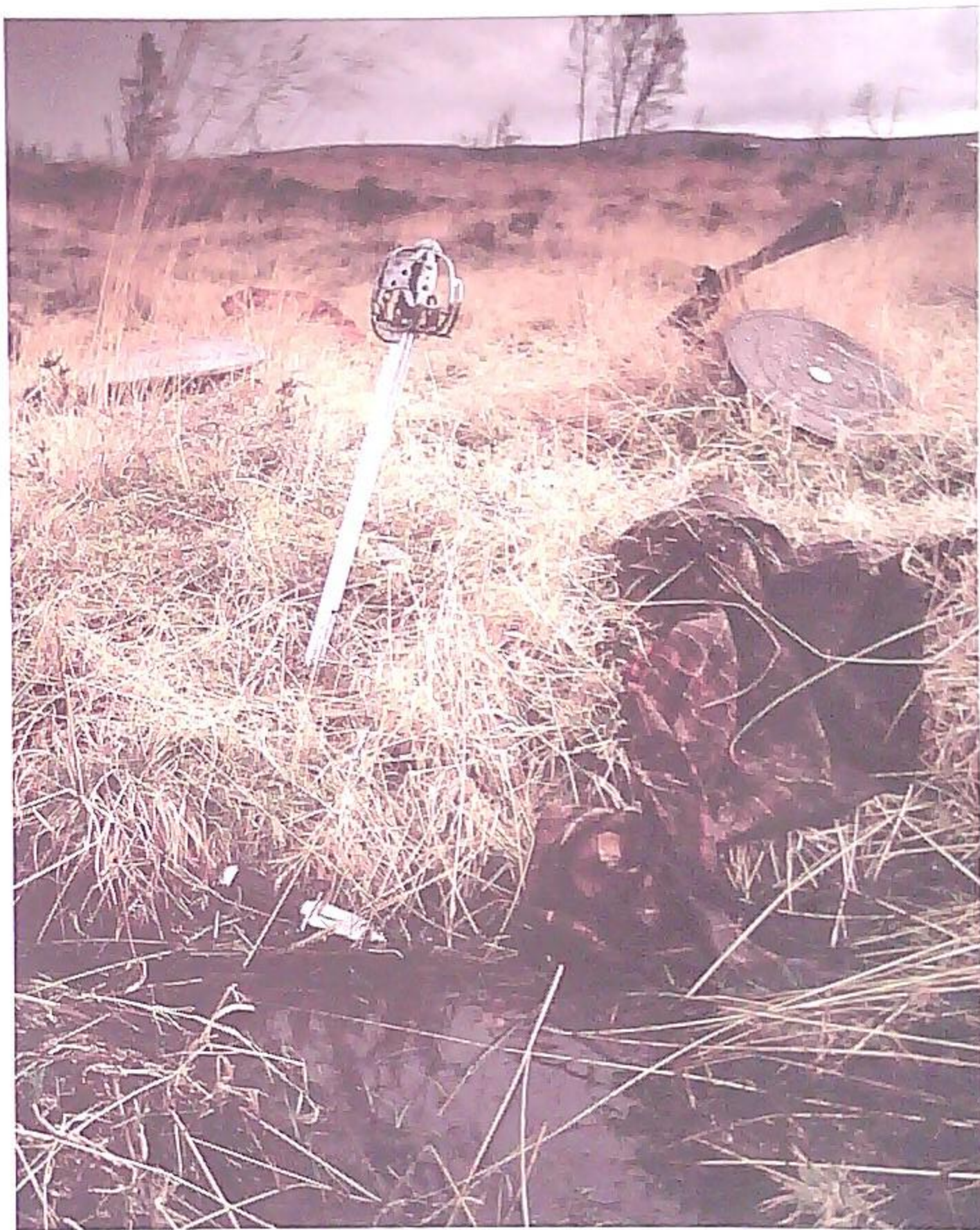




National Trust for Scotland



CULLODEN



CULLODEN

INTRODUCTION

NO PLACE NAME in our history stirs the emotions more than does Culloden.

Fought on 16 April 1746, it was the last great battle on British soil; it ended the hopes of the Stuart dynasty of regaining the throne.

It has all the elements of romantic fiction, all the appeal of a lost cause. It has a hero; young, dashing, handsome Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the "Bonnie Prince Charlie" of song and story; and a villain, the brutal Duke of Cumberland, of whom no one sings.

It is tempting to view Culloden as a struggle between Scots and English, or—slightly less inaccurately—between Highlanders and non-Highlanders. The reality was different. Religious and political beliefs dictated diverse loyalties.

The Prince's army was predominantly Highland, but by no means exclusively so. Not all the clans rallied to his standard. (Had they done so, he might well have marched on London at the head of 30,000 men and the course of history would have been altered).

His support came mainly from Roman Catholic and Episcopalian clans. The Campbells, staunchly Presbyterian, fought for the Duke—but not all, for those from Glen Lyon served in the Prince's Atholl Brigade. Cumberland's force included three Scottish Lowland regiments. There were clansmen who fought only because their homes and families would have suffered had they not answered their chief's call; there were others, Grants and Macleods among them, who were there despite their chief's disapproval.

Culloden was a battle in a civil war. As in all civil wars there was for some the special agony, facing the enemy, of seeing a brother or a son on the other side. For some, this situation came as no surprise; family policy ensured that, whoever won, lands would not be lost.

Perhaps the deciding factor in the Rising of 1745, however, was the great majority who did not rise; the Highlanders and Lowlanders, Scots and English, who stayed at home and awaited the outcome.

As in all battles there were brave men on both sides, but on Drumossie Moor, thoughts inevitably turn to the defeated.

They were outnumbered, 5,000 against Cumberland's 9,000; ill equipped, their artillery poor, their cavalry few; exhausted, having marched all night on an abortive foray; hungry, because poor staff work had left their food supplies in Inverness. They were badly led, being required to fight over ground which suited Cumberland's cannon and cavalry and handicapped their main tactic—the charge.

Yet they went into battle with a courage which has passed into legend, and which today we still salute.



A Miniature of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, now in the Logan Home Collection at Culloden, given by the Prince to William Home.

The Duke of Cumberland, from a painting in the Royal Collection (*reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen*).



THE JACOBITES

BY THE END OF 1688 the King, James VII of Scotland and II of England, had made himself so unpopular by his despotic methods of government and his attempts to ensure freedom of worship for his fellow Roman Catholics, that he was compelled to flee the country. William of Orange and his wife Mary accepted the crown, jointly, in his stead.

But not everyone disapproved of the exiled King. Those who supported him were known as *Jacobites*, from *Jacobus*, Latin for James, and they were to play an important part in British history for the next sixty years.

On the Continent, James was welcomed by the French King, Louis XIV; a château was placed at his disposal, and he was given funds to maintain his court, Louis' motives were simple: to use James' presence to cause trouble for his enemy, William of Orange.

The first attempt to restore James to the throne was almost immediate. It was led by John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee (the "Bonnie Dundee" of the song). He won the battle of Killiecrankie on 27 July 1689, but was fatally wounded and, without his leadership, the rising petered out.

When James died in 1701, King Louis sent heralds to the château to proclaim his 13 year old son King James VIII of Scotland and III of England. This boy was to grow up to become known to history as the "Old Pretender" (Pretender: meaning claimant); his son, the "Young Pretender" was Prince Charles Edward Stuart, "Bonnie Prince Charlie".

The following year William of Orange died. His horse stumbled over a molehill and threw him. Jacobites secretly toasted "the little gentleman in black velvet". They also had their own version of the loyal toast, passing their wineglasses over water—a silent token that it was to the king over the sea that they drank.

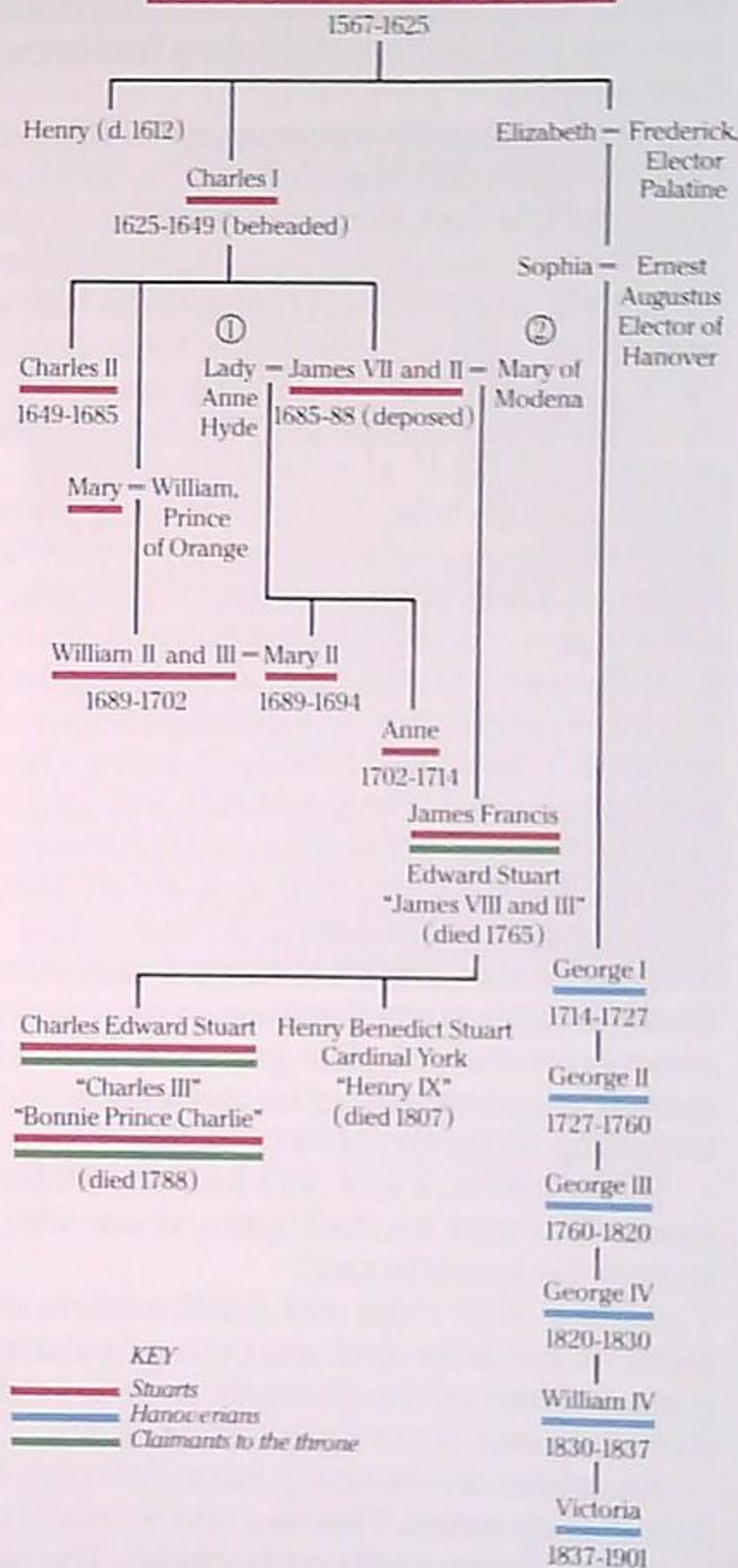
It was never easy to estimate the strength of Jacobite support. William of Orange had been unpopular; exile inevitably increased the attractions of the Stuart monarchy. There were Jacobites in all parts of Britain and they plotted continuously. But history was to emphasise the wide gap between the numbers of those who drank to "the king over the water" and those prepared to fight to restore him.

When it did come to real military effort, however, it was the Highlands of Scotland which consistently provided the largest part of the Jacobite armies.

But at no time were all Highlanders Jacobites. There were factors, however, which led them to favour the exiled dynasty more than

GENEALOGICAL TABLE Stuarts and Hanoverians

James Stuart VI of Scotland and I of England



most. One was simple loyalty to a king of Scottish descent; another was that since the clans were run on patriarchal lines, with chiefs whose word was law, they found nothing untoward in the idea of a despotic king; and those who were Catholic or Episcopalian had not been repelled, as Protestant clans had been, by James' attacks on their religion.

In 1708, James II's son, now aged 20, made his first bid for the crown. With 6,000 French troops in 30 vessels he set out from Dunkirk. The fleet anchored at the mouth of the Firth of Forth.

It was the young man's intention to present himself to the Scots as James VIII, and ask them to break the Treaty of Union with England, which had been arrived at only the previous year. But a superior naval force under Admiral Byng appeared, and the French fled north, to return in disorder to Dunkirk, by way of the North of Scotland and Ireland.

Seven years later, James tried again. At his instigation, and in his absence, the Earl of Mar raised the Stuart Standard at Braemar on 6 September 1715, proclaiming James, King of Scotland, England, Ireland and—rather tactlessly in the circumstances—France.

With nearly 10,000 men, Mar marched south and met the army of George I at Sheriffmuir under the Duke of Argyll. The battle was indecisive; Mar afterwards withdrew to Perth, and all initiative was lost. James arrived at Peterhead in December, but by this time his support had melted away and Argyll was at his heels. He sailed for France on 4 February 1716, accompanied by the unhappy Mar, and never saw Scotland again.

In England, a simultaneous Jacobite rising had also been defeated. On both sides of the Border punishment was severe. There were executions—many by the gruesome ritual of hanging, drawing and quartering—sentences of transportation, and the abolition of titles, including nineteen Scottish peerages.

Nevertheless, it was only four years later that the next attempt was made. This time it suited Spain, at war with both Britain and France, to play the Jacobite card.

A force of 29 ships with 5,000 soldiers and arms for another 30,000 sailed from Cadiz—and was promptly shattered by a storm. (At this period of history the elements seem to have been consistently kind to the occupants of the British throne).

An earlier diversionary force, however, including 307 Spaniards, had already sailed. This reached Scotland and made its headquarters in Eilean Donan castle on Lochalsh. The castle was bombarded by



Detail from *The Landing of James Edward Stuart "the Old Pretender" in Scotland in 1715*. From a contemporary engraving by Schenk, in the National Portrait Gallery (reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland).

