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The Highland Forts in the 'Forty-Five'

SO much romance has attached itself to the history of the 'Forty-Five', and the ordinary narratives are so often tinged with Jacobite sympathy, that the fact that there was another side to the story has been almost forgotten. Few people remember more than the misconduct of Cope's cavalry at Prestonpans, the adventurous advance into England, and the final crushing of the rebellion by the 'Butcher of Culloden'. The defence of the highland forts, which was far from unimportant for the fate of the rising and was distinguished by some gallant episodes, has passed almost unnoticed, and even Mr. Fortescue dismisses it (no doubt for sufficient reasons of space) in a brief paragraph.¹ An essential part of Marshal Wade's plans for the pacification of northern Scotland had been the construction of Fort George (at Inverness), Fort Augustus, and Fort William, in order to control the important line of communication by Loch Ness and Loch Lochy, which now forms the route of the Caledonian Canal. Though these forts were probably adequate for their original purpose of overawing the turbulent highland clans, they were not suited either in construction or equipment to meet the strain which the events of 1745 brought upon them. But their importance was so obvious that when in the summer of that year Sir John Cope had to make his preparations to meet the threatened Jacobite rising, their defence was his first concern. He chose for this purpose Guise's Regiment, or the Sixth Foot, a corps which had taken part in the disastrous West Indian expedition of 1741-2 and returned home as a shattered fragment little over one hundred strong. It was in consequence almost entirely composed of young soldiers. Nevertheless, it was the most

¹ The narrative here given is perforce founded for the most part on the original documents preserved at the Record Office, though some portion of Captain Scott's journal of the siege of Fort William was printed at the time in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Scots Magazine*. Almost all the original documents are contained in State Papers, Scotland, series ii, bundles 25-32, covering the period from August 1745 to July 1746; many of them are enclosures in Cumberland's dispatches, which explains why different documents sometimes bear the same numbers (e. g. the numerous documents on 29, no. 14, and 30, no. 17). The letters of Duncan Forbes (with the exception of that of 12 July 1746) are printed in the *Culloden Papers*, though with occasional partial omissions.

trustworthy body of regular troops in the Scottish command, and was therefore chosen by Cope for the most important service.

Three companies of the Sixth Foot were assigned to Fort William, three to Fort Augustus, two to Fort George, and one each to the small forts at Ruthven near Kingussie, and at Bernera on the Sound of Sleat.¹ There was also a small party at Castle Duart in the Isle of Mull. Ruthven and Bernera were in reality no more than barracks, and scarcely worthy to be called forts. The companies should have been about seventy strong, but detachments were withdrawn to furnish working-parties on the roads, so that the garrisons of the principal forts were probably in no case adequate for a serious defence.

Prince Charles Edward landed on 25 July in Arisaig. Cope at once ordered the working-parties to be called in and the company at Ruthven to march to Fort William, where the garrison was to be further strengthened by two companies of the Royals, which would make it as strong as the place would contain. Prince Charles had landed with but a few companions, but before effect had been given to Cope's orders a French man-of-war with a large supply of ammunition arrived off Skye and landed her cargo. Captain Edward Wilson, who was in command at Bernera, wrote to Major Wentworth at Fort Augustus with the news on 9 August, adding that 'if they attempt this barrack, we cannot hold out long, but shall give them all the powder and ball we have'. Next day he wrote again: they had been under arms these two nights and daily expected attack, but could make small defence, not having any cannon and the garrison being very weak; whilst in a third letter on 11 August he stated that one 'who had supped with the young Sheiffeleare the night before last at Knoidart' reported that he could get 6,000 men when he wanted.² However, the Jacobites probably thought the barrack at Bernera not of enough importance to delay them, when affairs of more moment called for prompt action elsewhere, and the little garrison would seem to have been successfully withdrawn. Fort William was a more tempting prey and the highland chiefs must have been well aware of its weak condition. The inner gate had been recently pulled down and was not yet rebuilt, whilst the garrison included only 130 privates, since what with working-parties and the detachment at Mull over fifty were absent. Alexander Campbell, the governor, is described as a good, careful man, but he was too old and infirm for so strenuous a post as had befallen him. Still he showed a stout heart, and believing that his fort was the first place that would be attacked set

¹ State Papere, Scotland, ii. 25, no. 66. Afterwards Cope took two companies away with him to fight at Prestonpans.

² *Ibid.* nos. 72, 79.

all hands at work to make good the defences, only regretting that he was not strong enough by a display of force to overawe the highlanders from joining the enemy.¹

Fortunately for Fort William three weeks passed before the clans were mustered and Prince Charles raised his standard at Glenfinnan on 19 August. That very day Cope started from Edinburgh on his march northwards. The march, undertaken against Cope's own better judgement, was to have a decisive effect on the campaign. It gave the highlanders the opportunity to slip southwards, and so diverted them from their more immediate objective in the highland forts. Had they not been thus drawn away, it is probable that they would have achieved a more real advantage than the brief occupation of Edinburgh and the showy, but as it proved ineffective, march into England.

The first stroke in the rebellion was the intercepting of the two companies of the Royals on their way to Fort William. The rebels had taken up a position in the pass at Highbridge, about six miles from the fort, where they successfully stopped all messengers and cut off communications with Fort Augustus and Inverness. When the Royals reached this point on 15 August the enemy opened fire on them from the hills on either side; though the English soldiers behaved well, they were overwhelmed by superior numbers and forced to surrender.² Cameron of Lochiel and Keppoch, who were in command of the highlanders, were appointed to attack Fort William. But though they knew of the weakness of the garrison, they seem to have thought it prudent to abstain; if the garrison was ill-found, the rebels on their part had no cannon suited to such an enterprise as the siege would have entailed.

Nevertheless, the seizing of the highland forts had been the first objective of Prince Charles's military advisers, and the information received by the officials of the English government represented that attacks were intended on all the forts. Major Wentworth, who was in command at Fort Augustus, had written on 13 August to Sir John Cope:

The people in general in this neighbourhood seem mightily rejoiced to find the Chevalier is so near them, and within these two days all the gentlemen of any figure in this part of the world are all gone off. One Glengarry said yesterday, before he left home, to the blacksmith that was shoeing his horses that these Barracks should be in his possession before Saturday night. I have taken all possible care. ... Our men have very hard duty, having both the old and new barracks to defend, but are in very good spirits. Here is a very good train of artillery, but I can't find one

¹ *Ibid.* nos. 59, 63.

