Researchers’ notes

Clan McLean in the Jacobite Risings

Version 2 – September 2017

www.christinaanddonaldmclean.com

This is one of a series of 38 articles which should to be read in conjunction with each other. Look at ‘Setting the Scene’, in Small Print on the left of the homepage, for a list of all these articles and explanations of some concepts being used. Also see ‘Overview of Donald’s life’ for summaries of each of the notes.

Of particular relevance to this article are:-

03. ‘Chiefs of Clan Maclean’: The Duart line.
05. ‘The Macleans in Ardgour’;
06. ‘The Lairds of Blaich’.

Summary – purpose & highlights

Donald McLean was born in 1779 in Blaich which is in Ardgour in the Western Highlands. He leased Duisky Estate, near Blaich, on the southern shores of Loch Eil. In 1837, he migrated to South Australia with his wife, Christina nee McPhee, and 10 children.

The Jacobite uprising was a series of conflicts between England and Scotland for the control of Scotland. This was from the late 1600s, continued for half a century, and reached the climax in 1746 when England asserted its dominance at the battle of Culloden and the subsequent reprisals which devastated Highland communities.

In these notes, we try to identify the involvement of the Macleans in all this. So far, we have concluded that the Maclean families around Blaich were probably not as directly caught up in these events as the Campbells across the other side of the narrow Loch Eil, nor as involved as some Macleans from other parts of the Highlands and Isles.

Donald was born 33 years after Culloden but the memories would have still be prominent in the conversations of the adults around him (particularly his grand parents’ generation) and the consequences of the reprisals were still being played out as Donald grew up.

The pre-cursers

The power struggles between Scotland and England were being fought out long before they came to head again in Jacobite uprisings.

- 1609 - Statutes of Icolmkill in Iona: This agreement was an attempt to bring peace and sound governance to the Isles after centuries of battles between Scotland and England, between the clans, and within the clans. The chiefs of most of the clans – including the Macleans, concurred with the statutes, but under duress. They reluctantly acknowledged the authority of the King of England over Scotland. For more details about the statutes, have a look at our notes on the 15th Chief in ‘Chiefs of Clan Maclean’. As can be seen by the following, the statutes did not end the conflicts straight away but it was a major step in a direction which did not reach its ultimate goal – the subjugation of the Scots – until one and half centuries later.
- 1639 to 1651 - The Wars of the Three Kingdoms: Conflict was not only between Scotland and England, but also involved Ireland.
- 1645 - Battle of Inverlochy: Sir Lachlan Maclean, 17th Chief of Duarts, commanded the other Highland clans as royalists at the Battle of Inverlochy when Montrose defeated Argyll. This is described in our ‘Chiefs of Clan Maclean’.
1688: James II was deposed and the thrones of Scotland and England were claimed by his daughter Mary II jointly with her husband, the Dutch-born William of Orange (who was also James II’s nephew) (ref: Wikipedia). This prompted attempts to restore the Stuart kings to the thrones.

1689 – Battle of Killiecrankie: John Maclean of Duart, the 20th Chief “who, like his predecessors, was devotedly attached to the house of Stuart, raised his clan in the Revolution, and joining Lord Dundee, participated in the battle and victory in Killiecrankie” (Burke v3 p648). This marked the beginning of the Jacobite Uprisings.

1691 – Glencoe: The Campbells, who were loyal to the government of King William III in London massacred the MacDonalds who were aligned with the Scottish royals.

Trade ‘battles’ – the Darian Scheme in the late 1690s: This was an attempt by the Kingdom of Scotland to become a world trading nation by establishing a colony called ‘Caledonia’ on the Isthmus of Panama. It was backed by 25–50% of all the money circulating in Scotland. It was a debacle because of poor management, disease, and trade blockades by the English and East India Company and it finally collapsed in 1700 after a siege by Spanish forces. “Its failure left the entire Lowlands almost completely ruined and was an important factor in weakening their resistance to the Act of Union in 1707” (Wikipedia).

Parliamentary ‘battles’: “When the English parliament named the House of Hanover as the successor to Queen Anne they did so without consulting with the Scottish parliament. Since the time of James VII & II the ruler of Scotland and England had been the same but they ruled two separate thrones and two separate countries. So, now the English parliament had decided the successor without asking Scotland. In response Scotland passed the Act of Security in 1704 – this allowed the Scottish parliament to choose their own successor” (dried1746 in Culloden Battlefield website). This was countered in 1705 by the English parliament with the Alien Act “which basically blocked Scottish imports into England and treated any Scottish nationals in England as foreign nationals, or aliens ... and any property they owned would be ‘alien property’. This would mean that a line of inheritance would not be guaranteed which could lead to Scottish landowners losing their estates in England. In order to avoid the Alien Act being put into place, there was a provision that it would be suspended if Scotland began negotiations into a proposed union of Scotland and England. To sweeten the deal England also offered to help financially by refunding some of Scotland’s losses in the ill-fated Darien scheme. Ultimately, it can be viewed that the Alien Act achieved its aim as just two years later the Act of Union was in place and England and Scotland united as Great Britain” (dried1746).

