

# The MacLeans in the Jacobite Risings

April 2021

[www.christinaanddonaldmclean.com](http://www.christinaanddonaldmclean.com)

## How to use these notes

- Too much detail?: Read the summary first, to get the essence of what this is all about - rather than getting lost in the details in the body of these notes.
- Research: It is not a narrative style so the notes will not be interesting to the general public. It is for serious researchers - with a system of standardized headings and dot-points and it is a framework into which newly found details can be placed.
- Sources: This research has relied upon what can be found on the internet – quoting from various researchers rather than accessing contemporary documents.
- Searching: You can search this PDF document using Control/F, and then relevant key word.
- Our other docs: This is one of a series of research notes that should to be read in conjunction with each other. Documents of particular relevance are:-
  - **'F20 - Chiefs of Clan Maclean'**
  - **'F30 - The Macleans in Ardgour'.**
  - **'F35 - The Lairds of Blaich':**
- Feedback: Your corrections and comments will be welcomed - via 'Contact us' on the homepage of [www.christinaanddonaldmclean.com](http://www.christinaanddonaldmclean.com).
- Authors: Compiled by Don Gordon, with support from Lorna McLean. Don and Lorna are Donald's and Christina's GGG-grandchildren.

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## Summary

The Jacobite uprisings were a series of conflicts between England and Scotland for the control of Scotland. This was from the 1600s, continued for more than a century, and reached the climax in 1746 when England finally asserted its dominance at the battle of Culloden and the subsequent reprisals which devastated highland communities.

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

### Purpose:

- In these notes, we are gathering together as much as we can about the MacLeans in the risings.
- We are sifting through the details in the hope that we might find some specific links with Donald's family in those times – and thereby learn more about our own particular family history.

### Conclusions:

- The MacLeans of Blaich were not as directly caught up in these events as some other branches of the MacLean clan, or other clans - and consequently did not suffer as much in the reprisals following Culloden.
- There were about 300 MacLeans fighting at the battle of Culloden – and about three quarters of them were killed. We have compiled a spreadsheet (appendix G) which was only able to identify 79 individuals. Admittedly this is incomplete, but it indicates that the MacLeans came from over 50 locations rather than large groups from a few Jacobian strongholds, and although about half fought in the combined MacLean/Maclachlan regiment, others were scattered to fight under at least 13 other flags.
- We have not been able to identify any fighters specifically from Blaich and only two, James and Allan, were known to have come from Ardgour (which includes Blaich):-

- James:
  - We know quite a lot about this James (see appendix C in our ‘F30 – MacLeans of Ardgour’).
  - He was a son of Allan, the 10th Laird of Ardgour.
  - He is not related, in any meaningful sense, to our Donald who we think was a descendant of the 8<sup>th</sup> Laird.
  - “*MacLean of Ardgour [10<sup>th</sup> Laird] being by now 77, the Ardgour contingent was led by his son James.*” (Fitzroy). Although James is said to have led an Ardgour contingent at Culloden, we have no indications (on our spreadsheet) that there were others from Ardgour to make up this contingent. It would be surprising if he went off by himself. So, who else was in the contingent he was leading? What about his five brothers, all older than himself? The three eldest had already died before 1746 and one (Allan) might have been in Georgia and the other one (Archibald) is not listed in our spreadsheet. It would be thought that he had cousins and other close kin around him. So maybe there were a few from Ardgour, or maybe James had a leading role with MacLeans from other areas.
- Allan:
  - This Allan fought in Culloden and survived.
  - Our connection with him is that he had a son, Lachlan who was born in Ardgour about 1751, 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 fighting at Culloden and then escaping.
- Our kin:
  - We have no evidence that any of our direct relatives were personally involved in any of the fighting around 1715 and 1746. But let’s speculate about our Donald, his father and grandfather:-
  - Donald was born 33 years after Culloden. The memories would have still been prominent in the conversations of the adults around him (particularly his grand parents’ generation). The long-term consequences of the reprisals were still being played out as Donald grew up.
  - Allan (Donald’s father) might have been born just a few years before or after Culloden. As a child, he would have been aware of, but not fully understand, these tumultuous events.
  - Grandfather: We don’t know anything about Donald’s grandfather (Allan’s father), but we assume that he lived around Blaich. He would have been of the age of those being recruited into the Jacobian cause in 1745. He would have had mixed feelings of enthusiasm, or perhaps fear, as stories filtered through about the Jacobian stirrings. There would have been spirited arguments about the rights and wrongs of it all. He would have heard rumours about who were joining the cause and whether or not he (and any brothers or cousins) should join them. He might have participated in one of the battles prior to Culloden – we do not know. He would have been intensely noticing events not far away:-
    - The Bonnie Prince and the initial recruits making their way eastward along the northern shores of narrow Loch Eil (across from Blaich) on their way to Glenfinnan.
    - The raising of the Jacobite flag at Glenfinnan (15 kms from Blaich)
    - The noisy excitement, calling to arms, as the growing army marched back along the northern shores of the loch. They were there for a few days, overnighing in Kinlocheil and then Fessfern which are within sight and hearing of Blaich. There would have been much clatter and exhilaration of several thousand men – shouting and perhaps bagpipes as they enthusiastically gathered support.
    - The gathering of 180 MacLeans from Morvern and Kingairloch (next to Ardgour).
    - The unsuccessful siege of Fort William a few weeks before Culloden.
    - All these locations (except Culloden) were not far from Blaich. But of course, distances were more difficult in those times of limited transport and communication.
    - After Culloden, he would have been alarmed when he heard about the brutal reprisals by the English fighters under ‘The ‘Butcher of Cumberland’ against the Camerons across the loch where ‘lurkers’ (survivors of the battle) were pursued and killed, houses were burnt, black cattle were slaughtered, and land was forfeited. No Jacobite sympathisers, or their families, were safe. Donald’s grandfather did not experience any of this personally, but he would have been concerned because of the punishments imposed on anyone displaying anything which characterized highland life, such as speaking Gaelic and wearing tartan.

## The pre-cursors

The power struggles between Scotland and England were being fought out long before it came to head again in Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745.

- 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 as well between the clans, and within the clans. The chiefs of most of the clans – including the Macleans, (but not the Ardgour 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 15<sup>th</sup> Chief in F20 - '[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, 17<sup>th</sup> Chief, commanded the other Highland clans as royalists at the Battle of Inverlochy (near Fort William) when Montrose defeated Argyll. This is described in our F20 - '[Chiefs of Clan Maclean](#)'.
- 1651 – Battle of Inverkeithing: This was at the end of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. It was fought between the English Parliamentary Army and the Scottish Covenanter army on behalf of Charles II. *“All the Macleans were zealous partisans of the Stewarts, in whose cause they suffered severely; more particularly at the battle of Inverkeithing, ... when this clan lost several hundred men, and a large proportion of officers.”* (Gregory p420). *“Of the 800 MacLeans engaged but forty escaped alive”* (Hardy p16). *“Red Hector, 18th Chief, was present with his clansmen at Inverkeithing in the battle against the Cromwellian General Lambert. In the thick of the fight he was shielded by seven brothers, all of whom gave their lives in his defense. As each brother fell another stepped into his place calling out "Fear eille airson Eachainn!" (Another for Hector!) and this latter became one of the clan's war cries. It is sad to relate that Hector also was slain and the sacrifice of the brothers was in vain.”* (BRB p3)
- 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) (Wikipedia). This prompted attempts to restore the Stuart kings to the thrones.
- 1689 – Battle of Killiecrankie: John Maclean, the 20<sup>th</sup> 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. See our 'F20 – Chiefs of Clan MacLean' for more about the 20<sup>th</sup> Chief.
- 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 Darien 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”* (dreid1746). 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” (dreid1746).*

## MacLean hierarchy during the pre-cursors - the 1600s to 1715

The chiefs over this period were:-

- These are detailed in our ‘F20 – McLean Chiefs’
- 15<sup>th</sup> Chief - Sir Hector (Eachann) Og Maclean - chief from 1598 to 1618, for 20 years
- 16<sup>th</sup> Chief - Hector Mor Maclean - chief from 1618 to 1626, for 8 years
- 17<sup>th</sup> Chief - Sir Lachlan Maclean - chief from 1626 to 1649, for 23 years
- 18<sup>th</sup> Chief - Sir Hector Maclean - chief from 1649 to 1651, for 3 years
- 19<sup>th</sup> Chief - Sir Allan Maclean - chief from 1651 to 1674, for 23 years
- 20<sup>th</sup> Chief - Sir John Maclean - chief from 1674 to 1716, for 32 years

The Ardgour Lairds were:-

- These are detailed in our ‘F30 – MacLeans in Ardgour’
- 7<sup>th</sup> Laird – Allan from 1592 to 1681
- 8<sup>th</sup> Laird – John ‘Crubach’ from 1681 to 1694
- 9<sup>th</sup> Laird – Ewen
- 10<sup>th</sup> Laird – Allan – from 1694 to 1732

The Lairds of Blaich:-

- There was uncertainty about who were the Maclean lairds of Blaich during this period and it is not known what role they might have played in the Jacobite cause. This is detailed in our F35- McLean Lairds of Blach’

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## 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 Sherrifmuir: John, the 20<sup>th</sup> 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 Sheriffmuir on 13<sup>th</sup> November.”* (Burke v3 p648). The Earl of Mar was John Erskine, (23rd/6th Earl of Mar). The battle is described by JP Maclean. There were 800 men in Sir John’s regiment (JP Maclean p208). There were 8000 Jacobites, mainly from the Macleans, MacDonalds, Camerons, Stewarts and Huntlys. They were against 3500 Argyle veteran troops (JP Maclean p209). John’s involvement in this battle of Sherrifmuir, is a reflection of his part in the Battle of Killiecrankie 26 years before. For more details about Sir John, see our ‘F20 – Chiefs of Clan MacLean’.
- Sir John, died only four months after this battle.
- 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 (Wikipedia).
- The laird of Ardgour at the time of ‘The Fifteenth’ was Allan, the 10<sup>th</sup>. He might not have been directly involved in Jacobite activities because it is said that he was a poor manager and was bringing the Ardgour estate to the point of ruin (see our ‘F30 – MacLeans of Ardgour’). However, one of his sons, James, was involved in Culloden 21 years later.

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# The second uprising

- This became known as ‘the second Jacobite rebellion’ or ‘the forty-five’.
- In 1745 the Bonnie Prince gathered an army in Scotland, advanced down through England to Derby, retreated, and then was pursued by the Duke of Cumberland and defeated at Culloden nine months after his campaign had started.
- What part did the McLeans play? Who did they support – the Jacobites of Bonnie Prince Charlie (the Stuarts) or the English government. Different sections of the clan had different kinds of involvement in different theatres of the uprising - but all were affected deeply in one way or another.

## Which clans?

- *“On arrival on the Scottish mainland, he [Bonnie Prince] 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”. This was mostly Clan MacDonalD of Clan Ranald, Clan MacDonell of Glengarry, Clan MacDonalD of Keppoch, and Clan Cameron. (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 wavering; 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 Frazers 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.” (Lang ch33).*

