

# They In Rebellion Shall Arise No More



Fighting the Battle of Culloden, April 16th 1746, with model soldiers.



# The Battle of Culloden

They in rebellion shall arise no more, Their babes and sucklings die in blood and gore.

From 'A Jacobite Tragedy', a play performed in London after the Jacobite rebellion was crushed, in which the Duke of Cumberland is the hero.

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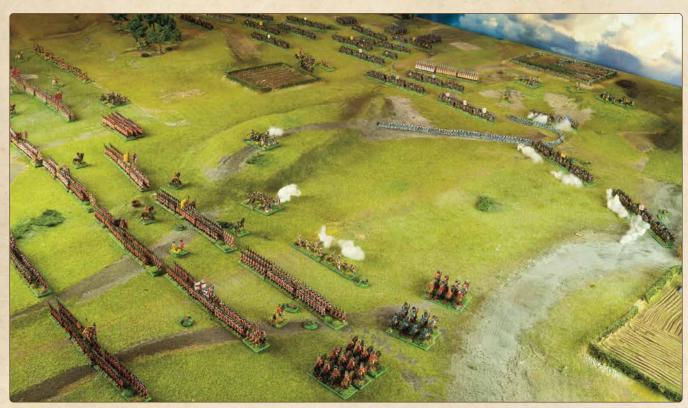
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#### BACKGROUND TO THE BATTLE

The story of 'Bonnie' Prince Charlie's landing in Scotland in 1745 is well known. With only a gallant band of Highland volunteers he defeated the Government forces at Prestonpans, and went on to invade England. When the promised mass rising against the Hanoverian King George failed to materialise, the Prince was forced to turn back at Derby and return to Scotland, pursued by a Government army led by the King's son William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. Despite further success at the Battle of Falkirk, the Prince was forced to retire to Inverness where, on Wednesday the 16th of April, 1746, the two armies clashed at Culloden.

What happened next never seems to be in dispute. The Highland army, armed only with broadsword and targe, stood on the high ground on

Drummossie Moor. The Government army drew up opposite them in two lines and began to pound them with artillery fire. When the Jacobites could take no more, they charged headlong down the moor toward the Government troops. Despite several volleys, some of the Highlanders made it to the Government lines, where they were met by troops trained in a new bayonet drill which trumped the Highlanders use of broadsword and targe and gave the Redcoats the upper hand. Faced with cannon, musket, and bayonet the outnumbered Highlanders fled the field and were ruthlessly cut down by the pursuing Government Dragoons!

It is the rather one-sided nature of this encounter that makes it one of the less popular battles for wargamers, as the poor old Highlanders have little chance of success. Yet it may surprise you to learn that recent historical research has shown much of the above to be nonsense, and that the battle did not play out like this at all...

#### THE HIGHLAND ARMY

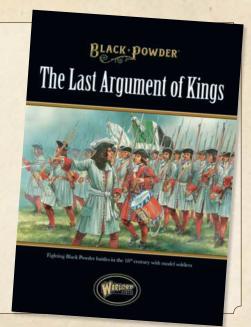
Historian Stuart Reid has undertaken a great deal of research on the Jacobite army, and I would heartily recommend any of his books to anyone interested in this period. More recently, other historians have presented work which challenges our accepted opinions about the Jacobites (please see the suggested reading at the end).

Firstly, we must look at the belief that the Jacobites were not trained, and simply formed a feudal mob. This may well have been the case in earlier rebellions, but there is increasing evidence to show this was not so in 1745.

#### Revisiting the Battle of Culloden

Originally, the Battle of Culloden was scheduled to be one of the key battles in the Last Argument of Kings supplement for Black Powder. However, with a full campaign presented for the rebellion, along with army lists and backgrounds to the key commanders, there was not enough room for what was, with the best will in the world, a side show to the War of the Austrian Succession. However, with so much new research available concerning the Highland army and the course of the battle, it seemed a shame to overlook this most controversial of British battles.

A great deal of ink has been spilled over the years in wargaming magazines about how to re-fight the battle of Culloden. There are probably a few readers even now rolling their eyes whilst tutting "not another article about the Jacobite rebellion!" Yet recent archaeological work at the battlefield, combined with new research, suggests the battle might not have been as straightforward as we might imagine, and could very well provide a more challenging and rewarding game than in the past.



