

# The Macintyres and the ‘Forty-Five

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It's impossible to know the precise number of the clan who took part in the Rising of 1745-6, as our main source of information, the muster lists, don't give a full picture of the composition of the Jacobite army before Culloden. It's clear, though, that collectively the Macintyres played an active role in the campaign, even though the chief, Donald of Glenoe, remained neutral. The figure we have to date of known individuals on the Jacobite side is forty-two, so the total number, given the casualties of pre-Culloden engagements, and those who - as was routine among mobilised clansmen - drifted back and forth between the fighting and their home clachans, must have been closer to fifty, perhaps more. A significant number for a small clan whose leadership stayed at home.

The Appin Macintyres, the Clan Chattan Macintyres from Badenoch, and the cadet branches of Camusnaherie and Letterbaine all took the field on the Jacobite side, along with clan diaspora from all over the Highlands. And although old Chief Donald wisely opted to sit out the campaign, it was a very close run thing. Early in 1746, after the murder of a prominent clan member by the garrison of nearby Kilchurn Castle, the clan was put on a full war footing. Elite fusiliers had to be hurried in from Dunbarton, and an extra company of the Argyll Militia stationed at Dalmally, to counter the unrest that was threatening to break out into open conflict.

The poet Duncan Ban Macintyre, who fought on the Government side, deserted after the Battle of Falkirk, and was conspicuous by his absence at Culloden. Soon after, he was famously imprisoned for his protest poem, *Song to the Breeches*, lambasting George II following the prohibition of the Highland dress. The Macintyre piping dynasty from Rannoch composed a number of well known Jacobite tunes, both from the 'Fifteen and from the 'Forty-Five, the best known of them, perhaps, *My King has Landed at Moidart*.

### Appin

The Appin Regiment - correctly, Stewart of Ardsheal's - took part in every major encounter of the 'Forty-Five, and was one of the first to muster. Twenty-one of the clan, mostly volunteers, are on record as having attached themselves to the regiment, though, as noted, there are likely to have been more. In addition, an unknown number of recruits independently left the vicinity of Glenoe just before Culloden, in response to Government provocations in the Macintyre heartland, though it's unlikely at that stage that they saw active service.

Ardsheal's played a decisive role during the famous dawn charge at Prestonpans, on 21st September 1745, the first major battle of the campaign, and a comprehensive victory for the clans. The Appin men, alongside the Camerons, formed the left wing of the Prince's army that had snaked its way three abreast, under cover of darkness, over ostensibly uncrossable marshland. General Cope's Government forces, wrong-footed by the Jacobites' new deployment, broke in panic as the Highland regiments on the front line surged out of the mist in full cry. Between three and five hundred Hanoverian troops were killed, and fourteen hundred taken prisoner, over half of them wounded. In spite of the Prince's conscientious treatment of the Government injured after the battle, the scale of the bloodshed may have contributed to the barbaric scenes of reprisal that followed Culloden. Very few of Cope's army escaped. The full magnitude of the Government's defeat is borne out by the duration of the fighting itself - little more than ten minutes.

During the incursion into England Ardsheal's formed part of the fast-marching Highland Division, always led - on foot - by the Prince. When the regiment formed the vanguard of the army, as it did leaving Carlisle, the Appin men would have had the Young Chevalier as their marching companion. On the army's return north they played an important support role for the Badenoch men of Cluny's Regiment at the Battle of Clifton, proportionately perhaps the clan's finest hour of the campaign - of which more later.

At Falkirk, on 17th January 1746, the ranks of both regiments were thinned by damaging fire from fringe elements of the Hanoverian front line, which had escaped the brunt of the victorious Highland charge. Unlike the majority of General Hawley's men, Barrell's Regiment, still intact on the far right of the Government positions, did not break and run, but maintained a destructive hail of musketry as it left the field in good order. No figures exist for these casualties, though they are known to have been significant among the clans on that side of the field. One of the Macintyre wounded was John Macintyre of Camusnaherie, ancestor of the current chieftain, and there are likely to have been others.

The Appin men's role at Culloden, on 16th April 1746, is well known. Alongside Locheil's Camerons once again, it was one of only two regiments to inflict serious damage on the Duke of Cumberland's substantially larger army - as chance would have it, again pitted against Barrell's, whose post-charge volleys had tarnished the triumph at Falkirk. But if Ardsheal's achieved a measure of revenge at Culloden by severely mauling Barrell's seasoned regulars, it came at a terrible price. Of the three hundred who charged, half were killed or wounded, including ten Macintyres. These, recorded by young Dugald Stewart of

Appin, in May 1746, on the disbanding of the regiment, are not listed by name. One of them, though, is known to have been Camusnaherie's brother Donald.



Detail from *An Incident in the Rebellion of 1745* by David Morier

The yellow and blue saltire of the Appin Regiment is said to have changed hands as many as seventeen times before it was safely brought away by Donald Livingstone, who wrapped it around his body as the survivors withdrew from the field. This must have been an eerie phase of the battle for the Macintyre contingent, as familiar cries of 'Cruachan' rang out from the Culwhiniac Enclosure, immediately to their left, (the war cry the Campbells had appropriated from the clan on their arrival in Lorn). Over the wall poured the Campbell militia, to launch their inglorious but devastating charge, side-long into the broken remnants of Ardsheil's, Locheil's and the Atholl Brigade. But they didn't have it all their own way. Several were killed, including two of their company commanders, and many more wounded. The nature of the attack caused lasting bitterness, an enduring postscript to the last clan-on-clan encounter ever fought. (The final clan battle *per se* was at Mulroy in 1688, and though the 'Forty-Five was essentially a political conflict, the events on this corner of the battlefield can be regarded as marking the last gasp of the clan feud). Fittingly, the regimental colours of Ardsheal's now hang at Edinburgh Castle, alongside those of their arch-opponents of the 'Forty-Five, Barrell's.