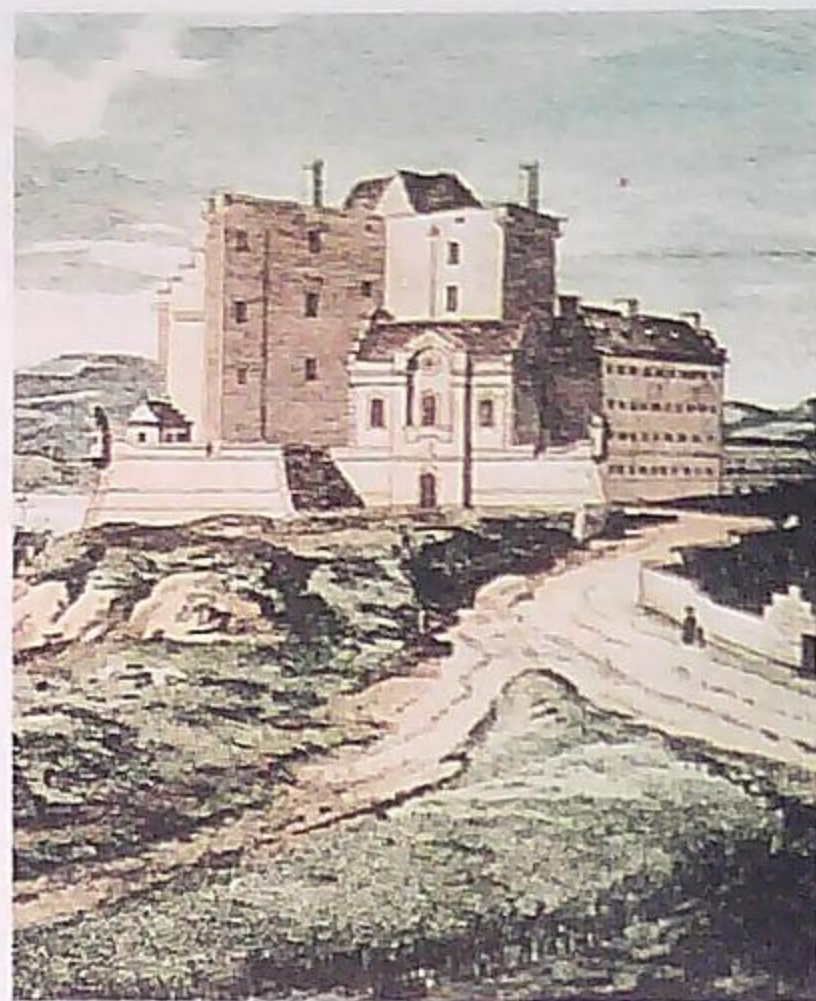
the Royal Navy and its Spanish garrison surrendered. There was little support from the clans, and on 10 June 1719, in the beautiful setting of Glenshiel, the Jacobite force was defeated by Major General Wightman with troops from the Inverness garrison. The corrie up which the invaders fled is called Bealach-nan-Spainteach, the Spaniards' Pass.



This rather pathetic episode finally degenerated into farce. British officers paid for the prisoners' food, because the Government refused; and the Spaniards were asked to sign I.O.U's for their transport back home.

It was to be another 25 years before the next, and last, attempt to put a Stuart on the throne. Meantime, the Highlands were changing. Forts were erected and manned. General George Wade, commander-in-chief in Scotland, built some 260 miles of road and 40 bridges to enable Government troops to penetrate the mountains. Companies of Highlanders were recruited to maintain order, and were distinguished by their own dark tartan. This was the origin of The Black Watch.

It was against this different background that the drama of the "Forty Five" was to be played.



Left: Glenshiel, now in the care of the National Trust for Scotland.

Above: Detail from an engraving of Fort George, Inverness, in 1744, after the original by Paul Sandby, RA (reproduced by kind permission of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow).

THE "FORTY FIVE"

HAD ALL GONE AS PLANNED, the "Forty Five" would have been the "Forty Four", and a much more serious threat to George II.

In February of that year, Louis XV planned a massive invasion of Britain. His objective was to place on the throne in London a monarch who would be ultimately dependent upon France.

Ten thousand regular French troops were assembled at Dunkirk. The intention was to land them at Maldon on the Essex coast, within easy reach of London. But again weather intervened; a storm wrecked the invasion fleet, the expedition was abandoned. The young Prince Charles Edward Stuart who was to have sailed with it as the Prince of Wales and representative of his father, found that once his potential usefulness to Louis was gone he was virtually ignored.

He was not so easily put off, however. On 16 July 1745, he set out on what was virtually his own expedition. There were only two ships, the Du Teillay, a light frigate, and the Elisabeth, a larger frigate which carried 64 guns. The smaller ship was under the command of Antoine Walsh, a noted privateer, and the Elisabeth, a ship of the French Navy, was on charter to Walsh.

Aboard the Du Teillay were the Prince, seven supporters who have become known as the "Seven Men of Moidart", and a pitifully small store of arms and ammunition.

Off the west coast of Ireland the expedition encountered H.M.S. Lion, a British man-o'-war. She was engaged by the Elisabeth, and the Du Teillay slipped away to safety. But Elisabeth was badly damaged in the action and had to return to Brest. With her went the bulk of the military stores assembled for the Rising, and a company of French volunteers.

The Prince's first contact on Scottish soil was not encouraging. On the Hebridean isle of Eriskay, Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale advised him to go home. "I am come home, sir," replied the Prince.

On 25 July, the Du Teillay reached the Scottish mainland at Loch nan Uamh near Arisaig. The Prince sent out letters to Highland chiefs seeking support, and at Glenfinnan, on 19 August, the Standard was raised, his father was proclaimed James VIII and III and the Prince himself as Regent. The "Forty Five" had begun.

It was a small force at first, only about 1,200 men. More than half of them were Camerons, under their acting-chief, known to history as the "Gentle Lochiel". (The chief, his father, was in exile.) Most of the remainder were Macdonalds of Keppoch. They gathered strength as they moved eastwards, avoiding Fort William and Fort Augustus which had Government garrisons and crossing by the Corrieyairrick



Charles, magnanimous and humane in victory, was master of Scotland. But it was not enough. The march on London began on 1 November. Carlisle surrendered on 16 November; on the 28th the army reached Manchester, and, on the evening of 4 December, Derby.

All was not well however. Support from England had been disappointing; Charles and Lord George Murray had quarrelled; about a thousand of the Highlanders had quietly left to return to their native glens: three Government armies were threatening to converge on the Prince's force.

Charles was all for continuing to London, only 127 miles away, but on 6 December—"Black Friday"—the decision to retreat was taken.

It may have been wrong. There was concern, possibly panic, in London. There was, at last, the prospect of support from England and Wales: 10,000 French troops were said to be embarking at Dunkirk.

A rapier-like thrust at the Capital could conceivably have succeeded; but speculation is pointless.

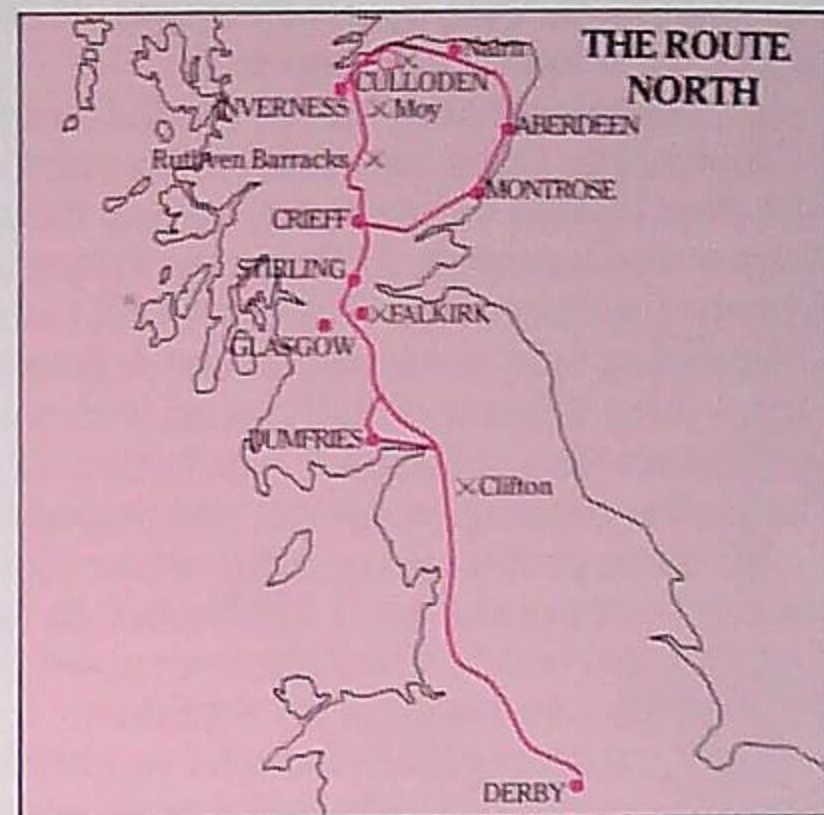
Dispirited, they faced the long road back to Scotland. Glasgow was reached on Christmas Day. The city was ill-disposed. Only Lochiel's intervention, it is said, saved it from being sacked—a circumstance which in later years, tradition says, led to the bells being rung whenever the chief of Clan Cameron entered the city.

Stirling town surrendered, but not the castle. Reinforcements arrived, including 400 Mackintoshes raised by Lady Mackintosh, whose husband, head of the clan, was on the Government side. (The wife of a clan chief was always given the title of "Lady"). Men, stores and ammunition arrived from France.

From Edinburgh, Lieut.-General Hawley marched to relieve Stirling. The battle of Falkirk, on 17 January, was a victory for the Prince's army, but in the confusion of a winter dusk the advantage was neither realised nor exploited. Hawley retired to Edinburgh, there to hang his deserters on gallows erected in anticipation of Jacobite rebels.

On 1 February, after some acrimony among the leaders, the Highland army forded the Forth and headed north. At first the Prince had been unwilling to accept Lord George Murray's advice, preferring that of O'Sullivan, who wanted him to fight and win another Bannockburn.

On the way to Inverness, the Prince had a narrow escape while being entertained at Moy Hall by Lady Mackintosh, the redoubtable "Colonel Anne". Lord Loudon, who held Inverness for the King, mounted an expedition to capture the Prince. A handful of Moy men



however, succeeded in the darkness, in convincing the raiders that they were running into the whole Jacobite army. The result was the "Rout of Moy".

For seven weeks of winter weather, Inverness was the Prince's base. The house which was his headquarters is long since demolished, but its site is recorded as being at 45 Church Street.

The Duke of Cumberland, second son of George II and despite his youth, an experienced commander, had reached Aberdeen on 27 February. His army, already strong, had received powerful reinforcements including 5,000 Germans under Prince Frederick of Hesse. These remained in the Dunkeld area, blocking the way south.

There were sporadic, dispersed actions during the weeks of waiting for better weather. The Jacobites took Fort Augustus, and near Dornoch defeated Lord Loudon, who had retreated there from Inverness. One of their prisoners was the Mackintosh chief; Prince Charles sent him back to Moy Hall, to "Colonel Anne", his wife. It is said that when the chief arrived back his wife greeted him, "At your service Captain", to which he replied "No, at *your* service, Colonel".

Perhaps the most significant event, however, took place at sea. Earlier, the Government sloop "Hazard" had been captured at Montrose. Renamed "Prince Charles" she was dispatched to France to seek support. She returned with £12,000 in English guineas, and with stores, but she was hunted and captured off the Kyle of Tongue, and her much-needed funds never reached their destination. A force was sent to recover the treasure, but its leaders were taken prisoner.

Cumberland left Aberdeen on 8 April. Jacobite intelligence of his movements was sadly lacking. Six days later he was in Nairn, although Charles had only just learned that he had crossed the Spey, some 30 miles further to the east.

On Monday 14 April the drums beat and the pipes sounded in Inverness to assemble the army for battle. Not all were on hand, however. Messengers were sent out to recall those on forays elsewhere. In the evening the Prince rode out to Culloden House, whose owner, Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Court of Session, had earlier done his best to prevent clans from rallying to the Prince. The Lord President was not at home.

Next day, on the moor which was then called Drumossie but is now Culloden, the army was drawn up in the order in which it was to fight the coming battle.

But that encounter was still 24 hours away, and much was to happen before the opening shots were fired.



THE BATTLE

THE FACT THAT the Duke of Cumberland celebrated his 25th birthday on Tuesday, 15 April, had some bearing on the battle the following day.

While the Prince's army waited on Drumossie Moor, the Duke's men, in camp around Nairn, were drinking his health in his brandy.

Charles stood down his men. They were hungry—their provisions had been left behind in Inverness. Nor could they have derived much comfort from their contemplation, as they stood in their battle positions, on the ground over which they were to fight next day.

Lord George Murray was to write later, "There could never be a more improper ground for Highlanders". It was not he who chose it, but the Irishman, John William O'Sullivan, Adjutant and Quartermaster-General, a great favourite of the Prince, and—in Lord George's opinion—an idiot.

The Prince had decided that he would personally take command of the battle. He found O'Sullivan's flattery and the counsels of his favourite officers easier to accept than the hard-headed appraisal of military experience. The battle may have been lost before it was begun, for the choice of ground was to prove catastrophic.

The wide, bare moor might have been made for the manoeuvres of Cumberland's disciplined infantry: its open space gave scope for his great superiority in cavalry: and, most telling of all as events were to demonstrate, its flat expanse provided an admirable range for his artillery.

To the south, across the River Nairn, was broken, hilly ground far more suited to a predominantly Highland army's sole tactic—the devastating, uncontrolled charge followed by merciless work with broadsword and dirk.

Perhaps it was because he foresaw all too clearly what would happen on Culloden Moor that Lord George Murray proposed a night attack on Cumberland's camp. The celebrating soldiers would be "drunk as beggars" he said.