My Authority may be taken from me by violence, but I shall never resign it Like an Ideot.

'Bonnie' Prince Charlie, in his 'hidden letter'

When the Highland army reached Edinburgh, efforts were made to organise the army along regular lines. Many of the officers had seen service with the French army, and they started to impose some form of organisation and French drill. The Adjutant General, Colonel O'Sullivan, wrote that at the start of the rebellion "All was confused... they must go by tribes (who) would not mix or separate... That was useless but little by little they were brought into a certain regulation."

Surviving order books for the various Jacobite regiments show that they were organised into companies of about 50 men, with five or six companies making up a battalion. At least three regiments that we know of, Glengarry's, Lochiel's, and Ogilvy's, formed Grenadier companies which shows they were certainly attempting to emulate the regulars.

Indeed, no less an authority than General Hawley described the Highlanders' deployment thus: "when they form in battalions they commonly form four deep and these highlanders (the best men) form the front of the four the rest being lowlanders and arrant scum." Leaving aside his disdain for the enemy, we see that the Jacobites formed

in four ranks, just as French regulars did, with the best men at the front. Perhaps we wargamers should start to think about basing our Highland units in lines two deep, as we do European Seven Years War armies who often fought in three or four ranks?

And what about their arms? After the battle of Culloden 2,320 muskets were recovered from the battlefield, but only 190 broadswords were found. The materiel recovered from the rebels at Stirling lists "430 muskets, 211 bayonets, 45 swords and 37 targes." It would appear that the Jacobites were not short of muskets. Nor should they have been, as 2,500 French muskets were landed in October 1745 to support the rebellion, with a further 2,500 Spanish-pattern firelocks arriving later the same month. In January, 1746 a further 2,500 French muskets were landed at Peterhead. This number does not include the muskets captured at Prestonpans or at other Jacobite successes in taking towns such as Edinburgh, nor does it include many muskets and pistols which the volunteers brought with them. One Government report written in October 1745 states: "all of them seem to be well armed, each having a gun,

a broadsword, a side pistol... besides dirks, targets etc".

Recent archaeological evidence from the battlefield at Culloden shows just as many French musket balls were recovered as British, indicating that the Highlanders were firing just as many volleys as the Government troops! So, whilst a lot of Highlanders carried broadswords or targes, they also carried muskets as well. The Highland line would have a majority of men carrying muskets, and some even with a bayonet fixed. Officers may well have charged with their broadswords drawn, but only a tiny minority of the men at Culloden would be unlucky enough to still be armed with a Lochaber axe or farm implement.

So we now have the Highlanders forming up in ranks and firing volleys, just like regulars? A case in point occurs at Falkirk, were the Government dragoons first encountered the advancing Highlanders drawn up in battalions: "the enemy's horse... came at last at the full trot in very good order, within a pistol shot of the first line. Then Lord George Murray gave orders to fire (which) entirely broke them." One Jacobite wrote that they: "received a full fire of our first line from right to left".







The regiments that were charged by the dragoons were MacDonnell of Glengarry's, Keppoch's, and Clanranald's, all Highland regiments who we see standing in four ranks and giving battalion volleys at 'pistol shot' range.

It is still true that the Highland regiments relied on the charge to carry the day. All the Jacobite infantry were issued with 12 musket balls as standard (as opposed to the Government troops who carried 24), which they carried in pockets or their sporran as most had no cartridge box. The Jacobite battalions, although trained to fire in ranks, could not hope to beat the platoon-firing regulars in a firefight and had to rely on approaching to within musket range, firing a single volley, and then charging home and hoping to rout the enemy through the shock of the volley and the terror of the charge. Many historians write of this tactic in a disdainful manner, as though it was tribal folly. However, we see the British army adopting very similar tactics of 'volley and bayonet' in the American War of Independence and even later in the Peninsular War!