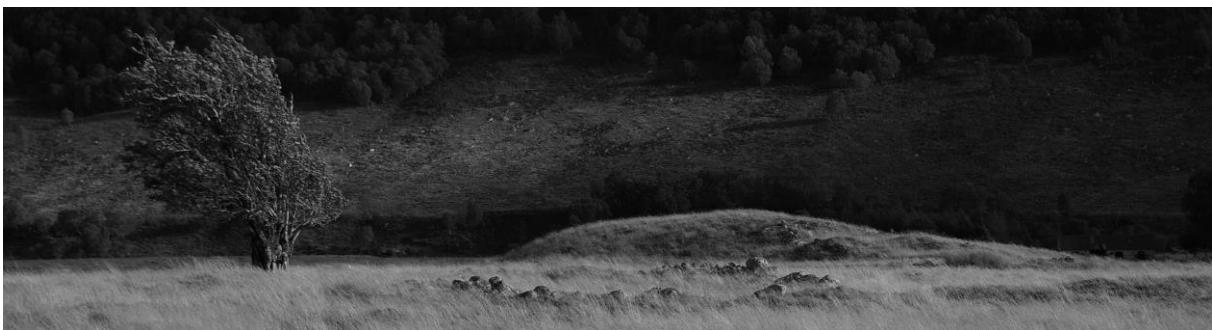
## Badenoch

The largest single contingent of the clan to appear on the muster lists - surrender lists would be more accurate - was made up of Clan Chattan Macintyres, who fought not with the Clan Chattan Regiment, (Lady Mackintosh's), but alongside the Macphersons of Cluny's.

Fourteen in all are recorded, though to this we must add the regimental surgeon, who had volunteered to remain with the Jacobite garrison at Carlisle during the retreat from Derby, four months before Culloden. The Badenoch men distinguished themselves at the Battle of Clifton, on 18th December 1745 - the last engagement fought on English soil - when they routed the Hanoverian army's vanguard, enabling the Prince's column to continue its orderly withdrawal into Scotland. Cluny's, which had formed the rearguard for much of the retreat, was the Jacobite 'special forces' regiment, and had on more than one occasion, during the venture into England, been the proud bearer of the Royal Standard. It was Cluny's who, on 4th December 1745, led the Highland Division - and the Jacobite army - into Derby, the most southerly point of the Prince's advance on London, just a hundred miles from the capital.

On the front line at Falkirk, as we've seen, the Macintyres of Cluny's, along with their kinsmen among the Appin Stewarts, found themselves on the left of the Highland charge that swept away the main body of General Hawley's force. (In all, forty of the clan were involved in the fighting). Away on special assignment, neutralising enemy outposts across the southern Highlands during the weeks before Culloden, Cluny's, despite a forced march to Inverness, missed the battle by an hour, encountering the Prince's army only as it streamed off Drumossie Muir in defeat. Once again it took on the role of rearguard, which it performed with characteristic skill and doggedness. Cluny's was held in high esteem by the other units of the Jacobite army precisely for its nerve and discipline, aswell as its general smartness and soldierly conduct.

The Badenoch Macintyres - descendants of the august Clan Chattan bard, who left his Lorn homeland at the end of the 15th century - were among the foremost of the Macphersons' allies within the regiment, along with the Kennedies, and a strong contingent of MacDonalds whose roots lay in the neighbouring Keppoch lands. Cluny's was disbanded in May of 1746, and the men who had served in it with such distinction were allowed to return to their homes - though the respite was shortlived. The burnings in Badenoch started a month after Culloden, the first of them in the Macintyre country of Glen Truim. The military reign of terror lasted until August, by which time scarcely a building was left standing.



Ruins from one of the townships in Glen Banchor, Badenoch, torched by vengeful Government troops after Culloden. The ancient guardian rowan tree, a feature of the Highland clachan, stands as a mute witness to the painful aftermath of the Rising

### Camusnacherie

Lochaber men John Macintyre of Camusnacherie and his younger brother Donald, joined the Appin Regiment as volunteers. John's wife, Margaret MacDonald, was the grand-daughter of John of Achtriachton, one of the Glencoe MacDonalds who died during the infamous 1692 massacre at the hands of the Campbell-led Government militia. Given both the proximity of his lands and close family ties to Glencoe, his motives for enlisting may well have been as much to do with settling old clan scores as with direct Jacobite sentiment. Both brothers fought at Falkirk, where John was wounded sufficiently badly to keep him from further service with the regiment, though the ill-fated Donald, just eighteen years of age, charged with the Appin men at Culloden never to return. On hearing of his brother's death John composed a long elegy in his mother tongue, generally considered by Gaelic scholars to be verse of the highest quality. A gold button plucked by Donald from his tunic, and presented to his sister as a keepsake as he set out to join the Prince, remains in the possession of the Camusnacherie family as a treasured heirloom. John is buried with his forebears on the island of Eilean Munde, on Loch Leven; Donald, with others of the clan, under one of the melancholy green mounds that dot the field at Culloden – probably beneath the Appin stone, but who can say?