² *Ibid.* nos. 92, 96, 97.

man that knows how to point a gun or ever saw a shot fired out of a mortar, there being only two gunners and they not much accustomed to it.¹

A fortnight later he wrote again to his relative, Lord Malton:

The Pretender with 3,000 Highlanders is six miles off. We expect hourly to be attacked and I hope shall give a good account of them. Sir John Cope is encamped at Stirling with all the troops in Scotland except our regiment, and we are garrisoned on the forts of communication between the east and west coasts. I have the command of the regiment, and the governor of the Fort being absent I am ordered by Sir John Cope to take that command also upon me. All the roads in this part of the world are so strongly guarded by the enemy that all our expresses are intercepted.²

Wentworth a few days earlier had sent out one of his officers, Captain John Swettenham, to obtain information. Swettenham was surprised by a party of the rebels in an inn, and taken prisoner to the Pretender's camp, where he was civilly treated and presently allowed to depart under parole. Swettenham observed his parole as an officer should do, but his release enabled him by a fortunate accident to render a service of the greatest value to the English general.

The march of Sir John Cope northward had diverted the Jacobites from their intended attack on the highland forts to a greater enterprise, which was no less than the ambushing of the whole effective English army. Could Cope reach Fort Augustus it was thought that his coming, even though he could not with the small force of 1,500 men at his disposal pursue the Highlanders into the hills, would cast a great damp on the rebellion.³ On 27 August he was at Dalwhinnie, determined, if he saw an opportunity, to fight. But there came to meet him Captain Swettenham with the news that the rebels in superior numbers were strongly posted in the Pass of Corryairack on the direct road to Fort Augustus. Cope called a council of war as to whether it was advisable to continue the intended march. The council unanimously resolved that it would be unwise to attempt the pass at Corryairack, and that they should proceed direct to Inverness. Thereon Cope turned aside through Garvamore to Ruthven, where he left a small party of the Sixth Foot to hold the barrack, and thence by dint of two forced marches eluded the rebels in the

¹ *Ibid.* no. 79.

² State Papers. Domestic, George II, 67, no. 41.

³ State Papers, Scotland, ii. 25, no. 82. The duke of Argyll from Edinburgh on 19 August.

passes between Strath Spey and Strath Nairn and got safe to Inverness on 29 August.¹

A part of the highlanders, disappointed of their hoped-for ambush, followed Cope, and on 29 August appeared before Ruthven. Sergeant Molloy, who was in command, wrote next day to Cope:

Hon. General. This goes to acquaint you that yesterday there appeared in the little town of Ruthven about three hundred of the enemy, and sent proposals to me to surrender this redoubt upon conditions that I should have liberty to carry off bag and baggage. My answer was: 'I was too old a soldier to surrender a garrison of such strength without bloody noses.' They threatened hanging me and my men for refusal. I told them I would take my chance. This morning they attacked me about 12 o'clock (by my information) with about 150 men; they attacked foregate and sallyport, and attempted to set the sally-port on fire with some old barrels and other combustibles, which took blaze immediately, but the attempter lost his life by it. They drew off about half an hour after three. About two hours after, they sent word to me that two of their chiefs wanted to talk to me; I admitted and spoke to them from the parapet. They offered conditions: I refused. They desired liberty to carry off their dead men: I granted. There is two men since dead of their wounds in the town, and three more they took with them, as I'm informed. . . . I lost one man, shot through the head by foolishly holding his head too high over the parapet, contrary to orders. I prevented the sally-port taking fire by pouring water over the parapet. I expect another visit this night, I am informed, with their pattararoes; but I shall give them the warmest reception my weak party can afford.²

The attack on Ruthven was only a passing episode, after which the fort was held without difficulty for over five months. Prince Charles Edward seized the attractive chance of slipping behind Cope to capture Edinburgh, and, abandoning the prospect of securing his position in the north by the reduction of the forts, determined to hazard all on the possible achievement of a sudden stroke.

The first-fruits were dramatic enough: the entry into Edinburgh, the defeat of Cope at Prestonpans, and the adventurous advance into England. Then came the disastrous retreat, broken only by the imperfect victory at Falkirk and the attempted siege of Stirling. The third week in February 1746 saw the whole highland host back in their native mountains.

¹ *Ibid.* nos. 100, 101; State Papers, Domestic, George II, 67, no. 37.

² State Papers, Scotland, ii. 25, no. 106. The letter is printed in full in my *Story of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment*, p. 35.

Theoretically the intervening period should have enabled the forts to be put in a state of proper defence, and to be secured with sufficient garrisons. But the representatives of the English government in the highlands had more than enough to do to maintain themselves in their precarious position. All communication by land was cut off, and communication by sea was difficult and uncertain. It was on Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the lord president of the court of session, that the chief burden fell. Temperate though he was in his opinion, he was indefatigable in his loyalty, and it was with good reason that the Jacobites saw in him the man 'that obstructed them more than anybody in this country'.¹ He had heard of Cope's march north with grave apprehension, and with relief of his turning aside from Corryairack, where want of success might have had terrible consequences.² But after the very great disappointment of the rebels at Corryairack he was hopeful that he might at least secure the tranquillity of the country. When, however, the news of Prestonpans reached the highlands men began to gather for the invader's service, a thousand rumours were flying abroad, and giddy people endeavouring to raise men. To Forbes it seemed essential to keep as many as possible out of the rebellion, and the surest means was, as he judged, to enlist them in the king's service. But he was short of money, could not command a shilling that was his own, and bank bills were of course of no currency. Out of his own resources he made shift to provide for the urgent needs of the independent companies, but the regular troops in Fort George and Fort Augustus had likewise no more money than would provide pay for two or three weeks. There were some 700 stand of arms in Fort George, but these were not enough to furnish the men whom they could get together if only they had the means.³ Again and again Forbes sent messages to England repeating the urgent need for money and arms.⁴ None were forthcoming till too late; yet it would not be fair to put the whole blame on the government, when news was slow to come and response in the stormy winter season difficult.

At the end of September the earl of Loudoun, a capable soldier, was sent to take command from Inverness to Inverlochry. He

¹ State Papers, Scotland, ii. 26, no. 78.

² State Papers, Scotland, ii. 26, no. 30. Duncan Forbes on 20 September.

³ *Ibid.* nos. 50, 58. Duncan Forbes on 3 and 10 October.

