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The Scottish Jacobite Army 1745–46

Stuart Reid · Illustrated by Gary Zaboly

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THE SCOTTISH JACOBITE ARMY 1745–46

INTRODUCTION

The most remarkable record of the Jacobite Army is a series of sketches made by an unknown eyewitness from Penicuik, near Edinburgh. This pugnacious left-handed swordsman is identified as 'Shitarluck the Younger' – perhaps McGhie of Sherlock, an Atholl Brigade officer captured at Culloden, whose ultimate fate is uncertain. (Author's copy from original)

The followers of Prince Charles Edward Stuart liked to call themselves the Highland Army, and that is still very largely how they are remembered. Nevertheless, during the months of the Jacobite Rising that army was steadily evolving and changing. The men who stood on Culloden Moor on 16 April 1746 – tired, hungry, and perhaps demoralized though some of them might have been – belonged to what was in some ways a very different, much more professional force than the Highland host which had charged out of the early morning mist at Prestonpans just seven months before.

While the clans always remained the single most important element throughout the army's all too short existence, it was also a surprisingly conventional 18th-century army, with horse, foot, guns, a staff and all the usual supporting elements. Consequently, this study aims to provide a fuller and more rounded picture of what was to all intents and purposes the last Scots army.

At first sight that particular description might seem paradoxical, for of course the Rising of 1745 was not, strictly speaking, a war fought between the Scots and the English. Indeed, there were easily as many Scots fighting for King George as were standing in Prince Charles Edward's ranks; and yet there is no doubt that the Jacobite Army was very much a Scottish army in both character and appearance. Sir Walter Scott perhaps best captured the truth in his novel *Waverley*, written at a time when memories of the rising were still fresh and some of the actors still living. In Sir Walter's eyes, the majority of those who donned the Jacobite white cockade were certainly very consciously fighting for Scotland – but it was for the old Scotland, and for a king at Holyrood again, rather than for the new, outward-looking Scotland that was already at the point of being born when the prince raised his flag: North Britain, standing on the brink of the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution.

The irony is that the Stuarts themselves always had their sights very firmly set on London rather than Edinburgh, and initial Jacobite

Prince Charles Edward Stuart wearing Highland dress, by the 19th-century artist Robert Mclan. This is perhaps the most familiar image of the prince, although there appears to be no evidence that he wore the kilt before going on the run after Culloden.

planning was based on the assumption that the uprising would be triggered by a French invasion force landing not in Scotland, but somewhere in the Thames Estuary. French regulars were to do the initial fighting, and the supporters of King James would then be able to rally to his banner under their protection. In this scheme a secondary landing in Scotland was very largely an afterthought; but the abandonment of the proposed French invasion in 1744 changed everything. When they first pledged their support the Highland chiefs had made it absolutely clear that, like their English counterparts, they would only raise their people as auxiliaries to a French army. Yet for the prince there was now no alternative. Embarking but a single company of Franco-Irish volunteers, he sailed for Scotland virtually alone – not because the Highlanders were reckoned to be the oldest and staunchest supporters of the House of Stuart, but because only they could provide him with an army at a moment's notice.

