This booklet is full of interesting information about folklore, history and stories of the Battle of Culloden. All of the stories were collected by Fèis na h-Òige and Fèis a’ Bhaile participants who interviewed people about the heritage of the area.
Mun pròiseact

Pròiseact nan Tasglann
Fèisean nan Gàidheal

’S e pròiseact ùr aig Fèisean nan Gàidheal a th’ ann am Pròiseact nan Tasglann far an tèid com-pàrtichean nam Fèisean air feadh Alba a bhrosnachadh gu bhith a’ cruinneachadh, a’ clàradh agus a’ taisbeanadh duchasal aig air a chum ann a’ phròiseact seo a’ cruinneachadh agus a’ clàradh sgeulachdan ceangailte ri Blàr Chùil Lodair. Tha na com-pàrtichean air a bhith ag obair gu trang rè na pròiseict agus’s iad fhein a chum a dh’fhéidir air a bhith a’ clàradh agus a’ taisbeanadh dualchas air feadh Alba a bhrosnachadh gu bhith a’ cruinneachadh, a’ clàradh agus a’ taisbeanadh duchasal aig air a chum ann a’ phròiseact seo a’ cruinneachadh agus a’ clàradh sgeulachdan ceangailte ri Blàr Chùil Lodair. Tha na com-pàrtichean air a bhith ag obair gu trang rè na pròiseict agus’s iad fhein a chum a dh’fhéidir air a bhith a’ clàradh agus a’ taisbeanadh dualchas air feadh Alba a bhrosnachadh gu bhith a’ cruinneachadh, a’ clàradh agus a’ taisbeanadh duchasal aig air a chum ann a’ phròiseact seo a’ cruinneachadh agus a’ clàradh sgeulachdan ceangailte ri Blàr Chùil Lodair.

Emily Edwards
Oifigeair Thasglann
Fèisean nan Gàidheal

Com-pàrtichean Fèis na h-Òige agus Fèis a’ Bhaile:
Caitlin Nic a’ Ghobhainn
Corrin Nic a’ Mhuilleir
Genna Nic a’ Ghobhainn
Hazel Oakley
Katie NicGilleDhuinn
Lauren NicNeacail
Lee MacNeacail
Lorna NicLeòid
Sarah Appleby
Shannon Cowie

Luchd-bratha:
Aonghas Grannd
Deirdre Nic a’ Ghobhainn
Ian Deveney
Nicole Deufel
Pól Mac’Ill’Anndrais
Ruaridh Baile Phàirír
Shirley Ann NìcBhàtaír

Le taing shònraichte do na daoine a leanas airson an cuideachadh: comataidhean Fèis a’ Bhaile agus Fèis na h-Òige, Nicole Deufel agus luchd-obrach Iomad Tadhail Bhlàr Chùil Lodair agus don luchd-bratha air fad airson an uìne agus eolas a thoirt seachad.

About the project

Archiving Project
Fèisean nan Gàidheal

The Archiving Project is a new Fèisean nan Gàidheal development that aims to encourage Fèis participants from across Scotland to collect, record and present local heritage from their own areas. This project has involved teenage participants from Fèis a’ Bhaile and Fèis na h-Òige, two Inverness based Fèisean, working together to collect and record stories related to the Battle of Culloden. The participants have worked extremely hard during the project, not only conducting interviews but also coming up with the questions and writing some of the transcriptions themselves. The participants have also learnt songs and tunes about the Battle of Culloden and have taken part in creative writing workshops, where they have written their own stories based around various archaeological artefacts found on the battlefield.

This unique booklet includes a selection of the participants work; the stories, folklore and beliefs collected during interviews, the participants own stories as well as some pictures drawn by younger Fèis participants at Fèis Bheag. We hope you enjoy reading and learning about the Battle of Culloden in our booklet.

Emily Edwards
Archiving Officer
Fèisean nan Gàidheal

Fèis na h-Òige agus Fèis a’ Bhaile Participants:
Caitlin Smith
Corrin Miller
Genna Smith
Hazel Oakley
Katie Brown
Lauren Nicolson
Lee Nicolson
Lorna MacLeod
Sarah Appleby
Shannon Cowie

Informants:
Aonghas Grant
Deirdre Smyth
Ian Deveney
Nicole Deufel
Paul Anderson
Roddy Balfour
Shirley Ann Watson

With special thanks to the following for their assistance in the project; the Fèis a’ Bhaile and Fèis na h-Òige committees, Nicole Deufel and the staff at the Culloden Battlefield Visitor Centre and to all the informants for sharing their time and knowledge.
Le taing mhòr dha na buidhnean a leanas:
The Journey of Charles Edward Stuart

- Eirisgeigh (Eriskay)
  23 Iuchar 1745
  Thaing am Prionnsa Teàrlach air fir ann an Eirisgeigh

- Gleann Fhionghain (Glenfinnan)
  19 Lùnastal 1745
  Chaidh bratach nan Stiùbhartach a thogail

- Peairt (Perth)
  4 Sultain 1745
  Seint Peairt

- Dùn Èideann (Edinburgh)
  16 Sultain 1745
  Seint Dhùn Èideann

- Prestonpans
  21 Sultain 1745
  Blàr Shliabh a’ Chlamhain

- Carlisle
  15 Samhain 1745
  Seint Carlisle

- Derby
  4 Dùbhadh 1745
  Ga ruighinn Derby

- Derby
  6 Dùbhadh 1745
  Teicheadh à dh’ Alba

- Sruighlea (Stirling)
  8 Faoilleach 1746
  Seint Sruighlea

- An Eaglais Bhreac (Falkirk)
  17 Faoilleach 1746
  Blàr na h-Eaglaise Brice

- Cùil Lodair (Culloden)
  16 Giblean 1746
  Blàr Chùil Lodair
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Pòl Mac’Ill’Anndrais, Ian Deveney, Shirley Ann NicBhàtair

Part One
Interviews with:
Roddy Balfour, Nicole Deufel, Deirdre Smyth,
Paul Anderson, Ian Deveney, Shirley Ann Watson
Sarah: Where were you brought up?
Roddy: Well I was brought up in Australia, actually I was born in Australia. My parents were intending to return home but the war (the Second World War) intervened. My father joined the army and was posted to the Middle East. He was killed in El Alemain with the result that my mother decided to remain in Australia. I eventually returned to university in Edinburgh and eventually came to Inverness as an employee of the Highlands and Islands Development Board.

Sarah: Can you tell us about your involvement in the Gaelic Society?
Roddy: I was ceannard of the Gaelic Society on two occasions in the mid-1990s and again a couple of years ago. Although by no means a fluent speaker I have quite a lot of Gaelic. I got it from my grandparents – my mother’s parents – who came from Loch Broom. I did it at university as well. The Gaelic Society, as you probably know, is a society where people meet to listen to papers on Gaelic topics or associated historical topics relating to the Highlands. A number, but not all, of these papers are delivered in Gaelic. They are published in a collection of volumes called ‘The Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness.’ These date from 1871 and we are up to the sixty-fourth volume now.

Sarah: How did you first become interested in the Battle of Culloden and the ‘45?
Roddy: Well...I did two degrees in Edinburgh and when I was there, to be a lawyer you had to do an arts degree first, you couldn’t just do a law degree like you can now. So, as part of my arts degree I chose mostly history, but I’d done ancient history as well as British history at school and I didn’t want to do any more of that so I decided to major in Scottish history. In my final year the specialist subject was the ‘45 rebellion and so I had to research a lot about it for my final exams. And living near here, I’ve lived near Culloden for thirty-nine years now...so I’ve driven past here every day, twice a day or sometimes three or four times a day, so that it’s more or less part of my life, as it were.

Emily: What do you think about the new visitor centre here at Culloden battlefield?
Roddy: Oh it’s a wonderful centre and I hope that it attracts the number of visitors that it should because it’s luxurious. The way it is set out is tremendous because it’s not a museum, it’s not an information centre, but it’s related completely to the battle and being on the site of the battle you can easily relate to what you see around you. Apart from a bit of cultivation, those hills have changed little in three hundred, probably three thousand years!

“I've lived near Culloden for thirty-nine years now...so I've driven past here every day, twice a day or sometimes three or four times a day, so that it's more or less part of my life…”
Emily: What do you [Sarah and Katie] think of the new centre?
Katie: I think it’s a brilliant way to introduce more tourists to the Culloden battlefield.

Sarah: Do you think that there is a link between the decline of Gaelic and the Battle of Culloden?
Roddy: There is a link between it, but not as great a link as there is between the Statutes of Iona which James VI passed in 1609. The Statutes were meant to bring the Highland clans within the wider society and certainly sought a submission from the clan chiefs. A clause in the Statutes was specifically aimed at the eradication of Gaelic and even more so, another clause demanded the chief’s sons be brought up in the Lowlands and learn English. So that was the first devastating blow at Gaelic. As far as Culloden is concerned, obviously the impact was the destruction of the clan system and the ultimate dispersal of the Highland people and hence the language went with them...I think it’s the pressures of modern society more than anything else that has destroyed Gaelic. There were [native] Gaelic speakers around Inverness forty years ago, the Sinclairs down at the bottom of the hill for example, and a family along in Croy, the Macintosh’s, spoke Gaelic. The last Gaelic service in Croy Free Church was in the early 1960s. The farms you see over here, two or three hundred acre farms, employed six, seven or eight families until the 1950s or until when mechanisation came in. So you had a lot of farm people here who had lived here all their lives who spoke Gaelic. I would say that before 1950, all the farmhouses, four farms across there, all spoke Gaelic. Gaelic is very much something that has declined in my generation. Culloden created terrible changes in the Highlands but I don’t think they were all to the detriment of Gaelic. I think it was something more deep-rooted than Culloden and as I said it started with the Statutes of Iona and it was a gradual process.

Emily: Did you [Katie and Sarah] ever think about that, that there were native Gaelic speakers in Inverness until recently?
Katie: No, not really.

Roddy: I think the broad answer to your question is that modern life took people away from the country areas into the towns and to the cities, crofting declined, small farming declined and that’s what took the Gaelic speaking people away and then in a new environment they didn’t speak it. When I first visited the West Highlands in the early 1960s Gaelic was still very strong. It was among my generation, they were born during the war, that Gaelic wasn’t passed on to. Another thing were the tremendous losses in the First World War particularly, ten thousand men killed in the Seaforth Highlanders alone. Many of them were from the north west Highlands, and most of them were Gaelic speakers. That was a whole generation of men who would have married and had children but within a little over four years the number of Gaelic speakers and potential Gaelic speakers was sadly and dramatically diminished.

Katie: Do you know any stories about any specific characters that were involved in the battle?
Roddy: Not specific characters but if you go up to Littlemill, between here and the Nairn Grantown road, just past a ford over the river there you’ll find a grave on the side of the road dedicated to an unknown soldier who died after Culloden. He struggled that far. There is a small vase there and someone always keeps a flower in it...That’s one I know. The other thing I know is apparently...had Lord George Murray, who was an experienced soldier, been allowed his way, the battle would have been fought along above Tornagrain, where there’s a valley forming into a re-entrant. The plan was that the Government troops would undoubtedly march along there on their way to the battlefield and be fired on from the side of the hill by the clansmen who could then easily escape. But for some unknown reason, Prince Charlie wanted to fight it in the open along here and that was a disaster.