⁴ On 20 September and 3 and 10 October 1745, and on 26 January 1746. *Cf. Culloden Papers*, pp. 408, 417, 420, 471. See also Loudoun on 11 October when announcing his arrival (State Papers, Scotland, ii. 26, no. 60).

reached Inverness on 9 October, bringing with him a supply of arms and money, but of neither nearly enough. Loudoun and Forbes, who worked together in harmony, had their hands full; the rebels' success

had blown the spirit of mutiny to such a pitch that nothing was heard of but labelling and gathering together of men in the neighbourhood. Every petty head of a tribe, who was in any degree tinged with Jacobitism or desperate in his circumstances, assembled his kindred and made use of the most malicious to drag the most peaceable out of their beds and to force others to list by threatening destruction to their cattle and other effects, whilst we were unable to give them any assistance or protection.¹

Loudoun had at first only a handful of men, with which to hold a defenceless town in a restless neighbourhood. Forbes himself was in danger, and a few days after Loudoun's arrival a party of 200 rebels made an unsuccessful attack on Culloden House. The Jacobites on their part were active, and some clans that had hitherto been quiet began to stir. The Frasers in particular took up arms and established a sort of blockade of Fort Augustus, cutting it off from Inverness. Still Forbes believed that if only the independent companies could be organized, they would be able to prevent the recruiting by the rebels. Gradually the chiefs of the loyal clans brought in their men from Sutherland and Skye, and by the end of November Loudoun had mustered a force of some 2,000 men, composed of his own regiment of highlanders, the independent companies, and loyal clansmen. His first task was obviously to relieve Fort Augustus. The next, Forbes judged, must be to clear the counties of Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen from the rebels who were busy there levying money and raising recruits. At the beginning of December, in the severest frost that Forbes remembered ever to have seen, Loudoun with a small force marched out to Fort Augustus, and achieved his first purpose. He had intended to go on to Fort William, but the Camerons and Clanronald held the pass at Highbridge and a party of Urquhart's and Glenmoriston's men were gathering in his rear. So he thought it prudent, on 8 December, to return to Inverness. Two days later he went out again, and on 11 December brought in Lord Lovat, full of excuses for the conduct of his son and the mad young men whom he could not govern. There was no direct evidence of Lovat's own complicity, and for the time he was allowed to reside at large in the town. When, however, nothing came of Lovat's many promises a guard was put on his house, with the intention to remove him next day to the castle. But during the night of 19-20 December Lovat made his escape by an unsuspected backway.²

¹ *Ibid.* no. 78. Duncan Forbes on 13 November.

² *Ibid.* no. 107. Duncan Forbes on 22 December.

The difficulties of Forbes and Loudoun, due primarily to the lack of supplies, were increased through the encouragement which the Jacobites derived from the landing of John Drummond with a number of French officers. Thus they were able to do little more than maintain some show of authority in their own immediate neighbourhood.¹ Nevertheless the service which they rendered at this time to their cause was of the greatest value, and did much to check the spread of the rebellion.

Meanwhile, at Fort William, though something approaching to a blockade was established on the land side and communications with Inverness were impossible, there was no regular siege and the fort could obtain supplies by sea. But though the garrison was strengthened by two companies of Argyllshire militia, little was done to put the defences into a proper state.

Duncan Forbes, writing on 22 December, forecasted the future with singular accuracy.

I doubt the course of the rebels will be to come directly through Atholl to this country, and if they march in a body and bring any artillery, we in our present condition, without arms, shall not be able to withstand them, and they will be able to make themselves masters of the three Forts in a trifle of time, as the regular troops cannot possibly follow them northwards through the mountains at this season of the year for lack of forage and provisions; which will give them time sufficient, not only to possess themselves of these Forts, but to distress those in this part of the world who have opposed them and to gather to their assistance all those who wish well to their cause but who have by our neighbourhood been kept at home.²

When the coming of the duke of Cumberland to take the command in Scotland was followed quickly by the raising of the siege of Stirling, the rebels retreated northwards, somewhat discouraged and in several bands. Their spirits were, however, soon revived by the sort of success that Forbes had foreseen. Early in February a party of the rebels, said to be 600 strong, and accompanied by Prince Charles Edward in person, was in the neighbourhood of Ruthven. Though reported to be starving with cold and hunger, on 9 February they captured and burnt the barrack. Then they continued their march northwards till on 16

¹ *Ibid*, and ii. 27, no. 49. Duncan Forbes on 26 January 1745-6.

² State Papers, Scotland, ii. 26. Duncan Forbes on 22 December. *Culloden Papers*, 463.

February the Young Pretender was lodged at the House of Moy, within seven miles of Inverness.¹

Too late a sloop with arms and supplies had reached Inverness on the very day that the barrack of Ruthven was captured. There was no time to summon those who were at a distance, and the people near Inverness were so terrified at the closeness of the danger that they would not stir. Loudoun had nominally a force of 2,000 men, which to those in England might have seemed sufficient. But it was composed of hastily raised levies with little training, and in part was of doubtful loyalty or at least half-hearted.² It was only by a ruse that on the evening of 16 February Loudoun, concealing his intention to beat up the rebels in their quarters, got the main body of his men out of the town. For three miles they marched in great order and silence. Then at a point where another road branched off Loudoun detached a small party to stop all people going that way. The main body had nearly reached their destination, when to Loudoun's mortification he heard the detachment, which was about a mile on his left, open a running fire. His own force was at once seized with panic; and when after much trouble he got the men re-formed, he found that he had lost his five rear companies altogether. It was, as he said, a cruel situation to have the name of numbers and to dare not fight. The rebels lay dispersed in country houses with small guards, and he flattered himself that but for this unhappy accident he would have broken the neck of the rebellion at one blow.³ Jacobite legend has converted the Rout of Moy into the daring exploit of a handful of men.⁴ But according to Loudoun's information the rebels were equally panic-stricken and fled from their quarters at the mere sound of the firing in great confusion. Since, however, the whole countryside was alarmed and his own men demoralized, his only course was to go back to Inverness.

After this experience Loudoun and Forbes agreed that it was hopeless to make a stand at Inverness, with the certainty of disaster and the consequent loss of all their stores. They decided, therefore,

¹ State Papers, Scotland, ii. 28, no. 33 (Cumberland to Newcastle on 20 February) and ii. 29, no. 10.

² Cf. *ibid.* ii. 31, no. 9. Cumberland to Newcastle on 8 May 1746: 'Lord Loudoun did all in his power; he was at the head of a set of raw militia, the greater part of which he dared not trust.'

³ *Ibid.* 29, nos. 3 and 10. Loudoun's reports, on 22 February to Cumberland and on 2 March to earl of Stair.

⁴ *The Lyon in Mourning*, i. 149. This account suggests that the real cause of the failure was a treacherous message sent out from Inverness.

on 18 February to retreat northwards, leaving a garrison to hold Fort George. Loudoun's rearguard had scarcely left the town on the one side, when the rebels began to march in on the other.