CHRONOLOGY

1745	
5 July	Prince Charles Edward clears Belle Isle and sails for Scotland
9 July	Sea fight between *L'Elisabeth* (64) and HMS *Lion* (58)
25 July	Prince lands at Loch nan Uamh in Arisaig
19 August	Standard raised at Glenfinnan
27 August	Rendezvous at Aberchalder – the real beginning of the army
29 August	Unsuccessful attack on Ruthven Barracks
3 Sept	Jacobites 'capture' Perth
18 Sept	Jacobites seize Edinburgh
21 Sept	Jacobite victory at Prestonpans
25 Sept	Jacobites 'capture' Aberdeen
7 Oct	First French blockade runner unloads 2,500 firelocks at Montrose. Three others follow by the end of October, bringing 6 cannon and more small arms
27 Oct	Unsuccessful Jacobite attack on Culloden House, near Inverness
31 Oct	Prince's army marches south from Edinburgh in hopes of triggering an English Jacobite uprising and a French invasion
10–14 Nov	Siege of Carlisle; militia garrison surrenders
20 Nov	Prince's army moves south from Carlisle
24 Nov	First French troops, with 6 heavy guns, land at Montrose
25 Nov	French and Jacobites force HMS *Hazard* to surrender at Montrose
26 Nov	Lord John Drummond and Royal *Écossois* land at Montrose; Irish Picquets land at Peterhead and Aberdeen
29 Nov	Seizure of Manchester
4 Dec	Prince's army enters Derby
6 Dec	With no sign of an English rising or a French invasion, the return to Scotland begins
18 Dec	Rearguard action at Clifton
20 Dec	Prince's army re-crosses border into Scotland
21–30 Dec	Defence of Carlisle; Jacobite garrison surrenders
23 Dec	Jacobite victory at Inverurie, near Aberdeen
1746	
4 Jan	Prince's army unites with Lord John Drummond's army
7–8 Jan	Siege of Stirling – burgh surrenders to Jacobites but castle holds out
8–31 Jan	Unsuccessful siege of Stirling Castle
13 Jan	Skirmish at Linlithgow
17 Jan	Jacobite victory at Falkirk
1 Feb	Jacobites withdraw northwards

11 Feb	Ruthven Barracks surrenders to Glenbuchat
16 Feb	'Rout of Moy' – failed attempt to capture Prince by night raid
18 Feb	Jacobites capture Inverness
21 Feb	Squadron of *Fitzjames Cavallerie* lands at Aberdeen
25 Feb	Picquet of *Régiment Berwick* lands at Peterhead
3–5 Mar	Siege of Fort Augustus; garrison from Guise's Regt surrenders
10 Mar	'Atholl Raid'
10–31 Mar	Unsuccessful siege of Blair Castle
20 Mar	Jacobite victory at Dornoch; skirmish at Keith
20 Mar–2 Apr	Unsuccessful Jacobite siege of Fort William
26 Mar	Second picquet of *Berwick* captured at Tongue, with £12,000 in gold
12 April	British army crosses River Spey; rearguard action at Nairn
15 April	Cromartie's brigade ambushed and destroyed at Embo; unsuccessful Jacobite attempt to surprise British camp at Nairn
16 April	Battle of Culloden
18 April	Jacobite Army disperses at Fort Augustus and Ruthven Barracks
19 April	Last French units surrender
2 May	Sea fight in Loch nan Uamh
27 May	Last Jacobite regiments disband

RAISING THE ARMY

Prince Charles Edward was not disappointed in his expectations of quickly finding himself at the head of an army; although a number of the chiefs on whom he was counting determinedly stayed at home, the support of those who did turn out – headed by Cameron of Locheil – was crucial, since each of them brought at least the semblance of a regiment. These first clan levies, raised far more quickly than would have been possible anywhere else in Scotland or England, formed the little army that defeated General Cope at Prestonpans on 21 September. In truth, at that stage it was hardly worthy of the name of an army, amounting to barely 2,500 men; but after that first vital victory it formed the nucleus around which a much larger force was formed.

At Edinburgh, during the five weeks following the battle, it doubled in size, as the clans were joined by other units raised from nearly all over Scotland, excepting the old Covenanting south-west. Although these new regiments, and a number of others that remained in Scotland to form the nucleus of a second army gathering at Perth, were frequently referred to as the Low Country Foot, this was very much an oversimplification. The Duke of Perth's Regiment – the only 'Lowland' unit to fight at Prestonpans – had both Highland and Lowland companies, and in fact a substantial proportion of the men in many of these supposed Lowland regiments were actually of Highland extraction. This was certainly true of those men raised in the upland areas of Aberdeenshire and

A more conventional 18th-century image of a younger but quite recognizable Prince Charles Edward, in the conventional half-armour favoured for aristocratic portraits. On a number of occasions he was described as wearing 'French' clothes such as these.

***Highland Visitors* – a contemporary propaganda piece by J.Dubois, purporting to show Jacobites plundering an English village. The figures look surprisingly convincing – note the officer in trews at centre.**

Banffshire – in Strathbogie, Strathavan and Speyside by John Gordon of Avochie and old John Gordon of Glenbuchat. Even the three regiments of the Athole Brigade, from central Perthshire, were officially accounted part of the Lowland division. There was, perhaps with good reason, a decided feeling that the Highlanders serving in these particular regiments were a good deal less 'wild' than the ones from the west. While this might arguably have been the case, the real difference was that they were raised by the personal exertions of their officers rather than called or forced out as clan levies.