The first uprising

This became known as the ‘first Jacobite rebellion’ or “the fifteen’.

1714: The House of Hanover succeeded to the British throne and the risings continued and intensified.

1715 – Battle of Sherriffmuir: The 20th Chief “again raised his clan, under the banner of the dethroned family and joining the Earl of Marr, was with that nobleman at the battle of Sherriffmuir” (Burke v3 p648). The Earl of Mar was John Erskine, (23rd/6th Earl of Mar).

The Macleans “suffered upon that occasion the same penalty with the other clans who had been induced to take a part in that unfortunate expedition” (Skene p213).

Duncan Forbes aided the Hanoverian cause during this unsuccessful Jacobite rebellion. Duncan was Lord Culloden, a Scottish politician, judge and President of the Court of Session (ref: Wikipedia).

The second uprising

This became known as ‘the second Jacobite rebellion’ or ‘the forty-five’.

Charles Edward Stuart (b1720, d 1788), also known as the Young Pretender and Bonnie Prince Charlie, tried to claim the British throne. He was born and raised in Rome.

When he was 25 years old, the Bonnie Prince tried to invade England with French support. But this failed when a storm scattered the fleet and resulted with him landing with only seven companions at Eriskay in the Outer Hebrides on 23rd July 1745 (Wikipedia). He was left to raise an army is Scotland.

“He travelled to the mainland in a small rowing boat, coming ashore at Loch nan Uamh” (Wikipedia). This is 13 miles west of Glenfinnan.

“On arrival on the Scottish mainland, he was met by a small number of MacDonalds. He waited at Glenfinnan for a number of days as more MacDonalds, Camerons, Macfies and MacDonnells arrived” (Wikipedia).

“The strength of the Prince’s force was, first, the MacDonalds. On August 16, Keppoch had cut off two companies of the Royal Scots near Loch Lochy. But the chief of Glengarry was old and waverling; young Glengarry, captured on his way from France, could not be with his clan; his young brother AEneas led till his
accidental death after the battle of Falkirk. Of the Camerons it is enough to say that their leader was the gentle Lochiel, and that they were worthy of their chief. The Macphersons came in rather late, under Cluny. The Frazer were held back by the crafty Lovat, whose double-dealing, with the abstention of Macleod (who was sworn to the cause) and of Macdonald of Sleat, ruined the enterprise. Clan Chattan was headed by the beautiful Lady Mackintosh, whose husband adhered to King George. Of the dispossessed Macleans, some 250 were gathered (under Maclean of Drimnin), and of that resolute band some fifty survived Culloden. These western clans (including 220 Stewarts of Appin under Ardshiel) were the steel point of Charles’s weapon; to them should be added the Macgregors under James Mor, son of Rob Roy, a shifty character but a hero in fight.” (ref: Andrew Lang, “A short History of Scotland, 1911, ch 33).

• Glenfinnan: “On 19 August 1745, Charles raised the standard at Glenfinnan. This attracted about 1,200 men, mostly of Clan MacDonald of Clan Ranald, Clan MacDonell of Glengarry, Clan MacDonald of Keppoch, and Clan Cameron. They marched south from Glenfinnan, increasing to almost 3,000 men, though two chieftains insisted on pledges of compensation before joining” (Wikipedia).

• “The 1200 men who had gathered at Glenfinnan marched south from Glenfinnan, increasing to almost 3,000 men” (ref: Wikipedia). They went along the northern shores of Loch Eil, with overnight stays at Kinlocheil and Fessfern.


• Fessfern: “The Jacob army stayed overnight as Fessfern (Bonnie Prince Charlie’s bed is now in the West Highland Museum). In the garden he picked the rose that became the White Cockade emblem of the Jacobites” (http://www.kilmallie.org.uk/about-kilmallie/kilmallie-timeline).

• Battle of Prestonpans – In September 1745: The Bonnie Prince defeated the only government army in Scotland which was led by General Sir John Cope (Wikipedia).

• By November, Charles was marching south at the head of approximately 6,000 men (Wikipedia). Which clans were involved as the Bonnie Prince’s army gathered potency as they stormed their way to London?

• “They took Carlisle, then progressed to Swarkestone Bridge in Derbyshire. Here, despite Charles’ objections, his council decided to return to Scotland, given the lack of English and French support and rumours that large government forces were being amassed. The Jacobites marched north once more.” (Wikipedia)

• Battle of Falkirk Muir – January 1746: This was the last Jacobite success.