Katie: Can you tell us anything about the different battalions involved in the battle?
Roddy: On the clan side, strangely, and this is another point that’s not made – it was essentially a rising of clans in the centre of the Highlands. If you look at the map they were mostly from Inverness-shire, the Reverend Donald MacNicol in Lismore wrote a small account of the battle where he stated that there were only really nineteen parishes in Inverness-shire that provided the troops. There were Stewarts of Appin from...north Argyll, MacLeans from Mull and the Robertsons and Stewarts from northern Perthshire and a few MacKenzies from Coigach, west of Ullapool, but basically it was a rising of the central Highlands. The Camerons, all of clan Chattan, the MacPhersons, the MacGillivrays for example, up in Strath Nairn and around here, the Macintoshs, the Frasers of course and the Grants of Invermoriston...the best way to describe it is that the clans involved were in the central part of the Highlands.

Bratach nan Seumasach le Colla Dhòmhnallach
Jacobite Flag by Colla MacDonald
The other thing of course is that all the clans didn't arrive here on time. The Frasers sent three hundred men to the battle but they only got as far as Inverness when they heard that it was all over... Now three hundred fresh troops, because they hadn't been hungry and they hadn't marched all night, could have made quite a difference. Three hundred was quite a number. So there were those small things which could have tipped the battle. But the battle should never have been fought here anyway, it should have been fought in Edinburgh... What the Highlanders should have done is gone into the hills and become guerrilla fighters, as in places like Tunisia during the war against the French in the 1950s. Guerrilla fighters can fight a mobile type of battle, see a force approaching, ambush them and then disappear. The Highlanders were so good at that they could have kept going for years. But they weren't suited to close-quarter fighting and Cumberland of course had trained his troops to withstand the Highland charge, he knew what it was all about and he specifically trained his men to repel that kind of charge...

There was no hope of them surviving a battle here, but had the battle been further and had they been able to fire down on the Government troops and they could have just melted away... Government troops of course were bound by their equipment, they had heavy equipment, they had horses, they had artillery and things like that and they couldn't abandon them. That is one alternative explanation that presents to the battle but we shouldn't really worry about alternatives because what happened happened! The Duke of Argyll and his brother, the Earl of Islay, in the 1730s and 40s were virtually controllers of Scotland. They called them managers and they ran things largely in their own interests. They were very progressive in their own way but they were very pro-Government and most of Argyllshire came in on the Government side and so did a lot of other families. Some of the families up here, the MacKenzies produced Government troops, as did the MacLeods in Skye... It was never a civil war, it was a case of the central Highlands against the rest. There were a lot of English in the Government force and Scottish regiments as well. The Royal Scots for example and some regiments that have long since passed into history.

Katie: Do you know anything about the clothes that the Jacobites or the Government side would have worn?
Roddy: The armaments, obviously the Government forces arms were much better, they had longer guns with bayonets on the end of them and had artillery and cavalry up front. The Highlanders came forward with targes and swords and dirks, they were no match for them really. The Government forces were very well equipped according to the standards of armament of the day, their clothes were the normal uniforms of the regiments they represented. None of them were Highland regiments, the Argyll militia fought and they were dressed in trousers and not in the kilt, so it was troused men in more or less the standard uniform of the British army, long red coats, that was the thing that distinguished them and tri-coloured hats. So they all had basically the same kind of uniform. The Argyll militia probably had some kind of Scottish uniform but the Royal Scots normally had some kind of tartan in those days. And the Highlanders of course had a rag taggle of their normal everyday dress – they had no uniforms apart from perhaps their clan tartans.

Emily: Is there anything else you would like to tell us about?
Roddy: The main thing is that we must remember, it wasn't a rising of the whole Highlands, it was a rising of certain parts of the Highlands, largely because of the disaffection with the Act of Union. The Jacobites of course were the followers of the exiled King James and that is what the whole rebellion was about. There was a planned invasion in 1708 which didn't quite come off. There was a rebellion in 1715, which in a way involved a much larger number of Jacobite troops than did the '45 - there were six thousand plus there. The MacDonals and some of the Skye clans were involved in that but they stayed well out the '45. The MacKenzies too were involved in the '15 rebellion and lost their estates because of it. So there was an unfortunate element intrusting a number of clans to stay out. Things were settling down pretty well until Prince Charles appeared on the scene. Bonnie Prince Charlie of course had been deserted by his French friends so decided to go it alone and it was an ill thought out venture from the start. I remember our final Scottish history examination paper - the first question was 'The 1745 rebellion might be described as a mere mad fling for a throne. Discuss'. And I think that was pretty apt, it was a mere mad fling with disastrous consequences for the whole of the Highlands.
“She went out with pistols in her belt to get the tenants to come out, despite or against her husband’s wishes, to actually fight for Prince Charles Edward Stuart…”

Agallamh còmhla ri Nicole Deufel
Interview with Nicole Deufel

Shannon: Can you tell us where you are from?
Nicole: I’m from Germany originally.

Shannon: When did you first start taking an interest in the Battle of Culloden and why?
Nicole: A little bit before I started working at the Culloden Battlefield Visitor Centre but really I started to immerse myself in it when I started in this job which was in December 2007. I’m the learning manager so I’m responsible for all of what’s called ‘live interpretation’ – that’s all the programmes for the general visitors as they come through the door, children and school groups as well.

Shannon: We heard you did a lot of research on women of the Battle of Culloden, why did you pick this particular subject?
Nicole: Because the women’s story is really, really important and if you go through the centre and you go out on the battlefield, you tend to think just of the story of the soldiers that stood on the field but actually if you look at it closely I mean every soldier had a mother or a sister and many of them had wives. And not just that, many of the women at the time actually were responsible for getting the men out onto the battlefield so I thought that story really needed to be told.

Caitlin: What can you tell us about the women and the Battle of Culloden?
Nicole: How much time do you have?!
You can sort of divide it up between women that were passively involved, women that were actively involved and how women were impacted by what happened right here at Culloden. So there are really these three areas.

Caitlin: How were women actively involved?
Nicole: OK, so...it’s probably best to sort of pick a few of the women and then that way you can use them almost like case studies if you like.
The most famous one was probably Lady Anne Mackintosh. Her husband was actually an officer in the Black Watch and he was fighting for the Government side and he was the chief of the Clan Mackintosh, but Lady Anne Mackintosh was a fervent Jacobite so she really wanted her clan, well her husband’s clan really, to fight for the Jacobites. She went out with pistols in her belt to get the tenants to come out, despite or against her husband’s wishes, to actually fight for Prince Charles Edward Stuart. She was actually able to raise six hundred men of the clan Mackintosh; three hundred men she sent to join the Jacobite army and three hundred she kept back to protect Moy Hall, which is just around the corner from here, from her husband – because he was a Hanoverian, a Government soldier. So that is an example of a woman who actively went out onto the land to her tenants and forced them in many ways...to come out, which is something that the men and the clan chiefs usually did. There is another famous one, Lady Lude, Charlotte Robertson and she actually really forced them out, I mean she would give the order for their houses to be burnt and some of the men continuously would come back and then she would give them a telling off and send some of them off to war again. So those were some of the women that were actively involved in raising men to fight.
Shannon: You don't really hear much about the women during the Battle of Culloden. How did you find out about it?

Nicole: I didn’t do any original research, what I did would best be described as a literature review. So there is one book, actually I think it is the only book really that focuses on women and it’s called ‘Dam Rebel Bitches’, because when you read it there was a lot of anti-women propaganda from the side of the Government specifically because they really noticed how women were influential on the Jacobite side. There were all these nasty words out there and this is what the author picked as the title. The National Trust of Scotland also did a great deal of research for the new centre, The Culloden Memorial Project is what it’s called, and in that there are character studies looking at individuals that lived throughout the times and some of course were women.

Caitlin: What was your favourite part of the research?

Nicole: Just really hearing about those feisty women that went out there and really took an active role in it. But also what was quite heart-breaking was to see how much the women were impacted. Again a lot of times when we think about Culloden, you hear about the men and how they were either prosecuted or they had to go into exile and they were fleeing. But it was really the women that had to endure so much suffering after the battle as well. Also, on a personal level, sometimes I walk through the centre here in costume, and previously it was as I was helping deliver school programmes and I found it interesting that it was always the men, two male colleagues dressed up in soldiers uniforms, they were always the ones that people took pictures of and that was really interesting to me to realise how much people associated the battlefield with the story of the men and how much it was a story about the soldiers. And I thought ‘I really need to do something about the women’s story.’

Caitlin: Overall did you enjoy finding out about women during the Battle of Culloden?

Nicole: Absolutely, it was very fascinating and very interesting and really helped my understanding of the Battle of Culloden as well. I don’t think that anybody who only looks at the story of the soldiers can really appreciate the extent of the impact of the battle on clan culture and Highland culture.

Caitlin: Is there anything else you can tell us about the women?

Nicole: There are so many stories that I think are just so important and stories that are quite sad as well, and stories that maybe if you just look at the soldiers you don’t always understand them, or if you just look at the weaponry and you simplify things. There is one story, for example, of this gentleman who was imprisoned and he wrote a letter to his girlfriend and he said ‘the only thing that ails me is the wanting of you.’ Another commented on no matter how much time he would have left with his wife, it would never be enough time to tell her everything that he wanted to tell her. One of the things that happened a great deal and it happened to this gentleman’s letter was that the Government actually intercepted letters. So here were these women, and the men were trying to tell them all these things that they wanted to tell them, but the women never received the letters so forever they were just wondering what had happened to their loved ones. This particular gentleman quite sadly actually died on one of the transport ships so that is one of those stories, quite sad but very interesting.

Emily: Can you tell us anything about children’s involvement in the battle and the impact it would have had on them?

Nicole: It is incredibly difficult to find anything about the children. You know, you would have had drummer boys, and there is mention of who was the youngest soldier in the Jacobite army and who was the youngest casualty but that is about it...Through knowing what would have happened to the parents you could suss out what might have happened to the children and what their experience would have been like. When you think of history, nobody bothers to write down the experiences of the children and how they were impacted. I mean, for example where women’s stories and children’s stories have come together after the battle, a lot of husbands and fathers would have been on the run but the women with many children, some had nine or ten children, they would still be in their home and of course the Government soldiers would look for the husbands and fathers and they would continuously come to the houses. They would actually take things out of the houses – in one instance they even took the doors out! So this fate that was the women’s fate was of course also the fate of the children that lived with them. There are stories of women that would give birth just out in outhouses because the Government soldiers occupied their houses. I think Dr. Archibald Cameron, one of his children died while his wife had to live rough out in the hills. So that is one of these times when the story is not about the children per se, it’s about the women...but it really tells you about what happened to the children as well.

“When you think of history, nobody bothers to write down the experiences of the children and how they were impacted…”
Hazel: Where are you from?
Deirdre: I’m from Fort William.

Hazel: How long have you been working at the Culloden Battlefield Visitor Centre?
Deirdre: I’ve been working in Culloden for about five years. Before that I worked at Glenfinnan over on the West Coast. It’s another National Trust for Scotland property...I’ve actually worked at the beginning and the end of the Jacobite campaign! Glenfinnan was where they raised the standard at the start of the Jacobite campaign and Culloden is where it finished, so I’ve been right through it.

Hazel: Did you enjoy that?
Deirdre: I did yes, I enjoyed it very much. They are two fantastic places to work and really, really beautiful.