## Events

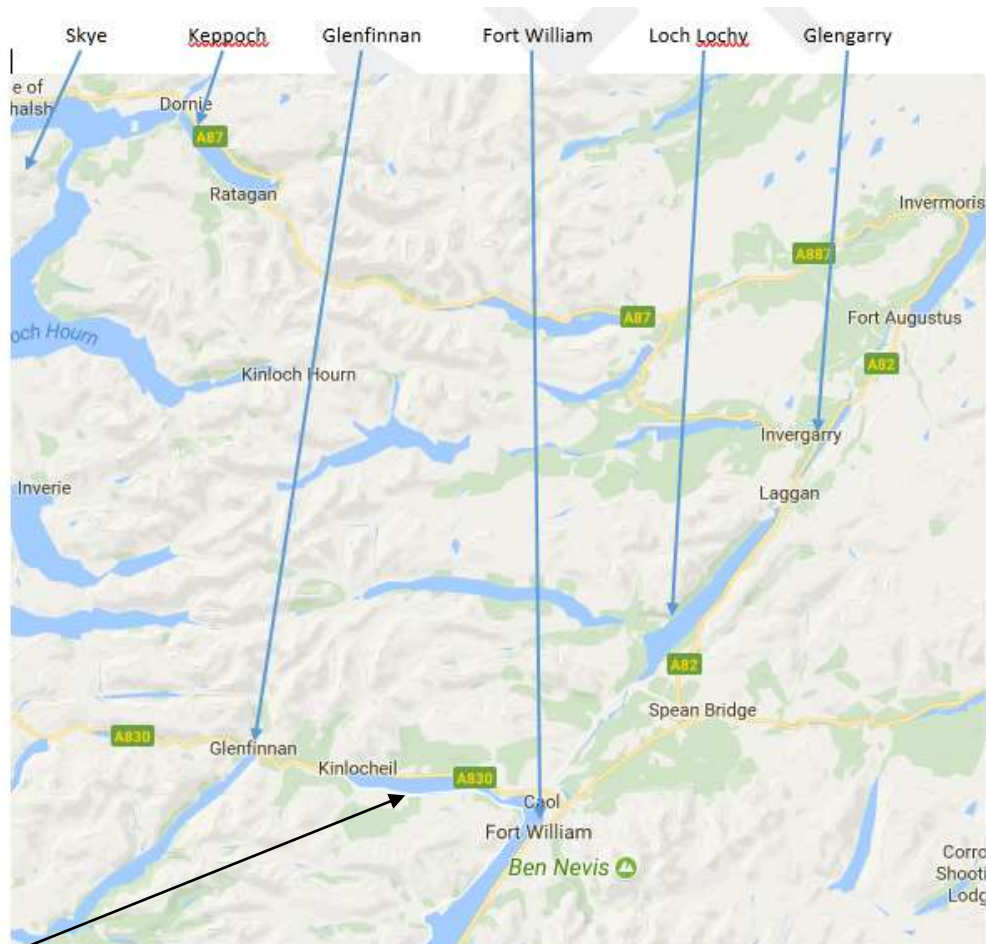
- The following chronology is from Reid p4&5:-
  - 5<sup>th</sup> July 1745 – Prince Charles Edward clears Belle Island and sails for Scotland
  - 9<sup>th</sup> July 1745 – Sea fight between *L'Elisabeth* and *HMS Lion*
  - 25<sup>th</sup> July 1745 – Prince lands in Loch nan Uamh in Arisaig
  - 19<sup>th</sup> Aug 1745 – Standard raised at Glenfinnan
  - 27<sup>th</sup> Aug 1745 – Rendezvous in Aberchalder – the real beginning of the army
  - 29<sup>th</sup> Aug 1745 – Unsuccessful attack on Ruthven Barracks
  - 3<sup>rd</sup> Sept 1745 – Jacobites ‘capture’ of Perth
  - 18<sup>th</sup> Sept 1745 – Jacobites seize Edinburgh
  - 21<sup>st</sup> Sept 1745 – Jacobite victory at Prestonpans
  - 25<sup>th</sup> Sept 1745 – Jacobites ‘capture’ Aberdeen
  - 7<sup>th</sup> Oct 1745 – First French blockade runner unloads 2500 firelocks at Montrose. Three others follow by the end of October, bringing 6 cannon and more small arms.
  - 27<sup>th</sup> Oct 1745 – Unsuccessful Jacobite attack on Culloden House, near Inverness
  - 31<sup>st</sup> Oct 1745 – Prince’s army marches south from Edinburgh in hopes of triggering an English Jacobite uprising and a French invasion
  - 10<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> Nov – Siege of Carlisle; militia garrison surrenders
  - 20<sup>th</sup> Nov 1745 – Prince’s army moves south from Carlisle
  - 24<sup>th</sup> Nov 1745 – First French troops, with 6 heavy guns, land at Montrose
  - 25<sup>th</sup> Nov 1745 – French and Jacobites force *MHS Hazard* to surrender at Montrose
  - 26<sup>th</sup> Nov 1745 – Lord John Drummond and Royal Ecossois land at Montrose; Irish Picquets land at Peterhead and Aberdeen
  - 29<sup>th</sup> Nov 1745 – Seizure of Manchester

- 4<sup>th</sup> Dec 1745 – Prince’s army enters Derby
- 6<sup>th</sup> Dec 1745 – With no sign of an English Jacobite rising or French invasion, the return to Scotland begins
- 18<sup>th</sup> Dec 1745 – Rearguard action at Clifton
- 20<sup>th</sup> Dec 1745 – Prince’s army recrosses border into Scotland
- 21<sup>st</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> Dec – Defence of Carlisle; Jacobite garrison surrenders
- 23<sup>rd</sup> Dec 1745 – Jacobite victory at Inverurie, near Aberdeen
- 4<sup>th</sup> Jan 1746 – Prince’s army unites with Lord John Drummond’s army
- 7<sup>th</sup> & 8<sup>th</sup> Jan – Siege of Stirling – burgh surrenders to Jacobites but castle holds out
- 8<sup>th</sup> to 31<sup>st</sup> Jan – Unsuccessful siege of Stirling Castle
- 13<sup>th</sup> Jan 1746 – Skirmish at Linlithgow
- 17<sup>th</sup> Jan 1746 – Jacobite victory at Falkirk
- 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 1746 – Jacobites withdraw northwards
- 11<sup>th</sup> Feb 1746 – Ruthven Barracks surrenders to Glenbuchat
- 16<sup>th</sup> Feb 1746 – ‘Rout of Moy’ - failed attempt to capture Prince by night raid
- 18<sup>th</sup> Feb 1746 – Jacobites capture Inverness
- 21<sup>st</sup> Feb 1746 – Squadron of *Fitzjames Cavallerie* lands at Aberdeen
- 25<sup>th</sup> Feb 1746 – Picquet of Regiment Berwick lands at Peterhead
- 3<sup>rd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> Mar – Siege of Fort Augustus; garrison from Guise’s regiment surrender
- 10<sup>th</sup> Mar 1746 – ‘Atholl Raid’
- 10<sup>th</sup> to 31<sup>st</sup> Mar – Unsuccessful siege of Blair Castle
- 20<sup>th</sup> Mar 1746 – Jacobite victory at Dornoch; skirmish at Keith
- 20<sup>th</sup> Mar to 2<sup>nd</sup> April – Unsuccessful Jacobite siege of Fort William
- 26<sup>th</sup> Mar 1746 – Second picquet of *Berwick* captured at Torue, with 12,000 pounds of gold
- 12<sup>th</sup> April 1746 – British army crosses River Spey; rearguard action at Nairn
- 15<sup>th</sup> April 1746 – Cromartie’s brigade ambushed and destroyed at Embo; unsuccessful Jacobite attempt to surprise British camp at Nairn
- 16<sup>th</sup> April 1746 – Battle of Culloden
- 18<sup>th</sup> April 1746 – Jacobite Army disperses at Fort Augustus and Ruthven Barracks
- 19<sup>th</sup> April 1746 – Last French units surrender
- 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1746 – Sea fight in Loch nan Uamh
- 27<sup>th</sup> May 1746 – Last Jacobite regiments disband

Of particular note:-

- Charles Edward Stuart, also known as the Young Pretender or Bonnie Prince Charlie, was born in 1720 and raised in Rome.
- When he was 25 years old, the Bonnie Prince tried to invade England, to claim the British throne. This was to be with French support, but the support failed when a storm scattered the fleet and resulted in him landing at Eriskay in the Outer Hebrides on 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1745 (Wikipedia).
- He landed with only seven companions and was left to raise his own army in 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, but the prince took a round-about route via Keppoch, Glengarry, Loch Lochy and Fort William, gathering support for three weeks, before reaching Glenfinnan.





Blaich

- Glenfinnan:
  - *“On 19 August 1745, Charles raised the standard at Glenfinnan. This attracted about 1,200 men, mostly of Clan MacDonal of Clan Ranald, Clan MacDonell of Glengarry, Clan MacDonal of Keppoch, and Clan Cameron.”* (Wikipedia).
  - *Another version, focussing on the Camerons: “When, on the 20<sup>th</sup> August 1745, the young Chevalier unfurled his father’s standard at Glenfinnan, it is said to have been saluted with the cheers of 800 Camerons ready armed for war”* (Rosebery p357).
  - *Yet another version: “On the 19<sup>th</sup> August Prince Charles landed at Slatach having rowed up Loch Shiel with a guard of fifty men from Clanranald and made his way to Glenfinnan. There was no one waiting for him. He began to despair but then the Highlanders appeared. Soon there were 1,500 men. Cameron of Lochiel arrived with about 600 clansmen, MacDonal of Keppoch with about 350, and MacDonal of Morar with about 150. Satisfied that he had enough support to mount his rebellion, he climbed the hill behind where the Visitor Centre now stands and raised his father’s standard. James II was proclaimed as King and Prince Charles appointed Prince Regent. The 1745 Rising had truly begun”* (dreid1746, 21<sup>st</sup> Aug 2015, ‘Raising the Standard’,).
  - Comments:
    - There must have been some local clansmen around Glenfinnan showing support for the Bonnie Prince – why else would he have been prompted to hoist the standard in that place? It does not seem to be on the way to any of the key objectives for his campaign.
    - We do not have any specifics about the involvement of clansmen from around Blaich, which is only 15 kms from Glenfinnan.
- Loch Eil:
  - *“The 1200 men who had gathered at Glenfinnan ..... marched south from Glenfinnan, increasing to almost 3,000 men”* (Wikipedia).
  - They marched along the northern shores of Loch Eil, with overnight stays at Kinlocheil and Fessfern. Lochiel’s brother John, lived at Fessfern (Clerk p13). It is directly across from Duiskey and Blaich.
  - *“On 21<sup>st</sup> August the Jacobite army halted for the night at Kinlocheil after leaving Glenfinnan. On 23<sup>rd</sup> August, the Jacob army stayed overnight at Fessfern House (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>).

- Prestonpans: In September 1745 the Bonnie Prince defeated the only government army in Scotland which was led by General Sir John Cope (Wikipedia).
- South: By November, Charles was marching south at the head of approximately 6,000 men (Wikipedia).
- Derby: *"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)
- Falkirk Muir – January 1746: This battle was the last Jacobite success.
- Atholl: Then there were many other skirmishes. One of these was the Atholl raid in March where McLeans and Maclachlans fought as one unit.
- Fort William: The Jacobites made an unsuccessful siege of Fort William (near Blach), from 20<sup>th</sup> March to 2<sup>nd</sup> April - just a few weeks before Culloden.
- Culloden: After Falkirk in January, the Jacobites were pursued by King George II's son, the Duke of Cumberland, who caught up with them at Culloden on 16<sup>th</sup> April 1746. 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.

**Before Culloden:** What part did McLeans play in the Jacobite activities in the months prior to Culloden?

- We have concluded that MacLeans were not involved in Glenfinnan, Prestonpans and the push towards London.
- Thwarted:-
  - JP Maclean (p216) stated that a band of 500, principally composed of the MacLeans of Duart 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. These comments by JP Maclean are supported by Sir Fitzroy MacLean in 'No Quarter Given' (JP Maclean predates Fitzroy): *"Five hundred MacLeans under old Charles MacLean of Drimnin rose in his support. .... Strong forces of Hanoverian supporters in their area prevented the MacLeans from breaking out and joining the Prince until after the battle of Falkirk."*
  - *"It had been the Prince's original intention to land in the first place on Mull where, though the island was now in Campbell hands, he knew he could count on loyal Maclean support. But in the event things had turned out differently. In the summer of 1745 Sir Hector Maclean of Duart had come over to Edinburgh from France on Jacobite business, but had lingered there longer than was prudent and before he could leave had been arrested and consigned first to Edinburgh Castle and later to the Tower of London. Without their Chief, seven hundred Macleans from Mull, Morvern and Ardgour had nevertheless set out to join Prince Charles under old MacLean of Drimnin and a younger son of Maclean of Ardgour. Long before reaching Edinburgh, however they had encountered strong opposition from the all-encompassing Campbells as well as from regular Government troops under Lord London, and it was not until later that they eventually managed to break through and join the Prince's army"* (Fitzroy MacLean p207).
  - *"According to the London Gazette, a body of Macleans set out in October to join the Prince, but was attacked and dispersed by Colonel Campbell of Loudoun's regiment."* (Seton & Arnot p319)
  - *"Large numbers of Macleans from Morvern and Ardgour, and some from Tiree supported the Jacobite cause in the events of 1745-6. .... 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."* (Facebook – Culloden on 24<sup>th</sup> Aug 2016)

## Culloden – the battle

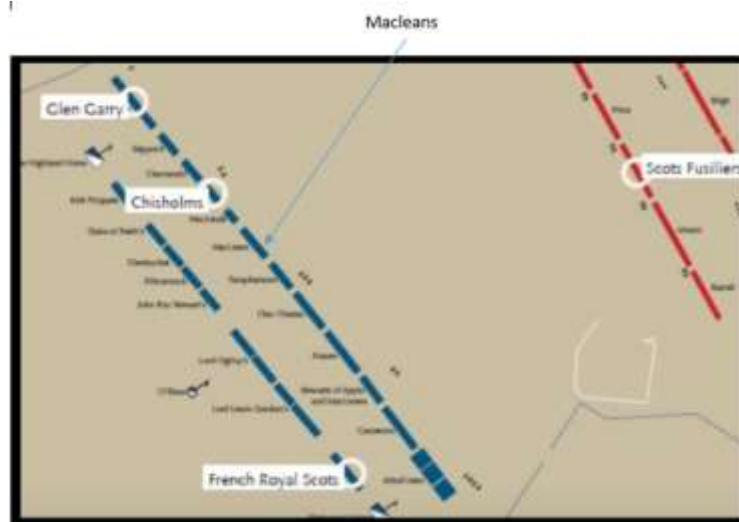
- The battle is described in many resources, including JP MacLean and Fryer (see appendix H). The following is from Fitzroy and McCracken.
- *"At Culloden the MacLeans formed a combined regiment under young MacLachlan of Strathlachlan, with MacLean of Drimnin as Lieutenant Colonel. Their position was near the centre of the Jacobite front line"* (Fitzroy).