Clansmen and feudal levies

In theory, the raising of a clan regiment was simple enough: as one of Robert Louis Stevenson's characters wryly declared, 'when the piper plays the clan must dance'. The chief first called upon his 'people', that is his tacksmen (those who leased land from him), 'near relations, friends and partakers' to come out and, if they were in agreement, each in turn brought out their own tenants, servants and followers. It was thus possible quite literally to raise a regiment overnight – although arming it properly, and keeping the men in the ranks in the long term, sometimes proved a good deal more difficult. Even at the very beginning, not all of the men came out readily. A fairly typical government intelligence report recounted that 'upon Thursday the 15th August Cameron of Kinlochlyon [sic], Cameron of Blairchierr, Cameron of Blairmachult, Cameron of Glenevis, and Cameron alias MacKalonie of Strone, heads of the several tribes of the name of

Cameron, came from Locheil's country and entered Rannoch with a party of servants and followers to the number of about 24 and went from house to house on both sides of Loch Rannoch... and intimate to all the Camerons, which are pretty numerous on both sides of the loch, that, if they did not forthwith go with them, that they would that instant proceed to burn all their houses and hough their cattle; whereupon they carried off the Rannoch men, about one hundred, mostly of the name of Cameron...'

No fewer than 57 out of 87 men from Glen Urquhart and Glenmoriston who surrendered in May 1746 were variously noted to have been 'forced', 'pressed', or in one case 'dragd out'. Similarly, the Rev William Gordon of Alvie declared that out of 43 of his parishioners caught up in the rising, only three had gone voluntarily – the rest were forced out by 'burning their houses, carrying off their cattle, and breaking their heads'. Nor was this all; 'there was an express sent from Alex MacDonald of Keppoch, the 15th, intimating to Alex Macdonald in Drumchastle and Alexander MacDonald of Dalchosney, the informer's father, both in the Duke of Athole's lands of Bunrannoch, that if they did not immediately go and join him, Keppoch, they would be proceeded against with burning and houghing as above...'[1]

Highlander wearing the philabeg or 'little kilt', from Maclan's *Clans of the Scottish Highlands*. Working in the Victorian period, Maclan researched his subject thoroughly, and although the clan tartans (in this case Grant) are not contemporary, the clothing styles are accurate. Note the early box-pleating of the kilt, the sleeve vent of the short jacket, and the light shoes held on by laces around the instep and ankle.

Keppoch was evidently a firm believer in employing coercion. The minister of Lochbroom afterwards testified that on 17 March 1746, Keppoch and some of his men turned up there and 'unexpectedly surprised the poor people, snatching some of them out of their beds. Others, who thought their old age would excuse them, were dragged from their ploughs... while some were taken off the highways. One I did myself see overtaken by speed of foot and when he declared he would rather die than be carried to the rebellion, was knock'd to the ground by the butt of a musket and carried away all bleed.'

What is significant about this particular incident is that the Lochbroom men were not actually Keppoch's clansmen at all, and most of those press-ganged by him on this occasion went into the Earl of Cromartie's Regiment. Allied to the clan system was the even more widespread and equally archaic concept of vassalage – an ancient obligation on a man to turn out in arms at the behest of his landlord or feudal superior. The Athole Brigade was largely recruited in this fashion; and in a typical exchange early in the rising, the Jacobite Duke William wrote to his 'vassals' in the Dunkeld area that 'As... you and the

[1] It would probably be difficult to find a better illustration of why men in Scotland were generally referred to by the name of their dwelling or estate, rather than simply by their surnames.

Another grim-looking left-handed swordsman by the Penicuik artist, this time identified as Alexander MacDonald of Keppoch. Merciless during the levying of the prince's army, Keppoch would be killed at the head of his regiment at Culloden. (Author's copy)

rest of my Vassalls & tenants do not bestir yourselves with that activity that becomes Loyal Subjects... I once more require you peremtorely... to raise in arms all the men you can, and meet in Pitlochrie.'

