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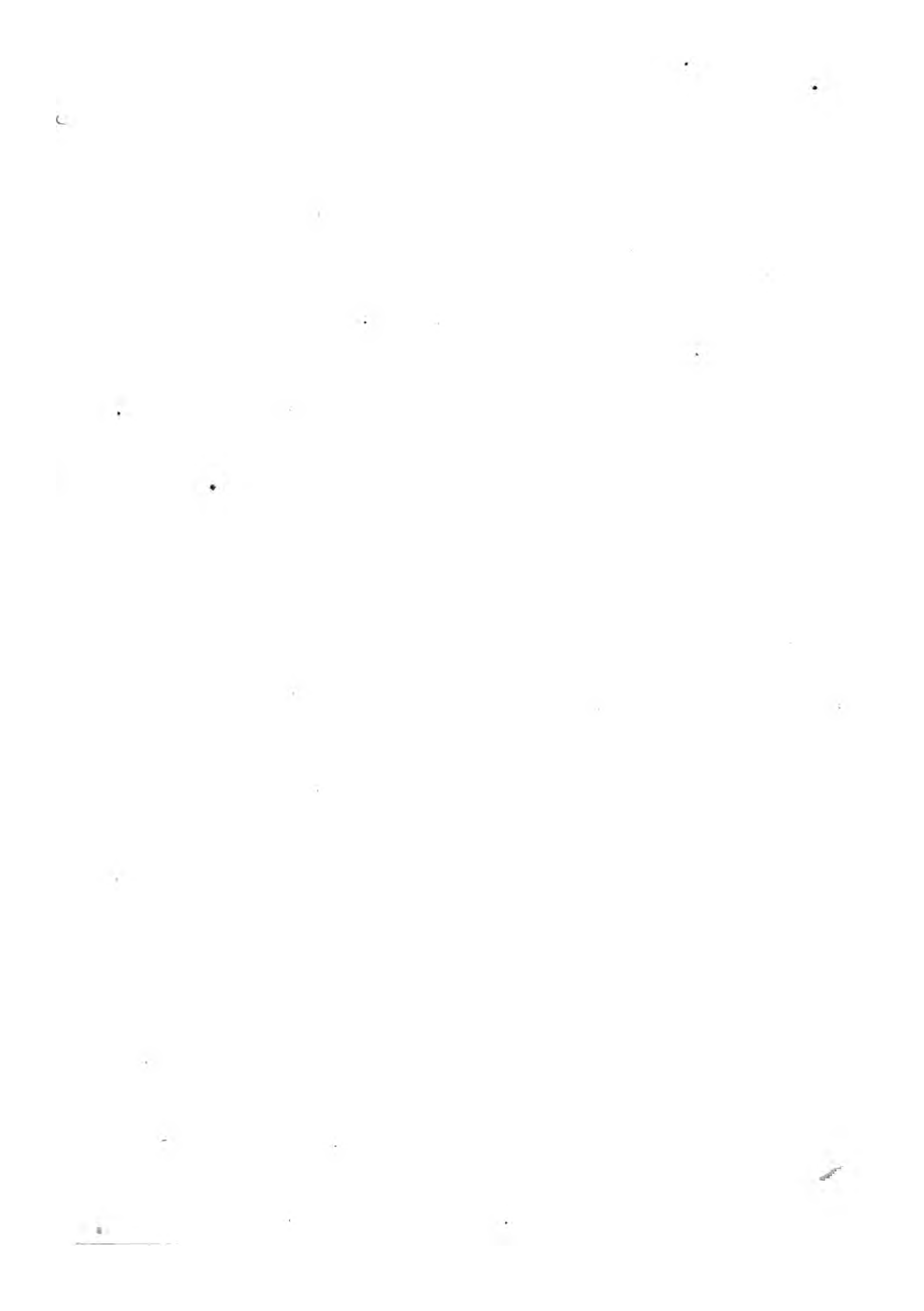
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2294. C.33







CULLODEN MOOR

AND

STORY OF THE BATTLE.

A wind that awoke on the moorland came sighing,
Like the voice of the heroes who perished in vain :
" Not for Tearlach alone the red claymore was plying,
But to win back the old world that comes not again."

A. Lang.





Prince Charles Edward in 1744, from the Bust by Lemoyne.

CULLODEN MOOR

AND

STORY OF THE BATTLE.

WITH DESCRIPTION OF THE
STONE CIRCLES AND CAIRNS AT CLAVA

BY THE LATE
PETER ANDERSON
OF INVERNESS

New and Revised Edition

STIRLING
ENEAS MACKAY, 43 MURRAY PLACE
INVERNESS: WILLIAM MACKAY & SON.

1920

Lion deoch-slàinte Thearlaich,
A mhèirlich, stràc a' chuach ;
B'i sid an iocshlaint' àluinn,
Dh' ath-bheòthaicheadh mo chàileachd,
Ged a bhiodh am bàs orm,
Gun neart, gun àgh, gun tuar,—
Rìgh nan dùl a' chur do chabhlaich
Oirnn thar sa' a' math.

MacMhaighstir Alasdair



AUTHOR'S PREFACE, 1867.

HAVING been for some years resident in the neighbourhood of the Culloden [now Allanfearn] Railway Station, the Author's attention has been a good deal engaged with the scene and incidents of the expiring struggle of the Stuart dynasty, and the last battle fought on British ground. The Culloden family take a warm interest in all matters connected with the action ; and though the battle of Culloden has been repeatedly described in the course of works of more general history and disquisition, the circumstances are becoming unfamiliar to the public at large ; and it has been thought that a separate account, embracing a survey of what has been said on various controverted points by different writers, with the addition of more minute topographical details, and the aid of received local tradition, might be acceptable, more especially to strangers visiting the field of battle. . . .

The Plans have been accurately and tastefully prepared by Mr. James Fraser, land and engineering surveyor, Inverness ; and to his labours much of any success which may attend the publication will fall to be ascribed. . . .

It has been deemed proper to add a description of the interesting collection of Stone Circles and Cairns at Clava, in the near vicinity of the battle-field, as well deserving inspection. . . .

P. A.

INVERNESS, *1st July*, 1867.

ADDITIONAL NOTE, 1920.

Half-a-century ago my father believed that the circumstances connected with the Forty-Five were becoming unfamiliar to the public at large. The last fifty-three years have seen a renaissance of interest in the Stuart risings, and the printing of a number of contemporary records has led to a juster estimate of the events that culminated on Culloden Moor, and of the actors that played their parts therein.

It has, however, been represented to me that the place filled by my father's little book—which has been long out of print—has not been otherwise occupied; and filial piety readily prompts me to agree to Mr. Mackay's suggestion that it should be reprinted with such alterations as are called for by recent changes in the locality, and its means of access. No attempt has been made to introduce fuller historical details, but a short list has been appended of the more authoritative recent works in which such details may be found.

It is a source of peculiar gratification to express indebtedness to Mr. James Fraser, who has renewed in 1920 his services to the book, which my father acknowledged in 1867.

P. J. A.

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY, *1st July*, 1920.

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Mo chreach Tearlach Ruadh, boidheach,
Bhi fo bhinn aig rìgh Deòrsa nam biasd ;
B'e sud dìteadh na còrach,
An fhirinn 'sa beul foipe sìos ;
Ach a rìgh mas a deoin leat,
Cuir an rìoghachd air seol a chaidh dhinn,
Cuir rìgh dligheach na còrach,
Ri linn na tha beo os ar cinn.

Iain Ruadh Stiubhart.

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Lochiel, Lochiel ! beware of the day
When the Lowlands shall meet thee in battle array !
For a field of the dead rushes red on my sight,
And the clans of Culloden are scatter'd in fight.

They rally, they bleed, for their country and crown ;
Woe, woe, to the rider that tramples them down !
Proud Cumberland prances, insulting the slain,
And their hoof-beaten bosoms are trod to the plain.

Campbell.

CULLODEN MOOR

AND

STORY OF THE BATTLE.

CHAPTER I.

EVENTS BEFORE THE BATTLE.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD'S army commenced its memorable march into England, from its position near Dalkeith, on the 1st of November, 1745. It consisted of about 6000 foot, one-half Highlanders, and some 500 cavalry; but when mustered at Carlisle their number was found to be reduced by desertion to about 4500, to whom were added at Manchester 200 to 300 recruits. With this small force the Insurgents penetrated to Derby, within 127 miles of London. Here they learned that they were being environed by three armies, amounting to 30,000 men,—one under General Wade at Newcastle; a second, composed of veteran troops, under William, Duke of Cumberland, in Staffordshire; and a third, less formidable, mustered on Finchley Common,—while reinforcements ordered from Scotland were not on the way. In the lack of all co-operation, the leaders, to the Prince's deepest chagrin and bitter disappointment, and equally to the

mortification of the inferior ranks, deemed it indispensable to make a timely retreat.

The retrograde movement, concerted with great secrecy, accordingly began on the morning of the 6th December, and was conducted with much skill and complete success. The invasion had been regarded at first with supineness by the English, as a piece of mere infatuation; and the leading Jacobites in England and Wales hung back, from distrust of the fortunes of so small a force. By this time, however, the nation and the government were thoroughly alarmed, and many well-wishers were on the very eve of joining the insurrection; while the French Ministry had made serious preparations for a large armament, and 10,000 troops were mustered, in order to a descent on the south of England. So it is probable that, had the Prince's eagerness to risk all the hazards of the die prevailed, his romantic enterprise might have achieved at least the temporary reinstatement of the Stuarts on the throne of Britain.

The Insurgents retreated by Carlisle, Dumfries, Nithsdale, Hamilton, and Glasgow. They left the latter city on the 3rd of January, 1746, and occupied Falkirk and villages between that town and Stirling, which place the Prince, waiting reinforcements from the North, set about reducing.

AFFAIRS IN THE NORTH.

During the absence of the Prince's forces in England, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Session, had continued the strenuous labours

whereby he was so instrumental in rendering the Rising abortive, by persuading many of the most powerful of the Highland chiefs to hold aloof; and having been intrusted with commissions for the purpose, accompanied by a mere promise of repayment of his advances, but with no supply of money, he succeeded in embodying at his own expense, as Independent companies, nearly 2000 Highlanders in the service of government, who rendezvoused at Inverness, and who, though perhaps but lukewarm in the Royal cause, were thus kept from swelling the ranks of insurrection. They were placed under command of the Earl of Loudoun. Possession of Inverness was thus preserved for government till the return of the Prince, and the spread of disaffection was powerfully counteracted.

The difficulties and dangers of the President's position are thus described by himself:—

“The prospect [of dissuading the chiefs] was at first very flattering, and the errand I came on had no appearance of difficulty; but the Rebels' successes at Edinburgh and Prestonpans soon changed the scene. All Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad; all doubtful people became Jacobites; and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked nothing but hereditary rights and victory; and what was more grievous to men of gallantry, and, if you will believe me, much more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies, if you will except one or two, became passionately fond of the young adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner. Under these circumstances I found myself alone, without troops, without arms, without

money or credit ; provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation ; and (if you will except MacLeod) whom I sent for from the Isle of Skye, supported by nobody of common sense or courage.”—*Culloden Papers*, p. 250.

In the opposite interest, Lord Lewis Gordon, in Banff and Aberdeen shires, raised a regiment of two battalions. The Laird of MacLeod having been despatched from Inverness to interrupt his recruiting, and having incautiously advanced with an insufficient force, Lord Lewis—who had received reinforcements at Aberdeen from Forfar and Kincardine, with the Farquharsons of Invercauld, mustering in all about 1200 men—surprised the MacLeods at Inverurie, and drove them back to Elgin. Lord Strathallan had been left by Charles in the chief command in Scotland, and had collected a considerable body of troops and a quantity of military stores at Perth. There he was joined by Lord Lewis Gordon, and by portions of various clans, including the Frasers, under the Master of Lovat. The MacIntoshes, 400 strong, though the chief was ostensibly a Royalist and had joined the Royal army, were embodied by his lady, a daughter of Farquharson of Invercauld, and devoted to the cause of the Chevalier, who, from her spirited and thoroughgoing conduct (she rode at times at the head of the regiment, with a man’s hat on her head, and pistols at her saddle-bow), was popularly styled “Colonel Anne.” An important accession to the troops at Perth consisted of the bulk of 1000 auxiliaries

from France, whom Lord John Drummond had embarked at Dunkirk and landed at Montrose, with a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition. The Prince's army was reinforced at Stirling by these troops.

BATTLE OF FALKIRK.

The Duke of Cumberland had been recalled from Carlisle under the apprehension of an invasion on the south coast of England; and the command of the Royal army in Scotland had been meantime committed to Lieutenant-General Henry Hawley, a brave soldier, who fell into the grave mistake of undervaluing his opponents. He left Edinburgh with a force of nearly 8000 men, to offer battle to the Highlanders. His want of precaution enabled the latter, whose numbers were about equal, on the 17th of January, to gain the advantage of the weather guage, and of a commanding position on Falkirk Moor. The result was a speedy victory by the Highlanders; but—from the shades of evening preventing due recognition of the relations of the hostile armies; from the right wing of the Royal army happening to have been left unscathed, owing to the broken character of the ground, when the rest gave way; and from the vague impression that so easy a victory was too good news to be true, and the difficulty with an irregular army of mustering the men after any operation—it was not followed up as it might have been at the decisive moment, though eventually Falkirk was occupied that night by a portion of the Highland army, and Hawley's

camp and baggage, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, some cannon, and a number of muskets, fell a spoil to the Insurgents. The siege of Stirling, which had been interrupted by Hawley's advance, was now resumed.

RETREAT TO INVERNESS.

Meanwhile the Duke of Cumberland arrived in Edinburgh on the 30th of January, and set forward on the following day—the army now amounting to about 10,000 men—to raise the siege of Stirling Castle, and give battle to his opponent. The Highland chiefs, however, under the erroneous impression that a large number of their men who were straggling about had returned home, and that not more than 5000 could be mustered, had, but with difficulty, prevailed on the Prince to retreat to the North, where they represented that double the number could be brought into the field. The Forth was crossed on the 1st of February. They speedily distanced the more encumbered regulars; and when the Duke reached Perth, he found that the clans under the Prince's command had proceeded due north by Crieff and Dalnacardoch, and were well on their way to Inverness; while Lord George Murray, with the rest of the force, had directed his course to the same point by Aberdeen and the coast.

At Perth the pursuit was for the present discontinued. The Prince of Hesse at this time arrived in the Firth of Forth with 5000 auxiliaries. When the Duke leisurely moved on to Aberdeen, the Hessians

were left to guard the southern passes, and Sir Andrew Agnew was sent with a body of troops to occupy the Castle of Blair.

The march of the Highlanders to Inverness was signalled by a narrow escape by Prince Charles. On Sunday 16th February, with a small escort, he advanced to Moyhall, with the intention of resting there till the arrival of the rest of his men, and Lord Loudoun having been informed of this hurried from Inverness with a force of 1500 men, in the hope of making him prisoner. Lady MacIntosh was, however, apprised of the danger by a boy of the clan, who from Inverness contrived to outstrip the military, and breathlessly in the course of the night announced their approach. Being hastily summoned, the self-possessed hostess appeared "in her smock petticoat," and arrangements were made for the Prince's withdrawing towards his advancing friends. The lady had luckily used the precaution, taking counsel with Donald Fraser, blacksmith at Moybeg, a shrewd and courageous man, to have a look-out on the road from Inverness. Fraser accordingly, with the small number of four other men, had taken up a position at a pass on the hill of Craig-an-Oin, at the boundary between the parishes of Moy and Daviot, on a now disused portion of General Wade's military road between Crieff and Inverness. Here they had ensconced themselves at distant intervals behind some heaps of peat and turf set up to dry. On the Royalists being descried in the dusk, the little party at once comprehending the emergency, a command was passed

by Donald, and from man to man, in a stentorian voice, "The MacIntoshes, MacGillivrays, and MacBeans to form the centre, the MacDonalds on the right, and the Frasers on the left." A few shots were fired, when one of the advanced guard, a piper of distinction, was killed. A panic seized the van: possibly, the force consisting mainly of the Independent companies raised in the North, they had no great zeal in their mission. So it is that the distracted commander, conjuring the peat-hags into armed men, was so persuaded that he had the Highland host confronting him, that he ordered his men right-about. The whole body fled with precipitation and in great confusion to Inverness. This singular affair is characteristically styled, "The Rout of Moy." On the Prince's advancing on February 18th to Inverness (via General Wade's bridge 50 yards to the west of the present Bridge of Faillie), he found Lord Loudoun and his troops making the best of their way across the Moray Firth at Kessock Ferry.

The Prince took up his quarters in a house in Church Street, that of Lady Drummuir, mother of the Laird of MacIntosh. It has been replaced by the large block of buildings opposite old St. John's Episcopal Chapel. The style of social life in Inverness at the period is indicated by the tradition, that it was the only mansion in the town which had a sitting-room not serving the purpose also of a sleeping apartment.

The Castle overhanging the river—where the County Buildings now stand—would seem at this time

to have been an imposing building, six storeys high, with sharp-pointed roofs and turrets at the angles, and battlemented in the finest style of old Scottish architecture. A couple of bastions, with curtain-wall between, on the side of the ascent from the Castle Wynd to the summit, are the only portions now remaining of the old fortifications. This stronghold was then a government fort, and called Fort George. It was garrisoned by a party of Grants and MacLeods and of regular troops, and, having shortly fallen into the hands of the Prince, was destroyed by his orders, to the gratification of the Highlanders, who had a rooted dislike to the government forts.

MINOR ENTERPRISES.

During the Duke of Cumberland's sojourn at Aberdeen, waiting the advance of spring, several minor enterprises were conducted with skill and success by his adversaries. Fort-Augustus was reduced. Lord Loudoun was pursued through Ross-shire into Sutherland, and was dislodged from Dornoch by the Duke of Perth, whose troops were ferried across from the vicinity of Tain in a flotilla of boats which had been secretly collected at Findhorn, and carried across the Moray Firth during the night by Moir of Stoneywood. The Royalists, of whom a party were made prisoners, were followed to the head of Loch Shin. Here the Mackays returned to their own country of Reay, and the MacLeods made their way to Skye, accompanied by Loudoun and President Forbes.

Lord John Drummond was posted at Fochabers in

command of a detachment, and his men were successful in some dashing skirmishes to the east of the Spey. But the most noteworthy exploit was one by Lord George Murray, of which General Stewart of Garth says in his *Sketches*, "I know not if the whole of the Peninsular campaigns exhibited a more perfect execution of a complicated military service." To obviate the danger of an apprehended concentration of the Hessian troops and Argyleshire Highlanders in Athol, and, by the reduction of Blair Castle, to keep the way unimpeded in case of a second descent on the Lowlands ; by way of retaliation, too, for reported excesses on the part of the soldiery in that quarter ; Lord George proceeded from Inverness with a battalion of the Athol Brigade. Being joined by a body of MacPhersons under Cluny their chief, this force, to the number in all of about 700 men, reached Dalnaspidal, in Drumouchter, the well-known pass through the Grampians, and close by the foot of Loch Garry, on the evening of the 10th March, and were told off into several parties, destined to the attack of a number of outposts of the enemy, at different scattered points, as far south as Fascally, garrisoned by the Campbell Highlanders, with instructions to rendezvous at Bruar. Reckoning all the different houses so occupied, there were not fewer than about thirty fortified stations. The various expeditions met with brilliant success. Sir Andrew Agnew's picquets near Blair, having reached the Castle and reported an enemy's presence, he with a strong force sallied out in quest of the aggressors

Lord George was at the time at the appointed rendezvous, with only four-and-twenty men, anxiously awaiting the return of the assailing parties. It was essential for their safety not to abandon their position. Having, fortunately, all the pipers with him, he ordered his men to secrete themselves at considerable intervals behind a turf dyke. By the appearance of numbers, produced by the brandishing of swords and din of the pipes in the uncertain dawn, the regulars were brought to a halt, and their really brave commander, deeming discretion for the nonce the better part of valour, marched his troops back to the Castle, which, the delighted Highland leader was speedily possessed, by the return of his men, with the means of investing. The ordnance of the besiegers proved of too light calibre to make any impression on the walls, and the expedient of directing red-hot shot at the roof was perseveringly practised, doing a good deal of damage. The Hessians would not venture through the Pass of Killiecrankie, and the garrison were reduced to great straits, being unable to get intelligence of their predicament communicated. But at last the Earl of Crawford, being apprised of their situation, pressed to their relief, when he found the leaguer abandoned, the Highlanders having been recalled to the North.

Fortune was unpropitious to Charles in the privation of supplies of money forwarded from France. The vessels by which these were sent were in some instances captured, and in others were unable to reach the coast, from the vigilance of the English cruisers.

But the Prince maintained his cheerfulness notwithstanding, acting, as on almost all occasions during this eventful episode of his life, in the spirit of the motto on a fowling-piece which belonged to him, and which is now preserved at Auchnacarry,

“Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito.”

Considerable gaiety prevailed in Inverness to within a few days of the fatal day when the clans of Culloden were scattered in fight.

The want of money was a most serious drawback ; and it would appear from a letter of Secretary Murray's dated at Fort-Augustus, 14th March, 1746, to Lochiel, then engaged in the siege of Fort-William, that a plan of operations at that time contemplated was that the Highland army should make another descent on the Lowlands, with the view partly of replenishing the military treasure-chest, and partly of withdrawing Cumberland from Aberdeen, and thereby having the east coast left more open for friendly vessels from abroad. The Insurgent leaders laboured also under a fatal disadvantage in the lack of sources of authentic intelligence regarding the state of matters in Aberdeenshire. It was commonly believed that the Duke's force was not numerically one-half as strong as it really was ; and this impression, combined with his long delay there, waiting for the advance of spring, seems to have induced a degree of fatal security, and to have given rise to a notion that he had no serious intention of attempting to penetrate beyond the Spey. Whatever the causes, the dispersion of the various

portions of the Prince's army engaged in the disconnected services alluded to was allowed to continue too long. They could not be recalled in the nick of time on the day of need from such remote distances.

In Sutherland there were 700 men left under the Earl of Cromartie, including MacDonald of Barrisdale, MacGregor of Glengyle, and MacKinnon, with their men, after Lord Loudoun's escape. Cromartie was cleverly kidnapped along with his son, Lord MacLeod, by a party of the Earl of Sutherland's militia at Dunrobin. Cluny's men remained in Badenoch, after Lord George Murray's return to Inverness. The Camerons, and the Keppoch and some other MacDonalds, with the Stuarts of Appin, were vainly attempting the reduction of Fort-William, ably defended by Captain Scott; and though they did rejoin before the battle of Culloden, it was with diminished numbers; while many men from the different regiments had returned to their homes during seed-time. Provisions, too, had become exceedingly scarce, and the Prince's army was reduced to a scanty supply of food, and that of an inferior quality.

PASSAGE OF THE SPEY.

When he did move, Cumberland stole a march on his adversaries. Part of his troops had already advanced as far as Strathbogie, and on the 8th of April he left Aberdeen with the remainder; and, pushing on by Banff and Cullen, he succeeded in crossing the Spey on the 12th, fording that deep and rapid river at three places—at Garmouth, near Gordon Castle,

and close by the Church of Bellie. While the poor Highlanders were so insufficiently fed, the Royal army was supplied by a fleet of victualling-ships, which coasted the shores of the Firth. Lord John Drummond has been censured for not having vigorously opposed the progress of the Royal army at the passage of this river, which was regarded as a formidable barrier, where it had been expected that Cumberland's advance might have been at least so far retarded as to have given time for the full concentration of the clans. To protect the fords some batteries were raised. But the Duke's artillery was so powerful as to have forced a passage ; and when Lord John abandoned the position and fell back upon Inverness, his conduct was justified by Lord George Murray. To dispute the passage with any chance of success, the whole Highland army ought to have been on the spot ; and, indeed, had the Prince's contingent been complete in time, it is understood that he would have moved forward to dispute the passage in earnest. The celerity of the Duke's movements disappointed the calculations of his opponents, and, in the absence of so large a proportion of their force, the presence of the Royal troops on the west side of the Spey was the cause of great disquietude at Inverness.

On the 14th the Royal army reached Nairn, and encamped at Balblair, and on the heights of Kildrummie, west of that town, and within about 14 miles of Inverness. The rear of the Highlanders, under Lord John Drummond, did not quit Nairn

till some shots had been exchanged. They were pursued by part of the Duke's cavalry for some distance, but the Prince unexpectedly came up with reinforcements. On the 15th, the Duke's birthday, the Royal army lay inactive at Nairn, where they were regaled with extra cheer, and indulged in festive relaxation. The Duke took up his quarters in the old portion, still extant, of the house of Balblair, on the estate of Cantray.

CHAPTER II.

CULLODEN HOUSE AND MOOR.

ON the evening of Monday, the 14th of April, the Prince led out his troops to the parks around Culloden House, about 4 miles east of Inverness, where those under Lord John Drummond also rendezvoused ; and next day they were all marshalled in order of battle on the Moor of Culloden, or, as it was then called, Drumossie Moor, expecting the advance of the Royal army.

The hills on the south side of Loch Ness subside at the lower end of that lake into a long, smooth, swelling ridge, which gradually declines to the eastwards, and does not finally attain the level of the low ground till near Nairn. This ridge rises with a lessening slope, as the elevation diminishes, from a great terraced plain which borders the Firth and the river Ness on the south, about 90 feet high, forming a portion of a great gravel-terrace or coast-line, which extends from the confines of Loch Ness through Inverness, Nairn, and Moray shires, to the mouth of the Spey ; having a line of similar height and character opposed to it on the Ross-shire coast ; indicating a former elevation of the sea nearly corresponding with the summit-level of the Great Glen reaching from sea to sea, which lies between Lochs Oich and Lochy. The ridge contracts by degrees in width as it declines. Opposite Culloden

its base is about a mile removed from the shore ; and, attaining hereabouts an average elevation of some 470 feet above the sea, it extends to the river Nairn—a stretch at this part, as the crow flies, of about two miles, the summit for nearly a mile across being of a very gently rolling, almost though not quite level surface, having slight depressions where, more particularly, the surface-water lodging rendered them wet and spongy or marshy, which indeed the whole Moor is somewhat at that time of the year. The view of the Moray and Beaully Firths and of the mountains of the northern counties, and along the Great Glen, is truly magnificent. On the 15th and 16th, the Highland army was drawn up on the top of the ridge ; and their position lay pretty nearly in a line with Culloden House, on the summit of the Moor, across which they extended towards the river Nairn, and fronting the north-east.

CULLODEN HOUSE.

The present mansion, built about the year 1780, is a stately edifice, after the fashion of English manor-houses of the period, consisting of a large twin central building, high roofed and balustraded, the rooms in which are spacious and finely proportioned, with two-storeyed wings of like width connected thereto by open-walled courts: all built of dark red, with dressings of white, sandstone. It occupies the site of the old Castle (the vaults of which form the sunk storey) near the foot of the ascent to the Moor, and is sur-

rounded by extensive and finely timbered park-ground. The former edifice was an oblong building, surrounded by a high court-wall, and was a place of some strength.

In October 1745, after the crafty Lord Lovat's inclinations to the Stuart cause had become manifest to his clan, Fraser of Foyers made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Castle and the person of President Forbes, presuming no doubt that these would prove acceptable acquisitions to his chief. It is not ascertained that Lovat was privy to the scheme, with which he emphatically disclaimed all complicity, though it has been asserted that at an early stage he strongly recommended steps being taken to secure the person of the President, and that he latterly attached great blame to the disregard of this shrewd advice. The latter being always on very friendly terms with the old chief, but duly apprehending the extent to which he was to be trusted, comments thus in a letter to him on the conduct of his vassals on this occasion :—

“ I very well know it would give your lordship more pain than it did me, though no man of common equity who knows that they carried off my sheep, robbed my gardener, and the poor weaver who is a common benefit to the country, and carried off some of my tenants' cattle, will imagine that there was the least countenance from any one about your lordship to this transaction ; nor should I now give you any trouble on a subject so disagreeable, but that I am teased every hour with reports that the gentlemen who failed of their principal aim, give it now out that they are

to pillage, burn, and destroy my innocent tenants.”

In 1715 the old Castle was also besieged by a party of Frasers, liege-men of MacKenzie of Fraserdale. On this occasion, being defended by Mrs. Forbes, a cannon-shot from the walls cut a branch off a tall old tree, which, stifled with ivy, long formed a picturesque object on the lawn. The branch lighted on and killed one of the besieging party.

The MSS. in possession of the Culloden family are valuable, and from them one of the earliest of the selections by which Scottish history has been illustrated from private archives, was published in 1815—the *Culloden Papers*, edited by the late Major Hugh Robert Duff of Muirtown.

The hospitality of that period was profuse, and sociality was carried to an extreme. Claret was the favourite wine. The good cheer of the Culloden household was proverbial. Burt (an English officer), in his *Letters from the North of Scotland*, thus narrates the usages of the dinner-table :—

“ It is the custom of that house, at the first visit or introduction, to take up your freedom by cracking his nut (as he terms it), that is, a cocoa-shell, which holds a pint, filled with champagne, or such other sort of wine as you shall choose. You may guess by the introduction at the contents of the volume. . . . As the company are disabled one after another, two servants, who are all the time in waiting, take up the invalids with short poles in their chairs as they sit (if not fallen down), and carry them to their beds, and still the hero holds out.” No wonder that Culloden was known by the name of “ Bumper John ! ”

“ The types of true hospitality in a farmer’s house

of old," says Hill Burton in his *Life of President Forbes*, "were said to be an anker of whisky, always on the spiggot, a boiler with perpetual hot water, and a cask of sugar with a spade in it. Culloden's hospitalities were of a more aristocratic order, and the custom of the house was to prize off the top of each successive cask of claret, and place it in the corner of the hall, to be emptied in pailfuls."