At about 8 p.m. the Prince's men set off in two columns, intending a pincer movement. But delay piled upon delay, and they were still two miles from their objective when it became apparent not only that it would be daylight before they could attack, but that the Duke's men were already stirring, and there could be no surprise.

A Jacobite officer wrote later: "So back they march'd and arrived at Culloden about sev'n o'clock in the morning. The fatigue of this night's march, joyn'd to the want of sleep for several nights before and the want of food occasion'd a prodigious murmuring among the



Lord George Murray, Lieutenant-General of the Jacobite army (reproduced by kind permission of the Duke of Atholl).

private men, many of them exclaiming bitterly even in the Prince's hearing, which affected him very much. Many of them fell asleep in the parks of Culloden (House) and other places near the road, and never wakened till they found the enemy cutting their throats".

Cumberland was on the heels of the Prince's army while it was still making its way back from the abortive night expedition. Camp at Nairn was broken at 5 a.m. and in three columns, with the cavalry on their left and a screen of Campbell scouts in front, the force marched towards Culloden.

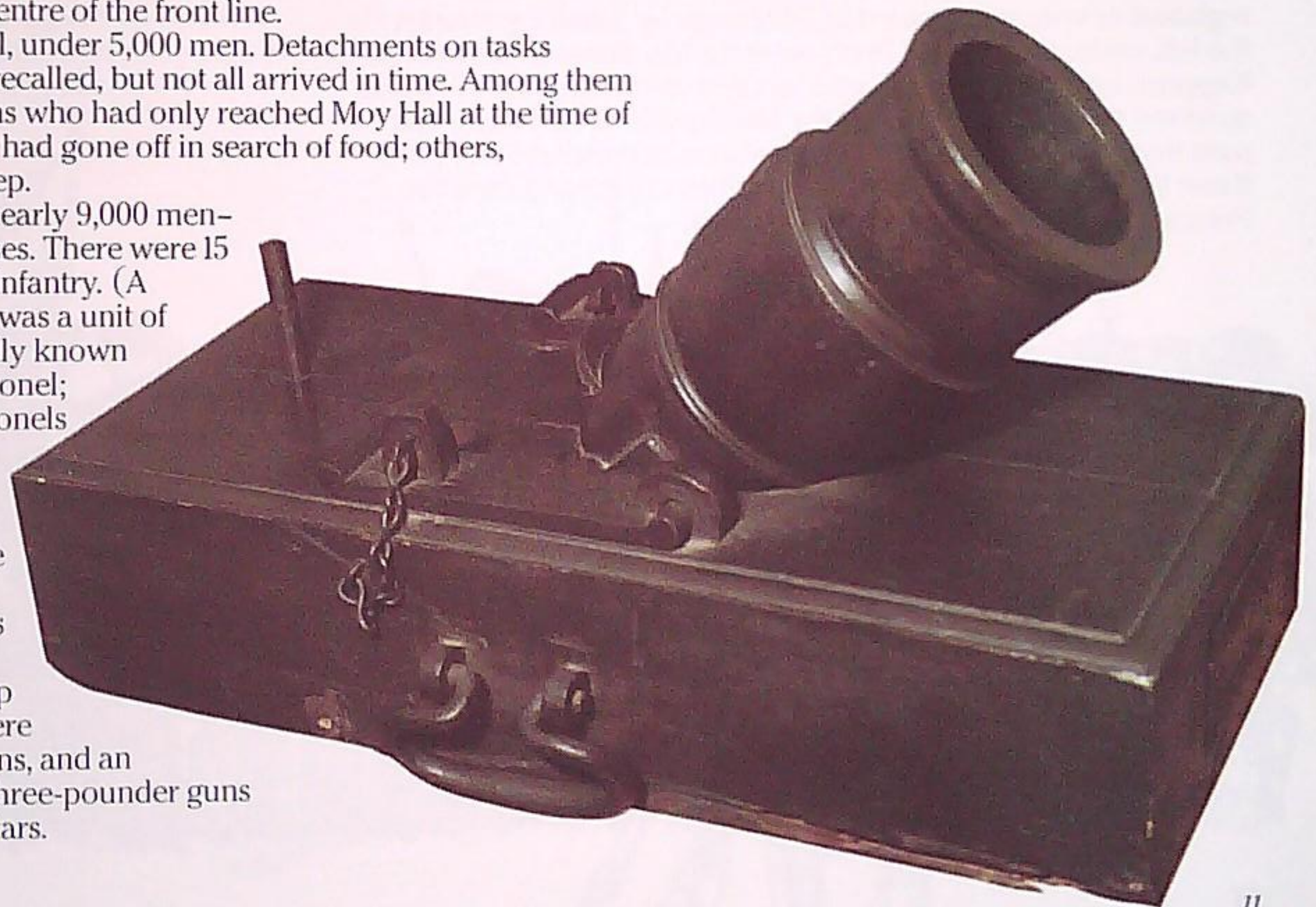
There are many accounts and plans of the battle, so many indeed as to be confusing. Even those provided by participants or witnesses differ considerably. What follows does not claim to be definitive, but it does seem to be fairly generally agreed.

The Prince ordered his men to be drawn up, as on the previous day, those on foot in two lines, his weak cavalry in the rear, and his meagre artillery—thirteen assorted guns—in three batteries on the right, left and in the centre of the front line.

His force was small, under 5,000 men. Detachments on tasks elsewhere had been recalled, but not all arrived in time. Among them were the Macphersons who had only reached Moy Hall at the time of the battle. Many men had gone off in search of food; others, exhausted, were asleep.

Cumberland had nearly 9,000 men—6,400 foot, 2,400 horses. There were 15 regular regiments of infantry. (A regiment at that time was a unit of about 400 men, usually known by the name of its colonel; sometimes, when colonels changed, there was some confusion and two different names would be used for the same regiment.) A company of Loudon's Regiment, and the Argyll militia made up the infantry. There were 800 mounted dragoons, and an artillery train of ten, three-pounder guns and six coehorn mortars.

A coehorn mortar (photographed by kind permission of the Scottish United Services Museum, Edinburgh Castle).



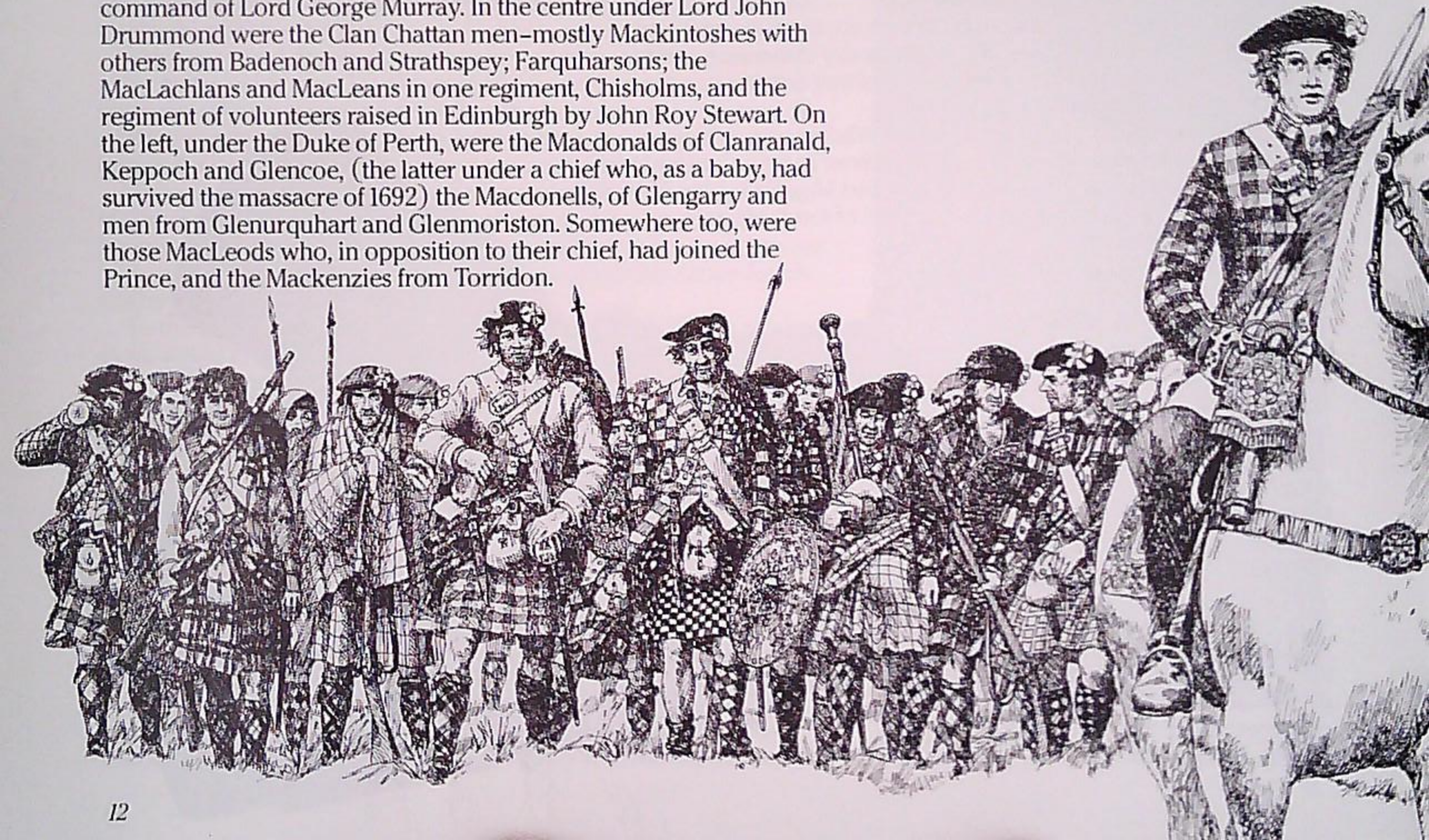
At 11 a.m. the two armies came in sight of each other. Charles looked every inch the Prince as he rode on his fine, grey gelding, in his tartan coat and cockaded bonnet, carrying a light broadsword, and encouraging his men.

His front line consisted almost entirely of clansmen, standing from three to six deep. On their right was a wall which was to play an important part in the battle. It enclosed the parks of Leanach; in parts of drystone, and in parts turf, it stretched north-east towards the Cumberland left flank.

Some accounts state that there had been dissension over the order of battle. On the right of the front line were the Atholl Brigade, then came Camerons, Stewarts of Appin, and Frasers—all under the command of Lord George Murray. In the centre under Lord John Drummond were the Clan Chattan men—mostly Mackintoshes with others from Badenoch and Strathspey; Farquharsons; the MacLachlans and MacLeans in one regiment, Chisholms, and the regiment of volunteers raised in Edinburgh by John Roy Stewart. On the left, under the Duke of Perth, were the Macdonalds of Clanranald, Keppoch and Glencoe, (the latter under a chief who, as a baby, had survived the massacre of 1692) the Macdonells, of Glengarry and men from Glenurquhart and Glenmoriston. Somewhere too, were those MacLeods who, in opposition to their chief, had joined the Prince, and the Mackenzies from Torridon.



According to tradition the Jacobite badge, the White Cockade, was derived from a white rose picked by the Prince at Fassifern on Loch Eil, on the march from Glenfinnan. It was usually formed of several bows, and was worn in the bonnet.



The Jacobite second line was perhaps 100 yards behind, and was much shorter. On the right was Lord Ogilvy's Angus regiment, then Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment, John Gordon of Glenbucket's regiment, the Duke of Perth's regiment, the Scots Royal (not to be confused with the Royal Scots on the other side; these were men of a regular French regiment under Lord Lewis Drummond) and the Irish picquets—French-speaking men of Irish descent from the Irish regiments of the French army.

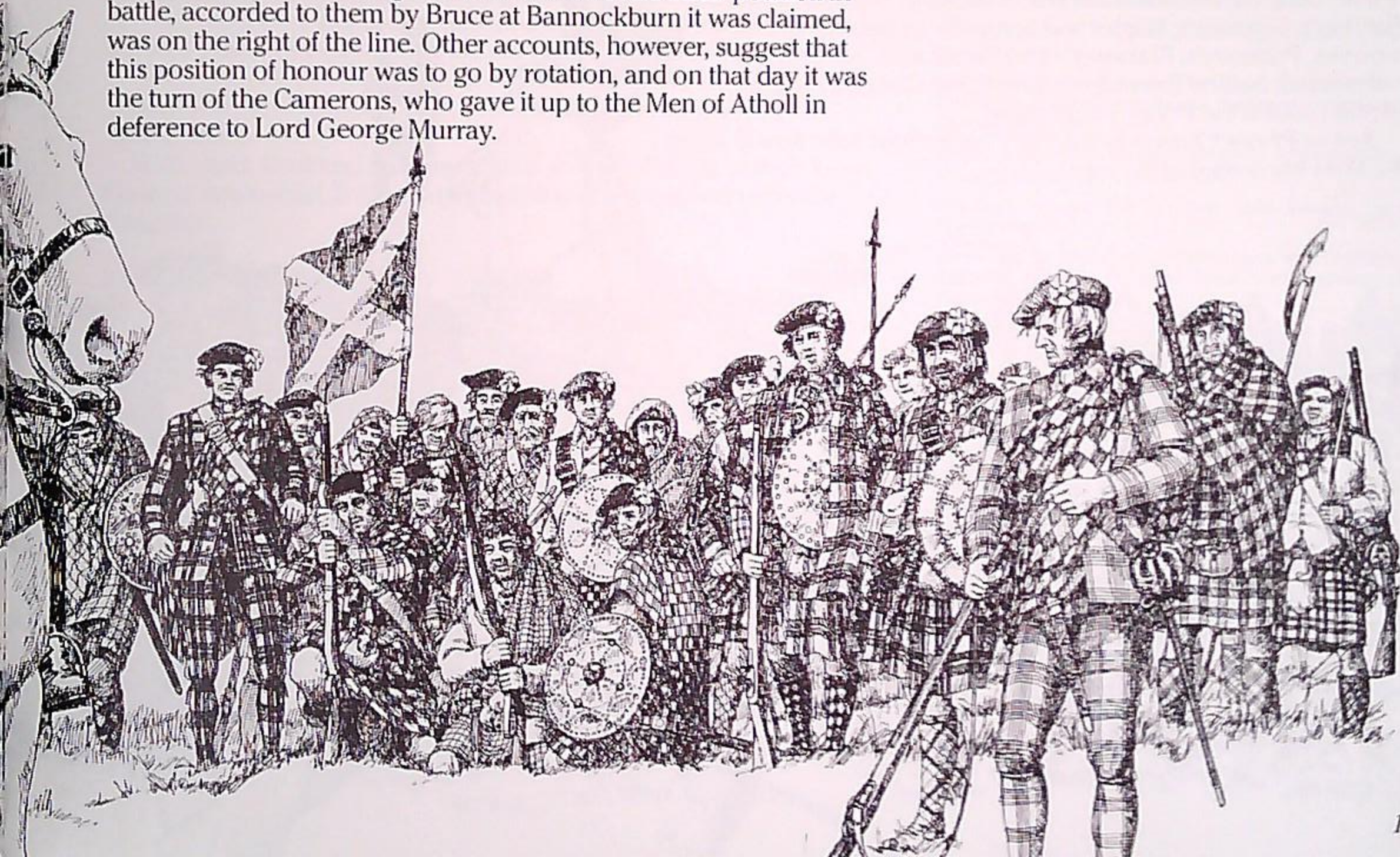
Behind them, around the Prince and the Standard, were the cavalry. The roster of names is impressive, Kilmarnock's, Strathallan's, Pitsligo's, Lord Elcho's Life Guards, Fitzjames', but all were dismounted except the last two.