Despite this stern summons, a few days later John Stewart of Stenton responded that 'the whole inhabitants there are quite degenerate from their ancestors, and not one spark of loyalty among them; not one of them will stir without force'. Nor did matters improve thereafter; in January 1746 Duke William was still complaining of the 'unspeakable difficulty' he was experiencing in persuading men to rise. Even when they did come out, the desertion rate in the Athole Brigade is reckoned to have been the worst of any Jacobite unit.[2]

This form of recruiting was not by any means confined to the Athole Brigade, but extended to a number of other areas where local families exercised a traditional influence over their neighbours and tenants. In the north-east, for example, the formidable Lady Erroll certainly forced out a number of her tenants to join the regiment of Footguards being raised by her son-in-law, Lord Kilmarnock. The Earl of Cromartie's Regiment – as described above – was a similar case; and Alexander McGrowther claimed that as a landholder under the Duke of Perth 'it was the custom to obey commands', while Peter Maclaren similarly spoke of a 'general notion that they must obey' him as their landlord.

Obviously enough, the quality of many of these sometimes reluctant recruits left a lot to be desired. Captain John MacLean rather blandly recounted how on his march to join the Prince's army, 'we catched a Deserter in a moor in Our Way but after two or three miles travelling with us we let him Goe he being 70 years old only [we] took his Sword for one of our men'.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that all of the men standing in the ranks were pulled unwillingly on to the heather by the arbitrary power of their chiefs or their feudal superiors – or indeed, that obedience to their chiefs was the sole determining factor in bringing them out.

Volunteers

Other than the clan and feudal levies, the officers and men following the Prince fell into several different categories. First and most important were the volunteers, who freely joined the Jacobite Army, if for a surprising variety of reasons.

One contemporary remarked that at first 'the Rebellion was favoured by almost all the common people. The promise of freeing them from the Malt Tax had a surprising influence upon them, this being a tax the

[2] Confusingly, there were two Dukes of Athole above ground at the same time. Duke William was an attainted Jacobite who returned from exile with Prince Charles Edward, and is better known as the Marquis of Tullibardine. His younger brother, Duke John, was a supporter of the government, but prudently took himself off to Bath until all was over. Both were elder brothers of Lord George Murray.

Farmers are especially sensible of... The Rebels therefore hitherto behaving civilly, listing only volunteers, paying freely, taking but some few good horses and arms as they met them, and freeing the country people from the eternal dread they were under of the Malt Gaugers, were looked upon by them as the deliverers of their country.'

While the single most important reason for volunteering undoubtedly seems to have been a widespread desire to re-establish Scotland's independence, other factors ranged from genuine enthusiasm for the Jacobite cause (or at least a strong objection to the present government, which was not quite the same thing), all the way to simple peer pressure or even a sense of adventure. Even so the decision was rarely taken lightly; for instance, the Glen Urquhart men only committed themselves to the rising after a lengthy and mature debate held one Sunday in Kilmore churchyard.

Then again, while some joined the rebel ranks from conviction, hope or curiosity, more than a few were suspected of running away from debts and the prospect of bankruptcy. Of James Moir of Stonywood it was said that, 'This gentleman very early imbibed the Jacobite principles and was entirely educated that way; his fortune also was greatly embarrassed, so that his going off was no great surprise.' Similarly, the reason for John Hamilton of Sandstoun's involvement 'was generally imagined to be owing to the disorder of his affairs'. It was remarked that while several merchants of note had joined in the previous rising of 1715, this time around there were 'none but a few smugglers, and a very few tradesmen'.

This member of the Black Watch depicted in the 1742 *Cloathing Book* also provides a pretty good image of a typical soldier in the Jacobite Army three years later. Note the use of a belly-box in place of the more usual large cartridge box worn on the right hip, which would be hampered by the belted plaid. The plaid was put on first, directly over the shirt, and arranged into a kilt below the waist; it was then belted, and the upper part hung in folds from the waist. After the waistcoat and jacket had been donned, the end of the plaid was carried up outside them behind the shoulder, and pinned.

