring to know his estate since the last battle [Glenlivet]. [And] if MacCondochy was slain (as they had heard he was), because he had oft done them good service in Ireland. [They desired that Argyll] be good to his [Iain's] wife and bairns, and to send over such of them as were meet for the wars.' This is the only indication that Iain *dubh* was present at the defeat of Glenlivet, but it would be surprising were he not, considering his other service for Argyll. The plea for Iain *Dubh*'s sons to be sent over to Ireland - if he was dead and they were of age - and the request that Argyll take care of his family, throws an interesting light on Iain's reputation with the Earl of Tyrone and the Highland and Island mercenaries in Ireland.

Those whom young Lawers planned to see in the Isles were Donald Gorm, Clanranald, Angus MacConnell, MacLean of Duart and all Clan Donald, and if he failed to dissuade them from going over to Ireland, he planned to report their numbers and plans, using Iain *Dubh* MacConnochie as his agent. He ended by suggesting that he himself should go over and join the Elizabethan forces with 500 men.¹⁹

Lawers was in touch with Colville again on the 4th of February 1595 when he informed him that MacConnochie 'and other Chieftains accustomed to go over to Ireland ... are even now pressed by this new order against them to seek relief for themselves and broken men and go, 3000 of them, to Ireland...'²⁰

Then on the first day of April 1595, Colville wrote to the Ambassador passing on further news from Lawers in the Isles that ‘great travail is made to make concord betwixt MacLean and MacConnel by marriages between their sons and daughters’ and all with the intention of forming a unity before going over to Ireland. ‘As to MacConnochie, who is the Chieftain, he keeps him with... (Glenlyon) ...for without him there can be no great matter enterprised...’²¹

On the 7th of April, Lawers himself reported to Colville: ‘I have been occupied ... in dealing with MacConnochie who this last week has received advertisement from O’Donnell and O’Neill willing him to come to Ireland with 400 men. These MacConnochie himself has presently in readiness...but remains stayed by me.’ The same messenger who came to Iain *Dubh* had also asked Argyll for 1,200 men to be sent over in May.²² Argyll was to discuss the matter with his friends on the 20th of April, but had not taken action by the 3rd of June 1595 when another of the English Ambassador’s agents, George Nicholson, reported that he had heard from young Lawers that ‘Argyll is drawn by persuasion of Angus MacConnel...to send out of a number ... into Ireland ... under Duncan Campbell of Danna...’

But Lawers was getting tired of taking all the trouble for no reimbursement or recognition and sent Bowes a message that if all he had done was not ‘considered reasonably to him ... you will not further look for any more dealings therein at his hands, but plainly give him leave to trouble himself no further therein.’²³

The truth may also have been that despite the land (presumably only a tack) which Lawers had provided for Iain *Dubh* himself, and the further place he had got Glenlyon to provide him, Iain was being swayed by the flattery of being asked for by O’Donnell and O’Neill, by the old glamour of leading on the battlefield, by the impatience of his followers and hopefully by a distaste for the idea of betraying his old comrades in arms. Lawers was losing his control over Iain *Dubh*.

On the 23rd of June 1595, Nicholson had significant news for Ambassador Bowes; ‘...Argyll tells me that MacConnochie has gone from him and intends to go to Ireland. The Earl sent for him but he would not come ‘till he gave assurance that he would not hurt or stay him. Whereupon he came to the Earl and received armour and other things ‘on’ him so that the Earl thought he had won him. But suddenly he sought to have some lands. The Earl not granting these, he departed without leave or farewell, insomuch that the Earl means, if he can get him, that he shall neither hurt us nor him. He is a most brave governor for the Highland service, and Argyll thinks these men ‘making over’ [to Ireland] have twisted him [Iain *Dubh*] from the Earl to lead them. It may be that young Lawers keeps him for his own use. But that I know not, though I am sure they are very ‘inward’ and kind together.’ Later in the same letter he mentions that those leading 2,000 men to Ireland are Donald *Gorm* and Angus MacConnel.²⁴

