

Bankend,
New Galloway,
Scotland
Tel. 2162.

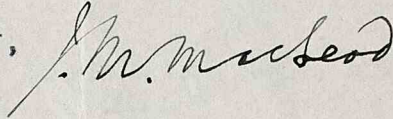
21st June 1941.

Dear Major MacLeod,

Referring to our previous correspondence about the attitude of MacLeod of MacLeod of the "Forty-five", I give hereunder a transcription of the document mentioned as having been seen by me in the Highland Museum at Fortwilliam. The transcription is from the copy made in my notebook when visiting the Museum on 28th July 1933 and which I have just come across here.

It will be noticed that ~~that~~ the document itself purports only to be a copy and does not bear any certification as a true copy nor even the copyist's name. To me, the text (the style of it) and the spelling have an air of veracity. But, of course, a forger might be careful to give attention to these features if concocting such a paper. Perhaps your experience in such matters will enable you to judge of it conclusively.

With all good wishes,
Yours sincerely,



Major R. C. MacLeod,
Hon. Secretary, Clan MacLeod Society,
19 Scotland Street, Edinburgh 3.

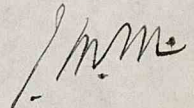
(Begins)

" Copy Missive the Laird of MacLeod to MrMacDonald of Kingsburrow. His Royall Highness the Duke has now certain information of the Young Pretender's scukling in the Long Island. You know the danger of protecting or aiding him by any of our frinds. I have warn'd my people of it, and everybody knows the reward of putting the Laws in execution. I am persuaded he will pay you a visit in expectation of your protection. It will then be in your power (I hope you will use it) to aggrandize your family beyond many in Scotland. I need not enlarge on this. I know Sir Alexander's writing to you would have greater weight with you than anything I can say which he will probably do. But be assured that his sentiments & mine are the same on this head. You know your reward and I hope you will do your duty to Yourself, Family & Countrey.

I am &c.

(Ends.)

(Note by transcriber. The paper copied above bore no date nor signature.)



18-4-1 1/2 1/2
12-7-2 1/2
11-10-11

15th August
1941

Sir James M. MacLeod
K.B.E., C.M.G.
Bankend
New Galloway,
Kirkeudbrightshire.

"The '45" MacLeod's letter to
Kingsburgh.

Dear Sir James,

Please, please, pardon my woeful delay in answering your good letter of 21st June. When your letter came in we were in rather a disturbed condition. My wife had just gone sick with shingles, we have had a difficulty lately in getting domestic help and I had to make myself as useful as a mere man can in a house, and so was very fully occupied. My wife is better of the shingles now, but the after effects are bothering her a good deal. However -

I laid your letter aside at the moment, I knew I had a copy of the same and I wished to compare the two. Unfortunately my copy has gone amissing and, in spite of much search, cannot be found. I, therefore have double thanks to beg your acceptance of. First, for being so good as to send me your letter with your copy, taken from the Inverness Museum; and Second, for enabling me to replace my lost copy.

The MacLeod letter which you quote was a very mysterious letter; though it was said there were many copies of it no one ever saw the original. It created some sensation shortly after "The Forty-five" while Bishop Forbes was collecting information for his "Lyon in Mourning." If you should come across that book - published by the Scottish History Society - you will find a good deal about this MacLeod letter. I have place your letter along with your previous communication, for use when a suitable opportunity occurs. Very many thanks.

I trust you and Lady MacLeod are enjoying good health, and are well free of war's alarms.

Sincerely yours

Hon Sec

document
you deal
with

MacLeod of MacLeod in the '45.

By

Sir James M. MacLeod.

So much has been written about the conduct of MacLeod of MacLeod, and so well written, particularly by the late Reverend Canon MacLeod of MacLeod and Mr R. C. MacLeod, Honorary Secretary of the Clan MacLeod Society, that some apology and explanation may seem needful for offering further views on that subject. The apology is hereby tendered in all modesty. The explanation is that it was my lot to dwell for twenty-seven years amongst a population still in the tribal, or clan, stage of cultural development and where my duties as British Consul - that is to say keep-in Government informed of developments and prospects and taking steps as required for safeguarding the lives and interests of British Subjects - were very similar to those incumbent on anyone in the position of MacLeod of MacLeod at the time of the Rising in 1745. Further, my experiences in those years included not one only but several Pretenders to the throne. In fact I seem now to be submitting simply another ~~on such happenings~~ report on such happenings, and, I hope, in the same impartial spirit! For that one begins, of course, with "the previous papers" and these have already been cited.