Whatever their motivation, while some of the volunteers accepted commissions and set about recruiting men of their own, many came in singly or in groups, with perhaps just a handful of friends and followers. Thus, two of Grant of Shewglie's sons set off one morning with 'a dozen young fellows'. Others again were recruited in more conventional fashion; John Crawford of the Duke of Perth's Regiment was seen 'with a White Cockade and sergeants halberd, along with a drummer, beating up for recruits for the rebels in Edinburgh', exactly as his regular counterparts might have done. Few, however, can have been treated to speeches such as the one delivered by Jemmy Dawson at Derby:

> "All gentlemen volunteers who are willing to serve His Royal Highness Charles, Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland and Ireland, in one of His Royal Highnesses new raised English regiments, commonly called the Manchester Regiment, under the command of Colonel Townley, let them repair to the Drum Head or to the Colonel's headquarters where they shall be kindly entertained, enter into present pay and good quarters, receive all arms and accoutrements and everything fit to complete a gentleman soldier, and for their further encouragement, when

Simon Fraser the elder, Lord Lovat (1667–1747). Although too old to play an active military role, Lovat raised two battalions from amongst his clansmen, and – according to witnesses at his trial – provided them with tents marked with his crest, and camp colours, one of which was found at Culloden. His age did not save this incorrigible intriguer from execution.

they arrive in London they shall receive 5 guineas each and a crown to drink his Majesty King James health, and, if not willing to serve any longer, they shall have a full discharge. Every man shall be rewarded according to his merits. God Bless King James!"

He got few if any takers; and once the first flush of enthusiasm had passed, willing recruits generally became progressively harder to find and retain. In the end not only did the 'forcing' of men into the clan regiments become ever more brutal, but even in Lowland areas the Jacobites resorted to levying men under something akin to the old Scots fencible system.

Conscripts and mercenaries

Utilizing the existing tax records, the Jacobites demanded that landowners should supply one able-bodied and properly clothed and equipped man for every £100 (Scots) of valued rent. Unsurprisingly, this proved decidedly unpopular. Lord Lewis Gordon commented in December 1745 that 'Although I have got some volunteers, I assure you that att least two thirds of the men I have raised is by the stipulation att first agreed on, and all those that have not as yet sent in their quotas, have been wrote to in very strong terms.'

The tenor of those threats can be imagined from instructions issued to some of Gordon's officers, who were to 'require from the heritors, factors, or tenants, as you shall think most proper, an able-bodied man for his Majesty King James's service, with sufficient Highland cloaths, plaid and arms, for each 100£ of their valued rent, or the sum of 5£ sterl. Money for each of the above men, to be paid to J.M. of Stonywood, or his order of Aberdeen: and in case of refusal of the men or money, you are forthwith to burn all the houses, corn and planting upon the foresaid estates.' These threats were effective: 'the burning of a single house or farm stack in a Parish terrified the whole, so that they would quickly send in their proportion, and by this means, with the few that joined as volunteers, he [Lord Lewis Gordon] raised near 300 men called the Strathboggy Battalion in the country thereabouts.'

How those quotas were actually filled is one of the more intriguing aspects of the affair. When an accounting came to be made afterwards, the lists compiled for the government of those involved in the rising were careful to distinguish between those men who were volunteers, those who were or may have been 'forced' (generally by far the greater number), and those who were 'hired out by the County' or as paid substitutes by individuals.

John Gordon of Glenbuchat (1673–1750), a veteran Jacobite who had commanded a battalion at Sherriffmuir in 1715. Glenbuchat was appointed a major-general in 1745 and raised a regiment in Strathbogie and Strathavan; but although he enjoyed a fearsome reputation, at 72 he was getting far too old for adventures. One eyewitness referred to him as 'an old man much crouched, who rode on a little grey highland beast' – a description confirmed by one of the Penicuik sketches.

In Banffshire alone, where a substantial part of the Strathbogie Regiment was recruited, no fewer than one-third of those reported to have been with the rebels were recorded as having been 'hired out by the county'. In Forfarshire it seems to have been more common for individuals to hire substitutes to serve in Lord Ogilvy's Regiment. Charles Mather, a ploughman from Montrose, was 'hired by a farmer in his stead', as were James Miller from Glamis and Alexander Robertson from Forfar, while other men, such as David Scott, also from Forfar, were 'hired by the county.' Since they had clearly enlisted for money alone, these hired men were rarely treated as real rebels, or at least were not considered to be quite as culpable as those who joined the rising from ideological or other motives. Consequently, a disproportionate number of them were left undisturbed afterwards or, if they had been captured, were statistically far more likely to be turned loose (or drafted into the ranks of the British Army) rather than transported or brought to trial; clearly, it was not thought worthwhile to prosecute them even by way of example.