Lauren: When and why did you become interested in the Battle of Culloden?
Deirdre: I’ve always been interested in the battle, as it’s part of my personal history and heritage. I grew up with it coming from the West Coast and my people were from the islands and from Loch Broom area up in Ullapool, so it’s part of my own history and it’s always interested me. It’s always been discussed in the family and when I was in primary school in Inverlochy, we were in primary six and a new film came out by Peter Watkins. It was a very new type of filming because they filmed the Battle of Culloden as if it were a war correspondent that was there watching it, and they were talking to the different people who took part in the battle. So that film was shown in our school, everybody was taken into the assembly hall and our headmaster came and told us that we were going to see this film... It was about forty-five minutes long but it was quite a shocking film, this was in about 1967/68 and we hadn’t seen anything like that before. It was old, it was black and white but it was quite frightening and shocking and there were scenes from the battle and, you know, it really, really affected all the class. We were all quite stunned and moved and we wanted to know more about it so that’s when I became really particularly interested in Culloden.

Lauren: Did you have any ancestors in the battle?
Deirdre: I’m sure I would have but I don’t know for sure. My people are from clans and places that would have been involved at that time but I’ve never actually done any research. I hope to do that fairly soon.

Hazel: Are there any stories of the battle that you could tell us?
Deirdre: Well there’s a saying in my family, my mother is a MacLeod and my father is a Stewart, Stewart’s my own name and there’s always been a rivalry in the family. My dad, I don’t know where he got this from but he used to say ‘Oh the MacLeods stole the rations at Culloden’. I’ve never been able to find out where this originated from. One day I will! It must have come from somewhere, it’s quite an odd one!
Lauren: Can you tell us about any particular characters who were in the battle?

Deirdre: There’s lots and lots of different characters in the battle and they’re so interesting and so amazing! The things they did and what they had to do. There are characters that you like, characters that you don’t like. One of my favourites is Donald Livingston, Dòmhnall Molach, and he rescued the Appin banner from the battle. The Appin banner was believed to have been wrapped around the bodies of six men who were all killed in turn. That’s what they did, they tore the colours from the staff when they were retreating and they didn’t want their banner to fall into Hanoverian hands, so they wrapped it round their bodies as a way of trying to retreat. And apparently the Appin banner… six men had it and were killed before Dòmhnall Molach managed to get away and get back to Appin. You can still see the Appin banner today in Edinburgh Castle.

Hazel: Is there anything else you know about the battle that you’d like to tell us about?

Deirdre: There’s so much about the battle. What I’ve found out since I’ve come to Culloden is that a lot of people come here and they have preconceived ideas of what it was all about and they think it was a battle between Scotland and England, or Catholic and Protestant, and actually it wasn’t that. These things were elements in it and they did matter, and they were important, and they were part of the reason, but they weren’t the whole reason. The battle was much more complicated than that. It was a civil war and there were Scots on both sides, there were Highland Scots on both sides, there was English Jacobites, Welsh Jacobites, so it wasn’t as simple as that. It was much more complicated. The more you look into it the more you find out about it, and the reasons why people were there are so diverse and complex.

There are lots of reasons; from power, politics, people who were unhappy with the Union. There was revenge, there was personal gain… and there was simple loyalty as well. So that was very, very important and we shouldn’t forget that, but a lot of people didn’t want to be at that battle. They had no choice, and it very much depended on who you were, where you were from and what you had to do. In fact, if you think of it, nobody would have wanted to have been at that battle really. Whether you were on the Government side, you were a Government soldier, you were in the army and that was it. It wouldn’t have mattered if your brother was on the other side. You had to do what you had to do. So it’s all about people’s personal stories. It’s not boring, it’s really interesting because it’s all about people.
“Niel Gow is regarded as the father of Scottish fiddle music. He would hae been a legend in his ane lifetime, one o’ the most famous figures of his era. He was born in 1727 and he actually played for Bonnie Prince Charlie at Dunkeld House and I think he joined his army.”

Agallmh còmhla ri Pòl Mac’Ill’Anndrais
Interview with Paul Anderson

Genna: Can you tell us a bit about yourself?
Paul: Well I’m Paul Anderson, I come fae quite a small village in Aberdeenshire called Tarland which is thirty miles fae Aberdeen. I’m a professional traditional fiddle player and I come fae a farming family so that’s ma background.

Corrin: Can you tell us about the fiddle player Niel Gow and his involvement with the Jacobites?
Paul: Niel Gow is regarded as the father of Scottish fiddle music. He would hae been a legend in his ane lifetime, one o’ the most famous figures of his era. He was born in 1727 and he actually played for Bonnie Prince Charlie at Dunkeld House and I think he joined his army. He marched aboot as far as Stirling and then he thought better o’ it and he walked hame again! But I suppose if he’d been part of that army he might nae hae survived tae become the national figure he eventually became, I mean he didnae write many tunes aboot Culloden or the Jacobites but I suppose it had been known in the area that he’d joined the Jacobite army and he could have been singled oot as somebody they were going to haul in as a rebel so it maybe wasnae very politically correct for him to write that kind o’ stuff. If you were being employed by aristocracy and Niel Gow was fiddler tae the Duke of Atholl, I doubt if he’d be writin’ many Jacobite tunes. Although I think he did compose, they reckon that he might have composed the melody for ‘Wha wouldna fecht for Charlie’. Ye dunnae see his name to it but I’ve heard that a few times, so obviously the sentiment was there.

There’s an interesting painting in Duff House called ‘A Highland Wedding’ and it’s a Highland wedding in Perthshire in 1780. It’s got Niel Gow sitting playing fiddle and his brother Donald playing the cello ‘cause, ken for about two or three hundred years that’s how they did playin’ for dancing. The accordion is a fairly recent innovation really, though folk probably think of the accordion for Scottish country dance music, originally it was the fiddle and the cello. And there they are sitting playing and they’ve got James Murray of Abercairny sitting wi’ a snuff mill listening, and they’ve got a piper standing drinking whisky I suppose and they’ve got dancers and there are folk dressed in kilts. The interesting thing aboot it is that this is two years before they repealed the laws against wearing tartan. It is quite an interesting thing that they are flaunting the laws which were quite draconian...So Niel Gow was quite an important figure in Scottish music, a historical figure more than anything else.
Corrin: We know you’ve written a tune about Culloden Battlefield, can you tell us about that?
Paul: I had just stopped off at the battlefield, I’d been a number of times but I thought ‘och well I’ve got some spare time so I’ll just nip in by’ and it was a really bloody awful day. I suppose it was round about April but it can be pretty unpleasant in April… to me it was probably as I would have imagined it on the day because the rain was coming sideways and it was horrible. It was quite atmospheric and I went hame that night and I composed that tune, I sat doon wi’ a whisky and it was just the kind o’ thoughts fit had occurred and my kind of feelings. I’ve aye had an interest in that period o’ history ‘cause the first book that I can remember my dad reading to me was ‘Kidnapped’ by Robert Louis Stevenson which is a’ about that period, just after the Jacobite rebellion so I’ve aye had quite a strong interest in that. I think most folk have a notion that most o’ the army were West Highland and they were probably the biggest percentage but there were a lot of folk fae the North East involved in that as weel. Certainly round about Tarland where I come fae, there was quite a few folk went away wi’ Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie’s regiment ‘cause the Farquharsons owned the land round about Tarland at that time. There’s a house just outside the village called…The Bog of Tarland and there were seven brothers who joined the Monaltrie regiment, but I think it turns out that it was a father and six sons, and the father obviously being the oldest one – he was a captain in the Farquharson regiment and the six sons, depending on their age, the rank kind o’ comes doon depending on which one they were, but they were all killed at the Battle of Culloden.

There was another man who could hae been an uncle of those brothers – he was killed as well and a few others were caught and transported. There was a man called Jamie Coutts, he used to hide up in the hill of Morven after the ‘45 and he used to wear the full Highland dress despite the ban. He used to go armed to the teeth and he used to get involved in cattle lifting and stuff like that because apparently there was a lot mare folk than anybody ever gives credit for, maybe about four hundred folk dottted about the Highlands that were still actively in open rebellion. One man up near Braemar, Donald Farquharson, he was another guy. A lot of these places were quite heavily garrisoned, Tarland certainly had a garrison and the reason being was that they still felt that the population was openly in rebellion. A lot o’ that kind o’ thing influenced me, if ye ken that kind o’ history ye cannae help but be influenced writing tunes. I also wrote a tune called ‘Lament for the Seven Brothers’, the seven Farquharsons, but at that time I didn’t realise that one of them was actually the father so I’ll maybe have to change the title of that! But that is why I composed that tune.

Corrin: Is there anything else you would like to tell us about?
Paul: I just remembered about this, the last survivor of the Battle of Culloden came fae Deeside. He was a man ca’ed Peter Grant and he was a sergeant major in the Mackintosh regiment I think it was. But he came fae just up beside the Linn o’ Dee, about five mile fae… Braemar. He come fae a farm ca’ed the Dubrach and he was known as Auld Dubrach. Certainly in the North East, ye ken, folk are known by the name of their farm…He escaped the battle but he was captured and he was taken to Carlisle but he escaped fae there and he managed to mak his way back to Deeside where he lived to a ripe old age of 110! He’s buried in the graveyard in Braemar. There was a couple of travelling salesmen, they’d come upon him and he was telling them a’ these stories about the period and they were very taken wi’ him and word got back to King George IV…this was when he came up to Scotland on his big tour. Sir Walter Scott organised this big extravaganza and he heard about this Peter Grant, he was known as ‘the King’s last rebel’ ‘cause he was the last survivor. He was so taken wi’ this notion of this guy that he ordered that he was paid an annual pension which would have been a few pounds. I mean he would’ve been quite hard up I suppose but this was paid to him. He lived a few years after that, it was 1824 when he died, which is incredible when you think the battle was in 1746, and I mean he would have been into his twenties at that time. So there you go.

“I think most folk have a notion that most o’ the army were West Highland and they were probably the biggest percentage but there were a lot of folk fae the North East involved in that as weel.”

Arach Blàr Chùil Lodair le Lois NicLeoid Culloden Battlefield by Lois MacLeod
Lee: Where are you from?
Ian: I’ve been brought up in East Kilbride near Glasgow, that’s where I spent most of my life, but I was originally born in Germany. My dad was in the army and I was born in one of the military bases there, and then my sister was born and the two of us were brought over to the Britain and spent the rest of our time in Glasgow. That’s where my mum and dad are originally from so I consider myself to be Scottish. I’ve got a Scottish mum and dad and I was brought up in Scotland.

Lorna: What’s your job?
Ian: Well I’ve got an interesting job. It’s quite difficult to say one particular thing. I could say a costumes interpreter which you’ll see at Culloden Visitor Centre; people doing talks in costume, talking to the public. I have a company called Battle Scar Entertainment and we go into schools and talk to school children about Scottish history or British history; about Vikings, about Jacobites, about Redcoats, about Wallace and Bruce. I do film extra work, I do lots of different bits and pieces, re-enactments as well. So what’s my job? It’s quite difficult to put it down to one particular thing but costumes interpreter is probably the closest thing to it.

