

THE FIFTY YEARS WAR
AN ACCOUNT OF THE MACLEAN – CAMPBELL CONFLICT

by

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2010

FOREWORD

Some two hundred Lamonts were massacred at Dunoon in 1646 by the Campbells, but an ancestor of mine escaped the bloodbath and sought refuge among the Macleans of Mull. The long arm of the Campbells, however, followed him. In 1647 an army led by Sir David Leslie and the Marquis of Argyll, composed of Campbells and Covenanters, invaded the island. Browne's *History of the Clans, Vol. II*, stated that Leslie unleashed Sir James Turner upon an expedition of "rapine and blood" against the defenseless inhabitants. Many sought refuge in the mountains to escape the vengeance of the Campbells and their Covenanter allies. The fate of the Cowal refugee is unknown.

Early in the 18th century the son or grandson of the man, who had found it impossible to escape the wrath of the Campbells, who was called 'Malcolm of the Tower', migrated to the neighboring island of Tiree, which had also been owned previously by the Maclean chief. Whether that appellation indicated that he had been a member of the Maclean chief's household, as has been speculated, is not known, but it seems to be the likeliest explanation. By that time, however, Tiree, along with other properties of the Maclean chief had been taken over by the Duke of Argyll, the Campbell chief, and once again a Lamont ancestor of mine felt the heavy hand of their long time enemy.

Malcolm and his descendants intermarried with the Macleans of Tiree, where they lived and even prospered for several generations, although it must have left a bitter taste in their mouth to pay their rent to a Campbell landlord. Late in the 18th century a Campbell factor reported to the Duke that the small tenants of the island were "disaffected of the family", and that the remaining Maclean gentry encouraged this feeling.

The reasonably good life of my Lamont ancestors began to deteriorate toward the end of the 18th century and collapsed completely with the potato famine in the mid 19th century. In 1851 Malcolm's great-great grandson, and my great-great grandfather found himself in arrears on his rent, was compelled to 'volunteer' for assisted passage to Canada for himself, his wife, and their nine children. The tactics used to coerce the clearing of Tiree of whom the Campbell factor deemed undesirables have been termed unfeeling at best and viciously cruel at worst. Long after the Tiree emigrants had been resettled in Canada, they commonly toasted "Good Health to All, except the Duke of Argyll", when downing a drink of their favorite beverage.

It was not only the Macleans, MacDonalds, and the Lamonts who had an aversion to the Campbells. Mungo Maxtone, 10th of Cultoquhey (1687-1773) assembled his household daily to intone the Cultoquhey Litany:

‘ From the greed of the Campbells,
From the ire of the Drummonds,
From the pride of the Grahams,
From the wind of the Murrays,
Good Lord, deliver us ‘.

A recent Scottish-American tourist visiting an Edinburgh shop also found that memories are long in the land of her ancestors, when she purchased two ties, one in the MacDonald tartan and the other in the Campbell. When she told the clerk to package them together, the clerk declined to do so, telling her that would not be right and handed her two separate parcels.

If you have read this far, you will have concluded that I have little reason to be fond of the Campbells, but I found out at the age of nine or ten that little is black and white, and that shades of gray are more likely in our world. At that age I was taken aside by my father's Aunt Hannah, who had been born a Lamont to a MacDonald mother. She took a book of tartans to show me, which also included a history of the Highland clans, so I learned early that I was 'Scotch' and that the Campbells were the enemies of our clan. Yet, Aunt Hannah was married to Uncle Will Campbell, a roly-poly jolly man, who was a great favorite of the family, and their sons, Bill and Harold, were my father's most welcome cousins. I remember being somewhat puzzled by all this, but had to conclude there were 'good Campbells and bad Campbells'.

Having made this confusing explanation of my Scottish background I must admit that it is not possible for me to take an objective view of the Maclean-Campbell conflict, because my ancestors suffered much at the hands of the Campbells, both in Cowal and Tiree, and my sympathies lie with the Macleans. The readers of this account of the long struggle of the Macleans to keep the core of their clan territory will have to take this under consideration, although I have not intentionally exaggerated the virtues of the Macleans or the sins of the Campbells

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2010

MAJOR PLAYERS IN THE FIFTY YEARS WAR

Cameron, Sir Ewen of Lochiel, 1629-1719. One time ally of Macleans, who later turned his coat and supported Campbells.

Campbell, Archibald, 8th Earl of Argyll, Marquis of Argyll, 1607-1661. *De facto* head of government in Scotland during Civil War. Bitter enemy of Macleans, who launched first attacks upon them. Defeated at Battles of Inverlochy and Kilsyth. Executed upon restoration of King Charles II.

Campbell, Archibald, 9th Earl of Argyll, 1628/29-1661. Continued father's persecution of the Macleans. Executed for his part in Monmouth's Rebellion.

Campbell, Archibald, 10th Earl of Argyll, 1st Duke of Argyll, 1658-1703. When William of Orange came to power, the forfeited lands of his father were restored to him. Accepted the surrender of Duart and Cairnburgh Castles from Macleans in 1692, thus finally gaining the Duart Estate.

Campbell, Sir Alexander of Lochnell, d. 1713/14. Commander of Campbell forces in several action against Macleans.

Campbell, John, Lord Glenorchy, Earl of Caithness, then Breadalbane, 1635-1717. Most important follower of 9th Earl of Argyll among the Campbells.

Campbell, Sir Hugh of Cawdor, d. 1716. Commander of Campbell forces in several actions against Macleans.

Campbell, Neil, Lord of Armaddie, 1630/1631-1692. Brother and supporter of 9th Earl of Argyll.

Graham, James, Marquis of Montrose, 1612-1650. Charismatic leader of royalists in Civil War, and foe of Marquis of Argyll.

Graham, James of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, 1648-1689. Led Jacobite forces in Scotland in futile attempt to resist crowning of William of Orange. Died at victorious Battle of Killlicrankie.

Leslie, Sir David, c. 1600-1682. General of Covenanter forces in Scotland. Defeated Montrose at Battle of Philiphaugh.

MacDonald, Alasdair, 'Colkitto', 1570-1647. He was second in command to Montrose in Civil War, and bitter enemy of Campbells.

MacDonnell or MacDonald, Aeneas, Lord MacDonald of Glengarry, c.1615-1680. Staunch ally of Macleans in struggle against Campbells.

MacDonnell, Alexander of Keppoch, c.1632-1682. Supporter of Lord MacDonnell, and ally of Macleans.

Maclean, Sir Allan, 20th chief of Clan Maclean, d.1674. Manfully resisted Campbells, but offered a settlement of debt which was rejected by Campbells, who were unwilling to compromise.

Maclean, Sir Hector, 19th chief of Clan Maclean, d.1651. His death in the Battle of Inverkeithing has been immortalized in Gaelic lore, but the loss of so many fighting men weakened clan.

Maclean, Sir John, 21st chief of Clan Maclean, d. 1716. Fought with Dundee at Battle of Killiecrankie, but on orders of King James surrendered Duart and Cairnburgh castles to Argyll, effectively ending resistance of the takeover of Duart Estate in 1691. Made one last attempt to regain lands in Jacobite Rebellion of 1715.

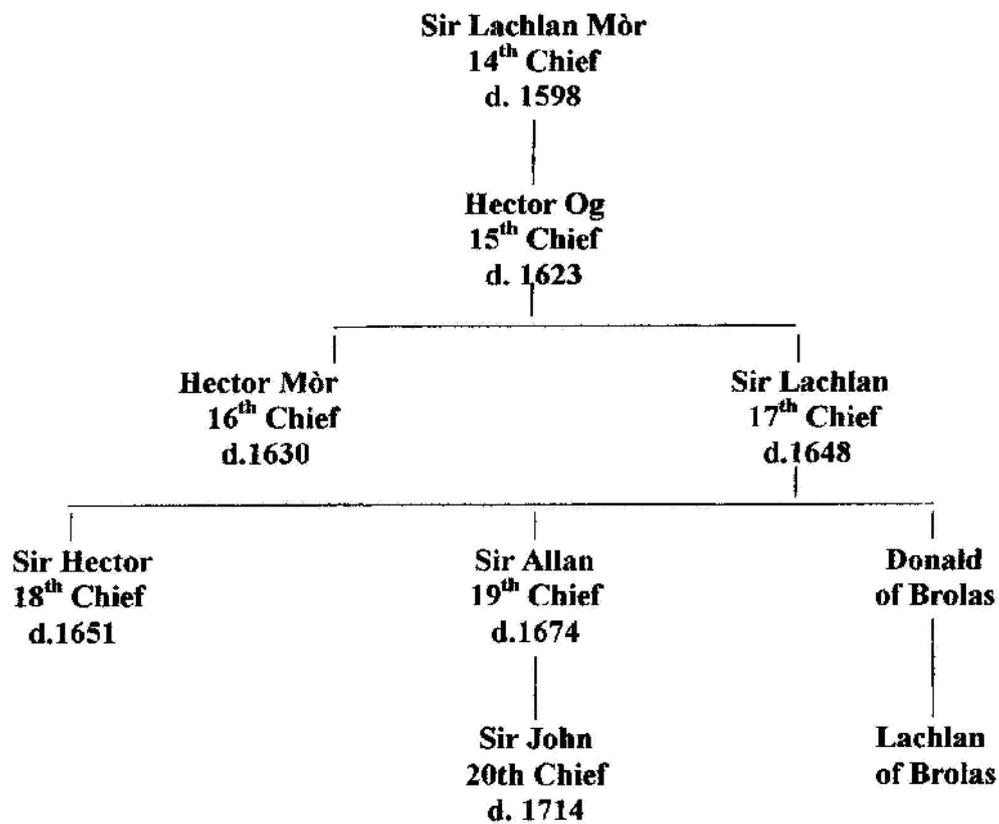
Maclean, Sir Lachlan, 18th chief of Clan Maclean, d. 1648. Made fatal misstep of accepting loan from Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorn and later Marquis of Argyll. Loyal supporter of Montrose and royalist cause during Civil War.

Maclean, Lachlan of Brolas, d. 1686. Guardian and tutor to Sir John, 21st chief of Clan Maclean. *De facto* leader of clan during minority of chief.