The other popular misconception concerns artillery, or more importantly the Highlanders apparent lack thereof. Again, this is not accurate. After Culloden, Cumberland's forces captured thirty guns, although all sources admit that only twelve were used by the Jacobites on the field. What the Jacobites lacked were trained crews, although there were experienced French officers in the army who attempted to train the Scots to fire the artillery accurately. It would appear, however, that the artillery

duel was not very long at Culloden, and thus the Jacobite artillery had no time to prove itself.

In Black Powder, we hope to capture all of these unique aspects of the Highland army and try to give it a distinctive feel. We chose to give the Highlanders only two firing dice, to discourage them from getting into a firefight, but we also gave them First Fire which makes their initial volley more effective. This encourages the Highland player to stop and fire at the Government troops in the hope of Disordering them, or even forcing a break test! We have also given the Highland units Terrifying Charge, which forces Government troops who have not faced Highlanders before to make a break test or flee. Should the Government troops stand, however, the Highlanders will need all their lucky dice to win the melee.

#### THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN

The Jacobite army drew up on Drummossie Moor tired and hungry, after an attempted night march to attack the Government camp had failed. The Government troops, on the other hand, marched out to meet the Highlanders well fed and rested. They initially deployed from their march columns into three lines facing the Jacobite lines, with their three-pounder cannon placed in the front line and the 'Coehorn' mortars placed in the second line. The cavalry were on the flanks, with Kingston's on the right, Kerr's on the left, and Cobham's split between the two. With Cobham's and Kerr's

were some loyal Highlanders from Clan Campbell. See the Government OOB for their initial deployment.

The Jacobites were drawn up with high-walled cattle enclosures on each flank. As the enclosures were not exactly opposite one another, this meant the Jacobite right was closer to the enemy than the Jacobite left. Contemporary drawings show the Jacobite artillery placed on both flanks, with possibly two guns in the centre and at least one gun in the enclosure on the Jacobite left. See the Jacobite OOB for their initial deployment.

It is worth noting that the MacDonalds, on the Jacobite left, were incensed at being denied their traditional honour of being on the right of the line, and some commentators have blamed this for their subsequent poor performance. However, as Reid points out, the Jacobite front rank (numbering nearly 4,000 men) substantially outnumbered the Government front rank of 2,213 men at this point.

The battle started with two key redeployments. The Campbells, who were with the dragoons on the Government left, broke down the high enclosure walls to make room for the dragoons to enter. The dragoons of Kerr and Cobham now rode, according to James Maxwell of Kirkconnell, "round the right of the Prince's army and formed in the rear of it!" In fact, the dragoons formed in two lines facing the Jacobite right flank.

The Prince's Adjutant General, Colonel O'Sullivan, posted four battalions of Lord Lewis Gordon's and Lord Ogilvy's regiments, as well as the Jacobite horse, to face off against the

Jacobite rebellious spirit is so rooted in the nation's mind that this generation must be pretty well wore out before this country will be quiet.

Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland

dragoons, the infantry using a ditch for cover. At about the same time, Lord George Murray moved forward the troops on the Jacobite right to make use of the protruding walls of the Leanach enclosure to protect his men from fire. This created something of a gap in the Jacobite centre. The MacDonalds on the left refused to advance to keep the line with Murray as they would expose their left flank to possible attack by Kingston's horse. As a result, many of the second line Jacobite units moved forward to fill the gap.

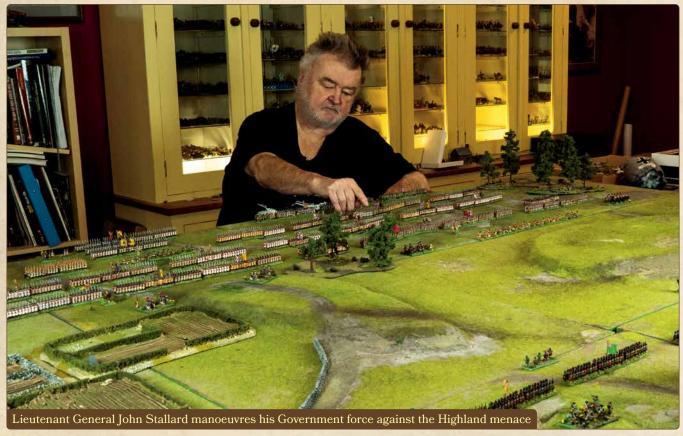
The Jacobite guns opened fire first, with the Government guns quickly responding. It is often said that the Government guns quickly silenced their Jacobite opponents and went on to pound the Jacobite infantry for about half an hour. The evidence, however, does not support this. Most British observers put the artillery barrage at no longer than nine minutes, and some state