RIGHT **Not all of the Penicuik artist's subjects were Jacobites, and these sketches depict Loyalist volunteers from the Edinburgh area at drill. They are dressed largely as would be their Jacobite counterparts in John Roy Stuart's Regiment. The central man, wearing a bonnet, is specifically identified as coming from Penicuik. One of the right-hand figures wears a long caped riding coat, slit for access to his sword hilt – see also Plate B1. (Author's copies)**

Turncoats

However, the government was a good deal less lenient when it came to another group: former members of the British Army. It is common for all of these men to be referred to as deserters, but in reality very few men deliberately absented themselves from their units in order to join the Jacobites, and most of those who did were drawn there by close family ties. Instead, the majority of British Army personnel found serving in the rebel ranks were actually former prisoners of war. In the first place there were men belonging to the Highland Independent Companies or to Loudoun's newly raised 64th Highlanders. Although technically British soldiers, few of them had ever had the chance to actually wear King George's red coat before their capture, and changing sides had required little persuasion, especially if their officers led the way. Cluny MacPherson was only the most prominent of them, exchanging a captaincy in the 64th for command of his own clan regiment. Consequently, these men subsequently recaptured

BELOW **A fine study by Maclan of a Highland gentleman wearing the belted plaid. Note how the bonnet is adjusted by tapes at the back.**

under guard... and the remainder set at liberty, and this deponent saw many going about at large with white cockades along with the rebels, by reason whereof it was said that they had all initiated the Pretender and were in his service.'

Judging by references in Jacobite orderly books to 'the redcoats of Perth's and John Roy Stuart's', most if not all of them seem to have ended up in those regiments; the adjutant of Perth's Regiment, John Christie, was formerly a sergeant in one of Cope's regiments.

In the third category were men who enlisted into regiments of the French Army's Irish Brigade. Some of them were indeed genuine deserters, who had crossed the lines in Flanders months before coming to Scotland with the Irish Picquets or the *Royal Ecossois*. However, the single largest concentration were members of Guise's 6th Foot, captured at either Inverness or Fort Augustus and then press-ganged into the French service. In his accounting of the French forces at Culloden the French 'ambassador' to the rebel forces, the Marquis d'Eguilles, recorded the remarkable figure of 148 prisoners and deserters out of a total of 260 serving in the Irish Piquets – a full 60 per cent. After Culloden, where 81 of them were captured, their prospects must have seemed bleak. As many as 28 of them may have been hanged almost immediately; but the rest were in fact released and returned to their units after the intercession of a local minister named Alexander McBean, who was able to confirm just how badly the men of Guise's had been treated in captivity.

William Boyd, Earl of Kilmarnock (1704–1746). Initially Kilmarnock raised and led a troop of cavalry in the Falkirk/Stirling area, which were designated as Horse Grenadiers. In early 1746 it was dismounted and its horses turned over to Fitzjames's Horse, so Kilmarnock raised a new regiment which was designated as the Footguards. Captured at Culloden, he was executed on 18 August 1746.

ORGANIZATION

Whatever their origin or circumstances, all of these men – Highlanders, Lowlanders, volunteers, levies or mercenaries – belonged to regiments which were at least outwardly organized on conventional lines, although the terminology involved can sometimes be misleading. In the British Army of the day the terms 'regiment' and 'battalion' were

was 'in his boots, dressed in a highland coat'. Sir William Gordon of Park, on the other hand, sounds as if he may simply have been going through the motions when he was seen wearing 'a sort of highland clothing'. Like most Jacobite cavalrymen this man is armed with a firelock, which may have been in imitation of regular dragoons but more likely reflects his primary role as a scout and skirmisher.