Lee: Why did you decide to start doing this?
Ian: Well it was a long time ago one of my friends was doing a re-enactment of Killecrankie and he asked if I wanted to come along, so me and another friend went along. We arrived just to watch and someone said ‘here put that on,’ and handed us a costume. We put it on and ended up just getting sucked in. I really enjoyed it - adrenaline buzzing, really exciting, good fun! So that’s when I started doing it. It was really just for adrenaline and enjoying what I was doing. As life went on, I started to understand more about the history. It wasn’t quite what I first thought it was and I started looking into it more and learning a lot more. So that kind of lead onto a job for me after that.

Lee: When and why did you become interested in Jacobites?
Ian: The Jacobites was the first love you could say. When I did the first re-enactment in Killiecrankie - that was a Jacobite battle - and I just got a buzz from that and then I started to learn from there.
Lee: Can you tell us about any of the characters and if there are any stories?
Ian: Oh there’s quite a few characters on the field yeah. One of the interesting things I think about the field is that there’s two brothers on the field. One is in the Royal Scots and the other one is over with the Chisholms, so two brothers fighting against each other.
That’s an interesting tale. The oldest brother was doing his military service in the Royal Scots and the British Army and at the time he was away in France fighting. But he got called back to the United Kingdom because of this Jacobite uprising. He’s the eldest son and it really was his job to raise the clan but unfortunately he had sworn his allegiance to King George and he couldn’t do that. So his younger brother raised the clan and fought on the field. It’s quite interesting ‘cause they were standing right across from each other on the field and during the charge his younger brother was killed. So the one that was in the Royal Scots found his brother and took him back to their family graveyard up at Glen Affric. So that’s kind of an interesting tale there.

There was another story, the Chief of MacGillivray, Alasdair MacGillivray, and his fiancé you could say, Lady Mackintosh. When the clans were raised it was a clan Chattan, and that’s got MacGillivray, Mackintosh and MacBean; that’s just to mention a few of them there. But Lady Mackintosh, it was her regiment and she got her commission as Colonel Mackintosh, which is a higher regiment than her husband had got and he was in the British Army. But Lady Mackintosh couldn’t lead the clan into the battle so Alasdair MacGillivray took that position and he led them in. They were one of the first clans to take the charge and they charged across the field. But when they came in, they got the highest concentration of musket fire and cannon fire and Alasdair was quite badly wounded. When he was retreating, he found some men of his next to the Well of the Dead as it’s called now, and that’s where he died, and I think he was holding a young boy. He was trying to protect a young boy or he was comforting him when he died and they were buried at the Well of the Dead. I think there was about three or four corpses put there. But this fiancé of Alasdair’s had given orders to tie a handkerchief around his arm and the intention was to go back and retrieve his body later. So they covered him up and buried him on the field, and then some weeks later she sent some men up with two casks of whisky. They got the whisky, and they opened one and then they poured it onto the ground to soak through to try and disguise the smell of decaying flesh and such like. And while that was happening the men drank the other cask of whisky and got blind drunk. We don’t really know if they did remove the proper body or not! A body was removed and taken down to Petty Church Yard where it’s buried along beside the rest of the clan chiefs. So there are quite a few interesting stories.

Lee: What weapons did the Jacobites and the Government sides use?
Ian: Well on the Government side there were ten, three-pound cannons on the front lines. The Government have also got a thing called the Cohorn mortor. It’s like a little stumpy cannon that fires up into the air, and the shell that they fire up into the air explodes above your enemy. And they are very easy; two men, one on each side, carry and move it around the field. Then the Government are trained with the muskets, the brown best musket, and they can load and fire their gun three times a minute. On the end of the musket they can put a bayonet which is useful for hand to hand combat. They also carry a small sword on their side, but they were never actually trained in how to use that. All the time was spent on firing and loading the musket, and also the bayonet drum. One soldier did ask ‘What do you do with the sword?’ He was recommended that if anybody comes near enough, to hold the sword by the blade and bludgeon them with the handle or with the hilt because he wasn’t trained – so just use it like a club! That’s all he could do with it!

The Jacobites were more effective with their weaponry, they did have muskets and they did have cannons. Their cannons weren’t well prepared for the day because the bulk of the Jacobites cannons were making their way back from Fort William. So the men in charge of the cannons weren’t very well trained with them. They didn’t cause much effect on the Government lines ‘cause the cannon balls were whizzing over the heads of the Government soldiers, instead of blasting through the lines, and then the Jacobites ran out of the proper size of ammunition. That’s one of the down sides to the Jacobite army was that they had lots of different kinds and different sizes of cannon, whereas the Government have only one kind of cannon, which means you can’t get mixed up with different sizes of cannon balls. So, you’ve got for the Jacobites, a one pound ball; which is a really small thing, then they go bigger and bigger and bigger. So when you bring big cannon balls they don’t fit into the small cannons, and that’s what happened to the Jacobites – they had the wrong size of cannon ball so the cannon ran out of the proper size of ammunition.

“One soldier did ask ‘What do you do with the sword?’ He was recommended that if anybody comes near enough, to hold the sword by the blade and bludgeon them with the handle or with the hilt because he wasn’t trained - so just use it like a club!”
Then you’ve got Lochaber axes which are great big pole axes, which are good when you’re close to your enemy and fighting with them. And if you get charged with a horse, you can take the legs off the horse, and pull men off the horses with the axe. But your Jacobites, when they charged they went in with hand to hand weapons. Muskets were fired, guns were thrown away, and they would go in with a sword and shield. The reason the gun is thrown away is because it’s no use to them anymore, because if they stand up and load it, their men run in front of them and they won’t be able to fire it anymore. And it weighed eleven pounds and two ounces, so carrying this heavy piece of equipment into battle, which you’re not really going to be able to use, is a bit wasteful. So they leave it on the ground, and if they survive the battle they can go back and collect it. But when they go in, it’s close fighting hand to hand combat. They’ve got a round shield on their arm called a targe. Behind it they’ve got a dirk held in their hand; that’s a long knife, and then on their other side, they’ve got their basket hilted broad sword. And they can push forward with the shield to deflect bayonets from the muskets and then come through with the sword and hit their enemy with the sword and it’s quite effective. The way the Jacobites also come in, another weapon you could say is their Highland charge. When they come in a bit like a rugby scrum, well trained, best equipped men at the front, the lesser men at the back, and they come in and punch their way in through the lines of the Government soldiers.

So, when they went in with their charge, they went like a mass and they punched their way in through the lines. Their best trained men go in with their swords and shields, and then the men with axes and things at the back come in. The Monros and Barrells, they were the only two regiments which really incorporated or came in contact with that Highland charge and the Jacobites broke their way through that line. Along the rest of the line, the Jacobites never got that close. So if they had, would they have got right through the whole of the lines? We would have been talking about a whole different story today if they had! There is a gentleman on the battlefield called Chevalier de Johnston and he said that if the Highland charge had held on for only another two minutes then it’s very possible that the Jacobites would have broken through and they would have won the battle. So you’re talking a very short space of time, ‘cause the rest of the men would have been involved in that hand to hand combat straight in the front lines, and the Jacobites were far better with hand to hand combat than the Government were. The only men on the Government side who were trained to use a sword would be the officers, and that was part of their gentry thing where they would be fencing. When the Jacobites charged, one officer thought ‘oh here’s a bit of sport, we’ll show this gentleman how to use a sword,’ and he presented the sword to have a fight and the Jacobite just hacked his arm off!

So it was a different way of fighting altogether. So that’s the main weapons which they would have had on the field I think.

Lorna: What was the most effective weapon used on the battlefield?
Ian: On this one I think the main thing on the Government side would have been your cannon and the grapeshot fired from it. It’s like the cannon is made into a shotgun basically. It’s got a three-pound hole and what they do is they put in it a bag filled with bits of nails, rusty rubbish and bits of chains. When they fire it, it’s like a shotgun and there’s a big, big spread. When the Jacobites were coming across the field, the cannons were actually given orders to go across diagonally, and when it blasted it got a bigger spread and got more people. So the cannon was the most effective on the field, and that’s really down to the most casualties.
Lauren: Where are you from?
Shirley Ann: I’m from Easter Ross but I live in Culloden now. I grew up in Milton near Kildary.

Lorna: What’s your job?
Shirley Ann: I’m actually a civil servant but I’m also a PhD student studying battlefields.

Lauren: Can you tell us about the research you are doing into the Battle of Culloden?
Shirley Ann: Yes, it started about three years ago. I studied folklore and tradition at Aberdeen University for my Masters. We had to write a dissertation for it and most people concentrated on something in the North East, they concentrated on music or storytelling, but I wanted to do something that was important to me, so I chose to do Culloden battlefield. I visited Culloden when I was in primary school and it’s something that’s stuck with me since then. Going back to primary school, when I was about eleven, our teacher was reading us a book ‘A Pistol in Greenyards’ and trying to put everything into context for us, he took us to Culloden and we got shown around the battlefield. It was very different from today, the markers were all in among trees and it was basically walking through woods to get to the clan graves - this was twenty five years ago. We went round an exhibition at Inverness Museum which was all about Bonnie Prince Charlie, and then we went up to Croick church which is where Greenyards is based. So it’s taking a whole history from the end of the Jacobite Risings to the Highland Clearances, and most people associate Culloden with that period of time. So that whole thing has stayed with me since then and when I was trying to think of something that was important to me culturally, it was Culloden battlefield. I studied it in terms of its folklore and material culture, that would be like the markers on the battlefield itself and when I was doing it for my dissertation I thought ‘there is actually an awful lot more here and I’d like to go further with it.’ So now I’m doing my PhD on it, not just Culloden, but Culloden is the main one in it and I look at the cultural associations in it, what makes people visit the site, how they find the site and if they’ve visited before, do their perceptions of the site change. It’s not just what happened in April 1746, but how the battlefield and the battle continued to influence people from that time until today and how people continue to see the battlefield and how it continues to contribute to our sense of national identity.

“...it’s not just what happened in April 1746, but how the battlefield and the battle continued to influence people from that time until today and how people continue to see the battlefield and how it continues to contribute to our sense of national identity.”

Agallamh còmhla ri Shirley Ann NicBhàtair
Interview with Shirley Ann Watson
Lauren: Can you tell us about any characters and the stories behind them?
Shirley Ann: What I can tell you, which is one that you won’t hear about, I actually heard a ghost story about Culloden which is a little different. Some people actually believe that the battle was not fought here; they actually believe that it was fought down where the village of Culloden now is, where it just used to be Culloden House and a plantation of trees. There’s a story of a ghost, and someone said that they actually saw this ghost while they were sitting in their living room. This ghost was just standing there in a blue jacket, brown breeches, hair nicely done back. He looked like an officer and the uniform that she described does actually exist from the time of the Battle of Culloden. It was a Jacobite uniform — and it’s Lord Elcho’s Life Guards that were Bonnie Prince Charlie’s personal body guards. He was standing there and he was talking as if he was talking to someone next to him. Every so often he would stand and talk to this person and then he would look, and he was looking at a distance, and it was almost like he was watching his soldiers do like their drill or something like that. So some people are absolutely convinced that the battle was fought there and other people that have seen ghosts down in the village, they believe that too. Despite the fact that you’ve got the archaeological evidence and all the written accounts, some still absolutely believe the battle was fought elsewhere.