that the Government guns fired only two rounds before the Jacobites began to charge. It would seem that, with their right flank turned, the Jacobites were keen to advance and force a decision in the centre. The general move forward to fill the centre, coupled with the move forward by Murray's right flank seems to have started a general advance. The Highland charge had begun!

As the Highland army moved forward it came under sustained canister fire and, as they came closer, musket volleys. However, as the clans reached the sunken road they dropped into an area of dead ground, from which they seemed to have been safe from both. Many of the Highlanders followed the line of the road to stay out of the fire and emerged opposite the Government left flank, specifically opposite Barrell's regiment, which sustained the worst Government casualties of the day. However, Barrell's

held and gave ground grudgingly, allowing the regiments behind and beside it (including Wolfe's regiment, which famously supported its left flank) to pour volley after volley into the Clans until they were forced to retire. The Jacobite left wing had advanced and found the ground too boggy to make good headway. This, and the accurate fire of the British regulars, also drove them back. With the front line broken, there was little reserve left to bolster the line. The regular regiments of the Royal Eccossais and the Irish Piquets put up a sterling rearguard action, but were ultimately forced to surrender. The victorious dragoons chased the remainder of the Jacobite army from the field.

This is just a brief synopsis of the battle, and I would urge anyone interested in finding out more about this intriguing engagement to check out the suggested reading at the end!



# SCENARIO: THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN

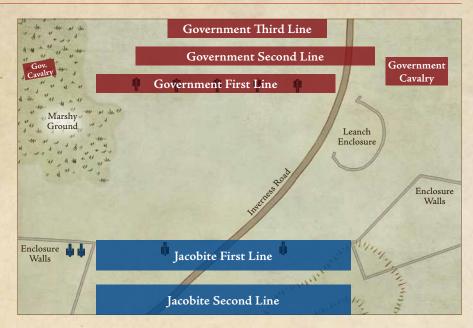
So now to the re-fight!

#### SET UP

There has been significant archaeological excavation on the battlefield site over recent years, which has shed a great deal of light on where the armies deployed and where exactly the various stone walls and enclosures were. However, the key discovery which affects how the wargame is played is the road.

The Inverness road which runs roughly diagonally across the battlefield from the Government left to the Jacobite right was a sunken road. This sheltered those standing in it from fire, which explains a great deal about why the Government left was so heavily attacked. We consider that any unit on the road is safe from musket or artillery fire from more than 6" away. When the unit leaves the road it is assumed to have left cover.

The walls of the enclosures are described in contemporary accounts as being over six feet high, and so these should be treated as Heavy Cover (+2). When placing the enclosures, ensure that the initial Jacobite front line fits between



them, but that any move forward would create a gap. This was the problem the historical commanders faced.

Additionally, note the special rules for mortars on pages 92–93 of the *Black Powder: Second Edition* rulebook which may assist the Government side.

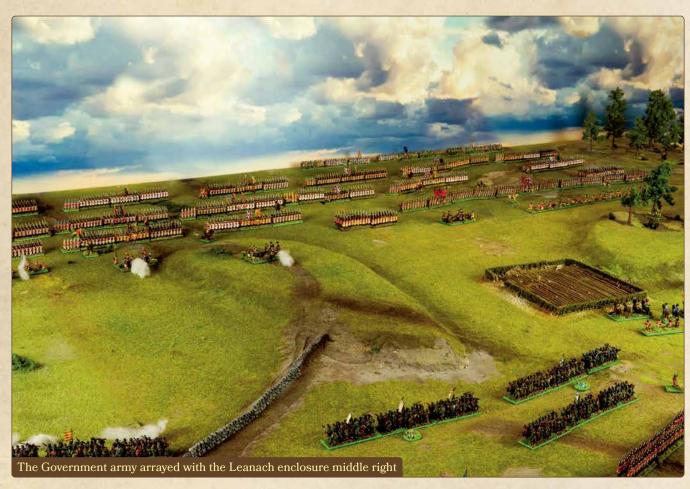
The marsh on the Government right which slowed the MacDonalds is Rough Ground for movement purposes.