• Battle of Culloden on 16th April 1746:- After Falkirk, the Jacobites were pursued by King George II’s son, the Duke of Cumberland, who caught up with them at Culloden. The Jacobite’s were finally defeated, just 9 months after the Bonnie Prince had landed in Eriskay. This ended any realistic hope of a Stuart restoration.
Culloden

- The battle is described in many resources, including JP MacLean and Fryer.
- The following diagram, sourced from the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, shows the Macleans front and centre of the battle lines.

![Diagram showing Macleans front and centre of the battle lines.]

- Our analysis, based on the New World Encyclopedia (NWE), is as follows:
  - In the battle, there were 5400 Jacobites against 8000 Cumberland's Army.
  - Centre of the first line - 1760 men commanded by Lord John Drummond:
    - They comprised a regiment of 290 men from the MacLachlan & MacLean clans according to NWE. (Lang stated that there were 250 under Maclean of Drimnin)
    - They were under the command of Lachlan MacLachlan, (Chief of Clan MacLachlan and aide de camp to the Prince) – he was killed in the battle
    - Charles MacLean of Drimnin was second-in-command – he was also killed in the battle – and also two of his sons.
    - A Clan MacLeod Unit of 120 men, under Malcolm MacLeod of Raasay was attached to the MacLachlan-Maclean regiment.
  - On one side were 750 from the clans of Fraser, Chattan, MacGillivray, MacIntosh and Farquharson, and on the other side were 350 of the Edinburgh and Chisolm regiments
  - Right wing of the first line - 1150 men from the clans of Athol, Stewart and Cameron (including some MacFie)
  - Left wing of the first line - 900 men from clans MacDonald and MacDonnell
  - Second line – 1190 with clans Angus and Gordon and regiments from France and Ireland.
  - Third line – 400 men of Kilmarnock and others
- JP Maclean has a slightly different listing of where the various clans were located, but still placed the Macleans in the thick of it all (JP Maclean p216).
- From NWE we have listed the clans, on the front line:

  - MacDonnell = 200 + 420 = 620
  - Atholl/Murray = 500
  - Cameron = 400
  - Fraser/Lovet = 400
  - Chattan/MacGillvray = 350
  - MacLachlan/Maclean = 290
  - Stewart = 250
  - Farquharson = 250
  - Edinburgh = 200
  - MacDonald/Clanranald = 200
  - Chisolm = 150
  - McLeod = 120
  - Grant = 80

Thus, Clans MacDonnell, Atholl/Murray, Cameron, Fraser/Lovet & Chattan/MacGillvray comprised 60% of the front line and the MacLachlan/Macleans were 8% of the front line.
• Duncan Forbes, was Lord Culloden, a Scottish politician, judge and President of the Court of Session (ref: Wikipedia). “His loyalty to the Hanoverian king George II of Great Britain contributed markedly to the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion” (Encyclopaedia Britannica)
  o In 1715 he had aided the Hanoverian cause during the unsuccessful Jacobite rebellion of that year.
  o In 1745, when the Bonnie Prince Charles invaded Scotland in 1745, “Forbes kept Inverness loyal to George II and persuaded the chiefs of two powerful clans—the Macdonalds and the Macleods—not to take the field for the Jacobites” (Encyclopaedia Britannica).
  o From September 1745 until the suppression of the insurrection in April 1746, Forbes was the main representative of the government in northern Scotland.

The aftermath

• Culloden was followed by brutal repercussions at the hands of the English across large areas of the Highlands.
• “But their estates having been afterwards restored, they were prevailed upon by the persuasions of President Forbes to remain quiet during the subsequent insurrection of the year 1745. Nevertheless, although they had thus escaped the snare into which so many of the clans fell upon this occasion, the family became soon after extinct, and the clan is now divided into several independent branches, who contest with each other the honour of chiefship” (ref: Skene p213).
• “Cumberland spread his army over the disaffected district, burned houses, destroyed castles, killed cattle, and committed atrocities” (JP Maclean p 221). The next year, the wearing of “Highland” garb was forbidden, on penalty of being shot on the spot or imprisoned. “The English government took every step necessary to break up the clan system. ..... The estates that were forfeited were not returned until the year 1784” (JP Maclean p221).

The Macleans

What part did the Mcleans play in all this? Who did they support – the English government (King James) or the Jacobites of Bonnie Prince Charlie (the Stuarts). Different sections of the clan had different kinds of involvement in different theatres of the uprising - but all were effected deeply in one way or another.