E2: Scotch Hussars

This figure is largely based on two of the Penicuik sketches depicting the hussars – a species of cavalry hitherto unknown in Britain. Exactly why this unit was so designated is not known, but the caps look very similar to recently obsolete French hussar caps, so it is possible that a quantity of them were carried as part of the *Le du Teillay*'s rather miscellaneous cargo. One eyewitness at Carlisle referred to them as 'high rough red caps, like Pioneers'. The best description came from someone in Kendal, who wrote that 'They have several young Men clad in close Plaid Waistcoats, and huge Fur Caps, which they call their Hussars; but they have such scurvy Horses, that I have seen several of them exert all their Vigour to bring them to a Gallop; in Spite of which the poor Beasts immediately fell into a Pace more suitable to their Age and Infirmities.' Another witness, again referring to their tartan waistcoats, also spoke of their wearing 'limber', i.e. supple boots.

E3: Volunteer, Prince's Lifeguard

Equally distinctive were the Lifeguards, and this figure is based on a number of accounts all referring to a handsome coat of 'blue turned with red' and a red waistcoat. The coats were unlaced, but a letter written from Leith shortly after Culloden related that, 'The Pretenders Life Guards have suffered greatly. A person, this moment arrived, saw 26 of them in a heap, with the lace cut off their vests, and their tartan belts lying beside them.' The reference to the belts is confirmed by a description from an English volunteer named James Bradshaw who was 'dressed in long blue clothes turned up with red, and a shoulder belt mounted with tartan.' Presumably these were carbine belts rather than sword belts, since it was the practice in both the British and French services for highly decorated examples to be worn by household troops. The blue coats with red facings were almost certainly French; there is no mention of their being made up while the army was at Edinburgh, and the frequency with which they are mentioned – being worn by the *Companie Maurepas*, the Lifeguards and the Manchester Regiment as well (see D3), indicates that they must have been some of the military supplies carried to Scotland on the *Le du Teillay*.

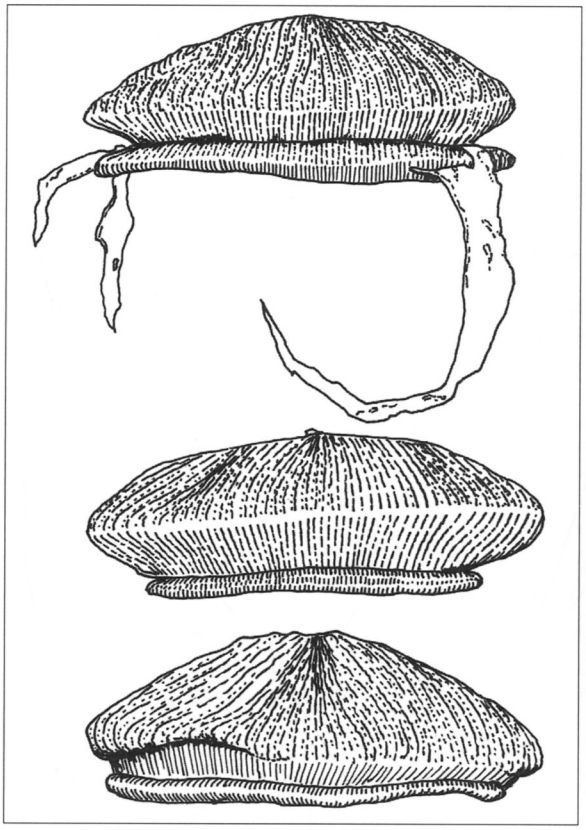
F: *ROYAL ÉCOSSOIS*

The ordinary uniform worn by this regiment of Scots mercenaries raised by Lord John Drummond is well documented by French sources, but some interesting variations appeared during the Jacobite campaign.

F1 & 1A: Officer of Grenadiers

This figure is dressed exactly according to regulations, in a dark blue coat lined white with facings of *rouge a l'Écossoise* – red with an orange tinge – and a waistcoat of the same, with silver lace. Rather unusually, he wears a British-style mitre cap; the example illustrated, which still survives, originally belonged to one of five officers captured aboard a blockade runner called *L'Esperance* in November 1745.

17th- and 18th-century Scots bonnets. Although occasional examples are found which have been made by sewing together pieces of woven cloth, by far the greater number are heavily knitted, as shown here.