#### **DEPLOYMENT**

Each side sets up their forces as shown on the scenario map above.

#### **OBJECTIVES**

Victory is determined following the usual rules, as described on pages 82–85 of Black Powder: Second Edition.







#### Jacobite Order of Battle

#### C-IN-C - PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART - Staff Rating 7

The total number of troops is given as 8,350.

#### JACOBITE FIRST LINE (RIGHT TO LEFT)

The First Line, under the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, and Lord George Murray, gives the numbers of men comprising each group as 300 (Cluny) or 400 (McIntosh).

#### LORD GEORGE MURRAY - Staff Rating 7

- ATHOLL BRIGADE. Although notionally divided into three battalions, it numbered about 500 men in total.
   1 x Standard-sized Highland Clan unit.
- CAMERON OF LOCHIEL'S. This unit paraded 600 men. 1 x Large Highland Clan unit.
- APPIN BATTALION. Charles Stuart of Ardsheal paraded 200 men.
   1 x Small Highland Clan unit.
- Fraser's of Lovat. Col. Charles Fraser of Inverallochie mustered 500 men. 1 x Standard-sized Highland Clan unit.

#### THE DUKE OF PERTH - Staff Rating 7

- CLAN CATTAN. Lady MacKintosh's regiment has a variable muster, from 350 to over 500, depending on sources.
   1 x Standard-sized Highland Clan unit.
- FARQUHARSON'S. Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie mustered 200 men from Deeside. 1 x Small Highland Clan unit.
- MACLEAN'S & MACLACHLAN'S. Led by Lachlan Maclachlan, this unit also combined some Chisholms to make 280 men.
   1 x Small Highland Clan unit.

#### LORD JOHN DRUMMOND - Staff Rating 7

- MACDONALD OF KEPPOCH. Paraded 300 men.
   1 x Small Highland Clan unit.
- MACDONALD OF CLANRANALD. Paraded 250 men.
   1 x Small Highland Clan unit.
- MACDONNELL OF GLENGARRY. Paraded 500 men.
   1 x Standard-sized Highland Clan unit.



#### JACOBITE SECOND LINE (RIGHT TO LEFT)

The rear is occupied by the Prince, Lord Gordon of Glenbucket, and the Duke of Perth and Lord Ogilvy's troops, with Colonel Roy Stewart's and Kilmarnock's Guards.

#### COL JOHN ROY STUART - Staff Rating 8

- ROYAL ECOSSAIS. Commanded by Lord Lewis Drummond and, according to French records, numbering 350 on the day.
   1 x Standard-sized unit of Regulars.
- GORDON'S REGIMENT. The first battalion commanded by John Gordon of Avochie and about 300 strong on the day, the second commanded by James Moir of Stoneywood and numbering about 200 men. 1 x Standard-sized Lowland Infantry unit.
- OGILVY'S FORFARSHIRE REGIMENT . Notionally two battalions led by Lord David Ogilvy it mustered about 500 men at Culloden. 1 x Standard-sized Lowland Infantry unit.
- JOHN ROY STUART'S REGIMENT. Also known as the Edinburgh Regiment, it contained a number of deserters from British regiments but still only mustered 200 men. 1 x Small Lowland Infantry unit.

#### COLONEL O'SULLIVAN - Staff Rating 8

- KILMARNOCK'S FOOT GUARDS. Originally a horse regiment which gave up its mounts, it was amalgamated with dismounts from Lord Pitsligos horse and others, amassing 200 men. 1 x Small unit of Regulars.
- GLENBUCKET'S. John Gordon mustered 200 men. 1 x Small Lowland Infantry unit.
- Bannerman of Elsick. Led by Sir Alexander Bannerman, it numbered less than 150 men. 1 x Small Lowland Infantry unit.
- DUKE OF PERTH'S REGIMENT. Commanded by Captain Robert Sandilands, it mustered between 2-300. 1 x Small Lowland Infantry unit.
- IRISH PIQUETS. Consisting of detachments from Dillon's, Lally's, Rooth's, and Berwick's Irish battalions, numbering just over 300. 1 x Small unit of Regulars.