Emily: Is there anything else you can tell us about that you’ve come across in your research?
Shirley Ann: Well, I mean a lot of the stuff I’m doing is what people think of the site today so you don’t get to hear so much about the characters. You do get one or two though. One guy actually got in touch and said that it was two brothers and one of their sons, and you had one on one side, one the other on the other side, and one who never actually made it because he was with the Jacobites marching and they didn’t actually make it in time for the battle! So you have things like that and…

it is sort of interesting seeing how important the site is whether people have a connection to a particular person or not.

Lorna: Did any of your ancestors fight in the battle?
Shirley Ann: Well if they did it would have been on the Hanoverian side. I’ve never looked that far back into it, but my dad’s family were originally from Cromarty and Cromarty was Hanoverian at the time of the battle. They were Hanoverian for years afterwards. So possibly someone there actually saw it. Actually on my dad’s mums side there were Campbells, so again, they would probably have fought on the Hanoverian side. My mum’s family actually come from the far north and I doubt that they actually fought at all.

Shirley Ann: Do you know about the Manchester Regiment?
Lauren and Lorna: No.
Shirley Ann: OK, well there was a regiment of Jacobites, English Jacobites, called the Manchester Regiment. They were Episcopalian and they were actually treated probably more harshly than most Jacobites. I think most of them were executed just because they made an example of them for being English. They were kind of real traitors. The Scots were just Scottish but these were real traitors, so they were executed. I also look at some more Jacobite battlefields, I look at Glenshiel which is the most amazing battlefield because it’s up in the hills. Glenshiel is on the Road to the Isles. I made the big mistake on the day I went there, well I didn’t make the mistake I don’t drive, so I had to get a bus but there isn’t a bus stop at the battlefield so I got off at Cluanie Inn which is like a six mile walk to the battlefield. Problem is, it was chucking it down with rain, I mean really chucking it down with rain. It was really scary walking along there because of the traffic and I was absolutely drenched by the time I got there but it’s amazing because the road I walked was actually the direction the Government soldiers would have taken. Again this is another example of how it’s not England versus Scotland. There were a lot of Spaniards fighting for the Jacobite side there, and actually one of the hills is known as Spanish Hill because this is where they were. It’s the most dramatic landscape you could get for a battle. I mean most people think of battlefields as very flat.

Another of the battlefields I’m looking at is Prestonpans, which was the last real victory of the Jacobites. I mean it was Bonnie Prince Charlie again, and everybody thinks it was a quick battle here at Culloden because it lasted less than an hour. Prestonpans apparently lasted less than fifteen minutes! It wasn’t so much a battle as a complete rout. The two armies were facing each other you know, and camped facing each other, and at night the Jacobites decided that the land wasn’t suitable because it was marshy and they couldn’t do their charge on this marshy land. So during the night they marched round to the other side and in the morning just charged and that was it. Nine minutes I think some people have said that’s how long it lasted. And they kind of were really excited about the fact that they had this huge victory, and I think they got a bit cocky then!
Emily: That's one of the big things about this site though, that it wasn't suitable for the Jacobites and their Highland charge.

Shirley Ann: But the reason for fighting here is because the path that goes through the clan markers and past the big cairn was actually a road at the time. That was the road to Inverness. And the reason that they fought here was because they wanted to stop the Government army re-taking Inverness, and that's why it was fought on this land. Even though it wasn't suitable. The battlefield has been restored now to look like how the people would think it would have looked like at the time.

Emily: Is that why they took all the trees down?

Shirley Ann: Yeah because there wasn't any trees there at the time. The trees that were there when I was a kid were actually put there by the Forestry Commission, because the Forestry Commission owned a lot of the land before the National Trust got it. I have seen pictures which were supposedly drawn shortly after the battle. So you actually see pictures of the grave mounds and that, and I can't remember seeing any trees at it. This is pretty much how they think it would have looked at the time yeah. And you know why they had to build a new visitor centre? Not just because they needed a big centre, but you know they needed to move the centre?

Lorna and Lauren: No.

Shirley Ann: They needed to move the visitor centre because when they did the archaeology, they actually discovered that the old visitor centre was sitting on part of the second Government line. So it was actually on top of where soldiers fought and this is why they said that they needed to move it. Now I grew up on the story that locals always knew that the visitor centre was on the Government line but they didn't mind. So that's why that's been moved. The old visitor centre had a ghost. I never saw it but one time when I was up there, I was talking to one of the staff at the admissions desk and this was when the cottage was actually in a separate enclosure bit and you had to go through the visitor centre to get to it. You couldn't just go to it like you can now. So people were going in and out of the visitor centre out to the cottage… and we were talking away and suddenly realised that people were tapping on the door to get back in from the cottage because the door had locked itself. The door needs a key to lock it and the key was in the office! So nobody knows how the door locked itself and one of the staff said ‘Oh that's the ghost.’ Apparently there’s lots of ghosts and apparently people have seen Redcoats. They've seen dead Jacobites with tartan up over their heads, like they were lying on the ground and someone had pulled tartan up over them. There is quite a few like that. There is also the big story that birds did not actually sing at Culloden - apparently after the battle of Culloden no bird sung. I actually heard people saying ‘I visited Culloden forty years ago and you never heard a single sound. There were no birds. Nothing.’ Every time I walk on that battlefield now, all you hear is birds' song! To be honest it was so loud one day I actually thought the National Trust were piping it in! [laughter]. But yeah, that's actually a very common story. I think there was also a story that all the wee trees and gorse would not grow over the graves. So that's the other thing but it's hard to tell because the grass is always cut over it now. Nothing grows over the graves, just the grass, nothing else.

Lauren: Is there anything else you would like to tell us about?

Shirley Ann: It's interesting that in 1846, which was the 100th anniversary of the battle, the 16th of April was declared a local holiday for the people of Inverness so that they could commemorate the battle. It was actually held as a holiday - I've seen it in a newspaper article that it was actually a holiday, so Culloden was a hugely important battle.

“Apparently there’s lots of ghosts and apparently people have seen Redcoats. They’ve seen dead Jacobites with tartan up over their heads, like they were lying on the ground…”
Pàirt a Dhà

Sgeulachdan
Aonghas Grannd

Part Two
The stories of Aonghas Grant
Agallamh còmhla ri Aonghas Grannd
Interview with Aonghas Grant

Aonghas: A good place to start is with the arrival of the Prince. He arrived at Camus Forsaidh down near Glenuig and a few of the locals came up wondering what boat had come in, and they realised it was the Prince. Soon word got round and Clan Ranald came down and they actually tried to persuade the Prince to forget about it but he was all for going on. So, he came back to Glen Moidart House with them and sent the word round. Alasdair MacDonald, the bard, Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair, he wrote the song, ‘Hi ri ri, tha e a’ tighinn.’ It says, ‘Tha e seo, tha a’ Phrionnsa seo ann am Mùideart’ [He’s here, the Prince is here in Moidart]. Nearly all of his songs were very spirited and that, full of life you know. They reckon MacMhaighstir Alasdair was a bit of a Jacobite agent and he wrote a lot of propaganda songs. But, most of the clans had got their fingers badly burnt in the 1715 rising, so they were a bit wary of coming out again. And then another crowd thought it was predominantly a Catholic rising, you see, and the Prince was a Catholic and so a lot of the clans and that didn’t join over the religious side of it. Whereas the Clan Ranalds’ and that were predominantly Catholic, so they just immediately went up. I was surprised that the likes of the Camerons of Lochiel joined. And in fact, if Cameron of Lochiel hadn’t arrived that first day – the rising would have petered out right there and then at Glenfinnan.

They waited most of the day for them and apparently Lochiel came down Gleann Suileag out of sight, and then appeared over the top of the cnoc above where the visitor centre is today and his pipers appeared up there too...They all came down and that was how the whole uprising started. Lochiel wasn’t for it at all, he was known as the Gentle Lochiel and he was busy planting trees when he heard the word about it, up at what they still call the Dark Mile with all the big trees up at Achnacarry. They planted that big beech trees down at Kinloch Moidart too, with the Prince there and the trees are called The Eight Men of Moidart. There was a dance composed about it and there are two tunes for it, both of them reels.

“When they surrendered their arms, they were surrounded and chained up and marched to Inverness, put on a boat to Aberdeen, from Aberdeen down to Edinburgh, and eventually shipped out to Barbados and most of them were never seen again…”

“Thàinig am Prionnsa Teàrlach air tìr aig Camus Forsaidh, faisg air Gleann Ùige, agus seo mar a chuala Aonghas an sgeulachd…”

“Then the Prince came ashore at Camus Forsaidh, near Glenuig, and this is how Aonghas heard the story...”
Emily: Could you tell us about your great, great, great grandfather and his involvement with the Jacobite army?

Aonghas: Aye, well whatever they were at that period, I can’t remember, about three or four times back, both on the Grant side and the Stewart side. My grandmother’s side, my father’s mother, were Stewarts of the Appin Stewarts. They came into Brae Lochaber when one of the daughters of the Stewarts of Appin, married into the Keppochs and she took this tail of servants with her. This Iain Mòr Stewart, he was out with the Keppoch regiment and he got back home safely, but unfortunatley it was different for my [great great great] grandfather, and also his brother, Peter, on the Grant side. He was known as Iain Dubh Baile Tom Buidhe, Glenmoriston. Now, Ludovick Grant who was the chief’s son in Strathspay — that was Grants the main clan — he sat on the fence but he was in cahoots with the Hanoverians all the time and the Duke of Cumberland. A few weeks before the Battle of Culloden, he went up to see Cumberland when he was camped at Aberdeen and then he came up to Glenmoriston after Culloden and persuaded most of the ones that went out against the Hanovarians, apart from a few and another ancestor of mine, Patrick Grant of Tomcrasky who didn’t trust him at all - he persuaded them all that if they went with him to Balmacaan, at Drumnadrochit, and handed in their arms they could go safely home. They all went but there was one young fellow who had been at Culloden and his wife had just had a new born child of a week or two old - and she followed them. They were going along Achnaconeran, away above where Glenmoriston hotel is today, and there’s a track there that goes right round, and it’s the quickest way into Glenurquhart. She couldn’t persuade him to come back so she eventually put the child on the heather and left him there and never looked back. This boy realised that the child was going to die there if he never went back. So he went back and he was the only one that didn’t go to Balmacaan. When they surrendered their arms, they were surrounded and chained up and marched to Inverness, put on a boat to Aberdeen, from Aberdeen down to Edinburgh, and eventually shipped out to Barbados and most of them were never seen again. There was only about four I think that ever managed to get back but my [great great great] grandfather was never heard of again.

Bha sinnseirean Aonghais fhèin an sàs ann am Blàr Chùil Lodair. Seo mar a thàinig a shinn-sinn-seanair a bhith ann am Barbados às deidh a’ Bhlàir...

Aonghas: There are a lot of songs with the name Mòrag in it — but that was a code name for the Prince. That’s when they started that ‘Slàinte Mhòr’ but in English they thought it was ‘big health’ — but it’s not — it was ‘Slàinte a Mhòrag’.

Tha fiosrachadh aig Aonghas mun abairt chumanta ‘Slàinte Mhòr’ a tha ceangailte ri Prionnsa Teàrlach...