Maclean involvement in the pre-curser

• 15th Chief
• 17th Chief
• 20th Chief

Maclean involvement in the first uprising – 1715

• Wikipedia: The Clan Maclean supported the Jacobite rising of 1715.
• People in Blaich and Duisky would have been very aware of the activity associated with the gathering at Glenfinnan nine miles away. They would have been affected by the excitement in the days before Glenfinnan and perhaps some joined in the raising the standard. Then they would have heard and seen the growing army as they travelled along the northern shores of the narrow Loch Eil, overnighting at Kinlocheil and then Fessfern. Undoubtedly there was much clatter and exhilaration – much shouting and perhaps bagpipes and they enthusiastically gathered support.
• “The 1200 men who had gathered at Glenfinnan marched south from Glenfinnan, increasing to almost 3,000 men” (ref: Wikipedia). Comment: To march south from Glenfinnan they first of all would have either passed through Blaich on the south side of Loch Eil or on the north side. It is more likely that they marched on the north side because this was Cameron territory, had a larger population and would have got them to Fort William. None-the-less, the Blaich people would have been aware of these movements as they could see activity on the other side of the loch which is only 1.3 kms wide at that point.
Maclean involvement in the second uprising – 1746

THE CLAN

We do not yet have details of Maclean participation at Glenfinnan, Prestonpans and the push towards London. However, there is some information about who fought at Culloden.

- How many?
  - NWE states that there were 290 in the regiment which combined the MacLachlans and Macleans under Lachlan MacLachlan, with Charles MacLean of Drimnin second-in-command.
  - Lang stated that there were 250 under Maclean of Drimnin.
  - Fryer states that "The Macleans would be combined with nine score MacLachlans to form one large battalion under Drimnin" (Fryer p29). This would be 9x20=180 Maclachlans
  - JP Maclean (p216) stated that a band of 500, principally composed of the MacLeans of Duard responded soon after Charles summoned the clans. Initially they were “almost thoroughly hemmed in by powerful enemies who kept them from joining Prince Charles’ army”. They missed Falkirk, but finally broke through in time for Culloden. JP Maclean does not specify how many of the 500 eventually made it to Culloden – nor how many joined them along the way. JP Maclean would probably have noted if the majority of the original 500 did not fight in Culloden. We can only assume that JP Maclean thought that there were about 500 Macleans fighting there.

- The four figures of 500, 290, 250 and 180 need to be examined. Maybe there were 110 Macleans and 180 Maclachlans who combined to make 290. Maybe the total was more than 290 – much nearer 500. Or maybe there were 250 Macleans and 40 MacLachlans. It is more likely that there were more than 40 MacLachlans because the regiment was commanded by a MacLachlan and it would be surprising if the Macleans accepted the leadership of a MacLachlan if the Macleans were in the majority. Leadership of a MacLachlan points to a preponderance of MacLachlans – ie less than 145 Macleans. So, it appears that there no less than 110 Macleans, and possibly no more than 250. In the absence of any other firm details, we will settle on 250.

- The Macleans were just 5% of the 5400 in the Jacobite army, however they were about 8% of the first line – front and centre in the attack and they bore a heavy loss. Lang stated that just 50 survived – ie the Macleans lost 80% of their men.

- We do not know where these Macleans came from. We have the names of three – from Ardgour, Drimnin and Torloisk and it is reasonable that they were amongst groups of (say) 50 from each of these places. And there would have been some from other sub-branches as well.

THE CHIEF:

- The Chief of Clan McLean at the time was Sir Hector McLean – the 21st Chief and the 5th Baronet. He was the chief from 1716 to 1750 – that is, he became the Chief the year after ‘the fifteen’ and remained chief for all of the intervening years until after Culloden. What was his personal role?
- Charles I created him Lord Maclean in the Jacobite peerage in 1716.
- He was absent, exiled in France, for virtually all of this intervening period between the first and second risings.
- 1725: The following letter of 13th June 1725 was included in ‘The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies of the Francis Atterbury, Lord Bishop of Rochester’ which was published in 1783. The letter was from the King to Sir Hector and three others – Marquis of Seaforth, Clanronald & Lochiel. [Research: The author is ‘The King’ but we need to check that this is not James of England, but Charles of Scotland.) The King ‘resolved to do all that depends on me’ to support ‘my brave Highlanders’ against the design to ‘extirpate their very race’. He referred Sir Hector and the other three to comply exactly with orders which he had given to the Bishop of Rochester.
- 1745: Sir Hector returned from France for the Jacobite rising but was captured in Edinburgh in June 1745, imprisoned in the Tower of London released in 1747 – thus he was in the Tower for the whole duration of the Second Rising – from before Glenfinnan to well after Culloden.
- Comment: He did not seem to be available to provide clan leadership because he was in the Tower. And anyway, the Clan might not have been able to act together – see following.
- It could be said that the Uprising occurred at a low point in the strength and leadership of Clan McLean. They were unable to organise the various branches to form a united response, in support or opposition to the Bonnie Prince. Thus even though the English reprisals were not specifically targeting clansmen associated with Hector, it exacerbated a breakdown which was already occurring. JP McLean concluded: ‘In him (Hector) occurred the
third break of the line of chieftains, and the first failure in the family of the chieftains. It is befitting that such should be the case. The clans were no more; the last effort had been made for the house of Stuart and the oppression of the clansmen was being carried on with great violence, which was to end in cruel evictions, the recital of which brings sorrow and sadness of heart. The whole line of chieftains were much respected in their country, loved by their friends, feared by their enemies, never betrayed their trust, and whose peculiar characteristic was more brave than polite. Sir Hector was a fit ending for such a glorious line.’