#### LORD ELCHO'S LIFE GUARDS

• Also included Fitzjames' Cavalry and deployed on the right, it numbered about 70 men. 1 x Small unit of Jacobite Horse.

#### HIGHLAND HORSE

 Consisting of the members of Baggot's Hussars, Stathallan's Horse and Ballmerino's horse who still had mounts – approx 70 or so. 1 x Small unit of Jacobite Horse.

#### HIGHLAND ARTILLERY

• Most contemporaries agree there were about 11 guns, which translates to 4 models, all 3-pounders.



8





#### JACOBITE INFANTRY

Unit	Туре	Armament	H-to-H	Shooting	Morale	Stamina	Special Rules
Highland Clan	Regular Infantry	Smoothbore Musket	7	2	4+	3	First Fire, Terrifying Charge

This stat line represents the new view of how highlanders fought, advancing in four ranks, giving a volley and then charging with the bayonet or broadsword. Optional Upgrades: Stubborn, Tough Fighters — The upgrades should apply to about half of the clans.

Highland Clan	Irregular Infantry	Pistol, broadsword & targe	7	1	4+	3	Terrifying Charge, Tough Fighters.
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This stat line should be used if you wish the Highlanders to fit the more romantic image of charging warbands! Optional Upgrades: Stubborn

This represents all of the 'lowland' units, including those raised in England, who were trained as regulars and taught to fight in line. Optional Upgrades: First Fire, Untested

Regulars	Regular Infantry	Smoothbore Musket	4	2	4+	2	First Fire, Reliable
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This represents the Irish and Scots regulars sent to support the rebellion. Note that the stats given here are for small units, which the piquets were, but you could increase the Scots to Stamina 3.

OPTIONAL UPGRADES: Valiant

#### JACOBITE CAVALRY

Unit	Туре	Armament	H-to-H	Shooting	Morale	Stamina	Special Rules			
Jacobite Horse	Regular Cavalry	Sword	4	- 1	4+	2	Small Unit			
OPTIONAL UPGRADES:	OPTIONAL UPGRADES: Tough Fighters. May deploy as Skirmishers. May field as Tiny Units with 1 Stamina.									

#### JACOBITE ARTILLERY

Unit	Туре	Armament	H-to-H	Shooting	Morale	Stamina	Special Rules
Light Artillery	Regular Artillery	Smoothbore Artillery	1	3-2-1	4+	2	- 111





90%





#### Government Order of Battle

C-IN-C - HRH WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND - Staff Rating 8

#### GOVERNMENT FIRST LINE (RIGHT TO LEFT)

#### FIRST BRIGADE

- Lt. Gen. Willem van Keppel, Earl of Albemarle Staff Rating 8
- 2/1ST ROYAL REGIMENT. Paraded 481 men. 1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Blue.
- CHOLMONDLEY'S (34TH) REGIMENT. Paraded 459 men. 1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Bright Yellow.
- PRICE'S (14TH) REGIMENT. Paraded 359 men.
   1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Yellow/Buff.

#### SECOND BRIGADE

- Unidentified commander (possibly Hawley) Staff Rating 8
- CAMPBELL'S (21ST) FUSILIERS. 1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Blue.
- Munro's (37TH) REGIMENT. 1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Yellow/Orange.
- BARRELL'S (4TH) REGIMENT. 1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Blue.

#### GOVERNMENT SECOND LINE (RIGHT TO LEFT)

#### THIRD BRIGADE

- Brigadier Lord Semphill Staff Rating 8
- Howard's (3RD) REGIMENT. Paraded 412 men. 1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Buff.
- FLEMMING'S (36TH) REGIMENT. Paraded 491 men. 1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Green.
- BLIGH'S (20TH) REGIMENT. Paraded 373 men.
   1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Yellow.