Such was the hospitality of the times, that even in the more temperate establishment at Bunchrew, where his brother, Mr. Duncan Forbes, generally resided, the convivialities occasioned an outlay, as appears from an old account, of £40 in the course of a month for claret bought in individual dozens at 16s. and 18s.

LORD PRESIDENT FORBES.

Of Duncan Forbes, brother of John, Sir Walter Scott, in his review of the *Culloden Papers* in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 28 (1816), says:—

"He was promoted to the office of Advocate-Depute, and in 1725 to that of Lord Advocate, always a situation of high power and importance, but particularly so in times of a disputed title and repeated insurrections. . . . Placed as it were on the very verge of the discontented districts, he had a difficult and even dangerous game to play. It was, says the editor of these papers most truly, more congenial to his nature to reclaim than to punish; and his life was spent in keeping quiet, by means of influence, persuasion, and the interposition of friends, those warlike and independent chiefs whom presumption and political prejudice were perpetually urging to take up arms.

"Lord Advocate Forbes suppressed, by his per-

sonal exertions, the desperate and alarming riots concerning the malt tax in 1725, and was among the patriots who saved the city of Edinburgh from the vindictive measures meditated against the metropolis on account of the singular insurrection called the Porteous Mob. It was indeed one of the brightest points of this great man's character, that, though the steady friend of government and good order, he was the boldest and most active mediator for his misguided fellow-subjects, when it was proposed to urge punishment beyond the bounds of correction into those of vengeance. Many other patriotic labours occupied his attention, concerning which information will be found in these 'Papers.' He was the first to give the example (since so well followed) of those effects which careful agriculture can produce, even when contending with the disadvantages of soil and climate. It was he who first proposed encouragement to the linen trade and other manufactures in Scotland. It was he also who first took measures for preserving and arranging the Records of the kingdom of Scotland. The promotion of Forbes to the high office of President of the Court of Session took place in 1737. When called, as Lord Hardwicke expressed it, by the voice of the country to fill the vacant chair, his appointment was hailed by all ranks as a guarantee for the impartial administration of justice, and the gradual and sound elucidation of law."

To President Forbes belongs the credit of suggesting to government, several years before the Forty-Five, in the prospect of a war with France or Spain, and in anticipation of this proving the signal for another rising in behalf of the Pretender, the embodiment of a certain number of regiments of Highlanders for foreign service. He proposed that an English or

Scottish officer of undoubted loyalty should be appointed colonel of each regiment, but that all the other officers should be selected from a list he had drawn up of chiefs and chieftains of the disaffected clans. "If government," he urged, "pre-engages the Highlanders, in the manner I propose, they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home, and I am persuaded that it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands." (Home's *History of the Rebellion*.) Had this plan not been rejected by a timid policy, in all probability the Rising would never have taken place.

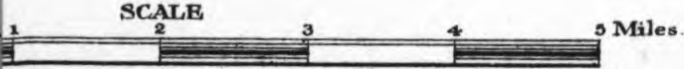
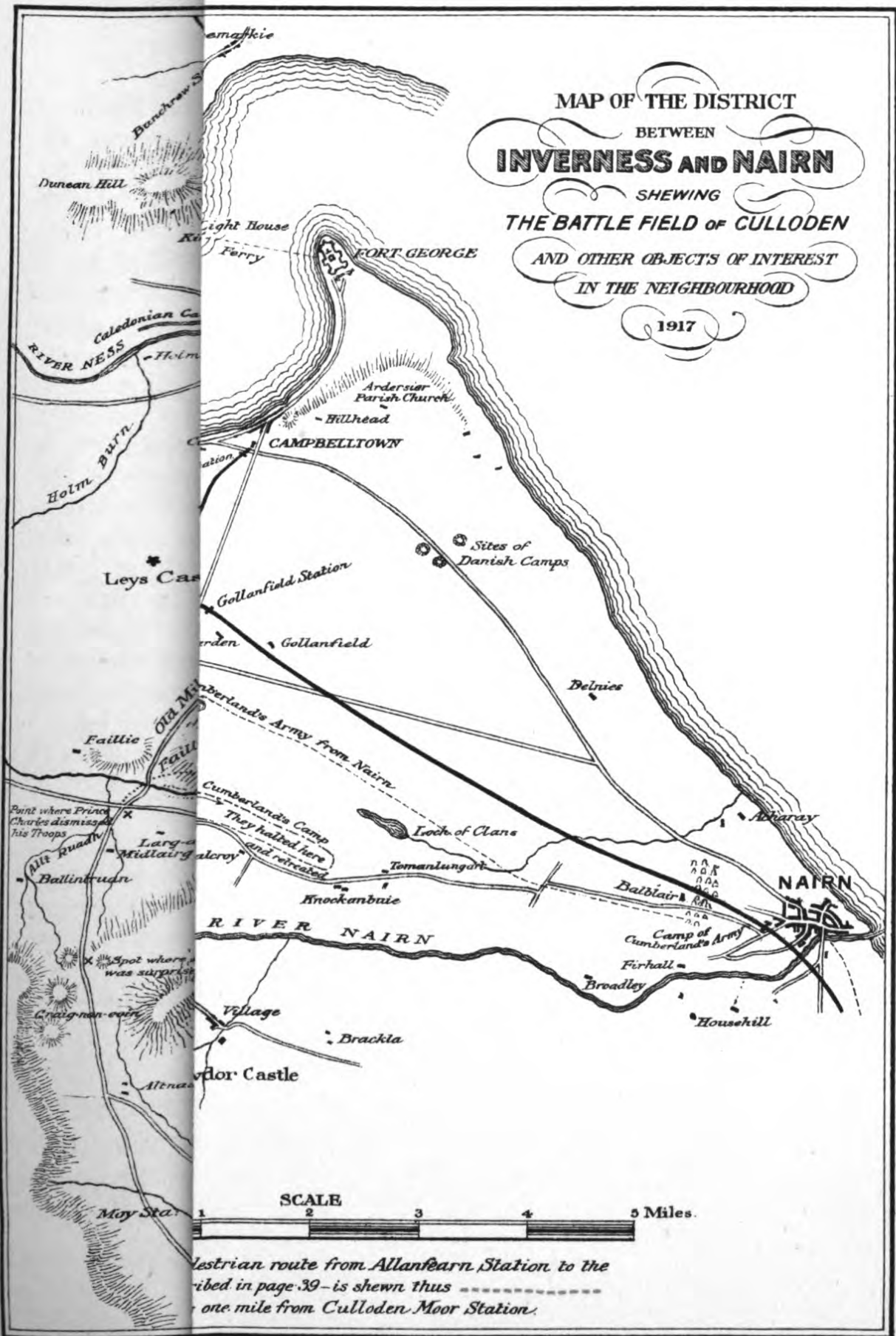
Sir James MacIntosh, in his review of the *Culloden Papers* in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 51 (1816), pays this noble testimony to the President :—

"There are various lords and lairds who make but a shabby figure in this collection. But our great pride and consolation is in the ever clear honour and open heart of him to whom they address themselves. For Duncan Forbes no descendant will ever have to blush or feel ashamed; and the perusal of this book will prove that Scotland, ever since she ceased to be a separate kingdom, has had at least one statesman whose principles were as pure as his understanding was enlightened, and whose concern for his country was not so much as suspected to be quickened by any regard to his own power or emoluments."

Hill Burton, in his *Lives of Lord Lovat and Duncan Forbes* (1847), thus sums up the President's character, after narrating the closing scenes of his life on 10th December 1747 :—

MAP OF THE DISTRICT
 BETWEEN
INVERNESS AND NAIRN
 SHEWING
THE BATTLE FIELD OF CULLODEN
 AND OTHER OBJECTS OF INTEREST
 IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

1917



A pedestrian route from Allansfearn Station to the
 described in page 39—is shewn thus -----
 one mile from Culloden Moor Station.

“So died a man both great and good, who, like all the erring human race, mingled some defects with his virtues; yet they were with him so open and natural that they enable us the better to feel the reality of his excellences, as part of a character that is set before us in all its merely human proportions, and claims no ideal perfection. Five years after his death, his fellow-lawyers erected a statue to his memory, worthily placed in that noble old hall where the memory of his services and his character still lives, as of one who uttered and elevated the tone of professional and judicial morality in his day, and left even to the present generation a greater legacy of sound and honest principles than they might have been able to achieve without his aid. There is something in this statue of the florid drapery and excited manner of its French artist, Roubillac; but the accuracy with which the features are portrayed is sufficient to impart a solemn dignity to the marble face, whence a slightly profuse tone in the adjuncts of the statue makes a scarcely perceptible deduction. In this and in the other representations of President Forbes,—for his portrait holds a respected place in many a household and many a public institution of his native country,—we can see that Nature, by a harmony of mental and corporeal qualities not often exemplified, represented the excellences of his mind with singular precision in a countenance which has scarcely been excelled for the united expression of open honesty, firmness, intellect, and gentleness.”

THE BATTLEFIELD.

The scene of conflict is about 5 miles from Inverness, and is intersected by a district road which, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Inverness, immediately behind the house of Castlehill, strikes off on the left hand

from the public road to Perth, and leads to Kilravock and Cawdor, on the river Nairn. A monumental cairn close by the roadside, a series of long trenches on the opposite side of the road, and a few smaller ones on the north side, slightly raised above the surface of the ground, and still distinguished by their vivid green turf amid the brown heather, where the slain lie interred, mark the close vicinity of the spot where the Royal left wing met the impetuous shock of the Highland right and right centre. It is rather more than half-a-mile from the Water of Nairn.

Considerable portions of the Moor around the scene of conflict are now under cultivation ; but most of the field of battle is moorland or fir and larch plantation. The Highland army lay on the night of the 14th and morning of the 16th in a hollow on the north edge of the Moor, outside of the fir plantation which skirts the birch wood covering the northern hill-face, about three-fourths of a mile above Culloden House, and to the west of the farm of Drumbuie. The position is intermediate (but farther south) between a group of old pinetrees, called "Steele's Mount," from their having been planted by a servant of the President's of that name, and another group of pines, of about the same age, about half-a-mile to the west ; which groups from the low ground will be discerned to overtop the here closely surrounding birch wood. The hollow is, however, considerably nearer this west group than to Steele's Mount.

From this position the troops were moved across the Moor for more than three-quarters of a mile, most

probably for the sake of a degree of covering to the right wing from a low stone dyke which lined the north side of a large enclosure or park, and from which two other dykes extended on the east and west sides to the river Nairn ; and, probably with an eye to a possible reverse, of vicinity to the hills south of the Nairn. It was, however, withdrawing them out of the line of protection for Inverness. All traces of these dykes have now disappeared.

A high stone fence now runs along the whole length on the north-west or north side of the farm of Leanach for fully three-fourths of a mile, the space to the river being laid out in large arable fields. About midway, and a little to the east of the graves, it abuts, making an oblique bend, upon the public road, along which it then runs nearly in the same line ; but at the west end, the public road and this fence are 400 yards apart. Here a road runs down to the river, which is lined along the fields by another stone fence of the same character, opposite which, and west of the road and of Leanach farm, lies the farm of Culchuinag. Again, at the farther, the north-east, end of the north fence, there is another fenced road leading to the farmstead of Leanach and across the Nairn. At the angle where this latter leaves the public road, there is a large flattish boulder stone, called the " Duke's," or " Cumberland's Stone " where the Duke of Cumberland stood when surveying the field of battle before coming to close quarters (for then he was within the lines), and where part of his baggage was placed.

It is rather more than half-a-mile from the monumental cairn.

The north side of the road all along here is skirted, but for no great depth, by a fir and larch plantation, which also occupies the whole triangular area on the south side of the western moiety of the portion in question of the public road (800 yards), the north-eastern terminal angle being at the point where the long northern fence deflects to the public road. At this point, 25 yards south of the centre of the road, there is a well, about 30 yards farther east than the easternmost burial trench, and known as the "Black Well," or "Well of the Dead," some of the wounded having crawled hither to die. The length of the present north fence, from the west end of the planting to the well, is 700 yards. An irregularly oval clearing or open enclosure has been left at this spot on both sides of the road for some 240 by about 100 yards in extreme length and breadth. The principal trenches are in the southern division, in a space of about 130 by 25 yards of extreme width ; but there are two or three smaller and less prominent on the north side of the road. The old north-west, or call it north dyke, of the park at the west end commenced 130 yards south-east of the south angle of the planting, or west angle of Leanach farm, close to, if anything a little south of, a bend in the present south-west fence, and it ran in a line such as, if prolonged, would meet the present north-west, or say north, fence, about 30 yards north-east of the well ; but it extended only for the length of 350 yards. Here it was joined by

another old dyke, that on the north-east, or say east, side of the park, at about right angles towards the junction, but making a bend to the east farther south, and then running to the river-side. There was also, as indicated, a dyke on the west or south-west side, near about the line of the present western fence. There is a high cross stone fence now dividing the fields, which joins the north fence, 450 yards, to the east. The line of the old east dyke, if produced, would strike the present north fence 110 yards west of the present cross fence ; while the line of the old north dyke, if produced, would strike the present cross fence 50 yards from the present north fence. These are the only dykes mentioned by or seemingly known to Home and almost all other writers.

But there was also an old low dyke pertaining to the farm of Old Leanach, which adjoined the northern portion of the park, of which the old house (Old Leanach) is still to be seen,—a black clay-built, straw-thatched cottage in a field, and not far from the road, about 200 yards east of the graves. The Old Leanach north-west or north dyke, somewhat of a continuation of the North Park dyke, seems to have obliquely crossed the line of the new north fence, 50 yards west of the present cross fence, and after a short interval to have turned nearly parallel to the former, and to have terminated on the south side of the clearing, about 100 yards west of the well, being 40 yards from the new north fence ; and the line, if produced, would cut the public road 70 yards west of the point where the present north fence reaches it.

There was also a western dyke to Old Leanach, running parallel to the East Park dyke for a short distance from the north dyke, and afterwards assuming a zig-zag course ; and there was to all appearance a narrow roadway of some kind between the parallel walls. This is shown with considerable accuracy on some of the old published plans of the battle. What was called the Park was at the time of the battle chiefly under heather, with arable patches. In the Park, about midway to the river, there were two cottages, then known as the Park houses. A little to the west of the planting, on the north side of the public road, there is a depression called "Stable Hollow," and a small house, not far from the road, and now almost roofless, called "King's Stables," from the circumstance of the Duke of Cumberland's dragoons having been stationed here after the battle. These and the other dwellings are built of large stones—the upper portions of the gables of turf ; and in the centre of the front of the Stable Hollow house is a gable-ended projection, which formed a recess for a bed—a characteristic of the other remaining specimens of the period.

Three-quarters of a mile west of the Culchuinag farm-houses is a slated farm house and steading—Balvraid—where there is an old solitary ash-tree, at a higher elevation than the scene of action, from which the ground rises, though very gradually. Beside this ash-tree the Prince is traditionally believed to have stood during the later half of the battle, or possibly during a pause in the retreat.

APPROACHES TO THE BATTLEFIELD.

Pedestrians can most effectively shorten the walking distance (6 miles) from Inverness to the battlefield, by taking the Highland railway train to Culloden Moor Station, about a mile east of Cumberland's stone. But very pleasant walks can be had by approaching the Moor from Allanfearn Station, about three miles north-west of the stone. Two alternative routes present themselves. One way is to pass the Allanfearn farm offices above the Station, and turn to the right along a road running west, lined by an avenue of trees, then by a cross road to the left, which will lead past the Mains of Culloden farm-offices, and thence by the west end of the lawn in front of the mansion house, past the stables, and between them and the dog-kennel, and by a broad woodland pathway on the east side of a burn course, slantingly up to the right through a birch wood, at one time covering the hill-face but now partly cut down. This path crosses the Inverness to Aviemore railway by a bridge on which is left *in situ* a stone known as the "President's Seat," and conducts to the farm of Black Park, at the west end, and south of the birch wood, and near the public road from Inverness, less than half-a-mile west of the Stable Hollow house. The distance may be shortened by, towards the middle of the ascent, holding right up the hill and crossing the Moor ground to the west end of the fir and larch plantation, or to the Stable Hollow house. Behind one of the small farm-houses,

also in Stable Hollow, and next to "King's Stables," on the way in this direction, not far from the planting, a large protruding boulder will be seen, where the country people concur in saying one of the Prince's cannon was planted. On the way up the hill-face, but on the west side of the burn in the birch wood, near the top of the hill, there is a very fine enclosed chalybeate well, called Tobar Mhoire or Mary's Well. It is much resorted to by lads and lasses from Inverness on the first Sunday of May.

To reach the east end of the battle-field from Allanfearn Station, turn to the left after passing the Allanfearn offices,—the next road, diverging to the right, will conduct in a straight line to the west end of the small village of Balloch of Culloden. From the east end of the village it ascends the face of the ridge, passing by and by through a young fir plantation, and at the top through a belt of older planting. Having surmounted the ascent and proceeded a few hundred yards, the road strikes across the Moor, running through some young fir and larch plantations, emerges on the district-road from Inverness, after having crossed a track which, it may be observed, is the remains of a road made by Lord Lovat from Dalcross Castle to his property in Stratherrick. This latter was the only roadway at the time of the battle through the Moor, which was then, too, quite bare, though with a number of cottars' huts scattered over it.

The district-road is reached at a point where, bordered on the farther side by the extensive arable

farm of Leanach enclosed by stone dykes, the general survey of the Moor is somewhat obscured by the rising plantation. The principal Graves and the Cairn lie to the west (the right hand) about half-a-mile distant ; while again, on the opposite side, within the angle where the farm-road leads down to the farm-steading of Leanach, there is, as already mentioned, the large flattened boulder-stone, called the Duke's Stone.

The pedestrian need not retrace his steps, but, striking across the Moor, somewhat more to the west than before, towards the farm-house of Drumbuie, at the edge of the planting on the north face of the ridge, he will find a pathway leading down through the plantation above Balloch to the group of older and higher trees called Steele's Mount, and thence parallel to the south and west fences of the park, and in front of Culloden House, whence the previous directions will suffice. Or, from below Steele's Mount, he can hold straight down through an avenue of pines to the west of Balloch farm-house, and thence along a continuation of horse chestnuts to the east of the back of Culloden House. Another return route will be afterwards pointed out, from a little to the west of the Graves. If driving, however, an agreeable circuit may be made by Dalcross Castle. The road by it to the public road between Inverness and Nairn strikes off on the left hand about 3 miles from the Graves, passing Croy Free Church and Manse.

Such ground as Culloden Moor was obviously of the very worst description for the tactics of Highlanders ; while, if the Duke of Cumberland had had

his choice, he could scarcely have selected a locality more favourable for the handling of regular troops, more especially when supported by horse and artillery, although at that season there was a good deal of the ground in a marshy state. The farther side of the river Nairn is bordered by a narrow strip of haugh land, from which moorland hills, rising first in broken terraces, gradually slope up to a considerable elevation the highest on Culloden property being 1468 feet, and on MacIntosh's, immediately adjoining, fully a couple of hundred feet higher ; and form the northern limits of a great expanse of hill country stretching to the Findhorn. On the south side of the Nairn, then, the relative circumstances would have been reversed, while the Highlanders could retire at will into intricate fastnesses ; and if they could induce their adversaries to follow them, the contest could be indefinitely prolonged, and could scarcely fail to result in disaster to regular troops. The north bank of the Nairn, too, though not high, is here generally steep, and would present obstacles to the passage of horse and artillery.

The situation did not escape the prescient eye of Lord George Murray, and he had it examined by Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Ker, who reported in favour of the position and the Highland chiefs concurred in the opinion. The Prince, however, influenced by his foreign advisers, who dreaded the prospect of a probable campaign in the mountains, adhered to his predilection for the open moor ground, in order, it is presumed, to cover Inverness, where

most of the baggage had been left. "What I can aver," says Lord George, with reference to the advice to cross the Nairn, "is, that myself and most of the clans, at least all I spoke with, were for this operation ; and his Royal Highness could have supported the fatigue as well as any person in the army. It's true Sir Thomas Sheridan, etc., could not have undergone it, so we were obliged to be undone for their ease. As to provisions, had I been allowed to have any direction, we would not have wanted (though perhaps not of the best) for years, as long as there were cattle in the Highlands or meal in the Lowlands."

CHAPTER III.

NIGHT-MARCH TOWARDS NAIRN.

ANOTHER bold scheme was meanwhile resolved on—a night-attack on the English camp at Nairn. It was hoped, too, that the soldiers might be the more likely to be found napping, as they might be expected to over-indulge in the festivities of their leader's birth-day. Lord George devised or cordially adopted the proposal, it would seem, for one reason, as preferable to awaiting the Royal army on the ill-selected field of battle. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon of 15th April that the project was resolved on; the intention being to set out at night-fall, about eight o'clock, with the purpose of reaching the point of attack about two o'clock in the morning. By some fatality, through a negligence which was attended with the most disastrous consequences, a single biscuit or a small loaf or oatmeal bannock, was all of nourishment that was available for each man. Difficult as may have been the duties of the commissariat, they ought, at this eventful crisis, to have been prosecuted with all possible energy; and that they might have been so successfully, was demonstrated by the fact, that on a serious but too late effort being made, a store of food was collected, though not in time to reach the famished troops. In the *Lockhart Papers* (vol. ii. p. 529), Mr. John Hay is said to have been blamed

by the army for the distress they were in for want of provisions, he having the superintendence at the time, owing to the illness of Secretary Murray, who is there stated to have been extremely active in providing for the army.

“The scarcity of provisions” (says Mr. Chambers) “had now become so great, that the men were on this important day reduced to the miserable allowance of only one small loaf, and that of the worst kind. Strange as the averment may appear, I have beheld and tasted a piece of the bread served out in this occasion, being the remains of a loaf or bannock, which had been carefully preserved for eighty-one years by the successive members of a Jacobite family. It is impossible to imagine a composition of greater coarseness, or less likely to please or satisfy the appetite; and perhaps no recital, however eloquent, of the miseries to which Charles’s army was reduced, could have impressed the reader with so strong an idea of the real extent of that misery as the sight of this singular relic. Its ingredients appeared to be merely the husks of oats and a coarse unclean species of dust, similar to what is found upon the floors of a mill.”

The quality of the bannock in question may possibly have been exceptional; but whether so or not, the quantity on that day was at starvation-point for soldiers in the field. Lord George, in his letter, 5th August 1749, to Hamilton of Bangour, says, with reference to the want of provisions, as an alleged reason for not shifting their ground, “I was convinced there was enough at Inverness which might even then have been brought out, part to where we were, and part to Loch Moy, where our army must have

retired if the Duke of Cumberland did not cross the Water of Nairn and give us an opportunity of fighting him to advantage."

The first evil consequence of a want of a supply of provisions, was that the men had gone to Inverness and about the country in search of indispensable food. On the night-march being resolved on, the officers went in search of the stragglers ; "but, under the influence of hunger, they told their commanders to shoot them if they pleased, rather than compel them to starve any longer." Of the whole army concentrated at and about Inverness, which comprised about 6000 men, less than two-thirds assembled in the evening. In these circumstances it is no wonder that Lord George Murray says—"Then, indeed, I do not know of one officer who had been made acquainted with the resolution of surprising the enemy, but declared, in the strongest terms, for laying it aside ; much was spoken by them all for not attempting it then ; but his Royal Highness continued bent on the thing, and gave me orders to march (he embraced me at the same time), which I immediately did."

It was in this untoward state of affairs that the unfortunate night-march to Nairn was commenced. The expedition marched in two consecutive columns ; the first, commanded by Lord George Murray, was composed of the Clans : Lord John Drummond was with the rear of this division. The second column, commanded by the Duke of Perth, consisted chiefly of the Lowland regiments, and the Prince and he

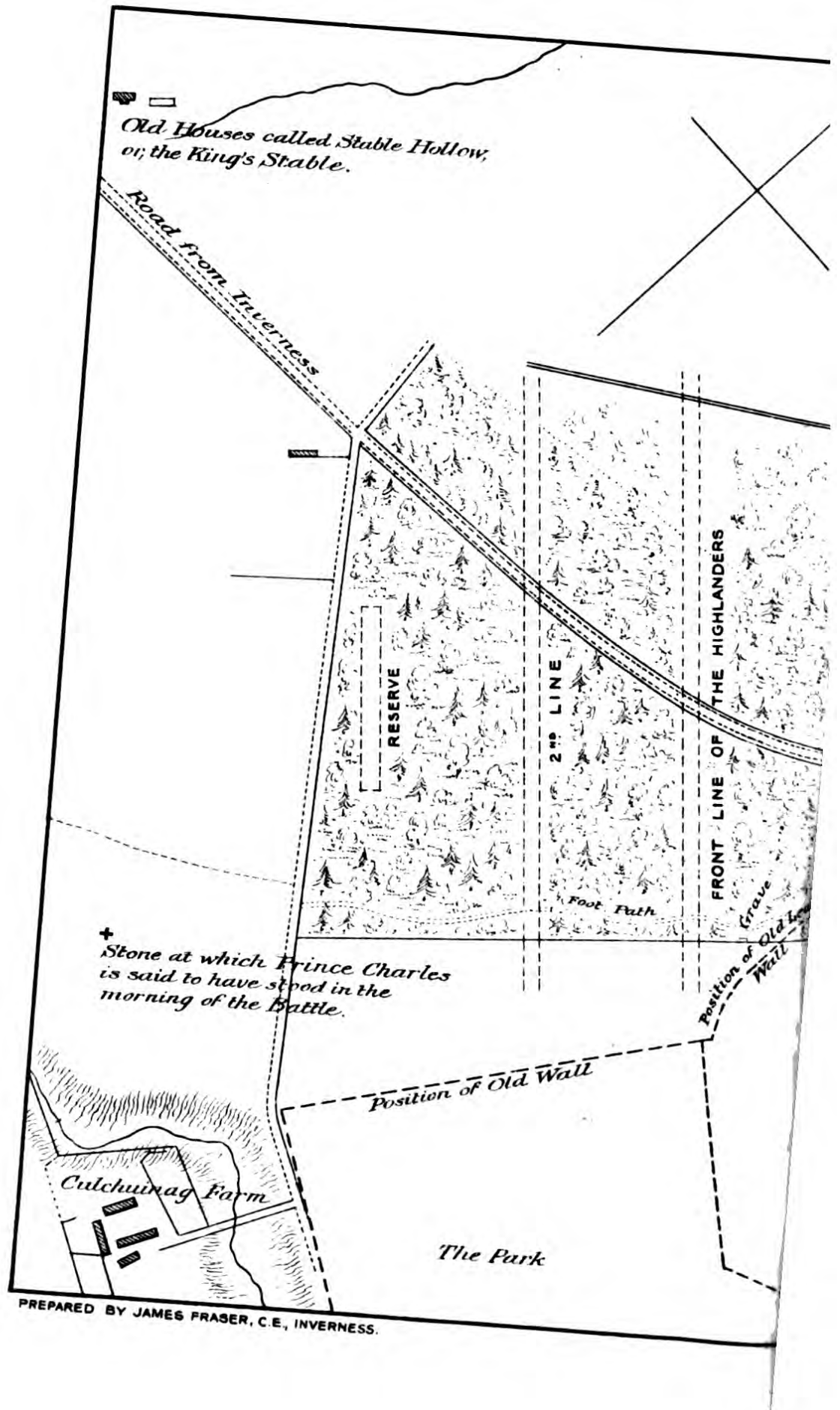
were in the central interval, of about a quarter of a mile, between the two columns. Twenty to thirty of the men of the MacIntosh regiment, who were familiar with the line of march, and two officers, were distributed along the columns as guides. The first column comprised about a third of the whole force; and the intention was that they should cross to the south side of the Nairn when within about 3 miles of the town, and then recross and attack the English army in flank and rear, simultaneously with the onset on the west by the second column.

The route lay near Dalcross Castle, an interesting structure, built in 1620 by Simon, sixth Lord Lovat, but then and still the property of MacIntosh of MacIntosh, which is conspicuous on the summit of the ridge, about 3 miles north-west from the scene of battle, and at a little distance north of Kilravock Castle, which, with other buildings overhanging the river, about three miles beyond Dalcross, has a fine old tower of the 15th century, and belongs to a family—Rose of Kilravock, at one time powerful in the North—remarkable for an unbroken male descent, retaining their baronial estate for six centuries without the support of any clan of their name, in the midst of jealous and ferocious neighbours.