Targaid le Christy MacFhionagain
Shield by Christy MacKinnon
Another story that might be interesting is that there was a crowd of Redcoats following the Moidart men back [after the battle]. None of us can quite understand what they were doing but it seems that the Moidart men were trying to decoy them away from Glen Aladale, so to save them from burning down Glen Aladale, which is down Loch Shiel. They were following them there and they were led by a south country officer, and the corrie is called Coire nan Gall. They were following them up this stream and there were these rocks – an ideal place for an ambush. One of the Moidart men who was the best shot, he shot the officer and the rest of the Redcoats got cold feet when the officer was killed so he was buried there in the corrie. They call it Leac an Duine Marbh in Gaelic, but the grave was lost. When I was shepherd stalker there, old Cameron-Head the estate owner said he had seen the place when he was a boy because one of the stalkers had shown him. He knew it was in the corrie and it was near a stream but he didn’t know where exactly. We were gathering there but then the mist came down and we missed quite a lot of sheep and a couple of days later I went back and the sheep were in the corrie before we let the rest of them back out. So I put one of my dogs up there, one I always worked with a whistle and I was sticking my stick in the ground so that I could whistle with my two little fingers but the stick wouldn’t go into the ground. It was hitting something hard and I don’t know what clicked but I looked at the place, the burn and that, and I scraped my stick along it and there was a great long slab stone – that was Leac an Duine Marbh. I cleared it up, cleared the moss off it and put little flat stones round it and another time I took photos of it. Somebody has now stuck a slab stone up so when you come into the corrie you can immediately see it. We’ve been trying to find out who the officer was but we haven’t found out so far. He may have only been a sergeant but if he was an officer it would have been noted somewhere. Apparently he was just buried there and then. We couldn’t understand why they would have been in this place because it wasn’t on the track to Moidart, so we reckon they were decoying them away from Glen Aladale. They reckon that there were two hundred or so swordsmen who came out from Glen Aladale at the loch – today it’s just an empty glen full of ruins.
Aonghas: This song was composed by MacLachlan after Culloden, when his brother, Lachlan MacLachlan, got killed. The MacLachlans were the hereditary banner bearers, the standard bearers to Cameron of Lochiel. They had this estate at Coruanan down by Onich on the north side of Ballachulish on Loch Leven there. They were quite a musical, bárdachd family. Doctor MacLachlan of Rahoy was the man that composed all these nice songs ‘Seinn an Duan Seo’ and other ones like that - he was of that stock. This Lachlan, he was the younger brother, and he was an aide-de-camp to the Prince and he was told to tell the Camerons and the Atholl men to charge. But he got killed so they were waiting and waiting, no word to charge, and they were getting blown to bits with the grape shot that they were using, which is the early forerunner of shrapnel, small stuff that would tear them to bits. There was ten guns apparently firing, and they reckon that the average, every time the ten guns fired, there was about a hundred and eighty to about two hundred people getting killed or badly wounded. Eventually they realised that something had happened, so somebody else was sent down to tell them to charge. So this is the song that his brother composed in his memory and it was Calum MacLean, Sorley MacLean’s brother, the great collector, he got it from an old man in Eigg.

Chaidh an t-òran àlainn seo a sgrìobhadh do Lachlan MacLachlainn a chaidh a mharbhadh aig Blàr Chùil Lodair, le a bhràthair. ‘S e teaghlach ainmeil a bh’ ann an Clann Lachlainn seo airson an cuid ciúil agus bàrdachd.

Fhir a shiùbhlas na frithe

You who travel the mountains
Are forever coming into my thoughts
I am telling in truth
What has torn me
It wasn’t the cutting lead
That made the blow so bitter
But the many of my friends
Who fell in the battle in springtime

My hair has gone gray
And my visage changed
My eyes are weeping
And my heart is sick and wounded
For the number of my friends
Who remained to be stripped on the battlefield
What has increased my pain is
Not knowing who spread the earth over them

There is not a duke in Scotland
Or indeed in England
Who wouldn’t wish the young and handsome youth
To be his son
In the beginning of your career
You captivated discerning minds
You were stalwart and kingly
And you were steadfast in the faith

But I will cease talking of you
Or indeed counting you
Since I lost the gifts
Which will not return ’til Judgement Day
And although King James would come
And be proclaimed on every street
At the end of each situation
My state would be as it is

Féis na h-Òige agus Fèis a’ Bhaile
Aonghas: This is the old bàrdachd style, this was the kingly bearing and the nice voice and the handsome hair - this was a real Gaelic style of doing things. That's a very interesting bit there 'Gun fhios co charach an ùr orr' [Not knowing who spread the earth over them] - because, you know, up at Culloden there, there is all those graves of the clans - do you think anybody actually bothered to say where the Frasers or Mackintoshs or whoever were buried? If the soldier died, they would be just thrown in a hole. You know, I don't actually know enough to say exactly how it was but when you read about it, they were stripped of their garments and they were lying naked on the ground. Two days later, some of the wounded were still lying there and soldiers went up and they were knocking their heads in with the muskets or practicing their bayonets and they were still alive you know. It was really horrific. This is how the Cumberland got the name of 'The Butcher'.

Úine ghoirid às dèidh don Phrionnsa Teàrlach tighinn air tir aig Camus Forsaidh ann an Gleann Ùige, gheàrr cuideigin lorg-coise a-mach às a’ chreag far an do chuir am Prionnssa a chas air an talamh airson a’ chiad turais. Tha e doirbh thaicinn a-nis air sgàth ’s gu bheil e caithte agus gu bheil a’ dèanamh cron air.

Aonghas: Another interesting story is of course Prince Charlie, before the battle, wasn’t sleeping out in the heather like the men - he went to Rose of Kilravock’s house and he was wined and dined there! Of course a day or two later Cumberland appeared and Rose was thinking he was going to get the place burnt down but he was very clever. Cumberland was supposed to have said, according to the Oban Times reporter who was standing waiting to hear everything - you have to wonder who was there that noted all this! Anyway, Cumberland said, 'I believe that you entertained my cousin last night,' because they were related Cumberland and the Prince and Rose says 'Yes your Grace and tonight I have the honor of entertaining you' and he ushered him in and saved the house from getting burnt down!

Oidhche no dhà ron bhlàr, bha am Prionnsa a’ fuireach còmhla ri Rose ann an Cill Ràthaig. Mar a bhiodh duil, nochd Cumberland latha no dhà às dèidh làimh ga lorg agus bha eagal air Rose gun robh Cumberland a’ dol a losgadh an taighe gu talamh ach seo mar a chuir e stad air...

Arach Bhàr Chùil Lodhair le Mìcheal Bentley
Culloden Battlefield by Michael Bentley
Aonghas: There's a Strathspey 'Because he was a Bonnie Lad' and the bonnie lad is supposed to be Prince Charlie. There's another one 'Is Truagh Mo Chàs' (Hard is my Fate). This was about the night after Culloden and he was staying somewhere and he was hearing all this whispering going on outside his room and he thought he was getting betrayed. He discovered in the morning that it was only two little girls that were very excited about hearing that the Prince was staying in the house! It was supposed to be up at Gorthleck there.

Tha e coltach gur ann mu dheidhinn a’ Phrionnsa Teàrlach a tha an Srath Spè ‘Because He was a Bonnie Lad.’ Tha fear eile ann, ‘Is Truagh Mo Chàs’ agus a rèir na sgeulachd’s ann air an oidhche às déidh Blàr Chùil Lodair a thachair e. Bha am Prionnsa a’ fuireach ann an taigh agus rè na h-oidhche, chuala e cagarsaich taobh a-muigh an t-seòmair. Bha eagal air gun robh cuideigin ga bhrathadh air ach anns a’ mhadainn fhuaire e a-mach có bh’ ann...
Aonghas: My great, great, great grandmother of the time and her children, they had Achlean Farm. They were pretty well heeled, they must have been well up on the pecking order of the clan to have the best farm at the top of the glen. She was a MacDonnell of Glengarry and she came over the hill and stayed and hid with her father away up in the back woods of Glengarry because after the battle the farm got burnt down and the cattle all taken and that. You see, the cattle was the only wealth they had and they were taking all the cattle down to Fort Augustus, to this big field, which was eventually the rugby field when the Abbey school was there. They had all the cattle there and the officers were claiming all the cattle, and there were drovers coming up from the south and buying the cattle and the officers were splitting all the profits up. Then at the fort there, they were taking about twenty five men out a day who wouldn’t tell where the Prince was and shooting them against the wall of the fort. Years later, a few years back there, they knocked down this historic wall and built a breeze block monstrosity and extended it into kitchens or something like that. So all the rest of my father’s side, they were all born and brought up in Glengarry. My father was born in Glengarry in 1880, the confirmed bachelor until my mother came up from Edinburgh as a school teacher and he must have fallen hook, line and sinker and he got married. He was fifty when I was born, and there was another two - there was three boys. In Glenmoriston now, there’s only one Grant - a relation of mine - that’s the only one that is left there. But the Grants were out in all the Jacobite battles and they fought at Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir. Now, the Grant chief, Iain Mòr Creag an Daraich, he was there. He was only seventeen. He was six foot six or something and he was a very strong man. Apparently there is a song composed for him, which is probably lost, and it was about this trooper who charged him and he had this big two handed sword and he just cut him in two. And this bard made this song up - the horse was still galloping and the spurs digging into it and the main part of him was still lying on the ground! Apparently one of the MacDonalds from the top of the glen is supposed to have said ‘anything a Grant can do a MacDonald can do too’ and he did the same thing - but there wasn’t a song made up about him because he wasn’t the chief!

Aonghas: It might be a wee bit interest to mention that my fiddle has been in the family a long time. It was made in Aberdeen, twenty six years after Culloden, in 1771. Aye, it’s very old. My uncle played it, probably my grandfather too, and I got it after my uncle died. I don’t play it much because it’s a bit fragile. I have plenty more fiddles but I thought I would take it down today. This man, Joseph Ruddiman, the most famous maker of that period, he repaired Niel Gow’s fiddle in 1784. There is not many of his fiddles left. He repaired Niel Gow’s fiddle when Gow fell and slid on the ice coming back from playing at a dance at Stairdam. In these days, apparently the fiddlers, they hadn’t got the nice fiddle cases we have nowadays - he kept it in a green velvet bag. So it wasn’t much help you know. Well Niel Gow himself apparently, as a boy of 18, played in front of Prince Charlie the night he was staying at Dunkeld House and he followed the Atholl men down as far as Luncarty but then some of the older Atholl men said it wasn’t actually a place for a fiddler and advised him to go home!
Aonghas: I think the only thing that saved them a bit was that the Battle of Culloden was in the spring and by the time the winter had come the next time they had managed to get things together a bit. Otherwise, had it been at the start of the winter there would have been a lot more died of starvation. A lot of the men needed to go back home to take care of their crops and everything, because it was spring. A lot of the clans that were local to round here [Inverness], they had all gone home to see their wives and their own people and that. They were lucky to have missed the battle. Then they had this stupid night march to Nairn to surprise the Hanovarians and they got bogged down with that, then they decided to come back and they were starving! A lot of them went away off to look for food and that. Compared to Cumberland’s well drilled and well fed troops. The Hanoverian casualties were only a couple of hundred wounded and fifty or so killed and there was over a thousand of our gang killed. They were even killing the wounded after the battle – that was against all the rules. They put out this propaganda that the Jacobite army, that there would be no quarter given and all the Hanoverian troops were told that so that it was either ‘kill or be killed.’ That was probably just another propaganda thing to give them incentive to keep fighting. There was a lot of propaganda about the Jacobites that they were barbarians. In England they were told to keep their children away because they were cannibals! They would eat their children! One of the biggest myths of all though was the caves! I mean, if he slept in as many caves there, he was hardly anywhere at all! He apparently spent most of his time hiding in caves. I was up there many years ago at Coire Dho, Glenmoriston, and it’s not actually a cave - it’s rocks, big huge rocks up there in the corrie. They were left by the glacier probably. A wee stream comes through it - it’s more of a shelter stone really. He was there for a week or two with a few people with him and my ancestor Patrick Grant Tomchrasky was there.