THE LAIRD OF ARDGOUR

- Hugh, the 12th Laird of Ardgour was just 9 years old and possibly living in Glasgow at the time of Culloden. The estate was in a poor state and might not have been financially or organizational able to offer direct support for either side (this needs to be checked).

- DOUGLAS MacLEAN: Douglas MacLean (ref: BRB p 4) stated that the Ardgour MacLean claimed that he was too old and stayed out of Culloden. This enabled him to keep his lands when the Prince was defeated. Douglas MacLean claimed that there is no truth in the rumour that he sat on the fence yelling “Come on Charlie” or “Come on Butcher Cumberland” depending on which side was making the best progress. However there is a question of who this ‘Ardgour MacLean’ would have been. Hugh, the Laird of Ardgour at the time, was only 10 years old and was living in Glasgow. Because Hugh was a minor, a neighbouring Chieftain (who was that?) would have led the clan at Culloden.

- FACEBOOK: “Large numbers of Macleans from Morvern and Ardgour, and some from Tiree supported the Jacobite cause in the events of 1745–6. Some, including Captain John Maclean of Kingairloch joined the Prince early in the campaign and took part in most of the major events, including the invasion of England. However, the majority joined the Prince after the battle of Falkirk early in 1746. They had been unable to join earlier because of opposition from government supporters in Morvern and Ardgour. At Culloden the Macleans were heavily involved in the fierce hand-to-hand fighting with the regiments on the government front line. They suffered terrible casualties; it is said that only 38 Maclean men returned home after Culloden, out of the 180 who had joined from Morvern and Ardgour. Of those who were lucky enough to survive some escaped but others were taken prisoner or surrendered. Of these, some were discharged but others were transported to the West Indies. The lands of Morvern and Ardgour were laid waste by government troops after the Jacobite siege of Fort William and again after Culloden – a punishment for their involvement.” (ref: Facebook – Culloden on 24th Aug 2016)

- Kingairloch is about 20 kms southwest of Ardgour house.

- GIBSON: “Ardgour reasoning for staying out of the 1745 Jacobite Rising was keenly self-protective of the minor chief-to-be .... and the estate controllers must have rejoiced at the thoroughness with which most major Cameron land dealings were ended, officially fixed, and their (MacLean) hope of consolidating the old MacLean estate writ fairly clear at the forfeiture. They must have foreseen a hard relationship with the great Camerons of Lochiel if the Jamesian line had been restored in the Rising.” (ref: John G Gibson, Back O’ The Hill – Highland Yesterday, Birklinn, 2008, p138)

- James – son of the 10th Laird of

THE LAIRD OF BLAICH

Was there an active laird in Blaich at the times of the fifteen and the forty-five? There is uncertainty about who the Laird of Blaich was at that time. It might have been Lachlan, the 10th McLean Laird of Blaich. We have no information of about what part he might have played.

Although Blaich is part of Ardgour, their involvement might have been different because:-

- Glenfinnan is just 14 kilometres from Blaich.
- BRB p4 “Many Blaich McLeans joined the rising”.

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• People in Blaich and Duisky would have been very aware of the activity associated with the gathering at Glenfinnan not far away. They would have been affected by the excitement in the days before Glenfinnan and perhaps some in the raising the standard. Then they would have heard and seen the growing army as they travelled along the northern shores of the narrow Loch Eil, overnighting at Kinlocheil and then Fessfern. Undoubtedly there was much clatter and exhilaration of several thousand men — shouting and perhaps bagpipes as they enthusiastically gathered support.

INDIVIDUALS

At present, we have the names of only four Macleans who were at Culloden

• James Maclean of Ardgour: This James was the son of Allan, 10th Laird of Ardgour. See our ‘Lairds of Ardgour’ under the section on Hugh, the 12th of Ardgour. Hugh was James’ nephew. Apart from James, so far we do not have the names of anyone from Ardgour who were in the Battle of Culloden. And none, specifically from Blaich.