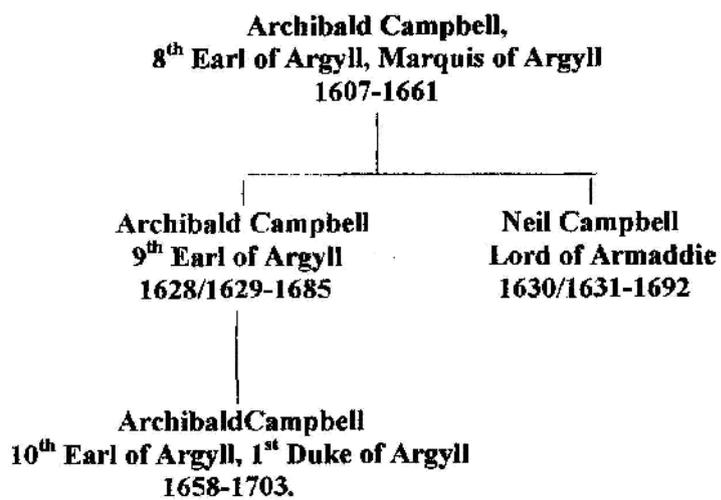
Maitland, John, Duke of Lauderdale, died 1682. Secretary of State for Scotland, later Lord President of Privy Council. He was of immeasurable help to 9th Earl of Argyll in war with Macleans.

Menzie, James, Colonel. Led government forces in support of 9th Earl of Argyll.

THE CHIEFS OF CLAN MACLEAN



THE CHIEFS OF CLAN CAMPBELL



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INTRODUCTION

The Clan Maclean has had a long connection with the the Isle of Mull and the neighboring islands of Tiree and Coll. Tradition holds that Gille-Eoin, or Gillean of the Battle-Axe, the first chief of Clan Maclean, held land in the Upper Mull along the north shore in the 13th century, and that his father Rath, or Macrath, had probably owned it before him. The Maclean holdings on the island, however, made them no more than minor vassals of the Lord of the Isles at that time. This changed in 1366 with the marriage of Lachlan Lùbanach, fifth chief of Clan Maclean, with Mary, the daughter of the Lord of the Isles. This catapulted him into being one of the more powerful figures in the Isles. This was shown later by his appointment as the Lieutenant-General of the Lord's armies and fleets, a post that became close to being hereditary, and enabled him and his successors to greatly extend their influence in the Hebrides

Lachlan Lùbanach received three different charters from his brother-in-law, Donald, 2nd Lord of the Isles. The first gave him custody of and constablenesship of the castle of Duart, Torosay, Brolas, and other lands in Mull; some no doubt formerly held by the Mackinnons. It also granted him half of the constablenesship of the castle of Dunconnel in Scarba, together with the islands of Garvellach and lands in Luìng and Scarba. Lachlan Lùbanach also obtained the upper half of Jura and lands in Morven under this charter. This charter exhibited a measure of trust remarkable in its magnitude, since it granted him lands that controlled the sea-lanes within the Lordship of the Isles.

The second charter was also significant, since it granted the Maclean chief the constablenesship of the castle of Cairnburgh in the Treshnish Isles and the castle of Isleburgh on Tiree, as well as the smaller castles of Fladda and Lunga. This charter also awarded Lachlan the office of Fragramanach and Armanach on Iona.

In a third charter Lachlan obtained the bailiery of Tiree, together with other lands in that island. It also confirmed him as steward of the house of the Lord of the Isles. All three of these charters were dated July 12th 1390 in Ardtornish, and confirmed by both King James I and later by King James V in 1495.

As the Macleans continued to flourish and expand under the Lordship of the Isles they formed four branches, which were recognized in 1493 as independent of one another. These were the Macleans of Duart, the house of the chief; the Macleans of Lochbuie, the oldest cadet branch; the Macleans of Coll; and the Macleans of Ardgour.

The Macleans of Duart, the chiefs of Clan Maclean, had the most extensive estate of any of the branches of the clan, which varied from century to century but always hovered a bit over 80% of the total clan territory. At the dawn of the 17th century, when this tale begins, the estate of the Macleans of Duart, was a considerable

one, consisting of much of Mull; all of Tiree, save the farmstead of Scarinish; the two ends of Coll, and also extensive holdings in Morven. Their ability to quickly raise a large fighting force from their own lands, coupled with those they could usually call upon from other branches of clan and their allies made them formidable figures.

The Macleans had had little to fear from any rival clan under the Lordship of the Isles, and when they became independent their military strength continued to bolster their feelings of invincibility. Under Sir Lachlan Mòr, who was recognized as the foremost Highland warrior of his times, the Macleans of Duart, could raise over 2,000 men. This bellicose warrior had ridden roughshod over his Hebridean rivals, as well as his fellow clansmen of Coll. After losing their champion, Sir Lachlan, through the treachery of the MacDonalds of Dunnyveg, the Macleans had gathered a huge force and invaded and wrecked havoc in their lands in Islay. Yet, as incredible as it seems the successors of Sir Lachlan lost their Duart estate, the home territory of the clan, to the Campbells in less than one hundred years. Such an event would have been unthinkable in Lachlan Mòr's time, but it is likely that the seeds of this disaster were probably sown during his reign. His many wars were doubtless expensive, and while we have no proof of this he was probably forced to go into debt to fund them. Hector Og, his successor, added to the indebtedness of the Duart estate, when he organized the massive invasion of Islay to avenge his father's death, and then went on to poorly managed his estate. He was described as "a weak son of a strong father" by A. Maclean Sinclair in *The Clan Gillian*, who also stated that he was both a poor administrator and extravagant.¹ Hector Mòr, the son who succeeded him in 1618, did little to break this pattern, and when his brother Sir Lachlan began his reign in 1626 he found his estate heavily burdened by debt.

The MacDonalds of Dunnyveg and the Glens had been the foremost rivals of the Macleans in the Isles, but by 1626 they had lost their lands in Islay and Kintyre to the Campbells. The lands of the MacLains of Ardnamurchan, another branch of Clan Donald, met the same fate. The expansionist policies of the Campbells had been aided and abetted by the government in Edinburgh, which sought to bring the unruly clans of the Isles under control, and used the Campbells as their instrument for this purpose. This left the Macleans in an unenviable position to face a newly strengthened Clan Campbell, and it was not long before the latter turned their aggressive attentions upon them.

Highland chiefs throughout history had entertained lavishly and had thought nothing of keeping up the style expected of them through borrowing on their estates if necessary. In the old days, however, much of this debt would have been in the hands of their kinsmen, or at least in friendly hands, but by the beginning of the 17th century the expense of arming their followers and keeping to the style expected of a chief became a heavy financial burden. This was especially true for the Maclean chiefs, who were used to playing a prominent role in the Isles. They found they often had to go further afield to find funds, and this was to give their Campbell enemies the opening, for which they were looking.

¹ J.P. Maclean in his *A History of Clan Maclean* had a different view of Hector Og, describing him as 'judicious', but he is usually overly generous in his characterization of the Maclean chiefs.

THE OPENING GAMBIT

In 1634 Sir Lachlan, finding himself under severe financial pressure, accepted a loan from Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorn, later Marquis of Argyll. This proved to be a fatal mistake, but apparently he was on good terms with Lorn and had no reason to suspect him of ulterior designs upon his estate. Knowing what we now know of the future Marquis, it would not be surprising, however, to learn that he took this opportunity to deliberately place Sir Lachlan under obligation to him and planned to use this to his advantage in the future.

This debt against the Duart estate apparently was of no immediate concern, but in 1641 Argyll, playing a deep game, attempted to lure Sir Lachlan into open rebellion against King Charles, since he fervently espoused the Covenanter cause. When Sir Lachlan declined this overture, Argyll sought means to compel him to do so, resolving to ruin him if he could not bend him to his will. For a relatively small amount of money he was able to acquire the rights to some old crown rents due to Sir Lachlan and some feu duties claimed by the Bishop of the Isles for the island of Ilcomkill. With these and the debt he already held from Sir Lachlan, along with some smaller items, Argyll was able to make a claim against the Maclean chief in the magnitude of £30,000. When Sir Lachlan, still loyal to the Stuart king, traveled to Inverary in an attempt to come to a settlement with his creditor, Argyll threw him into prison. Sir Lachlan languished in Carrick Castle for a year, but bowing to the entreaties of his friends, who feared for his health, he gave Argyll his bond for £16,000 and signed an account for the remainder, and thus secured his release. When Sir Lachlan acknowledged his debt to Argyll, he started down the slope which was to end with the ruin of his house.

CIVIL WAR ADVERSARIES

The first serious set of armed clashes between the Macleans and Campbells came about during the Civil War. The Lowland Calvinists, who had signed the Covenant, were at the core of the anti-royalist forces, because they passionately opposed the king's high church policy. The Earl of Argyll, who shared their beliefs, brought his powerful Campbell clan into their camp, assuming the leadership of the rebels.

The chief supporters of the royalist cause were the Catholic clans of the Isles, who felt their religion threatened by the Calvinists. The Macleans, being mainly Episcopalian, had no love for the Church of Rome, but they also were opposed to having the Calvinist doctrine forced upon them.² All had a double motive, however, since they feared the expansionist policies of the Campbells.

After the Battle of Marston Moor in the spring of 1644 James Graham, Marquis of Montrose went to Scotland to rally the royalists to the king's cause. There he linked up with Sir Alasdair MacDonald, aka Cokitto, and his wild Irishmen from Antrim, along with about 800 Atholl men, mainly Stewarts and Robertsons. They defeated an army of the Covenanters led by Lord Elcho in a battle at Tippermuir, near Perth, September 1, 1644 to start Montrose on his campaign to win Scotland for King Charles.

Earlier Montrose had sent couriers to the Western clans, calling upon them to join him immediately. Sir Lachlan Maclean did so, but only with twenty or thirty of his clansmen, leaving his brother Donald of Brolas to muster the clan. This probably was necessary because more time was needed to call the Macleans to arms, or possibly

² The Maclaines of Lochbuie were Catholic

because the Campbells were blocking their way into Argyll. Some of the Maclean leaders with Sir Lachlan were the Macleans of Coll, Treshnish, Kinlochaline, Ardgour, and Kingerloch, indicating that there was wide spread support for the king among the clan.

Sir Lachlan joined the army of Montrose the day before their notable victory at Inverlochy on February 2, 1645. There Montrose turned the tables on the Campbells, who had been trailing him, utterly surprising them by taking his army across the snow-covered mountains in the dead of winter and falling upon them when they were completely unprepared for this eventuality. The Earl of Argyll, accused by many of cowardice, deserted his clansmen when he saw the tide of battle turn so completely against them. Running ignominiously to his galley, he witnessed from offshore the slaughter of about 1500 of his clansmen and another 1000 of them taken prisoner.