Then in another letter two days later he adds; ‘As to young Lawers, I see no progress...I suppose for want of consideration of his travails already taken. And MacConnochie is to

go over, I hear, [to Ireland] with very great credit. He might, if he would, do good, and for certain Lawers has especial interest in him and in Angus MacConnells sons.'²⁵

Failure to obtain land from Argyll may have thrown Iain back upon Lawers, for in early July, Nicholson was writing that Lawers had told him that '...for certain 3,000 are prepared to go out of the Isles to Tyrone... that MacConnochie is tempted and prepared to go, and that nevertheless he can stay him - or cause him to be for her Majestie's service. But, because it must be with some [financial] charge, he will not deal therein until he sees how he shall be relieved again otherwise than he has been. the Chief [men] of the Islands are at convention in Kintyre and purpose... to get over some men to Tyrone...'²⁶

Then on the 19th of July 1595, Nicholson was writing to Ambassador Bowes that '... they still write earnestly out of Ireland for MacConnochie to Argyll, not knowing that Argyll is out with him.'²⁷ The more that the Irish called for Iain *dubh* the more Lawers could use his potential to elicit funds from the English and in this he seems to have been successful for a second time, for on the 24th of July yet another agent, John Archibald, was writing to Bowes that 'Angus MacConnel has likewise sent for MacConnochie to be in readiness to pass with him. But young Lawers, who has lately received your token (of 100 angels), has gone to him for staying of his journey.'²⁸

Meanwhile the navy of the Islemen, consisting of about one hundred and twenty vessels, small and large, and containing 2,400 men, had left Kintyre on Monday the 21st of July 1595 for the Isle of Man, from where they were said to plan a landing in Ireland. Archibald reported further that 'The haill principallis of the Iyllis' are in this army, Donald *Gorm* MacLeod of Harris and MacLeod of Lewis, the Captain of Clanranald with another clan, called Clan Ian [from Ardnamurchan], which are 'ane disordowrit kynd of peipill.' Angus MacConnell had not gone but had sent 500 men under his son while he stayed behind to persuade MacLean to go with him. If he did not follow the fleet to Ireland, they were expected to return north to him.'²⁹

Angus MacConnell evidently did arrive in Ireland but did not stay long, being dissatisfied with the failure of O'Donnel and O'Neill to meet his conditions. On the 22nd of August 1595 the agent Archibald was writing to Nicholson that Angus had 'retired from Ireland with the loss of the most part of his best men.' He went on to report that Argyll had informed the King of the fact and proposed to force Angus to 'repair of some injuries done to his friends' or he would invade his lands.³⁰ Iain *Dubh* was still being sent for and yet still being held by the persuasion of Lawers.

In the middle of October 1595, Nicholson had seemingly got instructions from Bowes to bypass Lawers and meet with Iain *Dubh* face-to-face. However, he did not hold out much hope of success because 'I cannot think that Mar's promise without some comfort will draw that party to the matter; for you know these people will not play for nothing but will have something in hand.'³¹ What Mar's promise was is not clear, but by October Iain *Dubh* was causing trouble to one of John Earl of Mar's tenants, John Fraser in 'Lochanis' [Lochness presumably] by running off with some of his goods,³² and on the 3rd of November, Iain *dubh* was at Auchindun in Banffshire as one of three cautioners for Alexander McRanald of Keppoch.³³ Cautioners were usually named by the subject, so that this indicates a trust of Iain *Dubh* by Keppoch.