• Charles Mclean of Drimnin: One reference (www.drimninestate.co.uk) stated that it was Allan of Drimnin but we accept the New World Encyclopedia which has him as Charles. Drimnin is on the Scottish mainland at the northern end of the Mull straight — across from Tobermory on Mull and 20 miles from Duart Castle. At Culloden, Charles was the second-in-charge of the combined Maclean and MacLachlan clans. He was killed in the battle, and also two of his sons (NWE). We do not have the names of the two sons. This Charles is featured in Fryer’s fact-Novel ‘Allan Maclean – Jacobite General’

• Allan MacLean of Torloisk: Allan was the third son of Donald, the 5th Laird of Torloisk (ref: Wikipedia). Torloisk is in northwestern Mull — about 25 miles from Duart Castle. This Allan survived Culloden and went on to have a distinguished military career (including some joint service with Frances McLean (see some details of Frances in our ‘Lairds of Blaich’). His wife, Janet, had brother who was Hector the 23rd Chief. We have placed a family tree Allan’s siblings in our notes on the 23rd Chief. A whole fact-novel has been written about him — ‘Allan Maclean – Jacobite General’ by Mary Beacock Fryer in 1987.

• Allan Maclean: This Allan fought in Culloden and survived. Our connection with he him is that he was the father of Lachlan who was born in Ardgour about 1751, about five years after Culloden. Lachlan grew up to marry Mary McColl and they had 10 children — all born around Blaich. One of the children was Alexander who was Willowburn’s GG-grandfather. Donald would have grown up with these children and thus he might have heard stories about their grandfather’s going to Culloden and escaping.

Long term impact of reprisals on the Macleans

The Mcleans were not so prominent against the Stuarts, and unusually for the West Highlands, the estate was not forfeited in those troubled times and is one of the few where uninterrupted ownership can be traced for nearly 600 years.

The Camerons north of Loch Eil were dealt with much more harshly than the Mcleans south of Loch Eil.

Whatever might be the truth about the role of our clansmen, it is clear that the Mcleans were not subject to the brutal reprisals which were the fate of clans in other parts of the highlands.

Comparison: Of the four main branches of the Maclean Clan, only Ardgour has retained large territories. Coll, Lochbuie and Duart had all lost their lands. Of course, Duart Castle is now back in Maclean hands — but not thousands of acres. Certainly, the Ardgour Macleans did not lose their lands to the same extent and the same ways as the others. Ardgour was not subject to the mighty forces which were inflicted on other areas — the enclosures, the clearances and the reprisals after Culloden. Selling half seemed to have been the result of the gradual decline of traditional highlander life and the migration to the cities or overseas. So, was retaining half, when the other branches had lost most, a matter of good luck, good management or because no one was attracted to taking it over. “Ardgour…. must be one of the least explored regions of Scotland…. No arterial road … Few strangers penetrate the fastnesses of its hinterland …. thinly populated ….it is so isolated from main routes that few historical incidents are recorded about it.” (MacCulloch, 1971, 274-5, per Robertson p3)

JP MacLean, History of Clan MacLean: JP MacLean describes the awful treatment and forceful de-population (we can say ‘decimation’ here) of the Macleans in Mull and Coll as well as other island, in the decades after Culloden but he
notes that Ardgour faired very differently. JP MacLean quotes ‘the present Laird of Ardgour’ who wrote on 7th Nov 1881, “I have looked through my grandfather’s letters to my father from 1820 to 1845, and in them is no mention of evictions. In 1850, he made an address to his crofters and tenants, in which he reviewed his dealings with them at the beginning of the century, and stated it would have given him great pain had they emigrated instead of taking their holdings he had established on the sea coast. This was in 1790, and they did not take up the new holdings until 1802. For these he offered leases, but they were satisfied without them. My aunt, aged 85, writes me there were no evictions; for she would have known it, because she was with him until the end of his life. The old game-keeper, who knows all about the old history, gives me the same account. In 1843, he got rid of two families, but soon after brought one back, and they are here now” (p368).

JP MacLean followed up what was written, with a conversation with ‘the present Laird’ on 14th July 1887, when he said that “his grandfather used no force in getting the crofters out of the glens and establishing; them on the coast. He showed to them it would be better for them, and they removed peaceably.”

The ‘present Laird’ would have been Alexander Thomas 15th Laird of Ardgour and his father was the 14th and grandfather the 13th. The aunt might have been Elizabeth Margaret because 13th only had two daughters and the other had died long before. We quote the full address by the 13th address to his crofters and tenants in our notes about the 13th in ‘McLeans in Ardgour). The crofts by the sea would have included Blaich (with the greatest concentration of crofts) and Duisky (one of the largest estates).

Donald:
- ‘Our’ Donald was born 33 years after Culloden. As he grew up xxxxx

Allan:
- There are some indications that Donald’s father, Allan, was born the year after Culloden. As he grew up xxxx

Grandfather
- For the sake of this exercise, let’s assume that Donald’s grandfather was Hugh, born about 1720, and living around Blaich. He could have been 26 years old at the time of Culloden and would have had an awareness of the Jacobian events and might have even actually participated in one of the battles – we do not know. As stories filtered through, there would have been that tense debate about the rights and wrongs of it all. They would have heard rumours about who was joining the Jacobites and whether or not Hugh should join them.