Shortly after the triumph of Inverlochy, Donald Maclean of Brolas brought a force of 1100 men onto the mainland. Of these 750 were Macleans from Mull, Coll, Tiree and Morven. The remainder was made up of such allied clans as the MacNeills of Barra and the MacQuarries of Ulva, along with a scattering of other royalist supporters. Sir Lachlan put himself at the head of this large regiment, appointing Donald of Brolas as his Lieutenant Colonel. They made a juncture with Cokitto in Lorn and together they cleared Argyll of rebel forces, laying waste to such places as Glenorchy, Inverawe, and Auchinbreak among others. It was reported that about 895 Campbells were slain during this campaign, and the Campbell lands burnt out.

In the meantime Montrose and the main royalist army were defeating the Covenanters at Auldearn on May 9, and winning an even more decisive battle at Alford on July 2. The Macleans did not join Montrose until after Alford, but Ewen Maclean of Treshnish soon won the favor of Montrose by his actions in defeating a Covenanter force under Baillie while the royalists were on a march to Sterling. During this period the Macleans again avenged themselves against their Campbell enemies by plundering Machort and Dollar, parishes under the control of the Earl of Argyll. The Campbell homeland had suffered severe damage during the year, but they were not toothless. They retaliated by invading Mull, which could put up little resistance to this incursion, since it was only defended by old men and boys. The Campbells got a little of their own back by doing a great deal of harm before withdrawing.

The bulk of the Maclean force saw action at the Battle of Kilsyth on August 15, 1645, where Montrose won a stunning victory over a larger force of Covenanters led by General Baillie. Montrose had 5,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, while Bailie had 7,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, but his numerical advantage did Bailie little good. The battle started when the Macleans, the Clanranald MacDonalds, and the MacGregors started the action without orders, when they came to the rescue of a small force of marksmen positioned in some small cottages and gardens in front of the royalist army.³ These Highlanders, in turn, had to be rescued by an attack of Montrose's main army, which won a decisive victory in which 6,000 of the enemy were slain. The Marquis of Argyll again left the field where a large number of his clansmen perished, reaching the Firth of Forth by horse, where he found a boat to take him to Berwick.

The victory at Kilsyth appeared to win Scotland for the king, and the army of Montrose began to disband; the clans starting for home. The Macleans journeyed to the

³ J.P. Maclean stated that this force of 100 marksmen was led by Maclean of Treshnish.

west in the company of Colkitto's Antrim men, and got in one last lick at the Campbells. Near Laggan Moor in Lorn, where their advance guard of only 200 men attacked and routed 700 Argyll men.⁴

The fruits of the royalist's triumphant year, in which Montrose won six remarkable victories, were wiped out on September 13, 1645 when General David Leslie and his 4,000 man army fell upon what was left of Montrose's army of only 1500 at Philiphaugh, after coming up from Berwick in a series of forced marches. It was in this battle that Leslie showed his murderous tendencies, when he ordered the killing of the Irishmen that fell into his hands after they had been promised quarter.⁵

Montrose survived and sought to call up the western clans again at Strathearn. Maclean of Coll immediately joined him, but this attempt to keep up the fight went for naught when the king was captured and ordered Montrose to stop all military action on his behalf on May 19, 1646.

THE CAMPBELL INVASION OF MULL

There is no doubt that the Campbells experienced heavy losses both in men and material at the hands of the royalists during 1645. Most of their clan lands had been invaded, their castles either burnt or occupied, and their tenants despoiled. Colkitto, still smarting from the loss of the MacDonald clan lands in Islay and Kintyre, was particularly vengeful, as were the Lamonts, and the Macleans. The Campbells claimed to have suffered numerous atrocities, and knowing the nature of 17th warfare this may well have been true. Their answer was to engage in a series of even more vicious reprisals, after Argyll and his Campbells joined David Leslie and the Covenanters in a mop up operation during the remainder of 1647.

May 21, 1647 saw the Covenanter army at Inverary, where they dislodged Colkitto's relatively small force without any trouble. They then marched into Kintyre, which had been in royalist hands since September of 1645, and besieged Dunverty Castle. It was garrisoned by about 300 men, chiefly Irish and MacDougalls. After losing about 40 men, the defenders surrendered with a promise of quarter. Leslie and the Campbells treacherously abrogated their pledge of quarter, and killed all but two of their prisoners. One of the individuals urging that they all be put to the sword was a very vocal Presbyterian minister.⁶

Leslie and Argyll proceeded to go into Islay to recapture Dunnyveg Castle, which was held by Coll Ciotach MacDonald, Colkitto's seventy-seven year old father, with 200 men. Ciotach MacDonald lost his life in this action, but the story that he had been captured and hanged apparently was only propaganda. The garrison surrendered after receiving a promise of quarter, which was evidently honored in this case.

The Covenanters, 5,000 strong, which included a large force of Campbells led by their chief, went from Islay to Jura and then invaded Mull. Faced with such an

⁴ By September 3, 1645 Colkitto was in Cowall with Sir James Lamont and his clan, where they were busy burning and plundering Campbell holdings. Neither was with Montrose, thinking the battle for Scotland was over.

⁵ Some historians state that the Covenanters also put the women of the Irish to the sword in a most heinous fashion.

⁶ This is similar to what the Lamonts suffered after surrendering their castles of Toward and Ascog to the Campbells after receiving a written pledge of safe conduct. Two hundred of them were massacred in cold blood at Dunoon. Urging the Campbells on in this atrocity was a Maclachlan minister of the kirk.

overwhelming force the Macleans could put up little, or no, resistance. Accounts differ as to the extent of the abuses showered upon those that fell into enemy hands, but J. P. Maclean, quoting Browne's *History of the Clans, Vol. II*, stated that Leslie unleashed Sir James Turner upon an expedition of "rapine and blood" against the defenseless inhabitants. Many sought refuge in the mountains to escape the vengeance of the Covenanters. Sir Lachlan, with a small force of Macleans and eight followers of Colkitto, was besieged in Duart Castle, which he surrendered along with Aros Castle under the condition that Mull be spared any further depredations and that the garrison go free. Leslie and the Marquis of Argyll again violated this pledge by executing all but one of the Irish followers of Colkitto. The one escaping was aided by the youngest daughter of the Maclean chief.

The special hatred that the Campbells felt toward the Antrim Irish of Colkitto was again exhibited by their murder outside Duart Castle, but there is little doubt that many of the Campbells felt much the same way about the Macleans. Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, in particular, wanted "all the Macleans put to the sword". He ignored the orders of Leslie to desist in this campaign of vengeance, and only ceased in this endeavor at the intervention of the Marquis of Argyll.

SIR HECTOR ROY MACLEAN

Sir Lachlan, who had stood so loyally by his king, died in 1648. He was succeeded by his son, Sir Hector Roy, who now had the unhappy task of countering the machinations of his father's enemy, Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyll. He was soon tested when some Campbells embarked upon a campaign of harassment against the Macleans of Morven. There they drove off large numbers of their cattle and committed other acts of destruction. Hector Roy came to their rescue by entering Ardnamurchan, seizing two of the worst offenders, and hanging them. He followed up this action by forcing others to provide full restitution. He then went into Lorn and dealt with other Campbell cattle thieves in the same manner. The Marquis of Argyll remonstrated with Hector for this action, but was told that if the Campbell chief could not keep his thieves in check he would do it for him.

Hector Roy's father, Sir Lachlan, had not paid any of the public dues during the period of 1642 to 1649, when he was fully engaged in defending his king against his enemies, nor had Hector felt compelled to do so. They argued that the Macleans had undergone to some considerable expense in keeping near 1,000 men in the field, which was doubtless true, but this argument, of course, had no traction with the new government in Edinburgh. The invasion of Mull by Leslie and Argyll in 1647 had made it impossible to raise any money from this part of the Duart estate, so Hector had few resources available to him to meet the demands of the government. This financial difficulty was taken advantage of by Argyll, who lost no opportunity to fasten more firmly his grip upon the estate of the Maclean chief. He not only bought up all the public debts of the Duart estate, but continued to purchase any of its private debts whenever possible. When these purchases were combined with the £30,000 promised him in 1642, along with all possible interest, Argyll was able to present a claim against the Duart estate in 1650 in the neighborhood of £70,000. Some Maclean historians have argued that much of this sum was fictitious, but enough of it was obviously legitimate that Sir Hector

had little choice but to attempt to deal with this financial burden as best he could. He, therefore, paid Argyll £10,000 on account and gave him his bond for £60,000.

Charles II, who had succeeded to the throne upon the execution of his father on February 8, 1649, opportunistically signed the Covenant, and was crowned at Scone on January 1, 1651. Since both the Macleans and the Campbells came to his defense when Cromwell invaded Scotland to dethrone him, these hostilities were not part of the Maclean-Campbell conflict. Yet the disaster of Inverkeithing, in which Sir Hector and almost 700 Macleans died, did impact on the Macleans' ability to counter the Campbell long term campaign against them, since it weakened them both militarily and financially. The loss of so many fighting men, along with many leaders of the clan, meant that the Macleans were less the intimidating force they once had been. The loss of manpower resulted in 32 township out of a total of 140 being abandoned for a generation or more, further sapping the economic resources of the clan.

The valiant conduct of Sir Hector Roy at Inverkeithing won him and the Macleans acclaim throughout the Gaelic world, and is celebrated even today among the clan. It does illustrate, however, the differences between the Maclean clan chief and their foe, the Marquis of Argyll. The chief of Clan Maclean acted as his predecessors had done, when the leader of the clan had to be by tradition the foremost warrior among them. They would not leave the field of battle and desert their clansmen, even in the face of certain defeat and death. The Marquis of Argyll, however, conducted himself much differently. He abandoned his Campbell clansmen at both Inverlochry and Kilsyth, when he perceived the cause was lost. He was roundly accused of cowardice in both instances, but in his defense he never pretended to be a military leader, seeing himself as more of a political general. It can be argued that the Marquis of Argyll served his clan much better than the gallant Hector did his by choosing to flee and fight another day.