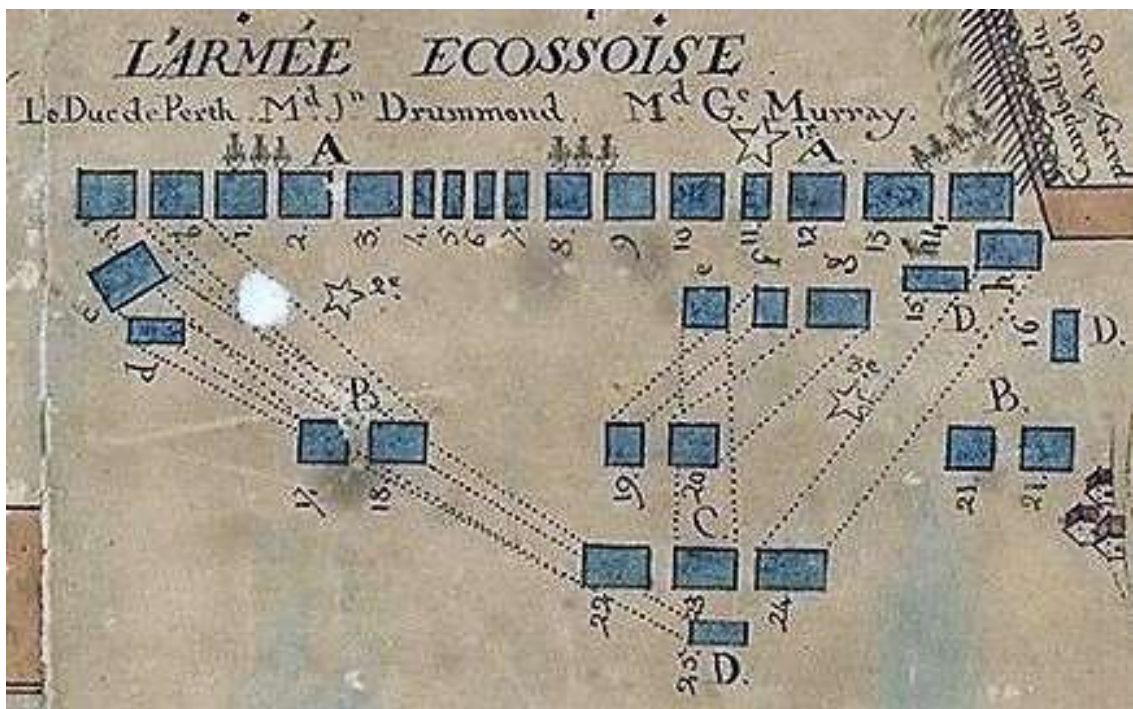
- *“Despite the [small] size of the united regiment, great faith was placed on the unit by Lord Murray and their commander, Lord John Drummond who knew the MacLeans to never give ground. .... In Lord Ogilvy’s regiment one of the threats used to keep deserters from running was the threat of sending the Macleans to get them back. .... Likewise the Maclachlans led by their chief were among the most feared clans on the battlefield.” (McCracken)*
- *“MacLachlan was killed early in the battle [moments after his son, Lachlan was killed - along with most of his Clan] and Drimnin then took command. The Regiment charged with the other clans driving back the Hanoverian left wing in confusion. But eventually, suffering severely, they were overwhelmed by the enemy’s superior numbers, equipment and organisation.” (Fitzroy)*
- *“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). 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. In less than a half hour, the entire centre of the Prince’s army had been destroyed.” (McCracken)*
- *“By now the Clan Chattan [on the left] 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 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 [Then, shouting “It shall not be for naught”, he rushed without wig or bonnet back into the battle] 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.” (McCracken)*

## Culloden – positions

- There are various versions of the positioning of the MacLeans and other regiments within the battle field – Culloden Battlefield and Visitor centre, a French map, New World Encyclopedia and JP Maclean. The versions are essentially the same, with the MacLeans in the thick of it all, as follows:-
- Visitors’ Centre: The following diagram, sourced from the Culloden Battlefield and Visitor Centre, shows the Macleans front and centre of the battle lines.



- French map: The following map (& appendix B) is an old French map which places the McLeans in the same position as the diagram from the Visitor Centre. It was compiled by a French officer who was present at the battle. The map was drawn in 1748 - just a couple of years after the battle so it has the advantage of being compiled nearer the time, but did not have the advantages of other sources available for more recent research. The MacLeans positioned as number 4 on this map.



Plan exact de la disposition des  
 Doupes Ecoisises sous le Commandement  
 de son A.R.P.C.  
 et de Celle des Doupes Angloises a la Bataille  
 de Culloden pres la Vill<sup>e</sup> d'Inverness le 16<sup>e</sup>  
 d'Avril 1746.  
 tres humblement dedié a la Majesté tres  
 Chrestienne par un Officier Francois qui  
 estoit present a ladite Bataille.

A 1 <sup>e</sup> Ligne.....	5170.	} Total
B 2 <sup>e</sup> Ligne.....	1290.	
C Corps de Reserve.....	700	
D Cavalerie.....	150	

2<sup>e</sup> Section du Reg<sup>t</sup> du Duc de Perth.  
 b<sup>e</sup> Section du Reg<sup>t</sup> de Glenbuquet.  
 c<sup>e</sup> Section des Piquets Irlandois.  
 d<sup>e</sup> Section des Hebrerois.  
 e<sup>e</sup> Section de 4 Gardes de M<sup>d</sup> Kilmarnoch.  
 f<sup>e</sup> Section du Reg<sup>t</sup> de M<sup>d</sup> Alex. Bannerman.  
 g<sup>e</sup> Section du Reg<sup>t</sup> de M<sup>d</sup> Oglivie.  
 h<sup>e</sup> Section de M<sup>d</sup> Drummond.  
 i<sup>e</sup> differens Sections de son A.R.P.C.  
 pendant la marche.  
 marche des differens Reg<sup>ts</sup> a leur  
 2<sup>e</sup> Section pendant la marche.

4. Reg <sup>t</sup> de M <sup>d</sup> Leane	100
5. Reg <sup>t</sup> de M <sup>d</sup> Lochlin	100
6. Reg <sup>t</sup> de Chreim	90

- The New World Encyclopedia (NWE), provides useful details. Our analysis of these details is as follows:-
  - In the battle, there were 5400 Jacobites against 8000 Cumberland's Army.
  - Centre of the front line – a division of 1760 men commanded by Lord John Drummond:-
    - The Macleans comprised a regiment of 290 men from the MacLachlan & MacLean clans according to NWE.

- 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 front line - 1150 men from the clans of Athol, Stewart and Cameron (including some MacFie)
- Left wing of the front line - 900 men from clans MacDonald and MacDonnell
- So all together, the clans in the left, centre and right wings on the front line totalled 3810 as follows:-

MacDonnell (200 + 420)	620	On the left of the MacLeans
Atholl/Murray	500	
Cameron	400	
Fraser/Lovet	400	
Chattan/MacGillivray	350	
MacLachlan/Maclean	290	
Stewart	250	On the right of the MacLeans
Farquharson	250	
Edinburgh	200	
MacDonald/Clanranald	200	
Chisolm	150	
McLeod	120	
Grant	80	

- 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).

## Culloden – regiments

- In which regiments did the MacLeans fight at Culloden?
- There was a combined regiment of MacLeans and Maclachlans.
  - *“MacLachlan and MacLean (plate A2): The former, commanded by Lachlan Maclachlan of Castle Lachlan, joined the Jacobite Army at the outset. as did a small company commanded by Captain John MacLean of Kingairloch. Although the two contingents were immediately combined, they went through most of the campaign attached to Lord Nairne’s Regiment of the Athole Brigade. Some time in March 1746 they were joined by a further contingent of Macleans under Charles MacLean of Drimnin. and fought for the first time as an independent unit at Culloden, apparently with a strength of some 200 men commanded by MacLachlan with Drimnin as lieutenant-colonel”* (Reid p22).
  - Reid indicated that this drawing, by Gary Zaboly, is of a highland clansman from the MacLachlan/MacLean regiment (Reid, p22 & plate A2 on p33)
  - They were commanded by Lachlan Maclachlan of Castle Lachlan, Strathlachlan. He was Chief of Clan Maclachlan and *aide de camp* to the Prince. He was killed in the battle. He had three sons in the battle, two of whom were killed .
  - Lieutenant-colonel Charles Maclean of Drimnin was second-in-charge.
    - *“Charles Drimnin and other officers of the regiment were Hector MacLean of Torloisk, James, son of MacLean of Ardgour, and Lachlan MacLean, brother of Kilmory.”* (Seton & Arnot p319)
    - *“They were commanded by Charles MacLean of Drimnin, assisted by Hector MacLean of Torloisk, James MacLean, son of Maclean of Ardgour, and a few other gentlemen of the clan.”* (page 14 of “Jacobite Activities in and around Inverness – 1688-1746)
    - He was also killed in the battle.
    - As with Maclachlan, Charles also had three sons in the battle, two of whom were killed. Two of the boys had the same names as those of Maclachlan’s – Allan and Lachlan.
    - He had held a Commission in the Royal Navy.
    - Charles features in Fryer’s fact-novel ‘Allan Maclean, Jacobite General’ -
  - This unit had campaigned as part of the Athol Brigade, though fought at Culloden for the first time as a stand-alone unit.





- A Clan MacLeod Unit of 120 men, under Malcolm MacLeod of Raasay was attached to the MacLachlan-Maclean regiment.
- The combined unit was one of five in Lord John Drummond's Division – the others were Lord Lovat's Regiment 300 men, Lady Mackintosh's Regiment 350, Farquarson of Monaltries's Battalion 150, and Chisholms of Stathglass 80 men (Wikipedia, Battle of Culloden).
- The MacLean and MacLachlan dead were buried together in a trench now marked by a stone.



Photo from Shirley MacLean

- It is intriguing at the same time that the MacLeans were fighting alongside the Maclachlans, some Maclachlans (the family the mother of Hugh, the 12<sup>th</sup> Laird of Ardgour) were trying to take over Ardgour. Hugh's uncle, James (the brother of a former laird 10<sup>th</sup>) was there at Culloden and James might have been aware of tensions between the families as he was fighting along Maclachlan clansmen.
- In trying to get a handle on the MacLeans at Culloden, we should not focus only on the MacLean/Maclachlan regiment:-
  - There might have been quite a few men who did not have the surname of MacLean, but who fought with the MacLeans in the combined regiment – eg No Quarter Given named 28 fighters with the MacLean regiment – 23 with the surname MacLean and 5 with another surname.
  - There were many MacLeans fighting in other regiments. This can be seen on our spreadsheet (appendix G) which shows that of the 79 with the MacLean surname, just 23 were identified as fighting in the MacLean/Maclachlan regiment, 44 fought in other regiments and it is not known who the remaining 12 were fighting with (maybe with the combined regiment, or maybe not). Or to show it another way, those with the MacLean surname were in at least 14 different regiments – just one or two men in most of each of these and only 4 regiments with significant numbers – MacKintosh (8), Cromartie (9) and Clanronald (13) and of course MacLean/Maclachlan with 23.

## Culloden - numbers

- Numbers in the various regiments have been listed above. But what how many McLeans fought at Culloden?
- In the table below, some of these sources are quoting each other rather than being independent research.

	Combined regiment	MacLeans
Reid gives 182 in the combined unit (Reid 2002 p26). However, Reid also states the unit was " <i>apparently with a strength of some 200 men</i> " (Reid 2006 p22).	182	
NWE states that the regiment of MacLeans and Maclachlans was 290 men combined	290	
'No Quarter Given' states that there were 290 in the combined regiment.	290	
'No Quarter Given' could only list the names of only 21 Maclachlans (& MacLauchlans)	(21 Maclachlans)	
Fryer states that " <i>The Macleans would be combined with nine score Maclachlans to form one large battalion under Drimnin</i> " (Fryer p29). This would be 9X20=180 Maclachlans.	(180 Maclachlans)	
Our spreadsheet named 79 MacLeans (incomplete listing)		79
The French map (above) shows there were 100 MacLeans, fighting next to 80 Maclachlans	180 (80 Maclachlans)	100
The Culloden Museum states that there were 180 MacLeans at Culloden - and only 38 returned home. [ <u>research</u> : Check this source.]		180
" <i>Macbean says that 'from Morvern to Kingairloch there came about nine score McLeans to the rebellion'</i> " (Seton & Arnot p319) - ie 9X20=180 men.		180
" <i>A contingent of 150 men of the Clan Maclean arrived in Inverness to join the Prince's forces on or about 21<sup>st</sup> March. .... This regiment was later increased in number by the addition of 50 more MacLeans.</i> " (page 14 of "Jacobite Activities in and around Inverness – 1688-1746) ie 150 + 50 = 200		200
" <i>Charles MacLean of Drimmin raised 200 men after the battle of Falkirk.</i> " (Seton & Arnot, p319).		200
" <i>Of the dispossessed Macleans, some 250 were gathered (under Maclean of</i>		250

<i>Drimnin).</i> " (Lang, ch 33)		
JP Maclean stated that there were initially 500 men in the early actions after Glenfinnan but he does not specify how many more joined the 500 along the way – nor how many withdrew. He did not indicate how many eventually made it to Culloden - but he would probably have remarked if he thought the majority of the original 500 did not fight in Culloden. So, JP McLean has proposed a much higher number than all other scholars.		500
Fitzroy MacLean P201 gives the number as 700 in the early actions (p207) and a little regiment of MacLeans and Maclachlans at Culloden (p215)	Little	500

- Spreadsheet: The table above gives various estimates but, in order to gain a deeper understanding of who these fighters were, there have been some attempts to create a list of individuals. We have compiled a spreadsheet (appendix G) of MacLeans based on 'No Quarter Given', with a few additions from other sources. This spreadsheet shows:-
  - Underestimate: Just 79 MacLeans have been named whereas we believe, from other sources, that there were about 300 in the battle.
  - Completeness: It is not surprising that every fighter could not be named, nor that each could not be assigned to a particular regiment.
  - Killed: The spreadsheet has not named many who were killed whereas all sources assert that a large proportion were killed (see how they fared below).
  - Rank: The list is biased towards naming officers (34%) rather than those without rank.
  - MacLean/Maclachlan combined regiment: The spreadsheet names just 23 MacLeans in the MacLean/Maclachlan regiment whereas, from other sources, we think there were far more than that - there might have been about 150 MacLeans in the combined regiment.
  - Of the 23 MacLeans named in the MacLean/Maclachlan regiment - 5 were killed, 8 were prisoners, 5 escaped, and fates of 6 others are not known. There were 15 officers among the 23 named.
  - Other regiments: 44 other MacLeans were spread across 13 other regiments
  - Unknown regiments: The spreadsheet was unable to designate under which flag 12 other MacLeans were fighting – maybe with the MacLeans in the combined regiment, or maybe with other regiments.
- Conclusion:-
  - Surprise: It was expected that most of the MacLeans would have fought together in the combined regiment. However, our spreadsheet indicates that over half of the MacLeans at Culloden were not fighting with the MacLeans.
  - There are many figures from various sources to consider. The combined Maclean/Maclachlan regiment might have been 180 or 290. The number of MacLeans, altogether fighting in the combined regiment as well as with other clans, might have ranged between 100 and 500.
  - In the absence of any other firm research, we will settle on 300 – half of these in the combined Maclean/Maclachlan regiment, and the other 150 scattered under many other flags.