According to some historians there had been murmurings among the Macdonalds at finding themselves on the left. Their position in battle, accorded to them by Bruce at Bannockburn it was claimed, was on the right of the line. Other accounts, however, suggest that this position of honour was to go by rotation, and on that day it was the turn of the Camerons, who gave it up to the Men of Atholl in deference to Lord George Murray.

CLANSMEN AT CULLODEN

Although many of the clans which fought at Culloden did so under the leadership of their chief or his representative, this was not always the case. Some clansmen were there despite their chief's wishes; some small contingents joined with larger groups for the battle. Any list of those who fought for the Prince is liable to be incomplete, but there were men present of the following clans:

Cameron, Chisholm, Drummond, Farquharson, Ferguson, Fraser, Grant, Gordon, Innes, Macdonald, MacDonell, MacGillvray, MacGregor, MacInnes, MacIntyre, MacKinnon, Mackintosh, MacLachlan, MacLeod of Raasay, MacPherson, Menzies, Murray, Ogilvy, Robertson, Stewart of Appin.



Clan pride apart, there was an important factor in the final dispositions. The two front lines were not equal in length, nor in distance apart. The right of the Prince's army was perhaps one hundred yards nearer the Duke's front line than the left. This was to place the Macdonalds at a serious disadvantage in the charge.

Cumberland's three column approach ended in a standard military manoeuvre; a well-practised drill had the columns swinging into line to confront the enemy. Culloden Moor was no parade ground, but the movement took only ten minutes.

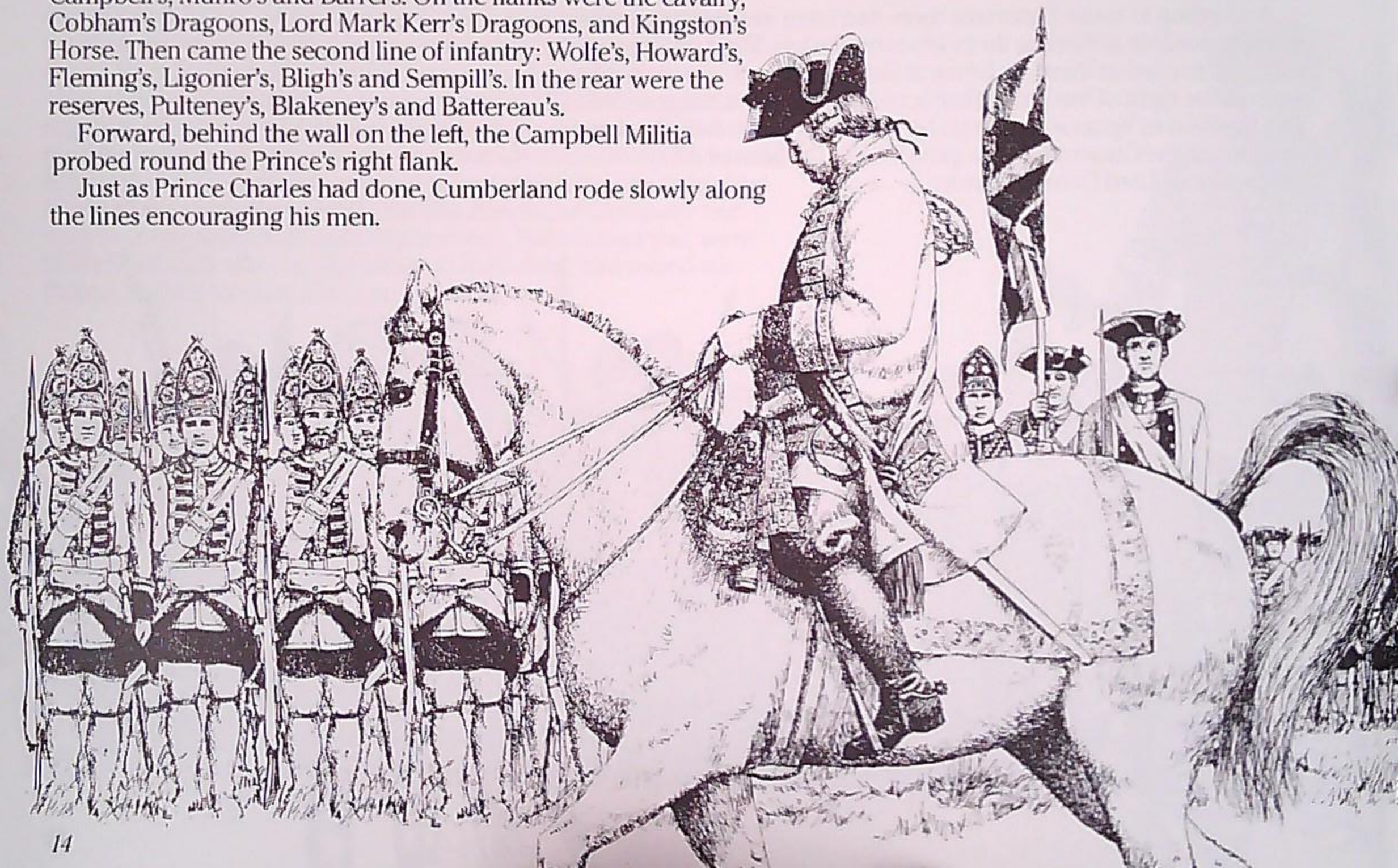
In the front line were six regiments; from right to left, St. Clair's (The Royals later the Royal Scots), Cholmondeley's, Price's, Campbell's, Munro's and Barrel's. On the flanks were the cavalry, Cobham's Dragoons, Lord Mark Kerr's Dragoons, and Kingston's Horse. Then came the second line of infantry: Wolfe's, Howard's, Fleming's, Ligonier's, Bligh's and Sempill's. In the rear were the reserves, Pulteney's, Blakeney's and Battereau's.

Forward, behind the wall on the left, the Campbell Militia probed round the Prince's right flank.

Just as Prince Charles had done, Cumberland rode slowly along the lines encouraging his men.



The Government forces were identified by the black cockade.



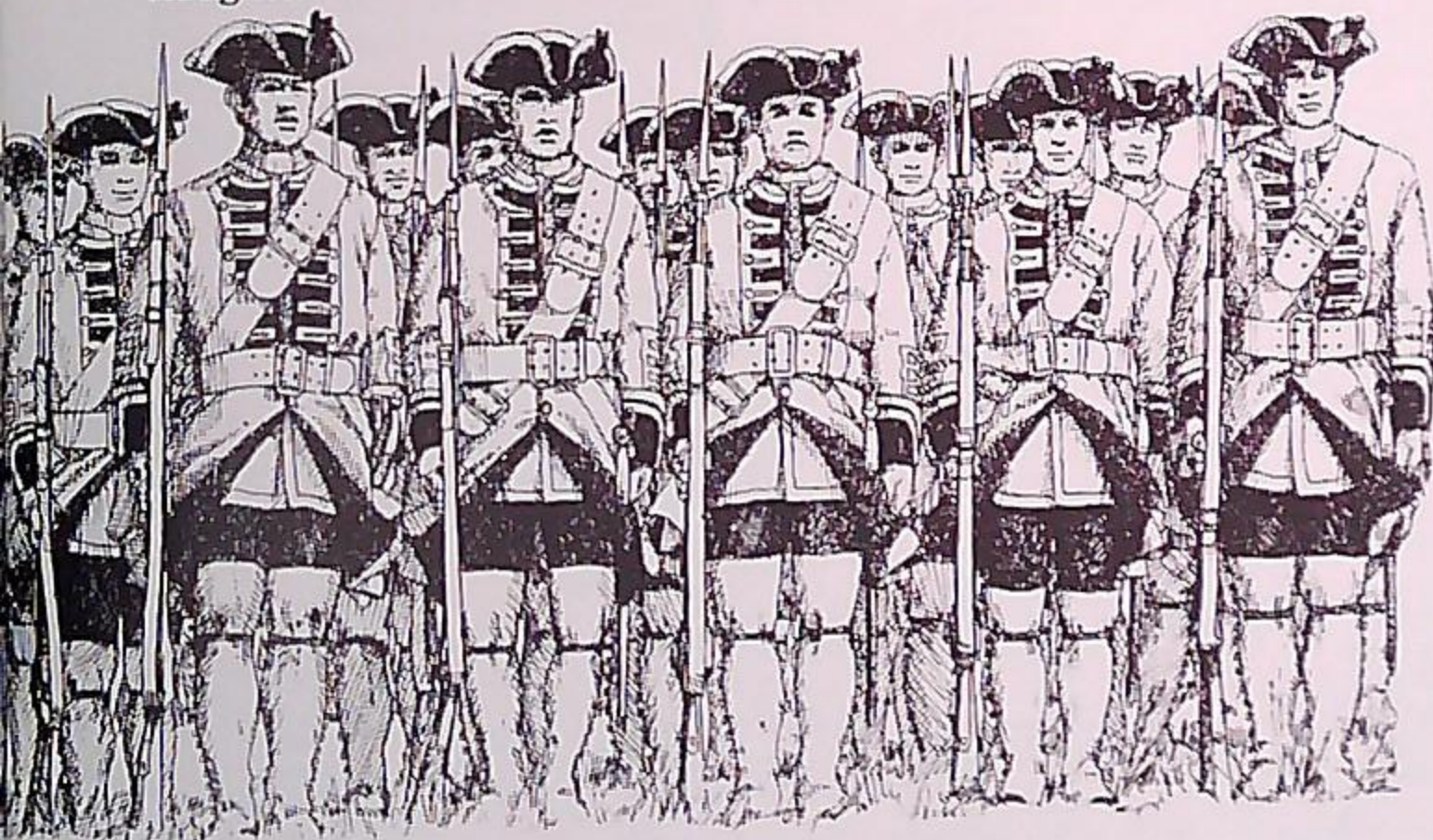
There was need of encouragement. The fury of the Highland onslaught had become legendary. There were men on that field who, at Falkirk, had broken and run. It must not happen again.

A new drill had been developed: the infantryman should not attack the man who came directly at him, thereby catching his bayonet in the Highlander's ox-hide shield, and falling to broadsword or dirk. Instead he should go for the unprotected right side of the man on his attacker's left—and trust that the comrade on his own left would perform the same service for him.

But it was not yet time for hand-to-hand fighting. The first shots fired came from a Jacobite gun, and it is said one of them narrowly missed the Duke. There was to be no artillery duel, however. The Commander of the Train in the Duke's army was Brevet Colonel William Belford, as experienced a gunner as any in that day and age, and his men were trained to his standards. He had ten, three-pounder guns in pairs in the front line; the cohorn mortars, were in the rear.

They opened fire with devastating effect. The round shot cut swathes in the Highland ranks. The Jacobite guns answered ineffectually.

With wind, sleet and the enemy gun-smoke blowing in their faces, the long tartan-clad line could do nothing but stand and suffer the slaughter.



REGIMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT ARMY

In 1746, regiments of the line were known by the names of their colonels. Names therefore changed frequently, sometimes confusingly. The colonel was often an officer of high rank, perhaps a general, and he did not always lead his regiment in battle.

Below is a list of regiments at Culloden, together with their later identifies.

Cavalry

Cobham's and Lord Mark Kerr's became respectively the 10th and 11th Dragoons, then 10th and 11th Hussars, later The Royal Hussars (Prince of Wales's Own).

Kingston's Horse were disbanded.

Infantry

St. Clair's, The Royals, became The Royal Scots.

Howard's became The Buffs (East Kent) Regiment, later The Queen's Regiment.

Barrel's became The King's Own Royal Regiment, later The King's Own Royal Border Regiment. (See also Cholmondeley's.)

Wolfe's became The King's (Liverpool) Regiment, later The King's Regiment.

Pulteney's became The Somerset Light Infantry, later The Light Infantry.

Price's became The Prince of Wales's Own West Yorkshire Regiment, later The Prince of Wales's Own Regiment of Yorkshire.

Bligh's became The Lancashire Fusiliers, later The Royal Regiment of Fusiliers.

Campbell's, also known as The Royal Scots Fusiliers, later The Royal Highland Fusiliers. (Princess Margaret's Own Glasgow and Ayrshire Regiment.)

Sempill's became The King's Own Scottish Borderers.