### Letterbaine

It's thought that John of Letterbaine fought on the Jacobite side at Sheriffmuir during the Rising of 1715, and that he was later exiled to the continent. His son and namesake spent his entire life in Europe, and became a general in the Portuguese service, a favoured haven for Jacobite refugees. The Letterbaine Macintyres, whose lands bordered onto Glenoe from the other side of Ben Cruachan, were Chief Donald's nearest neighbours within the clan. General John's uncle, Dr Donald Macintyre, settled in Badenoch and tended the Jacobite wounded after the Siege of Ruthven, in late September, 1745, shortly before Cluny's was

mustered. Later, as surgeon to the regiment, he marched to Derby with the Prince, and fought at the Battle of Clifton, though parted ways with his comrades at Carlisle, where he remained to assist the garrison surgeon, James Stratton. It's likely at that stage that he was a traditional Highland 'blooder', rather than trained physician, as his English captors record him, rather uncharitably, as a 'quack doctor'. Like Stratton he was captured when the city fell to the Duke of Cumberland during the final days of 1745, and transported to Maryland. Donald is one of the comparatively few transportees of the 'Forty-Five known to have made it home to Scotland. He returned to Badenoch, married Isobel Macpherson, a cousin to Chief Ewan of Cluny, and spent his later years back in Argyll, where he served as a respected surgeon in Glenorchy until his death in 1781. His headstone at Dalmally bears the Glenoe arms, testimony to his family's descent from the chiefly line, and two Jacobite roses. Donald's portrait by Edward Dayes is believed to be the earliest image of one of the clan.



Dr Donald Macintyre, portrayed here in the Black Watch Uniform of the later 18th century, though the kit he wore with The Watch of the 1730s would have been rather different. Like many of the old Watch, Donald shed his red coat and joined the Jacobite army - though in Donald's case well before 1745



Copy at the Black Watch Museum. At the time Dayes painted the original portrait, appearing in Highland dress was still prohibited outside of the military. This, and fond memories of his days with The Watch as a young man, must have persuaded Donald to don the King's colours for posterity

## Glenoe and the 'White Cockade' Incident

The situation in Glenoe itself is best summed up by an event that took place just a fortnight before Culloden. A man of rank and standing within the clan, sporting the White Cockade of the Prince's army, was shot in the back by a company of the Argyll Militia from the Government garrison at Kilchurn Castle. We don't have a first name for him, or a precise location for the murder, though judging by the uproar it caused among the Macintyres at the highest level, he must have been close to the chief in Glenoe. The lawyer documenting the case describes him as an '*infamous fellow*', so we can reasonably infer that he was a seasoned and effective opponent of the Government in London! His popularity and influence with the clan as a whole is borne out graphically by the furore that followed. That he was well-known in the district is evident from the multiple intelligence reports received by the commander of the garrison, Campbell of Skipness, and by the fact that Skipness dispatched a whole company to bring him in for his '*treasonable practices*'.

What would such a man be doing under the noses of one of the highest concentrations of Government troops among the western garrisons? He was no deserter, or he would have discarded his White Cockade long since. In all likelihood our clandestine operative was on a recruitment drive on behalf of Ardsheal, a probability substantiated by the fact that his father's house, at which he was staying *incognito*, contained several muskets, primed and ready for use. Moreover, General John Campbell of Mamore, commander of the Government forces in Argyllshire, had earlier informed the Duke of Argyll, that the Macintyres - the nearest independent clan to Kilchurn - were giving him trouble. (One of Skipness's companies within Kilchurn - possibly levies from Glenorchy - were in a state of open mutiny and abusing their officers, though it's not clear whether the crisis within the castle walls was connected to the unrest beyond). It seems probable that Macintyre was back amongst his people specifically to tap into a groundswell of anti-Hanoverian sentiment that was then coming to a head. Several senior men of the Jacobite clans had returned to their homelands during this period expressly to raise extra men for the imminent clash with the Duke of Cumberland.

These events reveal a picture of acute volatility in the Macintyre heartland, a tinderbox of resentment and frustrated Jacobite leanings among the rank and file, as Chief Donald struggled to restrain his clan. The situation was considered combustible enough by the authorities for an additional company of militia to be stationed at Dalmally, at the mouth of Glenorchy, and a further detachment of crack Fusiliers to be '*thrown into*' Kilchurn. This supplementary show of strength, according to Campbell of Mamore – who already had four

hundred men inside the castle, and as many, by his own reckoning, close by - was calculated to '*convince the McIntyres that His Majesty's Troops must not be (further) Marther'd or Affronted*'.



The majestic north wall of Ben Cruachan, defining the southern edge of Glenoe. From left to right: Sron an Isean; Stob Diamh; Drochaid Ghlas; Cruachan Summit; and Stob Dearg. In the foreground, in heavy shade, is Meall Riaghain

As for the killing itself, the militiamen, having received their tip-off, surrounded Macintyre's parental home, with fixed bayonets. Macintyre's sister came out and immediately started to flirt with the soldiers, to distract them. Macintyre then rushed out, dirk in hand, threw his plaid over the bayonets, and sprinted away, gaining some ground before the sentries managed to disentangle themselves and brush aside the woman. Disgracefully, instead of setting off in pursuit – and in no danger themselves - they opened fire, mortally wounding the fleeing man in the back. He died the same day.