References
- See ‘Library’
The Marquis of Seaforth, Sir Hector McLean, Clanronald and Lochiel.

Albany, June the 18th, 1745.

By the accounts I have received since I wrote to you on the 20th of May, I perceive the situation of my brave Highlanders to be very different from what I then apprehended it, since it appears the design is not only to disarm them, but to extirpate their very race. This is what I am very sure none of them will ever submit to without resistance, either those on the place or you on this side of the sea, and I am myself resolved to do all that depends on me to support them and enable them to defend themselves on this occasion. I desire, with pleasure, the Bishop of Rochester's forwardness to exceed all my orders to this end with the utmost vigour, and as time doth not allow me to particularize them here, I shall refer you to him as to all particulars, not doubting of your exact compliance and of your exerciting on this occasion that ardor Zeal for the good cause and the welfare of your Country, which you have already shown in so loyal a manner.
APPENDIX B

Jacobite Army in Culloden
Source: New World Encyclopedia

There were approximately 5,400 Jacobite at Battle of Culloden on xxxx 1746 under Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

FIRST LINE—3,810 men

- **Right Wing**—1,150 men (Lord George Murray, brother of the Chief of Clan Murray)
  - Atholl Highlanders Regiment—500 men (William Murray Lord Nairne)
  - Clan Cameron Regiment—400 men (Donald Cameron of Lochiel, *de facto* Chief of Clan Cameron)
  - Clan Stewart of Appin Regiment—250 men (Charles Stewart of Ardshiel, uncle to the Chief of Clan Stewart of Appin)

- **Center**—1,760 men (Lord John Drummond)
  - Clan Fraser of Lovat Regiment—400 men (Charles Fraser of Inverallachie)
  - Clan Chattan Regiment—350 men (Alexander MacGillivray of Dunmaglass, Chief of Clan MacGillivray, for Lady Anne Farquharson MacIntosh, "Colonel Anne," wife of the Chief of Clan MacIntosh and Captain of the Clan Chattan Confederation)
  - Clan Farquharson Regiment—250 men (James Farquharson of Balmoral, "Balmoral the Brave," father of "Colonel Anne")
  - Clans MacLachlan & MacLean Regiment—290 men (Lachlan MacLachlan of MacLachlan, Chief of Clan MacLachlan and *aide de camp* to the Prince, with Charles MacLean of Drimnin as second-in-command)
  - Clan MacLeod Unit—120 men (Malcolm MacLeod of Raasay) - attached to Clans MacLachlan & MacLean Regiment
  - Edinburgh Regiment—200 men (John Roy Stewart)
  - Clan Chisholm Regiment—150 men (Roderick Chisholm of Comar, son of the Chief of Clan Chisholm)

- **Left Wing**—900 men (James Drummond, 3rd Duke of Perth, Chief of Clan Drummond)
  - Clan MacDonald of Clanranald Regiment—200 men (Ranald MacDonald of Clanranald, "Young Clanranald," son of the Chief of Clan MacDonald of Clanranald)
  - Clan MacDonnell of Keppoch Regiment—200 men (Alexander MacDonnell of Keppoch, Chief of Clan MacDonnell of Keppoch)
  - Clan MacDonnell of Glengarry Regiment—420 men (Donald MacDonnell of Lochgarry)
    - Clan Grant of Glennorriston Unit—80 men (Alexander Grant of Corrimony)—attached to Clan MacDonnell of Glengarry Regiment

SECOND LINE—1,190 men (Lt.Col. Walter Stapleton)

- Angus Regiment (Lord David Ogilvy, son of the Chief of Clan Ogilvy)
- 1st Clan Gordon Regiment (Lord Lewis Gordon, brother of the Chief of Clan Gordon)
- 2nd Clan Gordon Regiment (John Gordon of Glenbucket)
- Duke of Perth’s Regiment (Unknown)
- Regiment Eccosais Royeaux (Lord Louis Drummond)
- Irish Piquets Regiment (Maj. Summan)

THIRD LINE—400 men
Kilmarnock’s Regiment (William Boyd, 4th Earl of Kilmarnock, Chief of Clan Boyd)
- Pitsligo’s Regiment (Alexander Baron Forbes of Pitsligo)
- Regiment Baggot (Unknown)
- Lord Elcho’s Horse (David Wemyss Lord Elcho, son of the Chief of Clan Wemyss)
- Life Guards (Unknown)
- FitzJames’s Horse (Sir Jean McDonell)