## Culloden – localities

- Where did these MacLeans come from? How many came from Duiskey, Blaich or Ardgour?
- Surprise: It was expected that the fighters would have come in groups – mostly from a few localities which were particularly strong supporters of the Jacobian cause – brothers and cousins called to arms by their laird.
- Spreadsheet: Contrary to expectations, the spreadsheet in appendix G, admittedly incomplete, has 79 MacLeans coming from about 50 different places. There were a few from here and a few from there, rather than a couple of areas where masses of MacLeans rose up to join the campaign:-
  - Drimnin had the most names – but only 5. This of course included Lieut-Col Charles MacLean and his sons. See above.
  - Three from Kingairloch which is close to Ardgour.
  - None from Morvern which is close of Ardgour.
  - There were three from Argyllshire (which sometimes includes Duiskey and Blaich).
  - Just two from Ardgour (which includes Duiskey and Blaich):-
    - James: He was a son of the 10th Laird. We know quite a lot about this James (see the summary at the beginning of these notes and an appendix in our 'F30 – MacLeans of Ardgour').

- Allan: This Allan fought in Culloden and survived. He had a son, 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.
        - None were specifically from Duiskey or Blaich.
- Estimates from other sources: Our spreadsheet indicated that the Macleans did not come in large groups from particular areas. However, the following sources indicate that most of the MacLeans came in substantial numbers from a few branches or locations:-
  - Duart (Mull): A band of 500, principally composed of the MacLeans of Duart responded soon after Bonnie Prince Charlie summoned the clans. (JP Maclean p216)
  - Drumnin: “*Charles MacLean of Drimnin raised 200 men after the battle of Falkirk.*” (Seton & Arnot, p319). This indicates that he gathered together those men he had some influence over – mainly from around Drumnin.
  - Morvern and Kingairloch: “*From Morvern to Kingairloch there came about nine score McLeans to the rebellion*” (Seton & Arnot p319).
  - Morvern, Tyree & Ardgour: “*Large numbers of Macleans from Morvern and Ardgour, and some from Tiree supported the Jacobite cause in the events of 1745–6. .... 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.*” (Facebook – Culloden on 24<sup>th</sup> Aug 2016 – our appendix H)
  - Ardgour: “*MacLean of Ardgour [10<sup>th</sup> Laird] being by now 77, the Ardgour contingent was led by his son James.*” (Fitzroy).
  - All these are in the western highlands and neighbouring islands rather than spread throughout Scotland – ie Clan MacLean was focused on that side of Scotland..
- Conclusion:
  - What can we make of these incompatible views? The estimates indicate large groupings (which is what we expected) whereas our spreadsheet indicates a wide spread of locations with no significant Jacobian strongholds.
  - It would become clearer if we compiled a map with Ardgour, Mull, Drumnin, Morvern, Kingairloch, and Tyree – and many localities listed on our spreadsheet.
  - This puzzle has yet to be resolved. [research: We welcome any researchers who can throw any light on this.]

## Culloden - How many MacLeans survived?

- “*Of the dispossessed Macleans, some 250 were gathered (under Maclean of Drimnin), and of that resolute band some fifty survived Culloden.*” (Lang, ch 33).
- “*Macbean says that ‘from Morvern to Kingairloch there came about nine score McLeans to the rebellion, of whom returned but 38’*” (Seton & Arnot p319)
- It can be concluded that the MacLeans were in the middle of this disastrous battle and about three quarters of them were killed.

## Duncan Forbes

- As an aside, we consider Forbes’ role.
- He was Lord Culloden, a Scottish politician, judge and President of the Court of Session (Wikipedia). “*His loyalty to the Hanoverian king George II of Great Britain contributed markedly to the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion*” (Encyclopaedia Britannica)
- In 1715 he had aided the Hanoverian cause during the unsuccessful Jacobite rebellion of that year.
- In 1745, when the Bonnie Price 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).
- *From September 1745 until the suppression of the insurrection in April 1746, Forbes was the main representative of the government in northern Scotland.*
- The McLeans remained quiet. “*They were prevailed upon by the persuasions of President Forbes to remain quiet during the insurrection of the year 1745*” (Skene p213).



## The chief and the second rising

- Sir Hector the 21<sup>st</sup> MacLean Chief became the new chief just a few months after the 1715 battle of Sherrifmuir which was, in effect, 'The First Rising'. He was the chief of the clan, in exile, from 1716 to 1750 - the whole of the intervening period between 'The Fifteen' and 'The Forty-five'. But what was his personal role?
- Charles I created him Lord Maclean in the Jacobite peerage in 1716. At the time, he was only 13 years old and living in exile in France, so it could not have been for anything he had done personally. Maybe it was a belated honor to the Hector's predecessor, John the 20<sup>th</sup> Chief, who was a significant supporter of the Jacobian cause - especially the battles of Killiecrankie in 1689 and Sherrifmuir in 1715. Although it is not clear why this honor was bestowed upon him, it demonstrated the support of Clan Maclean for the Jacobite cause.
- 1725: There was a letter on 13<sup>th</sup> June 1725 from the King to Sir Hector and three others - Locheil, Clanronald & Marquis of Seaforth. The author is 'The King', but we need to consider who this would be - not the King of England (George) of course, but it wasn't the Bonnie Prince who would have only been five years old in 1725 - so it must have been his father (James). 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. (See appendix A and 'The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies of the Francis Atterbury, Lord Bishop of Rochester' which was published in 1783).
- 1745: Sir Hector returned from France for the Jacobite rising but was captured in Canongate, Edinburgh in June 1745, imprisoned in the Tower of London, then not released until 1747 - thus he was in the Tower for the whole duration of the Second Rising - from before Glenfinnan to well after Culloden and the immediate reprisals - so he was not able to provide personal leadership of the clan during these tumultuous times. The details are the following quotes:-
  - *"The MacLeans were known as loyal Jacobites and in fact Prince Charles had originally planned to land in 1745 in Mull. In June 1745, however, the then Chief Sir Hector, who had been visiting Edinburgh from France on King James' behalf, was arrested as a French or Jacobite agent and confined in Edinburgh Castle until May 1747. In the event, Prince Charles landed in Moidart in August 1745."* (Fitzroy)
  - *"The Chief, Sir Hector MacLean of Duart, who was a Major of Lord John Drummond's French Royal Scots, was taken prisoner in Edinburgh in June 1745 and sent to London, where he was treated as a prisoner of war on proving he was born in France."* (Seton & Arnot p319)
  - In 1745 he was arrested in Canongate, Edinburgh, together with his servant, on the charge of being in the French service and of enlisting men for it. He was sent to the Tower of London, where he remained until liberated by the Indemnity Act of 1747 (Wikipedia).
  - After nearly two years "he was set at liberty, in pursuance of an act of grace" (Burke).
  - On release, he returned to France.
- Comment:
  - We have yet to understand the extent of Hector's role with the Jacobites.
  - On the one hand, he was a Jacobite Peer, the king had written to him expressing his support, and Hector and the MacLeans were described as loyal Jacobites and eulogized in poetry (below).
  - On the other hand, Hector did not seem to be available to provide clan leadership because he was in France and then, when he started to take a direct, personal role in the Jacobite cause, he was captured and placed in the Tower.
  - Anyway, the clan might not have been able to act together. It could be said that the Uprising occurred at a low point in the strength and leadership of Clan Maclean in Duart, Ardgour and other branches. They were unable to organise the various branches to form a united response, in support (or opposition) to the Bonnie Prince. This is reflected in the fact that, at Culloden, the MacLeans came from many different locations (rather than just a few Jacobian strongholds), and then many fought with other regiments (rather than the MacLean/Maclachlan regiment).
- Poetry: The role of Clan Maclean is mentioned in songs and poems (ref: 'The Bonnie Prince Charlie Country' by Rev JA Carruth, Norwich, 1996). Clan Maclean and the 1715 Uprising 'Chevalier's Musterroll'. Sir Hector is mentioned in 'Come O'er the Stream Charlie' and 'The Gaelic Clans Song'. He is the 'Heir of Dreollain' (in Mull and Morvern) referred to 'Oran do Lochiall'. In 'Come O'er the Stream' Charlie is invited to 'dine with McLain' and 'his friend, The McLain'.
- For more information about Hector 21<sup>st</sup>, look at our 'F20 - Chiefs of Clan MacLean'.

## The Laird of Ardgour in the second rising

- The Ardgour estate was in a poor condition and might not have been financially or organizationally able to offer direct support at the time of Culloden.
- 10<sup>th</sup> Laird, Allan: *"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. ... There is no truth in the rumor that he sat on the fence yelling "Come on Charlie" or "Come on Butcher Cumberland" depending on which side was making the best progress."* (ref: Douglas MacLean in BRB p4). This 'Ardgour MacLean' would have been Allan who had been the 10<sup>th</sup> Laird but in 1731 he had passed the lairdship on to his son John (11<sup>th</sup> Laird) who then died prematurely in 1739. Thus Hugh (John's son and Allan's grandson) became the 12<sup>th</sup> Laird in 1739. So Allan probably did not play any part in Culloden – he was no longer the laird and he was 77 years old.
- 11<sup>th</sup> Laird, John: He was the laird from 1732 until he died in 1739. It is not known whether John played an active part in the Jacobite cause in his seven years as laird.
- 12<sup>th</sup> Laird, Hugh: He was just 9 years old and possibly living in Glasgow at the time of Culloden.
- James: James was a son of Allan 10<sup>th</sup>. With 10<sup>th</sup> too old, 11<sup>th</sup> dead and the 12<sup>th</sup> too young, there was not a laird of Ardgour who could effectively take a direct role at Culloden. *"MacLean of Ardgour being by now 77, the Ardgour contingent was led by his son James."* (Fitzroy). For information about James, see an appendix in our 'F30 – MacLeans of Ardgour'.

## The Laird of Blaich in the second rising

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 10<sup>th</sup> McLean Laird of Blaich. We have no information about what part he might have played.

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

- Glenfinnan is just 15 kilometres from Blaich.
- BRB p4 *"Many Blaich McLeans joined the rising"* but we have no information to support this.
- People in Blaich and Duiskey would have been very aware of the activity associated with the gathering at Glenfinnan not far away. They would have been caught up the excitement (and fears) 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, overnighing at Kinlocheil and then Fessfern. This was Cameron territory, had a larger population than the southern side, and was the direct way to get to Fort William. Undoubtedly there was much clatter and exhilaration of several thousand men – shouting and perhaps bagpipes as they enthusiastically gathered support.
- *"The 1200 men who had gathered at Glenfinnan marched south from Glenfinnan, increasing to almost 3,000 men"* (ref: Wikipedia).

..ooOOoo..

## Aftermath – after 1746

Culloden was followed by brutal reprisals at the hands of the English across large areas of the Highlands. JP MacLean describes the awful treatment and forceful de-population of the MacLeans in Mull and Coll as well as other islands, in the decades after Culloden. *"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 (appendix D). *"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).

## Why didn't the MacLeans of Ardgour suffer as much as elsewhere?

- Differences: The long-term impacts were different for the various of clans, and different for various branches of the MacLean clan. The Ardgour MacLeans fared better than most. Unusually for the Western Highlands, the Ardgour estate was not forfeited in those troubled times and is one of the few where uninterrupted ownership can be traced for nearly 600 years.