The response in and around Glenoe was immediate and dramatic, and came within a whisker of making the Macintyres formal allies of the Prince. The offending company was hastily pulled back into Kilchurn Castle, and with good reason: '*...the head of the Tribe & some Others of the Clan meet to Consult what is to be done on this Emergency & threats are dispersed over the Country that they intend to take revenge on the men that were on the party*'. Campbell of Glenorchy advised General Campbell to '*remove that Company from the Country, where I apprehend they will never be safe*'. By withdrawing the guilty force, and jailing the main culprits at Inverary, it was hoped that '*the wrath of the tribe would in time subside*'.

The Campbell leadership believed that '*people of credit*' within the clan would prevail over the hot-heads. And at the final count, Chief Donald did succeed in reining back his outraged kinsmen – officially. But there were others who went off to fight. The catastrophe at Culloden, only two weeks away, could scarcely have been imagined, especially as the talk of the Highlands at that time was of the brilliant success of the Atholl Raid, in which a dozen Government commands - and three hundred prisoners - fell to Macpherson of Cluny's Regiment and the Atholl Brigade - and that on the heels of the victory at Falkirk. Of the Prince's new recruits, the lawyer remarked: '(of) *such of them as will join the Rebels...*( it is deemed )...*more safe for the King's friends to be ridd of them*'. Just how many did slip away to join the Jacobite ranks during this period we shall never know, though it's doubtful, at that late hour, whether they ever made their rendez-vous with the army.

Chief Donald lived until at least 1751. He appears that year on the land valuation list as one of the landowners of Argyll, along with his neighbour, old John Macintyre of Letterbaine, (father of John of the 'Fifteen). Donald's son, James, still in his minority during the 'Forty-Five, was not, as is commonly believed, chief of the clan during the Rising.



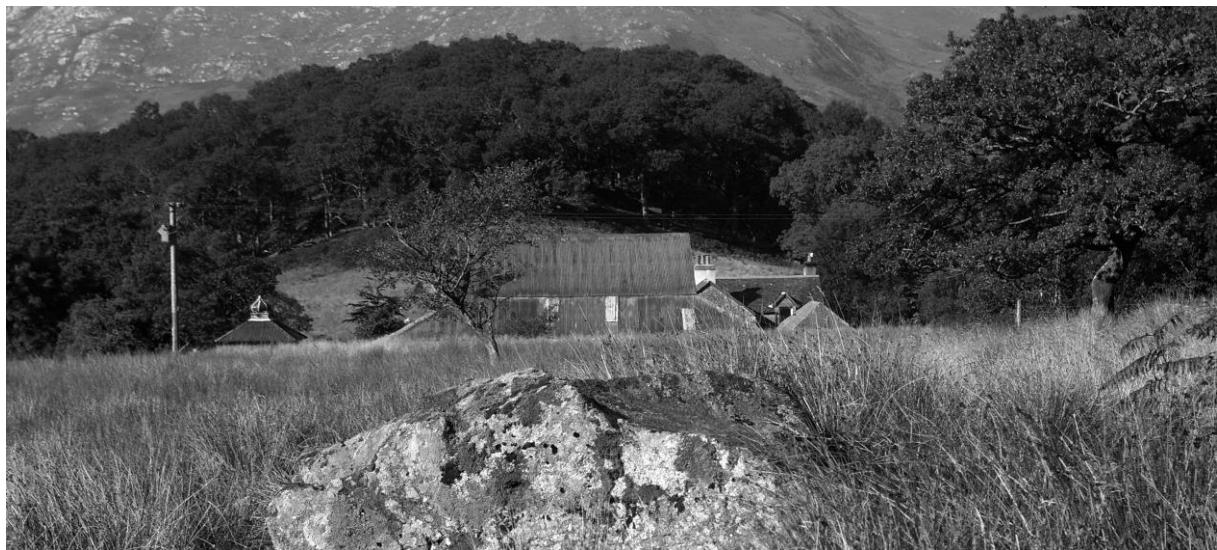
Kilchurn Castle, Loch Awe, Argyll, strategically placed at the foot of Ben Cruachan. One of the most formidable Government strongholds in the Highlands, It cast a long shadow over Macintyre country and well beyond

## Jacobite Overtures to Glenoe

In spite of the crushing superiority of the Campbells in Argyll by the 18th century, Donald and his people in Glenoe, (as well as the cadet branches of Letterbaine, and Camusnaherie, the latter out of the Campbells' reach in Lochaber), enjoyed full autonomy, and were well respected. Campbell of Glenorchy's letters shed light not only on Campbell-Macintyre relations, but also reveal the high regard with which the Macintyres were held by other clans across the district - a tribute to Donald's strategic intelligence and powers of diplomacy. He trod, like his forefathers before him, a precarious path between two warring clan giants - his immediate neighbours, the all-powerful Campbells, and his kinsmen of old from Clan Donald. Glenorchy mentions, with regret, the killing of the White Cockade: '*for which I am very sorry*'. As for the Macintyres joining the opposition, *'this should be prevented if possible, they being a Body of too good men to send over to that side, which they were at the beginning of the Rebellion strongly sollicited to joyn'*. Just who among the Jacobite commanders appealed to the Macintyres with such persistence during the opening phase of the Rising is not clear. At its half-way stage, however, it was Alexander MacDonald of Glencoe who was knocking on Donald's door. Word soon reached the ears of the Sheriff of Argyll, who reported to Glenorchy with dismay that '*Glenoe is in a treaty with Glencoe*', urging him strongly to do all he could to prevent a formal alliance.