Blakeney's became The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, later The Royal Irish Rangers.

Cholmondeley's became The Border Regiment, later The King's Own Royal Border Regiment. (See also Barrel's.)

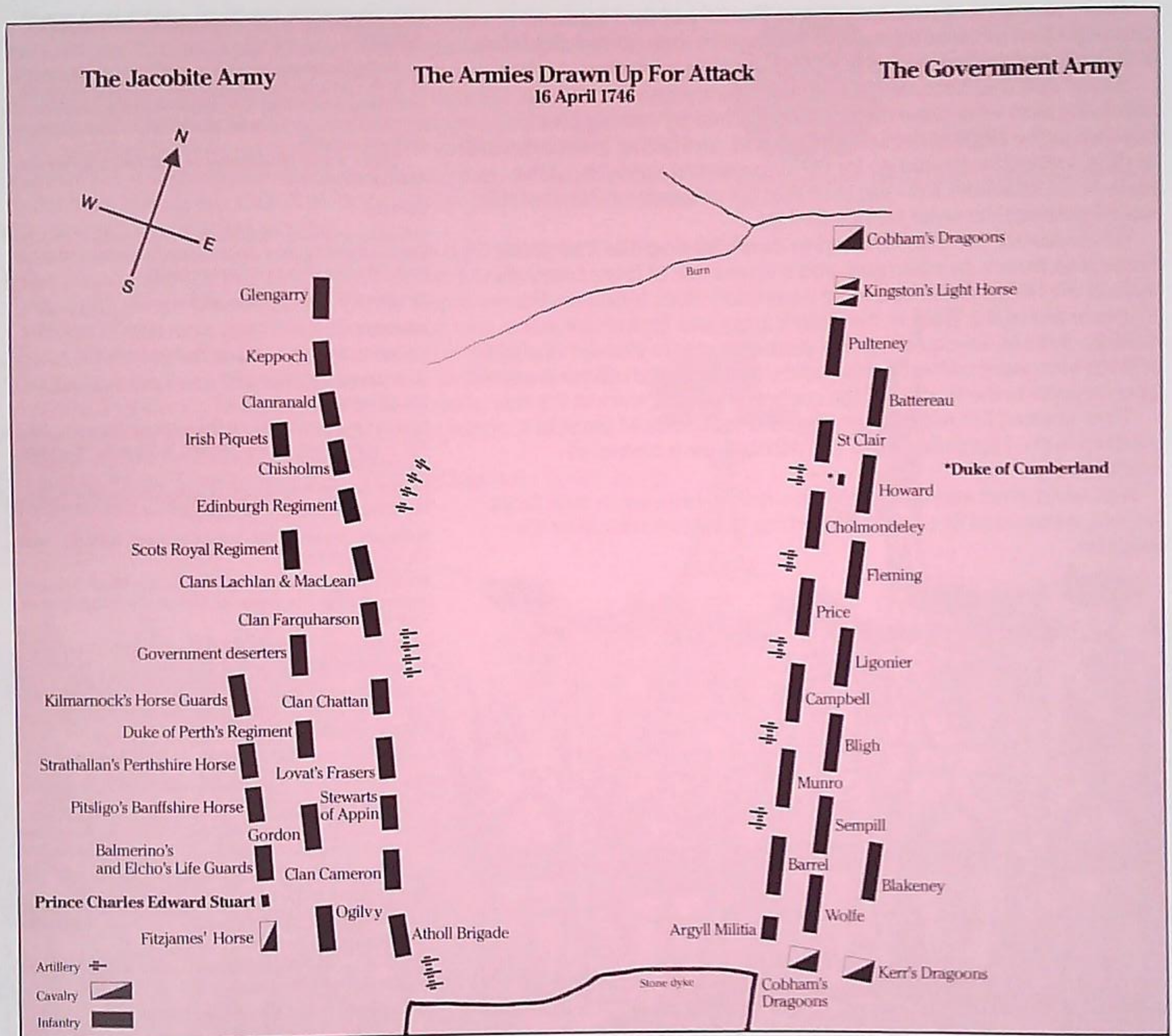
Fleming's became The Worcestershire Regiment, later The Worcestershire and Sherwood Foresters.

Munro's became The Hampshire Regiment, later The Royal Hampshire Regiment.

Ligonier's became The Northamptonshire Regiment, later The Royal Anglian Regiment.

The Argyll Militia were disbanded after the Rising.

Battereau's were disbanded in 1748.





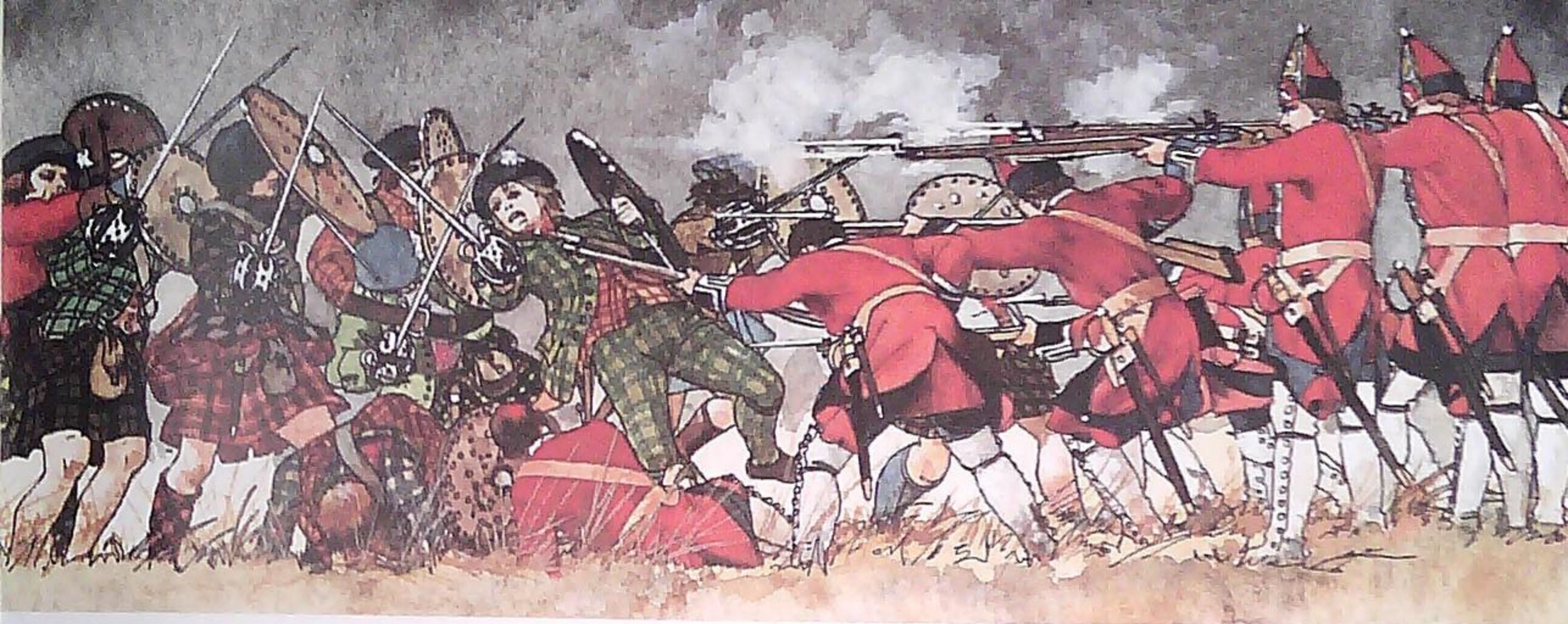
The ranks were often six deep, and a cannonball could mangle several men. This was not the kind of warfare to which the Highlanders were accustomed.

Some fire was directed over their heads at the Prince and his command group; his servant was killed, and his horse shot under him.

The minutes went past, Belford's guns roared, but still the order to charge—the word “Claymore”—was not given. The Prince was too far in the rear to see what was happening. If he was waiting for Cumberland to attack, he waited in vain. His opponent was too good a general to deny his artillery one minute of their murderous work.







Then Lord George Murray, on the right wing, asked that the command be given—and it was. But there was more delay, as the messenger carrying it, young Lachlan MacLachlan, was killed by a cannonball. It is possible that the Macdonalds on the left, who having furthest to go to reach the enemy should have had the order first, never received it at all.

Cumberland had prepared for the onslaught he knew would come. He moved Pulteney's regiment from the rear to the right of St. Clair's in the front line to prevent them from being outflanked by the Macdonalds. Battersau's were sent up from the rear to strengthen the right of the second line; only Blakeney's were left in reserve.

On his left he ordered Wolfe's forward to a position on the left front of Barrel's but at right angles to that regiment, and in front of the wall. It was a clever tactical move, designed to enfilade the charge with musket fire at right angles to the Highland lines sweeping them from end to end.

When the charge did come, it was not what it should have been—a wild terrifying rush by the whole Highland line. The Mackintoshes of Clan Chattan in the centre went first, possibly without an order, and the men of Atholl on their right followed immediately. A bulge in the Leanach dyke drove the Atholl men to their left, a hail of bullets from Cumberland's centre made the Clan Chattan men swerve to their right, and the combined phalanx hit Munro's and Barrel's in the front line of Cumberland's force. Barrel's were forced back on Sempill's in the second line of defence. But Sempill's stood their ground, and from the flank, Wolfe's and the Campbell Militia poured in devastating fire.

THE BATTLE

Elsewhere, Belford's guns thundered remorselessly. They were now firing grape-shot—canisters of nails, lead balls and iron scrap—which ripped cruelly through flesh. The infantry were now in action too, in a well-drilled, deadly routine, one rank firing while the others reloaded.

The carnage was appalling. Nevertheless, yelling their war-cries, the clansmen came on, broadswords, axes, scythe blades waving. But

The Battle of Culloden from an engraving published in 1797 (reproduced by kind permission of the Scottish United Services Museum, Edinburgh Castle).



only on the right did the charge go home, and there the clansmen had to climb over the dead and wounded to get at the enemy.

In the centre, the rush did not reach the enemy ranks. Grape-shot and musketry halted the tide.

On the left, the Macdonalds fared no better. They had seen the right and centre go into action before them. Some say they were still sulking from being placed on the left of the line, but this slander is unjustified. The confusion surrounding the order to charge had left them with their right flank unprotected. They tried to tempt the enemy into attack, going forward in short rushes, taking fearful punishment as they did so. The men facing them, St. Clair's and Pulteney's "hardly took their firelocks from their shoulders", Cumberland said later.

Lord George Murray at the head of the Athollmen, had fought his way to the rear of the Duke's army, his wig and his hat blown from his head. He saw what was happening, fought his way back, intending to bring up the Highland second line. But by this time, it was over.

Defiant, but defeated, the clansmen were moving back. The moor over which they had fought was covered with dead and wounded. Among the latter was Cameron of Lochiel, both ankles broken by grape-shot. His men picked him up and carried him off the field and somehow, incredibly, got him home to Achnacarry.

The rout was complete. The Campbell Militia had broken down the wall on the Jacobite right to allow Cumberland's cavalry to ride out and harry the retreating army. On the other flank, Kingston's Horse and Cobham's Dragoons were doing the same.

Sporadic actions were going on in various parts of the battlefield. Lord George and some of the right wing were able to withdraw in reasonable order.

O'Sullivan—he who had been responsible for the disastrous choice of battleground—for once gave an accurate military appreciation of the situation, though in non-military terms. "All is going to pot" he said.

The Prince, bewildered and distressed, some say in tears, at the turn events had taken, was led on horseback from the field. Although he did not yet realise it, more than a battle had been lost: the Jacobite cause was irretrievably in ruins.

And already, on the battlefield and beyond it on the road to Inverness, there was beginning a systematic process of murder and mutilation which an English historian was to describe as "such as never perhaps before or since disgraced a British army".



The battlefield today, with the Moray Firth and the Black Isle to the north.



THE AFTERMATH

THE BATTLE lasted less than an hour. Its aftermath was to affect the whole future of the Highlands.

What little remained intact of the Prince's army withdrew in good order under Lord George Murray, towards Ruthven, in Badenoch. There, next day, cold comfort awaited them—a message from Charles that each man should save himself as best he could.

On the moor with its dead and wounded, and on the road to Inverness packed with fugitives, one of the ugliest chapters in British history had opened. Cumberland's dragoons slaughtered indiscriminately not only the fleeing clansmen, but innocent bystanders including women and children. On the battlefield, surgeons cared for the Government wounded; redcoats, watched by their officers, bayoneted or clubbed to death the wounded of the Prince's army, often obscenely mutilating the bodies.

There were still men who resisted and whose bravery has passed into Highland legend. Gillies MacBean of Clan Chattan, badly wounded but with his back to a wall and broadsword in hand is said to have killed thirteen of the enemy before the horses of the dragoons trampled him underfoot. Even then he did not die, but crawled to a barn at Balvraid where he lived until evening. The farm folk buried him in secret; later his body was re-interred at Dores.

Robert Mor MacGillivray, trapped and without a weapon, seized the wooden shaft of a peat cart and accounted for seven of his pursuers before he was killed.

The courage of the men of Clan Cameron, who carried their wounded Chief from the field, was matched by that of Iain Garbh Cameron who bore the wounded Grant of Corriemony on his back all the way to Glenurquhart.

The Cameron standard-bearer, MacLachlan of Coruanan, wrapped the flag of his clan round his body as he withdrew. This is believed to be the old, stained flag which still hangs in Achnacarry, seat of Lochiel, Chief of the clan.

The stories of heroism and of brutality are legion. One of the best known is told of Cumberland himself. He asked a badly wounded man to which side he belonged, and being told "to the Prince", turned to one of his aides, Major Wolfe, and ordered him to kill "the insolent rebel". Wolfe refused, saying he would rather resign his commission; a private soldier was found who obeyed the order.

The murdered man was Charles Fraser, Younger, of Inverallochy, commander of the Fraser contingent, and it is said that Wolfe's popularity in Canada among the Highlanders of his army, and in



particular the Fraser regiment, stemmed from this incident.