ARTILLERY (Unknown)
- 2 x 2pdr cannon
- 3 x 4pdr cannon
- 3 x 6pdr cannon

Fates of the commanding officers
- Donald Cameron of Lochiel, de facto Chief of Clan Cameron, was wounded and had to be carried from the field
- Charles Fraser of Inverallachie was mortally wounded
- Alexander MacGillivray of Dunmaglass, Chief of Clan MacGillivray, was killed, with all but three officers of the Clan Chattan Regiment
- Lachlan MacLachlan of MacLachlan, Chief of Clan MacLachlan, was killed
- Charles MacLean of Drimnin was killed, with two of his sons
- James Drummond, 3rd Duke of Perth and Chief of Clan Drummond, was severely wounded—he was carried from the field, but died on his way to France
- Alexander MacDonell of Keppoch, Chief of Clan MacDonell of Keppoch, was killed

Other persons of note on the Jacobite side to be killed at Culloden
- William Drummond of Machany, 4th Viscount of Strathallan
- Robert Mercer of Aldie, an officer in the Atholl Highlanders Regiment
- Gillies Mhor MacBean of Dalmagerry, who led the MacBeans of the Clan Chattan Regiment

Other clans

More clans fought (and died) at Culloden than is apparent from this order of battle.

The Atholl Highlanders Regiment (also known as the Atholl Brigade) was mostly made up of members of Clan Murray, Clan Ferguson, Clan Stewart of Atholl, Clan Menzies, and Clan Robertson.

Also, the clan regiments are not quite as easily defined as their names suggest. Note that:
- In the Clan Cameron Regiment there were also members of Clan MacFie and Clan MacMillan
- The Clan Stewart of Appin Regiment was not only made up of members of Clan Stewart of Appin, but also of Clan MacLaren, Clan MacColl, Clan MacInnes, Clan MacIntyre, and Clan Livingstone
- The Clan Chattan Regiment was mostly made up of Clan MacIntosh, Clan MacGillivray, and Clan MacBean, but also included members of Clan MacKinnon and Clan MacTavish, which were not part of the Clan Chattan Confederation
- The Clan MacDonnell of Keppoch Regiment included, apart from Clan MacDonnell of Keppoch, also Clan MacDonald of Glencoe (also known as Clan Macalan), Clan MacGregor, and Clan MacIver
- Lord Ogilvy’s Angus Regiment consisted mainly of members of Clan Ogilvy and Clan Ramsay
- The Duke of Perth’s Regiment consisted mainly of members of Clan Drummond
- Kilmarnock’s Regiment consisted mainly of members of Clan Boyd
- Pitsligo’s Regiment consisted mainly of members of Clan Forbes
- Lord Elcho’s Horse consisted mainly of members of Clan Wemyss

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APPENDIX C

Clan MacLean's Culloden Experience
by Alexander McCracken

The combined regiment of Macleans and Maclachlans where to the left of Clan Chattan in the centre of the Prince's army.

Despite the size of the united regiment, great faith was placed on the unit by Lord Murry and their commander, Lord John Drummond who knew the MacLeans to never give ground. Likewise the Maclachlans led by their chief were among the most feared clans on the battlefield.

In Lord Ogilvy's regiment one of the threats used to keep deserters from running was the threat of sending the Macleans to get them back.

After enduring the grapeshot of Colonel Belford's guns for thirty minutes, with only the command to "close ranks" the toll was being paid. Great holes would appear as the cannon fired, as swaths of men fell.

Given the order "Claymores" the united regiment charged yelling "Another for Hector!" and "Death or Life!" with the rest of the line (that could actually move).

In less than a half hour, the entire center of the Prince’s army had been destroyed.

The United regiment ran directly into the Grapeshot, as well the continuous musket fire of Pulteney’s and the Royal Scots. The fire so thick some of the men held the plaid before them as to ward off rain, or sleet.

During this Old Lachlan Maclachlan of Maclachlan, Chief of the Maclachlans, Died moments after his son, Lachlan. Along with most of his Clan.

They never came into direct contact with the opposing line.

By now the Clan Chattan had begun to retreat. Old Charles Maclean of Drimnin was attempting to rally his remaining men when his wounded son, Allan, informed him that his other son, Lachlan was Dead.

Charles, who'd held a Commission in the Royal Navy, now turned to the King's troops saying that he was going to avenge his son. Alan pleaded with him to not to, but in vain.

"Allein" he said, "comma leat misse. Mas toil leat do bheatha thoir’n arrigh dhuit fhein" (Allan, do not think of me. Take care of yourself - if you value your life.)

Clearly Charles did not as he ran into the enemy line two troopers came riding out of the smoke of battle. Charles cut one down, wounded the other before one of their comrades rode up and finished him off.

James, the son of Old Maclean of Ardgour, somehow survived the charge and secretly stole back to Ardgour. He died fifteen years later at sea fighting for the Duke of Cumberland Nephew, King George III.

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