The night was very dark, the way devious, as houses were avoided; the ground was rough, and, there being many obstacles, the men straggled a good deal. The rear column did not keep pace with that in front, possibly in part owing to its members not being all so nimble of foot, nor so accustomed to moor

ground and rough footing as the clansmen, though even of these several fell behind, some from exhaustion. Repeated interruptions were accordingly experienced to the advance of the leading column, by messages to halt or slacken pace. By the time the front rank had reached Knockanbuie, "the yellow knoll," intermediate between the present road from Clephantown—a small hamlet on the line of the old military road, now leading from Fort-George past Cawdor—to Nairn, and the river, rather more than a couple of miles beyond Kilravock and nearly double that distance from Nairn, it was found to be then so late as two o'clock of the morning, the hour of meditated attack. The leaders, in a brief consultation, came to the conclusion that it would be vain to persevere, with any hope of not being discovered long before they could come upon the enemy. The roll of a distant drum, indicating the English to be on the alert, quickened their deliberations. Lord George, therefore, on his own responsibility, according to some accounts—but according to himself and others, not without communication with the Prince—ordered the column to retrace their steps. Lord George himself says—"Mr. O'Sullivan also came up to the front, and said his Royal Highness would be very glad to have the attack made: but as Lord George Murray was in the van, he could best judge whether it could be done in time or not. Perhaps Mr. O'Sullivan may choose to forget this, but others are still alive who heard him."

The Prince's indignation was great on ascertaining

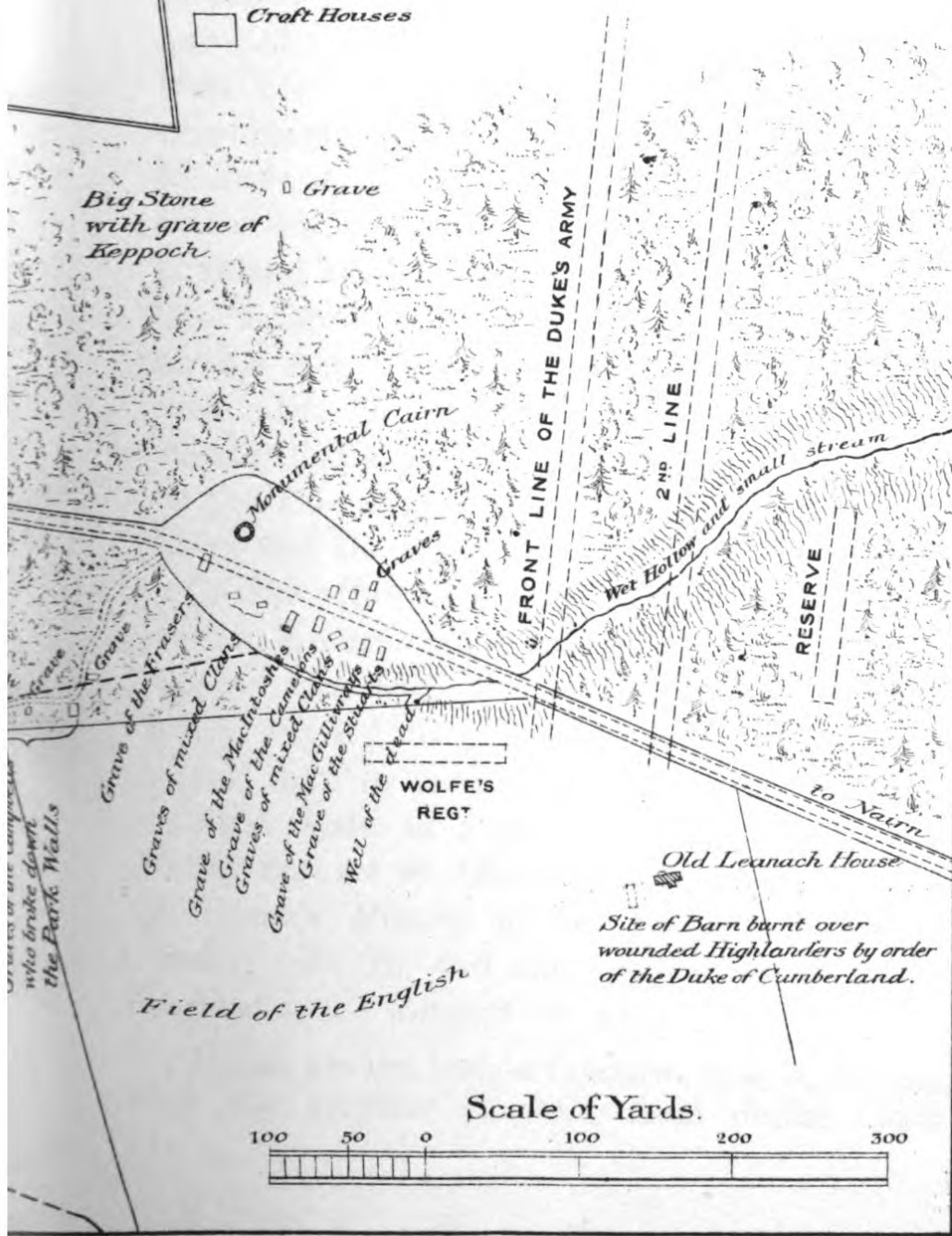


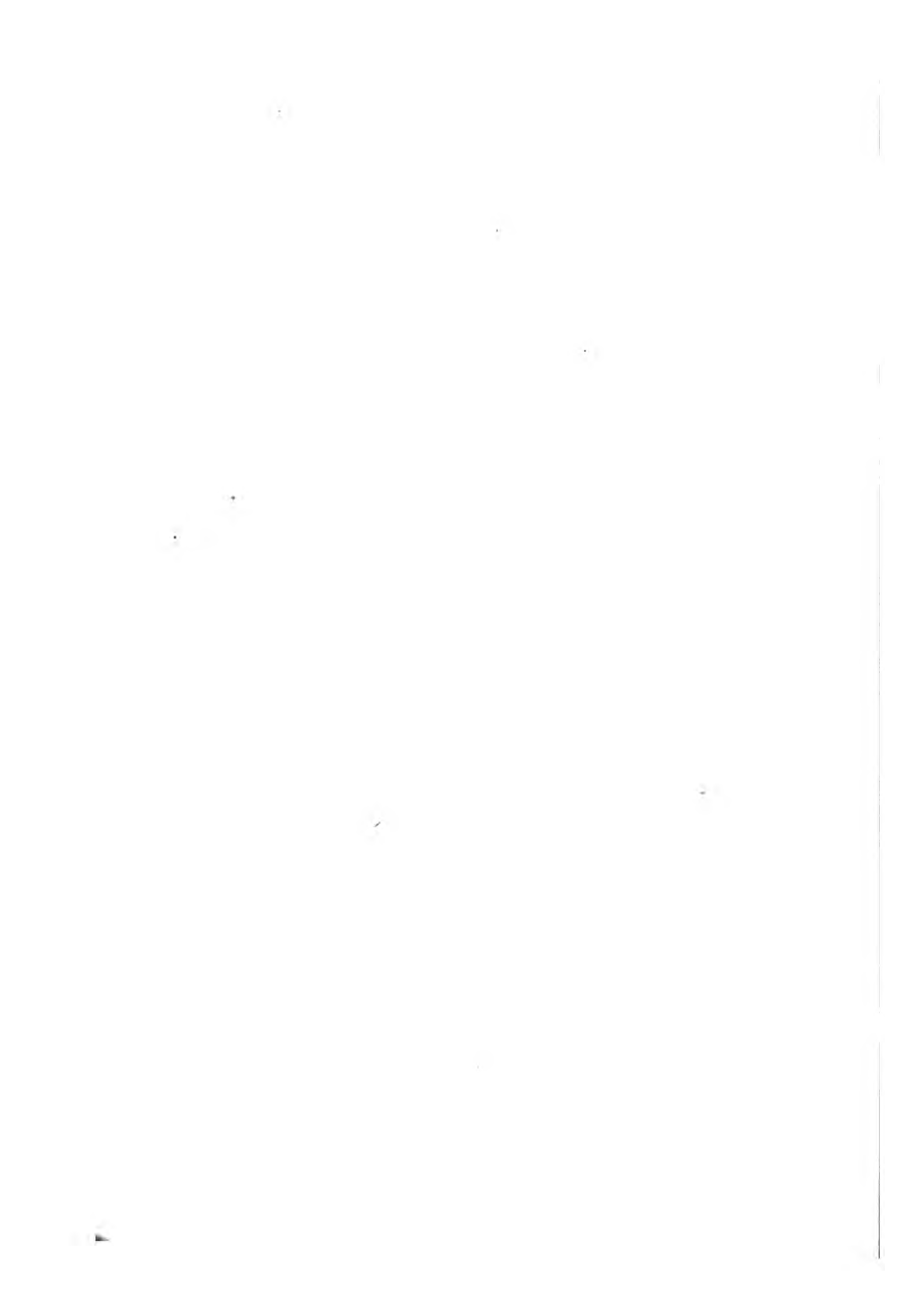
PREPARED BY JAMES FRASER, C.E., INVERNESS.

BATTLE OF CULLODEN

ENLARGED PLAN OF THE BATTLE FIELD
 IN ITS PRESENT STATE
 SHOWING THE GRAVES AND THE MOST PROBABLE
 POSITION OF EACH ARMY WHEN THE
 ATTACK BEGAN.

 *Craft Houses*





this retrograde movement, and he is said to have exclaimed that Lord George Murray had betrayed him. But there is much to say for the view that it was in the exercise of a wise discretion that the attempted surprise was abandoned, and the Prince afterwards acknowledged as much. Had it been persisted in, the enemy would not have been taken quite at unawares, as the Duke of Cumberland had been advised of his adversary's approach by scouts who mingled in the ranks ; though all that he seems to have apprehended, as the purpose of a night-attack had been confined to a very few, was, that the Highland army were about to take up a position near him in order to offer battle on the following day ; for his men were ordered to seek repose, but with their arms at hand. Besides, this vigilant commander had a party of dragoons patrolling all night on the side next the Insurgents, between the river Nairn and the sea.

On the other hand, the fortunes of the Insurgents were in a most critical condition. They were without money and without provisions. Mr. Hepburn of Keith advised to proceed ; that it was easier to attack than to retreat, as they would be compelled to fight when in a worse condition. The late Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton, Bart., in his able review of Home's *History of the Rebellion* (*Anti-Jacobin Review*, vols. xii. and xiii.), condemns the resolution adopted as the worst of two evils :—

“It has always been a favourite maxim (he argues) with the greatest generals, from Julius Cæsar to

Marshal Suwarrow, rather to attack an enemy than to wait to be attacked, for the double purpose of giving confidence to their own troops, and striking with terror those of an opponent. Had the Highlanders been led on with promptness and rapidity, even after daybreak, they would, in the first place, have possessed this unusual advantage, and it would have been increased by their own characteristic impetuosity."

He then points out that the character of the ground on the south of the encampment, of which he presumes Lord George could not be ignorant, was capable of screening the attacking party on that side from observation and from the range of artillery; while he considers that the crossing and recrossing of the river would have deceived the vigilance of the enemy's spies and patrols. The situation was perhaps one of those desperate ones where the flower Safety is only to be plucked from the nettle Danger. It is easy, however, to allege an error in judgment after the event; and as nothing could have been more fatal than the predicament in which they were placed on Culloden Moor, doubtless the attack on the camp at Nairn might have been attended with a better issue.

The luckless Highlanders, returning by the Church of Croy, arrived about six in the morning, fatigued, famished, and disheartened, at that part of the Parks of Culloden indicated, as already described, by a hollow south of the plantation outside of the birch wood west of the farm-house of Drumbuie, and about three-fourths of a mile above Culloden House. In the map, which is reduced from one published in

1845 by the late Mr. John Gowie, land-surveyor, Inverness, the lines of march and of retreat are both laid down to the north of Dalcross Castle. Mr. Gowie was very painstaking, and pretty fresh information was to be then had : so that in all probability he has succeeded in indicating the routes with accuracy.*

Many of the men lay down to snatch a few hours of much-needed sleep in the open air. The whole army had bivouacked the previous night in like fashion, without any tents or covering to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, which was very severe and cold. Hundreds, too, wandered away in search of wherewithal to stay the cravings of hunger. The Prince himself could command no better refreshment than some bread and whisky.

LORD GEORGE MURRAY.

Sir Henry Steuart, whose authority is the more trustworthy that he had been long employed in collecting materials for a history of the different attempts subsequent to 1688 for the restoration of the House of Stuart, in the before-mentioned Review thus portrays the character of Lord George Murray,

* The line of pursuit by the Royal army has, however, been brought nearer to Dalcross Castle. There is a common tradition that the Royal army rested in an arable field below and about a quarter of a mile from the Castle, in which it was apprehended there would consequently be no crop that year, whereas there was an unusually abundant one. Some other slight corrections have also been found necessary.

on whose memory rests the praise or blame of the retreat :—

“In the Highland army he was the person by far the best fitted for the foremost station, and accordingly he acted as Lieutenant-General of the forces under the orders of the Prince, who only nominally exercised the supreme command. Lord George, as a man, had talents that were far above mediocrity ; and whatever may have been whispered by the voice of slander, he was sincerely attached to the Stuarts’ cause. As a soldier he was brave, active, and vigilant, fertile in his resources, and ardent in his enterprises ; yet what he conceived with boldness and planned with address he was not always able to carry steadily into effect ; and he was without that firm perseverance which presses forward to its object in spite of the caprices of accident and the unexpectedness of opposition. It is worthy of remark that, as Lord George had the command of the Rebel army, this want of perseverance, which he so eminently discovered, gave a visible complexion to the chief events of the war. In the counter-march from Derby” [of which the reviewer elsewhere says, “That Lord George Murray, who began to waver in his resolution, was the author of this retreat, there is no sort of doubt”], “it was fatally conspicuous. The retreat from Stirling furnished another example ; and the failure of the night-attack at Nairn, which closed the catalogue, certainly paved the way for extinguishing the Rebellion.”

Sir Henry, however, unreservedly exonerates this gallant soldier from the imputations made on his integrity and good faith, thus—“In regard to the question concerning Lord George Murray, it appears to us, both from internal and external evidence,

that there is not the slightest ground for suspecting the sincerity of that spirited and able partisan. Secretary Murray, we know, purchased his life with the price of his honour, and was in consequence despised and reprobated by all parties. But Lord George was incapable of an unworthy sentiment, and his whole conduct during the war, and long after its termination, affords the amplest evidence of an unblemished character. He who examines his able letter to Mr. Hamilton, where his sentiments and principles are clearly stated, and compares it with the seeming infatuation of the Rebels before the battle of Culloden, and the influence which Sir Thomas Sheridan and the Irish had acquired over the Prince's mind, will at once perceive not only that the evil originated with those weak advisers, but that no exertion of Lord George's was left untried to preserve the army from the catastrophe that ensued. That he imprudently, as well as impatiently, abandoned the night attack, it is impossible to deny; but that as well as his other errors candour will attribute to the defects of his judgment, not to the corruption of his heart. Even late as it was, *after* the countermarch from Kilravock, had his original advice of occupying the *strong* ground been accepted, there is no ascertaining to what period it might have protracted the war."

It must be observed that Lord George on all the occasions in question carried with him the concurrence of the Highland chiefs. No wonder that their resolution misgave them when they found themselves in the heart of England with a handful of men, and when French and English alike gave no sign. Lord George persevered to the utmost limit admitting of an alternative. He out-mancœuvred the Duke in

the last onward as well as in the retrograde movement ; and at Clifton he, with Cluny's and the Glengarry men, John Roy Stewart's regiment, and the Stuarts of Appin, gave the dragoons a lesson which effectually prevented all further annoyance in pursuit. But the whole was a desperate neck-or-nothing game, in which, having once embarked, it became at every juncture about as hazardous to recede as to go forward. Having once turned back in their onward progress to the Capital, all hope of ultimate success at least was at an end, and no reasonable expectation could have been entertained, beyond that of compelling something like fair terms, by protracting hostilities, for which the Highlands afforded every facility.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BATTLE.

NOTICE of the approach of the Duke's army was brought to the Prince at Culloden House shortly before noon on Wednesday the 16th April, and he hurried to the Moor to put the battle in array. The call to arms had ever a charm for the Clans, and all within reach, some from as far as Inverness, hurried eagerly to the field, where they were cheered by the arrival of MacDonald of Keppoch with his men, and of a division of the Frasers numbering about 300. About an equal number under the Master of Lovat were on their way, but barely reached Inverness when they met the fugitives seeking safety in flight. Not above 5000 men mustered on this eventful day.

APPROACH OF THE DUKE'S ARMY.

The English army had commenced to march as soon as the dawning day had enabled them to break their fast. Their course was directed along the south side of Kildrummie Moss, and thence by the range of hillocks or ice-formed moraines between that and the north side of the Loch of the Clans and of Loch Flemington, and to the north of Dalcross Castle. They were ordered in three parallel divisions, each of five battalions of foot, with a fourth column of cavalry on the left, the artillery and baggage following on the right. They could thus at once be deployed into line.

The best means of matching the redoubted broadsword of the Highlanders,—whose mode of attack was, after a single discharge of their firearms, to throw these weapons aside and make a furious, and generally resistless, onset sword in hand—had occupied the anxious attention of military men for some time back, and the Duke gets the credit of a truly dexterous expedient. The soldiers of his army were instructed and enjoined, instead of each confining himself to his immediate opponent, to thrust with the bayonet at the adversary of his right-hand man. The point in this way, instead of being caught on the round target with which the clansmen were equipped on the left arm, holding at the same time a dirk in the left hand, would find an unprotected way to the sword-arm and right breast of the foemen, all unprepared to parry so unwonted a danger. Whether this specious manœuvre was really practised to any extent in the deadly conflict does not appear. It may be fairly doubted whether men in a death-struggle could preserve sufficient presence of mind and mutual reliance to intrust every man his own well-being to the fidelity and promptness of his left-hand man. Besides, the swordsmen and firelock-men would not be pitted man to man, the former requiring more elbow-room. Still the lesson may, and is said in some instances to have done its effectual work. A more practical and efficacious instruction, carefully inculcated on the soldiers, was to reserve their fire till the attacking Highlanders should be close at hand.

The following extract from the Duke of Cumber

land's Orderly Book shows how closely he had studied the habits of those whom it was his lot to conquer, and marks also his contempt for the "Lowlanders and arrant scum," who, he asserts, sometimes made up the lines behind the Highlanders.

EDINBURGH, 12th *January*, 1745-6.

"*Sunday parole, Derby*.—Field-officer for the day ; to-morrow, Major Wilson. The manner of the Highlanders' way of fighting, which there is nothing so easy to resist, if officers and men are not prepossessed with the lyes and accounts which are told of them. They commonly form their front rank of what they call their best men, or true Highlanders, the number of which being always but few. When they form in battalions, they commonly form four deep, and these Highlanders form the front of the four, the rest being Lowlanders and arrant scum. When these battalions come within a large musket shott or threescore yards, this front rank gives their fire, and immediately throw down their firelocks and come down in a cluster with their swords and targets, making a noise and endeavouring to pierce the body or battalion before them,—becoming twelve or fourteen deep by the time they come up to the people they attack. The sure way to demolish them is, at three deep, to fire by ranks diagonally to the centre, where they come, the rear rank first, and even that rank not to fire till they are within ten or twelve paces ; but if the fire is given at a distance, you probably will be broke, for you never get time to load a second cartridge, and, if you give way, you may give your foot for dead, for they being without a firelock, or any load, no man with his arms, accoutrements, etc., can escape them, and they give no quarter ; but if you will but observe the above directions, they are the most despicable

enemy that are." (*Memoirs of the Jacobites*, by Mrs. Thomson, in *Life of Cameron of Lochiel*) :—

ORDER OF BATTLE.

When within about two miles of the Highland army, the Duke formed his troops in order of battle. But the others remaining in position, the column-formation and march were resumed, and by and by the advancing army again formed into line. The arrangement was highly approved by military authorities; there being three lines, the foremost composed of six regiments at short intervals, the second line of five regiments covering the open spaces and over-lapping the contiguous regiments in front, while four regiments in reserve formed a third line, which, in like manner, at the outset reached across the interstices of the second line. Each line was three deep. The several lines were respectively under the command of the Earl of Albemarle, General Huske, and Brigadier Mordaunt. Two regiments of dragoons, Lord Mark Kerr's, under Lord Ancrum's command, and Cobham's, headed by Generals Hawley and Bland, and accompanied by a portion of the Argyleshire Highlanders, and of such of Lord Loudoun's Independent companies as had joined (the rest of whom had charge of the baggage) were moved to the left, with an eye to a movement on the enemy's flank, and a body of horse was placed with the reserve. Eventually, however, the right wing becoming uncovered by reason of the recession of some marshy ground which had served to protect it, three of the reserve regiments

were moved, one into the front and two into the second line, and the rest of the cavalry, Kingston's light horse and a troop of Cobham's, to the right flank. The portion of marshy ground in question is apparently what lies along a slight hollow, which from the west joins a more perceptible marshy hollow, in the course of the runlet percolating from the Well of the Dead, which, threading its way in a northerly direction, obliquely intersected the Duke's line of march. Two field-pieces, short 6-pounders, some of which had been got through this last-mentioned wet ground with difficulty, as the horses stuck fast and had to be unharnessed, and the guns dragged through by the soldiers, were placed in each of the front open spaces; while between the extreme regiments of the second line, as originally composed, there were batteries of three guns in each.

The Prince's army was marshalled in two lines, each also three deep, with a small reserve. There is considerable diversity in the order of arrangement of the component regiments as given by different writers, and on different plans of the battle—rather, however, as to the second line and reserve. The chief discrepancy as to the front line is, that some place John Roy Stuart's regiment in it, some in the second line; but the majority and most authoritative assign it a place in front, where, as a Highland regiment, it certainly ought to have been. In the front line were the Clans in the following order, reckoning from right to left :—The Athol Highlanders, Camerons, Stuarts of Appin, Frasers and Chisholms, MacIntoshes, MacLach-

lans and MacLeans, Farquharsons, John Roy Stuart's regiment, Clanranald, Keppoch and Glengarry, MacDonalds and MacDonells. The second line, less numerous and compact, was most probably composed, we are inclined after careful consideration to conclude, in the same order, of two small squadrons of horse,—viz., Lord Elcho's Horse Guards and a moiety of Fitz-James's horse (possibly, however, in or a little behind the front line, where Home places the horse), Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment in column, Lord Ogilvie's, the Duke of Perth's, Lord John Drummond's French Royal Scots, the Irish Picquets or Brigade, and Glenbucket's regiment in column, with Lord Balmerino's Horse Guards on the flank. These were but a few incomplete troops of horse altogether ; and Lord Strathallan's and Lord Pitsligo's horse, sometimes called the Perth Dragoons, with Lord Kilmarnock's small body of dismounted horse grenadiers, called foot guards, formed the reserve under Lord Kilmarnock ; and with the Prince were the remainder of Fitz-James's horse. Some authorities substitute Lord Ogilvie's and the Duke of Perth's regiment for the reserve, and place the Perth Dragoons on the left of the second line. But the difficulty of mustering wherewithal to form a second line, seems conclusive against placing so considerable a body in reserve ; and Home expressly states that the cavalry had so dwindled down that none of the horse, except Fitz-James's and the Horse Guards, formed part of either line. Lord George Murray commanded the right and the Duke of Perth the left wing, with Lord

John Drummond in the centre of the front line ; and the second line was under the command of General Stapleton. The field-pieces were placed four on either flank, and four in the centre.

The right wing of the Prince's army rested on the North Park dyke, to be distinguished from the Old Leanach dyke in continuation of it, and extending to the Graves' Clearing, and, there is reason to believe, continued along its south margin as far as the Well of the Dead. The Old Leanach dykes, which, from the east corner of the Park dyke, round by the east side of Old Leanach House, embraced an irregular area, shut in on the north, excepting partially towards the house, formed a boundary between the parishes of Croy and Daviot, the latter surrounding, or nearly so, this portion of the former ; and the same zig-zag line, though now obliterated, is still the parish boundary. The old Park dyke also formed, though its site no longer forms, the boundary here between the counties of Inverness and Nairn. Browne, in his "History of the Highland Clans," is the only writer who seems pretty distinctly to have realised the existence and bearing of dykes other than what are called the park or enclosure dykes. He quotes (1850, vol. iii. p. 260) a letter of Lord George Murray's, addressed the day after the battle from Ruthven to the Prince—one of the Stuart Papers—in which he reflects on O'Sullivan, who arranged the order of battle, for a fatal error in allowing the enemy the walls on their left, which made it impossible, he says, to break them or prevent their flank-fire on the

advancing Highlanders. Browne also adds, what we elsewhere notice as mentioned in the *Lockhart Papers*, that, while the Duke was forming his line of battle, Lord George Murray was very desirous to advance and throw down these dykes; but the attempt appeared too hazardous, and was not made. This must apply to the Old Leanach dykes, which dykes, in short, hampered, as much as the North Park dyke protected, the Highland right wing.

The position of both armies was operative rather for defence than offence. Hence the indisposition on either side to take the initiative in coming to close quarters. The right of the Highland front line seems to have stood opposite the east end of the North Park dyke, as represented in Home's plan of the battle, but must have been with an interval between, so as to stand clear of the interposing North Leanach dyke in front, and much about the line of the East Park dyke, which pointed directly to where the stables of Culloden House now stand. The left of the English front line would appear not to have advanced across the marshy hollow to the north of the Well of the Dead. Mr. Chambers says that the English army halted at a distance of 500 paces from the Highlanders, and that; after manœuvring for half-an-hour with the view of outflanking each other, the two armies at last occupied nearly their original ground. The above relative positions are consistent with this statement; and, considering the obliquity of the marshy hollow to the English line of battle, with Home's definition of the interval when, part of the ground having be-

come soft and boggy, some of the artillery horses sunk—as 500 or 600 paces—all, of course, approximate calculations. The marshy hollow proceeding from the Well, however, runs away so much to the north, or east of north, that the mention made in the Duke's official report of the uncovering of his right wing by the discontinuance of a morass, must either have happened at a considerably greater distance from the Rebel army than 500 yards, as stated by him, or must have had reference to a different portion of the Moor, and seemingly, as has been said, to the smaller branch marshy hollow which joins the first from the west. Chevalier Johnstone says that the Highlanders descended with great rapidity into the marshy hollow, and charged sword in hand. On the other hand, the distance is certainly very considerable—the minimum upwards of 400 yards—a long stretch for a rapid run, if sustained throughout, and sufficient to put even Highlanders out of breath: a consideration which points to the left of the English front line having been not far from the bottom of the marshy hollow, which is the more likely, in that the ground rises behind on the east more perceptibly than on the west side; so that, if farther back, they would have had an appreciable vantage ground, and the charge would have been in a measure uphill, circumstances calling for a notice which is not met with.

Tradition gives a position a little west of Old Leanach House to one of the English batteries, and associates with it the name of Colonel Belford, who had charge of the artillery; and this corresponds

with the battery of three guns which, originally between the two extreme regiments, came, owing to Wolfe's regiment being advanced, to be quite on the left of the second line, which was much closer to, —while it at first extended somewhat beyond,—the front line than that of the Prince's army. Home says that, when the battle began, the east dyke of the park or enclosure was within 150 paces of the dragoons; but, as they had no enemy confronting them, they might safely have been farther advanced than the infantry, and possibly so early, with a view of securing a hold on the Old Leanach north dyke, and in prosecution of the purposed flank-movement. Then a little way from the north end, the east dyke of the park projected in the direction of the dragoons. Wolfe's regiment, when on the extreme left of the second line, is said to have been up to the ankles in water. This would accord with a more advanced position for the first line, as the marshy ground near the well would satisfactorily explain it. Still the state of other parts of the ground is not to be judged by its condition now; so that the east side of the marshy ground there may be reasonably regarded as the position of the left of the English front line.

The long interval between the armies serves to account for the deadly losses sustained by the Highlanders in the charge, before closing man to man. Some writers allege very exaggerated spaces between the Highland lines. The second was, it may be assumed, at any rate not farther back than the line of the West Park dyke, more probably only about half

way between that and the East Park dyke. From the west end of Old Leanach House is just about half-a-mile ; and the combatants, excepting perhaps the reserves, were marshalled, it is believed, within these extreme limits. How far south the English front line extended is doubtful. There seems no reason for supposing it to have extended much if at all beyond the position of the present road at the crossing of the marshy hollow.

OPPOSING FORCES.

Mr. Chambers thus contrasts the appearance of the opposing forces, as represented in a print executed at the time :—

“ The long compact lines of the British regiments, each three men deep, extend along the plain, with narrow intervals between ; the two flags of each regiment rising from the centre, the officers standing at the extremities with their spontoons in their hands, and the drummers a little in advance beating their instruments. The men have tri-cocked hats, long coats resembling the modern surtout, sash belts from which a sword depends, and long white gaiters buttoned up the sides. The dragoons exhibit still more superfluity of attire ; their long loose skirts flying behind them as they ride, while their trunk square-toed boots, their massive stirrup-leathers, their huge holster-pistols and carabines, give altogether an idea of dignity and strength much in contrast with the light fantastic hussar uniform of modern times.” Of the Highlanders, dressed in the philibeg or kilt—

“ All plaided and plumed in their tartan array,”—

he says :—

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“ They have muskets over their left shoulders, basket-hilted broadswords by their left sides, pistols stuck into their girdles, and a small pouch hanging down from their right loin, perhaps for holding their ammunition. By the right side of every piece of ordnance there is a cylindrical piece of wicker-work for the protection of the artillerymen, all of whom appear to wear kilts like the rest.”