Before leaving Inverness Loudoun had strengthened the garrison in Fort George by the addition of two of his highland companies. There was already one company of Guise's in the fort and the total of about 200 was sufficient. There was also an ample supply of provisions and stores of all kinds. Apart from the weakness of the fort itself, the only serious defect was the lack of gunners, of whom there were but three, the master-gunner being likewise storekeeper. But whatever the difficulties may have been, those in command made no real attempt to overcome them. They did not fire on the rebels in the town for fear of demolishing the houses, and alleged in excuse that the castle of Edinburgh had not fired on the city when the rebels were in occupation there; an allegation which was not correct, and could not in any case excuse the timidity to take responsibility in a far more critical position. According to Major Grant, the governor, the duke of Perth twice sent a drummer with a summons to surrender, and offered honourable terms provided the besiegers were put to no further trouble. But when a prisoner escaped and reported the position of the garrison, Perth insisted on surrender at discretion. Then the people in the fort being all seized of a panic, a council of war advised that they should yield.¹ Thus Fort George fell into the hands of the rebels after only two days' siege and no real defence. What actually happened is best related on the information of John Millross, a private of Guise's, who a few weeks later made his escape to Aberdeen. He declared that

upon the Rebels approaching the Castle, they fired several shots at them and would have fired more, but the Governor, Mr. Grant, and Lieut. Minchin were very backward and hindered them from firing; for upon the rebels getting under the Castle both of them proposed to surrender. The redcoats insisted much against it. But they were obliged to submit to the Governor and Lieut. Minchin, who was very drunk at that time. Lieut. Walter Grahame of Guise's, after the Governor and Minchin had ordered all firing to cease, came boldly up and called to the private soldiers to stand by him and he would stand by them as long as he had a bit of life in him, for he was ashamed to see so little done in defence of the Castle. When the rebels were going up and down the town, the Governor refused firing at them for some time, and Millross declared that in his mind they might have done more execution on the rebels than they did.²

¹ State Papers, Scotland, ii. 30, no. 30. Record of court martial on Major Grant.

² State Papers, Scotland, ii. 29, no. 14. Statement made by Millross on 15 March; enclosure by Cumberland to Newcastle.

Some officers of Guise's also escaped from the rebels and gave so bad an account of the governor's particular behaviour and of the whole defence, that Cumberland resolved on the first opportunity to call Grant to account before a court martial. It was a sinister circumstance that Grant was uncle of the Master of Lovat, through whom he had to admit that he obtained more favourable terms for himself than for the other officers. He was allowed by the rebels to go to his own house, where when Cumberland reached Inverness he was arrested. A court martial found him guilty of misbehaviour before the enemy and of shamefully abandoning the fort. Grant was dismissed from the service, as also was Lieutenant Minchin; but Colonel Innes of Guise's, who had likewise been present, managed to obtain his acquittal, as Cumberland stated, rather on equivocation of the evidence than on proof of his innocence.¹

Though it had been expected that Fort George would at least make a good defence, that Fort Augustus must soon fall seems to have been regarded as certain. Cumberland wrote that by the plan he had seen of the fort it was impossible for it to defend itself long, as the curtain was composed of council rooms and lodgings for the principal officers; and in another letter added that more money had been laid out there on ornament than on strength.² A month or two later, when he had seen the fort itself, he described it as 'certainly a very extraordinary piece of fortification'.³ Probably when the forts were built it had never been supposed that they would have to resist artillery. This does not excuse the failure to provide efficient gunners either at Fort George or Fort Augustus; but neglect and abuse had been the fate of what artillery there was in Scotland, and Cope in August 1745 could take no artillery with him, because he had no gunners.⁴

At Fort Augustus the highlanders had the help of a skilful French engineer, and though their batteries were not formidable in themselves they were sufficient for the purpose. Again the fullest account comes from the narrative of a private soldier, who had served in the siege and afterwards escaped. James Hart reported that the siege was opened on 22 February with three batteries, one of four 4-pounders in the garden against the main gate, and two others of two guns each behind the rock on the north; there was also a battery of three of the king's mortars behind the old barrack. On the very first day the storehouse with the loaded shells and

¹ *Ibid.* ii. 30, no. 30; 31, no. 24; 32, no. 24.

² *Ibid.* ii. 29 on 14 March.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 31, no. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 25, no. 44.

powder was blown up and one bastion of the old barrack destroyed by the fire of the enemy's guns. This forced the garrison to retire to the new barrack, and the next day saw a fresh disaster in the explosion of 3,000 cartridges and a barrel of powder. After this, cannonading went on for four days without any great harm done, and then on 1 March the fort was capitulated.¹ The garrison had not lost a single man, and in spite of their misfortunes and the weakness of the fort should have been able to hold out longer. When six months afterwards Major Wentworth was brought before a court martial he was sentenced to be dismissed the service.

By the capture of Fort Augustus the rebels obtained possession of an abundance of food and, what was more serious, of sixteen 4-pounders, two 6-pounders, and six coehorn mortars, with a good supply of ammunition. Apart from this and the encouragement that their successes gave to the rebels, the loss of Forts George and Augustus was not in itself of serious importance. The case was otherwise at Fort William, which Cumberland described as the only fort in the highlands that was of any consequence, since its capture would lay the way open to the lowlands and the fort if once lost might cost much trouble to recover.² For these reasons one of his first acts on reaching Aberdeen was to make provision for the defence of the fort, and to appoint to the command of the garrison Captain Caroline Frederick Scott of Guise's, since by all accounts the governor was not fit for a thing of that importance. Alexander Campbell had indeed shown a stout heart during the last two months, as he continued to do during the siege. But he was old and infirm, and his authority had been disputed by Captain Miller, the officer in command of the troops. Cumberland no doubt judged wisely that it was necessary to have a young and active officer of experience in charge, and the result proved that he had made a good choice.

In spite of the weakness of the garrison something had been done at Fort William during the winter to keep disaffection in check by means of frequent raids, in which the houses of rebels were burnt and their cattle carried off. Lochiel realized in consequence that so long as the fort was unsubdued he could not keep either the Camerons or Macdonalds firm on his side. At the beginning of February the numbers of the rebel forces in the neighbourhood much increased, and on the 15th one of the officers of the garrison was treacherously shot whilst out walking within a quarter of a mile of the fort. To Governor Campbell it was clear that he must expect an early attack, and he wrote to General John Campbell, who was in command at Inverary, begging in particular

¹ *Ibid.* ii. 29, no. 27.