- Previous: The whole clan declined well before Culloden. There were many reasons for this decline, including clan rivalry and indebtedness, but a significant reason was their support of the Stuarts. *“The family of Maclean of Dowart, which, in the reign of James VI (1488 to 1513), was the most powerful in the Hebrides, had before the end of the seventeenth century lost nearly all its great possessions, and was almost deprived of influence. The seeds of the decay of this important family were sown in the reign of Queen Mary (1543 to 1567), when the great feud between the Macleans and Macdonalds first broke out. In the reigns of James VI (1567 to 1625) and Charles I (1625 to 1649), many debts had accumulated against the barony of Dowart, which enabled the Marquis of Argyle and his successors to establish a claim to that estate; and this claim the Macleans, owing to their exertions in favour of the Stewarts, never had an opportunity of shaking off. .... During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Macleans of Lochbuy, Coll, and Ardgour, more fortunate than those of Dowart, contrived to preserve their estates nearly entire as regarded the property; although compelled, by the power and policy of the Marquis of Argyle, to renounce their holdings from the Crown, and to become vassals of that powerful nobleman and his successors. There were numerous flourishing cadets of all the principal families of the Macleans. .... All the Macleans were zealous partisans of the Stewarts, in whose cause they suffered severely; more particularly at the battle of Inverkeithing, in 1652, when this clan lost several hundred men, and a large proportion of officers.”* Gregory (p419&420),
- Prominence: Although the MacLeans were front and centre on the Culloden battlefield, they were not as numerous or as prominent as some other clans. Thus, the Macleans were not singled out like the McDonalds and Camerons in the reprisals afterwards.
- Camerons: Lochiel and the Camerons were key players in the uprisings, and the McLeans had a much smaller role. Thus, in the reprisals after Culloden, the Camerons, to the north of Loch Eil, lost most of their lands, whereas the McLeans, on the south of the loch and other places, did not suffer so badly.
- *“Ardgour [Allan 10<sup>th</sup>], 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.”* (Gibson p138)
- Quiet: After 1715 the McLean’s *“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”* (Skene p213).
- Opposition: It is implied in the following quote, that there were government supporters in Morvern and Ardgour who opposed those who wanted to join the Jacobian cause. *“Large numbers of Macleans from Morvern and Ardgour, and some from Tiree supported the Jacobite cause in the events of 1745–6. .... 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.”* (Facebook – Culloden on 24<sup>th</sup> Aug 2016 – our appendix H)
- Other branches: Of the four main branches of the MacLean Clan, only Ardgour has retained large territories. Coll, Lochbuie and Duart had all lost their lands – well before Culloden. Of course, Duart Castle is now back in MacLean hands – but not thousands of surrounding acres. Certainly, the Ardgour McLeans 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 in 1858 (well after Culloden) 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 tempted to take 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)
- Laird: JP MacLean notes that Ardgour fared very differently from Mull and Coll and other islands. JP MacLean quotes *‘the present Laird of Ardgour’* who wrote on 7<sup>th</sup> 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" (JP MacLean p368). JP MacLean followed up what was written, with a conversation with 'the present Laird' on 14<sup>th</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> Laird of Ardgour and his father was the 14<sup>th</sup> and grandfather the 13<sup>th</sup>. The aunt might have been Elizabeth Margaret because 13<sup>th</sup> only had two daughters and the other had died long before. We quote the full address by the 13<sup>th</sup> address to his crofters and tenants in our notes about the 13<sup>th</sup> in 'McLeans in Ardgour'. The crofts by the sea would have included Blaich (with the greatest concentration of crofts) and Duisy (one of the largest estates).

- Counter point: "Of those who joined from Morvern and Ardgour and 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 24<sup>th</sup> Aug 2016) Comment: So far, we have no information to support for the notion that Morvern and Ardgour were 'laid waste'.

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## Appendices

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12.10.  
 N<sup>o</sup> 5.  
 The King.  
 To  
 The Marquis of Seaforth, Sir Hector,  
 MacLean, Clanronald, and Lochiel.  
 Albany June the 13<sup>th</sup> 1725.  
 By the Accounts I have received since I wrote to you  
 on the 29<sup>th</sup> 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 remark 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 exerting on this Occa-  
 sion that Ardent Zeal for the good cause and the well-  
 fare of your Country, which you have already  
 shewn in so Loyal a manner.



## Appendix B

### Old French map of the Culloden battle field

Drawn in 1748, by a French officer who was present at the battle

Source: <https://maps.nls.uk/view/74400868>



## Jacobite Army in Culloden

Source: New World Encyclopedia (NWE)

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 Ardsziel, 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 Glenmorrison 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 Maclan), 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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# Clan MacLean's Culloden Experience

by Alexander McCracken

in Sword Forum International - <http://www.gillean.com/History/jacobite.htm>

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 Murray 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 centre 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 then 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 Kings 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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## The Dress Act of 1747

source: Culloden Tourist and Information Centre website on 9<sup>th</sup> Dec 2017

The Dress Act stated that 'That from and after the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and forty seven, no man or boy, within that part of Great Briton called Scotland, other than shall be employed as officers and soldiers in his Majesty's forces, shall on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland Clothes (that is to say) the plaid, philibeg, or little kilt, trowse, shoulder belts, or any part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the highland garb; and that no tartan, or partly-coloured plaid or stuff shall be used for great coats, or for upper coats' Anyone found breaking these rules could be imprisoned for six months, and, if they were caught again, they could be sent to a plantation overseas for seven years.

So, here we can see that the Dress Act does not completely ban tartan as many people believe, it only banned it for certain parts of clothing. Also, it is worth remembering the ban did not apply to men serving in Highland Regiments or to the Gentry, sons of Gentry or women and according to the Act it only affected Scotland. The Act did however affect men who had fought for the Government army as well as the Jacobite army. So, even if you fought for the Government they could still arrest you for breaking the Dress Act making it much more than just an action against Jacobites.

It wasn't until 1782 that the act was repealed on 1st July. However, it would take many further years before the Highland dress returned to the mainstream and even then it was worn by many more for occasions and not as everyday wear.

We hoped you enjoyed this little insight into the Dress Act and as always please like, share, comment, tweet and keep joining us for more titbits.

All the best, K & D

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## Facebook – Culloden on 24<sup>th</sup> Aug 2016

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.

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# Appendix F

Source: Notes by Sir Fitzroy MacLean of Dunconnel in 'No Quarter Given – A Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army, 1745-46 – by Alastair Livingstone et al

## MacLeans

In the 1715 rising the MacLeans fought at Sheriffmuir under their Chief, Sir John MacLean of Duart. They were known as loyal Jacobites and in fact Prince Charles had originally planned to land in 1745 in Mull. In June 1745, however, the then Chief Sir Hector, who had been visiting Edinburgh from France on King James' behalf, was arrested as a French or Jacobite agent and confined in Edinburgh Castle until May 1747.

In the event Prince Charles landed in Moidart in August 1745. Five hundred MacLeans under old Charles MacLean of Drimnin rose in his support. MacLean of Ardgour being by now 77, the Ardgour contingent was led by his son James. Of the other chieftains Brolas was reputedly in North America, while Lochbuie held aloof and Coll actually spoke against the rising. The role of other MacLeans appears in the appended list. Strong forces of Hanoverian supporters in their area prevented the MacLeans from breaking out and joining the Prince until after the battle of Falkirk.

At Culloden the MacLeans formed a combined regiment under young MacLachlan of Strathlachlan, with MacLean of Drimnin as Lieutenant Colonel. Their position was near the centre of the Jacobite front line. MacLachlan was killed early in the battle and Drimnin then took command. The Regiment charged with the other clans driving back the Hanoverian left wing in confusion. But eventually, suffering severely, they were overwhelmed by the enemy's superior numbers, equipment and organisation.

While seeking to rally his men, Drimnin was informed by one of his three sons, Aileen, that another, Lachlan, had been killed. 'Ailean', he said, 'Coma leat misc, ma's toigh leat do bheat ha, thoir an aire dhuit fliein'. 'Allan, do not worry about me. If you value your life, take care of yourself'. Then, shouting 'It shall not be for naught', he rushed without wig or bonnet back into the battle and, encountering two English dragoons, killed one and wounded the other, before himself being cut down.

At Culloden the MacLean and MacLachlan dead were buried together in a trench now marked by a stone.

Sir Fitzroy MacLean of Dunconnel Bt



## Names of MacLeans at Culloden

## MacLeans in various regiments at Culloden (ref: NQG)

Stewarts of Appin	1
Yet to find out	12
Atholl Brigade	1
Cameron of Lochiel's	1
Earl of Cromartie's	9
Frasers of Lovat	1
Irish Piquets	1
John Roy Stewart (Edinburgh)	1
Lady MacKintosh's	8
Lord Lewis Gordon's	1
MacDonald of Clanranald's	13
MacDonell of Glengarry's	2
MacKinnons	2
MacLeans	23
MacPherson of Cluny's	3

Surname	Given name	Location	Regiment	Sources & notes (NQG = No Quarter Given)	Rank	After Culloden	Sequence in 'No Quarter Given' Pages of the index of a previous edition
McLean	?	Drimnin	MacLeans	* NQG p217: Son of Charles McLean of Drimnin. He was an officer in regiment, killed at Culloden * Questions was this a third son of Charles, also killed at Culloden	Officer	Killed	1 193
McLean	Alexander	Corrie	MacLeans	* NQG p216: Officer in Regiment, escaped	Officer	Escaped	2 193
McLean	Alexander	Corrie	MacLeans	* NQG p217: Doctor, younger of Corrie - Surgeon, escaped	Doctor (officer)	Escaped	3 193
McLean	Allan	Mull or Calgarry	MacLeans	* NQG p 216: Officer in regiment * Calgarie's son from Mull was lieutenant in the rebel army. His whereabouts after Culloden not known (Rosebery p284).	Officer	Unknown	9 193
McLean	Allan	Drimnin	MacLeans	* NQG p216: Officer in regiment * Son of Charles (Drimnin). He was an officer in the rebel army. It was not known where he was after Culloden. (Rosebery p284).	Officer	Unknown	10 192 & 193
McLean	Allan	Tiree	MacLeans	* NQG p217: Taken prisoner and discharged	Unknown	Prisoner	11 193
McLean	Allan Dubh	Tiree	MacLeans	* NQG p217: Taken prisoner and discharged	Unknown	Prisoner	12 193

McLean	Archibald	Balemartine, Tiree	MacLeans	* NQG p217: Taken prisoner and discharged	Unknown	Prisoner	16	193
McLean	Archibald	Sendaig, Tiree	MacLeans	* NQG p217: Taken prisoner and discharged	Unknown	Prisoner	17	193
McLean	Charles	Drimnin	MacLeans	<p>* 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.</p> <p>* One reference (www.drimninestate.co.uk) stated that it was Allan of Drimnin but we accept the New World Encycloepdia which has him as Charles.</p> <p>* At Culloden, Charles was Lieut Col – second-in-charge of the combined Maclean and MacLachlan regiment.</p> <p>* Rosebery states that Charles was an officer in the rebel army (Rosebery p284).</p> <p>* This Charles is featured in Fryer’s fact-novel ‘Allan Maclean – Jacobite General’</p> <p>* He was killed in the battle.</p> <p>* According to NWE, Charles’s two sons were also killed in Culloden. The NWE did not give the names of these sons but they might have been Allan and Lachlan.</p> <p>* Ffamily p98</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> </ul>	Officer	Killed	21	189, 192, 193 & 233
McLean	Hector	Leith (Tiree)	MacLeans	<p>* NQG p217: Servant at Leith, but from Tiree</p> <p>* Roseberry p252: Servant James Reid of Leith in Mid Lothian. He was forced out into the rebellion by his master. He was at home after Culloden. (Rosebery p252).</p>	Unknown	Escaped	41	193
McLean	Hector	Torloisk	MacLeans	<p>* NQG p217: Officer in regiment</p> <p>* p319 ‘Prisoners of 1745’ by Seton &amp; Arnot</p>	Officer	Unknown	42	193
McLean	Hugh	Kilmory	MacLeans	<p>* NQG p216: Son of Kilmory, Captain in the regiment.</p> <p>* Kilmorie’s son from Mull. He was captain in the rebel army. His whereabouts after Culloden not known (Rosebery p284).</p>	Officer	Unknown	43	193
McLean	Hugh	Kingairloch	MacLeans	* NQG p216: Brother of Kingairloch, officer in regiment, killed at Culloden	Officer	Killed	44	193
McLean	James	Ardgour	MacLeans	<p>* NQG p216: Officer in regiment</p> <p>* p319 of ‘Prisoners of 1745’ by Seton &amp; Arnot</p> <p>* Don’s note: This James was the son of Allan, 10th Laird of Ardgour. See our ‘F30 – Lairds of Ardgour’ .</p>	Officer	Escaped	45	192 & 193
McLean	John	Aberdeenshire	MacLeans	* Captured at Culloden 16th April 1746 and imprisoned on 19th April 1746. Nothing further known about this man. Ref: (a) www.jacobites.net, (b) Not listed in 'Prisoners of the '45', (c) NQG, (d) Historical papers 1699-1750, vol II, New Spalding Club 1894 - Inverness Prisoner List 19th April 1746, p 611-614	Unknown	Prisoner	49	16 & 193
McLean	John	Inverness	MacLeans	* NQG p216: Officer of regiment	Officer	Escaped (lurking)	56	193
McLean	John	Kenway, Tiree	MacLeans	* NQG p217: Taken prisoner and discharged	Unknown	Prisoner	57	193