In the *Mercury* newspaper, published in Edinburgh on Tuesday, 27th May, 1746, a return is given, as handed about, of the officers and men in each of the 15 battalions of infantry on the day of battle, amounting to 5521. There were, besides, Lord Mark Kerr's and Lord Cobham's two regiments of dragoons, the Duke of Kingston's regiment of light horse, the Argyleshire Highlanders, and a detachment of Lord Loudoun's men, which had been shipped across the Firth—which would make the Duke's army, at the lowest computation, up to fully 7000 men, and the number has been stated as high as 9000 ; while of the Prince's there is no reason to doubt that not above 5000 could be got together. It is elsewhere stated that the latest returns previous to the battle, of the rank and file of the Royal army, showed the numerical strength to be 7179, which, with the proper allowance for commissioned and non-commissioned officers, would give an aggregate of about 8000, irrespective of the Militia and the portion of Lord Loudoun's Independent companies. The latter figure may therefore be pretty fairly assumed as the probable actual force on the field.

This great disproportion, and the distressing con-

dition of the Mountaineers, worn out with fatigue and weakened with hunger, were again urged by Lord George Murray and the Highland chiefs as pressing reasons for retiring to the south side of the Nairn, for which there was still ample time, thereby enabling the men to recruit their energies, and affording opportunity for those on the march and the stragglers to join them. But the Prince was obdurate. The incidents of the previous night rankled in his breast. Distracted and hurried must have been the brief counsel taken at that eventful moment, and there were jealousies and dissensions among them. The Highland chiefs fought with a halter round their necks ; while the French and Irish confidants of the Prince, in the service of France, felt assured, in case of a reverse, of the privileges of ordinary warfare ; and they were believed to be tired of the contest, and desirous to precipitate a crisis. Besides, we learn from the *Lockhart Papers* (vol. i. p. 444) that from the very outset

“ a combination had been entered into against Lord George Murray (who, on his joining the Prince at Perth, was declared Lieutenant-General) by John Murray the secretary, Mr O’Sullivan, and others, of which the Prince was acquainted ; but, being an active, sturring man, and well acquainted with the situation of the country and people, he was caressed by the Prince, and had great weight in all the operations, notwithstanding the opposition he met with.”

There were certainly good reasons for covering Inverness, had the means at command been adequate.

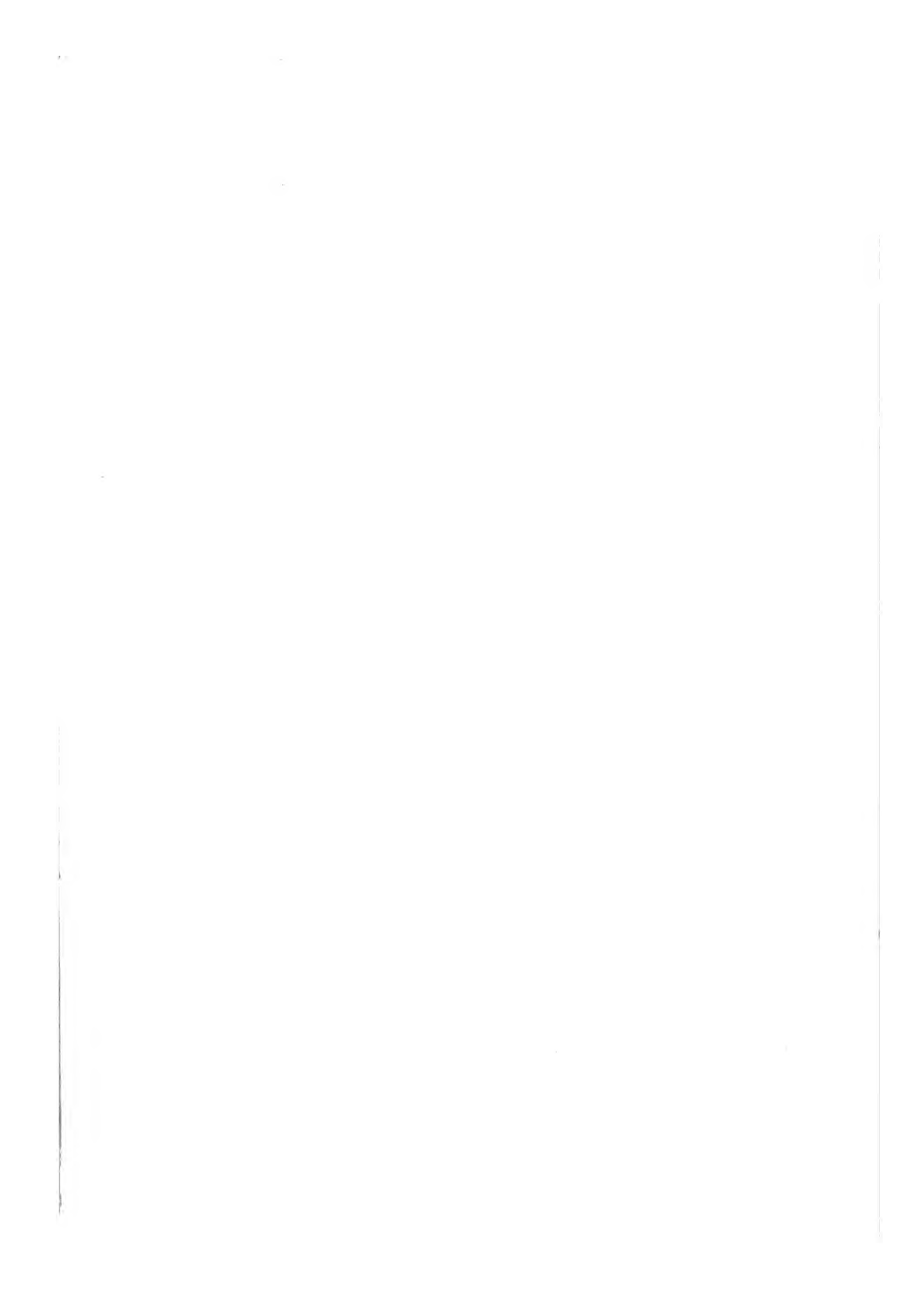
The Prince had an overweening estimate of the irresistible prowess of the Highlanders, whom he had on all previous occasions seen victorious; but nothing short of supernatural strength could have enabled them, under the combined influences of want of sleep and food, and the fatigue of the untoward night-march, to cope with the fresh, well-appointed regulars who so far outnumbered them, and who, in complete battle array, approached in a cool, orderly, determined manner, presaging victory. On the other hand, the Rev. George Innes, Forres, in his Narrative says: "The men were nodding with sleep in the ranks" [of the Highland army]. Not a few were actually surprised after the battle, overcome with sleep, in the brushwood near Culloden House, and had their throats cut. It was nothing short of downright madness to venture such an issue.

THE CANNONADE AND MANŒUVRING.

The Prince and the Duke rode along the lines, by words and gesture animating their respective troops. At the second halt, before moving forward his army in line, the Duke had addressed them in a speech of grave earnestness, befitting the momentous issues to his father's crown dependent on the conduct of the troops, as to which he could not fail to have misgivings, with Preston and Falkirk in fresh remembrance. The artillery on both sides commenced to fire a little after one o'clock; but that of the Highlanders was extremely ill-served and ill-pointed, and did little or no execution. Their ordnance was of



Prince Charlie's Tree at Balvraid.



very small calibre, none exceeding 4 lbs. Many of the gunners had wandered with others in search of provisions, and had not returned, and their places had to be supplied by men unaccustomed to such practice, while the Duke's cannon made dreadful havoc.

Prince Charles had taken up a position behind, and a little to the right of, the right wing, on the farm of Culchuinag. A stone on which he stood is still pointed out. The position was pretty nearly in a direct line with the present north field fence, and about 150 yards from the west corner. While there he was bespattered with earth ploughed up by cannon-shot, and one of his servants, holding a led horse, was killed. He then, it is believed, retired farther back, and took his stand, it has been said, at the farm-house of Balvraid, beside the ash tree already mentioned, from which the combatants would have been completely under the eye. That the Prince was at Balvraid, and standing beside the ash tree, seems from the tradition to be beyond doubt; but it is uncertain whether this may not have been merely during a pause in the retreat. Balvraid is rather too distant to be a very likely position, being three-fourths of a mile from his original one. In some accounts he is represented to have stood far behind his troops; but his exact whereabouts after removing from Culchuinag is uncertain. The Duke stood between the Royal Scots in the front and Howard's regiment in the second line of the right wing.

The object of both commanders seems to have

been to try to induce the other to commence the attack, as also to gain the flank of their opponents. In this game the numerical superiority and better gunnery of the English gave the Duke the advantage in both particulars. Wolfe's regiment, which had been on the left of the second line, somewhat outflanking the first line, and up to the ankles in marshy ground, was brought forward and placed on the left by the Duke *en potence* that is, in advance and at right angles to the front line, so as to enfilade the enemy should they attack. As the hurricane of battle seems to have swept past without any injury to Wolfe's corps, it may be conjectured that their position was well back, and south of the marshy hollow, where it adjoins the Well: where, too, they would be on slightly higher ground than the nearest combatants. The regiments from the reserve were also moved into the lines as already mentioned. Though the Highland right wing reached somewhat beyond Barrel's, the regiment on the extreme left of the front rank of the opposing troops, the English horse on both flanks extended beyond the Highland army. Not only so, but the Argyleshire, and some of Lord Loudoun's Highlanders, to the number of 140, the rest having been left in charge of the baggage, breaking down the eastern and western walls of the park enclosure, made a passage for the dragoons, who thus got and took up a position quite past the Highland right wing. It is obvious that this was west and south of a hollow of some little depth, which bends round the Culchuinag farmstead on the east and north. James Macdonald,

son of old James Macdonald, who lived at one time at Culchuinag, a sort of cicerone of the place, told the writer that in ploughing between the hollow in question and the road to the river, he turned up seven skulls at one time—proofs of the conflict which eventually took place at this spot. The tenant of Balvraid and Culchuinag, Lachlan Forbes, a person well advanced in years, whose father came to settle in Balvraid the year after the battle, also stated that his father told him the west wall was broken down some distance below the Culchuinag houses, quite as far or farther down than the Park houses, which would just serve to bring the troopers to the west and south side of the hollow ; and it is to be supposed that they would have made a considerable detour in seeking the vantage-ground they thus gained. In the *Lockhart Papers* it is remarked, that the dragoons in their passage did not receive a shot from the battalion inside. This shows that they had kept well down the park. In the *Mercury*, 1st May, 1746, it is on the right flank of the *second* line the dragoons are said to have come, which nearly corresponds with the above detail.

In connection with Culchuinag, a singular incident occurred. The mother of the late old James Macdonald, the guide above mentioned, whose parents lived there, was baking on the day of battle, when a poor Highlander, who had lost his hand, rushed in and stanchd the bleeding stump by thrusting it on the hot stones of the fire-place on the hearth.

To hold the dragoons in check, General Stapleton

detached one of Lord Lewis Gordon's regiments, with the two squadrons of horse, on the right flank. The dragoons did not assail the right wing till the retreat had commenced.

THE CHARGE.

It was a great mistake on the Prince's part to leave the Highlanders, who had only partially become inured to such engines of destruction, so long exposed to the enemy's artillery, which seriously thinned their ranks. He ought at once to have allowed them the full benefit of their characteristic onset. The Highlanders were clamorous to be led to the charge. At length the Prince did send an aide-de-camp, a young man of the name of MacLachlan, with the requisite orders, but he was killed on the way by a cannon-ball. Colonel Ker of Gradyne mentions, in his account of the battle (*Lyon in Mourning, i.*, 355), that he was sent by Lord George Murray to know if he should begin the attack, which the Prince accordingly ordered. He adds, "As the right was farther advanced than the left, Colonel Ker went to the left and ordered the Duke of Perth, who commanded there, to begin the attack, and rode along the line till he came to the right, where Lord George Murray was." By this time the wind, which blew from the north in the face of the clans, was accompanied by drifting snow. Other accounts represent Lord George to have yielded to the general wish, and to have ordered the charge without waiting for instructions. He did lead the right wing to the attack, but before he had well done

so, the MacIntosh regiment broke out from the right centre, and rushed forward to close with the regiment opposite to them :—the Frasers, Stuarts, Camerons, and Athol Highlanders on the right, with the MacLachlans and MacLeans on the MacIntoshes' left, joined in the attack.

The interval between the opposing armies was greater at the north than at the south end, causing an obliquity in the line of attack, which pointed from the Highland left to the English left. But the MacIntoshes swerving to the right, partly to avoid the close fire of the 21st Scots Fusiliers (who themselves had only some half-a-dozen wounded), and of the field-pieces—partly, it is conjectured, from the formation of the ground, and the direction of an old roadway, and the clans becoming thus crowded together—the brunt of the conflict fell upon Munro's and Barrel's regiments, which occupied the English extreme left, the contending foemen feeling rather than seeing one another, owing to the density of the smoke. The dense massing together of the Clans which took place by the time they reached their foemen, is something remarkable, and must have greatly conduced to the carnage made among them before their favourite claymore came into play.

The onset of the Mountaineers is thus graphically described by Mr. Chambers :—

“It was the custom of the Highlanders before an onset to *scrug their bonnets*—that is, to pull their little blue caps down over their brows—so as to ensure them against falling off in the ensuing *mélée*. Never,

perhaps, was the motion performed with so much emphasis as on the present occasion, when every man's forehead burned with the desire to revenge some dear friend who had fallen a victim to the murderous artillery. A Lowland gentleman who was in the line, and who survived till a late period, used always, in relating the events of Culloden, to comment with a feeling something like awe upon the more than natural expression of rage which glowed on every face and gleamed in every eye as he surveyed the extended line at this moment.

“The action and event of the onset were throughout quite as dreadful as the mental emotion which urged it. Notwithstanding that the three files of the front line of English poured forth their incessant fire of musketry—notwithstanding that the cannon, now loaded with grape-shot, swept the field as with a hailstorm—notwithstanding the flank-fire of Wolfe's regiment—onward, onward, went the headlong Highlanders, flinging themselves into, rather than rushing upon, the lines of the enemy, which indeed they did not see for smoke, till involved amid their weapons. All that courage, all that despair, could do was done. It was a moment of dreadful and agonising suspense; but only a moment—for the whirlwind does not reap the forest with greater rapidity than the Highlanders cleared the line. Nevertheless, almost every man in their front rank, chief and gentleman, fell before the deadly weapons which they had braved; and although the enemy gave way, it was not till every bayonet was bent and bloody with the strife.

“When the first line had been thus swept aside, the assailants continued their impetuous advance till they came near the second, when, being almost annihilated by a profuse and well-directed fire, the shattered remains of what had been, but an hour before, a numerous and confident force, began to give way. Still a

few rushed on, resolved rather to die than forfeit their well-acquired and dearly-estimated honour. They rushed on, but not a man ever came in contact with the enemy. The last survivor perished as he reached the points of the bayonets.

“The persevering and desperate valour displayed by the Highlanders on this occasion is proved by the circumstance, that at one part of the plain, where a very vigorous attack had been made, their bodies were afterwards found *in layers three and four deep*, so many, it would appear, having in succession, mounted over a prostrate friend to share in the same certain fate. The slaughter was particularly great among the brave MacIntoshes, insomuch that the heroic lady who sent them to the field afterwards told the party by whom she was taken prisoner, that only three of her officers had escaped.”

When the Highlanders had broken through the first line, though sorely diminished in numbers, they were all close together; and it was Sempill's and Bligh's regiments alone, in the second line, whom they vainly essayed to assail, and whose well-directed fire completed the work of destruction.

Home says that the Athol Brigade, in advancing lost thirty-two officers (according to Browne, twenty-three), and was so shattered that it stopped short, and never closed with the King's troops. This might well have been, for they had not only, in addition to the fire in front, to sustain the flank-fire of Wolfe's regiment, and that of a battery of three guns in the second line; but the troops who had broken into the enclosure having, according to Home (though he is apparently mistaken in this), put to the sword the

body of 100 men who had been placed within, the Campbells (and, he should have added, part of the Loudoun Highlanders) were ordered to go close to the north wall and fire on this brigade. In doing so they received a fire which killed, he adds, two of their captains and an ensign.

THE CAMPBELLS' GRAVES.

On either side of the junction of the present subdividing fence with the north fence, both so often already mentioned, there are several graves and trenches called "The Campbells' Graves." These are outside of the new fence. Close to the north fence, and west of the cross fence, there is a grave in which Mr. Arthur Forbes and his brother, Mr. Duncan Forbes, in 1834, saw a large skeleton, the skull of which had a musket-bullet in it, whereby it had been pierced ; and a small trench, and a little to the east of the intersecting fence, two other trenches, one of them larger than the others, all in the planting, and the last a little farther from the fence than the first. A pathway has been made from the Culchuinag road to these, near the dyke-side, and to the west end of the clearing where the graves are ; in proceeding to which there is another grave a few steps from the farthest east of the last-mentioned trenches.

From the preliminary description of the battle-field, it will appear that these trenches and graves were not within the park, nor in front of it ; but the trenches are within, that is, south (the two graves having been outside) of the old dyke which ran along

the north side of this part of Old Leanach, after it had crossed to the north of the line of the present north fence. We must suppose that these Campbells and others, only 140 in number, did not draw up directly on the flank of the Prince's Highlanders when in position—where, too, they would have had to encounter those within the park; but, after opening the way for the dragoons to the rear, had gone back and so placed themselves as to fire from behind the Old Leanach dyke on the latter when going forward. The position of these trenches and graves at first sight would rather point to their being part of the Highland right wing. But the existence of the Old Leanach dyke supports the correctness of the designation, at least in respect of the trenches. Our informant at Balvraid mentioned that his father told him there were breaches in the north wall. These were most likely made in order to the Campbells joining in the pursuit. There is no reason to conclude that, as sometimes stated, this wall had been broken for attack.

CONDUCT OF THE LEFT WING.

Chevalier Johnstone says—"Overpowered by a murderous fire in front and flank, our right could not maintain its ground, and was obliged to give way, while our centre had already broken the enemy's first line and attacked the second." Lord George Murray says that the men led by him passed two cannon in front of the enemy's first line, when, thinking, from his horse plunging and rearing, that he was

wounded, he quitted his stirrups and was thrown. He then adds—"I brought up two regiments from our second line after this, who gave their fire, but nothing could be done—all was lost." While this brilliant and murderous charge was being performed, the left wing and centre had remained comparatively passive. It is said that the MacDonalds had taken umbrage at not having had the position on the right assigned to them, which they considered their privilege since the battle of Bannockburn ; and it is added that the Duke of Perth tried to appease them by saying, that "if the MacDonalds behaved with their usual valour, they would make a right of the left, and he would henceforth call himself a MacDonald." Mr. Chambers says—"But the insult was not to be expiated by this appeal to clanship. Though induced to discharge their muskets, and even to advance some way, they never made an onset. They endured the fire of the English regiments without flinching, only expressing their rage by hewing up the heath with their swords ; but they at last fled, when they saw the other Clans give way."

This unfortunate contretemps on the part of the MacDonalds was caused by an unseasonable claim preferred by Lord George Murray, who alleged that Montrose had assigned the right to the Athol Highlanders. The Prince declined to decide on a matter on which he felt imperfectly informed. He, however, requested the MacDonald chiefs to concede the point on this occasion, which they agreed to do ; but their followers were not reconciled to the arrangement.

In the account of the battle drawn up by order of the Duke of Cumberland, it is stated "that upon the right, where his Royal Highness had placed himself, imagining the greater push would be made there, they came down three several times within 100 yards of our men, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords." This was by way of bravado, not an inchoate attack; no movement had been then ordered; but with the view of provoking the enemy to commence, as each was desirous the other should do. Much allowance must be made for men who, jaded with fatigue and want of sleep and nourishment, could scarce have been themselves. It is stated by the Rev. George Innes, in his Narrative, that "in advancing Lord George Murray had inclined a good deal to the right, probably to avoid being flanked by the dragoons; but this occasioning a gap towards the left, the MacDonalds were in danger of being surrounded, which made them stop till the Duke of Perth's and Glenbucket's [*query*, Lord Ogilvie's or Lord John Drummond's?] regiments were drawn forwards from the second line to make up the line." There was nothing to dread from the dragoons, who by this time had gone to Culchuinag. But if the bend of the line of the Old Leanach dyke had caused the right wing in its advance to incline at first to the left, it would have required to spread out again to the right in order to confront Barrel's regiment on the extreme English left, and we have seen that the MacIntoshes also made their way left shoulders forward. The Highlanders, too, were outflanked on the

left by Kingston's light horse. The crowding together of the clans, and the consequent concentration of the attack on two regiments, seems to imply that, while the MacIntoshes swerved to the right, the others must have inclined at first to the left, and the whole to have jostled one another.




Had the right been able to maintain their ground a very few minutes longer, doubtless the warlike instinct of the MacDonalds would have led them *con amore* into the *melee*. It was not, however, a moment for indecision, but one where to doubt was to be lost ; and when they saw those who had attacked sword in hand driven back, they also retired. The right centre front line, which had charged, ought to have been supported by the second line. But their annihilation, the recoil of the right wing, and the appearance of the enemy's horse in position in their rear, were quite sufficient to paralyse the outnumbered insurgents, and no wonder that they gave way. A party of cavalry pressed upon the MacDonalds when retiring to the second line, but was repulsed by spirited fire from the Irish picquets.

CONDUCT OF THE PRINCE.

The Prince was not wanting in will and resolution to do whatever might be done to retrieve the fortunes of the day. He was eager to put himself at the head of his remaining troops and to charge the enemy ; but his attendants saw that the rout was complete, and they compelled him to quit the field. A cornet in his service, when questioned upon this subject

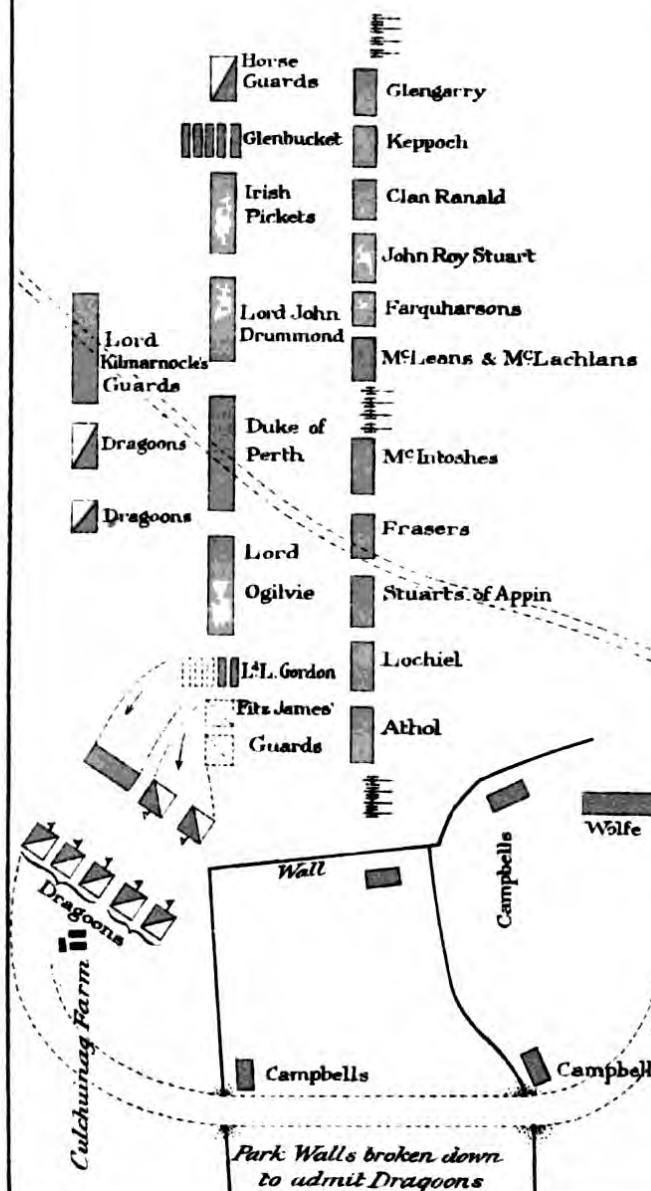
BATTLE OF CULLODEN

ENLARGED PLAN SHEWING THE ARMIES
AS THEY WERE DRAWN UP WHEN THE ATTACK BEGAN

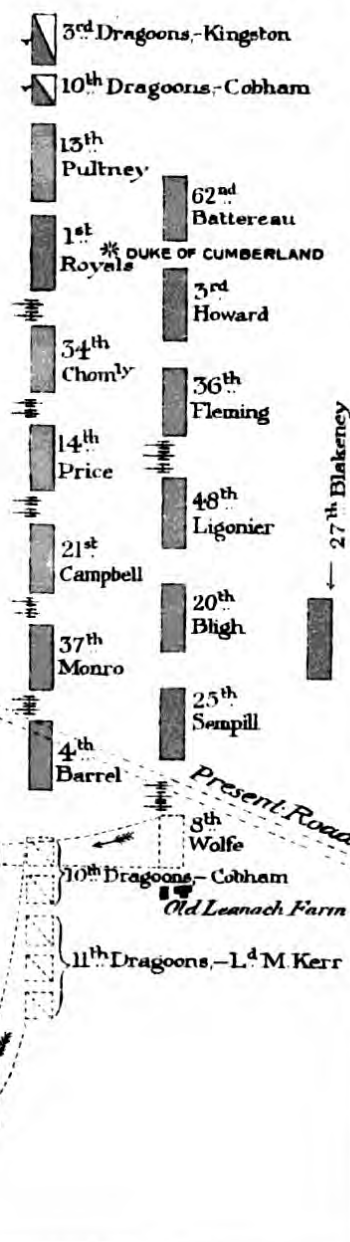
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THE HIGHLANDERS

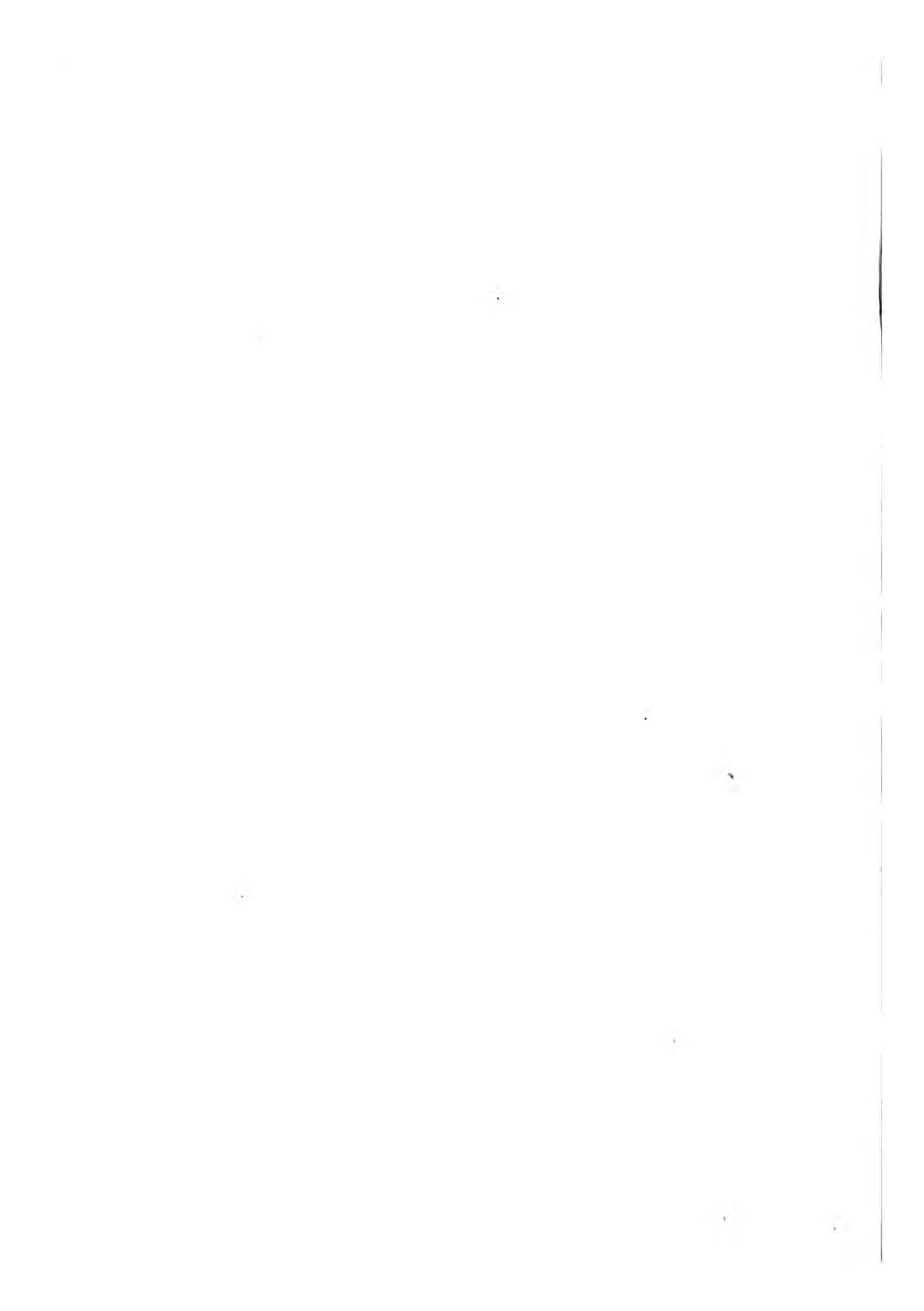
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CUMBERLAND'S ARMY



PREPARED BY JAMES FRASER, C.E., INVERNESS.



at the point of death, declared that he saw O'Sullivan, after using entreaties in vain, turn the head of the Prince's horse and drag him away. (Chambers's *History of the Rebellion*, and *Quarterly Review*, No. 71).