Donald was married to Catherine MacDonald of Dalness, a cadet of Glencoe, which might explain his son James's apparent eagerness to declare for the Prince. In fact the relationship between the Glenoe chiefs and their Clan Donald kinsmen in Glencoe had been cordial over many generations. That Donald of Glenoe, then, by early December 1745, was '*in treaty*', (i.e. negotiation), with Alexander MacDonald is hardly surprising. The Glencoe Regiment, numbering about a hundred and twenty men, was one of the smallest in the Jacobite army, and it looks, at that stage, as if a joint force was being proposed that might have doubled its strength. When the news reached Glenorchy he was furious, though the vehemence of his anger is a little surprising: '*I desire you,*' he told John Campbell of Barcaldine, '*by all means to prevent anything of that kind, and you may tell Glenoe that instead of expecting my friendship I shall be the greatest enemy he has in the world*'. Chilling words from an irresistibly powerful neighbour, whose lands comprehensively surrounded and dwarfed his own. Glenorchy's particular vexation at the prospect of a Macintyre-MacDonald alliance is further borne out by the episode's pride of place in a six-page letter, relating to the troop movements of the Prince's entire army! It was a matter that he seems to have taken personally, and his austere message, delivered by Barcaldine, appears to have convinced Donald, in his dangerously exposed position, of the folly of further negotiations.

Glenorchy's comment on the Jacobites' early solicitations to Glenoe, is illuminating. He is clearly on good terms with Donald – after all, he paid for his son's education – though leaves him in no doubt whatever about his position should he take up arms against him. Once Donald's neutrality is established, however, he respects it. This should be seen in the light of the Campbells' own fruitless solicitations in this direction, as by no means all companies in the Argyll Militia came from that clan, and Donald would have been pressed hard to raise a company of his own for the Government, (as did most chiefs who opted not to join the Prince). But Donald stood firm. It also shows that Clan Macintyre, though modest in size and noted more for its poets and pipers than for its aggression, was nevertheless a force to be reckoned with. The strong calls of the Jacobite leaders for Donald to raise the clan speak for themselves, as do the large numbers of Government troops amassed around Ben Cruachan in response to the White Cockade crisis. Accounts of the 'Forty-Five, by necessity, tend to be written in martial terms, but it's worth reflecting on Donald's achievements as a diplomat and man of peace. A lesser man would have caved in, one way or another. It may not bring the clan conventional bragging rights, but Donald's skillful defence of his island of neutrality, besieged on all sides by violence and confusion, should not lightly be dismissed. How grateful his people must have been for his independence of spirit when, a month after the murder, Glencoe and Appin went up in flames at the hands of Cumberland's vengeful troops.



The site of Chief Donald's home at the mouth of Glenoe. The current stone farm buildings post-date the Glenoe township that stood at the time of the 'Forty-Five, which would have been built from turf and thatch

## The Macintyres at Clifton

The Battle of Clifton, fought on 18th December 1745, was a significant event for the clan as, of just three units directly involved, two carried the core of the Macintyre presence in the Jacobite army: Cluny's and Ardsheal's. In all there were thirty-five Macintyre combatants - that we know of - on the field during this small but vitally important action that kept the Prince's forces from disintegration at a critical point during the march north. The heroic actions of both, as relief regiments for the beleaguered Glengarry's at the rear of the column, may have been the clan's most significant contribution of the campaign.

A force of some five hundred dragoons, forming the forward ranks of the Government army, had been snapping at the heels of Glengarry's MacDonells, who had put up a ferocious defence, but after three days of beating off sustained cavalry attacks, had marched and fought themselves to exhaustion. At Clifton Moor, Cluny's, the Appin Regiment, and Glengarry's, with John Roy Stewart's Edinburgh Regiment in reserve, made a stand. The main body of the Jacobite army had already reached Penrith, so to disguise the thinness of his command, the Prince's senior general, Lord George Murray, instructed the four regimental standard bearers to wheel round in the fading light to create the illusion of greater numbers. One of these was James Macintyre, a Speyside man from Beglan, near Rothiemurchus, who held aloft the Green Flag of Kincardine - the regimental colours of John Roy Stewart's - the banner he was later to save from capture at Culloden.

When the engagement began, it was Cluny's which took the initiative, backed by the Appin Regiment. Cluny's received the dragoons' volley with very few casualties, and returned a counter-volley of its own before surging forward on the cry of 'Claymore!' The Government troops were turned in their tracks and quickly put to flight by the impetus of the charge, leaving up to a hundred dead or wounded, mainly from Bland's Dragoons, including their commander, Col. Honeywood. The Jacobite casualties were negligible: just three killed, a figure no doubt helped by the supporting fire of the ever stubborn MacDonells. (Comically, a further ten, who over-reached themselves during the charge, were taken prisoner, owing to the fact that their platoon sergeant, *Domhnall Mor Bahar* Macpherson, 'Big Deaf Donald' - his blood up in pursuit of the enemy - failed to hear the recall).