#### FOURTH BRIGADE

- Colonel Harry Conway Staff Rating 8
- LIGONIER'S (59TH) REGIMENT. Paraded 385 men.
   1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Buff.
- SEMPHILL'S (25TH) REGIMENT. Paraded 477 men.
   1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Yellow.
- Wolfe's (8тн) Regiment. Paraded 374 men. 1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Blue.

#### GOVERNMENT THIRD LINE (RIGHT TO LEFT)

#### FIFTH BRIGADE

- Colonel Sir John Mordaunt Staff Rating 7
- Pulteney's (13TH) Regiment. Paraded 474 men. 1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Brown/Yellow.
- BATEREAU'S (62ND) REGIMENT. Paraded 423 men. 1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Yellow.
- BLAKENEY'S (27TH INNISKILLINGS). Paraded 356 men. 1 x Standard-sized unit. Facings: Buff.

#### GOVERNMENT CAVALRY

- General Bland Staff Rating 8
- Major General Henry Hawley (commanded the Government cavalry on the right) Staff Rating 8
- Kern's Dragoons. A Scottish regiment, it mustered 312 men at Culloden. 1 x Standard-sized unit.
- COBHAM'S DRAGOONS. Commanded by Major Chaban, it mustered 287 men. 1 x Standard-sized unit.
- Kingston's Horse. Raised as a provincial regiment for the rebellion, it numbered only 211 troopers. 1 x Standard-sized unit.

#### GOVERNMENT ARTILLERY:

• Under the direct command of Brevet Colonel William Belford, there were ten 3-pounder guns and a further 6 Coehorn mortars, which translates to three 3-pounders and two mortars.

To encourage his men the Duke of Cumberland rode along the line,

Addressing himself hurriedly to every regiment, which was really sublime;

Telling his men to use their bayonets, and allow the Highlanders to mingle with them,

And look terror to the rebel foe, and have courage, my men.

From 'The Battle of Culloden', by William Topaz McGonagall (1825–1902), often derided as the worst poet in history.



### GOVERNMENT FIGHTING QUALITIES

#### **GOVERNMENT INFANTRY**

Unit	Туре	Armament	H-to-H	Shooting	Morale	Stamina	Special Rules
British Infantry	Regular Infantry	Smoothbore Musket	6	3	4+	3	First Fire, Platoon Firing
OPTIONAL UPGRADES:	Crack, Steady. Briti	sh infantry may be cl	lassed as Fres	hly Raised in	some battle	s of the '45 r	ebellion.
Highland Infantry	Irregular Infantry	Smoothbore Musket	6	3	4+	3	First Fire

Highlanders are not given Platoon Firing as they often fought in their own style (e.g., volley and bayonet) at most battles in the period. Note that Highland regulars get Ferocious Charge whilst their irregular cousins in the '45 rebellion get Terrifying Charge, a subtle difference.

OPTIONAL UPGRADES: Ferocious Charge

BritishYeomen	Regular Infantry	Smoothbore Musket	6	3	4+	3	First Fire

This represents newly raised or yeomen units brought in to tackle the rebellion.

OPTIONAL UPGRADES: Freshly Raised or Untested

#### GOVERNMENT CAVALRY

Unit	Туре	Armament	H-to-H	Shooting	Morale	Stamina	Special Rules
British Dragoons	Light Cavalry	Sword	6	_	4+	3	Dragoons
OPTIONAL UPGRADES:	Marauders. Freshly	Raised for some uni	ts during the	'45.			

#### GOVERNMENT ARTILLERY

Unit	Туре	Armament	H-to-H	Shooting	Morale	Stamina	Special Rules
Light Artillery	Regular Artillery	Smoothbore Artillery	1	3-2-1	4+	2	-
OPTIONAL UPGRADES:	Light battalion gun	s (firing 36") and mo	rtars can be	chosen.			

## FURTHER READING

*Culloden* by Tony Pollard discusses all the latest evidence from the battlefield.

The Myth of the Highland Clans by Murray Pittock discusses a different way of seeing the Jacobite army – well worth a read.

Anything by Stuart Reid on this subject is very worthwhile, particularly Cumberland's Army at Culloden and Like Hungry Wolves: Culloden Moor 16 April 1746.