In general, the conduct of MacLeod of MacLeod, ^{22nd} Nineteenth Chief of MacLeod, in the '45 has been narrated in terms of praise or blame very much according to the writers' Stewart or Hanoverian sympathies. The former allege that he gave a promise beforehand of support which, in the event, he did not fulfil. This his defenders have disproved beyond dispute by any reasonable person. The Hanoverians' defence of him is ^{however} very faint, and indeed has underlying insinuations of blame for belated or inadequate support to their cause. If such views were supported by the real facts, one would be left with the impression that he must have been a somewhat weak, hesitating, sinner-on-the-fence. Irresolution is suggested. Even the Revd. Canon MacLeod's defence includes a ~~remark~~ remark that "For once in his life MacLeod was firm" .

Let us look at the general situation and his position in 1745 in the lights in which they would, naturally, appear to him, to his clansmen, and his neighbours, all of whom, locally, were still living in the ancient clan system of relationships and mutual obligations and codes of honour and duty. To the position of Highland Chief, MacLeod had, however, for many years added that of Member of Parliament for Inverness-shire. This meant frequent sojourns in London, much mixing in ~~in~~ general upper-class society, and the practising of codes of conduct utterly different from those of his own ~~country~~ home country. Unlike most of their neighbours, who were either Episcopalians or Roman Catholics and, hereditarily, of Stewart sympathies, the MacLeods were almost all Presbyterians and traditionally they had every reason to be anti-Stewart. In support of Charles II, at the battle of Worcester (1651) they had fought so hard as to lose some 800 out of the 1000 men they had brought into the field. In the sequel, except knighthoods conferred on their two leaders, those services had been unrecognized and forgotten. Many other clans, not, however, near neighbours of the MacLeods, were of those anti-Stewart sympathies and, in fact, by 1745 formed, by many computations, the majority of the Highland population. The dividing sentiment had become, at root, of religion ~~rather~~ rather than monarchical dynasty. Disaffection to the existing Government was, however, still strong and, especially if Great Britain should become

involved in a continental war, very dangerous indeed. In 1739 we find Forbes of Culloden and MacLeod of MacLeod pointing this out and urging on the Prime Minister, Walpole, the formation of several regiments of Highlanders on lines which, ~~nowadays~~, would be called 'Military Police'. Walpole favoured the plan and had he continued in office it would in all likelihood have been carried out and the famous Jacobite Rising of 1745 never have happened. Walpole's successors, however, would have nothing to do with it. In the event, war with France did break out and the Jacobites, to the rage and astonishment of the duly-warned but penny-wise and pound-foolish Ministry in London, did rise.

What then was the duty of MacLeod of MacLeod himself? His clan was almost without arms and surrounded by Jacobites. Nevertheless the Ministry seem to have expected them to rise as one man and, mostly with sticks or stones or their fists, attack their neighbours, and then be raided, pillaged and burned out for their pains. Their situation was exactly that which I remember at Fez in 1902 between the Sultan of Morocco and a certain Pretender, Buhamara, who then arose. Between them lived the extensive tribe of Hiayna, normally quite loyal people. "Join me and march on Fez" demanded the Pretender "or I'll burn you"! "Catch and bring me that rebel" ordered the Sultan "Or I'll burn you"! Moreover, this situation had come about for much the same reason as the Rising in 1745, that is to say the withdrawal, for reasons of economy, of the garrison formerly maintained by the Sultan at the far end of that district. In the event the eastern half of Hiayna was ravaged by the Pretender and the western by the Sultan's troops.

In such circumstances, what, according to law (and commonsense too did not precedents and Acts of Parliament provide the answer) what was the situation ^{and} what the duty of the subject? For nearly 200 years in Great Britain we have, happily, never been faced with that problem and hardly anybody has ever even thought of it. But it was a very live issue in the Highlands in 1745. The answer, briefly stated, is just this, ~~that Allegiance and Protection go together~~ that Allegiance (that is to say Obedience) and Protection go together. Nobody can be blamed, much less should be punished, for obeying the King "de Facto" which was what the Pretender was in the ^{New} Highlands in 1745 and which King George, for the time being, had ceased to be.

Keeping in view the responsibilities of any Highland Chief of that time towards the King (to begin with King George of course) to his fellow Chiefs and, very especially, to his clan let us now, as briefly as may be, relate and connect MacLeod's proceedings? Firstly there is the fact that his youthful son and heir, on an educational tour in France, had been presented to Prince Charles Edward and had offered him sentiments of affectionate respect. There is no evidence that the meeting was at his father's instigation or with his knowledge. Even British Peers, whose ~~conduct~~ loyalty to King George was never questioned, often did that, and Prince Charles Edward to his life's end never appears to have blamed MacLeod for not supporting him not to have regarded his conduct as not clear and straightforward. So this incident is now mentioned merely to get it out of the way. MacLeod Junior never re-appears in the picture.