And so ended the last land battle ever fought in England, an ignominious defeat for the Government in London. The Hanovarians, absurdly, claimed the victory, as they regained the field once the fighting had ceased, though this was purely because the Prince's army had vacated it as part of its continuing tactical withdrawal back into Scotland. Militarily, it had not

been defeated among the English shires in any shape or form, but it had failed to draw sufficient support from the English Jacobites, and its position south of the border had become untenable. The contemporary account of one English rebel, though, Capt. John Daniel, leaves us in no doubt about the outcome of the battle:

*'This brave action was chiefly owing to the courage of the McPhersons, commanded by Clued (sic) Macpherson, their chief, who behaved most gallantly on this occasion: and most pleasing it was to see the champions come into Carlisle, loaded with the spoils of their enemies'.*

With nice irony, although Culloden, the last clash of arms to be fought on Scottish - and British - terra firma, marked the final eclipse of the clans, England's last land battle, on the very threshold of its rise to supremacy as an imperial power, was a humiliation for English regular troops, by a small number of Gaelic speaking farmers.

### Glenorchy

There were certainly reluctant Macintyres among the Argyll Militia, though no muster lists exist for them. These would have been Glenorchy men, fuedally obliged to take up arms for Campbell of Glenorchy (aka Breadalbane). The only two we know of are Duncan Ban Macintyre himself, who, as noted, deserted from the Government side after the Battle of Falkirk, and Donald Macintyre of Kinchrakine, a captain with the Glenorchy Company at Culloden. On recognising Donald Macintyre of Camusnaherie, stricken on the battlefield, among the fallen of the doomed charge, he tried repeatedly to get the young man onto his own horse and away to safety, though he was weakened by loss of blood, and slipped from the saddle before he could clear the killing fields. It's likely that he fell victim to the Hanoverian bayonets during the appalling scenes that followed.

The clachan of Kinchrakine lies at the mouth of Glenorchy. As tacksman there, Donald, a younger half-brother of the exiled John of Letterbaine, would have been expected to raise and officer men from the township. His tack lay firmly beyond the boundaries of Letterbaine, the wadset for which - as for Glenoe - gave the Macintyres there full autonomy, and freedom from the draft. Glenorchy, however, came under the direct sway of Lord Glenorchy himself, and those whose livelihoods lay in the glen were expected to fall in without complaint - on pain of eviction, or worse. The position of the Glenorchy Macintyres was awkward. Most lived at the western end of the glen, close to Letterbaine and to Glenoe itself. Their sense of

identity, kinship and community were very much connected with those of the clan on the other side of the River Orchy. Their fathers had fought courageously for the Old Chevalier at Sheriffmuir during the 'Fifteen, but unlike their kinsmen on the Cruachan side of the river, when the Glenorchy Campbells switched loyalties they were not free to choose – and neutrality was not an option.



The River Orchy, looking west towards Cruachan. The peak beyond the glen is Beinn a' Bhuiridh, the arm of the mountain that forms Letterbaine, and beyond it Cruachan summit and Glenoe

### Those Who Fought

#### The Appin Regiment

Some were native men of Appin, called to arms by their Stewart tacksmen; others were volunteers from neighbouring districts. A few were adventurers or soldiers of conscience joining independently from Glenoe, and of these at least one was a senior member of the clan. There would have been those who enlisted for religious or political reasons, and others still simply out of a longstanding resentment of their overbearing neighbours the Campbells, on the Government side.

Three Macintyres appear on the surrender list compiled by Dugald Stewart of Appin, on the disbanding of the regiment, in May of 1746.

**Donald Macintyre.** From Coull, on the Appin Estate. As a native man, probably a Stewart levy.

**John Macintyre.** Kinlochlaigh, also on the Appin estate. (Kinlochlaich on the map). Ditto.

**Duncan Macintyre.** Aucharn, on the Campbell estate of Airds. A volunteer. Several of Ardsheal's men enlisted from the Campbell lands, owing to initially cordial relations between Ardsheal and some of the Campbell lairds, notably John Campbell of Barcaldine. The

catchment for Ardsheal's, therefore, was by no means confined to Appin, and Macintyres of Jacobite persuasion came in from all over Lorn and beyond.

Six of the nine Macintyres listed by Seton and Arnot in *Prisoners of the '45* can be regarded as having been attached to the Appin Regiment. All six are listed as originating from Argyll, and so, in terms of the Jacobite muster, would have gravitated towards Appin, as indicated by several of the examples below. They were:

**Duncan Macintyre.** Aged Forty-two. A brewer in Kinlocheil, well north of the Appin peninsula, in Cameron country. Another volunteer. His enlistment with Ardsheal's Regiment, in preference to Cameron of Lochiel's, suggests that Macintyres across the western Highlands regarded Appin as their fulcrum during the 'Forty-Five. Captured at or near Culloden, and incarcerated at the Tolbooth, Inverness, he was later transferred to one of the notorious prison hulks on the River Thames, before being transported in March of 1747.

**John Macintyre.** Captured at Culloden. An intriguing figure. If anyone had an accurate picture of the Prince, warts and all, it was John Macintyre, 'bawman', or manservant, of the Young Chevalier. What John had done to merit such a great honour we shall never know. Unless he escaped, he is likely to have died in custody, as he appears on none of the transportation lists.