F2: Piper

The late C.C.P.Lawson asserted that the regiment's grenadiers wore Highland dress, but although no contemporary evidence can be found for this, one man who certainly would have worn it was Lord John Drummond's piper. His precise status within the regiment is uncertain, but – following the example of the well-known series of portraits of members of the Laird of Grant's household – he is depicted here wearing Highland clothing, including the same plaid shown in a contemporary portrait of Drummond himself.

F3: Fusilier

Two descriptions survive of the uniform worn by the regiment while it was serving in Scotland. A drover named John Gray saw Drummond himself wearing a short blue jacket with red facings and silver lace, and a blue velvet bonnet; while a witness at the trial of Lieutenant Charles Oliphant declared that the 'Prisoner wore the uniform of Lord John Drummond's officers, viz: short blue coats, red vests laced [,]

with bonnets and white cockades'. Presumably the same Scottish-style cropped coats and blue bonnets were also worn by the rank and file fusiliers, together with the standard French infantry equipment.

G: IRISH PICQUETS

The three regiments illustrated in this plate are the original Irish Picquets, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Walter Stapleton of the *Régiment Berwick*, which landed in Scotland late in 1745.

G1: Fusilier, *Régiment Dillon*

Apart from their red coats and distinctive colours the Irish regiments had ordinary French infantry uniforms and accoutrements. *Dillon* had black collars and cuffs on the coat, with white linings, waistcoat and breeches, and yellow hat lace. Note the red lace loops linking the two rows of buttons on the waistcoat.

G2: Fusilier, *Régiment Lally*

The newest-raised of the Irish regiments, *Lally* had green collars, cuffs, linings and waistcoats, white breeches and yellow hat lace. The waistcoat is in the same style worn by *Dillon* but lacks the lace loops linking the two rows of buttons.

G3: Officer, *Régiment Rooth*

Captain Thomas MacDermott of this regiment testified that 'Many French officers got highland clothes as a protection against the highlanders who joined us'; while another, Captain John Burke of the *Régiment Clare*, more explicitly declared that 'I wore the highland habit to avoid danger in travelling in red clothes'. This officer has compromised by wearing a plain greatcoat over his scarlet regimentals with dark blue facings and lining and gold lace.

H: OTHER IRISH TROOPS

In addition to the original three picquets, a detachment from the *Régiment Berwick* and a fair number of individuals (chiefly officers) from other units also served in Scotland. The *Régiment Bulkeley* had basically the same uniform as *Lally* but with white hat lace, while *Clare* had yellow cuffs, linings, waistcoat and breeches and white hat lace.

H1: 'Volunteer', Guise's (6th) Foot

A considerable number of former British soldiers were found amongst the prisoners after Culloden. Some were serving in regiments such as the Duke of Perth's, but most had been pressganged into the ranks of the Irish Picquets; it is perhaps little wonder that they fought so desperately. In fact some 60 per cent of the Picquets were former British soldiers, nearly all of whom – like this member of Guise's – were still wearing their old uniforms. Apart from the obligatory white cockade, all that marks him as a member of the Picquets are his French accoutrements and a M1728 firelock.

H2: Fusilier, *Régiment Berwick*

Although this unit shared a colonel proprietor, the Duc de Fitzjames, with *Fitzjames Cavallerie*, the two regiments had quite different facing colours. In this case the 40-odd men commanded in Scotland by Captains Nicholas de la Hoyde and Patrick Clargue had white facings. Note that there are no buttons on the rather plain cuffs.

H3: Trooper, *Fitzjames Cavallerie*

Most of this regiment – better known as Fitzjames's Horse – were captured at sea, but one complete squadron commanded by Captains Thomas Bagot, Patrice Nugent and Robert Shee landed at Aberdeen in February 1746. They brought ashore so much of 'their horse furniture, arms, breastplates and baggage' that they required nine or ten carts and 20 pack horses to carry it all. About 70 men were mounted at Culloden, while the remainder presumably served on foot with the rest of the Irish Picquets. Whether the mounted men actually wore their breastplates at Culloden is unknown, but as their horses were in poor condition it seems unlikely that they would have burdened them with the extra weight.

Another of Maclan's paintings, giving a good idea of just how voluminous the belted plaid could be.

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