THE MINORITY OF SIR ALLAN MACLEAN

With the death of Sir Hector his ten year old brother, Allan, became chief, at a time the clan could ill afford to have a minor in such a position. His paternal uncle, Donald Maclean of Brolas, and Hector Maclean of Lochbuie were named as his guardians, with the former being appointed his tutor and in effect the leader of the Macleans. Brolas unwisely joined Glencairn's Rising in September of 1653, when that poorly organized rebellion had little chance of success. That action brought another invasion of Mull by a government force this led by a Colonel Cobbet. He was surprised by the little resistance on the part of the Macleans, who meekly surrendered Duart Castle, but they really were in no condition to put up much of a fight. At the instigation of the Marquis of Argyll, who had astutely come to an agreement with Cromwell, the latter left an English garrison in Duart Castle. Joining Glencairn cost the Macleans in another manner when the Marquis urged the government to demand that no rents be paid to the rebel Brolas, but that the rents be paid directly to the government.

The Marquis of Argyll, who took every opportunity to further his grip on the Duart estate, added to his claim by buying up some of the additional loans Sir Hector had used to finance his fight against Cromwell during the 1650s.

The chiefs of the Macleans had put the clan in considerable peril by allowing their Campbell enemy to acquire such a hold on the Duart estate, but during the minority of Sir Allan his guardians at last made an attempt to minimize this danger. During the period of

1652 to 1659 they paid the Marquis £22,000. This had little effect, however, and the relentless Campbell chief was able to obtain a decree of adjudication against the Duart estate in the sum of £85,000 in 1659. This sum was no doubt vastly inflated, and the Marquis overreached in this attempt to bring the Macleans to ruin. Broilas, appealing to the Scottish Parliament, was able to prove that no credit had been given for the massive sums already paid to Argyll, and all action was stopped on this governmental decree.

THE EXECUTION OF THE MARQUIS OF ARGYLL

The Macleans had every reason to rejoice, when Charles II regained his crown in 1660 and their enemy, the Marquis of Argyll, was executed on May 27, 1661 and his estate forfeited. Their hopes of reimbursement for the heavy expenditures made in the cause of Charles II and his father, however, were crushed by the ingratitude of the ‘Merry Monarch’, whose conduct toward his loyal followers was exemplified in the admonition, “Put not your faith in Princes.”

It is difficult to find a death that was more celebrated than that of Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyll, because his enemies were legion and the detestation he aroused during his lifetime was enormous. Much of this can be explained by the aversion that many felt for the Campbells. This was especially true for the island clans, such as the MacDonalds and the Macleans, who had suffered mightily at the hands of the Campbells. During his lifetime he was the most powerful man in the Highlands, if not the entire Scottish kingdom, which brought him a large number of allies, but few friends. Historians have not been kind to him, and an objective view of this enemy of the Macleans is difficult to come by. Some of the accusations made against him were no doubt propagated by his enemies, but the fact is that he was not a very likeable man, and few of his contemporaries ever were very fervent in his defense. This was reflected in the name by which he was known in the Highlands, which was ‘Gilleasbuig Gruamach’, or morose Archibald.

The mother of the future Marquis died during his infancy, and his eccentric and unlovable father was said to have ignored him. He grew up to be a severe, calculating man, whose cold character was most unattractive. His appearance was no help to him, since he had reddish hair and a cast in one eye. One would think that this lack of charisma would have been a severe handicap, but his keen brain made him a very effective statesman. He was not known to have been a particularly religious man until his conversion to the fanaticism of the Covenanters, but this conversion was evidently real and his zeal in this cause never faltered. The enemies of the Marquis were quick to accuse him of cowardice in leaving the fields of battle at Inverlochy and again at Kilsyth, while his clansmen died, but, in his defense, he never pretended to be a military leader. It is true he was not a chief in the old style, who led his clan into battle from the front, but his worth was as a political strategist and general who recognized he could more advance his cause alive than dead.

The son and heir of the Marquis, another Archibald Campbell, was briefly imprisoned on some very flimsy charges, after his father’s execution, despite his having joined Glencairn’s Rebellion, but his friend the Earl of Lauderdale was successful in having him released and restored to his forfeited estate.

There were no serious clashes of a martial nature between the Macleans and Campbells throughout the 1660s, except for some depredations made by the Campbells

of Ardnamurchan against some Macleans in Morven, which brought about some retaliation on the part of the Macleans. The war between the two clans went on none the less behind the scenes, with the new Campbell chief continuing the persecution of the Macleans by his purchases of any debts of the Duart estate which came upon the market. In 1669 he presented a claim of £85,000 to Sir Allan.⁷

THE MACLEANS OFFER A SETTLEMENT

The Campbells of Ardnamurchan had continued their practice of harassing the tenants of both Maclean of Duart and the Maclean in Coll in Morven with a number of petty depredations. This provoked a massive reprisal on the part of the Macleans, who invaded Campbell territory on October 14, 1671 to punish the offenders. This was no small expedition, and Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, who held Ardnamurchan, complained to the Earl of Argyll that a force of 450 Macleans had marched into his territory and assaulted his followers. Argyll, vastly annoyed, complained bitterly to Sir Allan, but the latter told him he was forced to retaliate because of the actions of Argyll's followers. Since the Macleans withdrew from Ardnamurchan soon after this incursion, the Campbells chose not to carry the matter any further.

The debt owed to Argyll continued to be the most pressing matter confronting Sir Allan and he made a determined effort to come to some of an agreement with his avaricious creditor. He reluctantly offered to cede a portion of the Duart estate to pay the balance due on the debt held by Argyll, providing that credit was given on the amounts of money already paid. This was, of course, a huge concession and it was rumored at the time that the island of Tiree would be part of this negotiation. Argyll obviously never gave this offer serious consideration and made a pretense of not knowing the amount already paid. At the same time he continued buy up any of the Maclean debts that he could put his hand on. Argyll, while never rejecting this overture of Sir Allan's, merely played for time, delaying any action on his part, and it is clear he did not want to settle for half a loaf, if he could acquire the entire estate of the Maclean chief. Sir Allan, attempting to deal honestly in this matter, then offered to have this dispute with Argyll arbitrated by the Scottish Parliament. When this proposal came to nothing, Sir Allan made a last desperate attempt to resolve his predicament and in 1672 went to London to put the matter before the king. Charles II heard him out, expressed his sympathy for his difficulties, and ordered Lauderdale, the Secretary of State for Scotland, who was in London at this time, "To give Maclean justice". Maclean must have been encouraged by this development, but Lauderdale, being a staunch ally of Argyll, ignored the king's order, and Maclean soon found himself no better off for all the king's intervention.

Historians agree that an offer was made to relinquish a portion of the Duart estate to satisfy the debt held by Argyll, that share to be determined by arbitration, providing credit was given for all moneys already paid. In J.P. Maclean's account of these times he states Brolas made this offer, not Sir Allan, but all agree that Argyll only pretended to entertain this bid to settle the hold he held on the Duart estate. J.P. Maclean also contended that Sir Allan thought he could to pay yearly the rents on his estate to Argyll until the debt was settled, and that Argyll would agree to this arrangement. Supposedly he went to the grave believing he had found a solution to the debt overhanging his estate,

⁷ Some sources show claims against the Duart estate as high as £121,000, but it is unclear when this occurred.

not fully understanding the full amount of Argyll's claim. It is difficult, however, to believe in such naïveté on his part, and the original source for this story may have been wrong in this detail. Another version of this same story is that Argyll was given the rights to the rents of the Duart estate by order of the Scottish Council, where Lauderdale, Argyll's friend and ally had enormous influence, and that Sir Allan consented to this arrangement. These discrepancies regarding the machinations of Argyll as he twisted the screw on the Maclean chiefs are of no real significance. All versions illustrate the willingness of the Macleans to come to a settlement of the debt on the Duart estate, and that Argyll only made a pretense of considering any agreement short of obtaining the entire estate.

ANOTHER INVASION OF MULL

On February 17, 1672 the Earl of Argyll ratcheted up his campaign to bring Sir Allan to ruin. He first brought action against Maclean in the court of Edinburgh, where his influence gave him every advantage. Nevertheless, it was not until July 25, 1674 when he was successful in obtaining Letters of Ejection against the tenants of the Duart estate and an order for Duart Castle to be surrendered to him. At the same time he received permission to use royal troops to collect the outstanding dues on Mull, and Ensign Middleton of the Third Foot Guards was sent to demand them. By this time Sir Allan was dead, leaving an infant son as the chief of the clan at this most perilous time. The leadership of Clan Maclean thus fell to Lachlan Maclean of Brolas, who had been made tutor to John, Sir Allan's infant son and heir.

When Brolas was informed of the court's action, he made it clear that he would not give up Duart Castle to Argyll or anyone else. This was answered by Argyll, who then obtained a Commission of Fire and Sword against the Maclean rebels, which included such Maclean chieftains as Lochbuie, Kinlochaline, Torloisk, and Ardgour. At the same time the Council offered indemnity to the Macleans if Duart Castle was surrendered as demanded.

The defiance of Brolas was not unexpected by Argyll, whose response was to prepare for an invasion of Mull. He obtained the use of 500 government troops together with 1800 of his own clansmen, and this force was gathered at Oban on September 14. Foul weather delayed their plans, but on September 16 they set sail for Mull. One group under the command of Lord Neil Campbell and another under Campbell of Cawdor took the longer route up the Sound of Mull toward Iona, while Argyll took the rest of the invasion force on the southern route. Cross winds brought Lord Neil and Cawdor to the east coast, while Argyll's group landed near Lochbuie. The Macleans were ill-prepared to defend Mull, weakened as they were by their losses at Inverkeithing, but Brolas was completely outmaneuvered, since he expected Argyll to attack Duart Castle and tie himself down in a long siege.

The Campbells now had Mull at their mercy, but there was little mercy extended toward the inhabitants of the island. Those who had not succeeded in hiding in the mountains suffered cruelly by being stripped of the necessities of life, while much of the cattle that came into the hands of the invaders were mutilated by cutting off their hind legs and leaving them to die a painful death. This terrorism of the islanders forced Brolas to meet the Campbells of Glenorchy and Lochnell at Lochbuie Castle, where a truce was negotiated, in which he agreed to surrender Duart Castle on September 18, 1674 and have

the tacksmen and tenants of Mull give up their tacks. He gained a pardon for those who had defied Middleton and he, himself, was confirmed in the wadset he had held from Maclean of Duart.