Next, there is the Prince's direct appeal to him, and startling and direct it was. Seated in his home at Dunvegan, with his friend and

neighbour Sir Alexander MacDonal, then on a visit to him, a messenger, young Clanranald, arrives bearing a letter from the Prince telling of his arrival and intentions and invoking MacLeod's support. After consulting his friend, who is of the same mind, MacLeod replies to the letter in courteous, respectful, terms but categorically refusing to have anything to do with the project, entreating the Prince to abandon it and to leave the country. Neither irresolution or hesitation are visible in this letter. There is not an ambiguous word in it. But the courteousness of its expressions, so regardful of the feelings of his neighbours from whom he might have so much to fear and was powerless at the moment to resist, may well have jarred on the angry panic-struck authorities in Edinburgh and London to whom they were reported there and then by MacLeod himself.

~~thence and thence~~

The general story of the spreading of the rising every schoolboy knows : here we are concerned only with MacLeod's attitude. Whether they were actuated by sympathy with the movement or by fear of their neighbours can only be surmised, but numbers of MacLeods did join it and even, in some cases, rendered the Prince valuable services. Of such were those of that Donald MacLeod and his sons who piloted the Prince safely amongst the islands after Culloden and whose exploits and fidelity became nearly as famous as those of Flora MacDonald. The Chief, it appears, quite correctly, discountenanced but did not punish such persons either at the time or afterwards. On the other hand, at the call of Government and protesting in perfect truth his ~~own~~ ^{own} lack of military training and experience, he raised a company ~~from~~ ^{from} his clan and led them against the Jacobites in Aberdeen district, was by them defeated at Inverurie losing about a third of his men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. ~~From this service~~ Of this service the only notice which Government took was to censure the Chief for making a personal appeal to the Jacobite leader, Lord Lewis Gordon, to be kind to the captives and wounded. In the end Government left him out of pocket for about £1000 (a lot of money in the Highlands of those days) advanced for the expenses of this company and its operations.

Next, some months later, we find the Chief visiting Lord Lovat who, however belatedly, now that the Prince seemed to be winning for sure, was about to raise all the Frasers and join him. This was after the battle of Falkirk. Lovat not only refused the Chief's entreaties not to do that but threatened him with imprisonment if he refused to bring in the MacLeods also. This, in Lovat's castle with its dungeons, was no idle threat. MacLeod dealt with it (its shamefulness as from host to guest notwithstanding) coolly and admirably, that is to say gave the promise regained his liberty and straightway reported the whole affair to Forbes of Culloden for the Government's information. When doing so he adds many apologies for giving that promise, an action for which nobody but himself seems to have blamed him, nor, I imagine, does to this day. Lovat's character for cruelty and treachery being what it ~~was~~ notoriously was one is left admiring the courage of MacLeod -in the circumstances of those days- venturing ~~himself~~ ^{himself} in Government's interest, into that fox's den at all!

The next crisis with which he had to do was after Culloden, when the Prince was in flight, was supposed to be hiding in the outer Hebrides, and when MacLeod's own country, the Isle of Skye, was occupied by Government troops. He has heard that the Prince is likely to try to return to the mainland and in doing so to pass through the North end of Skye. In a letter (preserved in the Museum at Fortwilliam and which I myself read there in, I think, 1918) ~~from~~ he warns his friend MacDonald of Kingsburgh (that is the district in question) of this. He mentions how MacDonald might advance the interests of himself and his family by capturing the Prince. The allusion, of course, is to the £30,000 reward offered by Government for such a service. Whether the Chief really expected MacDonald to act on that letter we are not likely ever to know for certain. My own surmise is that he did not, ~~that~~ that he was just putting himself officially correct vis-à-vis of Government but was not in the least minded to be their rebel-catcher. That was the Government's own business. MacDonald, if he liked, could have that credit and that huge fortune, for himself. Was not MacLeod's tongue in his cheek? And a wink in his eyes? What, in the event, did occur, the Prince's arrival at Kingsburgh, the disguising of him as an Irish maid-servant, and Flora MacDonald's escorting him safely to ~~the~~ the mainland, in short the most romantic incident in all the Rising, needs no ~~repetition~~ repetition here. Flora, it will be remembered was Kingsburgh's cousin and later his wife.

The Rising over, MacLeod of MacLeod resumed his ordinary life and parliamentary duties, gets neither recognition nor reward for his unquestionable services to Government and fades from our view still out of pocket by £1000 spent for the public interest, as already mentioned, and, doubtless sore at heart to think of all he had done and how little it had been discerned by those in the highest seats of State and who should be not only terrors to evil-doers but the rewarders of those who do well.

Justice, at anyrate full justice, has not been done ~~to~~ to his memory. Even his friendly critics have, I suggest, mistaken the flexibility of his methods for infirmity of purpose. Examined with the circumstances of the time in view, his conduct was steady and sincere in principle, the steps he took judicious and timely. Of mean or self-interested motives in his proceedings one finds none. Honesty, tact, and strong common-sense characterize him throughout all the upheavals ~~of the Rising, none more so than in the~~ of the Rising. Such golden but not glittering qualities earn success rather than fame and this ^{is} true very remarkably about the '45. The fame has all gone to the losers!

J. MacLeod