All testimony concurs in doing justice to the Prince's conduct, with exception of Chevalier Johnstone and Lord Elcho. The former taunts him with contenting himself, when the dragoons and the Campbells were breaking through the enclosure, with sending repeated messages to Lord George Murray to counteract this important movement by placing troops within the enclosure—which orders were not attended to—instead of putting himself at the head of his troops and charging in person; while Lord Elcho asserts that, after the right wing had given way, he had in vain entreated Charles still to retrieve the fortunes of the day with the left wing, and by rallying the others; and that on his not advancing to do so,—in compliance with the advice of all others about him—he, Lord Elcho, called him an Italian scoundrel, and declared he would never see his face more. As to the first, the Chevalier wrote under the influence of disappointment and ill humour; and it is absurd to suppose that, with the handful of horse the Prince had about him, any successful attempt could have been made to resist the English squadrons and Argyleshire and Loudoun Highlanders. He did what he could, and what the occasion called for, in sending such orders. For that matter there had been, as above mentioned, a small body of men placed within the enclosure.

If there be any truth in the messages, it would seem to demonstrate that the Prince had at the time been at some considerable distance. If near at hand, it would be idle to communicate with Lord George, as it was only from the second line the manœuvre could have been counteracted. Lord George could do nothing owing to the flanking dyke, and he had enough on his hands. The only practical expedient was that adopted by General Stapleton ; only, one would think, had Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment and the few available horse been moved up with celerity, they might have given a good account of the dragoons as they pressed through the gap in the west wall. But the supposed distance of this gap, and the dip of the ground, would have screened the operation.

As to the other charge, asserted want of resolution, as has been remarked (*Quarterly Review*, No. 71), "it is nothing new for a warm and impetuous soldier like Lord Elcho, rendered desperate by circumstances, to give counsel on a field of battle which it would be madness in any general to adopt." Lord Mahon says, "that Lord Elcho was a man of most violent temper, and no constant fidelity ;" and it is certain that he was one of the foremost of the Prince's train on the occasion of his first public audience at the Court of France after his return. Chevalier Johnstone places the altercation in a cabin on the south side of the Nairn, in the course of the retreat, and says that the contention had respect to the continued prosecution of the warfare ; and Lord Elcho, writing after an interval, may have made a mistake as to

time and place. In fact, Lord Elcho was one of those who rode from the field with the Prince. Then, "as for rallying the Highlanders, why, they *were* Highlanders, and for that very reason could not be rallied. In their advances they fired their guns and threw them away, coming to the shock with broadsword and target alone; if they succeeded, which they often did, no victory could be more complete; but they exhausted their strength in this effort, and it was not till they received, in the regiments drawn from amongst them, the usual discipline of the field, that Highlanders had any idea of rallying, till some hill, pass, or natural fastness gave them an advantage." (*Quarterly Review*, No. 71, and General Stewart of Garth's *History of the Highland Regiments*). The charge of want of courage is quite inconsistent with the Prince's antecedents, and with his behaviour during his subsequent wanderings.

The English accounts represent that "the cavalry, which had charged from the right and left, met in the centre." This was not, however, till the Prince's forces had begun to move off the ground. The Duke's foot regiments had been ordered to stand upon the ground where they had fought, and to dress their ranks. It was not till they had recovered from the rough handling that they had received that the Duke advanced with his infantry, when the Highlanders began to separate; some in small parties, but the mass in two bodies; the larger of which directed their course towards the hills, but obliquely past Balvraid, to a point some miles up the river; the others taking the open road to Inverness. Then the cavalry from both wings did meet, and commenced the pursuit.

“ Yet,” in the words of Lord Mahon, “ let it not be deemed that even then their courage failed. Not by their forefathers at Bannockburn ; not by themselves at Preston or Falkirk ; not in after years, when discipline had raised and refined the valour of their sons ; not on the shores of the Nile ; not on that other field of victory where their gallant chief, with a prophetic shroud (it is their own superstition) high upon his breast, addressed to them only these three words, ‘ *Highlanders, remember Egypt!* ’—not in those hours of triumph and of glory was displayed a more firm and resolute bravery than now in the defeat at Culloden. The right and centre had done all that human strength or human spirit could do ; they had yielded only to necessity and numbers ; and, like the captive monarch at Pavia, might boast that everything was lost but their honour.”

INDIVIDUAL HEROISM.

Several instances of individual heroism and self-devotion stand out prominently in the gloomy record of this disastrous day. The death of MacDonald of Keppoch, a genuine descendant of a race distinguished for the pertinacity with which they persisted in holding their lands in Lochaber by the tenure of the sword instead of the sheepskin, is very touching. When his clansmen offered to turn their backs, the chief, with an exclamation of anguish, stepped forward with a pistol in one hand and a drawn sword in the other. He got but a little way when a musket-shot brought him to the ground ; a clansman raised him up, and beseeched him not to throw his life away, and to let him assist him still to join his retreating regiment. Keppoch desired his faithful follower to take care of

himself ; and, again essaying to reach the enemy, he received another shot, and fell to rise no more.

“ The late Mr. MacDonald of Glenaladale told me,” says the Rev. Donald MacIntosh, usually styled Bishop MacIntosh, in a MS. dated in 1810, “ some years ago, that he saw John Mor MacGilvra, major of the MacIntoshes, *a gun-shot past the enemy’s cannon*, and that he was surrounded by the reinforcements sent against the MacIntoshes ; that he killed a dozen men with his broadsword, while some of the halberds were run into his body. When Cumberland heard of it, he said he would have given a great sum of money to have saved his life.” John Mor was a very large man, and popularly known as “ John of the Markets.”

Almost all the leaders and front-rank men of the regiments that charged, sealed their devotedness with their blood. MacGillivray of Dunmaglass, who commanded the MacIntoshes, was killed in the action, with the lieutenant-colonel, the major, and all the officers of the regiment excepting three. Dunmaglass was, after the battle, carried to the well hard by, already alluded to, beside which he breathed his last, and which has since been sometimes also called “ Dunmaglass’s Well.” A woman from a neighbouring house recognised the body of MacGillivray of Dalcrombie, and bound a handkerchief round the arm, that it might be identified. Their remains were interred in Petty Churchyard. In the Statistical Account of that parish is the following passage :—

“It is said that after the battle his (Dunmaglass’s) body, with fifty others, was thrown into a pit, and that, so far did the king’s troops carry their animosity, that for six weeks they guarded the field, and would not grant the consolation to his friends of placing the body in the family burying-ground. At the end of that period, it is said that, by pouring some ankers of whisky into the opened grave, it was found possible to remove the body to the Churchyard of Pettie.”

MacLachlan, colonel of the united regiment of MacLachlans and MacLeans, was killed by a cannon ball; and MacLean of Drummin, the lieutenant-colonel, who, being told that two of his sons had fallen, turning back with the exclamation, “It shall not be for nought!” was killed by a random shot. Lochiel was wounded with grape shot in both ankles, but his two brothers carried him off. Charles Fraser, younger of Inverallochy, lieutenant-colonel of the Frasers, was mortally wounded. The Master of Lovat was not present. The battle is said to have lasted only about forty minutes, the greater part of which was occupied with distant cannonading. Viscount Strathallan and the Laird of Aldie were the only persons of note attached to the Lowland regiments who were killed. The former is stated in the *Mercury* to have been so by Lieutenant-Colonel Howard.

What is said to be Keppoch’s Grave is on the east side of a boulder-stone on the Moor, 120 paces north of the plantation, and about 200 paces north of the road, and will be found in a straight line entering the plantation, 100 yards west of the Graves. There is another grave 100 paces to the east, beside a well,

and various other graves are scattered over the Moor. As the Keppoch MacDonalds were the last but one clan on the left, the extreme left of the Highlanders may have been not far from a straight drain cut on the Moor, a little north of Keppoch's Grave, and running to the south-west, which is joined by another on the west side of the croft farmhouse.

Owing to the angular disposition of the various lines of the fences, roads, and planting, one is prone, judging by Keppoch's Grave, to deem the line of battle very circumscribed. But on further examination this difficulty in great measure disappears. Supposing the line of the old East Park dyke prolonged to this drain, the distance from the north or north-east angle of the Park to the drain, about 280 yards from the junction with the other drain, would be 500 yards. The space now allowed for soldiers in line is 20 inches ; Highlanders wielding the claymore would require much more freedom. But even at 30 inches to each man, 500 yards would about suffice for a body of 2000 men ranged three deep. There would have been more out of 5000 in the front line. But a little prolongation beyond the drain, or curtailment of the individual spaces, adjusts the relations ; even taking into account a probable interval between the extreme right and the old Park dyke, in respect of the protrusion of the Old Leanach dyke. The greater compactness of the lines of the regulars, and the more sparse formation of the Prince's second column, serve to demonstrate the disparity of the opposing forces. There is, as mentioned, a conspicuous pro-

truding boulder to the west or north-west behind the Stable Hollow cottage, next to King's Stables, where a cannon is said to have been planted. The line of the old East Park dyke, prolonged, would pass within 120 yards of the stone, which, however, is about 1000 feet from the supposed point of intersection of the ditch. From Keppoch's Grave, if so disposed, one may strike right across to the hollow already described on the edge of the wood, where the Highland army had encamped, or rather bivouacked, and thence through the wood to emerge near the dog-kennel.

THE GRAVES.

The principal collection of graves or trenches occupies a space of 130 yards by 25, of extreme breadth, in the line of the charge, and across that of the English army. They are distinguished in succession, reckoning from the west, as "Clan Fraser;" "Mixed Clans;" "Clan MacIntosh;" "Clan Cameron;" "Clan MacGillivray;" "Clan Stuart of Appin;" "Clans MacGillivray, MacLean, MacLachlan, Athol Highlanders." The bodies of the several clansmen could have been readily distinguished by the dress; and country people were employed in the work of interment. Dr. Charles Fraser MacIntosh of Drummond, mentions, in his *Antiquarian Notes* (No. 96), that when he lived at Gollanfield, in Petty, an old man of ninety, curiously styled and known, as he remarks, as "John Oig" (young John), told him that he had known one Paul MacPhail in Ballenreich, who, the day after the battle, helped to

cut the big trench where so many were interred. His informant had also known "Donuil na Braiteach" (Donald of the Colours), so named for his having, when the MacIntosh ensign was killed, stripped the colours from the colour-staff, and, wrapping them round his body, escaped from the field. The English dead were buried in the field round Old Leanach, which is still called the Field of the English. In it bones have been again and again turned up by the plough.

The simple headstones distinguishing the graves were erected about 1880 by the late Mr Duncan Forbes of Culloden, and similarly inscribed slabs of stone mark the positions of the "King's Stables," "Well of the Dead," and "Field of the English." The present monumental cairn dates from the same period, taking the place of a rude pile of stones collected in 1858. The cairn bears the inscription :

THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN
 WAS FOUGHT ON THIS MOOR
 16TH APRIL, 1746.
 THE GRAVES OF THE
 GALLANT HIGHLANDERS
 WHO FOUGHT FOR
 SCOTLAND AND PRINCE CHARLIE
 ARE MARKED BY THE NAMES
 OF THEIR CLANS.

It is particularly requested that parties visiting the field of battle will not in any way destroy or dig up the graves. Too much of this has been done ;

and it is hoped that as, by means of the present Guide, every object of interest has been pointed out, proper respect may be henceforth shown to the last resting-place of many a brave Highlander.

CHAPTER V.

THE RETREAT.

The Prince, when he at last left the field, was accompanied by his chief counsellors and friends, and a considerable body of horse, and followed by the foot of the portion of the army who took this direction. They crossed the Nairn at the ford and old Bridge of Faillie, on the old military road, between five and six miles from the battle-field, and about 50 yards west of the present bridge. Passing a peat moss till they got on firm ground, a council was held in a field by the roadside, close to the Allt Ruadh, about 500 or 600 yards south from the river. There was a large body of men present.

It was at Ballintruan, one and a half miles west of this, that the Strathnairn and Strathdearn branches of the Clan Chattan had rendezvoused and were embodied. Owing to the absence of the chief, who, as already mentioned, was serving on the side of government, there was some difference of opinion as to who should take the command. Lady Mac-Intosh, stepping up to MacGillivray of Dunmaglass (a cadet of the clan Chattan), and, laying her hand upon his arm, said there could be no doubt who should lead the clan. The MacGillivrays nobly vindicated the distinction at Culloden, where so many fell that from that day a perceptible decadence ensued in the number and position of the small lairds among them.

From the Allt Ruadh the bulk of the force directed their steps to an appointed rendezvous at Ruthven, in Badenoch, and were joined on the way, near Loch Moy, by Cluny, with upwards of 400 men. The express for the MacPhersons only reached Badenoch on the evening of the 14th ; and, though scattered, they were got together and marched with such expedition that they had reached Dalmagarry, near the south end of Loch Moy, when the dismal news was brought to them of the fate of the day. The very short notice they had received demonstrates how much the Prince and the leaders of his army were taken at unawares.

At Ruthven, a considerable body—but, it is now generally understood, not several thousand men, as has been represented, but some 1500 or 1800 men—assembled, noways daunted by their reverse ; and the chiefs, among whom were the Duke of Perth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, Lord Ogilvie and Lord Nairne, were eager to keep together and continue the struggle, for the protection of their territories, and in the hope of succours from France ; at any rate, by protracting the struggle, to compel favourable terms from government. Charles, however, was intent on making his escape to France, in order, notwithstanding expectations hitherto baffled, to use his personal influence for that aid which had been so longingly looked for in vain ; and he expected to fall in with some French vessel on the west coast. The course he followed was most calamitous to himself and his adherents. There

was, at any rate, a respectable nucleus for drawing together a formidable force ; but the Prince seems of a sudden to have had his eyes opened, by the severity of the reverse he had sustained, to the utter hopelessness of a successful contest on the part of a portion of the Highland clans with the strength of the British empire. It was only by a *coup de main* any hope could ever have been entertained of success in the enterprise. That blow had been delivered, and right gallantly ; but having proved not equal to the occasion, like the Highland onset on the day of battle, the stroke could not be repeated.

Still, it seems to have been the Prince's duty to act at this crisis in concert with those who had ventured their all for his sake. Taking his own course, he had to skulk for five months a very outlaw, in momentary peril of his life, subjected to excessive hardships, instead of dictating terms, if not achieving success, at the head of a formidable army. In a few days a communication was received from him, apprising the assembled chiefs at Ruthven of his intentions ; and, either directly or by implication, leading to the conclusion that every man was to seek his safety as he best might ; and this, dispersing after a melancholy leave-taking, they proceeded to do.

Another abortive attempt to renew the war was concerted on the west coast, at Muirlaggan, near the head of Loch Arkaig ; a reunion which was attended by Lochiel, Lord Lovat, Clanranald, Glenbucket, John Roy Stuart, Secretary Murray, and others ; in which they were encouraged by the arrival of a

vessel with no less than £38,000. But some of the parties were lukewarm, or lacked confidence, and hung back from energetic action ; and the appearance of the Earl of Loudoun in Lochaber, with a large force of militia, nipped the project in the bud.

FLIGHT OF THE PRINCE.

The Prince in his flight went to Tordarroch, where, getting no access, he proceeded to Aberarder, and thence to Gortuleg, in Stratherrick, on the Farigaig, and near Loch Farraline. He was accompanied by those who had been his immediate counsellors during the campaign—Sir Thomas Sheridan, Mr. O'Sullivan, Captain O'Neal, and Mr. John Hay, with a few others of inferior rank. At Gortuleg he was received by Lord Lovat. It may well be conceived that to the selfish and wily, though courageous and talented old chief, who had spent his life in playing fast and loose, and had latterly even attempted to screen himself at the expense of his first-born, no apparition could have been more unwelcome than that of the fugitive Prince and his little group of attendants, breathless with hot haste ; Nemesis in their train ; castles in the air dispersing at their approach, as a dissolving view. Yet he is said to have met the Prince with expressions of attachment, but to have expressed great indignation on learning his intention of abandoning the enterprise.

After some refreshment, the Prince proceeded on his journey, and arrived in the course of the early morning of Thursday at Invergarry Castle, which, how-

ever, was at the time untenanted by any save a single domestic. Thence he made his way by the head of Loch Arkaig to Arisaig, and thence to the Long Island, the Isle of Skye, and back to the mainland, landing on the south side of Loch Nevis. From this he wandered through the singularly rugged country between Loch Shiel and Loch Hourn, contriving, with much difficulty, to penetrate the toils of his pursuers. He thereafter received protection, in the mountains between Glenmoriston and Strathglass, from the famous Seven Men of Glenmoriston—men reduced by the exigencies of the time to a wild life of reprisal on the military parties who had ravished and held forcible possession of their native glen; but, in their broken fortunes, proof, like some fifty others of various ranks from time to time in the knowledge of his whereabouts, against the government reward of £30,000 offered for the person of their Prince.* The fugitive afterwards found means, passing through Lochiel's country, to join his staunch friends, Cluny and Lochiel, in their celebrated retreat—the Cage—on the south face of Ben Alder, and off the west side of Loch Ericht, whence eventually, being advised of the arrival in

**By the Lords Justices—A Proclamation.*

Ordering a reward of Thirty Thousand Pounds to any person who shall seize and secure the eldest son of the Pretender, in case he shall land, or attempt to land, in any of his Majesty's dominions.

James Cant.
Hardwick, C.
Dorset, P.

Holles Newcastle.
Tweeddale.
Chesterfield.

Loch nan Uamh of two French vessels which had been fitted out for the purpose of his escape, he once more made his way to Borradale, re-embarking on at the very spot where he had first landed in the previous year.

His adventures and hair-breadth escapes were truly marvellous ; and the young Pretender's bearing at this period of his career, throughout dangers and hardships of the most trying description, was in every way worthy of his exalted birth. His equanimity and cheerfulness never failed him, though suffering from frequent returns of a painful ailment. The Rev.

Gower, C. P. S.

Stair.

Devonshire.

H. Pelham.

Grafton.

“WHEREAS, by an Act of Parliament made in the seventeenth year of his Majesty's reign, it was enacted, that if the eldest, or any other son or sons of the person who pretended to be the Prince of Wales in the lifetime of the late King James II., and since his decease assumed the name and title of James III., King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, should, after the first day of May, in the year 1744, land, or attempt to land, or be found in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, or should be found on board any ship, vessel, or boat, being so on board with intent to land in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories aforesaid, he and they respectively should, by virtue of said Act, stand and be adjudged attainted of High Treason, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. And whereas we have received information that the eldest son of the said Pretender did lately embark in France, in order to land in some part of his Majesty's Kingdoms, we, being moved with just indignation at so daring an attempt, and desirous that the said Act may

John Cameron, Presbyterian preacher and chaplain to Fort-William, thus describes the Prince's personal appearance on occasion of a meeting in a hut in the wood betwixt Achnasual at the end of Loch Arkaig : —“ He was then barefooted, had an old black kilt coat on, a plaid, philibeg, and waistcoat, a dirty shirt, and a long red beard ; a gun in his hand, a pistol and dirk by his side. He was very cheerful, and in good health.” In the words of Mr. Cameron, “ He was cautious and circumspect in the greatest danger ; never at a loss in resolving, with coolness, what to do uncommon resolution and fortitude in all extremities.” (*Lyon in Mourning*, i., 97, 101.)

be carried effectually into execution, have thought fit, by the advice of his Majesty's Council, and do hereby, in his Majesty's name, command and require all his Majesty's officers, civil and military, and all others his Majesty's loving subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to seize and secure the said son of the Pretender, whenever he shall land, or attempt to land, or be found in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, or shall be found on board any ship, vessel, or boat, being so on board with intent to land in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories aforesaid, in order to his being brought to justice ; and to give notice thereof immediately when he shall be so seized and secured, to one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. And to the intent that all due encouragement may be given to so important a service, we do hereby further, in his Majesty's name, promise a Reward of Thirty Thousand Pounds to such person or persons who shall so seize and secure the said son of the said Pretender, so as that he may be brought to justice. And H's Majesty's High Treasurer, or the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury for the time being, is, and are hereby

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

It could not be but that in the ruin of a rash undertaking the principal actor should be subjected to censorious detraction ; and, accordingly, Charles has been accused by some few of rashness, irresolution, ingratitude, meanness, and want of feeling. That, in his latter days—disappointed, hopeless, and aimless—he sank into selfish and gross indulgence, with all its moral concomitants, is but too true. And when, after his vain struggle for a kingdom, and then for bare life, the strain was relaxed, and all his efforts to incite the courts of France and Spain to interpose, with men and arms, for reinstatement of his family, proved vain and futile, his disposition, indeed, altered

required, to make payment thereof accordingly. And if any of the persons who have adhered to or assisted, or who shall adhere to or assist, the said Pretender or his said son, shall seize and secure him, the said son, as aforesaid, he or they who shall so seize and secure him, shall have his Majesty's gracious pardon, and shall also receive the said Reward, to be paid in manner aforesaid.

“Given at Whitehall the first day of August, in the nineteenth year of his Majesty's reign.

“God save the King !”

The Prince remained only one night at Glenfinnan. On the 20th of August he marched to the head of Loch Lochy, where he encamped. At this place a copy of the proclamation for his apprehension was brought him, which exasperated the Highlanders to such a degree that they insisted on a counter one being issued, offering a reward for the apprehension of “the Elector of Hanover.” Charles remonstrated against such a step, but he was forced to yield, and, accordingly, put forth the following answer :—

for the worse. But it is remarkable how such very slight trace of calumny or disaffection has transpired, considering the hundreds involved in ruin—their persons exiled, relations numbered with the dead, hearths desolated, and fortunes irretrievably broken. Were there just cause for recrimination, the Highland clans and their Lowland fellows showed a rare magnanimity in their silent endurance. He, in fact, seems to have become the more endeared to them by the sacrifices they were called to make.

“Charles, Prince of Wales, &c., Regent of the Kingdoms of Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging,—

“WHEREAS we have seen a certain scandalous and malicious paper, published in the style and form of a proclamation, bearing date the first inst., wherein, under pretence of bringing to justice, like our Royal ancestor King Charles the I., of blessed memory, there is a reward of Thirty Thousand Pounds sterling promised to those who shall deliver us into the hands of our enemies, we could not but be moved with a just indignation at so insolent an attempt; and though, from our nature and principles, we abhor and detest a practice so unusual among Christian Princes, we cannot but, out of a just regard to the dignity of our person, promise the like reward of Thirty Thousand Pounds sterling to him or those who shall seize and secure, till our further orders, the person of the Elector of Hanover, whether landed, or attempting to land, in any part of his Majesty's dominions. Should any fatal accident happen from hence, let the blame be entirely at the door of those who first set the infamous example.”

This proclamation, which was dated from the “Camp at Kinlocheill,” was countersigned by Murray of Broughton, who had lately joined the Prince, and been appointed his secretary.—[Brown's “Highland Clans.”]

Charles's was not a great character, and of qualities rather showy than solid. But his enterprise was in the highest degree chivalric, and the object of his ambition was pursued with great tenacity of purpose. He had wonderful attractions of person and manner. His powers of persuasion overcame the strong repugnance of the chiefs to take up arms without effective foreign co-operation. Of commanding stature and vigorous frame, he at once won the hearts of the Highlanders, by his great bodily energy and hardihood, by his adoption of the Highland dress and customs, and the cordial and ready manner in which he shared the hardships of the campaign, and by his courtesy, cheerful spirits, and affability; while amongst all ranks of Jacobites, Highland and Lowland, he excited quite a *furor* of loyalty and personal devotedness, the embers of which still smoulder in hearts removed by several generations from the period of the '45. That a sanguine temperament made him rash in the extreme, is evidenced by his conceiving and executing the design of landing at Eriskay with but seven persons to dispute a kingdom. Unfortunately for himself and his adherents, he was not equally prompt and vigorous; and, like too many of his ancestors, was too easily influenced by the opinion of other men, and of those who studied the bent of his inclination rather than what was best to do. He lost six precious weeks in Edinburgh after the victory of Prestonpans, instead of pushing at once into the heart of England while the government was unprepared, and leant too much to his foreign advisers, giving

but a half confidence to the natural leaders in the enterprise.

Bishop MacIntosh, in one of his letters, mentions that he had known many individuals who had gone out to fight for Prince Charles, but he never knew one who regretted having fought for him, or did not seem as if he would have gladly perilled his life again for him. In Paris, on his return, he became an object of the greatest possible interest. Though much sympathy was expressed for him by the royal family of France, a stipulation was agreed to, in the treaty of peace between that kingdom and Great Britain, that he should be obliged to leave the French dominions ; and when he disregarded all intimations of the necessity of compliance, he had to be arrested (the melodramatic distinction of silken ropes being used to bind him), imprisoned, and forcibly deported out of France.

“Whenever the young Chevalier appeared in any of the public walks at Paris, all the company followed the path he took, as impelled by irresistible attraction. When he came to the theatres, the attention of the audience was fixed upon him, regardless of what was presented upon the stage ; upon his entrance into a box, a general whisper in his favour ran from one side of the theatre to the other, and few of the fair sex but let fall tears of pity and admiration ; while he alone seemed to be above a sense of his misfortunes, and talked to the young nobility, with whom he was constantly surrounded, in the same easy, cheerful, and affable manner he had always done. The magnanimity with which he supported this last stroke, which was looked upon as so fatal to his hopes, was

now the general topic of eulogium in all places ; and the Princess Talmont spoke so largely of it, even in the king's presence, that she was forbid the Court ; and several other great personages were highly in disgrace on the same account."—(*Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 575).

There is something affectingly spirited in his patriotically, if wrong-headedly, open expression of British sympathies in a foreign country at enmity with his country, and to whose Court he was a suppliant. Of his expulsion from France, Voltaire says :—"Quant a Charles Edouard il fut arrêté, garotté, mis en prison, conduit hors de France. Ce fut le dernier coup dont la destinée accabla une generation des Rois pendant trois cent années."

Such tokens of attachment and tributes of respect and goodwill, seem sufficiently to belie the calumnies of a few. And, making every concession for faults and defects, from which none are free, there is necessarily left a large residuum of princely qualities suited to the time, to have commanded such general approval of his conduct in circumstances the most trying.

"Humanity and gentleness were surely rather the prominent qualities of this amiable Prince than any real vigour of mind, or any extraordinary perspicuity. Personal courage, and the ardour of enterprise, few will doubt that he possessed, notwithstanding the invidious suggestions as to the former by some of his adherents. And it will be acknowledged by all, that in the hour of trial, and in a long series of misfortunes, he displayed an equanimity and a fortitude that may possibly have been

equalled, but certainly were never surpassed, by any individual. Although justice must class him among the men not greatly fitted to *recover* a crown, yet he might have worn it had it *descended* to him without reproach."—(*Anti-Jacobin Review*, vols. xii. and xiii).

THE PURSUIT.

To return to the battle-field. The right wing, or rather the portion of the army which directed its course in a body to the south-west, as it comprehended most of the other Clans, in its retreat presented so formidable an appearance, that a large party of dragoons, who had been sent to intercept them on their way to cross the Nairn, opened their ranks and allowed them to pass unmolested, with the exception of a solitary officer, who, attempting to seize a Highlander, was cut down with a single blow of the claymore, and coolly despoiled of his gold watch in presence of his astounded comrades.

In the course of the retreat of this body it was that Gillies MacBean, a native of Strathnairn, a man of prodigious bodily strength, said to have been 6 feet 4 inches in height, one of the MacIntosh regiment and a member of one of the smaller tribes connected with the powerful and old Celtic Clan Chattan, signalised himself in a manner that has handed down his name to merited notoriety. It appears from the Records that Gillies was proprietor of Kinchyle, near Dores, at the lower end of Loch Ness, and his elder brother was proprietor of Faillie, in Strathnairn, where the Prince and his followers crossed the Nairn in their flight. At the farm-stading of Balvraid,

being wounded, he could not keep up with his companions; but, setting his back to the house wall, determined to sell his life dearly. Tradition relates that he was not cut down till he had made no less than thirteen troopers bite the dust; some of the officers vainly crying "to save that brave fellow." Though left for dead, he was found still in life and conscious, by an old woman from one of the houses, who covered him, at his own desire, with straw; but he died shortly after. Gillies had endeavoured to arm himself with the tram of a louban or peat-cart, but was not able to disengage it. It is said that it was by getting on the house-roof some of his assailants got the better of him. The house was one of several there at the time, and stood within what is now the corn-yard. He was buried beside it, and a large stone laid over him, the position of which is still shown; but his friends removed the body. In forming the corn-yard, a skeleton was discovered at the south-west corner; and in removing a little mound for the formation of the west side of the square of offices, where the servant girls, little wotting what was underneath, used to rest their pails when carrying water from an adjoining wall, another was dug up. On the north side of the offices there was a malt-kiln, in which some of the wounded Highlanders sought refuge. In the Moor, between Balvraid and Stable Hollow (the line of flight), in cutting turf or otherwise, skeletons have been repeatedly turned up. All the buildings at Balvraid were set on fire by the dragoons on the afternoon of the Battle, to signal their victory

to the fleet in the Firth. The cracked and calcined state of the stones was to be seen in those last pulled down.