Argyll seemingly had won it all. Government troops occupied Duart Castle, and the people of Mull lay supine in defeat. There is even some evidence that indicated that Brolas was willing to betray his clan and friends in order to insure his hold on his own property. Yet Argyll inexplicably muffed this opportunity to end the conflict with the Macleans triumphantly. In April of 1675 he decided to bring new tenants to replace some of the old in Mull, against the advice of Campbell of Glenorchy, who argued that this action would only reignite Maclean resistance and he should first come to a more secure settlement with Brolas. He spent eight days in Mull after inviting the Maclean leaders to join him in talks, but none but Torloisk did so, claiming that Argyll had broken the terms of the Lochbuie agreement. Brolas had left to seek arms and ammunition, as well as allies, in the next round of the war with the Campbells. Help was at hand, since the action of Argyll had sent an alarming message throughout the Highlands. An agreement was made with Cameron of Lochiel to come to the aid of the Macleans when necessary in exchange for a pension during the minority of Sir John. Something similar was evidently negotiated with the Lord MacDonald and of MacDonnell of Keppoch, and some sources claim that these allies pledged to come to the aid of the Macleans with 1000 men.

THE FIERY CROSS SENT ACROSS MACLEAN LANDS

Brolas had come to the conclusion later in April that the Macleans must continue the struggle, and he sent the fiery cross throughout Mull. Three to four hundred Maclean supporters assembled in Knockmartin on Mull. This group consisted of friends, the former Maclean tenants of Mull, and most of the clan leaders, such as Lochbuie, Ardgoir, Kinlochaline, Torloisk, and Inverscadell. Two uncles of MacQuarrie of Ulva were also present, as was Major David Ramsey, Commissary of the Isles, who was a veteran of the Civil Wars. Maclean of Coll was conspicuous by his absence, since Argyll had allowed his kinsman, Lachlan Maclean of Grishipol, to continue in his post of bailie of Tiree. Brolas appointed officers, after mustering a considerable force, and they were armed and drilled in a highly professional manner, perhaps by Major Ramsey.

Argyll had indeed stirred up a hornet's nest, and on April 30 he sent Middleton, the royal officer stationed at Duart Castle, to Edinburgh to ask that the Council quarter 60 government troops on Mull, as well as Tiree and the Maclean lands in Morven. This was the time-honored manner in which troops were placed among a rebellious populace to keep order.

Brolas, astutely recognizing the importance of Cairnburgh Caste, then sent men to garrison that impregnable fortress in the Treshnish Isles. It is probable that about this time he sent Sir John, the six year old Maclean chief, to Cairnburgh, for his own safety. One of his first aggressive actions was to invade Tiree with a party which he, himself, led. On Tiree Brolas's men seized the rents that the bailie, Lachlan Maclean of Grishipol, had collected for Argyll, and he took refuge in Coll to escape the wrath of the Macleans, who considered him a traitor.

RAIDS AND COUNTER RAIDS

Argyll, now back at Dunstaffnage, answered this challenge of the Macleans by sending letters to his vassals asking them join him with their birlinns in another invasion of Mull. He was also successful in obtaining another Commission of Fire and Sword against the Macleans. Some expected help did not arrive. Cameron of Lochiel, staying true to his promise, declined to join Argyll because his clansmen refused to serve under the terms they had been granted. MacDonald of Clanranald, his brother-in-law, also begged off, saying his men were too occupied with their harvest, but warned Argyll that the Macleans were united against him. Yet despite these defections, Argyll was able to raise a force of 2200 men by late August.

On September 12 a frigate of Argyll's, laden with provisions for Argyll's offensive, was attacked by a mixed force of Macleans and men sent by Lord MacDonald. They were not successful in taking the frigate, but this illustrates that the Macleans did have assistance from other clans in their fight against Argyll. When the invasion force was at sea a vicious storm hit it. It stormed for two days, scattering the armada and inflicting considerable damage upon it. Nature ended this attempt upon the part of Argyll to bring the Macleans to heel.

Much of the rest of the year was quiet, except for various raids made by both the Macleans and Campbells against each other's followers. An example of this was the foray mounted against the Garvelloch Islands on October 18 by a Maclean party of 60 men led by Hector Maclean of Lochbuie and two brothers of Maclean of Kingerloch, which took plunder and then withdrew. Another which took place shortly after was an incursion of Kerrera by Brolas, Lochbuie, Ramsey, and others. They broke into the home of William Campbell and carried away everything of value. A third raid was led by John McCharles of Salum with 60 men, who invaded Kilbride and the property of John MacLachlan, carrying away 52 cows, 16 stirks, 4 horses, and 12 sheep.⁸ The Campbells, in turn, retaliated by raids of their own against the Macleans, but details of these are lacking.

ARGYLL TRIES THE POLITICAL PROCESS

Toward the end of 1675 Argyll, who had requested additional help from the Council, found it not forthcoming, and, exasperated, went to London to place his complaint before the king. He had every reason to think he would be successful, because Lauderdale, still his greatest ally, was expected to influence the king in his favor. Brolas and Torloisk, hearing of this, followed Argyll to London to counter his action. They were accompanied by Lord Macdonnell and probably Sir Ewen of Lochiel. The king, ducking the issue, referred the matter to the Privy Council of Scotland in February of 1676, where Argyll put forth his complaints against the Macleans. Brolas and Torloisk meticulously answered each charge, and had reason to hope they would finally find justice.⁹ Argyll, who now had raised his claim against the Duart estate to £200,000, had no desire that a settlement be reached. Through his mastery of the political process, he managed once again to put off a decision for several years, and the Macleans were

⁸ John McCharles Maclean was an illegitimate son of Charles Maclean of Ardnacross, the foster father of Sir John. John McCharles was the tacksman of Salum in Tiree in 1675 and this writer's ancestor.

⁹ The Maclean document submitted to the Privy Council appears in Appendix in its entirety.

outmaneuvered. It was demonstrated once more that the Macleans were overmatched by Argyll in the political arena.

There is one account stating that the Earl of Seaforth was then successful in negotiating a truce between the two adversaries. Details are lacking, but it must have occurred, because a fragile peace existed for the next two years.

The Macleans, frustrated by their inability to find justice for their cause, returned to a series of petty raids throughout the two years of 1677 and 1678. In February of 1677 Archibald Maclean, uncle to Maclean of Ardgour, and two brothers of the laird of Kingerloch seized and kept a boatload of provisions the Campbell garrison of Duart Castle had captured from an Irish vessel and were busy unloading before the fortress. In late May or early June of 1677 Brolas and Cameron of Lochiel, invaded the lands of Campbell of Lochnell in Migharie, Carwallan, and elsewhere. Their plunder was not small and consisted of 650 lambs, 650 sheep, 500 goats, 230 bolls of corn, and 24 bolls of barley, which suggests that this was a major operation undertaken by a fairly large force. At about this same time a similar action was taken in Ardnamurchan, where the incursion netted 66 sheep, 12 horses, and 50 goats, whose value was estimated at £5,000 Scots. It would seem from these reports that the Macleans were the aggressors in these attacks, but since most of the history of these years was written by the Campbell winners the losses were no doubt exaggerated, and any account of depredations on their part suppressed.

THE MACLEAN COUNTER-ATTACK

On October 10, 1678 Argyll was successful in getting the Council to renew the Commission of Fire and Sword against the Macleans, including the permission to call upon the militia of Argyll, Bute, and Dumbarton. He also gained the command of a company from the regiment of the Earl of Lithgow. During this time Lord MacDonell continued to assist the Macleans by sending guns and ammunition to them, but they lost the active support of Sir Ewen of Lochiel, the Cameron chief, who broke his pledge to come to their assistance when necessary. Argyll, to whom Lochiel owed a debt of 40,000 merks, secured Lochiel's neutrality by giving up his claim. This treachery on the part of the Cameron chief resulted in an invasion of Mamore by 700-800 Macleans, while Aeneas MacDonald led his MacDonalds towards Lochleven. Argyll and his army were camped in their path, and barely escaped a night attack by withdrawing from the field, Argyll taking refuge in Castle Stalker. During this period Campbell of Glenorchy, now Earl of Caithness, attempted to negotiate a treaty with the MacDonalds and Macleans, which Argyll later claimed was initiated without his authorization. By early December both the MacDonald and the Maclean forces had given up any aggressive action and were on their way home to be disbanded. It is unclear what dictated the withdrawal of the MacDonald-Maclean invasion force, since they appeared to have Argyll on the run, but perhaps the difficulty of operating in enemy territory in the winter had something to do with their decision.

Argyll, however, once again outmaneuvered the Macleans, because on December 10 his armada of 1500 men invaded Mull unexpectedly. This was a complete surprise, well thought out by Argyll who had commandeered all boats on the coast to keep this winter attack a secret. Mull was hunkering down for the winter, and the tenants of the Maclean chief could not even drive their cattle into the mountains to keep them out of the

hands of the invasion force. They could offer little, or no, resistance, and Brolas was compelled to seek refuge in Cairnburgh Castle.

The Campbells were now in a position to disarm Mull and Morven, which they proceeded to do with great efficiency, with the only significant holdout on Mull being the house of Lochbuie. To complete his triumph Argyll issued orders on December 26 for an invasion of both Tiree and Coll. The expedition was to be commanded by Campbell of Lochnell, who was to be given 50 government troops and 150 men from Caithness' regiment to complete the task. Boats were provided to transport the invasion force and it was to be shepherded by Argyll's frigate. It was sent on its way to Coll on January 3, 1679 where they expected no resistance, since the uncles of Maclean of Coll had already declared their submission to Argyll. This invasion of Coll and Tiree was beset with difficulties and ended unsuccessfully. Severe January storms hampered it from the start, and a mutiny of the men of Campbell of Barcaldine did not help. The end result was that Coll and Tiree remained in the possession of the Macleans, as did the castle of Kinlochaline in Morven and the mighty fortress of Cairnburgh. The Macleans of Ardgour, however, had withdrawn from Morven, leaving the part of the Duart estate which they had occupied to the tender mercies of the Campbells. By February 18, 1679 Argyll was back in Edinburgh, evidently satisfied with the disarmament of most of his Maclean enemies. This suited the Maclean leaders, who reoccupied Mull when he withdrew.

After tending to business in Edinburgh Argyll was ready to renew his persecution of the Macleans. He was able with the assistance of Lauderdale to obtain a commission in April of 1679 to disarm and reduce his most persistent enemies. Those named among the MacDonalds were Lord MacDonald and Archibald MacDonnell of Keppoch. The Macleans, who were named, were the Macleans of Brolas, Torloisk, and Ardgour. It is not clear where Maclean of Coll stood in all this, but there is no doubt that some of his followers joined in the harassment of the Campbells, with or without his encouragement. On April 24 Argyll commanded that the Macleans and MacDonalds named in the commission to surrender all arms and ammunition they held to the sheriff deputy. This order was, of course, ignored, but the Earl continued to use his powerful influence in Edinburgh to denounce the Macleans as rebels.