² *Ibid.* ii. 28, no. 47, and 29, no. 31.

that the *Serpent* sloop, which was then off Fort William, might be allowed to stay for his support. General Campbell at once replied by ordering both the *Serpent* and another sloop, the *Baltimore*, to remain and assist in the defence. He also made arrangement for the supply of provisions and stores and sent another company of militia to reinforce the garrison. By Cumberland's orders a detachment of Guise's, which had been collected at Edinburgh, and two companies of Johnson's regiment were also to be sent: with these additions the strength of the garrison would be ample. General Campbell on his own authority sent 'a very clever indefatigable young fellow (one Russell whom I brought with me from England) bred an engineer' to examine and improve the defences.¹

It was not by this time an easy matter to get to Fort William, even by sea. The rebels had taken up a position on the Narrows of Corran, where they intercepted the post, and on 1 March actually cut off one of the *Baltimore's* boats. The danger was so serious, that it was determined to dislodge them by sending down a strong force in the ships' boats from Fort William. Captain Askew of the *Serpent* reported that at three o'clock on the morning of 4 March his people reached the Narrows, and

getting first on shore were attacked by a small party of rebels who fired immediately upon 'em without doing 'em the least damage, our people immediately pursued 'em and put 'em to flight and burned the Ferryhouses on both sides of the water.²

It chanced by good fortune that Russell on the previous evening had reached Eilean Stalker, where he fell in with a man-of-war's boat on its way to Fort William.

I immediately embraced this passage. We set sail about 5 o'clock and proposed to be at the Current of Ardgour³ by seven, where we expected to meet some rebels. We made ready to receive them, but in a moment it turned calm and the tide being against us we were obliged to come to anchor about a mile from the Current; we lay there till about 5 o'clock this morning, at which time we set sail and coming near the Current we were alarmed with a prodigious irregular fire from the rebels on each side and some boats in the Current. We came up as fast as possible, thinking it was some passenger boat intercepted by the villains. But when we came up, there was nothing for us to do, they having taken to the

¹ State Papers, Scotland, ii. 28. nos. 29, 36, 39, 41; and ii. 29, no. 14. General J. Campbell to Cumberland on 5 March.

² *Ibid.* ii. 29, no. 14. Askew's Report on 4 March.

³ i. e. Corran Narrows.

hills, and their houses were set on fire by the crews of the boats, who gave them most terrible broadsides.

This happy encounter enabled Russell to get safe to Fort William, where he found everybody in high spirits. 'French Artillery will only inspire us with courage, and white cockades make us desirous after glory.'¹

Russell at once set about his business, and reported that he found the defences not in so good repair as he would have wished, the parapet being too low and some of the wall very bad. There were eight 12-pounders, twelve 6-pounders, two 13-inch mortars, and ten coehorns; all which (as the sloops made the sea secure) he proposed to mass on the land side. He was confident if the garrison did their duty that the fort would not be taken. Russell did not, however, remain for the siege, but went back to Inverary when Scott arrived. Scott was well able to take charge; for though his first service was in the Royal North British Dragoons (the Scots Greys), and though he had been a captain in Guise's since 1741, he had served as an engineer in Flanders under the duke of Cumberland in 1745, and perhaps at an earlier time at Gibraltar.² Lieutenant Taaffe of Guise's had also some training as an engineer.

Captain Scott, who left Aberdeen on 28 February, reached Inverary on the very day of the fight at the Narrows. General Campbell at once sent him forward, and, by way of Dunstaffnage, Scott reached Eilean Stalker on 6 March. There he found that the rebels had gathered again at the Narrows, and there was no boat that could carry more than two or three men besides the rowers. Since his coming had already been reported to the enemy, it was not prudent to venture further till he could get an armed boat from one of the ships of war. Unfavourable winds caused further delay. But Scott was not the man to waste any time. He had grasped already somewhat of what would be needed at the fort, and he made good use of a week's forced stay at Eilean Stalker, by having fascines and stakes cut in Aird Woods.³

At last the wind changed and at daybreak on 14 March Scott got to Fort William. He reported that the governor and garrison were

¹ State Papers, Scotland, ii. 29, no. 14. Two letters of Russell to General Campbell on 4 March.

² Dalton, *George I's Army*, ii. 207. Scott was under Albemarle at Gibraltar (see p. 381 below), and was therefore absent from his own regiment.

³ State Papers, Scotland, ii. 29, no. 14; Scott to General Campbell on 7 March from Dunstaffnage; and ii. 30, no. 2, Scott's Diary.

resolved to do their utmost, and the captains of the king's sloops hearty and zealous to assist. But the fort itself he found in so bad a condition that he forbore to say more, lest it might be thought the prelude to an apology for a bad defence. There was so much to do that he had to bustle night and day. He was no sooner landed than he went round the works, took account of stores, and set men to heighten the parapet, where an attack might be expected.¹ The rebels were already gathered in force, but in the midst of his preparations Scott contrived by sallies to do something to keep them busy. It was not till the night of 20 March that the besiegers first threw some shells into the fort. This created a little confusion, and a militia officer made the guard beat to arms and started firing. Scott, however, had no intention to be drawn, and soon put a stop to it, sending all off to bed but the picket, which was to stand by with the fire-engine.

The siege now began in earnest, and from this point we may best follow its course in Scott's own journal.²

21 March. This day we saw an intrenchment thrown up on the Hill about 700 yards off, or rather more, from behind which they threw some shells, upon which all other work ceased, the garrets were ordered to be laid [with] three feet of earth, the floors shored up with beams, and all the bedsteads removed from the lower barracks to the garret, so that the men might have room below. These orders being either through laziness or carelessness neglected, in the evening a shell came through and wounded a man of Argyll in the shoulder and gave another a thump on the nose, which bled him and frightened the rest. This day we began a parapet to make a covered way, but for want of tools made little progress.

22 March. Past twelve in the morning they began and threw 67 shells into and about our Fort. Two men, a lieutenant of the Volunteers of Maryburgh, and the Collector's daughter wounded. At daybreak ceased firing at us. We fired some coehorns at them, against Captain Scott's inclination. But the Argyll men seemed to be uneasy to be fired at and not fire again. This day our men, convinced of the good advice to fill their garrets, wrought undesired very strenuously. The rebels opened three embrasures on their work on the Sugar Loaf Hill and fired a few shots at us, which we returned, more with an intent to practice our gunners than that we cared for the effects of their battery. About noon a

¹ *Ibid.* ii. 29, no. 27, and 30, no. 2. Scott to Colonel R. Napier on 15 and 25 March.