However, by the 28th Iain was probably back in Argyll or Perthshire where he joined with his brother Patrick and with Patrick Campbell of [or in] Achallader in bringing an action against Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch and others for ‘spoliations’ of the lands and barony of Glenorchy.³⁴ But on the 2nd of December he himself was put to the horn with John Dow McGilliquhonell and Patrick McAwish [McTavish] for ‘spoilation of the dwelling and toun’ (steading) belonging to Charles Campbell of Ardeonaig in Breadalbane.³⁵

Yet still young Lawers persisted in his efforts to milk the English of whatever he could on the strength of Iain *Dubh*. On the 16th of March 1595-6 Bowes, the English Ambassador, was writing to Sir Robert Cecil, then 32 years old and acting as assistant to his aging father Lord Burghley who, at 75, was still chief minister of Elizabeth’s government. Cecil may already have been made the Queen’s secretary by this date. The Ambassador described how Lawers had offered the services of MacConnochie either to lead his company on the Elizabethan side in Ireland or ‘by secret policies and discoveries to give advantage to her Majestie’s forces for the surprise of the rebels. And that for the accomplishment of the same with all sincerity MacConnochie will deliver up his only son in hostage to young Lawers. Upon the execution of his services, MacConnochie looks to be bountifully rewarded in that thereby he shall sell Ireland and all his friends therein and live in dangerous feud at home. How I shall entertain ... this offer it may please you to direct me speedily.’³⁶ Whether the ‘only son’ referred to here was the only legitimate son John [likely known as ‘Iain og’] John *Dubh* had by his second wife Barbara Graham, is not clear, but he certainly had other sons born before this date.

Bowes was writing to Cecil again on the 18th of April 1596 with the news that although Tyrone and O’Donnell appeared to be submitting to Elizabeth, ‘yet they call for MacConnochie to come to them with his companies in readiness being above a thousand men ... It is again offered that the two chieftains of these numbers prepared to pass to the aid of the rebels in Ireland shall be at her Majesty’s devotion and to perform especial service for her before they shall require any ... reward of her. For that ... they offer two hostages to be delivered to me. They are in such readiness as they cannot long delay their passage into Ireland and thereby they press me much to give them resolute answer ... which I beseech your Honour hasten to me with expedition.’³⁷

The second chieftain besides Iain *dubh* would appear to have been ‘Archibald Rowee, base son of Angus MacConnell’, who was to be ‘general colonel’ leading his 1,000 while John led the other 1,000. One suspects that ‘rowee’ was an attempt at the Gaelic *ruadh*. Another 1,000 had already gone to Ireland accompanied by some of Lawers agents. This news was contained in Bowes’ letter of the 18th of May 1596 and continued; ‘...MacConnochie is still pressed to come with all expedition and before the full end of this month, otherwise the place and pay reserved to him will be lost ... In case her Majesty please not to accept... their offers and service, then they shall be driven to resort to O’Donnell with Archibald Rowee as is desired.’³⁸

But despite the urgent pleas, the summer came and with it no firm direction from Cecil. The son whom Iain was prepared to put up as hostage appears to have an elder brother

called Duncan, for on the 15th of July 1596, Alexander, Master of Elphinstone, produced a Complaint against Argyll for 'heirschipis' committed by his servants including, with four MacGregors, Iain *Dubh* MacConnochie Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe, Duncan Campbell his son, Patrick MacConnochie brother to the said Iain *dubh*, and Lachlan Campbell, his brother's son.³⁹

Almost a year later, on the 8th of June 1597, Iain has three sons when he visits Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy at Finlarig. Young Lawers appears to have given up his attempts at being a broker of mercenaries and Iain *Dubh*'s patronage is escalated to Sir Duncan who then gave an Obligation to 'John Dow McCondichie alias Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe... that as soon as John Dow becomes the King's man and is under sic obedience, he will grant him letters of maintenance. John Dow, taking burden for his three young sons presently minors; Dougall [Duncan?], Lachlan and John *Dubh* MacConnochie, alias Campbell, and for Patrick MacConnochie in Auchreoch, brother to the said John Dow, binds them to defend Sir Duncan of Glenorchy.'⁴⁰

On the 4th of August 1597, an inventory was compiled of writs delivered to Argyll by Iain *Dubh* 'McDonachie' Tutor of Inverawe concerning the lands of Ardeonaig.⁴¹ While John continued to be known as 'Tutor of Inverawe' even after his death, it is not yet clear when the heir, Archibald of Inverawe succeeded. He is mentioned in January of this same year, 1596-7 in a Gift by Argyll to Glenorchy of the Keeping of the Forest of Cruachan except four merklands of Inverawe and half merkland of 'Brandir' [Branrie] which, with the pertinents belong to 'Archibald Makconnoquhie,' but without any 'of Inverawe' so Archibald was then still a minor.⁴² Had he been born in 1583, he would have been 14 or 15 in 1596-97.