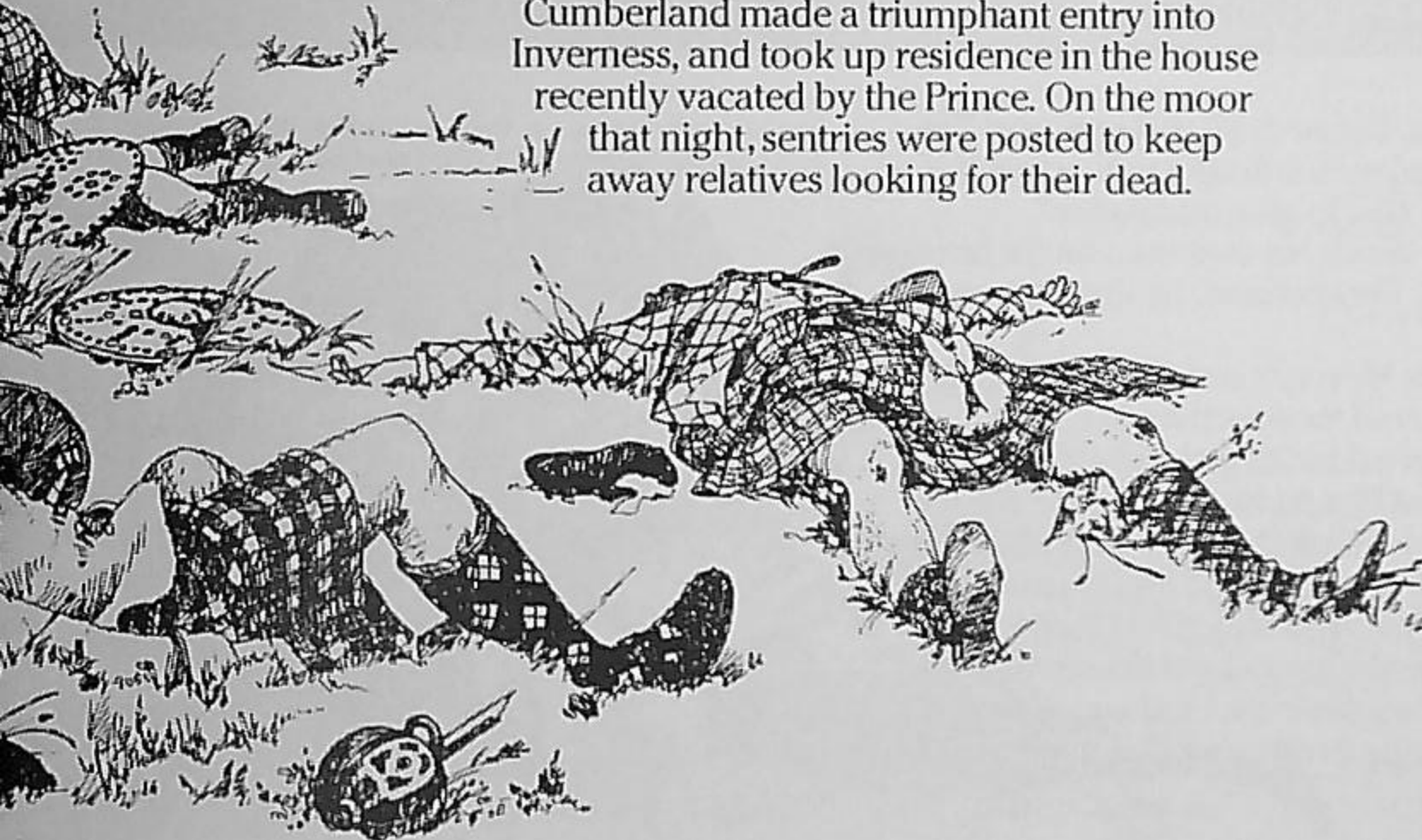
The story, however, is also told of General Henry Hawley—"Hangman" Hawley—rather than Cumberland. Hawley commanded the cavalry at Culloden. The incident fits well with his known character and Wolfe was brigade major on his staff, not on that of Cumberland. Wolfe's own letters from Culloden, however, show relish rather than distaste for the slaughter.

Hawley's nickname was of long standing, and came from his own men. Cumberland was in process of winning his—"The Butcher"—and it did not entirely come from his victims. One of his own officers wrote in a letter that the men, engaged in the slaughter on the moor, "looked like so many butchers rather than Christian soldiers".

Among those men whom Cumberland himself singled out for praise were three of Kingston's Horse, the unit which had wreaked havoc on the road to Inverness. They were, by trade, butchers from Nottingham.

The bodies which lay alongside the Inverness road included many who had come as spectators. It was understandable that the dragoons could not tell who had fought from those who had come to watch, but women too were sabred, and there were casual murders, as of a man who was ploughing and his nine-year-old-son.

Cumberland made a triumphant entry into Inverness, and took up residence in the house recently vacated by the Prince. On the moor that night, sentries were posted to keep away relatives looking for their dead.





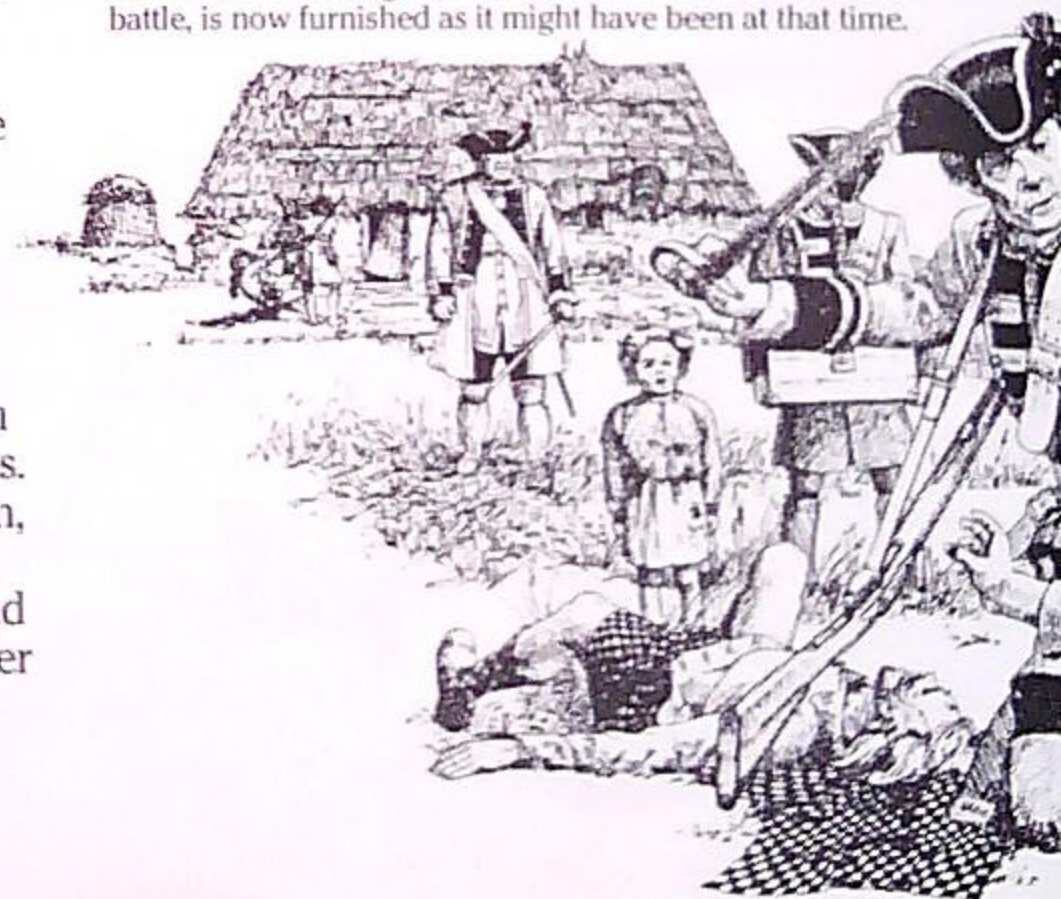
Next day the Duke issued an order to search all cottages near the battlefield for rebels: "The officers and men will take notice that the public orders of the rebels yesterday was to give no quarter".

By this reference to the treatment which his own men might have expected had the Prince's army won, Cumberland, by implication, authorised the killing to continue.

But Cumberland lied. Lord George Murray's orders for the battle contained no such instruction. A copy of those orders had been captured, and the "no quarter" phrase added as a clumsy forgery.

It served its purpose. The killing continued for days, as the search parties discovered survivors, mostly wounded, in their hiding places. They found over 30 officers and men in a barn on Old Leanach farm, barricaded it, and set it alight. A woman who had given shelter to another twelve, watched as they were led away by redcoats who had promised them medical attention. They were shot within yards of her house. A widow returning from burying her husband at Inverness, found sixteen dead men at her door. . . .

Old Leanach Cottage at Culloden, which survived the battle, is now furnished as it might have been at that time.

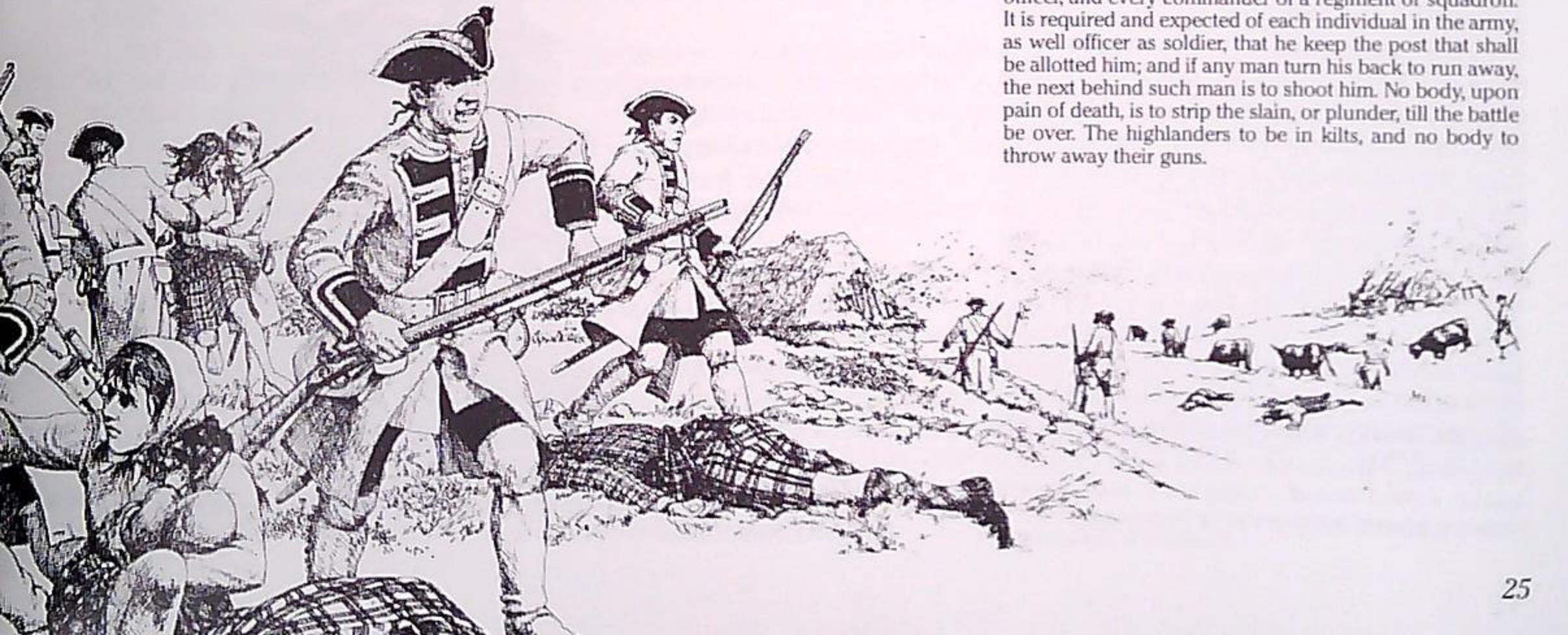


The atrocity stories are legion, and even if, as is probable, some are exaggerated, the overall picture is clear. The weeks and months to come were to make it clearer still.

From the Government point of view, the rebels and those who sympathised with them, were guilty of treason and outside the protection of the law. The events of the previous half-century had shown that if Jacobitism was to find support anywhere in Britain, it would find it in the Highlands. Cumberland knew that no punishment inflicted on the vanquished was likely to be judged excessive by those in London.

It was all the more acceptable because his victims were "different", and the differences were immediately apparent, in dress, language, social customs. This racial element made persecution easier, as it has done throughout history. It also meant, as succeeding months were to underline, that troops on the ground and law-makers in London made no distinction between a Highlander who had fought for the Prince and one who had stayed at home.

Cumberland made his own attitude very clear in May when he wrote a letter to London advocating his own "final solution" to the Highland problem, the transportation of whole clans "such as the Camerons and almost all the tribes of the Macdonalds (excepting some of those in the Isles) and several other lesser clans".



Orders at Culloden from the 14th to the 17th of Aug^r 1746
David Rieu (King James)

It is His Royal Highness's positive orders that every person attach himself to some corps of the Army, and remain with that corps night and day until the battle and pursuit be finally over; and to give no quarter to the Elector's troops on any account whatsoever. This regards the foot as well as the horse. The order of battle is to be given to every general officer, and every commander of a regiment or squadron. It is required and expected of each individual in the army, as well officer as soldier, that he keep the post that shall be allotted him; and if any man turn his back to run away, the next behind such man is to shoot him. No body, upon pain of death, is to strip the slain, or plunder, till the battle be over. The highlanders to be in kilts, and no body to throw away their guns.