From the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step. One of the residents at Balvraid fled on horseback. He was owner of a large pot, used for boiling in the yearly washing of blankets; and being, it is said, the only article of the kind on the Moor, it would seem to have been regarded as of peculiar value; for, strange to say, it was borne away by the fugitive in his flight. His solicitude, however, was in vain; for the precious pot was perforated by a bullet, designed by the dragoons for a more deadly billet. The pot, with the hole in it, was long to be seen, and may possibly be yet in some household on the Moor.

The pursuit to Inverness was most disastrous to the fugitives. These retreated, not in terror, but broken-hearted and in despair. Chevalier Johnstone gives the following account, in his *Memoirs of the Rebellion*, of the first movement in retreat, and of his own escape, so vividly realising the situation, that the length of the extract may be excused:—

“My friendship for the unfortunate MacDonald of Scothouse, who was killed by my side at the battle of Culloden, had induced me to advance to the charge with his regiment. We were on the left of our army, and at the distance of about twenty paces from the enemy, when the rout began to become general, before we had even given our fire on the left. Almost at the same instant that I saw Scothouse fall—the most worthy man I have ever known, and with whom I had been connected, by-the-bye, in bonds of the

purest friendship from the commencement of our expedition—to add to the horror of the scene, I perceived all the Highlanders round me turning their backs to fly. I remained for a time motionless and lost in astonishment ; I then, in a rage, discharged my blunderbuss and pistols at the enemy, and immediately endeavoured to save myself like the rest ; but having charged on foot and in boots, I was so overcome by the marshy ground, the water on which reached to the middle of the leg, that instead of running I could scarcely walk. I had left my servant Robertson with my horses, on the eminence, about 600 yards behind us [Culchuinag ?], where the Prince remained during the battle, with orders to remain near the Prince's servants, that I might easily know where to find my horses in case of need. My first object in retreating was to turn my eyes toward the eminence, to discover Robertson, but it was to no purpose. I neither saw the Prince nor his servants, nor any one on horseback. They had all gone off, and were already out of sight. I saw nothing but the most horrible of all spectacles—the field of battle, from the right to the left of our army, covered with Highlanders, dispersed and flying as fast as they could to save themselves.

“Being no longer able to keep myself on my legs, and the enemy always advancing very slowly, but redoubling their fire, my mind was agitated and undecided whether I should throw away my life, or surrender a prisoner, which was a thousand times worse than death on the battle-field. All at once I perceived a horse, about thirty paces before me, without a rider. The idea of being yet able to escape gave me fresh strength, and served as a spur to me. I ran and laid hold of the bridle, which was fast in the hand of a man lying on the ground, whom I supposed dead ; but what was my surprise, when the

cowardly poltroon, who was suffering from nothing but fear, dared to remain in the most horrible fire to dispute the horse with me, at twenty paces from the enemy! All my menaces could not induce him to quit the bridle. Whilst we were disputing, a discharge from a canon loaded with grape-shot fell at our feet, and covered us with mud, without, however, producing any effect upon this singular individual, who obstinately persisted in retaining the horse. Fortunately for me, Finlay Cameron, an officer in Lochiel's regiment, a youth of twenty years of age, six feet high, and very strong and vigorous, happened to pass near me. I called on him to assist me. 'Ah, Finlay,' said I, 'this fellow will not give me up the horse.' Finlay flew to me like lightning, immediately presented his pistol to the head of the man, and threatened to blow out his brains if he hesitated a moment to let go the bridle. The fellow, who had the appearance of a servant, at length yielded, and took to his heels. Having obtained the horse, I attempted to mount him several times; but all my efforts were ineffectual, as I was without strength, and completely exhausted. I called again on poor Finlay, though he was already some paces from me, to assist me to mount. He returned, took me in his arms with as much ease as if I had been a child, and threw me on the horse like a loaded sack, giving the horse at the same time a heavy blow to make him set off with me; then, wishing that I might have the good fortune to make my escape, he bounded off like a roe, and was in a moment out of sight. We were hardly more than fifteen or twenty paces from the enemy when he quitted me. As soon as I found myself at the distance of thirty or forty paces, I endeavoured to set myself right on the horse, put my feet in the stirrups, and rode off as fast as the wretched animal could carry me.

“I was too much indebted to Finlay Cameron not to endeavour continually to ascertain his fate ; but all my inquiries were in vain. His conduct on this occasion was the more noble and generous, as I never had any particular intimacy with him.”

No quarter was given in the pursuit. All wearing the Highland dress, without regard to age or sex, including several of the inhabitants of Inverness whom curiosity had led towards the scene, were indiscriminately massacred. The course of retreat was strewn at intervals with the slain to within a short distance of Inverness, dead bodies being found at Kingsmills and Millburn, and indeed close to the town, where, and within which, too, several, disarmed and helpless, were remorselessly hacked to death. The retreat was more fatal than the engagement. One poor gentleman is reported, on the authority of the quartermaster of Sempill's regiment, at a distance of two miles from the battle-field, staggering in his wounds, to have begged protection for his ebbing life from the latter, while he recommended his soul to God : but a general officer came up, who cried out, “Damn you, Shaw ! do you mean to save the life of a rebel ?” on which he had to forsake the suppliant, whom he saw in an instant cut to pieces. The same narrator says (see *Jacobite Memoirs* and *Lyon in Mourning*, ii. 310)—

“The third day after the battle I intended to have gone the length of the field ; but, on travelling little more than a mile, I was so shocked with the dismal sight I saw in that distance of the carnage made on both sides, that I returned ; and pretty near

Stoneyfield (which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the town) I saw a beggar [some word omitted here] with his meal-pock about his neck ; and at a half-a-mile's distance from that, a woman stripped. On my return, I came by the King's-mills (within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of Inverness), and discovered some of that people, at whose doors there were twelve or fourteen corpses lying all stripped ; and when I, under my breath, or with a low voice, said that it was an ugly sight, I was answered that it was as much as their lives were worth to disapprove of it." They also told him, he says, that they had wounded a woman in one of their houses, and "an infant whom they found at his mother's breast when she was dead ; and when the soldiers killed her, that they had carried the infant several yards from the dead body, but that it had crawled afterwards to it. I saw, betwixt the King's-mills and John Clark's park, a boy betwixt ten and twelve years of age, and his head cloven to his teeth."

"A very honest old gentleman of the name of Mac-Leod was pursued by two of the light horse from the place of action to the hill near Inverness, called the Barnhill ; and when he came there, and found it impossible to save his life any farther by flight, he went on his knees and begged quarter of the two that pursued him, but both of them refused his request, and shot him through the head."

The principal lines of flight of the fugitives to Inverness are laid down on an old plan, apparently of the time of the battle, as by about the west end of the Culloden Birch Wood to Drakies, and also along the north edge of the Moor, and to the west of and above Inshes, and from both to King's-mills. But others descended towards the sea. In the wall of the former old house at Ashton, near Stoneyfield, a

cannon-ball was found imbedded. In the field to the west of the barn, behind the stables at Culloden House, a skeleton was turned up. It has been remarked, as a curious coincidence, that the horses of persons living in Culloden House almost invariably shy in passing the road opposite to the spot.

INCIDENTS AT INVERNESS.

Old John MacLean, who survived to his 103rd year, whose *Reminiscences of a Clachnacudin Nonagenarian*, were published in 1842, states that Inverness was almost deserted by the inhabitants who desired to be spectators of the field, but in multitudes of instances, became included in the casualties of the retreat. He narrates :

“But how shall I depict the anxiety of those whose domestic or other duties confined them to their houses or the town, to ascertain the state of the conflict, or the probable results of the day? The death-knells of relatives, of clansmen, or, at least, of countrymen, were continually reaching them from the reports of musketry, and the heavier peal of artillery, reverberated by the amphitheatre of adjacent mountains. Many a female heart fluttered, on that eventful day, to learn how it fared with children, husbands, brothers, or lovers; and oftentimes I heard my mother speak of the anxiety she felt—how she strained her eyes from the door of the *bothy* where I now dwell (on the Green of Muirtown), and which then commanded a view of the road. Exhausted with fatigue, as clansmen passed the *bothy*, they exclaimed to my mother, ‘A bhean, a bhean, thoir dhuinn deoch’—‘woman, woman, give us a drink.’ My mother busily employed

herself in handing basins of water to the men from the *bothy*. Her anxiety to catch some information respecting the battle may be more easily imagined than described, when it is stated that her *own* two *brothers* were both fighting on the Prince's side. At length she had the joy of seeing them arrive, of supplying them also with water, and viewing their safety on their way to the Aird, where they eluded detection."

Old John further, in connection with the 16th of April, 1746, and the state of the old stone bridge, which has been replaced by the suspension bridge, and of Bridge Street, leading to it, narrates that the bridge had then a stone gateway at each end, the principal one being the eastern, having on one side the town arms, since removed to the gable of the Town-hall, and massive gates, bristled on the top with spikes, and with a small wicket in the gate. Bridge Street was then very narrow, especially near the bridge. The gateway occupied the whole space between the houses on either side. These, the town residences of Forbes of Culloden and Robertson of Inshes, projected much beyond the present lines of the street, as does still the front of the house in which Queen Mary is said to have had her abode during a sojourn in the Highland capital. All of these, as most other houses, were provided with a projecting semi-cylindrical excrescence, in which were turnpike stairs of stone or wood, forming the access, which was to the first, not the ground, floor; consequently the passage along the street was very confined—a mere lane. Of these turnpike stairs there were, in the recollection of the author, some in High Street and Church Street. Now, the

only remaining specimen is one in what is known as Abertarff's Close, off Church Street, below the Commercial Bank. At the bridge-gateway there was an archway on one hand, by which there was a narrow egress up the river side.

Nonagenarian asserts—though in this he is surely under some mistake, for we are not aware of the circumstance being elsewhere recorded—that a party of the Argyleshire militia, disguised in the garb of the Prince's followers, anticipating the result of the battle, had marched into the town, then generally deserted by the inhabitants, and, mustering with drawn swords around the eastern bridge gateway, had locked the gates, thus obstructing the line of retreat for the Highland army. That such an operation had been devised and achieved by the enemy, by anticipation, does not seem at all likely; nor does there appear a probability of any portion of their foot having been able, after the issue of the conflict had declared itself, to outrun the fugitives and intercept them at this very important point. But the gates may have been closed by mischance,—an occurrence quite intelligible in the confusion; and the circumstance of their having been closed is a matter of fact as to which there could not well be any mistake. He narrates that the fugitives, finding the bridge-gates closed, turned aside through the side archway, and forded the river immediately above the bridge; and in this way he accounts for silver buckles and coins having been found in the bed of the stream opposite Ness House. The narrow street

soon became choked up by the main body of the retreating troops.

“ A Dr. Fraser,” he proceeds, “ of the family of Relig, who had fought on the Prince’s side, on reaching the spot, and beholding the cause and consequences of the obstruction, exclaimed, ‘ My God, men, will you stand here and be butchered ? Do you not hear the bugles of the king’s troopers at the other end of the town ? ’ and, rushing on, claymore in hand, the Argyleshire men were cut down, trampled over, the gates of the bridge forced, and a retreat secured to the mountainous district of Craig Phadric, Dunain, and Strathglass.”

The sons of some of the neighbouring gentry, who had ventured, out of boyish curiosity, rather near the scene of action, narrowly escaped from the dragoons who were scouring the Moor. Colonel Alexander MacIntosh of Farr used to tell that his father went with the late Hon. Archibald Fraser of Lovat, the late Arthur Robertson of Inshes, and two other boys, all at the school of Petty, towards the battle-field, early on the 16th of April, and saw the wearied troops of Prince Charles march past them, amongst whom was his father, Angus MacIntosh of Farr, captain in Dunmaglass’s regiment, who fell on the field that day. He did not speak to his father : but though only a boy in his fourteenth year, and he lived to be ninety, never did he forget the careworn and dejected expression of his father’s face.

The late Mr. John Rose, tacksman of Kirkton, who was born at Balvraid, and had the farm of Leanach on an improving lease, used to mention that a

party of the Prince's followers devoutly engaged before the battle in solemnly and appropriately singing the 20th Psalm—

“Jehovah hear thee in the day
When trouble He doth send.”

A straw or a feather serves to indicate how the wind sets. There was a very old man in the village of Evanton, in Ross-shire, alive about 1840, who used to tell that he had been sent by a neighbouring laird, on the morning of the battle, with a letter for a correspondent near the Moor. The bearer ventured as near as he dared to the scene, and so distracted was he by the sight, and din, and danger, that he returned home without fulfilling his mission.

A female servant in Mr. Rose's family related that her grandfather had told her that he was at the time a boy herding on the Moor ; and having been attracted by the digging of the trenches, had drawn near to look on, when one of the persons so engaged lifted a man's dissevered arm and struck him on the cheek, bidding him to go away.

CASUALTIES.

The number of the Prince's followers who fell on this occasion has never been precisely ascertained, but is generally supposed, including the wounded, who, as will appear, were murdered on the battlefield in cold blood, on the immediately succeeding days, to have been from 1000 to 1200. The returns of killed and wounded of the Duke's army exhibit a total of 310, of which number the casualties in

Barrel's regiment amount to 125, and in Munro's to 82; while in Bligh's they were 21, and 14 in Sem-pill's—the supporting regiments.

Lord Robert Kerr, son of the Marquis of Lothian, a young man of much promise, was the only person of rank who fell; Colonel Rich, of Barrel's regiment, the officer of highest rank wounded. The former had driven his spontoon into his opponent's body, but not observing that the survivors about him were saving their lives by flying within the protection of the regiments behind, he was instantly cut to pieces. He is said to have been cleft from the crown of the head to the collar-bone. The effects of the sword-blows in Highland warfare were often terrific. This was particularly exemplified in Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel's time, when a large party from the garrison of Inverlochy were destroyed by an ambuscade in the wood of Achdhalieu, on Lochiel side. On this occasion a limb was found lopped off, or other equally remarkable wound inflicted on every corpse.

There fell into the hands of the victors 30 pieces of ordnance and swivel-guns, 2320 firelocks, and 190 broadswords, besides a quantity of ammunition and various small stores, and also 14 stands of colours. "These last were, on the 4th of June, carried, by a procession of chimney-sweeps, from the Castle to the Cross of Edinburgh, and there burnt by the hands of the common hangman, with many suitable marks of contempt."

The French and Irish regiments under General Stapleton were, on his solicitation, assured of fair

quarter, and several hundred others were also made, or voluntarily surrendered themselves, prisoners. Several ladies who had been active in the Prince's service, Lady MacIntosh among the number, were also put into durance. Of these last the *Mercury*, 6th May, says :—

“Some of the rebel ladies, who are now prisoners, having behaved *like men*, with a true military spirit, it is presumed that, although no *cartel* can be admitted with regard to the *rebel gentlemen*, there will be no impropriety in exchanging those ladies against such of our officers as on former occasions behaved *like women*, and are still in the power of the Pretender's friends, either in France or Scotland.”

CONTEMPORARY NOTICE.

The following contemporary notice of the battle appeared in the *National Journal*, London, June 7, copied into the *Mercury* of the 12th June :—

“By all accounts of t Battle of Culloden, from those of both sides who seem to be impartial, it is allowed tt t young Pretender behaved with great courage and sedateness ; tt just before t battle began he rode along t line & through t ranks of his army, encouraging t men both by his voice & action ; tt in t engagement he had his horse shot under him, & his groom killed while he was mounting another ; tt several about him were killed ; tt he endeavoured to rally his troops & some of t clans, & retired in such order, tt t three squadrons of our horse sent to pursue them could make no impression.

“Then, with regard to t troops under his command, if we consider t circumstances they were in, we cannot reckon them such banditti or such poltroons as they have been represented by t nonsensical correspondents

of our more nonsensical newspapers. They had been for several weeks without pay, & without any provisions *but a scrimp allowance of oatmeal*, wh. was t reason of their being so few in number, being little above 5000, and many of these *not completely armed*. They had t night before t action marched 12 miles, with an intent to surprise t Duke; and when they found or thought themselves disappointed in that, they had marched so far back again, and, being closely followed by t Duke's army, were obliged to engage in battle before they had their sleep or refreshment, wh. was enough to dispirit any troops in t world. Yet, notwithstanding all this, their front line, especially their right, attacked with a fury next to madness; but being flanked in their advance to t attack by a battery of *six* pieces of canon upon t Duke's left, and received with great firmness and intrepidity by our troops, who kept up their fire till the enemy came up to t very muzzles of their muskets, and being opposed by fresh battalions from the rear, after they had broken through some of these tt were in t front line, they were thrown into confusion, and at last entirely defeated, with a slaughter among their Low Country foot and t lookers on, wh. we cannot at present give a true account of; for, as to t *Highlanders*, most of them retreated in such order as to prevent them suffering much in the pursuit. These are t most important accounts of this most important battle, and *t most likely to be true* tt we have been hitherto able to collect; and these surely will redound much more to t Duke's *Honour*, and to t *Honour* of t troops under his command, than any of these false and ridiculous accounts of t rebels and their leader tt have been published by our brethren of t quill."

As at Holyrood and Falkirk, the Duke took up his quarters in Inverness where the Prince had lodged,

and even occupied the same bed. Lady Drummur's comment on these guests was, "I've had twa kings' bairns living with me in my time, and, to tell you the truth, I wish I may never hae another!"

CHAPTER VI.

EVENTS AFTER THE BATTLE.

IT is painful to have to recur to the extraordinary barbarities which formed the sequel to this decisive battle, on the issue of which hinges so much of our subsequent national history. Excuses have been offered, even of late years, for the Duke, as if the cruelties practised were no more than a somewhat excessive degree of severity dictated by a sense of duty ; and the go-by has been attempted to be given to the circumstantial and accredited narratives of these atrocities, as if they were little else than mere Jacobite fictions ; but the enormities were of a nature no such palliation can serve to extenuate, and the means of proof are such as can with no propriety be disregarded.

Local tradition in the Highlands is unvarying as to the excesses committed by the English soldiery, under the express orders of the Duke of Cumberland, or under circumstances which leave the responsibility upon him. It could not be for fictitious or exaggerated cruelties that the Duke of Cumberland's name was branded as it has been. Contemporary annals must at all times be held worthless, should such singularly circumstantial and well-attested evidence as has been preserved of the atrocities perpetrated, be deemed unworthy of credit. The truth is, not only was there a deal of coarseness and brutality among the

common soldiers and seamen of the period, but the like features were strongly characteristic of all ranks in both services. It is of the British army Swift writes to Wogan, as a fraternity "where the least pretension to learning, to piety, or to common morals, would endanger the owner to be cashiered."

On the topic of the cruelties perpetrated after the battle, the most detailed repertory is a very remarkable MS. series of *memorabilia*, now in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, extending to ten volumes, bound in black, with black-edged leaves, and quaintly styled, *The Lyon in Mourning*. The collection was formed with much pains and industry during the twenty years ensuing upon the event, by the Rev. Robert Forbes, Episcopal minister at Leith, and latterly (titular) Bishop of Ross and Caithness, and known as Bishop Forbes. The Bishop seems to have been extremely solicitous to arrive at the exact truth from his correspondents; and while he "nought extenuates," he "nought sets down in malice." The disclosures seem, therefore, worthy of due credit, corroborating, as they do, the general statements of tradition and history; and they certainly reveal a systematic perpetration of barbarities such as the tortures practised by the most savage Indian tribes on their victims can hardly exceed in atrocity—such as were scarcely credible had they not been well authenticated. Dr. Robert Chambers made use of the collection when compiling his *Jacobite Memoirs* in 1834; and *The Lyon in Mourning* was printed in extenso by the Scottish History Society in 1895-96.

DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

Of the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Mahon, in his *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 436, says :

“The Royal Duke, destined to wield so decisive an influence over the fortunes of his cousin and competitor, was of very nearly the same age, being only four months younger. (The Prince was then in his twenty-sixth year.) He had not, however, the same graces of person, being corpulent and unwieldy to a remarkable degree, and in his manner rough and displeasing. His character was adorned by considerable virtues—honesty of purpose, adherence to his promises, attachment to his friends. He was a dutiful son and a liberal patron ; as a soldier, he was enthusiastically fond of his profession ; he had closely studied its details, and might even be lauded for capacity, in an age which, to England at least, was singularly barren of military merit. His unwearied activity, and his high personal courage would, however, at any period, have justly claimed applause. But, as one of his own friends complains, ‘ his judgment is too much guided by his passions, which are often violent and ungovernable.’ Against his foreign adversaries he displayed no undue asperity, and towards his soldiers he could sometimes show compassion. Thus, for instance, on arriving at Edinburgh, he immediately arrested the course of Hawley’s savage executions ; yet even his own army often murmured at his harshness and rigour ; and as to any rebel, he treated him with as little mercy as he would a wolf. Never, perhaps, did any insurgents meet a more ungenerous enemy. From the deeds of blood in Scotland—committed by his own order in some cases and connived at in many more—his contemporaries branded him with a contemptuous by-word—THE

BUTCHER ; and the historian, who cannot deny the guilt, must confirm and ratify the name."

Home's *History*, though fair and candid so far as it goes, is tainted with *suppressio veri*. It is materially different from what it had been before publication ; is silent as to the manner in which the battle of Culloden was used—a reticence ascribed to his having unadvisedly resolved to dedicate it to the King ; and great public disappointment was expressed in Scotland when it appeared. Home, too, had submitted his narrative to the correction of both Whigs and Jacobites. They were both profuse in their compliments, but each struck out such anecdotes as made against their own party. "Thus," as has been quaintly remarked, "if he imitated the confidence, so he shared also the fate, of the unhappy man and his two mistresses—the one with an utter antipathy to *grey*, and the other to *black*, hairs—who, on committing his abundant but mixed locks to their discretion, soon found himself completely despoiled of both."

"The bravery of the Duke of Cumberland," says Macaulay,

"was such as distinguished him even among the princes of his brave house. The indifference with which he rode about amidst musket-balls and cannon-balls was not the highest proof of his fortitude. Hopeless maladies, horrible surgical operations, far from unmanning him, did not even discompose him. With courage, he had the virtues which are akin to courage. He spoke the truth, was open in enmity and friendship, and upright in all his dealings. But his nature was

hard ; and what seemed to him justice, was rarely tempered with mercy. He was, therefore, many years one of the most unpopular men in England. The severity with which he treated the rebels after the battle of Culloden had gained him the name of 'The Butcher.' His attempts to introduce into the army of England, then in a most disorderly state, the rigorous discipline of Potsdam, had excited still stronger disgust. Nothing was too bad to be believed of him. Many honest people were so absurd as to fancy that, if he were Regent during the minority of his nephews, there would be another smothering in the Tower."—(*Essays : Chatham*).

Hill Burton (*History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 523) says of him :

"What he did was, we may be assured from his character, not done in a spirit of wantonness, but after a sense of duty. But that duty led him to severity. He was a soldier, according to the German notions of a soldier, and a rebel province was a community to be subjected to martial law. The Duke, brought up in the German military school, seems to have been unable to distinguish between a rebellion suppressed in constitutional Britain, where all men are supposed to be innocent but those proved to be guilty, and a revolted German province, where every awarded grace to the unfortunate people proceeds from the will of the conqueror. Thus there was a propensity to subject all the northern districts to something too closely resembling military law or licence."

BUTCHERY OF THE WOUNDED.

One of the first spectacles which the inhabitants of Inverness had to endure, was the execution of no fewer than thirty-six unfortunates as deserters. To this,

however, perhaps no reasonable exception can be taken. But what is to be said for the following occurrences :—

“Immediately after the conclusion of the battle, the men, under the command of their officers, traversed the field, stabbing with their bayonets, or cutting down with their swords, such of the wounded of the defeated party as came under their notice. This was done as much in sport as in rage ; and, as the work went on, the men at length began to amuse themselves by splashing and dabbling each other with blood ! They at length looked, as one of themselves has reported, more like so many butchers than an army of Christian soldiers.”—(Chambers’s 6th edit., p. 258 ; *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii. p. 192).

“Riding over the field, attended by some of his officers, the Duke observed a young wounded Highlander resting on his elbow and staring at the Royal party. He asked the man to whom he belonged ; and received for answer, ‘To the Prince.’ He instantly called to an officer to shoot ‘that insolent scoundrel.’ The officer—Major Wolfe—declined the task, saying that his commission was at the disposal of his Royal Highness, but he could never consent to become an executioner. The Duke asked several other officers in succession to ‘pistol’ the wounded man, but with the like result. Then, seeing a common soldier, he asked him if he had a charge in his piece, and the man answering in the affirmative, he commanded him to do the required duty,—which was immediately performed. The youth thus slain was Mr. Charles Fraser, younger of Inverallochy, lieutenant-colonel of the Master of Lovat’s regiment. The officer who first refused was afterwards observed to decline in favour with his commander.”—(Chambers, p. 258 ; “Critique upon ‘Home’s Hist. Reb.’” in

Anti-Jacobin Review, vol. xiii., p. 125, by the late Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton, Bart. ; *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 255).

“All the wounded on the field of battle were killed on the Thursday ; and the wounded in houses were carried to the field on Friday, where they were killed.”

“Upon Thursday, the day after the battle, a party was ordered to the field of battle to put to death all the wounded they should find upon it, which accordingly they performed with the greatest despatch and the utmost exactness,—carrying the wounded from the several parts of the field to two or three spots of rising ground, where they ranged them in due order, and instantly shot them dead.

“Upon the day following (Friday) parties were ordered to go and search for the wounded in houses in the neighbourhood of the field, to carry them to the field, and there to kill them.”

“John MacLeod of MacLeod, junior, Esquire, has had the honesty and courage to declare, oftener than once, that he himself saw seventy-two killed in cold blood.”

“At a small distance from the field, there was a hut for sheltering sheep or goats in cold and stormy weather. To this hut some of the wounded men had crawled, but were soon found out by the soldiery, who (immediately upon the discovery) made sure the door and set fire to several parts of the hut, so that all within perished in the flames, to the number of between thirty and forty persons, among whom were some beggars who had been spectators of the battle in hopes of sharing in the plunder. Many people went and viewed the smothered and scorched bodies among the rubbish of the hut. Among the number was Colonel Orelli, a brave old gentleman, who was either in the French or Spanish service.”—(*Jacobite Memoirs : Lyon in Mourning*).

The house to which this hut belonged is still to be seen—"Old Leanach," already mentioned)—within the inclosure of one of the Leanach fields, between the Graves and the Duke's Stone, near the former.

Mr. Chambers makes the number butchered on the Thursday to be 70, and on the Friday, 72 ; burnt in the hut, 32.

"I myself was told by William Rose, who was then grieve to my Lord President, that twelve wounded men were carried out of his house and shot in a hollow, which is within a very short distance of the scene of action. William Rose's wife told this fact to creditable people, from whom I had it more circumstantially:—She said that the party came to her house and told the wounded men to get up, that they might bring them to surgeons to have their wounds dressed ; upon which, she said, the poor men, whom she thought in so miserable a way that it was impossible they could stir, made a shift to get up ; and, she said, they went along with the party with an air of cheerfulness and joy, being full of the thought that their wounds were to be dressed ; but, she said, when the party had brought them the length of the hollow above mentioned, which is at a very short distance from her house, she being then within the house heard the firing of several guns, and coming out immediately to know the cause, saw all those brought out of her house under pretence of being carried to surgeons, were dead men."

"Upon the same day the party was despatched to put to death the wounded men in and about the field of battle, there was another party detached, under the command of Colonel Cockeen, to bring in the Lady MacIntosh prisoner from her house at Moy. Though

Cockeen himself was reckoned a most discreet, civil man, yet he found it impossible to restrain the barbarity of many of his party, who, straggling before, spared neither sex nor age they met with ; so that the lady has told many that she herself counted above fourteen dead bodies of men, women, and children, betwixt Moy and Inverness"—12 miles—(*Jacobite Memoirs : Lyon in Mourning*, ii. 188).

Mr. Ronald MacDonald of Belfinlay (a cadet of Clanranald's family) narrates that, being shot in both legs, "he remained likewise in the field all night, after he was stript of all his clothes,—his very shirt and breeches being taken from him ; and as he was young and of a robust constitution, he lived till next morning, when he saw that cruel command coming to execute their bloody orders, and saw many of his unhappy companions [the number is elsewhere stated to be 17] put to death in cold blood."—(*Lyon*, ii. 4).

MASSACRE OF WOUNDED OFFICERS.