McLean	John	Kingairloch	MacLeans	<p>* NQG p216: Captain of regiment Roseberry p286: Brother of Lachlan (jnr) of Kingerloch. Captain in the rebel army. He was killed in Culloden. (Roseberry p286). * Facebook note: "... 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 (Facebook – Culloden on 24th Aug 2016) research needed - what was the actual source of this quote? * "MacLachlan and MacLean: The former, commanded by Lachlan MacLachlan of Castle Lachlan, joined the Jacobite Army at the outset, as did a small company commanded by Captain John MacLean of Kingairloch. Although the two contingents were immediately combined, they went through most of the campaign attached to Lord Nairne's Regiment of the Athole Brigade. Some time in March 1746 they were joined by a further contingent of Macleans under Charles MacLean of Drimnin, and fought for the first time as an independent unit at Culloden, apparently with a strength of some 200 men commanded by MacLachlan with Drimnin as lieutenant-colonel" (Reid p22). * "Lachlan of Kingerloch had three sons, Hugh, <u>John</u>, and Lachlan .... John entered the Black Watch as a lieutenant in 1739. He killed an officer named Mackenzie, in a duel, and had to leave the army. He was a captain in the Maclean battalion at the battle of Culloden, and fell bravely fighting for the hapless Stewarts." (p282 of Rev A Maclean Sinclair's 'The Clan Gillean, 1899)</p>	Officer	Killed	59	193
McLean	Lachlan	Drimnin	MacLeans	<p>* Roseberry p286: Natural son of Charles (Drimnin). He was an officer in the rebel army. He was killed at Culloden. * NQG p 216: Officer in regiment, killed at Culloden * FFamily p98</p>	Officer	Killed	65	192 & 193
McLean	Lachlan	Kilmory	MacLeans	<p>* NQG p217: Brother of Kilmory, officer in regiment * p319 in 'Prisoners of 1745' by Seton &amp; Arnot</p>	Officer		66	193
McLean	Lachlan	Kingairloch	MacLeans	<p>* NQG p217: Brother of John? of Kingairloch, officer in regiment, he escaped and went to Holland and returned</p>	Officer	Escaped	67	193
McLean	Neil	Tiree	MacLeans	<p>* NQG p217: Taken prisoner and discharged</p>	Unknown	Prisoner	69	193
McLean	Alexander	Inverness	Atholl Brigade	<p>* NQG p51: Pedlar, 3rd Batt, taken prisoner, transported</p>	Unknown	Prisoner	4	28
McLean	Alexander	Langlogie	Earl of Cromartie's	<p>* NQG p 102: * One possible Alexander - Roseberry (p46) note: Shoemaker apprentice of Perth. Seen in Arms with rebels but said to be pressed. He was in 'lurking' somewhere after Culloden. (Roseberry p46). * Another possible Alexander - Roseberry (p226) note: Brewer of Long Loggie in the parish of Meggie in the County of Perth. He was a sergeant in the rebel army and at the battles of Falkirk and Culloden. It is not known where he was after Culloden (Roseberry p226). * Google Maps does not have these locations near Perth - Long Loggie, Langlogie, or Meggie.</p>	Officer	Escaped (lurking)	7	97
McLean	Alexander	Lochbroom	Earl of Cromartie's	<p>* NQG p108: 25 yrs old, taken prisoner, died?,</p>	Unknown	Prisoner	6	85

McLean	Alexander	Ross-shire	Earl of Cromartie's	* NQG p108: 40 yrs old, taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	8	85
McLean	Alexander	Kilbride	MacKinnons	* NQG p204:No comment	Unknown	Unknown	5	180
MacLean	Allan	Torloisk	Unknown	* Don's note: Allan was the third son of Donald, the 5 <sup>th</sup> Laird of Torloisk (ref: Wikipedia). Torloisk is in north-western 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 23 <sup>rd</sup> Chief. We have placed a family tree Allan's siblings in our notes on the 23 <sup>rd</sup> Chief. A whole fact-novel has been written about him – 'Allan Maclean – Jacobite General' by Mary Beacock Fryer in 1987. See appendix H.	Officer	Escaped	77	
MacLean	Allan	Ardgour	Unknown	* Don's note: This Allan fought in Culloden and survived. Our connection with 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.	Unknown	Unknown	78	
McLean	Angus	Eigg	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p173: 43 yrs old, farmer, taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	13	149
McLean	Angus	Eignaig	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p173: No comment	Unknown	Unknown	14	149
McLean	Angus	Lead-na-cloiche	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p173: No comment	Unknown	Unknown	15	149
McLean	Archibald	Skye	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p173: Taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	18	149
McLean	Bean	Dracha Beag	Lady MacKintosh's	* NQG p211: Surrendered 1746	Unknown	Prisoner (surrendered)	19	187
McLean	Charles	Cnoc-na-gruisach	Lady MacKintosh's	* NQG p211: Surrendered 17th June 1746	Unknown	Prisoner (surrendered)	20	187

McLean	Charles	Glasnakille	MacKinnons	* NQG p204:No comment	Unknown	Unknown	22	180
MacLean	Donald	Argyllshire	Cameron of Lochiel's	* Imprisoned at Inverness on 19th April 1746. Ref: (a) www.jacobites.net, (b) Not listed in 'Prisoners of the '45', (c) Not listed in the NQG, (d) Historical papers 1699-1750, vol II, New Spalding Club 1894 - Inverness Prisoner List 19th April 1746, p 611-614	Unknown	Prisoner	76	
McLean	Donald	Location not stated	Irish Piquets	* NQG p165: Doctor, surgeon, taken prisoner at Culloden, discharged	Officer	Prisoner	23	141
McLean	Donald	Bruin	Lady MacKintosh's	* NQG p211: Surrendered 17th June 1746	Unknown	Prisoner (surrendered)	25	187
McLean	Donald	Dalcromby	Lady MacKintosh's	* NQG p211: Surrendered 7th June 1746	Unknown	Prisoner (surrendered)	26	187
McLean	Donald	Wester Bancar	Lady MacKintosh's	* NQG p211: Surrendered 1746	Unknown	Prisoner (surrendered)	33	187
McLean	Donald	Eignaig	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p173: No comment	Unknown	Unknown	27	149
McLean	Donald	Glenuig	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p173: Brother of John	Unknown	Unknown	28	149
McLean	Donald	Lead-na-cloiche	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p173: No comment	Unknown	Unknown	31	150
McLean	Donald	South Uist	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p174: Taken prisoner, discharged	Unknown	Prisoner	32	150
McLean	Donald	Banffshire	MacDonell of Glengarry's	* NQG p190: Taken prisoner, discharged	Unknown	Prisoner	24	166
McLean	Donald	Inverness-shire	MacDonell of Glengarry's	* NQG p190: Deserted, taken prisoner on 4th Nov 1745, discharged	Unknown	Prisoner	30	166
McLean	Donald	Glenurquhart	Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	29	162
McLean	Dougal	Cromarty	Lady MacKintosh's	* NQG p211: 16 yrs old?, labourer, taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	34	187

McLean	Duncan	Dornie, Ross	Earl of Cromartie's	* NQG p108: 42 yrs old, taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	35	85
McLean	Duncan	Ruthven	MacPherson of Cluny's	* NQG p224: Surrendered 17th May 1746	Unknown	Prisoner (surrendered)	36	200
McLean	Ewen	Tullochallan	Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	37	127
McLean	Farquhar	Ross-shire	Earl of Cromartie's	* NQG p108: Taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	38	85
McLean	Hector	Cromarty	Earl of Cromartie's	* NQG p108: 40 yrs old, taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	39	85
McLean	Hector	Langwell, Ross	Earl of Cromartie's	* NQG p108: 44 yrs old, farmer, taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	40	85
McLean	Hector	Torloisk		* p319 of 'Prisoners of 45' by Seton & Arnot * Officer (Seton & Arnot) * p14 of 'Jacobite Activities in and around Inverness'				
McLean	James	Stirling	Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	46	74
McLean	John	Argyll	Lord Lewis Gordon's	* Captured at Culloden 16th April 1746 and imprisoned on 19th April 1746. Muster Roll states might have died. Ref: (a) www.jacobites.net, (b) Not listed in 'Prisoners of the '45', (c) NQG, (d) Historical papers 1699-1750, vol II, New Spalding Club 1894 - Inverness Prisoner List 19th April 1746, p 611-614	Unknown	Prisoner	50	132 & 191
McLean	John	Eignaig	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p174: No comment	Unknown	Unknown	52	150
McLean	John	Glenpoislan	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p174: No comment	Unknown	Unknown	54	150
McLean	John	Glenuig	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p174: Brother of Donald	Unknown	Unknown	55	150
McLean	John	Laig, Eigg	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p174: Gardener, taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	60	150
McLean	John	Location not stated	MacDonald of Clanranald's	* NQG p174: 25 yrs old, taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	47	150

McLean	John	Ruthven	MacPherson of Cluny's	* NQG p224: Surrendered 17th May 1746	Unknown	Prisoner (surrendered)	61	200
McLean	John	Shirramore	MacPherson of Cluny's	* NQG p224: Surrendered	Unknown	Prisoner (surrendered)	62	200
McLean	John	Aberdeenshire	Stewarts of Appin	* NQG p40: Taken prisoner at Culloden. * Captured at Culloden 16th April 1746 and imprisoned on 19th April 1746. Ref: (a) www.jacobites.net, (b) Not listed in 'Prisoners of the '45', (c) NQG, (d) Historical papers 1699-1750, vol II, New Spalding Club 1894 - Inverness Prisoner List 19th April 1746, p 611-614	Unknown	Prisoner	48	16 & 193
McLean	John	Argyll	Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	51	191 & 132
McLean	John	Ferryhill	Unknown	* Roseberry (p14) note: Servant of James Tower of Ferryhill in the parish of Old Machar in Aberdeen. He carried arms at Inverury and Culloden. It was not known where he was after Culloden. (ref: 'List of Persons in the Rebellion', by Archibald Philip Primrose Rosebery & Walter MacLeod, 1890, p14).	Unknown	Unknown	53	223
McLean	John	Killicrew	Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	58	68 & 225
McLean	John	Skye	Unknown	NQG (p249) note: On 8th Nov 1746, he was executed or hanged after the rising - was a sergeant serving under Duke of Perth	Officer	Prisoner	75	
MacLean	John		Unknown	* Don's notes: Captain in the Jacobite Army - diary 1745-46 (accession 11241 in www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/accessions/1995/95digests/scottish.htm. There were 17 men by the name of John McLean on the NQG list (appendix VVV0), but it is not possible to identify which one was this John (needs a closer look).)	Officer	Unknown	79	
MacLean	John		Duke of Perth	* Sergeant, fought with Duke of Perth * Executed on 7th Nov 1746	Officer	Executed		
McLean	Lachlan	Argyllshire	John Roy Stewart (Edinburgh)	* Captured at Culloden 16th April 1746 and imprisoned at Inverness on 19th April 1746. Nothing further known about this man. Ref: (a) www.jacobites.net, (b) Not listed in 'Prisoners of the '45', (c) NQG, (d) Historical papers 1699-1750, vol II, New Spalding Club 1894 - Inverness Prisoner List 19th April 1746, p 611-614	Unknown	Prisoner	63	218

Surname	Given name	Location	Regiment	Sources & notes (NQG = No Quarter Given)	Rank	After Culloden	Sequence in 'No Quarter Given'	Pages of the index of a previous edition
McLean	Lachlan	Corriebrough	Lady MacKintosh's	* NQG p211: Surrendered 1746	Unknown	Prisoner (surrendered)	64	187
McLean	Murdow	Dell of Morrall	Lady MacKintosh's	* NQG p211: Surrendered 1746	Unknown	Prisoner (surrendered)	68	187
McLean	Patrick	Ireland	Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	70	91
McLean	Peter	Location not stated	Unknown		Unknown	Unknown	71	90
McLean	Roderick	Bridgehouse, Kilmorack	Fraser's of Lovat	* NQG p145: No comment. * Of Bridgehouse in the parish of Kilmorack in Inverness. He was with the rebels. (Rosebery p78).	Unknown		72	121
McLean	Thomas	Auchtie, Linton, Ross	Earl of Cromartie's	* NQG p108: 25 yrs old, servant, taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	73	85
McLean	William	Lochbroom	Earl of Cromartie's	* NQG p108: 14 yrs old, taken prisoner, transported	Unknown	Prisoner	74	85



# 'Allan Maclean – Jacobite General – The life of an eighteenth century career soldier' – by Mary Beacock Fryer

- published by Dundurn Press, Toronto and Oxford, 1987

This is a fact-novel which seems to have been based on facts from thorough research.

Allan Maclean was born in 1725 in Torloisk on the north west coast of Mull. His father was Donald Maclean – 5th laird of Torloisk. His mother was a daughter of Archibald Campbell of Sunderland. (Fryer p18)

There were ten children — four sons and six daughters – listed below (Fryer p18)

- Hector: The eldest son and the laird's heir, was studying law in Edinburgh, and was a captain in the battalion that was the clan's own army.
- Lachlan: The second son, was an officer on a merchantman that plied between Port Glasgow and the West Indies, who hoped one day for a ship of his own.
- Allan: The third son, wanted a military career. On his eighteenth birthday he had been appointed a lieutenant in the battalion under his brother Hector, but the clan had not been in action since 1715, a decade before Allan's birth.
- Archibald: The youngest son, was a rather dull youth who did not know what he wanted to do with his life.
- Mary: The eldest daughter, seemed destined for spinsterhood.
- Betty: The laird hoped that some man who was not greedy would marry Betty.
- Anna: The youngest, had married Donald Maclean, the head of a lesser branch of the family, and who was known as the Cadet of Torloisk. Their small holding yielded a more meagre living than the lands of the laird.
- Alicia: She was the wife of Lachlan Macquarrie, the debt ridden laird of the Isle of Ulva. Their house, which could be seen from Torloisk on clear days, was also humble, with a dirt floor and so many broken windows that rain poured in on wet days.
- Christiana: She had married Alexander Maclean, a cousin and the minister of the Presbyterian church in Kilninian.
- Elizabeth: She was the wife of Lachlan Maclean of Garmony, a member of the Lochbuie branch of the clan, and had emigrated with her husband to Jamaica.