On the 19th of August 1598, Sir Robert Cecil wrote to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. Cecil's father, Lord Burghley, had recently died, leaving him at the head of the government for Elizabeth of England.⁴³ Sir Duncan was then a man in his mid forties who had succeeded his father in 1583 and been Knighted in 1590.⁴⁴ Two of his granddaughters would marry successive Lairds of Inverawe, Iain *Dubh*'s grand-nephew and his son.⁴⁵ The letter concerned 'MacConnochie's service in Ireland' and concluded; 'I do promise that if by his means that he performed there shall be [£]1,000 disposed at your direction.'⁴⁶ While this seems to make clear that John *Dubh* had not yet returned to Ireland and was now subject to Glenorchy's organizing rather than to Lawers, there is a complicating note made by Nicholson writing to Cecil on the 30th; 'and MacConnochie is MacLean's, yet for your hire may be theirs.'⁴⁷ The one previous direct record of a connection between MacLean of Duart and MacConnochie was on the 17th of July 1583 when John Campbell, 'Tutor of Inverawe' is named as Baillie in a charter by Lauchlan of Duart to Colin Campbell of Lundy of an annual rent.⁴⁸

Meanwhile, Iain *Dubh* was helping to support his family with a little protection money. At a Court held at Kenmore on the 21st of November 1598, John McTierlich was procurator for John pursuing John McConnel vic Tierlich for seventy merks promised to

Iain *Dubh* 'to be free of his molestation for his [par]taking with the clantierlach ane year syne.' The defender was ordered to make payment before St. Patrick's day.⁴⁹ But Iain's relations with clan Tierlach, the descendants of Craignish who are now represented by the Inverneill family, would reach their climax the following year when, on the 7th of April 1599, he and his brother Patrick and others 'of the name' committed an act of barbarity containing elements of ancient Celtic ritual. They slaughtered Patrick Campbell, brother of Thomas Campbell, alias M'Cairlich, at the head of Glenalmond and, cutting his head from his body, carried it before them upon a staff.⁵⁰

In a Bond dated on the 22nd of April 1601 there is mention of 'John Dow McCondochy VcGregor in Inneraw and others.'⁵¹ This may either be a mistake or in fact refer to an Inverawe tenant McGregor, Ian son of Duncan son of Gregor. Iain *Dubh*'s father had been Archibald Campbell of Inverawe whose wife was Margaret Campbell in 1558 and 1567. The eldest surviving son, Dougall, appears to have been born in about 1518 and had a son of his own alive by 1566, so Iain *Dubh* was a son of the second marriage of his father, seemingly to a daughter of Ardkinglass, a conjecture supported by both Ardkinglass being given ward and marriage of young Archibald, Iain *Dubh*'s nephew, and by Ardkinglass consulting a daughter of Inverawe as a witch over the Cawdor murder in 1592.⁵² However if this was Iain *Dubh* with VcGragor added in error, the mention of his being 'in' rather than 'of' Inverawe is, of course, more correct since he was never in fact 'of' Inverawe.

Iain *Dubh* was still very much alive on the 31st of January 1602, when the Earl of Argyll, being present at the Privy Council with the Laird of Glenorchy, made promise of three hundred men for service with the Elizabethans in Ireland and nominated Iain *Dubh* MacConnochie of (sic) Inverawe, Alastair MacIain Og McMaurich 'of Glencoe' and Patrick Campbell, brother to the Laird of Glenlyon to be their Captains. These three gentlemen make an interesting combination, considering the events of ninety years later when refugees from Glenlyon in Glencoe would seek succour on Inverawe lands. Twelve other Chiefs were to send an hundred men each, except the Laird of McGregor who would send 50 and The Captain of Clanranald who would send 200.⁵³