The following is the description of the well-known massacre of a group of wounded officers, taken from a vault in Culloden House, and of the remarkable escape of one of their number, Alexander or John Fraser, commonly called MacIver :—

"This man was an officer of the Master of Lovat's regiment. He was very early shot through the knee at the battle of Culloden : he was carried off in the heat of the action, and left at a dyke-side pointing towards Culloden House. Some hours after the defeat of the Highland army, he, with other seventeen wounded officers of that army (who were either carried or made their escape towards a little plantation of wood near to the place where Fraser lay), were carried to the close and office houses of Culloden, where they remained for two days, wallowing in their blood,

and in great torture, without any aid from a doctor or surgeon, though otherwise kindly entertained by Mr. Thomas Stewart, chamberlain and chief house-keeper to the late Lord President ; and this he did to some at the hazard of his life. The third day, Fraser and the other seventeen wounded officers were, by a party of soldiers under the command of a certain officer, put on carts, tied with ropes, and carried a little distance from the house to a park dyke, when the officer who commanded the party ordered Fraser and the other prisoners to prepare for death ; and all who were able bended their knees and began to pray to God for mercy to their souls. In a minute, the soldiers who conducted them were ordered to fire, which they did ; and being at the distance of only two yards from the breasts of the unhappy prisoners, most of them all expired in an instant ; but such was the humanity of the commanding officer, as, thinking it right to put an end to so many miserable lives, that he gave orders to the soldiers to club their muskets and dash out the brains of such of them as he observed with life, which accordingly they did ; and one of the soldiers, observing John Fraser to have the signs of life after receiving a shot, he struck him on the face with the butt of his musket, broke the upper part of his nose and cheek-bone, and dashed out one of his eyes, and left him for dead. In this miserable situation a certain young nobleman (Lord Boyd), riding out by the House of Culloden and park-dyke, observed some life in Fraser, and, calling out to him, asked what he was. He told him he was an officer in the Master of Lovat's regiment. This young lord offered him money, saying he had been acquainted with his colonel ; upon which Fraser told him he had no use for money, but begged, for God's sake, either to cause his servant to put an end to his miserable life, or carry him to a cot-house, which he mentioned,

at a little distance. This the young lord had the humanity to do ; and Fraser, being put in a corn kiln-logie, where he remained for three months, and with the assistance of his landlord, is so far cured as to be able to step upon two crutches, and is now a living object, and witness of all I relate to you.”—(*Lyon*, ii. 328).

The late Rev. Alexander Campbell of Croy, in his account of that parish, thus attests this shocking incident :—“The man died near Beaully, about the year 1796, where many are still living who may have known him ; but to put the bloody deed beyond the shadow of doubt, the writer of this account knew for several years a John Reid, who fought that day in the second battalion of the Royal Scots, and heard from his lips that he saw the cruel deed, and thanked God that he had nothing to do with the *black wark*. John fought at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, and only died about the year 1807, in the 105th year of his age, and in the full enjoyment of all his mental faculties. He was a lively little man, and retained a correct and vivid recollection of what he had seen and heard.”—*New Stat. Account* xiv.).

The spot where this wholesale butchery took place is well known, and is marked by a large stone in the wood in the hill face, about half-a-mile nearly right above Culloden House, and due south of the west end of the village of Balloch. It is a very large, flattish boulder, fifteen paces in circumference, and situated a little below and to the east of the westerly group of old pine trees previously mentioned, higher than the rest of the wood, and is nearly in a line on the hill face with the park-dyke east of the Dog Kennel. The victims are usually described as having

been ranged against the park-wall; but the late Sandy Bain Sage, Smithton of Culloden, son of one of the men in the President's service who were compelled to drive the carts with the unfortunates, often told Culloden and his brother that this stone was the actual shambles.

A significant testimony to the wanton cruelty of the English troopers existed to a comparatively recent period, in the person of Provost John MacIntosh of Inverness, father of the late Mr. Charles MacIntosh of Aberarder. Being an infant of eighteen months at the time of the Prince's stay at Inverness, he had been sent with his nurse, to be out of the way, to a house somewhere in the neighbourhood of Culloden. A few days after the battle a party of dragoons had gone into the house in the nurse's absence, and, finding the child in a cradle, they, after pillaging the house, placed the cradle, with the infant in it, on the fire. When found by the nurse, the embryo magistrate was a good deal scorched: and till his dying day he bore the marks on his arms. In convivial moods, Provost MacIntosh used jocularly to boast that he had been wounded at Culloden.

TREATMENT OF THE PRISONERS.

The treatment of the prisoners was of a piece with the foregoing details.

“When we had filled all the jails, kirks, and ships at Inverness with these rebel prisoners, wounded and naked as they were, we ordered that none should have any access to them, either with meat or drink, for two days. By this means, no doubt, we thought at least the wounded would starve, either for want of food or

clothes, the weather being then very cold. The two days being passed, there was a quorum of officers pitched upon to go and visit them, in order to take down their names and numbers, which was diminished pretty well, without having the least regard to order the remaining part either meat or drink to support nature. Amongst the number I was myself; but oh, heavens! what a scene opened to my eye and nose all at once! The wounded weltering in their gore and blood. . . . Their groans would have pierced a heart of stone; but our corrupt hearts were not in the least touched; but, on the contrary, we began to upbraid them the moment we entered their prison. Doctor Lauder's case of instruments was taken from him, for fear he should aid any of the wounded; and one John Farquharson of Alderg, who was, I believe, a kind of a Highland-blooder, his lancet was taken out of his pocket, for fear he should begin to blood them, after his Highland way, to save some few of the wounded to have fallen in fevers. That night it was determined in the Privy Council that each person should have half-a-pound oatmeal per day (but Hawley thought it too much); and, accordingly, they sent some of their commissaries to distribute the meal. I could not help laughing, in the time of the distribution, when the poor things had nothing left them to hold their meal but the foreskirt of their shirts. . . . Some were handcuffed, especially Major Stewart and Major M'Lachlan. Their handcuffs were so tight that their hands swelled, and at last broke the skin, so that the irons could not be seen. I can compare their case to nothing better than a horse sore saddle-spoiled. . . .

“In this excessive agony were they kept ten days notwithstanding all the application they made, only to get wider handcuffs, or their being changed and put upon their other hands. Amongst the rest I

saw a Frenchman in the agonies of dying, lying in nastiness up to his stomach, and I myself put a great stone under his head, that he might not be choked, which he lay on. We always took care not to bury their dead until such time as we had at least a dozen of them. Only imagine to yourself what for an agreeable smell was there. . . .”

“Amongst the wounded I pitied none more than one Cameron of Callort, who was a gentleman. He had his arm broke,—a great many friends in the place, even in our army; notwithstanding all, he could not have a surgeon to dress him for ten days’ time; that at last Mr. Menzie, at Inverness, made stolen marches to see his friend. The Sunday se’n-night after the battle, there was orders given that all the prisoners should be reviewed publicly in the streets of Inverness; and accordingly there were two lines of our men from one end of the Bridge Street to the other, and ’twixt these two lines the prisoners were to pass muster. Such a scene was never seen; some entirely naked, others in their shirts, and their meal tied as before; the wounded even behaved to come out; neither cries nor entreaties would save them; and those who were not able either to stand or walk, were carried by their fellow-prisoners, amongst the loud huzza of officers and soldiers, none more delighted than Mr. Bruce.”—(*Jacobite Memoirs*; p. 339; *Lyon* iii. 155).

CRUELITIES ON BOARD SHIP.

Numbers were sent to London by sea. The system of torture was continued on board.

“Gentlemen,—This comes to acquaint you that I was eight months and eight days at sea, of which time I was eight weeks upon half-a-pound and twelve ounces oatmeal, and a bottle of water in the twenty-four hours, which was obliged to make meal-and-water

in the bottom of an old bottle. There was one hundred and twenty-five put on board at Inverness, on the 'James and May' of Fife. In the latter end of June, we was put on board of a transport of four hundred and fifty ton, called the 'Liberty and Property,' in which we continued the rest of the eight months, upon twelve ounces of oat sheelin as it came from the mill. There was thirty-two prisoners more put on board of the said 'Liberty and Property,' which makes one hundred and fifty-seven; and when we came ashore there was only in life forty-nine, which would have been no great surprise if there had not been one, conform to our usage. They would take us from the hold in a rope, and hoisted us up to the yardarm, and let us fall in the sea, in order for ducking of us; and tying us to the mast and whipping us if we did anything however innocent that offended them: this was done to us when we was not able to stand. I will leave it to the readers to judge what condition they might be in themselves with the above treatment. We had neither bed nor bed-clothes, nor clothes to keep us warm in the day-time. The ship's ballast was black earth and small stones, which we was obliged to dig holes to lie in to keep us warm, till the first of November last, that every man got about three yards of gross harn filled up with straw, but no bed-clothes. I will not trouble you more till I see you. There is none in life that went from Elgin with me, but William Innes in Fochabers; James Brander in Condloch died seven months ago; Alexander Frigge died in Cromarty Road; John Kintrea, that lived in Longbride, died also. Mr. James Falconar is well, and remains on board of a ship called the 'James and Mary,' lying off Tilbury Fort.—I am, gentlemen, your most humble servant,

(Signed) WILL. JACK.

"Tilbury Fort, March 17th, 1747." *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 299; *Lyon*, iii. 15).

“But at last, by hunger, bad usage, and lying upon the ballasts and ’twixt decks, exposed to all weathers, they were seized with a kind of plague which carried them off by dozens ; and a good many of those who would have outlived their sickness were wantonly murdered by the sailors by dipping of them in the sea in the crisis of their fevers. This was the sailors’ diversion from Buchanness Point till we came to the Nore ; they’d take a rope and tie about the poor sick’s waists ; then they would haul them up by their tackle, and plunge them in the sea, as they said, to drown the vermin, but they took special care to drown both together ; then they’d haul them up upon deck, and tie a stone about one of the legs, and overboard with them. I have seen six or seven examples of this in a day. After we brought them up the river Thames, we got orders to separate their officers from what they called soldiers, and bring the officers to Southwark New jail, and leave the commons at Tilbury Fort, without meat, drink, money, or clothes ; and actually they would have starved, had it not been for the charity of the English, the government not giving them one sol to live upon, except those few that turned evidence ; it’s no great wonder if they had all turned evidence to get out of this miserable situation, the prospect of which behoved to appear worse than death, for, in my opinion, nothing could come up to it, save the notion we conceive of hell ; and I do not know if hell itself be so bad, only that it may be of a longer duration. But to return to our gentleman officers : they were brought up in rank and file, exposed to the fury of a tumultuous mob, who neither spared them with their outrageous words, spittles, dirt, and even stones and bricks, and in that manner carried through all the streets in Southwark, and at last delivered over to the hands of a jailer, who neither had the least fear of God, nor humanity,—a creature

entirely after their own heart, who loaded them, the moment they entered his gates, with heavy irons and bad usage.

“After every execution the mangled bodies were brought back to the jail, and remained there some days, to show the remaining prisoners how they were to be used in their turn. I am very sure nothing could be more shocking to nature than to see their comrades, their friends, brought back in such a condition, all cut to pieces—the very comrades they parted with about an hour-and-a-half before in perfect good health and top spirits. They had even the cruelty to keep up the reprieves of those that were to be saved till some hours before their execution.” — (*Jacobite Memoirs*,” p. 343 ; *Lyon*, iii. 157).

The Rev. George Innes, Forres, in communicating to Bishop Forbes the above letter, which was from a William Jack, who had been a merchant in Elgin, to his friends there, writes :—

“From this letter you may easily see wherein consisted the great lenity of the Government to their unfortunate prisoners, viz., in starving and murdering them in the most barbarous manner that it might not be said there were many brought to public execution. And, indeed, their public executions were the least part of their cruelty.”

One peculiarly discreditable act was committed by the Duke at Inverness—the seizure, on some specious pretext, of sixty-nine men from Glenmoriston, and twelve from Glen Urquhart, who, induced by the Laird of Grant to come to Inverness to surrender, were made prisoners and put on board ship ; and such as did not die there, were sent to Barbadoes, where,

three years after, only eighteen of the whole number were surviving. Certain of these atrocities—the stripping of the wounded prisoners naked, and leaving them to die of their wounds, without the least assistance ; the taking from the Prince’s surgeons of their instruments, and preventing them from giving professional aid to their fellows ; the lingering tortures in which the wounded died on board ship (the “Jean of Leith”) ; the scrimp allowance there of oatmeal—half-a-pound a-day, sometimes increased to, but never exceeding, a pound ; the starvation of numbers to death ; the compelling of the poor sufferers to sit on large stones, denying them even the indulgence of lying on planks—are thus solemnly and emphatically attested in the dying declaration, dated 28th November. 1746, of Mr. James Bradshaw, an English gentleman, previous to his execution :—

“These are some of the few cruelties exercised, which, being almost incredible in a Christian country, I am obliged to add an asseveration to the truth of them ; and I do assure you, *upon the word of a dying man, as I hope for mercy at the day of judgment*, that I assert nothing but what I know to be true.”—(*Anti-Jacobin Review*, vol. xiii. p. 126).

But enough of such details.

VINDICTIVE OUTRAGES.

“The Duke of Cumberland now fixed his headquarters near Fort-Augustus, in the very centre of the insurgent districts. It would have been a task welcome to most generals, and not unbecoming in any, to have tempered justice with mercy ; to reserve the chiefs and principal delinquents for trial and punish-

ment ; but to spare, protect, and conciliate the people at large. Not such, however, was the Duke of Cumberland's opinion of his duty. Every kind of havoc and outrage was not only permitted, but, I fear, we must add, encouraged. Military license usurped the place of law ; and a fierce and exasperated soldiery were at once judge, jury, executioner. In such transactions it is natural and reasonable to suppose that the Jacobites would exaggerate their own sufferings and the wrongs of their opponents ; nor, therefore, should we attach weight to mere loose and vague complaints. But where we find specific cases alleged, with names and dates, attested on most respectable authority, by gentlemen of high honour and character, by bishops and clergymen of the Episcopal Church—in some case even by members of the victorious party—then are we bound not to shrink from the truth, however the truth may be displeasing. From such evidence, it appears that the Rebels' country was laid waste, the houses plundered, the cabins burnt, the cattle driven away. The men had fled to the mountains, but such as could be found were frequently shot ; nor was mercy always granted to their helpless families. In many cases the women and children, expelled from their homes, and seeking shelter in the clefts of the rocks, miserably perished of cold and hunger ; others were reduced to follow the track of the marauders, humbly imploring for the blood and offal of their own cattle, which had been slaughtered for the soldiers' food ! Such is the avowal which historical justice demands"—Lord Mahon's *History of England*, iii.).

To the same purport Smollett expresses himself as follows :—

“In the month of May the Duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as

Fort-Augustus, where he encamped, and sent off detachments on all hands to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The castles of Glengarry and Lochiel were plundered and burned ; every house, hut, or habitation met with the same fate without distinction ; all the cattle and provisions were carried off ; the men were either shot upon the mountains like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial ; the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was inclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be seen in the compass of fifty miles—all was ruin, silence, and desolation.” *

* “ Yet when the rage of battle ceased,
The victor’s soul was not appeased ;
The naked and forlorn must feel
Devouring flames and murdering steel !

“ The pious mother, doomed to death,
Forsaken wanders o’er the heath ;
The bleak wind whistles round her head ;
Her helpless orphans cry for bread.

“ Bereft of shelter, food, and friend,
She views the shade of night descend ;
And, stretched beneath the inclement skies
Weeps o’er her tender babes—and dies.

“ While the warm blood bedews my veins,
And unimpaired remembrance reigns,
Resentment of my country’s fate
Within my filial breast shall beat.”

—*Tears of Scotland.*

In Dr. Chambers's words: "Before the 10th of June the task of desolation was complete throughout all the western parts of Inverness-shire; and the curse which had been denounced upon Scotland by the religious enthusiasts of the preceding century, was at length so entirely fulfilled in this remote region, that it would have been literally possible to travel for days through the depopulated glens, *without seeing a chimney smoke, or hearing a cock crow.*"

"It is generally allowed that the Duke himself, though the instigator of these cruelties, did not show so much open or active cruelty as some of the more immediate instruments of the Royal vengeance. General Hawley was one of the most remorseless of all the commanding officers, apparently thinking no extent of cruelty a sufficient compensation for the loss of honour at Falkirk. The names of Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, Captain Caroline Scott, and Major Lockhart, are also to be handed down as worthy of everlasting execration."

The mansions of Lord Lovat, Cluny, Keppoch, Kinlochmoidart, Glengyle, Ardshiel, and many others, were plundered and burnt; those of also many inferior gentlemen, and even the huts of the common people, were destroyed.

GROUNDLESS IMPUTATIONS.

A very flimsy excuse was attempted for all these outrages. This was the allegation, that an order signed by Lord George Murray had been found on the person of a Highlander, that no quarter was to be given to the Duke's troops. Had this been a fact, it would have indeed been but a sorry solvent to wash out the blood-marks of such doings. But, in truth, the pretended order was never produced. It is cer-

tain that no such order was issued to the Insurgent army. There is no trace of any such ; and the story was repeatedly and emphatically denied by the prisoners. Had there been, it would, beyond all question, have been noticed in the official documents of the time ; while the atrocities never were contradicted. The tenor is quite at variance with all the previous actings of the Insurgents, which had been marked by the very reverse of cruelty in cold blood.

Had an order for no quarter been actually issued, the Prince would have been not without a plausible justification. From his ambulatory army being constantly in motion, it was a very perplexing problem how to dispose of the numerous prisoners made from time to time. They were constantly making their escape, and reappearing in arms ; so that the Insurgents had to encounter anew the same men whom they had vanquished, and whose lives they had spared.

But this is not all. With regard to the many officers discharged upon parole,—some of whom, having been appointed to reside in different places in Forfar and Fifeshire, had been released by parties of the country people, and brought ostensibly by force to Edinburgh,—“incredible as it may appear,” to use Dr. Chambers’s words, “this Prince (the Duke of Cumberland), declaring their oath and parole to be dissolved, commanded them to return to duty in his army, and sent similar orders to all who still remained ‘non-delivered,’ threatening them with the loss of their commissions if they refused. A small number, including Sir Peter Halket, Mr. Ross, son of Lord Ross, Captain Lucy Scott, Lieutenants Farquharson

and Cumming, refused compliance, remarking that the Duke was master of their commissions but not of their honour. But the greater number rejoined their regiments, and served during the remainder of the campaign."

Chevalier Johnstone says that the expedient had been suggested of cutting off the thumbs of the right hands of the common soldiers, to render them incapable of holding their muskets; but the proposition was not entertained. It is to the honour of George II., "that the conduct of Sir Peter Halket and the few gentlemen who, like him, adhered punctually to their parole, was approved of by that monarch."

On the other hand, Captain John MacPherson, Strathmashie, has left it on record, in a letter to Bishop Forbes (*Lyon in Mourning*, ii. 92), after detailing the capture of the Athol garrisons by Lord George Murray,—

"I must observe to you that among some papers found with the officers at Kynachan, there was an order subscribed (if I well remember) by General or Colonel Campbell, setting furth it was the D— of C—ds peremptor orders, if they could meet with any party of the rebels, whom they could at all expect to overcome, to engage them, and to give them no quarter, as they would be answerable. That of Kynachan was the attack assigned me, and this order I saw upon the word of an honest man, and copied, which copy I kept, and had the bad luck since to lose it, by the iniquity of the times, as I did many more things; but it's possible it may come to my hands yet. The prinⁿ Cluny kept."

So far from any likelihood of such an order, the Prince on several occasions exhibited undue clemency, while even in the matter of plunder, discipline and general conduct had been preserved during the march into, and though doubtless with less complete success, even on their retreat from, England—the taking of horses for carrying their baggage and for sick men being what the Highlanders committed greatest excess in. These, however, when identified, were restored and all possible care was taken to restrain such noted thieves, as no army is free of, in which respect an army of Highlanders at that time was not singular.

“The Highland army were utter strangers to military discipline ; but its place was supplied by implicit obedience to the will of their chiefs, who were many of them men of education and urbanity. No symptom of outrage, no ebullition of insolence, was discernible in the deportment of these lawless mountaineers. They regularly paid for everything they got. They left behind them neither sick nor stragglers ; and we ourselves can attest that, from the Prince himself down to the private man, the correctness of their conduct was, many years after, recorded with applause, and advantageously compared with the excesses of the regulars, in the several towns through which both had passed. From these facts two things are apparent,—first, the astonishing influence and authority of the chiefs ; and, secondly, the humane and generous motives by which they must have been actuated.”—(*Anti-Jacobin Review*, vol. xiii.)

The bearing of the Royalist leaders was scarcely more conciliatory towards the friends than merciless to the enemies of government. The following

occurrences in their intercourse with the civic rulers of Inverness are well known. The narrative is from one of the letters in the *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 331 ; *Lyon in Mourning*, iii. 72.

“I am afraid I have been too long upon the gloom, and therefore I shall shift the scene a little, and touch upon something that is farcical, if I dare take upon me to call anything farcical that rubs upon dignities. But if *dignities* will affront and insult *dignities*, let them answer for it at whose door the blame lies.

“When John Fraser, Esq., the then Lord Mayor (in Scotch, Provost) of Inverness, and the aldermen (attended by Mr. Hossack, the then late Lord Mayor), went to pay their levee to the Duke of Cumberland, the Generals Hawley and Husk happened to be deliberating and making out orders about slaying the wounded upon the field of battle, etc. Mr. Hossack (a man of humanity, and the Sir Robert Walpole of Inverness, under the direction of President Forbes) could not witness such a prodigy of intended wickedness without saying something, and therefore, making a low bow to the generals, he spoke thus :—‘As His Majesty’s troops have been happily successful against the rebels, I hope your excellencies will be so good as to mingle mercy with judgment.’ Upon this General Hawley bawled out, ‘D——n the puppy ! Does he pretend to dictate here ? Carry him away ?’ Another cried, ‘Kick him out ! kick him out !’ The orders were instantly and literally obeyed ; for good Mr. Hossack received *kicks* upon *kicks*, and Sir Robert Adair had the *honour* to give him the last *kick* upon the top of the stair, to such purpose that Mr. Hossack never touched a single step till he was at the bottom of the first flat, from which he tumbled headlong down to the foot of all the stair, and then was he *discreetly* taken up and carried to the provost-guard. A notable

reward for zeal!—on which Mr. Hossack was warm enough, but with discretion and good-nature, as I was informed.

“But this is not all. Mr. Mayor himself (John Fraser) behaved to have a specimen of their *good sense and genteel manners*; for he was taken from dinner at his own table by an officer and some musketeers, with a volley of oaths and imprecations, to a stable, and was ordered to clean it instantly upon his peril. Mr. Mayor said he never cleaned his own stable, and why should he clean that of any other person? After some debate upon the dirty subject, Mr. Fraser was at last indulged the privilege to get some fellows to clean the stable. However, he was obliged to stand a considerable time almost to the ankles in dirt, and see the dirty service performed. Oh! notable treatment of a king’s lieutenant!

“This singularity of *military conduct* towards Messrs. Hossack and Fraser is the more amazing, as none in Great Britain can be more firmly attached to the present establishment, as settled in the illustrious House of Hanover, than they are; but whether or not this unaccountable treatment has thrown a dash of lukewarmness into their zeal, I shall not take it upon me to determine. Had it been my case, I am afraid my zeal would have turned as chill as ice itself.

“The wanton youngsters, in and about Inverness, distinguish these two gentlemen by the names of the *kick provost*, and the *muck or dirt provost*.

“Several others who were zealous friends to the government were thrown into jail at the same time with Mr. Hossack. Liberty and property with a witness! Mere empty sounds without a meaning.

“In the north of Scotland I happened to fall in with a venerable old gentleman, an honest Whig, who, looking me seriously in the face, asked if the Duke of Cumberland was not a Jacobite. ‘A Jacobite,’ said

I; 'How comes that in your head?' 'Sure,' replied the old gentleman, 'the warmest zealot in the interests of the Prince could not possibly devise more proper methods for sowing the seeds of Jacobitism and disaffection than the Duke of Cumberland did!'"

EXECUTIONS.

Besides the hundreds of victims who were put to death in the north of Scotland, without form of law, numbers were brought to trial in England for high treason. Immediately after the battle, the passes to the Highlands were carefully guarded by troops and militia, and the coasts vigilantly watched by ships of war, and many prisoners were secured and lodged in various prisons throughout Scotland. Measures of the utmost severity were instigated by the Duke of Cumberland on his return to England. The proceedings took place at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, at Carlisle, and at York. With reference to the trials at Carlisle, Mr. Chambers says:—

"About the beginning of August, a herd — for such it might be termed—of these ill-fated persons was impelled, like one of their own droves of cattle, from the Highlands towards Carlisle, where, on being imprisoned, they were found to amount to no less than three hundred and eighty-five. To try so many individuals with the certainty of finding almost all of them guilty, would have looked something like premeditated massacre, and might have had an effect on the nation very different from what was intended. It was therefore determined that, while all the officers and others who had distinguished themselves by zeal in the insurrection should be tried, the great mass should be per-

mitted to cast lots, one in twenty to be tried, and the rest to be transported. Several individuals refused this extra-judicial proffer of grace, and chose rather to take their chance upon a fair trial."

In all, about eighty persons selected from the condemned, suffered death—the executions taking place at Kensington Common, Carlisle, Brompton, Penrith, and York. The sufferers of highest rank were Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat, and Charles Ratcliffe, taking upon himself the title of Earl of Derwentwater. These were beheaded, and the composure and courage with which they met their fate have been frequently recorded with circumstantial detail. Of the others ;—

"According to the atrocious treason-law of Edward III., the culprits were only allowed to hang three minutes (in the later executions the period was lengthened). Then with life scarcely extinct, their bodies were placed on a block, disemboweled, and beheaded, the viscera being thrown into a fire. All these unhappy individuals are said to have behaved throughout the last trying scene with a degree of decent firmness which surprised the beholders. Every one of them continued till his last moment to justify the cause which brought him to the scaffold ; and some even declared that, if set at liberty, they would act in the same way as they had done. They all prayed in their last moments for the exiled Royal family, particularly for Prince Charles, whom they concurred in representing as a pattern of all manly virtues, and as a person calculated to render the nation happy should it ever have the good fortune to see him restored."—(*Chambers*).

Acute diseases require sharp remedies, and the public men of that day are entitled, at the bar of

posterity, to the benefit of such plea. The character of the insurrection, too, was sufficiently formidable to prompt, at the inspiration of a panic fear, a stamping-out policy, which, however, though as judicious as effective in the treatment of a public calamity like the cattle plague, must be rigidly judged when applied to human beings, much more to fellow-countrymen.

“Few probably,” Mr. Chambers remarks, “would deny that the late attempt to disturb a settlement, in which the bulk of the nation acquiesced, called for some exercise of the law’s severity ; but I would hope that, in the present age, there are still fewer who can behold unmoved a cruel death falling as a punishment upon men, who, so far from being actuated by the spirit of crime, had been prompted by nearly as high a sense of duty as the mind of man ever experiences. The conduct of the men themselves, in their last moments, and the declarations they left behind them, form a most affecting commentary on the laws which dictate death and ignominy for offences of mere sentiment and opinion.”

TREATMENT OF PRESIDENT FORBES.

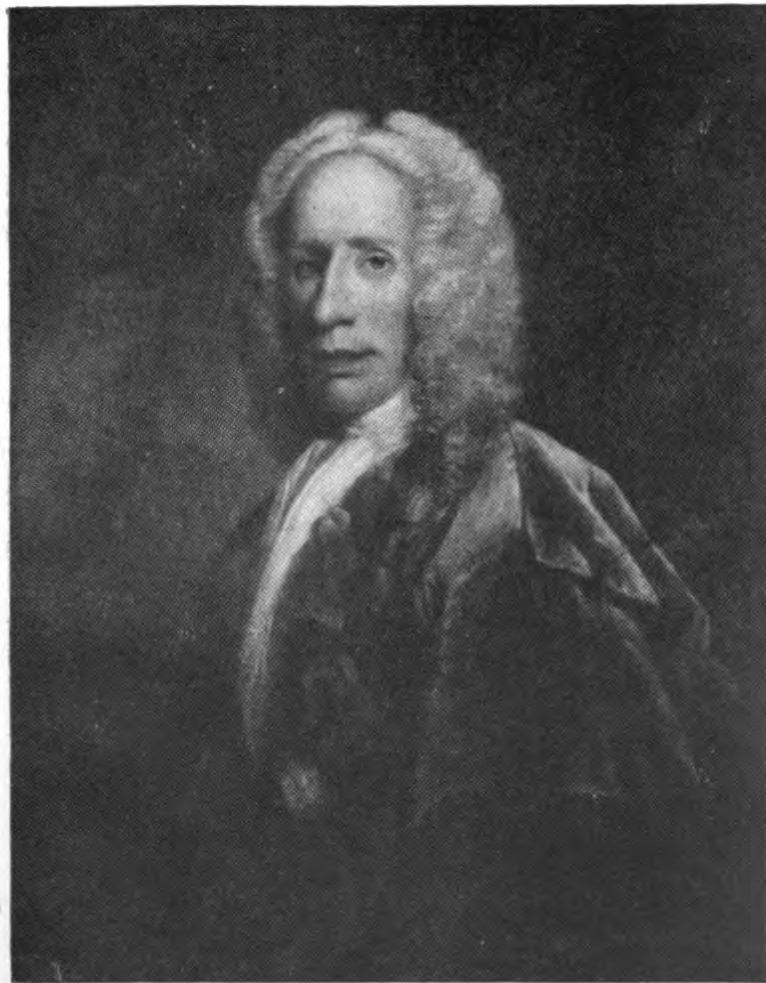
“The reader will naturally expect,” as remarked by Sir Walter Scott in the already mentioned Review of the *Culloden Papers*,

“to hear of the rewards and honours which were showered on President Forbes, for his admirable conduct during a period so difficult and dangerous. Of these we learn nothing. But we suspect that the memory of his services was cancelled by the zeal with which, after the victory, he pressed the cause of clemency. We have heard that, when this venerable judge, as well became his station, mentioned the laws of the country, he was answered, not,

as the editor supposes, by the Earl of Albemarle, but by a personage greater still, 'What laws? By God, I'll make a brigade give laws to the land!'—that his repeated intercessions in favour of those who, from prejudice of education, or a false sense of honour, had joined the Chevalier, were taken in bad part; and his desire to preserve to the Highlanders a dress fitted to their occupations, was almost construed into disaffection;—in fine, that he died broken in spirit by witnessing the calamities of his country, and impoverished in estate by the want of that very money which he had, in the hour of need, frankly advanced to buy troops for the service of Government. But he left behind him a name endeared, even in those days of strife and bitterness, to enemies as to friends, and doubly to be honoured by posterity, for that impartiality which uniformly distinguished between the cause of the country and political party. By a sort of posthumous ingratitude, the privilege of distilling, without payment of duty, upon his barony of Ferintosh,—an immunity conferred to compensate his father's losses and reward his services at the Revolution, and hence termed by Burns, 'Loyal Forbes's chartered boast,'—was wrenched from the family by Government in 1785, for a most inadequate recompense."