**Patrick Macintyre.** Captured at Perth, two months after Culloden, so he didn't formally surrender. Unusually, he was released on bail, though he must have absconded, as we hear no more of him.

**Archibald Macintyre.** Fifty years of age. A lead-miner, so probably from the lead workings at Strontian, in the far west of the county. (The metal strontium takes its name from the quarry). If so, another volunteer. Imprisoned at York, so in all likelihood taken at Carlisle. Perhaps a casualty from the Battle of Clifton, as the sick and wounded of the march into England were left behind there - not the Prince's finest hour. Archibald was transported in May, 1747, to Maryland, aboard the same ship - the *Johnson* - as Dr Donald Macintyre of Letterbaine, and the other medical man of the garrison, Surgeon James Stratton.

**Ann Macintyre.** Twenty. Captured at the Fall of Carlisle, at the end of December, 1745. Possibly connected with Archibald, or conceivably with Dr Donald, also taken prisoner there.

**Mary Macintyre.** Age unknown. Like Ann, captured at Carlisle, so in all likelihood a close relation. The two women were transported to Antigua, West Indies, in May of 1747. They were doubly unlucky, as one of the three convoy ships bound for the island, *The Veteran*, was intercepted by a French man o' war off Martinique, and the captives set free. The hapless Ann and Mary weren't on it. Among those who were were the ten men of Cluny's, whose liberty had been compromised by "Big Deaf Donald's" over-enthusiasm Clifton. At least one of them went on to enlist in the French army's elite Garde Écossaise.

The last members of the regiment that we know by name are the Camusnaherie brothers, courtesy of the Camusnaherie - or Camus na h'Eireadh - family archive, and Somerled Macmillan's *Bygone Lochaber*.

**John Macintyre of Camusnaherie.** Wounded at Falkirk.

**Donald Macintyre of Camusnaherie.** Killed at Culloden. Both were volunteers. Like Duncan the brewer, they were from Cameron territory. Their example reiterates the point that in the absence of direct lead from Glenoe, the Appin Stewarts were seen by Macintyres in the western Highlands as their natural centre of gravity during the 'Forty-Five. It also points to

the core of the Macintyre contingent being made up of volunteers. The ratio of known volunteers to levies stands at 3:1.

**'The White Cockade'**. It's impossible to put a figure on those from the Macintyre lands in and around Glenoe, who joined the too-late push to link up with the Jacobite Army during the days immediately before Culloden. The White Cockade himself, though, has to be seen as a high profile member of the original body of volunteers.

**The Unnamed Casualties.** Dugald Stewart's list mentions five Macintyres killed and five wounded. Of the figure for those killed, we must delete Donald of Camusnaherie. The tally of five wounded must have been drawn up separately from that for the able-bodied men who were present at the final disbanding, as only three of these show up in the roll-call. The nine nameless Macintyres in the regiment, therefore, bring the total up to a minimum figure of twenty-one.

## Macpherson of Cluny's Regiment

Cluny's Macintyres came from the parishes of Kingussie, Laggan and Alvie, and held their land from the Macpherson tacksmen who officered them in the field.

**Malcolm Macintyre.** From Dallannach at the head of Glen Truim, Kingussie parish.

**Donald Macintyre.** Also from Dallannach. One of the two - with little doubt, kinsmen themselves - was the father of the last of the line of the Badenoch bards, the Dallannach poet *Calum Dubh nam Protaigean*, or 'Dark Malcolm of the Tricks', well known throughout the Highlands as a wordsmith, puppeteer and travelling showman. Today considered to be among the most gifted, if unsung, of the minor bards of Gaeldom. (Given Highland naming tradition, Malcolm and Donald are likely to have been father and son, and the poet himself Malcolm's grandson).

**Donald Macintyre.** Nuid, Kingussie, east of the modern village of Newtonmore.

**Alexander Macintyre.** Son of the above. Not yet of fighting age at just fifteen. The Kingussie parish register shows him to have been born on 23rd September 1731, to Donald and his wife Anna Macpherson, (from Shirrabeg in the neighbouring parish of Laggan). The two were married on Valentine's Day, 1730.

**John Macintyre.** Another Nuid man, perhaps related.

**Duncan Macintyre.** Ruigh na Cuaich, Nuidmore, Kingussie.

**Donald Macintyre.** Phoness, Glenferrisdale, midway along the Truim. Donald's commanding officer was Capt. Malcolm Macpherson of Phoness, one of General Wolfe's heroes of the Plains of Abraham, Quebec, in 1751. (By quirk of fate, the same Wolfe whose regiment had been put to flight by Cluny's at Falkirk). For his bravery, Phoness received a pension from George III, and the freedom of the city of Edinburgh. He never forgave King Louis for failing to open up the promised second front by invading England, and his zeal in lopping off French heads in Canada reflects his sense of betrayal.

**John Macintyre.** Ruthven, Kingussie. This was the location where the clans finally dispersed after Culloden – but not without torching Ruthven Barracks as a last gesture of defiance. Today the building stands as a romantic ruin, still open to the sky as the Prince's men left it. John is likely to have been part of 'Big Deaf Donald's' Ruthven platoon at Clifton, though his

hearing seems to have served him well, as he pulled back when the recall was sounded, thus avoiding the fate of his comrades.