THE MACLEANS INVADE CAMPBELL TERRITORY

Argyll was preparing for another expedition into the lands of the Macleans when they turned the tables upon him. Mull was in desperate shape. The Campbells had killed some 700 cattle, and the people of the island were on the brink of famine. Yet, revenge, not hunger, was on their mind. They may have forced the hands of Brolas and the other leaders of the clan, but the Macleans made the audacious step of invading the heart of Campbell territory with 700-800 men. This had not been done since Colkitto's Irish and the Lamonts had ravaged the Campbell homeland in 1644-1645. Since the Macleans had supposedly been disarmed just since months earlier, it cannot be believed they were well-armed, although Brolas may have purchased some arms in the interval.

Argyll first received intelligence that the Macleans were raising men for an invasion of the mainland on April 12, and hoped his frigate could prevent them crossing the Sound of Mull into Morven. Brolas avoided this difficulty by crossing into Knoydart, where he was joined by the MacDonalds. In May and June, 1679 they rampaged through

Glenshire, near Inverary, doing damage totaling £2,158. On May 24, 1769 Archibald Maclean, brother of the laird of Ardgour; John Maclean, brother of Maclean of Torloisk, and Donald Maclean of Sheba in Mull invaded the lands of Colin Campbell of Inveresrigane under the orders of Lord MacDonald. They plundered him of 16 horses, 106 cows, and other goods, while inflicting much damage to the total of 6662 merks. They continued their attacks throughout Argyllshire, hitting the Braes of Lochaber and elsewhere. If one believes the Campbells, the total extent of the harm they did totaled £10,000.

Argyll scrambled to muster an army to oppose them, and was successful in raising a force of some 900 men. Yet, he was vastly outnumbered, since Lord MacDonald was said to be in the Braes of Lochaber with 2,000 men. Even allowing for exaggeration, which more often than not was a feature of Highland history, Argyll was in desperate shape. Raiding parties were wrecking havoc among his tenantry. In this dire situation Argyll yielded to the persuasion of Caithness and allowed him to open negotiations with the Macleans and MacDonalds. He saved the day for the Campbells by using the argument that the government in Edinburgh had just lost a crucial battle at Loudon Hill and was in danger of being brought down by an insurrection in the western Lowlands and needed the help of every loyal citizen. So convincing was he that the Macleans and MacDonalds laid down their arms, not wishing to be seen as rebels in the government's hour of need. They even offered their armies to the Council, but were turned down when Argyll successfully tagged them as papists. This ended the counter attack that was the best hope of the Macleans to diminish the Campbell threat. The Macleans no doubt hoped that this expression of loyalty would find them favor with the Crown, but this was a forlorn hope as long as Lauderdale, Argyll's staunch ally, had the king's ear.

ARGYLL STRIKES BACK

When the MacDonalds and Macleans left the field and went home, Argyll, ignoring the order of the Council to bring his forces to aid in suppressing the Lowland insurrection, took advantage of the situation and renewed his attack upon the Macleans. He marched his forces through the country of Lord MacDonald, before mounting another expedition to invade the Maclean homeland. At about this same time he sent Lochiel and the Camerons into the lands of Maclean of Ardgour in Sunart, Ardnamurchan, and Ardgour with orders to capture any of the Macleans still in the field. Lochiel did so, but also moved against Lord MacDonald, carrying off 800-900 cows from his lands in Morar.

The armada that Argyll commanded in his expedition in late June against the Macleans consisted of his frigate and several more boats, such as his galley and birlinn. With him were Colonel Menzies and the royal troops under his command. They first landed on the Isle of Carna, where they captured two of the brothers of Maclean of Ardgour, and then went on to land at Croig in northwest Mull. They spent little time there, but some of Argyll's men killed Hector Maclean, the brother of Torloisk, and some other Macleans. They also slew James Beaton and the poet, Magnus Morrison, for no good reason. The next night the armada anchored in Earthana Bay in front of Breacachadh Castle, whose garrison was commanded by Donald Maclean, the brother of the laird of Coll, Lachlan Maclean. Argyll presented a letter, written by Lachlan, commanding that the castle and all its arms and ammunition be surrendered to the Earl. This was done and an agreement, which in effect neutralized the Macleans of Coll in the

conflict between Argyll and Maclean of Duart was drawn up. It was signed by Coll's two uncles, Neil Maclean of Drumnacross and John Maclean of Totranald, along with Lord Neil Campbell and Colonel Menzies.

Argyll spent the night of July 2 in Breacachadh Castle, but left the next day for Tiree. He and his force landed in Caolas and made their way across Tiree unopposed to Heylipol, where they put the fortress of Isleburgh under siege. The captain of Isleburgh was John Maclean in Cornaigmore, whose tack in Tiree was rent-free for this service. Others of the garrison were Hector Maclean, the brother of Brolas; Hugh Maclean of Balephetrish, the former bailie of Tiree; and Hector Fraser, son of the minister. These defenders put up a stout resistance, but had to surrender this stronghold after five days when cannon was brought up and put into action.

On July 11 Colonel Menzies left Tiree to go to Cairnburgh Castle, where he was unsuccessful in persuading the garrison of that stronghold to surrender. On Tiree Argyll was visited by the uncles of Maclean of Coll, who signed another agreement with him in which they were bound to keep Breacachadh Castle for the Earl and to have sixteen men there in the king's service as its garrison. They also agreed to prevent the boats in Coll to be used by the Maclean rebels, and to give protection to any of the Earl's forces if needed.

On July 15 Argyll left Tiree to sail to the Treshnish Isles in another attempt to capture Cairnburgh Castle. He gave up this action, when it only resulted in having two of his men killed and three of his prisoners rescued by a party sailing out of this fortress. On July 17 Argyll began negotiations with the Macleans in which he offered them a treaty under certain conditions. He did not suspend hostilities with them, however, beginning a siege of Kinlochaline Castle in Morven, which lay on the Sound of Mull. This castle was commanded by Lachlan Maclean, son of the laird of Ardgour, and he put up a stiff resistance, but was forced to surrender after a few days.

The Council, losing patience with Argyll, commanded him on July 24 to give up his private quarrel with the Macleans and report to them in Edinburgh immediately. Surprisingly he still lingered in Tobermory on Mull, hoping to bring Brolas into an agreement advantageous to him. With the treaty still in limbo, Argyll turned the negotiations over to his brother, Lord Neil Campbell, and appeared before the Council on August 12.

The failure of the Campbells to capture Cairnburgh Castle enabled the Macleans to gain better terms in the treaty they did sign in Tobermory on August 11. They agreed with Lord Neil Campbell to surrender all the prisoners in their possession, not to molest the tenants of the Earl of Argyll, and not go onto mainland Argyll without the authorization of the commander of Duart Castle. Brolas, in return, was received into the king's protection until May 1, 1680, and his men were not to be 'troubled' by the army commanded by the Earl of Argyll.

Argyll had accomplished much in his campaign in 1678 and 1679. By invading and surprising Mull in midwinter he had succeeded in disarming Mull. He had been lucky in avoiding the sacking of Inverary and the spoliation of the Campbell country by the Macleans and MacDonalds, seizing their withdrawal to again return to the offensive. This last expedition squashed the last of the resistance in northwest Mull, Coll, Tiree, and Morven. His only failure was his inability to capture Cairnburgh Castle. This gave the Macleans some hope and the ability to re-occupy Mull when Argyll's forces withdrew.

His reluctance to answer the commands of the Council to help suppress the insurrection in the Lowlands was also to come back to haunt him in the future. It confirmed in the minds of the Council that he was more interested in furthering his own designs than aiding the government and lost him some friends in Edinburgh. Nevertheless Argyll managed in November of 1679 to have a commission given to the Earl of Caithness; Lord Lorn, his son and heir; Lord Neil Campbell, his brother; Sir Hugh Campbell of Caddell; Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck; Sir James Campbell of Lawyers; Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas; Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, the Macleod chief, and others, empowering them to muster all or any of the king's lieges to capture or slay the leaders of the Macleans. Those named in particular were Lachlan Maclean of Brolas; Hector, his brother; John Maclean, the Ardgour chieftain; Hugh Maclean, fiar of Ardgour; Allan Maclean of Inverscadell; John Maclean of Kinlochaline, one of the foremost warriors among the clan; and his son Hector; but the list was longer. The charges against the Macleans were dredged up for some of their past actions and included their non-appearance before the sheriff deputy at Inverary on June 23, 1675 to answer charges that they sent fiery crosses throughout Mull, Morven, and other of their lands; assembled under arms at Knockmartin, Gaderly, and Glenforsay; and garrisoned Cairnburgh Castle. It is apparent that the Earl of Argyll was using the threat of fire and sword against the Macleans to delay any settlement of the debt he continued to hold over their chief, and to put off the hearing ordered to take place before the Privy Council. He was determined to acquire the entire estate of Maclean of Duart, and was not to be satisfied with part of the loaf if he could get it all.

ARGYLL WINS DUART ESTATE

The dynamics of the conflict between Sir John and the Earl of Argyll changed in December of 1679, however, with the arrival in Edinburgh of James, Duke of York, as the king's Commissioner to Scotland, because he soon injected himself into the quarrel. The king's brother, a Roman Catholic, had proven to be a good administrator in the past, but he was a weak man, given to believe the last man he talked with, and his promises were often worthless. James favored old royalists, however, such as the Macleans, and fellow Catholics, such as Argyll's enemy, the Marquis of Huntley, and Lord MacDonald. He also felt that the Earl of Argyll was too mighty a subject and viewed Lauderdale with intense distaste. This apparently tipped the balance in the Macleans' favor, since in March James, who had returned to Lord, wrote that the affairs of the Maclean would be settled by his majesty to the satisfaction of the Macleans. He sent word to the Macleans to behave themselves until this was done.

Unfortunately Brolas did not get this warning in time, and he sent his brother, Hector Og, to Tiree in February to keep 'the rents upon the tenants hands'. Although Brolas had commanded his brother to treat any of the followers of the Earl of Argyll civilly, he did just the opposite. Landing on Tiree on February 15 with 100 armed men, he marched across the island to the Isleburgh fortress, where he acted in a most threatening manner and then proceeded to deny provisions reached the garrison. The 60 man garrison was in such dire need that a government force had to be sent to relieve them in late March, which was not contested by the Macleans. This unwise action on the part of Hector Og was brought to the attention of the Council, who, at first, thought it had been deliberately provoked by Argyll to place the Macleans in a bad light. However,

when the true story came out and the Macleans were proven to have been less than truthful in attempting to justify their actions, it badly damaged their cause at the worst possible time.