In like terms, Sir Henry Steuart, in the *Anti-Jacobin*, thus expresses himself:—

“As to the Lord President Forbes, it deserves to be recorded, to the honour of that excellent judge and disinterested patriot, that, by his zeal, his prudence, and his unwearied assiduity, he, beyond question, saved the Highlands. From his extensive influence among the Highland chiefs, he was enabled to encourage the loyal, to overawe the timid, and to confirm the wavering; and, in fact, he generously exhausted an



Lord President Forbes, from the Portrait by Davison



opulent fortune in the public service. It was owing to his countenance and timely counsels that the MacDonalDs of Skye, the MacLeods of MacLeod, and many other families, preserved their loyalty, together with their estates, amidst the dangers and intrigues of a disastrous period. If Parliament with propriety voted £25,000 of additional annuity to the Duke of Cumberland for gaining the battle of Culloden, by what measure of remuneration should it have recompensed the man by whose previous exertions that victory was achieved, and but for whom the Pretender would in all probability have brought into the field a force greatly superior to the Royal troops? For, from the first day of the Rebellion to the last, the President's exertions were unremitted, and frequently successful in stopping the infection of Jacobite principles, and in usefully strengthening the hands of government. How he *was* recompensed may be seen from the following anecdote, which we are desirous should be preserved in our pages. Although well-known, as we believe, to Mr. Home, it is not to be found in his book. But it is important in marking the temper of the times, and the astonishing violence of party spirit.

“When the Lord President went to London, in the end of the year 1746, for the purpose of settling his accounts, and recovering the large sums he had expended in the Royal cause, he, as usual, went to Court. The King, whose ears had been offended with repeated accounts of the conduct of the military after the battle of Culloden, thus addressed the president:—‘My Lord President, you are the person I most wished to see. Shocking reports have been circulated here of barbarities committed by the army in the north: your Lordship is, of all men, the best able to satisfy me.’ ‘I wish to God,’ replied the President, with a noble firmness, ‘that I could, con-

sistently with truth, assure your Majesty that such reports are *destitute* of foundation !' The King, as was his custom when exceedingly displeased, turned abruptly away from the President, whose accounts, next day, were passed with difficulty ; and, as report says, the balance, which was immense, was never fully paid up."

Bishop Forbes, too, is not far wrong in the remark, that "the liberation of Rattray and Lauder (two medical officers of the Prince's army) was the only favour the President ever received for his extraordinary services."—(*Lyon*, ii. 313).

So ruinous had been the private outlays of the President that, to save the family estate, his son and successor, John Forbes, on the death of his father, repaired to Hampstead, where, for the long period of sixteen years, he lived in retirement, paying off debts incurred by the President in his efforts to suppress the Rebellion.

PENAL STATUTES.

Several Acts were now passed with the view of suppressing the system of clanship, and to make it impossible for the Highlanders again to take up arms against the lawful government of the country. After the Rising of 1715 a disarming Act had been passed ; but while obeyed by the Whig clans, it had been evaded by those favourable to the exiled family. In 1747-8 various important Acts were promulgated which struck at the root of the authority of the chiefs. One Act enforced that already in existence for disarming the Highlanders. By another the Highland

dress and the very tartan were proscribed ; an enactment which occasioned the most violent indignation throughout the Highlands. Heritable jurisdictions and wardholding (of which last military tenure was an essential) were abolished.

Episcopacy, which had already been marked as the religion of the Jacobites, was still further discountenanced by additional severe penal laws, which were not removed till 1792. Ordination, excepting by Bishops of the English or Irish Church, or deriving their orders from them, was declared inadequate to qualify for the pastorship in Scotland. All non-juring Episcopalian clergymen, officiating to five or more persons, were made subject to imprisonment ; and for repetition of the offence, to transportation to the American plantations ; and the laity were required, under pain of fine and imprisonment, to give notice of resort to an illegal Episcopal meeting house. An Act of Indemnity, but excepting certain individuals, was passed in 1747. The forfeited estates were put under the charge of Scotch commissioners, and were, after a time, generously and judiciously restored.

The progress of Scotland since the middle, more particularly towards the close, of the eighteenth century, has been almost unexampled. It seems perfectly astonishing, at this time of day, to look back and reflect what an anomalous state of society had existed within little more than a century and a half, in a portion of the British islands ; such a segregation of the inhabitants of the different glens and valleys of the Highlands of

Scotland from the rest of the community, and from other tribes, all living under a peculiar patriarchal system, and ever ready to take up arms at the bidding of their chiefs. How different now! Proverbially none of His Majesty's subjects are more peaceful and loyal than the Highlanders of Scotland, whom the halo of romance, round the setting rays of the days of other years, invests with an interest in keeping with the attractions of the varied scenery of their "land of mountain and flood," which may render this attempt at a compendious compilation of the story of the Battle of Culloden not altogether labour misapplied.

CHAPTER VII.

CLAVA—STONE CIRCLES AND CAIRNS.

Gray recumbent tombs of the dead in desert places,
Standing stones on the vacant wine-red moor,
Hills of sheep and the silent vanished races,
And winds austere and pure.

—R. L. S.

ON the opposite side of the Nairn to Culloden Moor there exists a very remarkable collection—the most extensive series of stone circles and cairns existing in one spot in any part of Scotland.* A visit to it from the battle-field ought not to be omitted. At all events, a look at the circles ought to be taken from the opposite bank. A bridge will be found across the river, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the battle-field, opposite the shooting-lodge and farm-houses of Mains of Clava—in Gaelic, “Clàvalag”—a little farther down than the farm-steading of Leanach intermediate between the Duke’s stone and the river. A steep bank here lines the small river Nairn on the north, where the horizontally-stratified old red sandstone rock occasionally shows itself; whence the ground slopes gradually up to the Moor of Culloden, and is disposed in large enclosed fields. On the south side, a perfectly level but narrow plain occupies the bottom of the valley which, where not cultivated, is strewn over with boulder-stones; and the view at either end is ter-

* See small Map of Sites of Stone Circles.

minated by two prominent hills, one of which, to the east (Dun Evan), has on its summit a structure strongly vitrified ; and on the other (Dun Daviot), to the west, is a similar fortified site, which, however has not been affected by fire. The lower hill-sides exhibit a succession of terraced-ground with pretty level ground atop. These terraced slopes, with most of the level ground, are cultivated ; but a great expanse of moor rises above, the hills being very considerably higher than Culloden Moor.

Over a portion of the plain, extending to about three-fourths of a mile, are the remains of a series of cairns, with the triple concentric circles of stones found in the more perfect specimens of what are called Druidical Temples, and portions of circles of stones, which unquestionably belonged originally to cairns ; and there must have been several others, all vestiges of which have been destroyed on the land now under cultivation. Even at first sight one is prompted to exclaim, "Here is a city of the dead."

The plain of Clava, though, in great measure cultivated, is a comparatively sequestered section of Strathnairn, and has, in truth, a weird-like character quite in keeping with these silent mementos of personages, who, though now unknown to fame, doubtless reckoned on being numbered with "the mighty dead." Indeed, what more likely than that this may have been a burial-place of pre-historic kings of Scotland or Pictland, since, in the vicinity of the Ness, whether at its discharge into the sea, or at its exit from Loch Ness (viz., at Castle Spital or Spioradan, as now

conjectured), there was an abode of royalty in Columba's time? The number and size of the cairns demonstrate this to have been the chosen resting-place of persons of distinguished rank; and it requires no stretch of versimilitude to assign to these silent reliques a dynastic significance. If there be reasonable grounds for this conjecture, Clava may have been coeval with the vitrified forts, and a regal fane antecedent to the adoption of Iona as the burial-place of the royal line of Scotland. In this view, the story of the extinction of the hopes of the house of Stuart, almost on the very spot, borrows an additional gleam of romantic association. Had the advice to withdraw the Highland army to the south side of the river been acted upon, the din of battle might have been amid the spectral stones memorial of the far-remote ancestors of a portion of the combatants who then made, on their native heath, a last vain struggle for ascendancy.

THE CLAVA CIRCLES.*

BY JAMES FRASER, C.E.

Stone circles (locally known as "Druidical circles") are found in various states of preservation, from the lower end of Strathnairn to a point twenty-five miles up the river. There are, or rather there were, twenty-five of these circles within the drainage area of the

* Mr. Fraser has kindly allowed these descriptive notes to be reproduced from a paper communicated to the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club, in 1883.

River Nairn, and twelve or fourteen between the western watershed of the Nairn and the River Ness.

* * * * *

Wherever the structures are sufficiently preserved, they exhibit the following characteristics in common :

1. They consist of three concentric, or nearly concentric, rings of boulder stones, or of flag stones, fixed on end in the ground, and without hewing or dressing of any kind.

2. There is an outer ring of stones, varying from 60 to 126 feet in diameter outside, and consisting of long stones, from nine to twelve in number, standing at nearly regular intervals, the tallest being on the south side, and their size gradually diminishing towards the north.

3. A smaller interior, and concentric, or nearly concentric, ring, varying from 32 to 88 feet in diameter outside, made of smaller boulders (very few, if any, flags being used in this ring), the stones being set on end, close together, with a slight slope inward, and with the best, or flattest and broadest, face outward. As in the outer ring, the larger stones are on the south side, and the smaller stones to the north.

4. A third, and still smaller concentric ring, from 12 to about 32 feet in diameter inside, and consisting of stones set on end, close together.

5. They are all built on flat or low-lying ground, sometimes in a slight hollow or amphitheatre (with perhaps some not very decided exceptions on slight eminences).

As a rule the circles are found where stones are plentiful. It is also a general characteristic of the structures that the standing stones are only slightly sunk into the ground.

* * * * * *

There is a group of three circles at Balnuaran of Clava that are sometimes mentioned as chambered cairns, and that have been the subject of much notice and discussion by antiquarians for the last two or three generations. In common with the other circles of the district, they have the general characteristics which have been mentioned at the outset. The middle circle of the group is 80 feet north-east of the westward one; and the farthest east is 123 feet north-east of the middle one. The centre of the middle circle, again, is 44 feet north of a straight line drawn through the centres of the other two.

The western circle of the Balnuaran of Clava group may be concisely described as follows:—

The outer ring is 108 feet in diameter outside, and consists at present of eleven standing stones, but there is a vacant space for a twelfth pillar. Four of these fell to the ground, and have been restored; * and two others have been slightly shifted, to make

* Of the four that have been restored to the standing position, one appears to have been tilted up inwards, instead of outwards, by a mistake as to the direction in which it fell. Another was twisted a little, to stand parallel with the farm road made across the south side of the circle, and another twisted to stand square to the head of a new stone wall of which it forms the head on the other side of the same road! It is a great pity that the whole group of circles in this locality have been so much interfered with in recent times.

room for the road across the south side of the circle. All except one of the stones of the outer ring are of the shaly sandstone flags found plentifully, *in situ*, in the district. The intermediate ring which forms the base of the central cairn is 53 feet in diameter outside, and consists principally of granite and gneiss boulders, covered in some places by small stones which have rolled off the cairn. The inner ring is $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter inside, and is made of stones better selected. On this inner ring is built the circular chamber. The wall of the chamber is vertical for a height of about 4 feet, and is then built in the form of a dome, with the stones laid horizontally, and each slightly overhanging or projecting beyond the course below it. The masonry is of good flat stones, but otherwise of a rude description, and not well bonded nor closely jointed. The present height of the chamber is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet; and it would require to be 4 or 5 feet higher in order to form a complete dome. The cairn of loose stones is heaped up around the chamber, and the highest point of the cairn is at present 9 feet above the surface of the ground. There is an entrance to the central chamber from the south-west (S. 39° W.), 2 feet wide at the outer end, and 3 feet at the inner end, and which appears to have been from 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. The chambered cairn of this circle is the one that was opened by Mrs. Campbell, then residing at Kilravock Castle, in 1828 or 1829. The result of clearing it out is given by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder in his book on the "Moray Floods," (1830), as follows :

“I received a most interesting communication from Miss Campbell, informing me that the fragments of two earthen vases were found in the chamber in the interior of the Druidical circle opened at Clava, by Mrs. Campbell’s orders. ‘It was about 18 inches below the earth,’ says Miss Campbell, speaking of the more perfect of the two, ‘exactly in the centre of the circle. It was found in a broken and very mutilated state, the whole body of the stones having lain upon it. A quantity of calcined bones were in it and about it, all of which we have. The clay is of the coarsest kind, and the vase is of the rudest make. It has apparently had no cover, but is rounded at the top like a garden pot, which it resembles more than anything else. The bottom is flat, the inside very black from having been burned, the outside red; across the exterior of the bottom it measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and across the interior exactly 5 inches, and the height, in its fractured state, is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. After clearing away the stones, the interior of the cairn was found to be composed of gravel, but the vase and bones were enclosed in a portion of clay quite distinct from the natural soil.’”*

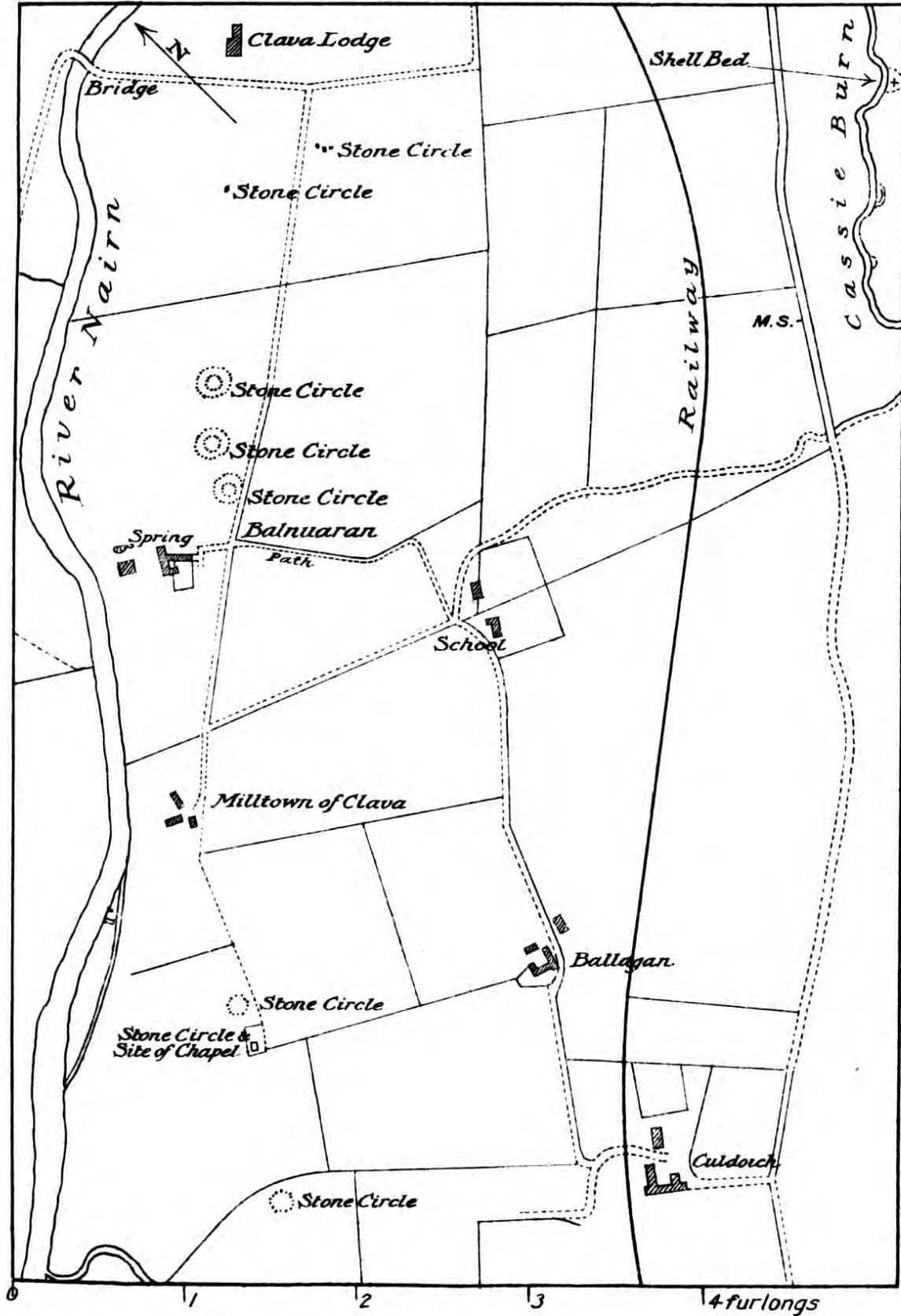
The eastern circle at Balnuaran of Clava is almost the same in every respect as the western just described. The outer ring, which is irregular in shape, is 110 feet in diameter outside, and was originally formed of either eleven or twelve stones, ten of which still remain. Three of the stones have been restored; and one of these also appears, from the marks on the ground, to have been tilted up, like the stone in the western circle, in the wrong direction. The intermediate ring is 58 feet in diameter outside, and the

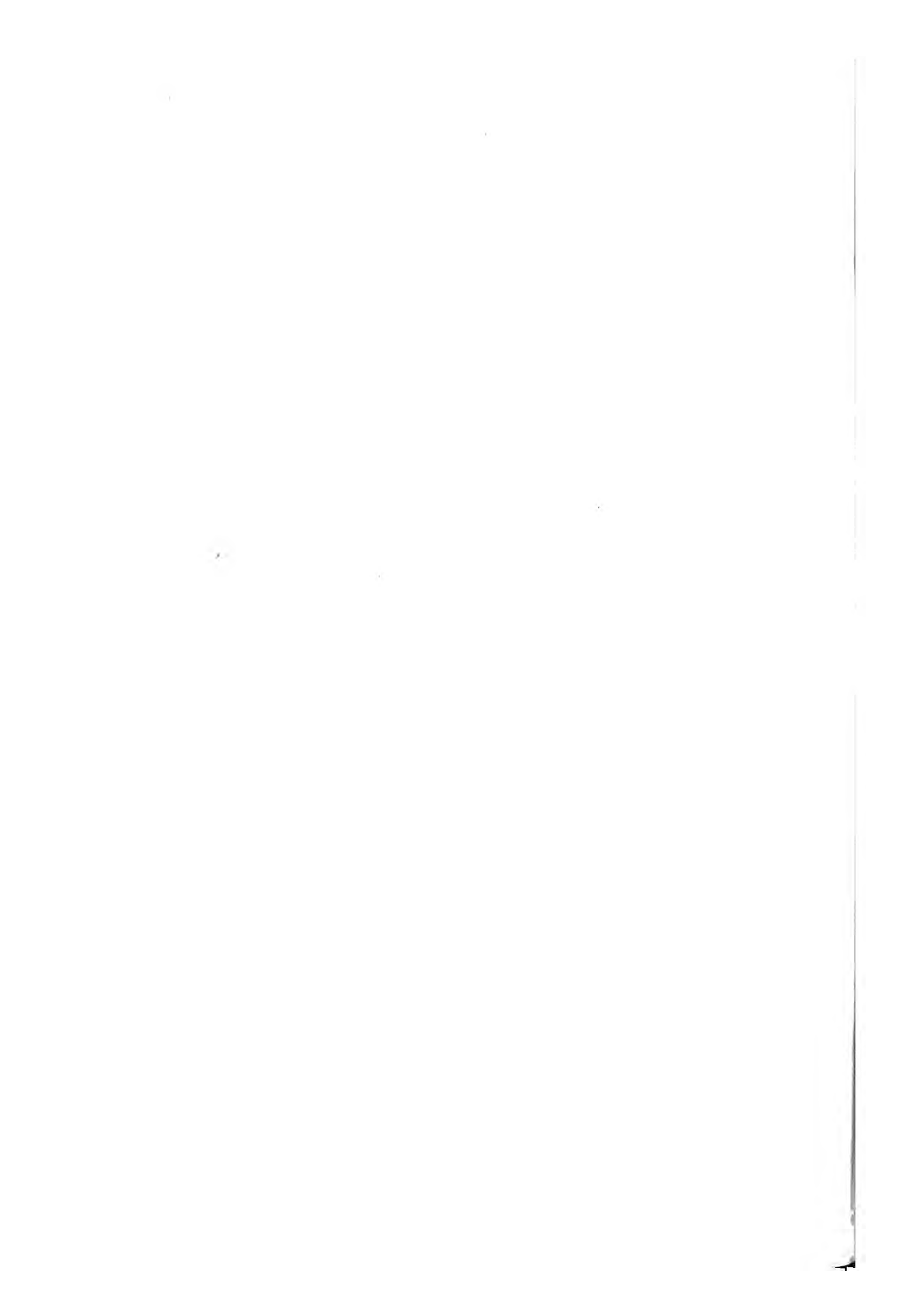
* See also Anderson’s “Guide to the Highlands,” first edition (1834), p. 450.

inner ring $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter inside. The chamber is at present 8 feet in height, at the highest point, and the passage leading to it $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. This chamber was cleared out by the late Mr. Arthur Forbes of Culloden, about 1850, when a few bones were found in it.

The middle circle of this group at Balnuaran of Clava is different in several respects from the chambered circles east and west of it. Its outer ring is 107 feet in diameter outside, and consists of nine stones, but may have originally contained ten or twelve stones. The intermediate ring is 57 feet in diameter outside, and is rather irregular in its shape. The innermost ring is considerably larger than those of the chambered circles east and west of it, being 22 feet in diameter inside. There is a mass of loose stones about 3 feet deep in the space between the inner and the intermediate rings, and a less depth of loose stones within the innermost one. There is no trace of a wall having been built on the top of the inner ring, nor of an entrance passage. It may also be remarked that the rings are not strictly concentric—for the centre of the inner ring is about 5 feet north of that of the outer ring, while that of the intermediate ring again lies about half-way between the other two. A singular and unique feature of this circle is its having three rudely formed projections or causeways of small stones, about 7 feet in width, in lines radiating from the intermediate ring to three of the stones of the outer ring, one of them pointing to E. 10 degrees S., another to S. 10 degrees E., and the third to W. 25

MAP OF SITES OF STONE CIRCLES AT CLAVA AND SHELL BED.





degrees N. No feature corresponding with these projections has been yet discovered in any other circle. About 50 feet west of this circle is a small ring of stones, not standing, but simply showing themselves above the surface of the ground, and about 16 feet in diameter outside, which seems to have been an ordinary grave-mound circle. One of the stones forming it is cup-marked.*

There is a cup-marked stone in the inner ring of the westward circle, another in the intermediate ring of the middle circle, and a third in the entrance passage of the eastward circle of the group. Another stone at the outer end of one of the causeways is marked on the inner face with small holes, part of them as if made with a pick, and part as if done by the point of a borer half an inch broad. The marks on this stone are not like those known as cup-markings.

The Culdoich circle is situated on the flat land below Culdoich farm, and is the first of the group of eight circles, all situated on the plain of Clava, and within a distance of one mile: including the two eastmost at the Mains of Clava, of each of which only one standing stone and other slight traces remain. Returning to the Culdoich circle, we find that the outer ring is entirely removed, except one large stone, $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, standing on the south-west side. About 40 per cent. of the stones are in place in the inter-

* Dr. John Grigor, Nairn, directed attention to these cup-marked stones in 1864, and in 1881 Mr William Jolly, Inspector of Schools, Inverness, gave a detailed account of them and of others in Upper Strathnairn. See *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vi., App. 26; xvi. 302.

mediate ring, and about 60 per cent. in the inner ring. The inner and intermediate rings are, as nearly as possible, concentric, but were carried out with less than the usual attention to the circularity of the curves. The space between the two interior rings is partially filled with small stones to a depth of from 2 to 3 feet. A gravel pit recently cut into the south-east side of the intermediate ring has broken down a portion of the structure; and the greater part of the loose stones between the rings has also been recently removed.

All that seems to remain of the circle at Milltown of Clava is a standing stone at the south-west corner of the ruin of the ancient chapel dedicated to St. Dorothy, which is said to have been built within the area of the circle. The grassy mound representing the walls of the chapel indicates a building about 30 feet long by 19 or 20 feet broad, with a door on the side facing the south-east. Along with, or rather around the chapel, was enclosed a space nearly rectangular in shape and about 130 feet long by from 65 to 70 feet broad, the surrounding fence of which is still clearly marked out by a mound of earth and stones. The space thus enclosed was at one time used as a burying-ground. Of the circle north of and separate from the burying ground there remain only one large standing stone and four or five smaller ones. The design of the original structure is so very much defaced that nothing can be said regarding this circle, except that the large stone remaining is 20 yards from the chapel enclosure, and that the circle was on the north or north-east side of the stone.

* * * * *

But what of the people who built or who used these circles, and of the purpose, or purposes, for which they were originally intended? Were they built for temples of heathen worship, for burial places, or for habitations, or memorials of the great men of other times; and had the Druids whose names are often connected with them anything to do with them?

* * * * *

The weight of opinion is at present decidedly in favour of the circles, without exception, having been erected as burial places and memorials of the great leaders of former races of inhabitants, although this conclusion is in most cases arrived at without much regard to the distinctions between different classes of circles and standing stones, or between the ordinary large burial cairns and the chambered cairns of a different construction surrounded by standing stones. Apart from the old Christian burial place at one of the circles, there is no complete and direct evidence of any but the one burial in the circles of the Clava district, namely, that in one of the chambered cairns. As a general conclusion, it may, I think, be assumed that large circles were used at one time for heathen worship of some kind, as well as for burials and memorials of the dead; but which was the primary object remains yet to be proved. The local ideas are certainly for religious worship, but without any direct traditions to found upon. There appear to be no words, phrases, or old traditions among the Gaelic speaking people

as to the origin or uses of the circles. The words applied to them are simply descriptive of their circular form, the size or the standing position of the stones, etc.—such as *clachan corr* meaning odd or extraordinary stones, *carragh* a stone pillar--sometimes meaning monument, *carraghan* the plural of *carragh*, etc.

CLAVA SHELL BED.

The Clava district is also interesting from a geological point of view. On higher ground, about half a mile from the stone circles of Clava, is a deposit of clay containing fossil shells. Any one interested in Post-Tertiary Geology or the Great Ice Age should visit this interesting spot. The place is marked on the small map of the sites of the stone circles.

The shell bed is a thick stratum of blue clay at the foot of or passing in under a terrace brae, close to the south side of Cassie Burn on the Farm of Drummore of Clava. It is at a pit or scaur in the foot of the brae, and was first examined by Mr. James Fraser, C.E., who stated the result in a paper which appeared in the *Transactions of the Inverness Field Club, Vol. II.* The conclusions come to were: that the fossil shells were where they had grown; that some of them were arctic shells, not now found except in arctic seas; that the land was submerged more than 500 feet when the clay was deposited, and the shells grew; and that the shelly clay is overlaid by about 60 feet of sand and boulder clay of glacial origin. The deposit was afterwards examined by Dr. H. W. Crosskey,

a widely-known geologist, who confirmed the views stated in Mr. Fraser's paper, as to the character of the deposit, in a paper published in the *Transactions of the Inverness Field Club, Vol. III.*

The attention of the British Association having been directed to the bearing of the deposit on the question of the submergence of Scotland during the glacial period, a Committee, with Mr. John Horne of the Geological Survey as Chairman, was appointed by the Association to examine the Clava deposit and some other similar ones. The Committee made a very full and minute examination of the shelly clay and its surroundings by a deep excavation and borings. The report is given in full in the *Transactions of the Inverness Field Club, Vol. IV.* The section at the excavated pit was found to be :—

	FEET.
1. Surface soil and boulder clay from top of terrace,	43
2. Fine sand,	20
3. Shelly blue clay,	16
4. Coarse gravel and sand	15
5. Coarse brown clay and stones,	21
6. Solid rock—old red grit,	—

The top of the shelly clay is 503 feet above sea-level. The borings east and west of the pit showed that the stratum of shelly clay extended for about 190 yards along the foot of the terrace. It has not been ascertained how far it extends inward under the terrace. Lists of numerous fossil shells and other organisms, and a summary of conclusions arrived at are

given under several heads at the end of the published report, finishing with the inference that some of the shells are arctic, that the shelly clay is *in situ*, indicating a submergence of the land to an extent of more than 500 feet. The clay bed is therefore considered to be a bit of ancient sea bottom. Other indications of glacial times are numerous in the district, such as ice-transported boulders, of which the Tomriach Stone about a mile north-east is a striking instance, and terraces and ridges and hollows running parallel with the river.

APPENDIX.

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Mharbh iad m'athair a's mo dhà bhràthair,
Mhill iad mo chinneadh a's chreach iad mo chàirdean,
Sgrios iad mo dhùthaich, rùisg iad mo mhathair,
'S bu laoghaid mo mhulad nan cinneadh le Tearlach.

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