By His Royal Highness's Command
Lieutenant General of the
Regular Forces

Lord George Murray's battle orders as issued to the Prince's army. Cumberland re-issued these to his troops with the forged addition, shown here in italics:

It is his Royal Highness's positive orders, that every person attach himself to some corps of the army, and remain with that corps night and day, until the battle and pursuit be finally over; and to give no quarter to the Elector's troops on any account whatsoever. This regards the foot as well as the horse. The order of battle is to be given to every general officer, and every commander of a regiment or squadron. It is required and expected of each individual in the army, as well officer as soldier, that he keep the post that shall be allotted him; and if any man turn his back to run away, the next behind such man is to shoot him. No body, upon pain of death, is to strip the slain, or plunder, till the battle be over. The highlanders to be in kilts, and no body to throw away their guns.

His views were, of course, extreme, but outside of the Highlands there was little sympathy for the defeated. In that same month, the people of Edinburgh who had watched when the Prince and his army entered the city, looked on when the captured Jacobite standards were publicly and ignominiously burned. The city hangman himself bore the Prince's banner, those of the clans were carried by chimney sweeps whose faces had been grimed with soot.

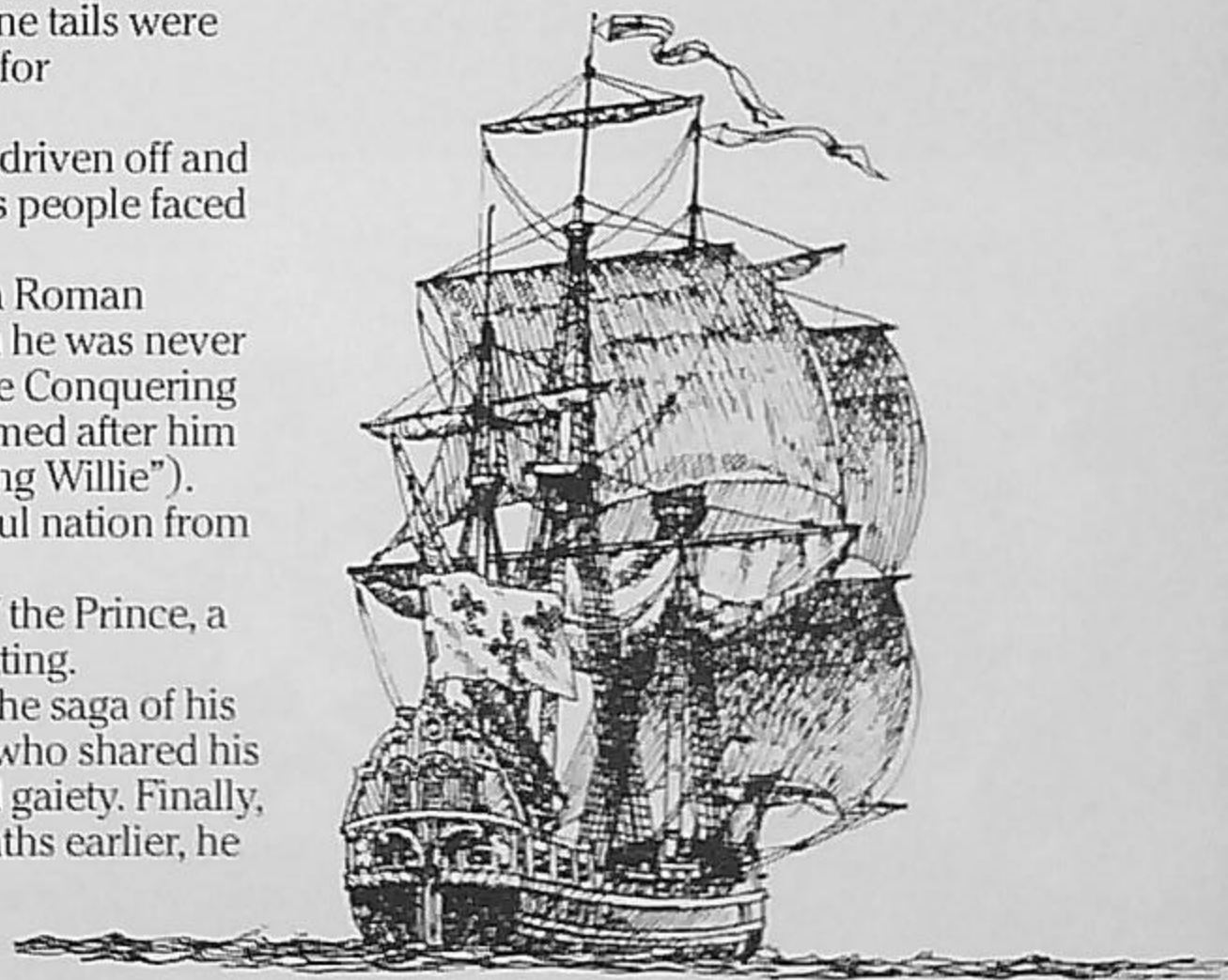
And, also in May, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland sent Cumberland a letter acknowledging that it had been enabled to meet "in a state of peace and security exceeding our greatest hopes . . . owing to His Majesty's wisdom and goodness in sending your Royal Highness, and to your generous resolution in coming to be the deliverer of this Church and Nation".

At the end of that month, "the deliverer of this Church and Nation" moved his headquarters to Fort Augustus, and the process of laying waste the glens continued. Garrisons at Fort George, Fort William and Inverness were similarly engaged. Military looting was legal, provided there was an officer present. Discipline was brutal. A soldier discovered looting on his own behalf would almost certainly be flogged. Sentences of a thousand lashes of the cat-o'-nine tails were common, administered in daily doses of two hundred—for humanitarian reasons.

Houses were in ruins; cattle, horses and sheep were driven off and sold. The country had never been rich; now many of its people faced starvation.

Cumberland returned to London to something like a Roman triumph. To the mob, he was "the martial boy" (though he was never to win another battle in his life). Haydn composed "The Conquering Hero" to greet him; the flower "Sweet William" was named after him (and the Scots retaliated by christening a weed "Stinking Willie"). His personal allowance had been increased by a grateful nation from £15,000 a year to £40,000.

This was £10,000 more than the price on the head of the Prince, a fugitive in the heather. The search for him was unremitting. Thousands of troops and a small fleet were engaged. The saga of his hairsbreadth escape is a story in itself, and from those who shared his hardships he won golden opinions for his courage and gaiety. Finally, at Loch nan Uamh, where he had landed fourteen months earlier, he boarded L'Heureux and sailed for France.



He was to live for another 42 years and die, drunken and dissolute, in Rome. But in the few brief months when he flashed across the pages of history, he created an enduring legend. Jacobitism was to become a romantic, nostalgic cause, enshrined in a wealth of song and story and it continues to be so to this day.

But in 1746 for many, the reality was grim. Since the battle, the gaols and prison hulks had been filled to overflowing.

In London, the Privy Council had decided that the prisoners of the Rising in Scotland should be tried in England. This not only demonstrated the official distrust of all Scots, it was a flagrant breach of the Treaty of Union between Scotland and England.

The Scottish History Society, in three well-documented volumes, "Prisoners of the '45" lists 3,470 known to be in custody. Some had played prominent parts in the Rising, others were accused of nothing more serious than that they had been heard to "wish the rebels well" or to have drunk the Prince's health. Such charges, however, could mean transportation, even death.

One hundred and twenty prisoners were executed: four of them, peers of the realm, were beheaded—the privilege of their rank: the others suffered the barbaric ritual of hanging, drawing and quartering: 936 were transported to the colonies, there to be sold to the highest bidder: 222 were banished, being allowed to choose their country of exile: 1,287 were released or exchanged: others died, escaped, or were pardoned and there were nearly 700 whose fates could not be traced.

But this was far from the end: the spectacle of the Highlander, armed and again in rebellion, haunted the Government. It had to be eradicated, and it was.

The Disarming Acts demanded that all weapons be surrendered. Bagpipes too, were a weapon of war; a court in York decreed so, and executed the piper. A new measure aimed at removing the Highland identity in dress, prohibited the wearing of tartan, the kilt, "or any part whatever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland garb". The penalty was six months imprisonment and, for a second offence, transportation for seven years.

The most far reaching measure, however, was the Heritable Jurisdictions (Scotland) Act of 1747. This, too, was a breach of the Treaty of Union, and though its effects on Scottish life were widespread, it was aimed particularly at the clan chiefs. It removed from them their hereditary power to impose punishments of imprisonment or even death. They became ordinary landlords. By



William Cumming, piper to the Laird of Grant, 1714 by Richard Waitt. The dress is typical for the period (reproduced by kind permission of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland).

the standards of the south, their lands were remote and poor. Their wealth had been reckoned in men, and now, with the dissolution of the clan system, men were no longer important.

The years that followed were to see great—and painful—changes. Twenty-seven years after the battle, Dr Johnson, an Englishman and no lover of the Scots, travelled through much of the country. In his “Journey to the Western Isles” he wrote:

“It affords a legislator little self-applause to consider that where there was formerly an insurrection there is now a wilderness”.

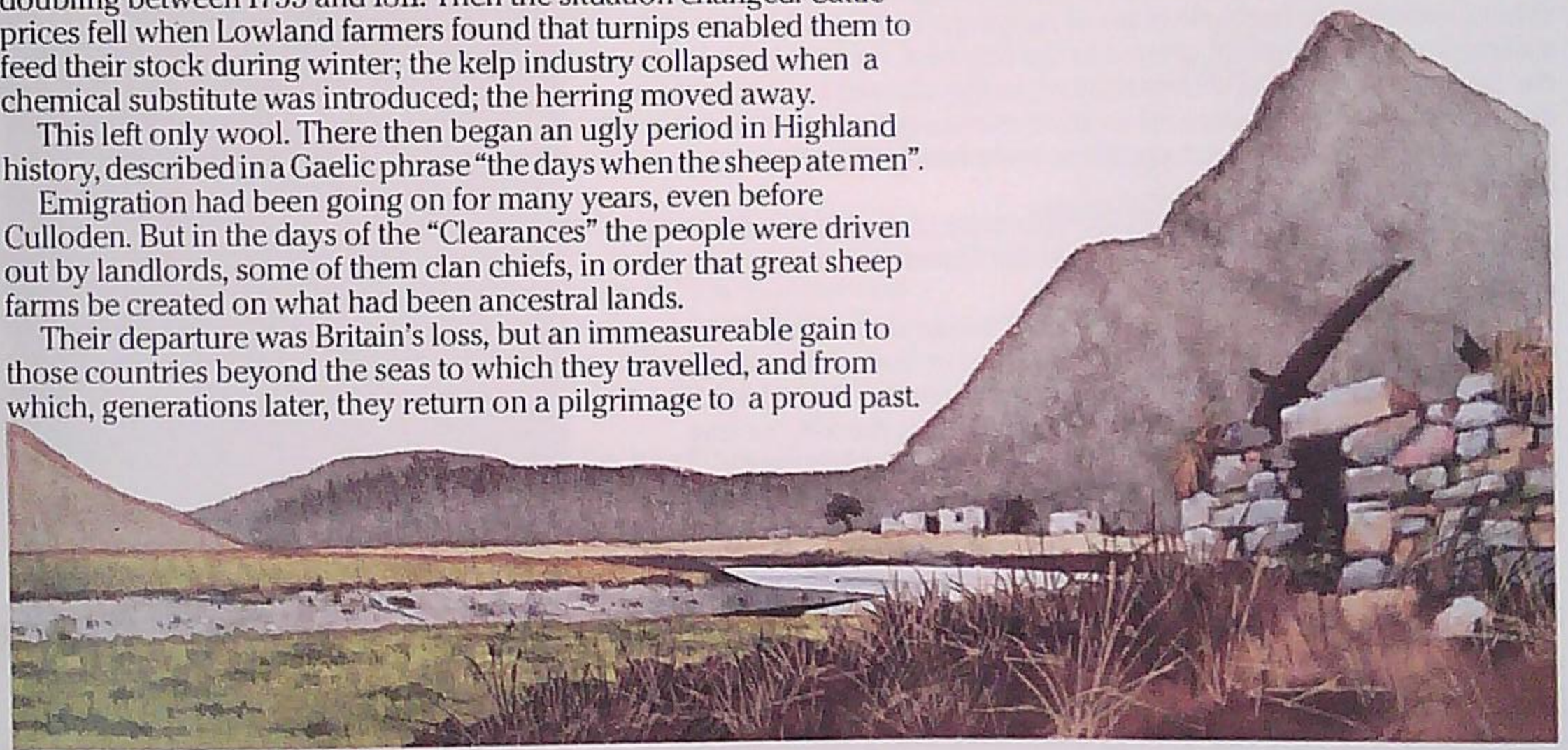
But the Highlands did recover, if only briefly. This had nothing to do with the policies of Government, but much to do with economic factors—and with potatoes. In the Highlands and Islands, as elsewhere, the introduction of the potato meant that more people could live on poor soil. At the same time, the prices for cattle and wool—Highland exports—soared; there was money to be made from kelp (the ashes of seaweed used for glass and soap manufacture); fishing flourished.

The population increased alarmingly, in some cases nearly doubling between 1755 and 1811. Then the situation changed. Cattle prices fell when Lowland farmers found that turnips enabled them to feed their stock during winter; the kelp industry collapsed when a chemical substitute was introduced; the herring moved away.

This left only wool. There then began an ugly period in Highland history, described in a Gaelic phrase “the days when the sheep ate men”.

Emigration had been going on for many years, even before Culloden. But in the days of the “Clearances” the people were driven out by landlords, some of them clan chiefs, in order that great sheep farms be created on what had been ancestral lands.

Their departure was Britain’s loss, but an immeasurable gain to those countries beyond the seas to which they travelled, and from which, generations later, they return on a pilgrimage to a proud past.



THE CULLODEN MEMORIALS

ON AND AROUND THE BATTLEFIELD are a number of buildings and stones associated with incidents in the encounter.

Old Leanach Cottage

This was the farmhouse of Leanach, and survived the battle. At one time it had outbuildings but these have vanished. They included the barn, said to have been the scene of the incident described elsewhere in this guidebook when over 30 Jacobites were deliberately burned alive.