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Seeing no prospect of gaining military experience at home, Allan often begged his father to let him go to the Continent to seek a commission with the French or Dutch. Donald Maclean refused to give his consent, for the laird had other priorities. He wanted Allan to assist the Stuarts if the opportunity arose and to be ready to help drive the Campbells from Mull. When Allan pointed out that he had to learn how to be an officer, his father's reply was always the same.

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"A Highland gentleman does not need training. Fighting is in our blood and in the blood of our clansmen. When the time comes, we will remove the weapons from between the layers of turf where I hid them after the '15. Be patient my son."

Allan obeyed his father, as was his duty, but he envied other Highlanders who had left to serve abroad. Some had enlisted in regiments established by foreign monarchs especially for Highlanders. France had the French Royal Scots; the Netherlands had a Scots Brigade. On duty at The Hague was another Allan Maclean, the man destined to become the 22nd chief of the clan. Sir Hector Maclean was a bachelor. The other Allan Maclean, his heir and a distant cousin,

like the chief was known as Maclean of Maclean, although his father had once been laird of Brolass, in the south of Mull. Like Torloisk, Brolass now belonged to the Duke of Argyll.

A close relative of the Macleans of Torloisk who had served in the Scots brigade in the Netherlands was Captain William Maclean of Blaich, an estate on the mainland near Fort William. The captain had retired but his son Francis was a subaltem in the Brigade, and Allan had long wanted to join him.

By 1745, the year Allan turned twenty, rumours circulating suggested that another attempt to restore the Stuarts would soon be made. In Paris, Sir Hector Maclean heard that Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the rightful king's elder son, would lead an army to Scotland. Sir Hector left France for Edinburgh, where on 5 June he was arrested and later taken to London. Because he had been born in France, he was regarded as a foreigner and allowed the status of a prisoner of war. Then Prince Charles landed on the west coast, raised his standard at Glenfinnan, and called on the loyal Jacobite clans to join him. To the disappointment of many friends, the Prince had come in one ship, and with only a handful of soldiers, most of them French Royal Scots, not the army which King Louis of France had once promised him.

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The Macleans of Mull were eager to fight for the Prince, but for the moment they were frustrated. The garrison of Campbells still in residence at Duart Castle stood in the way. A sorrowing Allan had to sit on the sidelines at Torloisk as the Prince led his army into England, along the way handing out some severe drubbings to the troops of George 11 before giving up the attempt to reach London. Nevertheless the situation still looked promising. On returning to Scotland the Jacobite army roundly defeated the King's soldiers at Falkirk in January 1746. The Prince was calling for fresh volunteers, and the Campbells left Mull to join the army that opposed him. Since Sir Hector, the chief, was still a prisoner in London, the man who would lead the battalion was Charles Maclean of Drimnin, the laird of an estate on the Morvem peninsula, across the Sound of Mull on the mainland. A robust man in his middle-forties, Maclean of Drimnin had served in foreign armies and was thus an experienced soldier.

Towards the end of February 1746, Hector Maclean, Allan's elder brother, arrived from Edinburgh, and Drimnin sent the fiery cross around Mull, the signal for the clan to rise. The cross consisted of two crossed sticks, each somewhat charred, to which was attached a bit of cloth that had been dipped in blood. A runner carried the cross from croft to croft, informing the clansmen. Hector would soon take his place in the battalion, the men of Torloisk as his fighting tail and Allan as his second-in-command. The men of Mull were to gather at Fishnish Point, ready to cross the Sound of Mull in small boats to join the members of the clan who lived on the mainland.

From within the turf roof of the cottage Donald Maclean drew out weapons that had been secreted there since 1715. Opening oilcloth-wrapped packets the laird exposed muskets, pistols known as Highland dags, basket-hilted broadswords, sheathed dirks, and bullskin shields called targets, which he distributed to his warrior sons. Then Hector took Allan's bonnet and pressed into the band a white linen cockade — a rosette, symbol of the white rose of the Stuarts. On it was embroidered "With Charles our brave and merciful P.R., we'll greatly fall or nobly save our country." To this Allan added a sprig of crowberry, the symbol of the Macleans of Mull.

When they left the small house, Allan carried on his shoulders a sack of oat meal to sustain them. In his sporran was a small leather bag of coins which the laird pressed on him, money Allan accepted with reluctance, suppressing mounting indignation at the implication that the Prince might not triumph and he would need funds to escape the country. Mary Maclean knew the risk they were taking, but she accepted that they must do their duty.

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The brothers went first to the cottage of their father's piper, Rankin, and told him to take post at Kihntinian church. Then they went from croft to croft. Most of the men and boys came willingly, but some responded only to threats to burn their roofs to remind them of the allegiance they owed to their absent chief.

In a few hours the warriors of Torloisk were milling about the church, where Hector formed them into a column. Their march took them along the shore of Loch Tuath to the strains of Spaidsearachd Chlann Ghilleathain — Maclean's March — played by Piper Rankin, which almost smothered the occasional war cry of Bas na Beatha - Death or Life — and Fear eile airson Eachinn — Another for Hector. One who stayed behind was Donald the Cadet of Torloisk, to administer the estate for the aging laird in the absence of so many men.

Allan marched behind Hector, proud of their fighting tail as they followed the shore of Loch na Keal. At Salen, on the Sound of Mull, the column halted for some sleep. There they were joined by men from that coast making for Fishnish Point. When the enlarged host reached its destination, Hector and Allan went in search of Maclean of Drimnin. They found the chieftain standing with his sons, Alan, Lachlan and Donald, all in the tartan of Drimnin. Hector and Allan doffed their bonnets in respect, and Drimnin welcomed them gravely.

The commander shouted for order and addressed the men in Gaelic. Officers were to see to the loading of their men on the boats that were drawn up on shore ready for the crossing to Lochaline. The Prince's army was marching for Inverness, where the battalion would join him. A rumble of dismay surged through the crowd and Allan's heart sank. If the Prince had withdrawn so deeply into the Highlands, he would face a long and difficult march before he could make a second attempt on London.

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Drimnin strove to reassure the clansmen. The Jacobite host was rallying at Inverness because the Duke of Cumberland's army was marching for Aberdeen. The duke, King George II's younger son, had been brought home from the Continent especially to take command of the army for his father. His Royal Highness Prince Charles' advisers, the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray and Lord John Drummond, had recommended Inverness as the best place to gather the Jacobite force. There, the Jacobites would defeat the flower of England's army, the Lowlanders and the perfidious Campbells and other Highland Whigs, and few soldiers would then stand between the Prince and London. At Inverness, Drimnin proclaimed, the Jacobites would extirpate the Duke of Cumberland's army, much as the Picts of old had butchered the legions of Rome!

A cheer rose from the assembled gathering, none louder than the chorus from the men of Torloisk. Even the reluctant ones were caught up in the adventure. As a wintry night was falling, some nine score Macleans were mustered at Lochlaine, crouched around peat fires, refreshing themselves on oat meal and roast venison, talking of the coming campaign with enthusiasm.

They slept close to the fires rolled in their plaids, arms at hand, and before first light the camp was stirring. Drimnin formed the men of Mull into a company with Hector as the captain and Allan as his subordinate in charge of a platoon. To the skirl of the pipes the straggly column wound its way into Glen Gael, thence towards Loch Linnhe. At intervals the men stopped to drink from a burn, which caused the dry meal they had consumed to swell and kept hunger at bay for hours. The days were short, and Drimnin had the column on the move before dawn, not calling a halt until after dark.

As they neared Ardgour, some scouts joined them. They had come from two Jacobite leaders — young Donald Cameron, son and heir to old Donald Cameron of Lochiel, and Macdonald of Keppoch. The Camerons and Macdonalds were trying to dislodge a British garrison from Fort William, thus far to no avail. All they had achieved was to bottle up the garrison and its vicious commander, Captain Caroline Scott, a hated Lowland Whig, so that they could not harm any local Jacobites. Drimnin agreed to cross the loch and help them, for he disliked leaving an enemy garrison at his rear.

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In Glen Nevis, beneath the shadow of Ben Nevis, the tallest mountain in Scotland, they were guided to a moated hillock called Dun Dige. On top stood the house of Alexander Cameron of Glen Nevis. Alexander, who was not a Jacobite, had absented himself; young Donald Cameron of Lochiel, who was an ardent Jacobite, had taken over his kinsman's house for a headquarters. Young Donald was in command of the Camerons because Old Lochiel, the chief of the clan, was unfit for the task. The Macleans would serve for a time under Young Lochiel, guarding the approaches to Fort William to prevent supplies reaching the garrison.

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Chapter Two: Blood on the Moor - 16 April 1746

The siege of Fort William proved fruitless, as the Highlanders had no artillery to use against the walls. The fort stood close to Loch Linnhe, astride the military road that stretched from the narrows of the loch northwards all the way to Inverness. Both the fort and the road had been built after the rising of 1715 to control the Highlands. As the men probed the defences Allan had his first taste of grape shot, which may have shaken his confidence in the Jacobites'

ability to defeat a regular army. On one foray, cannon boomed from the walls of the fort, and puffs of blue smoke floated up from the batteries. Throwing himself face down, he heard what sounded like hailstones falling on the moor ahead of him. Grape shot, he learned, was little bags of canvas filled with bits of metal, even stones. While a musket ball, even a cannon ball, might kill one man, grape could claim many when a cannon found the right range.

One service Hector and Allan almost certainly performed was obtaining supplies for the Highlanders stationed in Glen Nevis. Their kinsman Captain William Maclean of Blaich lived scarcely two hours by boat along Loch Eil. Later events suggest that Allan received sound advice on the most expeditious way of leaving the country from Maclean of Blaich, the veteran of the Scots Brigade in the Dutch service in which his son Francis was still serving.

For what remained of February the garrison stayed bottled up, the clansmen unable to force an entry. The men from Mull grew restive, asking to be allowed to return to their crofts. With the coming of March and no change in their situation Allan found that he and Hector had to keep a constant watch to prevent desertions. The brothers were successful, for not a man succeeded in slipping away. Allan was having his first taste of command and enjoying himself.

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On 9 March a scout returned with news that put fresh hope into the hearts of the besiegers of Fort William. Fort Augustus, at the foot of Loch Ness, had fallen to the Jacobites on the 5th, while Fort George, at Inverness, had been in the hands of the Prince's army since 20 February. Everywhere the German King's garrisons were on the run, and surely Fort William could not hold out much longer. Young Lochiel sent a runner to Fort Augustus asking that cannon and ammunition be moved from there to Fort William. In due course Brigadier-General Walter Stapleton, an Irish Jacobite, arrived at the head of a train of artillery, and these guns were soon answering those of Fort William's defenders. Allan was soon disappointed. Captain Caroline Scott and his redcoats showed no sign of surrendering, and the walls of the fort remained intact.

Towards the end of the month Brigadier Stapleton was joined by a French engineer, Monsieur Mirabelle. This gentlemen, too, proved ineffective. Now Allan was wondering where the Duke of Cumberland might be. If the besiegers lingered much longer they might miss the encounter between the Prince and the German imposter's son entirely.

On 6 April Allan's question was answered. A courier came galloping from Fort Augustus with word that Cumberland was just a week's march from Inverness. The Prince wanted the Jacobites to abandon the siege of Fort William and come to join him at Inverness. Drimnin agreed to march at once, and Lochiel and Keppoch promised to round up their men from their scattered positions and follow them. By the time the battalion was nearing the northern capital on 11 April, provisions were short but no one was concerned. The Jacobite army was being fed and sheltered by loyal people around Inverness, and French ships must be landing supplies and weapons to use against Cumberland.

Allan was not impressed by Inverness. The town consisted of 500 red sandstone dwellings and 3,000 souls, and the streets were filthy. Hovering above was the castle, which had had a garrison of English soldiers and Scots Whigs under John Campbell, the 4th Earl of Loudoun, until the Prince's army drew near. Now it was his headquarters and there Drimnin marched the battalion. The officers and men waited while he went inside to report their arrival. When he emerged his face was grim.

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"There's no room for any of us," he said. "The town is so crowded that we'll have to sleep in a field outside. And there are few provisions. The French have not sent any supply ships. Thank God Cumberland is at hand and we won't have to wait long."

The following morning, accompanied by Hector and a detachment of men who were carrying some scanty provisions from the depot at the castle, Allan caught his first glimpse of Prince Charles. His Royal Highness often rode through the streets and encampments, stopping to speak with his followers. The exiled King's son, dressed in a tartan coat, waistcoat and trews, blue bonnet with its white cockade, was a slender man of medium height, with red gold hair worn in neat side curls and long military queue. No wonder he was called Bonnie, Allan reflected, thinking somewhat ruefully of his own appearance.

His eyes were brown beneath thick, dark brows, his countenance craggy as the cliffs of Mull, rather than handsome. While he was considerably taller than the Prince, and sturdier, his shoulders tended to slope. He disliked his long, aquiline nose, the lips thick enough to suggest a sensuous nature.

On 12 April a rider brought news that sent cold iron up Allan's spine, and that of every Maclean in the Jacobite army. A large band of Campbells who had not yet joined the Duke of Cumberland had gone marauding through the clan's lands on Morvem and Mull, stealing from and abusing the women, children and the elderly. As tales of rape and lootings surged through their encampment, every man resolved to avenge this dastardly deed committed in his absence. Allan tried to blot out pictures of a devastated Torloisk, all food and livestock stolen, his sisters carrying Campbell bastards in violated wombs. Enraged, he told Hector that the battalion would be better employed intercepting Campbells, which would also help the Prince, instead of waiting to fight the Duke of Cumberland.

"We can't desert the Prince," Hector said bluntly.

"We wouldn't be, not if we were after damn Whigs," Allan maintained.