² *Ibid.* ii. 30, no. 2; for 28 February to 27 March. There is another account in a journal of a captain in the Argyllshire militia, *ibid.* ii. 30, no. 3; it does not differ materially.

fine, long-ruffled, powdered Drummer beat a parley, and was advancing towards the glacis when Caroline Scott came from the Bomb Battery to the Bake-house Bastion and called him to stop short, and told him they were not civil to fire at our people while their Drums beat a parley. He answered, *bien poliment*, that he believed it was our own folks on the other side the town. Being asked whence he came and what errand, he answered: From General Stapleton with a letter to the Commander of the garrison. Being asked if Mr. Stapleton was in the French service he answered he was: Upon which Caroline Scott told him: *Si vous êtes au service de France, nous vous ferons toutes sortes d'honnêteté. Mais nous n'avons aucun commerce avec des Rebelles, ni ne recevons point de lettres d'eux. Employer vos canons et vos mortiers, vous êtes les bien venus. Pour nous autres nous sommes résolus de nous bien defendre et de faire notre devoir comme d'honnêtes gens*; and bad him begone, and when out of harm's way give a ruffle on his drum: which he did, and as soon as he got up the hills to their battery, they fired a shot.

This evening word was brought by a good hand that they intended plying us warmly all night, and that their chief engineer¹ lay at the point of death at Stroan Nevis of his wounds our swivel gave him last Sunday (16 March). About half eleven at night they began to fire shells and threw by four in the morning 194 six-inches shells, to which we never returned a shot or a shell; but kept all our men within doors, except the piquet to stand by the fire-engine; the Governor and most of the officers being on the ramparts, visiting every post to prepare against accidents.

23 March. As soon as daylight appeared we threw nine 13-inches shells at this battery, some of which must have tore up their platforms. After which we were quiet all day, till we seeing some vessels we found Captain-Lieutenant Paton² and his detachment, also a sloop with butter and cheese, malt and good quantity of meat. Upon which to salute our friends we laid nine guns upon their battery and our two 13-inch mortars, which we repeated three times. From the King's vessels they saw men fall. Also brought all our people out and gave them three hearty Hurras, which with this Drummer's message not being admitted must have mortified them greatly, for they had everywhere given out they would burn this

¹ Grant, an officer in the French service, who had directed the siege of Fort Augustus.

² Captain Paton of Guise's had been taken prisoner at Prestonpans, but had escaped in January 1746. He was now sent with fifty men of his regiment, who had been assembled at Edinburgh, to reinforce Fort William.

place in four hours, and all Lochaber men, women and child believed the same.

24 March. We fired little and they but little also. We were employed in making a sure place for keeping our fixed shells for fear of accidents; also busy in getting our provisions ashore and a great many faggots made at Airds Wood by Caroline Scott, while wind-bound there.

25 March. At daybreak we sent out a party to get some cattle about six miles off. The rebels fired a good deal all this morning. We plied them a little with our mortars and guns and made dispositions for clearing off all useless mouths, &c, out of the garrison. About three in the afternoon our party returned with 29 cows and bullocks, tolerably good conditioned, which will serve us about a week. This evening sent off another party of 40 men for another prize of bullocks, to pass the Narrows of Carron and get off the rebels estates all they can. The rebels wrought hard part of the evening.

26 March. We fired slowly at their batteries on the Hills: and as they fired but from two guns we concluded we had dismounted the third. This afternoon our boats returned with cattle and sheep from nigh Ardshiels, also four prisoners, one of which wounded. The party burnt two rebellious villages on Appin's estate. This night Capt. Scott went out and dammed up some drains near our walls in hopes of rainy weather, to make a small inundation. Also with some pioneers raised the glacis, or rather a parapet, to seven feet, for want of pallisadoes could not make a right covered way. But still this will prevent the rebels seeing the foot of our walls.

27 March. At daybreak the rebels opened their new battery of four embrasures, but only with three guns, 6-pounders, with which they fired very briskly. We plied them well with our mortars and guns, silenced one gun before eight in the morning. About nine we set their battery magazine on fire, which blew up. Their fire was mostly laid at our buildings, which they could not reach very low. We had this day two men a little bruised, and the Governor's horse wounded in the stable. Thus for eight days siege and pretty smart firing with guns, and three hundred 6-inches shells thrown at us we have lost but one man killed, 7 wounded and 2 bruised. We are all in good spirits and hope to give a good account of ourselves.¹

27 March. Evening. Capt. Melvill of the Argyllshire Militia sailed for Inverayra with letters to H.R.H. the Duke's aide-de-camp with an account of our proceedings. We gathered all the splinters

¹ Captain Scott sent off the first part of his Diary to General Campbell this day.

of the rebels shells thrown at us and broke them small to serve for grape-shot.

28 March. The rebels began very smartly with 6-pounders. Our watering parties had skirmishes with the rebels and drove them up hill and brought our water unmolested.

29 March. They had all this night a large fire at the Burying Ground, and in the morning saluted us with redhot shot from thence, which at first burnt some of our fellows fingers, who went to lift the shot, till they became more wary. And from their other batteries fired very fast. Also threw thirty or forty 6-inches shells amongst us. We returned the salutes with our great mortars and our 12-pounders, as not choosing to fire any 6-pounders, that they might not return those shot back to us. By seven in the morning we silenced their 4-guns battery and plied the Churchyard battery well with shells, for we could not see the muzzles of the guns. Towards ten the fire grew hotter on both sides. Towards noon slackened. We watered under cover of a party. Governor Campbell wounded (in crossing over from one side of the bastion to the other) by a musket ball. They continued their red shot all day long and fired some pieces of iron bars and gate-hooks, &c, made hot.

30 March. As our sentries were calling the hours and 'all was well' the rebel sentries on their 4-guns battery made answer: 'Yes, God damn you, too well.' At reveille-beating they began with red shot from the Burying Ground and with grape and round-shot, from their other batteries fired grape-shot at our watering party, which we brought in notwithstanding their opposition. This morning we were obliged to bring our watering over the wall by ladders. Towards sunset they fired very fast. We plied them pretty well with great shells and now and then a 6-pounder loaded with shell splinters.