Donnchadh Bàn Mac an t-Saoir, he was in Campbell country and he had to fight on the Hanoverian side. Apparently though he made the excuse that he didn’t own a sword and some creeping farmer called Fletcher said, ‘Oh I’ve a sword!’ and he presented this sword. But then I heard that when he came back he handed him this sword and it was broken and he said he managed to break it at the Battle of Falkirk. Apparently though he was a big socaireach (gentle) type man and they reckon he just broke it over a stone because he didn’t want to fight for the Hanoverians! He handed the broken sword back to him! When you look back on it though, they had no real style of fighting. Their style was to charge and to shout ‘sluagh-ghairm’ and all these war cries and they were enough to put the sweat up anybody! This wild crowd charging down on them, that was their main idea of fighting – this big charge that swept everything before them. They ran with the targe and the dirk in it. What really defeated them though, apart from that they were tired and hungry, was the cannon fire with the grape shot – that was mowing them down. My ancestors were all involved in it but it was a bad cause too. They lost a lot. It was a sad sad day but we’re still here and we’ve still got the music and the language.

Tha beachdan làdir aig Aonghas mun bhlàr a thaobh ama den bhliadhna, sgilean-cogaidh, nan uaimhean anns an robh am Prionnsa na fhalaich às déidh a’ bhlàir agus rud no dhà cile...
Part Three

Participant’s stories:
Fear-brathaidh (by Sarah Appleby), Na Jacksons (by Shannon Cowie), The Battle of Culloden (by Lauren Nicolson)
An t-Ògmhios 1749 – Dùn Èideann
‘S e madainn ghlas a th’ ann is, mar as àbhaist, tha mi a’ seasamh air beulailbh an sgàthain, a’ cur orm m’ eideadh spaidel is a’ deanamh brochan dheth. Chan eil an t-eideadh seo am meud ceart co-dhiù – tha na murlicheannan ro fhada is a’ bhriogais ro theann. Tha mi a’ deanamh bùrach dhe na putanan seo. Gan cur anns na tollan ceàrr; gan leigil às – ma tha mi air aon rud ionnsachadh bhò m’ uine an arm an Rìaghaltais, ’s e seo: tha Seumas Camshron dona le putanan. Och, breugan a-rithist. Chan e sin a dh’ionnsachadh. Chan eil e. Bha sinn air a bhith ag cur a’ staid airson mhòranailt, is uaireannan bhiodh sinn a’ stad airson habhail ri cuideigin. Tha na daoine a bhios ag ràdh gun robh sin ‘intinneach’ ceàrr. Tha e dreach cùmrtach is dòrainneach agus bhiodh Dòmhnaill ag eigheach orm cu:

“Greas ort, a Sheumais!”

“Thig an seo, a Sheumais!”

“Sheumais, ’s e saighdear sròisail a th’ annad!”

Cha bh’ e saighdear math a bh’ ann an Dòmhnaill nas motha.

A bharrachd air sin, cha robh saighdear math san arm sin idir, nam bheachd-sa. Bha sinn a’ coiseachd gu tuath, oir bhà sin na daoine a bhò. Chan robh e a’ dol gu math. Bha caraid neo dhà agam an seo, mar sinn cha minn dhomh a’ ràdh gun robh e uile dona. Mar Aonghas: bha ean ceart gu leor. B’ urrainn dhomh is Aonghas bruidhinn is bha fhios aig a’ doigh air an t-eòrphail sin, ach bha sin a’ chlaoideachd agus motha, Anna, fhàgail aig a dhà. Cha robh mòran airson.

B’ e an treas seachd a bhith a’ coiseachd gu tuath a bh’ ann agus bha mi fhèin is Aonghas nar suidhe ann an teanta a’ chinnidh. Bha iadsan a’ cadal, ach, mar as àbhaist, bha sinne a’ bruidhinn, mar balaich bheaga.

“Chan eil mi smaoineachadh gu bheil iad air planaichean a dhòrainn as fhàide air adhart na sin. Cha bhò na daoine anns an arm seo a’ smaoineachadh, Aonghais – sin an trìobhraid. Cha bhò iad a’ cleachdadh an intinn. ’S e amadan a th’ anns a’ Phrìomhara sin, tha fhios agad air sin.”

“A Sheumais!”

“S e an fhìrinn a th’ ann.”

Faoilleach 1746 – Camp nan Seumasach
Tha iad ag ràdh uaireannan gu bheil e intinneach is spòrsail a bhith san arm. Chan eil e. Bha sinne a bhith a’ coiseachd airson mhòranailt, is uaireannan bhiodh sinn a’ stad airson habhail ri cuideigin. Tha na daoine a bhios ag ràdh gun robh sin ‘intinneach’ ceàrr. Tha e dreach cùmrtach is dòrainneach agus bhiodh Dòmhnaill ag eigheach orm cu:

“Greas ort, a Sheumais!”

“Thig an seo, a Sheumais!”

“Sheumais, ’s e saighdear sròisail a th’ annad!”

Cha bh’ e saighdear math a bh’ ann an Dòmhnaill nas motha.

A bharrachd air sin, cha robh saighdear math san arm sin idir, nam bheachd-sa. Bha sinn a’ coiseachd gu tuath, oir bhà sin na daoine a bhò. Chan robh e a’ dol gu math. Bha caraid neo dhà agam an seo, mar sinn cha minn dhomh a’ ràdh gun robh e uile dona. Mar Aonghas: bha ean ceart gu leor. B’ urrainn dhomh is Aonghas bruidhinn is bha fhios aig a’ doigh air an t-eòrphail sin, ach bha sin a’ chlaoideachd agus motha, Anna, fhàgail aig a dhà. Cha robh mòran airson.

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“Chan eil mi smaoineachadh gu bheil iad air planaichean a dhòrainn as fhàide air adhart na sin. Cha bhò na daoine anns an arm seo a’ smaoineachadh, Aonghais – sin an trìobhraid. Cha bhò iad a’ cleachdadh an intinn. ’S e amadan a th’ anns a’ Phrìomhara sin, tha fhios agad air sin.”

“A Sheumais!”

“S e an fhìrinn a th’ ann.”

Fear-brathaidh (le Sarah Appleby)
Fear-brathaidh (by Sarah Appleby)

Sarah Appleby
Bha crith air. Cha robh e a’ creidsinn gun tuirt mi sin.

“Aonghais, tha fhios agad nach eil sinn a’ dol a dh’àite sam bith leis na cogaidhean seo. S’docha gum biodh sinn a’ deanann gu math nam biodh sinn air coiseachd gu Laumainn nuair a bha an còthrom againn seachdainear air ais, ach chan eil sinn a’ dol a bhuaichadh a-ma’is.”

“S’ docha gu bheil sinn a’ dol a bhàsachadh co-dh’iail.”

B’ e an ath latha a bh’ ann, is bha sinn a fàighinn deis aird airson fàgail a-rithist. Bha dà shaighdear làidir a coiseachd a-nall. Sheas mi a-mach às an rathad, ach bha iad a’ coiseachd suas thugam.

“’S dòcha gu bheil an fhìrinn an sin, ach fhuaideadh sinn do leòd mar thu fhèin.”

“A’ thosach.”

“Tha thu ciontach de bhrrathadh an aghaidh a’ Phrìonnsa.”

Thòisich am fear eile:

“Tha thu air breugan.imse do dhaoine eile mu dhèidhinn dè cho ghe’is a tha am Prìonnsa, is ag iarraidh gum bh’ a thoil an aodair eile a’ creidsinn nam breugan.”

Chaidh mo smuaintean timcheall is timcheall nam cheann. Ciamar a b’ urrainn fios a bhith aca?

“Chan e breugan a bha ann idir,” dh’èigh mi.

“S’e am peanas airson brathadh am bàs, agus tha sinn a’ dol a dhèanamh sin dìreach ann an seo, gua am faic a h-uile daoine dè bhios a’ tachairt a sgàin mar thu fhèin.”

Thog e clach bhon rathad thill e orm i – bhual i air mo ghuailainn. Thòisich daoine eile a deanadh an aon rud. Cha b’ urrainn dhomh leigeil leotha seo a dhèanamh. Thionndaighd mi, agus thòisteach mi a’ ruith. Bha iad a’ ruith às mo dhèidh, ach bha mi ro luath dhaibh. Ruith mi gus an rohbh an campa dìreach mar dot beag air fàire.

An t-Ògmhios 1749 – Dùn Èideann

Tha e a’ tìghinn air ais thugam gu math: ’s urrainn dhomh cuimhneachadh aird ma tha mi ag iarraidh. Dìreach mar a bha às deidh dhaibh mo thigille a-mach, às deidh dhaibh feuchann ri mo mharbhadh. Ged a tha ma a’ deanamh gu math a-nis, ’s urrainn dhomh fhathast an leòd fhàiseachadh aird mo ghualaigh, far an do bhual a’ chlach mi.

Nuair a tha mi a’ coiseachd gu braicais, tha mi a’ cuimhneachadh air tuilleadh.

An Gearran 1746 – Àiteigin eadar Dùn Èideann is Glaschu

Ron a’ sin, bha mi air a bhith feargach, oir bha sinn ann-cùmhnaidh a’ caismeachd gu tuath. An uair sin bha mi feargach, oir bha mi a’ caismeachd gu deas. Dh’obraigh mi seo a-mach gu math luath: ma bha na Seumasach a’ caismeachd gu tuath, fhuaideadh gu roibh arm an Rìghailtais gu deas. Lean mi an sligean ann an sgeulachdan – bha daoine ag ràdh gu robh iad an siud, an seò is anns a h-uile h-àite. Chaidh mi dha na h-àiteach an ann roibh mi a’ smaoineachadh gu biodh iad. Bha fhios a’m gun roibh mi a’ dol gan lorg.

Bha mi ceart a-rithist. Ged a bha mo chas is mo ghualaigh dona às deidh na thachair a bha mu dhìreach den champa, is ged a bha mi sgìth, bog fliuch is nach roibh mi air ith gu math airson sheachdainnean, rinn mi adhartas mòr. Chaidil mi fo na rionnagan is bhithinn ag òl an uisge bhon abhainn. Bha mi a’ smaoineachadh gu roibh mi a’ dol às mo chiall nuair a chuinnn mi an t-arm, pròiseil, spaidéal, air fàire.

Ruith mi am mile dhan champa. Bha mi gus tuiteam am broinn a cheile mu raibh mi an àite. Le facal neo dhà ris na freiceadaoin, thuig mi urraidh mar thu fhèin a’ cheannaireadh, fear ard le feusag bheag. Nuair a bhráidhinn e, b’ ann anns a’ Bheurla a bha e, ach cha robh dìulgheadas agam leatha.

“’S, my guards tell me you’re a deserter? From the Jacobites?”

“Yes, sir. They were going to kill me, you see, as I no longer believed in the cause.”

“I see. Can you prove it to me? How do I know you’re not spying?”