**Donald Macintyre.** Coronach, (Coire an Eich?), a clachan attached to the township of Biallidbeg, also Kingussie. The old cemetery at Biallidbeg, west of Newtonmore, was for many generations the final resting place for Macintyres and Macphersons from across the Badenoch district.

**John Macintyre.** One of three men from Laggan parish. John was from the clachan of Shirodiness.

**Duncan Macintyre.** Crathcroy, on the uppermost reaches of the River Spey.

**Donald Macintyre.** Coraldie, on the Spey, a couple of miles up-river from the mouth of Glen Truim.

**Alexander Macintyre.** One of two men from Alvie parish. He lived at Garroline, close to Loch Garten.

**John Macintyre.** From the township of Alvie.

**Dr Donald Macintyre of Letterbaine.** Originally from Argyll, though settled in Ruthven. Regimental Surgeon. Captured when the city fell to the Duke of Cumberland, in December 1745, hence his absence from the surrender list.

## MacDonell of Glengarry's Regiment

Glengarry's MacDonells were among the first to muster, and, like Ardsheal's, played an active role in every major engagement of the 'Forty-Five.

**John Macintyre.** From Craskie, in Glenmorriston. The Glenmorriston Grants attached themselves to Glengarry's in defiance of their chief, Ludovik Grant of Grant, who supported the Government. When, after Culloden, they surrendered to him, (and we know from the record John Macintyre did too), they had fully expected to be treated as other clans who had laid down their arms, and to return to their homes. Instead, in an infamous act of betrayal, the Laird of Grant promptly turned his kinsmen over to the Duke of Cumberland, who marched them off to the transports at Inverness. Those that survived the prison hulks on the Thames were finally transported to Barbados. We don't know what became of John, but three years later, just eighteen of the eighty-one who had turned themselves in remained alive.

## John Roy Stewart's Edinburgh Regiment

One of the most eclectic units of the Jacobite Army. John Roy himself - 'Red John' - was a Badenoch man from middle Strathspey, and the inspiration for the character Allan Breck Stewart in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped*. The regiment he raised in the wake of Prestonpans, was a chequered body of Edinburgh artisans and defectors from Cope's army, gathered around a core of Highlanders from John Roy's homeland. **James Macintyre**, the regimental standard-bearer, from Beglan, Glenmore, was one of the latter. His role at the Battle of Clifton has already been noted. A staunch friend of John Roy's, he carried the Green Banner of Kincardine at Culloden, and saved it from the ignominy of capture. James

of the Flag - *Seumas na Braiteach* - never formally surrendered. Returning to his home in the shadow of Cairn Gorm summit, he held the colours in safe keeping until the hoped-for return of the Prince – and his old friend John Roy – from exile. Each year, on the 19th August, the anniversary of the Raising of the Royal Standard at Glenfinnan, he would climb the mountain and wave the flag aloft, a ritual he faithfully maintained for forty years, until old age and infirmity caught up with him. The colours were later passed on to the Duke of Gordon.

### The Atholl Brigade

**Alexander Macintyre** from Keltney Burn, east of Loch Tay. Another carrier of the colours. Standard-bearer to Lord George Murray's three-battalion Atholl Brigade. At Culloden the Atholl men were granted pride of place on the right flank, though the honour brought them little joy. Pressed against the stonework of the Culwhiniac Enclosure by the right-swerving impetus of the Highland charge, it was unable to gain full momentum, and fell some way short of the Government line. Shot to pieces by flanking fire from Wolfe's Regiment, and from the Campbells dug in behind the wall, the brigade suffered devastating casualties, many falling victim to the Campbell charge. Whether Alexander lost the flag in the chaos of battle, or when he was taken prisoner is not clear, though it was one of many regimental banners burnt by the hangman at the Mercat Cross in Edinburgh on 4th June, 1746.

### The Earl of Cromarty's Regiment

Cromarty's, the only MacKenzie regiment in the Prince's army, fought at Falkirk. When, during the final weeks of the campaign, it was sent to contain the clans of the North, who had declared for King George, it was ambushed by Lord Loudoun's Government militia at Meikle Ferry on the eve of Culloden. In the skirmish that followed the earl's men, outnumbered four to one, were soundly defeated, and the survivors taken prisoner.

**Donald Macintyre**, A Black Isle man, from Milton, Kilmuir. Listed as a servant, fate unknown.

### MacDonell of Keppoch's Regiment

Keppoch's, like the other Clan Donald regiments, saw the campaign through from beginning to end.

**Angus Macintyre**. Captured at Stirling, shortly after the raising of the siege there at the end of January 1746. Siege warfare didn't suit the Highland temperament. Significant numbers, from virtually all units, after the rigours of the English campaign, felt they'd done enough, and as the siege dragged on simply drifted home to their townships. How many, if any, of the clan wandered back to Argyll or Badenoch at this time is impossible to say. Angus, a Perthshire man, was released under the General Pardon of 1747.

### Kilmarnock's Horse

**Daniel Macintyre**. Originally the Horse Grenadiers, then the Perthshire Horse, then Strathallan's, the regiment – by the end of the campaign without mounts – was a *de facto* infantry unit at Culloden. Daniel would have been part of the Jacobite third line, which protected the Royal Standard and the Prince himself.



Kilchurn Castle from the footslopes of Ben Cruachan, perched above the eastern fork of Loch Awe at the head of Glenorchy

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