On the 6th of February 1602, Nicholson sent a copy of the Privy Council minutes to Cecil with a covering letter reporting that the levies were arranged 'with very great care and dilligence in the King both for good and choice of men for the service and for faithful and honest men, and for secret bonds to be taken of their chiefs to tie them thereunto. In which he was the more careful for that he saw an unwillingness in some of those Islanders to be employed against that people [their former allies the free Irish]...' He also reported that some of his Council might rather have seen the troops sent against Spain instead of the Irish. Further, Glenorchy had told the King that 'one of his country whom he meant to have employed had plainly protested (that) though the King, Argyll and he should force them to go, yet they would not serve against that people they were come of (folk-memory of Dalriadic origins?) and whose language was one with theirs but be true to them against the Saxons (English) ...'⁵⁴ Perhaps Iain *Dubh*, by now presumably an older man, had not been Glenorchy's first choice.

Archibald, the heir of Inverawe, had a tack of the fourth part of Balliveodan on the 24th of May 1603 for 19 years, granted by Neill, Bishop of Argyll, who had married Christian Carswell, his mother.⁵⁵ Had he been born in 1582-83, Archibald would have been about 20 years old at the time. The first record of Archibald as 'of' Inverawe is in a Bond dated the 19th of April 1607 'by Archibald MacConnochie alias Campbell of Inverawe obliging himself because of friendships that have always existed between the house of Glenorchy and his predecessors to be a faithful friend and servant to the said Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy; and the latter reciprocates the Obligation.'⁵⁶ It is likely that this document, the equivalent of a bond of manrent, was arranged by Sir Duncan shortly after Archibald succeeded to Inverawe. Iain/John *dubh*'s death must have happened between his appearance as a Captain for Argyll in 1602 and 1607, since on the 29th of August of that year, 1607, a Bond was dated at Stirling for 500 merks to Barbara Graham, as 'widow' of 'John Campbell Tutor of Inverawe.'⁵⁷ The relationship of Barbara Graham to John's earlier (hand-fast?) wife Agnes Graham is not clear.

Archibald, of Inverawe, if born in 1583, would have turned 21 in the year 1604. In the story of 'Uncle and Nephew' in *Records of Argyll*, the tradition is translated from the Gaelic of one Lizzie Campbell in Inverawe, that Archibald was invited to Inverawe by his uncle upon his coming of age. When a dogfight in the hall laid bare a dagger under the heavy cloth by the uncle's place, Archibald's servant warned him to flee back to Carnassarie. But when the uncle discovered their escape he gave chase and gained upon them. The servant is said to have told Archibald that 'If you do not kill him, he will kill you.' Archibald put an arrow to his bow and was obliged to kill his uncle in self-defense. Iain *Dubh* is said to have been buried under the small cairn known as 'Carn Mhic Connachie' upon the ridge between Awe and Nant. The site of the cairn is in keeping with the legend and can be seen beside the forest track on the ridge between Awe and Nant today.⁵⁸

As a postscript to Iain *Dubh*'s life it is interesting that his widow Barbara Graham appears to have been an astute woman who invested her funds wisely. Besides the Stirling Bond there was another from the same Shaw of Knockhill in 1609⁵⁹ and she was collecting 1,000 merks from Hugh MacDougall of Craiganich on Lismore in 1618.⁶⁰ The Craiganich family were the surviving branch of the MacDougalls of Raray who had sold out to Breadalbane, no doubt under some pressure of debt, and had a tack of Craiganich on Lismore. Barbara also got a Bond from the heir of Buchanan of that Ilk for 1,000 pounds Scots in 1625.⁶¹ In all these her son John is to be her heir. This might suggest that Iain *dubh*'s earlier sons were by his first wife Agnes Graham. On the 6th of September 1623 John, son of the deceased 'John Campbell, Tutor of Inverawe,' became contracted to marry Margaret McClellan, widow of William McClellan of Mullok and a daughter of McClellan of Bombie.⁶²