31 March. At one in the morning the rebels set fire to the Governor's brew-house, out of the walls in Maryburgh, and under the light of which they fired very smartly at our working men, and at our Fort in general, both with round and grape shot, old nails, iron, &c, which lasted a couple of hours till the brew-house was burnt down. At daybreak sent out a watering party, which according to custom had a bustle-fight skirmish without much hurt on either side; one of our men contused on the knee and a Maryburgh woman shot through the arm. One of our spies came in and told us they were 1,500 strong round us, and great disputes between the Clans and French. After dinner we saw some extraordinary motions amongst the rebels, and their drums were heard beating to arms in Glenavis, which made us conclude they were either going off all together or to a general review; and we fired swivells and small arms, grape shot, coehorns, &c., wherever we thought to get reach of them. And finding them going off in

clusters Capt. Scott ordered out a sergeant and twelve men to go towards the south, a sergeant and twelve men towards the Craggs, to be supported by Lieut. George Foster¹ and twenty-four men, who was to be supported by the piquet and to be followed by a party with pioneers tools to level their works in case of need, also spikes and hammers for disabling their guns. All hands did their duty. Lieut. Foster advanced briskly on the French, who were behind the Craggs, surprised them, drove them off, sent three French 4-pounders, a forgecart, a 6-inches mortar and bed, a 6-inches mortar without its bed, all to garrison, with rammers, sponges, ladles, &c.; burnt their matches, nailed two 6-inches mortars and a 6-pounder up, which 6-pounder was brought within 150 yards of our guns and afterwards dismantled by our own shot. After this they advanced up to their 4-guns battery on the hillside. But the rebels calling and shouting to get their people together, CaptainLieutenant Paton was sent out to reinforce our people and they drove the rebels up hill. But several hundreds appearing about a mile off, and others coming from Glenavis Capt. Scott caused to beat a retreat, which not being heard by our people he sent out Ensign Whiteway to order Capt. Paton home, which was done without any loss and all our wounded men brought in, and Mr. Whiteway brought the 6-pounder open to our own guns. We lost 2 killed on the spot and 9 wounded. We took a French gunner, and a fellow who says he belongs to Barrell's Regiment, was taken at Falkirk and listed with them. What damage we did the rebels is not yet known. But many of them dropped, if by shot or fear we cannot tell. This gave us all great spirits, and our men would willingly try fortune again if they could get leave. But time and place shall be watched for the next sally we make.

With this exploit Captain Scott concluded his regular diary, but on 2 April he wrote to Colonel Napier, the duke's aide-de-camp:²

Last night Capt. Carrell of Johnson's Regiment and his company came here, also an officer and 20 men from Castle Duart, belonging to Guises. For the which I send off an equal number of Argyleshire Militia, who some of them are valiant enough and have behaved on occasions with great bravery. Yet there are some, who for want of military education are not so much under command as I could wish. Therefore it is proposed to garble the whole five companies, and send off those we can least depend upon. Otherwise we have not room for our garrison, and when I consider the past twelve days of our siege I believe 500 men, if willing to do their duty, are enough to defend this place against all the Camerons and MacDonalds valour and Mr. Stapleton's prudence and engineership.

¹ Or Forster.

² State Papers, Scotland, ii. 30, no. 17 (Diary for 27 to 31 March and Letter of 2 April, two separate enclosures by Cumberland).

We had this morning a skirmish about water as usual, which made them bring in all their outliers to their batteries, thinking we were for another sally; and we saw them from our roofs drag off a gun in haste, to get it out of our reach for fear of the second part of Monday's diversion. I have not heard what they think of it now, but believe I shall have a spy back this night or to-morrow. The French gunner who surrendered (as he says) I find a damned lying fellow, and I believe Barrell's man little better, for I have certain advice that the rebels have many men wounded by our shells. And really to say the truth we laid them in their battery with great good luck, and I hope some skill too. We fired two barrels of powder the day we blew their battery magazines up. We have just picked up, at a penny apiece, a good many 4-pound shot, and unspiked that gun which was nailed at our first mortaring their battery on Monday, and a bed is making for the mortar which we took without a bed. So that we shall ply them in our turn with their own weapons, as they have done all along to us. For it is a grievous thing and the only thing that vexed me during the whole siege to see on every shot, six, four, three, one-and-a-half, and even grape shot His Majesty's mark → on every one of them, and the Crown G.R. on the mortars we took.

3 April. This was to have gone off last night, but winds proving contrary I now have the pleasure to acquaint you our siege is ended for this bout. Last night the rebels threw some 17 or 18 shells and fired a few shot at us, which we never so much as returned, reserving ours for the more certain aim in daytime. This morning they were all gone: we sent out some parties, brought in their guns, 4-pounders of Fort George and Fort Augustus, one brass 3-pounder, and some mortars. But all were spiked up or else had a large shot rammed into the chamber of the mortars. Powder we found none. After bringing all those things in, I sent out a working party and levelled every battery they had, and brought in slippers, planks, faggots, &c, all into garrison; and now I propose doing such necessary works as I think easiest performed in our present circumstances for the future defence of this place in case they should pay us another visit; though I believe they will find it hard to get other guns without they can catch another set at Fort George and Augustus, as I hope those here are out of their reach.

The defence of Fort William was worthily described at the time as 'noble'; even after allowance is made for the lack of engineering skill shown by Miribel (the French officer who took Grant's place), and the bright nights which had aided the defenders. If the fort was better provided and had better defences than Fort George or Fort Augustus, that was in great measure due to the forethought, energy, and resource shown by Captain Scott. One cannot believe that if Scott had been in command at the other forts he would have lost them so tamely. Moreover, if Scott had advantages on his side, he had also to contend with an enemy who, thanks to the munitions and stores captured at the other forts, was better equipped. The duke of Newcastle, writing to Cumberland, informed him that: 'His Majesty looks upon the raising of the siege of Fort William to

have been greatly owing to the courage and good conduct of Captain Scott, whose behaviour has given him great satisfaction.'¹

The raising of the siege was followed within a fortnight by the decisive battle of Culloden. One of Cumberland's first cares was the relief of the garrison at Fort William. It was at first intended to send the remains of Guise's regiment to be recruited in England. But Caroline Scott was too trusty a soldier for his services to be spared whilst there was still work to be done.

It was June before the little garrison at Fort William was actually relieved, and then the men of Guise's regiment were divided into two parties, the one under Captain Scott, the other under Captain Miller, and were employed in hunting down the Jacobite fugitives. The greater fortune fell to the latter. Lord Lovat had taken refuge in an island on Loch Moran, where he thought himself safe, since he had secured all the boats on the loch. But three man-of-war boats were brought overland, and by this means Captain Miller and his party landed on the island. Lovat fled precipitately, and it took three days' search with intolerable fatigue to ferret him out; but at last they found him hiding in a hollow tree.² Captain Scott had less good fortune, though early in June he made some unimportant captures in Moidart. Then he was sent to search for the Young Pretender in the Western Isles, where he narrowly missed capturing Charles Edward on the eve of his flight with Flora Macdonald.³ Afterwards Scott scoured Morar and Knoidart without success, and on 23 July got back to Fort William 'vastly fatigued and almost naked'. Nevertheless he was soon out again and during August patrolled Appin.⁴

The vigour which Scott showed during these months (or the disappointment which he had caused the rebels at Fort William) made him the most hated of English officers by the supporters of the Jacobite cause. That harsh things were done by Scott and others we need not doubt, though Mr. Fortescue's judgement that the highlanders were not likely to have been brought to reason without some harsh lesson is no less undoubtedly sound. Nor must it be forgotten that the highlanders themselves, when they got the opportunity, had not been backward in pillage and oppression. The terror which they excited amongst those who were peaceably

¹ *Ibid.* ii. 30, no. 20. Newcastle to Cumberland on 17 April.