There were several proposals now put before the king to settle the conflict between Sir John and Argyll. At one time the king had considered only giving Tiree to Argyll to settle the debts of the Duart estate. But now most, if not all, proposals centered upon bestowing most of the Duart estate upon the Earl, but leaving Sir John enough property in Tiree to provide a respectable income of £500 a year. Since the rents of Tiree alone totaled some £8464 in 1674, and probably more in 1680, it can be seen that Sir John was to lose the bulk of his heritage. The final resolution was even more favorable to the Earl. Sir John would still get his £500 a year, but Argyll would only have to settle land worth £200 a year upon him, while the crown would purchase enough land for him to make up the difference. In June accepted Argyll agreed to this settlement, and he must have been extremely pleased, since he had vastly inflated the rents on Tiree to make sure he would not have to provide even the true income of £200 for Sir John

So in June of 1680 it appeared that the conflict between the Earl of Argyll and the Macleans of Duart was finally over, with the Earl triumphant. The Campbell chief, with a free hand in Mull, even embarked upon renovating Duart Castle, before the final settlement was signed. He also received a commission to have Cairnburgh Castle turned over to him. This was the last fortress in Maclean possession, and was garrisoned by some of the strongest supporters of Sir John, namely Lachlan Maclean of Brolas; Hector Og, his brother; John Maclean of Ardgour; Allan Maclean of Inverscadale; John Maclean of Kinlochaline, his son Ewen and his brothers, Hector and Alexander; Lachlan Maclean of Torloisk; Donald Maclean of Kingerloch; Hector and John Macquarrie, uncles of Macquarie of Ulva; Ewen Maclean of Carnae and his son, Hector; and Allan Maclean of Killingtyn; Charles Maclean of Ardnacross, and his sons, Lachlan, Allan, and Donald. The defenders of Cairnburgh refused to surrender this stronghold. This must have seemed a minor matter to Argyll, since he now had all the of Duart estate in his possession, but then in a series of improbable and unexpected events the tide turned against him.

DUART ESTATE RESTORED TO MACLEAN CHIEF

The fall of the Earl of Argyll started with the dismissal of Lauderdale as the Scottish Secretary in October 1680. Argyll had made many powerful enemies both personal and political over the years, who, angered by his single-minded determination to gain his own ends, had long wanted him cut down to size. There were also many who had a profound distaste for a son of a traitor, in debt himself, trying to destroy a loyal clan, such as the Macleans, who had sacrificed much in standing by the royalist cause. Lauderdale, the staunch ally he had proven to be, had been successful in blunting their efforts to pull Argyll's teeth, but with him out of the picture Argyll proved more vulnerable than anyone could have expected. In February of 1681 James made a ham-handed request to Argyll that he convert to Catholicism. When he refused to do so, James joined Argyll's enemies and threw his considerable weight against him. The Earl then inadvisably took a prominent position in tightening the Test Act against all Catholics. This proved too much for James to swallow and he supported a series of charges that Argyll's enemies brought against him, which resulted in Argyll's

imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle. These charges, which even some of Argyll's enemies thought flimsy or unjust, were soon escalated into an indictment of treason. Argyll, despairing of obtaining justice, made an escape from the castle on December 20, and the forfeiture of his estates was put into motion. He first fled to England and then Holland, petitioning the king concerning the injustice of the charge of treason, and some doubt remained about the permanence of his sudden fall from power. All hope was lost, however, in 1683 when he was shown to have been involved in the Rye House Plot which revolved about a rising planned by the Whigs.

The fall of the Earl of Argyll was of immense benefit to the Macleans. Tíree was returned to them in 1682. Sir John Maclean received a charter on June 14, 1684 for his lands in Mull, Morven, and the two ends of Coll, and thus the property he had lost to the Earl of Argyll was restored to him. Other Macleans also received charters confirming their rights in the estates they had previously held from Argyll. Their property was now to be held from the crown. The Macleans slowly began recoup economically and even came to receive some official government appointments. The creditors of the Earl of Argyll had first call upon his assets, however, including the Duart estate. There was hope that this was manageable, since none of these creditors had the viciousness of the Campbell chief, and it was a good possibility that a settlement could be reached that the Macleans could live with.

MONMOUTH'S REBELLION

The death of Charles II and the crowning of James, the former Duke of York, on February 6, 1685 brought the hard-core Presbyterians of Scotland into rebellion against the government. They and the English anti-Catholics joined in a rising to place James, Duke of Monmouth, upon the throne. He was an illegitimate son of Charles, but all the rebels cared about was that he was a Protestant and not a Catholic such as James.

Argyll assumed the leadership of the rebellion in Scotland, landing in May of 1685 from his exile abroad. He landed his son Charles at Dunstaffnage with orders to raise Lorn and proceeded to establish his forces in Argyll. The Earl's generalship was very poor and he made blunder after blunder. The government army gathered to oppose him was under the command of the Earl of Atholl, who was equally incompetent. He did, however, have the weight of numbers in his favor. Monmouth's Rebellion was probably doomed from the start. Many, on both sides of the border, who were anti-Catholic, wanted no part in deposing a rightful king. In Scotland it was only the extreme elements who took part. Even Clan Campbell was divided, with many siding with the government or staking out a neutral position.

The Macleans found themselves in a unique role. Now Argyll was the rebel, and they were with the government for a change. They mustered a force of some 400 men and joined Atholl on June 7. They were led by Brolas, Torloisk, and his brother John of Tarbert, Lochbuie, and his son Hector, and Coll. It had taken them some time to gather their men, but they were a welcome addition to Atholl's army which was beginning to disintegrate when Argyll slipped away to the Lowlands. Atholl, recognizing the fighting quality of the Macleans, chose them to spearhead the recapture of Carnassary Castle, which held the last significant rebel force in Argyllshire after Argyll's departure. The 80 man garrison surrendered after Atholl threatened to hang several of the commander's relatives, if he did not do so. It was later sacked and burned down, and Campbell of

Auchinbreck, the castle's owner, accused the Macleans of the act. While they would have had no love for Auchinbreck, who was one of their worst persecutors, the burning of his house was evidently ordered by Atholl when he found evidence of treachery on the part of the garrison.

When Argyll left Argyllshire many of the minor local lairds, who laid low when the rebels were there in force, now emerged to take place in the massive looting of the Campbell lands. They were joined gleefully by the Macleans, who had sacked Carnassary, and then carried off cattle and other livestock. Brolas and Torloisk, in particular, seized many horses, which were needed badly for plowing and breeding in Mull. They had, of course, suffered greatly at the hands of the Campbells in four major invasions and other raids in Mull and Morven, and welcomed the opportunity to return the favor.

Some of Argyll's advisors had wanted him to stay in the Highlands and resort to a form of guerilla warfare, when he found that Atholl's army had an overwhelming advantage in numbers. It might have been better if he had done so, when he had the advantage of a mountainous terrain. He had some reason, however, to thank that the Lowland contingent in his army might desert, if he insisted on conducting a purely Highland form of warfare. Instead he eluded the government army and took his into the Lowlands, only to find that it was now easier for many men to desert and slip away to their homes. With his army disintegrating Argyll was captured and taken to Edinburgh. There he was summarily executed on June 30, 1685. The Macleans were no doubt continuing to plunder Campbell lands at the time, getting away with considerable amount of their cattle and other livestock.

The 9th Earl of Argyll was thought to have been a strange man by his contemporaries, often inconsistent in his behavior. Physically brave, but aloof and arrogant to his Campbell clansmen, who were expected to follow him without any thought of their own interests. He had continued his father's persecution of the Macleans with a doggedness that was both frightening and effective. In other matters, however, he had not the political skills of his father, the Marquis. He had not shared his father's zeal for the Covenanter cause, yet he joined them and other anti-Catholics in attempting to put James, Duke of Monmouth upon the throne. He had been a survivor up to that time, but that proved his undoing. Up until Monmouth's rebellion he had been a born survivor, who had never allowed principle to interfere with self-interest, but the clumsy attempt to unseat James proved his undoing.

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

James believed strongly in the divine right of kings and proceeded to unlawfully violate the Constitution with measure after measure designed to undue the protection of the liberties of his subjects. It was his attempts to re-establish Catholicism in his country, however, that proved his undoing. The Catholics within his realm would have been satisfied with toleration of their religion, but James' actions brought back the specter of the Marian atrocities and the Jesuit persecution of the Protestant Huguenots in France. The birth of his son was the last straw and seven of the leading men in England wrote to William and Mary in 1688 and invited them to take the throne. With the country arrayed against him James fled to France, William and Mary arrived amid great rejoicing, and the 'Glorious Revolution' was affected without bloodshed in England

The accession of William and Mary to the throne on both England and Scotland, was not greeted with joy, however, by the Macleans, because in the train of William and Orange was Archibald Campbell, who had succeeded his executed father as the tenth Earl of Argyll. They and other western clans feared that their estates would now be in jeopardy with the Campbell chief back in power, and rallied to the exiled king's cause, which was led by James Graham, Viscount Dundee. There is reason to believe that they would not have heeded the call of Dundee, if the government had made some offer to the Macleans, Camerons, and MacDonalds to pay some of the rents owed to Argyll and he made a move to come to a conciliatory agreement with them on the monies owed to him. Instead Dundee was joined in rebellion in early 1689 by the Macleans; the Camerons of Lochiel; the Stewarts of Appin; the MacDonalds of Glengarry, Glencoe, Keppoch, and Clanranald. Sir John Maclean immediately mustered about 300 men and sent them under the command of Maclean of Lochbuie to join the army that Dundee was gathering. It should be noted that the Maclean chief could still collect a rather formidable force on short notice, although his clan had suffered many losses over the past century.

On Lochbuie's march to join Dundee he was attacked by five troops of government horse sent to intercept him. The Macleans took up a strong position on a ridge, called Knockbreck in Badenoch, where in a bitter fight in a fog they killed the opposing commander and won a complete victory with the loss of one ensign and a few private soldiers. Dundee, who had heard the sound of gunfire, was preparing to go to the aid of the Macleans, when they appeared in his camp with a number of prisoners and the spoils of victory,

Sir John in the meantime continued to gather more men in preparation of also joining Dundee. He was delayed while he sent a group of his men under Sir Alexander of Otter to the relief of his friend, MacNeill of Calcehilly, who was besieged on the island of Gigha by some English warships. When this was done successfully he marched to meet with Dundee, leaving Duart Castle well garrisoned. This proved to be wise, because in his absence the castle was attacked by sea by Sir George Rooke, who brought his fleet to carronade the Maclean fortress. Rooke's assault was beaten off after several days.