"No, we must stay here," Hector said firmly. "The stories could be exaggerated, to make us do just that, desert from Inverness. We'll have our chance when we face Cumberland."

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On the evening of 14 April, a Monday, Drimnin called his officers together and told them that the Jacobite army would await the arrival of Cumberland's on Drumossie Moor, hard by the estate of Culloden. The laird, Duncan Forbes, the Lord President of the Court of Sessions in Scotland, and a Whig, had fled when the Prince's army approached.

"Cumberland reached Nairn today," Drimnin told them. "Twenty-five miles from here, and twenty from Culloden House."

The Jacobite army was to draw up in three divisions, each two lines deep. Lord George Murray would lead the right division, Lord John Drummond the centre, and the Duke of Perth the left. The Macleans would be combined with nine score MacLachlans to form one large battalion under Drimnin, and placed in the front line of Lord Drummond's central division. On the right side of this division the Frasers and clan Chattan (Macintosh) would stand. Next to them Lord Drummond would place four cannon and artillerymen. On the left of these guns he would position the Farquharsons, a few Macleods who defied their Whig chief, the Grants, the Macleans and Maclachlans, the 1st Edinburgh Regiment, and some Chisolms.

The second line in all three divisions would be of Jacobites from the Lowlands, some Irish volunteers, part of clan Gordon, and the few French regulars who had come with the Prince the year before. Each division would be supported by a field battery. The battalion would march to Drumossie Moor at dawn.

Allan scarcely closed his eyes that night, and as the first pale streaks crossed the sky he was rising and began rousing his platoon. With the prospect of imminent action he hardly noticed the lack of breakfast. Not even the awareness that Drimnin had no food to send with the men could dampen his ardour, nor were the men complaining. All felt able to wait until after the battle, hunger rendering them the more fierce.

Outside the estate of Culloden, Drimnin positioned the Macleans and Maclachlans near the left of the centre division. All that Tuesday the men stayed on the greening heather, while Hector and Allan moved among them to bolster their morale. Still there was no sign of Cumberland's army. At length, in the late afternoon they saw Drimnin coming towards them.

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"What's happening, sir?" Hector enquired.

"Someone has remembered it's Cumberland's birthday, and his army will be celebrating," Drimnin replied. "The Prince wants a formal battle, but our commanders have persuaded him that this field will give Cumberland the advantage. Instead we are to make a night march and surprise his camp before dawn tomorrow, when his soldiers will be drugged with rum."

The divisions swung into marching columns and moved off over the moor towards the northeast. The march became a nightmare as the clansmen stumbled through swamps. Picking himself up for the hundredth time, Allan felt light headed as he drove himself forward, begging his platoon not to fall behind. The sky was lightening and he feared they still had far to go. An hour later he heard a distant roll of drums. The column slowed and stopped. Drimnin came striding back to the company where he spoke briefly to Hector and passed on to the next company.

“What did Drimnin say?” Allan asked as his brother approached.

“Cumberland's drummers have sounded reveille. We're too late to surprise him, and we're to march back to Drumossie Moor”, Hector said.

Allan groaned. “Back through those swamps?”

Hector's shoulders slumped from exhaustion. “No, thank God. We're to take the road.”

When the weary Jacobite army had struggled back onto the moor, Drimnin allowed the officers to take their men to Culloden House, outside which there were supposed to be provisions, and then they could snatch two hours' sleep. Allan managed to scrounge a biscuit per man and a few handfuls of oat meal, which did little to allay their hunger. Then he wrapped himself in his plaid and lay down beside Hector on the damp ground, shivering from cold and starvation. By nine o'clock that morning of Wednesday 16 April, Allan and Hector had their men back in position on Drumossie Moor. The Prince was to have his way after all over where the Jacobites would make their stand.

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Bonnie Charlie, still in his tartans and bonnet with its white cockade, rode along the front line, exhorting the men to make this another battle like Prestonpans, which the Jacobites had won before they marched into England, or Falkirk, their victory after his return to Scotland. Hector and Allan doffed their bonnets as the Prince passed by. As the young man rode on, Allan stood grim-faced, the spectre of suffering at Torloisk haunting him, hunger far from his consciousness. Towards noon a breeze carried the sound of fifes and drums, and straining his eyes he thought he could discern the banners of Cumberland's vanguard, fluttering behind the advancing scouts.

The Jacobite pipes and drums struck up a rant, and Allan, a chill wind whipping his face, watched as Cumberland's line halted, out of range of the Prince's cannon, he thought. A cheer rose from the Jacobite line as the Prince rode towards the centre where Lord Drummond stood. Still no one moved. The weather was deteriorating, the wind now biting. Just before one o'clock hail fell which turned to sleet, lashing the faces of the Jacobite army. Lord Drummond rode by, exhorting his division to stand firm until the enemy was at close range. Let Cumberland advance if he wanted to do battle.

Tension mounted as Cumberland's men swung from marching columns into battle line perhaps 500 yards off, Allan reckoned. Suddenly his men were pushing him forward; cursing he ordered them back into formation. Cumberland's artillery suddenly spoke, but the shots fell short. When the noise died down, Drimnin yelled hoarser for the battalion to stand fast, but his words were almost lost by a skirl of pipes. Without waiting for the drummers to beat the advance, the Macintoshes, ignoring the shouts of Lord Murray, surged forward before the Jacobite artillery had fired. At the sight of clan Chatten all discipline among the Macleans and the other clans vanished, and resorting to their traditional form of warfare they charged, shrieking their war cries.

Allan was swept along with the nest. He fired his musket, dropped it and ran towards Cumberland's line brandishing his broadsword in his right hand. His target was over his left arm, dirk clasped in that hand, loaded dag tucked into his belt ready for the next opportunity to fire. A hail of grape shot shattered the Highlanders' charge but did not break it. On the front line rushed, scattering Cumberland's line in confusion.

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Dimly Allan suspected he was in the midst of Cumberland's second line, and the tide was turning against the Jacobites. All around him men were dropping, their cries echoing above the boom of the cannon and the pop of the muskets. The moor was blanketed in blue smoke through which Allan, hoping in particular to attack men in Campbell tartan, could see little. He was forced back, stumbling over dead and maimed men, aware that drums were sounding a retreat. Calling to his men to fall back, Allan prayed that some were with him but he recognized no one as bodies hurled towards the Prince's second line.



Soon this line, and the survivors of the first, were falling back, tripping over more dead and wounded. Allan saw that all were lost. He looked in vain for Hector, or any of the other men from Mull, but could not spot one of them nor Piper Rankin. Heart pounding as though it would burst, Allan felt hot, angry tears dampening his cheeks. He ran westwards, up into the high moor, wondering how long he could keep up the pace. Just when he thought a redcoat's bayonet would be a welcome end to his agony he beheld a miracle.

Grazing was an empty horse, reins dangling as it munched. Allan crept forward quietly so as not to startle it, seized the reins and mounted. He would ride southwards to the Streen River, which joined the Findhorn River in the vicinity of Darnaway, and could serve to guide him to a part of the coast which Cumberland's men would not get round to searching for some time. Now his most urgent need was food. He dismounted and drank from a burn, watered the horse and continued up into the high moor. At length he came upon a hut of turf. The tenant, a shepherd, gave him some oat meal and begged him to be gone.

"You know what the soldiers will do to me if they suspect I have given succour to a Jacobite."

"I know," Allan said wearily. "God keep you safe, good man."

He continued towards the Streen River until twilight, when he tethered the horse to a bush, loosened the saddle girth, and lay down to rest. He slept out of sheer exhaustion despite the danger, and awoke when the sun was high, relieved to find the horse standing where he had left it, head hanging.

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Reality faded, and he was back among the maimed and dying on the blood-soaked moor near Culloden House, searching for the men of Torloisk who had vanished in the chaos. Where was Hector? Allan felt honour-bound to retrace his flight and see if he could find any of the men for whom he was responsible. Then he shook himself. That was impracticable. Cumberland's soldiers would be guarding the field, and every able-bodied man would have fled long since; the wounded would be prisoners or worse. He cinched the girth, mounted, and finding how chafed his bare legs and bottom were, rose in the stirrups and tucked his kilt under him before riding on, keeping the high moor above the Streen River.

Two days later, after skulking in the heather away from habitations, Allan reached the fork in the river and knew that the northwards flowing stream was the Findhorn. Here he abandoned the horse, too conspicuous when he was moving through more inhabited country. He removed the saddle and bridle and hid them in some gorse, slapped the horse's rear which sent it trotting over the moor, and strode towards the river bank. Four days after the battle he crossed a bridge over the Findhorn and made his way to a tiny fishing village, arriving days before Cumberland's soldiers had had time to widen their net.

For a sum, a fisherman was willing to transport Allan and a handful of other refugees from the Prince's army, now hiding in the village, to the Continent. Did the young gentleman prefer France or the Netherlands? Allan hesitated. He thought first of France, for he spoke the language although not very well, but he changed his mind. The French had let down the Prince and caused the debacle on Drumossie Moor. He preferred The Hague, the Scots Brigade with Francis Maclean of Blaich, but the decision must be Hector's if he had survived. Allan asked the fisherman to wait as long as he dared, in the hope that his elder brother would arrive to join him.

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### Chapter Three: Exile 1746-1750

Hector did not come. As May approached, the fisherman was afraid to wait any longer, and a sorrowing Allan acquiesced. Hector must be dead now, or lying in some filthy gaol where he would not live long. The heir to Torloisk had never been as strong as his younger brothers.

Allan announced his intention of joining the Scots Brigade, and the other fugitives agreed to be left on the Dutch coast, too. One place was as good as any other as long as they were beyond the reach of Cumberland's vengeance. On a grey morning in late April the fisherman guided the Jacobites to his ship's boat and they rowed out to his vessel. The crew hoisted sail and the ship moved out of the harbour towards the open sea.

Allan studied the retreating shore, his thoughts leaping across the Highlands to his native isle, to the loved ones who must by now know of the rout at Culloden. He shuddered at the thought of the brutal pacification the Highlands would suffer, and prayed that the soldiers would not ravage Torloisk. Visions of his mother's grieving countenance flashed before his eyes. He would have to find a way to let his parents know he was safe.

A fair wind carried the ship southeastwards across the sea towards the Dutch coastline. Seven days out, the flat shore was in sight. The fisherman landed the fugitives a short piece north of The Hague.

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## List of Jacobites Prisoners at Inverness

- 19<sup>th</sup> April 1746

Compiled for [www.Jacobites.net](http://www.Jacobites.net) by White Cockade

The following are 6 out of a total of about 150 prisoners – Only 5 MacLeans and only 2 (1 MacLean & 1 Morrison) with the MacLean regiment. (There were about 5000 Jacobite fighters at Culloden.)

### Lachlan MacLean

- from Argyllshire
- Regiment: John Roy Stewart (Edinburgh)
- Rank: Other
- Captured at Culloden 16 April 1746 and imprisoned at Inverness 19 April 1746
- Nothing further known about this man
- Reference sources:
  - No Quarter Given. Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army, 1745-46
  - Historical Papers 1699-1750 Vol. II, New Spalding Club, 1894 - Inverness Prisoner List 19 April 1746, pages 611 to 614.
  - Not listed in 'Prisoners of the '45'

### John MacLean

- from Argyllshire
- Regiment: Lord Lewis Gordon's
- Rank: Other
- Captured at Culloden 16 April 1746 and imprisoned at Inverness 19 April 1746
- Muster Roll states might have died
- Reference sources:
  - No Quarter Given. Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army, 1745-46
  - Historical Papers 1699-1750 Vol. II, New Spalding Club, 1894 - Inverness Prisoner List 19 April 1746, pages 611 to 614
  - Not listed in 'Prisoners of the '45'

### Donald MacLean

- from Argyllshire
- Regiment: Cameron of Lochiel's
- Rank: Other
- Imprisoned at Inverness on 19 April 1746
- Reference sources:
  - Historical Papers 1699-1750 Vol. II, New Spalding Club, 1894 - Inverness Prisoner List 19 April 1746, pages 611 to 614
  - Not listed in 'Prisoners of the '45'
  - Not listed in the Muster Roll.

### John MacLean

- from Aberdeenshire
- Regiment: Appin (Stewarts of Appin)
- Rank: Other
- Captured at Culloden 16 April 1746 and imprisoned at Inverness on 19 April 1746
- Reference sources:
  - No Quarter Given. Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army, 1745-46
  - Historical Papers 1699-1750 Vol. II, New Spalding Club, 1894 - Inverness Prisoner List 19 April 1746, pages 611 to 614

- Not listed in 'Prisoners of the '45'.

#### John MacLean

- from Aberdeenshire
- Regiment: MacLeans
- Rank: Other
- Captured at Culloden 16 April 1746 and imprisoned at Inverness 19 April 1746
- Nothing further known about this man
- Reference sources:
  - No Quarter Given. Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army, 1745-46
  - Historical Papers 1699-1750 Vol. II, New Spalding Club, 1894 - Inverness Prisoner List 19 April 1746, pages 611 to 614

#### Alexander Morrison

- from Argyllshire
- Regiment: Macleans
- Rank: Other
- Captured at Culloden 16 April 1746 and imprisoned at Inverness on 19 April 1746
- Nothing further known about this man
- Reference sources:
  - No Quarter Given. Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army, 1745-46
  - Historical Papers 1699-1750 Vol. II, New Spalding Club, 1894 - Inverness Prisoner List 19 April 1746, pages 611 to 614
  - Not listed in 'Prisoners of the '45'.

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