² *Ibid.* ii. 32, no. 24. Cumberland to Newcastle on 28 June.

³ *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 71, 106.

⁴ State Papers, Scotland, ii. 32, nos. 4, 9, 53; *Lyon in Mourning*, i. 93; *Albemarle Papers*, i. 16, 25, 332.

disposed was not the least of the difficulties with which King George's officers in Scotland had to deal, and there were few on the spot who did not believe that some degree of severity was unavoidable. Yet misconduct when brought home was severely punished. Cumberland ordered four privates, who had been found guilty of marauding, to receive 1,500 lashes apiece, and cashiered an ensign for robbing a poor family of six guineas under pretence of authority to seize their effects.¹ Against Caroline Scott the most circumstantial charges were that he hanged three men who had surrendered; and that, when after the siege of Fort William some of his men roughly pillaged a house in Glen Nevis, he did not punish them, though he restored such of the property as he could recover. These and other stories come from the Jacobite source *The Lyon in Mourning*,² and we have not got Scott's own version. How little reliance can be placed on the tales in *The Lyon in Mourning* is illustrated by the allegation that Captain Miller of Guise's had been a prize-fighter: whereas in point of fact he was an officer in the Life Guards for eighteen years before he joined the Sixth Foot in 1741.³ But there were those with whom any trumped-up tale from a prejudiced quarter and any scurvy scandal were good enough for the disparagement of a loyal officer whether Englishman or Scot.

Caroline Scott, like other brave soldiers before and since who have not feared to act in the hour of danger, has had to pay penalty by the unjust besmirching of his reputation. He is only 'the much-detested Captain Carolina Scott' to Mr. Andrew Lang,⁴ who has not a word to say of his share in the gallant defence of Fort William. There Scott had shown himself a master of his profession, active, resolute, bold, and wary. It was perhaps only a small occasion, but the service which Scott had rendered at a critical time was great. For nearly a month Fort William had held a large part of the rebel force, and its successful defence had baulked them of their hopes. Lest Cumberland's praise may be deemed prejudiced, let us take the opinion of Lord Albemarle, who had known Scott years before at Gibraltar and described him in 1746 as 'a very pretty man and a diligent officer.'⁵ A soldier of Scott's courage and resource might have been expected to rise far. That, however, was

¹ State Papers, Scotland, ii. 29, no. 27.

² i. 93-5, 310; iii. 16, 72.

³ *The Lyon in Mourning*, i. 94; Dalton, *George I's Army*, ii. 192.

⁴ *History of Scotland*, iv. 520; in the *Life of Prince Charles Edward*, p. 296, he becomes by an ornate epithet 'The cruel Captain Carolina Scott'. His real name was certainly 'Caroline' and not 'Carolina'.

⁵ *Albemarle Papers*, i. 270.

not to be his good fortune. He was promoted major in his own regiment, and in 1749 was transferred as Lieutenant-Colonel to the 29th Foot. On 11 October 1752, when he is described as 'Aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland and a gentleman of distinguished abilities and character', Scott was appointed by the East India Company to be engineer-general of all their forts in the East Indies.¹ He was also given the command of all their forces in Bengal with a seat on the council; and the court at Calcutta were directed to treat him with the respect due to his distinguished merit and abilities. Scott reached Calcutta in September 1753, when his first task was to draw out a plan for the defence of another Fort William.² In March 1754 he went on a visit of inspection to Madras, where two months later he died of fever.³ His plans for the defence of Fort William were in consequence of his death left unfinished, and the failure to complete them was a contributory cause of the disaster, two years later, which he had in part foreseen. A nephew, Ensign William Scott, perished in the tragedy of the Black Hole at Calcutta. Caroline Scott during the short time that he was in India had impressed all with his ability. He was one of the first, if not the first, to realize the possibility of the conquest of Bengal.⁴ Had he lived his name would almost certainly have ranked high amongst the founders of our Indian Empire.

Yet after all Scott has only shared the fate of his patron and general. Cumberland has been branded with the name of 'butcher', and the invaluable service which he rendered in Scotland by force of his own personality has been too often forgotten. Much of the vilification comes again from Jacobite sources. Bishop Forbes, in *The Lyon in Mourning*, repeats a story which he heard at the dinner-table five years later, of how Cumberland used to refer to Duncan Forbes as 'the old woman who talked about humanity'⁵ This story from a prejudiced source has been accepted as fact, and even John Hill Burton enlarged on the theme with a harrowing picture of how Duncan Forbes returned to Culloden 'to find the home of his fathers converted into the shambles of the great

¹ *Old Fort William in Bengal*, ii. 244, ed. C. R. Wilson (Indian Records Series).

² *Ibid.* i. 255; ii. 4, 14-18, 72, with a copy of the plan drawn under his direction.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 4, 9, 13.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 73. Scott was the officer to whom Clive was to have been second in command when he returned to India in 1755.

⁵ *Lyon in Mourning*, iii. 97.

butcher of the age'.¹ Such stuff is but hearsay scandal and fustian rhetoric, and is not to be credited against what the two men wrote in confidence about one another at the time. Cumberland, writing to Newcastle on 30 April 1746, reports that the lord president had arrived three days ago:

I need not say anything about him, as he is personally known to the King, and as he has given such convincing proofs of his affections, zeal and diligence and activity upon this occasion.²

Some of course will question Cumberland's sincerity, but unless they will dub Duncan Forbes a liar and a hypocrite (and he was neither) they cannot so easily dismiss what the lord president wrote to Newcastle of the duke, not on the spur of his first feelings but in the fullness of later knowledge, on 12 July 1746:

I have a very strong sense of His Royal Highness the Duke's indulgence for me; and what heightens the Relish of the Pleasure thence resulting is the very great opinion I have of the surprising Qualitys that are possessed by that Young Man. If I was to talk to his Father on this Subject I could not Possibly do it without what would seem Rank Flattery. But as I am writing only to your Grace it will not bear that Imputation when I say: I never saw Talents united in any one which Promise so Compleat a Hero and so sure a stay to the Crown and to the Constitution against foreign forces and Intestine Rebellion.³

C. L. KINGSFORD.

¹ *Life of Duncan Forbes*, p. 381.

² State Papers, Scotland, ii. 30, no. 30.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 32, no. 43.