The cottage was inhabited until 1912 and, until 1944, it was cared for by the Gaelic Society of Inverness. It was then presented to the Trust by the late Hector Forbes of Culloden.

The roof is heather thatched, an interesting example of a craft once common in the Highlands.

The cottage has now been furnished as it might have been at the time of the battle. There is a taped recording of contemporary music played on the bagpipes and the clarsach, and of Gaelic songs and verse.



The English Stone

A few yards to the west of Old Leanach stands a stone on which is carved "The English were buried here". No exact site of graves or trenches has ever been recorded. The Government casualties were officially given as 310 killed or wounded; later this total was increased to 364. The term "English" is loosely used, as it often is in connection with Culloden. Three of Cumberland's 15 infantry regiments were Scottish. His Campbell Militia were buried where they fell, further to the west.



The Well of the Dead

West of the English Stone is the Well of the Dead.

Here was found the body of the heroic Alexander MacGillivray of Dunmaglass who led his men of Clan Chattan with such ferocity in the charge that he broke right through Cumberland's first line of defence before he was killed. A plaque commemorates the incident.



The Graves of the Clans

These lie on either side of the line of the road which was driven through the battlefield graveyard about 1835. The green mounds confirm the local belief that although heather grows nearby it will not grow over the graves. The headstones bear simply the names of the clans.

These were erected by Duncan Forbes in 1881, and doubt has been cast on their authenticity. The dead however, were buried by local people, pressed into this task by the victors. They would know some of those they interred, others would be identified by their clan badges, usually a plant sprig worn in the bonnet; and as the oral tradition of the Gael is strong, it is likely that the information available to Duncan Forbes was accurate.

It seems probable that the Mackintoshes had the highest number of dead. Theirs is the longest trench, 54 yards.

About 300 yards north-west of the graveyard, beside the path leading from east to west, another stone marks the burial place of the men of Clan Donald, who fought on the left of the Prince's army.

There is no official figure for the dead of that army. A conservative figure for those killed in action, or later murdered on the battlefield, is 1,000. Few wounded survived.



The Memorial Cairn

The 20 feet high memorial was erected by Duncan Forbes in 1881. It bears the inscription:

THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN
was fought on this moor
16 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 doubtful if Duncan Forbes' ancestor and namesake, the fifth laird of Culloden, would have agreed with his wording. (See "Forbes of Culloden".)

Embodied in the cairn is a stone bearing the inscription "Culloden 1746-E.P. fecit 1858". "E.P." was Edward Power, an enthusiastic Jacobite; the stone was to be part of a cairn which was never finished, but which was at that time the only memorial on the battlefield.

An annual commemoration service, organised by the Gaelic Society of Inverness, is held at the cairn on the Saturday nearest the anniversary of the battle.

The Keppoch Stone

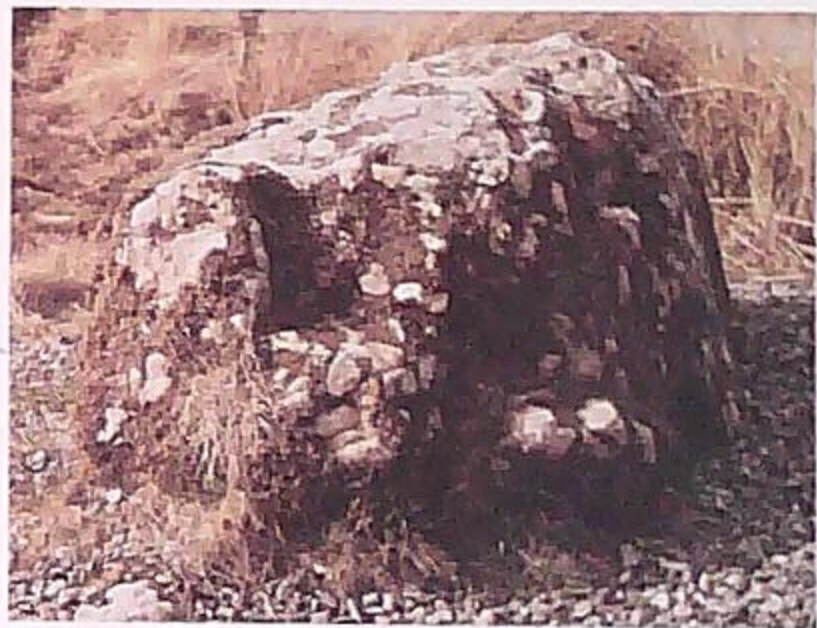
Also on the path leading from east to west is the Keppoch Stone, about 240 yards north-west of the Memorial Cairn. It is said to mark the spot where the Chief, Alasdair MacDonell, sixteenth of Keppoch, fell mortally wounded at the head of his clansmen. It is possible that he is buried here, but the testimony of his son and others is that he was carried off the field and died nearby.

The Irish Memorial

Half a mile west of the Memorial Cairn is the most recent of the Culloden Memorials, erected in 1963 by the Military History Society of Ireland to the picturesquely named "Wild Geese". These were the Irish soldiers in the French service who fought for the Prince. They did great service covering the Jacobite retreat, and their commander, Brigadier Stapleton, was mortally wounded. Because they were in the service of the French crown, they could not therefore be held to be traitors to King George, and Cumberland accorded them status as prisoners-of-war.

The Irish inscription, freely translated, is:

"The breed of Kings, sons of Mileadh
 Eager warriors and heroes".



King's Stables Cottage

There is no evidence of an earlier building on the site of this 18th-century cottage, but the name recalls Stable Hollow, where Cumberland's dragoons were picketed while they guarded the battlefield for some days after the battle. The cottage was presented to the Trust in 1944 by the late Hector Forbes of Culloden and is now used as the headquarters of the Highland area "Youth in Trust".



The Cumberland Stone

At the eastern extreme of the battlefield, across the road from the Keppoch Inn, is a huge boulder on which the Duke of Cumberland is said to have stood while directing the battle. It certainly would have afforded a good viewpoint, but in fact the Duke was on horseback during the battle. He may, however, have surveyed the ground from here earlier. Another tradition has it that he snatched a hasty meal here afterwards.

The ground around the stone was sold to the Trust for a nominal sum by the late Hector Forbes in 1944.



The Clava Cairns

These ancient stone circles, about a mile from the battlefield on the south side of the River Nairn, are not connected with the '45. The cairns, surrounded by stone circles, may date from 1800-1500 BC. They originally contained burial chambers and are among the best examples of their kind in Scotland. They are owned by the Trust, and have been placed under the guardianship of the Department of the Environment.



THE CLAN SYSTEM

THE CLAN was a tribal organisation. At its head was the chief who was also the owner of its lands. A large clan might have branches or septs, headed by chieftains who originally would be related to, or appointed by, the chief.

The geography of the Highlands and Islands may, in the distant past, have played a part in the formation of the clans as social groups, each on its own territory separated from its neighbours.

Not all members of a clan were related, for outsiders could be accepted. Such incomers might adopt the name of the chief, but surnames are an unreliable guide to kinship as they were not in general use until relatively late in history. What mattered was loyalty to chief and clan.

Between the chief and the clansmen were the tacksmen, often related to the chief, by whom they were appointed. They rented from him large tracts of land which they sub-let at rents which allowed them a profit. They were responsible for rent collecting and also for calling out the men of the clan when the chief wanted to go to war. Neither of these duties was necessarily popular, and the latter could sometimes involve force if a clansman was unwilling to obey the summons to battle.

The system, however, meant that the chief was not personally involved in these operations, and his position as "father of his people" was unimpaired.

The clan would normally fight with its chief at its head, the immediate members of his family leading its companies, and each man in the position dictated by his social standing within the clan.

The priorities were clear; when one chief, a Macdonald of Keppoch, was asked how much his rents brought him, he replied "Five hundred fighting men".

But by 1745 the system was already changing. Some chiefs were becoming more interested in money than in men, giving consideration to the possibilities of agriculture and forestry, and dispensing with the tacksmen as costly intermediaries.

To what would have been a gradual social change the battle of Culloden gave brutal impetus.



HIGHLAND DRESS

THE CLANSMEN at Culloden wore kilts of tartan, but neither the garments nor the patterns we know today would have been generally familiar in the Highlands at that time.

The traditional dress was the belted plaid (*plaid* is Gaelic for blanket). This was a rectangle of cloth about six feet wide and six yards long. The lower part, pleated, formed a skirt, and was held in place by a belt round the waist; the upper part could be arranged in a variety of ways and, the belt having been loosened, it could serve to wrap the wearer in at night.

The modern kilt is simply the lower half of this garment with its pleats stitched.

Credit for its invention is usually given to an Englishman, Thomas Rawlinson, who ran an iron works in Glengarry and Lochaber about 1725. This is not acceptable to all Scots however, and Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, a former Lord Lyon, in his "Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland" calls it "a wretched story" and claims a much longer history.

Highland regiments wore both forms of the kilt after 1746, but soon the modern version became the accepted dress.

That there were no clan tartans at Culloden is agreed by most historians. The celebrated picture of the battle, owned by Her Majesty the Queen (and reproduced, by her Majesty's gracious permission, on the cover of this guidebook), was painted by David Morier for the Duke of Cumberland with prisoners from English jails as models. It shows eight clansmen between them wearing garments in over twenty tartans, none of which corresponds to any modern pattern. In October 1745, before the law forbidding the wearing of Highland dress was passed, a warehouse in Edinburgh's Lawnmarket was advertising "great choice of tartans, the newest patterns".

The distinguishing mark of the Jacobites was the white cockade, worn on the bonnet. A wounded Highlander whose bonnet had been lost had to be asked for which side he had fought.

The great upsurge of interest in Highland dress came in 1822, after King George IV's celebrated visit to Edinburgh, master-minded by Sir Walter Scott whose novels had seized public imagination. Not only His Majesty but the Lord Mayor of London, Sir William Curtis, appeared in the kilt, as did Scott himself. Soon every well-known family in Scotland, Highland and Lowland, had its own tartan.

Within 75 years of its having been proscribed the kilt had become Scotland's national dress.



FORBES OF CULLODEN

BY A COINCIDENCE of history, the 5th Laird of Culloden and owner of Culloden House, Duncan Forbes, played an important part in national affairs, before and after the '45.

He was Lord President of the Court of Session, Scotland's premier judge, a loyal Hanoverian and a Whig. He was familiar with the clan system and its operation, and saw it as an anachronism which must change. For years he had advocated recruitment of Highlanders into the Army as a peaceful means of assisting that change, but an authoritative voice speaking on Highland affairs was unwelcome to London.

When the Prince landed, the Lord President used his considerable influence to dissuade clans from joining the Rising. After Culloden, knowing that many of the rank and file in the Highland army were there under duress (their houses would have been burned had they not followed their chief), he pleaded for clemency and was rudely dismissed by Cumberland. It is said that he died, in December 1747, of a broken heart, having seen what was happening to his country in the aftermath of the battle.

The Forbes family had acquired the Culloden lands from the Mackintosh of Mackintosh in 1626. The house which was the family seat dated from the middle of that century. Duncan Forbes had defended it against the Jacobites in 1715. Another attempt to capture it failed in October 1745. Forbes had then withdrawn to Skye, and on Monday, 14 April, 1746, Prince Charles slept in the house, having given explicit orders for its care. He rested there again, briefly, on the morning of Wednesday, 16 April, after the abortive night march on Nairn, and before the battle.

In 1772 the castle was demolished to make way for the present house. The vaults of the old building remain, however, including a small prison cell in which eighteen Jacobites were concealed for three days by Forbes' steward before being discovered and shot.

The house contained many Jacobite relics, which were dispersed at a sale in 1897 after the death of the tenth Laird, the last to reside there. It is now a hotel, having been sympathetically adapted to its new role.

The Forbes family still owns some land at Culloden, and it was from their other home at Ferintosh, on the Black Isle, that the thirteenth Laird, the late Hector Forbes, made his gift of the Culloden Memorials to the Trust in 1944.



The Hon Duncan Forbes (from a print in the Logan Home Collection at Culloden).

THE TRUST AND THE BATTLEFIELD

DRUMOSSIE MOOR, to give it its old name, has seen many changes since the battle. In recent times the area would have been unrecognisable by those who fought there.

In 1835, with what now appears incredible insensitivity, a road was constructed through the graveyard. Later, much of the land was planted with conifers. This left immediately apparent to the visitor, only a small tree-sheltered enclave, from which it was difficult to visualise the true setting of the battle on the open moor, with its sweeping views over the Moray Firth to the northern mountains.

Now that the trees which had matured, have been felled, the road is to be realigned and, thanks to the co-operation of the Forestry Commission, the Highland Regional Authority, and with financial help from many quarters, it is possible to present the story of the historic encounter against its 18th-century background.

The purchase by the Trust from the Forestry Commission of 108 acres of land which had been under plantation was aided by the Countryside Commission for Scotland. This was the latest step in a process which began in 1937 when the late Mr Alexander Munro of Leanach Farm presented two small areas of the battlefield to the Trust. In 1959, his son, Mr Ian Munro, added to the gift, making possible the linking together of some of the Trust's properties. Earlier, in 1944, the late Mr Hector Forbes of Culloden had given into the Trust's care the Graves of the Clans, the Memorial Cairn and King's Stables, and had sold for a nominal sum the field which contains the Cumberland Stone.

The Culloden Memorials, as they are collectively known, had been scheduled as Ancient Monuments in 1925, thanks to the interest and care of the Gaelic Society of Inverness.

For many years, the Trust, in its efforts to restore the battlefield and to present its story, has had the benefit of the counsel of its Culloden Committee.

In 1959 the heather-thatched Old Leanach Cottage, which survived the battle, was opened as a Visitor Centre. Increasing numbers, however, necessitated more elaborate reception arrangements and in 1970 a new Centre was established with financial aid from the Highlands and Islands Development Board.

This Centre has in its turn now been extended and its information services supplemented to meet the continuously growing needs of the tens of thousands who each year make the pilgrimage to this, perhaps the most emotive, of British battlefields.



Cover picture: a detail from the painting of the battle by David Morier (reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen).

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