After Sir John joined Dundee in Atholl his army totaled little more than 3,000 men, 500 being Macleans. The remainder was mostly made of other Highlanders, because the long-awaited Irish contingent only numbered about 300 men. The Irish were led by a Colonel Cannon and were a poor lot, being ill-fed, ill-armed, and ill-disciplined. The government forces which opposed Dundee were under the command of Mackay, whose 3500 man army was mostly made up of Lowland regiments. The Campbells were not yet out in force, but they were to be heard from later.

When Blair Castle, which was considered a key point by Dundee, was threatened by a government force under Lord Murray, Dundee sent a fast moving party under Sir Alexander Maclean to go to its aid. He was on the march to Blair with the remainder of his army, when he learned that Mackay had taken possession of the Pass of Killiecrankie. He then sent Sir John Maclean in command of 400 men to ascertain what the enemy was up to. When Sir John sent back word that Mackay was in full force in Killiecrankie, Dundee decided to attack their position when he learned he could command the high ground above enemy. The battle began late in the day on July 27, 1689. The result was one of the more notable victories for Highland troops, although Dundee was outmanned

3500 to 1800. Sir John commanded the right wing, while Dundee's left consisted of Sir Donald MacDonald's regiment commanded by his son. It was supplemented by a battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean. The Macleans particularly distinguished themselves in this engagement, going to the relief of the MacDonalds after they had broken the enemy in their front in the short time of seven minutes. The Highland charge, which had proven to be highly effective in past actions, was again decisive at the Battle of Killiecrankie. In this the Highlanders exchanged a volley of gunfire with their enemies, and immediately threw down their guns, and charged upon the enemy with their claymores and Lochaber axes before they had time to reload. The government forces were virtually annihilated. Those that viewed the dead among Mackay's force after the battle were stunned by the havoc wrecked by the swords of the Highlanders. Some even had their heads cleaved down to the shoulders, while the heads of others had been cut off above the ears by the backstroke of the claymore.

The Highlanders suffered about 800 dead at Killiecrankie, which was no small number in an army of only 1800. The most grievous loss, however, was the death of Dundee. He was a charismatic leader, who had the confidence of the clans, and who understood how to use Highland troops to the best advantage. He was succeeded in command by the inept Cannon, who led his army of 4,000 men to one disaster after another, the worst being at Dunkeld. Slowly the resistance to William of Orange withered and soon the effort to maintain James upon the throne ended.

Sir John brought his men home. He had signed a compact at Blair Castle binding him and others to come to each other's aid if attacked. Among the signatories were Sir Donald MacDonald and Sir Ewen Cameron, but they were nowhere to be seen, when Argyll invaded Mull with 2500 men. Sir John, forsaken by his allies, understood that he could only rely on his own clansmen. He decided that the Macleans could not take on the King William and the Campbells alone and that further resistance was futile. He advised his people to take protection from the Earl of Argyll, while he and some of his most loyal followers joined the garrison at Cairnburgh Castle.

Sir John remained at Cairnburgh until March of 1692, when he was ordered by King James to give up both the fortresses of Duart and Cairnburgh. This the Maclean chief did so on March 31, 1692. This action effectively ended the long, arduous struggle of the Macleans of Duart to keep possession of their patrimony.

Yes, some of the Macleans, rose against the government in the Jacobite Rebellions of the 18th century, but the Campbells kept a secure hold on the former estate of the Macleans of Duart.

AFTERMATH

The Macleans had greatly contributed to their own ruin. The profligate behavior of many of their chiefs in piling up debt upon debt handed their Campbell enemy the weapon to bring about their downfall. The chiefs of the Macleans also failed to recognize that a new day was dawning in Scotland at the beginning of the 17th century. When James VI succeeded Queen Elizabeth to the throne of England as James I, his newly strengthened government moved to pacify the Border, which was done with ruthless efficiency. This should have been a wake-up call to them and the island clans that the Scottish government was now powerful enough to limit the independence they had enjoyed in the past, and that their traditional ways of operating had to be changed.

Unfortunately the chiefs of the Macleans failed to adjust to the new reality, and attempted to keep to the ways of their predecessors, who had been able to protect themselves through force of arms alone. Ultimately this was to prove inadequate, when they had to face the might of Clan Campbell backed by the government. What the Macleans needed in this new century were allies, or at least more friends, at court, because there they were continually out maneuvered in Edinburgh by their Campbell enemies.

The 16th century was a particularly violent one in the Isles. Much of this had been fomented by the government, hoping that the unruly clans of the region would weaken one another, or give the government a reason to accuse them of treason. This policy of the government was intensified in the 17th century, and the Campbells, politically more astute than the Islemen, were chosen by the government to bring the island clans to heel. The Campbells, aided by the government, first destroyed the MacDonalds of Dunnyveg and the MacLains of Ardnamurchan, and then turned their attention upon the Macleans. It took almost fifty years to bring about the destruction of the Macleans of Duart, but this was accomplished with particular viciousness on the part of one after another of the Campbell chiefs who pursued their goal with dogged determination.

Although the Earl of Argyll had obtained legal ownership of the Duart estate earlier, 1692 marked the year that Sir John Maclean gave up the long, hard struggle to keep possession of his patrimony. The impact of the takeover of much of Mull, all of Tiree, with the exception of Scarinish, and the two ends of Coll affected every level within Clan Maclean. Hardest hit, of course, was Sir John. The loss of the Duart estate did not mean that he lost the chieftainship of the Macleans, but as an absentee leader he had much less power to shape events in the Isles. Yet, Sir John still had such a loyal following among his clansmen that he was able to raise a regiment of 800 men from his former lands in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715. This was no mean feat since they were now nominally under Campbell control. This undertaking, which sought to restore the son of King James to his father's throne, gave Sir John some hope that if the properties of the Earl of Argyll were forfeited by a new government he might regain the land of his forefathers. His hopes were dashed, however, when the Earl of Mar lead the Jacobite forces to defeat at the Battle of Sheriffmuir.

When the ancestral lands of the Macleans were lost to the Campbells, the only one in of the chieftains of clan in a strong enough position to help his fellow clansmen was Donald Maclean of Coll. He and his son, Hector, who later succeeded him, wisely adjusted to the new realty in the Isles, and came to an accommodation with the Earl of Argyll. During the famine of the late 1690s, when Mull was particularly hard hit, Donald Maclean of Coll stepped up to aid the refugees from that island who made their way to Coll. During the ensuing years the Maclean clansmen of the Hebrides continued to look to this chieftain of Coll, and his successor, Hector, for guidance. They wisely took no part in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, for example, although they did not discourage their followers from doing so.

The re-establishment of Presbyterian in 1690 insured that the Episcopal ministers, who owed their livings to Sir John, were at the mercy of the Presbyterian Synod of Argyll, when the Maclean chief lost his Duart estate. They were treated with a special vindictiveness by their Christian brethren. Some, after groveling before the Synod, were allowed to join the Presbyterians and keep their livings. Others were not so fortunate.

John Fraser, Dean of the Isles and minister of Tiree and Coll, lost his position, despite the protest of Donald Maclean of Coll and a number of the tacksmen of the two islands.

Another group among the Clan Maclean heavily affected by the Campbell takeover of the Duart estate was its tacksmen. When the Earl of Argyll first took control of Maclean of Duart's property in Mull, Tiree, Morven, and Coll, he moved slowly before making many changes in the tacks. However, when James Campbell of Ardkinglas was awarded the tack of Tiree and the two ends of Coll in March of 1709, it was under the condition that he plant it with tenants of the name of Campbell. The days of the Maclean tacksmen on Tiree were numbered, but this was a slow process. Before that time there had been few Campbells on Tiree, but his agents were successful in bringing a few to the island. Those that came met a cold welcome, and in some cases outright hostility. Many woke up on a morning to find their crops trampled, and their cattle maimed. The few Maclean tacksmen that survived the initial pruning of their ranks lost their tacks in the re-organization of the Argyll estate in 1737. There were at least one or possibly two exceptions to this, but by the latter part of the 18th century the farms of Tiree were either in the hands of joint-tenants or absentee Campbell tacksmen.

The plan to eliminate the Maclean gentry from Mull was not carried out as extensively as on Tiree. It was observed as late as 1772 that the Macleans still retained about half the island. Campbell efforts to control the church on Mull were also unsuccessful. The Macleans continued to exercise considerable influence in the church affairs of the island, and even had the ability to see that a ministerial choice of the Duke of Argyll was rejected.

The commoners of Clan Maclean living on the former lands of their chief were at least spared the enemy invasions and raids that had marked the last fifty years. Yet, it was extremely distasteful, even demeaning, to have to live under the heel of their Campbell enemy. Worst yet, when they lost their hereditary leaders, their tacksmen, to whom they had long looked for guidance, it hampered their ability to cope with the economic problems of the 18th century.

The hatred of the Campbells lasted well into the last quarter of the 18th century. Although by that time no armed guard had to accompany the agent collecting the rent, as had to be done in Morven, when the Campbells first took over the former lands of Maclean of Duart in that region, it long persisted. On Tiree an agent of the Duke of Argyll reported to him in 1771 that "the tenants of the island were disaffected to the family (of Argyll) and much incited by the Maclean gentry"

In 1789 a Maclean bard sang:

“ Our enemies have our places
And they do not care for us
Though we are polite to them
Our hearts are cold”

This attitude of hate and resentment on the part of the tenants of that part of the Argyll estate that had been under Maclean ownership for centuries crippled the efforts of the fifth Duke of Argyll to better their condition. Their first reaction to any suggestion of his or his factor was based on suspicion of the motives behind it. This made his task much more difficult, even when his tenants saw the merit in the change.

DUART CASTLE

The descendants of Archibald Campbell, 1st Duke of Argyll, sold Duart Castle in 1801 to MacQuarrie, who in turn sold it to Campbell of Fossil. It changed hands again in 1865, when the former Maclean fortress was purchased by A.C. Guthrie. On September 11, 1911 Duart Castle was sold to Sir Fitzroy Donald Maclean, 26th chief of Clan Maclean, who restored it to its former glory.

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