Iain *Dubh*'s other sons continued in his style for a time and in the records of the Privy Council for November 1613 there is a Complaint by Alexander Colquhoun of Luss against the Earl of Argyll and certain persons who are alleged to be his tenants and who remain unrelaxed from the horn for murders and thefts committed by them. Among the defendants are Archibald MacDonnachie Campbell, son of the Tutor of Inverawe [in fact presumably Archibald of Inverawe himself], Archibald's brother [in fact Iain *Dubh*'s son]

Dougall, Lachlan MacDonnachie Campbell [presumably Iain *dubh*'s brother Patrick's son], Duncan his brother who was servitor to Archibald, Patrick MacDonnachie Campbell, brother to Iain *dubh*, Archibald McEwne MacDonnachie Campbell in Achacharne, Duncan McEwne MacDonnachie Campbell servant to Inverawe and Duncan McOLOUR MacDonnachie Campbell. The Earl was 'assoilized' [cleared] of responsibility after declaring an oath that the said rebels were not his tenants or such persons for whom he ought to answer.⁶³

The MacConnochie's of Achacharne or Achacha in Benderloch are a branch of the kindred about whom little is known. Archibald of Inverawe's grandson Archibald of Inverawe who died in 1705 was, in the late 17th century, responsible for winding up their affairs, the place being sold to his first cousin Breadalbane and he himself being responsible for the future of young Archibald of Achacha. [A paper on Achacha / Acha will appear in vol.5 of this work]

Considering that in 1603 the MacGregors, led by Alastair MacGregor of Glenstrae, had killed eighty Colquhouns at the Battle of Glenfruin, and how Iain *Dubh* had Gregorach among his colleagues in arms, one suspects that his sons may either have been involved with the Gregorach there, or taken their part in revenge for the subsequent execution of Glenstrae in 1604. Glenfruin resulted in a stepping-up of the persecution of the Gregorach which had begun with the commission of fire and sword to Argyll in February 1592-93.

The Archibald said to be 'son of the Tutor of Inverawe' was likely in fact Archibald of Inverawe himself, there being no other mention of an Archibald son of the Tutor. One cannot help wondering how he viewed the wildness of Iain *dubh*'s legacy to him. Were the story of Archibald's killing of his uncle true, which seems highly likely (see the separate paper on the subject), He would have had to return to Inverawe immediately after the killing of his uncle Iain *dubh* and informed Iain's brother Patrick and the household of their boys that he had killed their brother, father and uncle, and that he was now their leader. To hold their loyalty might have meant taking part in a raid such as the Glen Fruin event. One is also left wondering about his relationship with Iain's sons. The youngest, John, was taken away by the departing widow, Barbara.

The above incident is one of the few examples of a 'clan raid' in the Victorian sense of being carried out as a unit by related men, which appears in the records of the Inverawe family. Most of Iain *Dubh*'s followers having presumably been from all the 'names' of his district since there were never very many of the Inverawe/MacConnachy kindred themselves, comparatively speaking. Of those named in this raid, only Archibald of Inverawe's uncle Patrick appears again in any of the currently researched documents, and then agreeing to Archibald's decisions. It is possible that Patrick, who was 'in Auchroch' in 1597,⁶⁴ may have been the same as the Patrick Campbell in Duchollie whose son Dougall gave Archibald of Inverawe's son Dougall sasine in 1633.

A further possibility yet to be investigated, is how many of these MacConnochie's ended up among the MacConnochie tenants in brought onto the temporarily forfeited Largie MacDonald lands in Kintyre after the defeat of Alastair MacColla in the 1640s. A

number of such families appear as tenants on the lands of Argyll in Kintyre when listed in 1792.⁶⁵ It is also possible that the ‘rebels’ of the family left Argyll for Ireland where there are MacConnochies to this day, although there the name is often spelt ‘MacConaughy.’ No descendants of the marriage of young John MacConnochie, ‘Iain og’ in Gaelic, and the lady of Mullock have as yet been found. There is a possibility that the MacConnochies of Meadowbank descend from him.

END NOTES:

Chapter 5

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