“What point would there be in spying, when they’re hundreds of miles north?” dh’haighnich mi. “What evidence do I have? I could show you the scars from where they stoned me. I could tell you where they plan to go.”

An t-Ògmhios 1749 – Dùn Èideann

Tha e a’ tìghinn air ais thugam gu math: ’s urrainn dhomh cuimhneachadh aird ma tha mi ag iarraidh. Dìreach mar a bha às deidh dhaibh mo thigille a-mach, às deidh dhaibh feuchann ri mo mharbhadh. Ged a tha ma a’ deanamh gu math a-nis, ’s urrainn dhomh fhathast an leòd fhàiseachadh aird mo ghualaigh, far an do bhual a’ chlach mi.

Nuair a tha mi a’ coiseachd gu braicais, tha mi a’ cuimhneachadh air tuilleadh.

An Gearran 1746 – Àiteigin eadar Dùn Èideann is Glaschu

Ron a’ sin, bha mi air a bhith feargach, oir bha sinn ann-cùmhnaidh a’ caismeachd gu tuath. An uair sin bha mi feargach, oir bha mi a’ caismeachd gu deas. Dh’obraigh mi seo a-mach gu math luath: ma bha na Seumasach a’ caismeachd gu tuath, fhuaideadh gu roibh arm an Rìghailtais gu deas. Lean mi an sligean ann an sgeulachdan – bha daoine ag ràdh gu robh iad an siud, an seò is anns a h-uile h-àite. Chaidh mi dha na h-àiteach an ann roibh mi a’ smaoineachadh gu biodh iad. Bha fhios a’m gun roibh mi a’ dol gan lorg.

Bha mi ceart a-rithist. Ged a bha mo chas is mo ghualaigh dona às deidh na thachair a bha mu dhìreach den champa, is ged a bha mi sgìth, bog fliuch is nach roibh mi air ith gu math airson sheachdainnean, rinn mi adhartas mòr. Chaidil mi fo na rionnagan is bhithinn ag òl an uisge bhon abhainn. Bha mi a’ smaoineachadh gu roibh mi a’ dol às mo chiall nuair a chuinnn mi an t-arm, pròiseil, spaidéal, air fàire.

Ruith mi am mile dhan champa. Bha mi gus tuiteam am broinn a cheile mu raibh mi an àite. Le facal neo dhà ris na freiceadaoin, thuig mi urraidh mar thu fhèin a’ cheannaireadh, fear ard le feusag bheag. Nuair a bhráidhinn e, b’ ann anns a’ Bheurla a bha e, ach cha robh dìulgheadas agam leatha.

“’S, my guards tell me you’re a deserter? From the Jacobites?”

“Yes, sir. They were going to kill me, you see, as I no longer believed in the cause.”

“I see. Can you prove it to me? How do I know you’re not spying?”

“What point would there be in spying, when they’re hundreds of miles north?” dh’haighnich mi. “What evidence do I have? I could show you the scars from where they stoned me. I could tell you where they plan to go.”

Targaid le Jessica Hanvidge
Shield by Jessica Hanvidge

Claidheamh le Rory MacCarmaig
Sword by Rory Cormack
30            Fèis na h-Òige agus Fèis a' Bhaile

Choimhead e orm airson mionaid. Rinn mi oidhirp airson coimhead cho neo-chiontach's a b' urrainn dhomh.

"I like the last one."

Thuirt e às deidh mionaid no dhà, "I'll believe you if you tell me what I already know, and more."

Smaoinich mi air aodann Aonghais, is bha diog de dh'imeachd orm, ach an uair sin thàinig dealbh thugam de na daoine a tilgeil chlachan orm.

"What do you want to know?"

An t-Ògmhios 1749 – Dùn Èideann

Uaireannan bidh mi a faireachdaimh dona airson an rud a rinn mi. Ach bha mi ceart.

Dh'innis mi dhaibh mu na planaichean, mu na laigsean aca, is mar sin air a dh'fhéidir a bha deobarthach air an aon am an Riaghaltas. Bha urram aca dhomh is bha bidh gu leòr agam. Tha cuimhne agam air an latha a bha blàr aig Cùil Lodair. Latha ged ...
An-diugh tha teaghlach nan Jacksons a’ dol a dh’fhacinn an àite far an deach Blàr Chùil Lodair a chur. Tha iad air a bhith ann an Inbhir Nis airson mu sheachdain a-nis agus ’s e seo an latha mu dheireadh aca. Chan eil an nighean aca, Grace, toilichte mun seo idir, air sgàth ’s nach d’ fluair i dha na bithan fhathast.


An uair a fluair iad a-steach dha meadhan a’ bhlàr choisich Grace air falbh bhon teaghlach aice. Dh’èigh iad oirre airson mionaid neo dhà ach às deidh sin dh’fhág iad i. Bha fios aca glè mhath nach tigeadh air ais. Lorgadh iad i feasgar.

Na Jacksons (le Shannon Cowie)
Na Jacksons (by Shannon Cowie)

Bha bean agus nighean òg mu chòig a' còinteadh. Cuideachd bha athair ann, agus balach mun aon aois ri Grace. Bha féileadh air na balaich agus scòrsa de sgiorta thartain air na nigheanan. Bha iad a' coimhead uasbhasach sgìth. 

Chà tug e ùine mhòr mun do thomhais Grace gum b’ e seo teaghlach ron bhlàr, is iad còmhla, ’s dòcha, airson an turais mu dhetearadh. Gu h-obann, bha faireachdann aice nach roibh air a bhith aice riamh roimhe. Faireachdann cho–mhothachail. ’S e am gu math sònraichte a bh’ ann, bha fios aice air sin. An nighean òg a’ cumail grèim teann air a brathair agus a h-athair agus a mamaidh, a’ feuchainn ri bhith làidir airson an teaghlach aice, a’ feuchainn gus nach biodh deòir a’ ruith o a stùilean. 

Mu dheireadh thall, nuair a fhuaire iad dhe a dadaidh i, thuig i na griogagan aice dhaibh. Chuir a dadaidh iad mun cuairt an bhaich. Mionaid neo dhà òs a dèidh sin, ghabh iad na beanachdan mu dheireadh, is dh’fhalbh a dadaidh agus a brathair.


Uair neo dhà òs a dèidh sin, air ais anns a’ bhliadhna 2009, bha teaghlach nan Jacksons a-muigh air talamh a’ bhlàir, às dèidh dhaibh a bhith a-staigh a’ coimhead air an ionad-tadhail fad an latha, nuair a thàinig iad air Grace a’ coimhead air aonan de na h-iomhaighshean. Bha iomadh mòr air an teaghlach – an aon duine anns an teaghlach nach roibh airson a thiginn a seo idir, agus bha i a-nis a’ coimhead air thinmaigh. Chan e a-mhàin sin, ach bha i a’ sealltainn gu roibh ùidh aice ann. Air ais anns a’ chàir, tha an teaghlach uile ag inne mun latha aca agus dè a chòrd riutha. Cha tuirt Grace chàil. Bha i fhathast gu math iseal le na thachaire ach bha i cuideachd toilichte aige sgìth ’s gum roibh i air fhaimhinn. Mura biodh i air na rudan a chunnnaic i an latha sin fhaimhinn, bhiodh i fhathast gu math féineil. Bha i a-nis a’ tuigsinn carson a lorg i na griogagan agus na putanan: bha leasan aice ri fhaimhinn agus a-nis bha e air ionnsachadh. Bidh cuimhne aice air an latha sin gu bràth tuitleadh. Dh’fhàighnic bha i dha a teaghlach am b’ urrainn dhi a thiginn air ais a-rithist. Cha roibh iad a’ creidsean ann an cluasan. Ach cha do dh’fhàighnic iad gin cheisteann. Bha iad dìreach toilichte mu dhearradh thall gu roibh ùidh aice ann an rudeigin diofraichte.

Bratach nan Seumasach le Rosie Shepherd
Jacobite Flag by Rosie Shepherd
“One cold wet morning we were marching towards the battlefield to battle against the Government side. I was terrified. I was talking to my friend John MacDonald saying how we would love to be home in front of the warm fire with our wives. We were both anxious of what was going to happen but we knew we had to fight. I felt like running away but if we had we would of let the Government take over Scotland. There were rumours at that time that they were going to stop us from wearing kilts, stop speaking Gaelic and stop us from playing the bagpipes which everyone loved. I knew there was no way out because if we were to lose the battle our language would be taken away from us but if we were to stay we would have to take a risk of getting killed, so my wife might not be happy either way.

On the battlefield I was standing behind the cannons and it was terrifying. Muskets would not stop firing from both sides and I watched how poor innocent people were getting killed. I kept having horrible thoughts that I would be one of those poor innocent men. I looked down and saw my necklace; my wife had given it to me as a good luck charm for the battle. It was her father’s, who had got it from his father. I was more nervous than ever after seeing it, that made me think of my family and my beloved wife.

Soon everyone started running towards the Government side so I knew this was going to be it, musket balls fired, it was terrifying to see people getting killed. I then saw my friend John had got shot. I wept and wept but I knew I had to keep running. It gave me more courage than ever. Now I was not fighting for my wife I was fighting on behalf of John. I killed as many people as I possibly could. It wasn’t enough. I soon realised I had been shot in the leg. I was in agony, I had to lie low and hope no one would notice that I was still alive. About half an hour after I was shot the battle was over. I was astonished at how long the battle lasted but it was obvious that the Government side had won the battle. Everyone’s wives came and searched through the corpses for their husbands. I heard all of them weep. Soon Mairi, my wife, came over and cried her eyes out. She thought I was dead but I tried to speak, I said, “I want to go home.” She laughed in relief that she was not one of the unfortunate wives who had lost their husbands. She went and found two long sticks so I could use them as crutches. We walked over to where I last saw John. No one had found him. I stood beside him whilst Mairi had gone to find Sìne, John’s wife. An hour later Mairi had come back and said she had looked everywhere and she couldn’t find Sìne. I asked Mairi to stay with John whilst I went and found someone to help.

I searched and searched everywhere but there was no luck. I went to their house and knocked on the door but no one had answered. I gently pushed the door open and walked inside. I saw her crying on her bed. “What’s wrong?” I asked. She saw me and ran over. “Where’s John? Is he well?” she asked. I shook my head in sympathy. I felt so bad to break the news. “Come with me to see him” I asked.

We walked over to the battlefield and Mairi ran towards us. She gave Sìne a huge hug and cried together. We walked slowly towards him. Sìne dropped to her knees beside him and wept. We could do nothing but watch.

We got our friends to help us carry him to his house. We gently lay him on the bed. The priest came over to their house and said prayers with Sìne.

We went to his funeral where he was buried the exact place where he lay at the battle. It made me think how lucky I am to still be alive.”
Com-pàirtichean Fèis na h-Òige agus Fèis a’ Bhaile
Fèis na h-Òige and Fèis a’ Bhaile Participants
Fèis na h-Òige agus Fèis a’ Bhaile: The Battle of Culloden

is one of a series of booklets produced by Fèisean nan Gàidheal as part of The Archiving Project, where Féis participants are collecting and recording songs, tunes, stories and folklore from their own areas.

Further details about the project can be found at: www.feisean.org/archivingproject

“Le bhith ag obair a-measg Fèisean ann an iomadh coimhearsnachd, bha mi riamh den bheachd gun robh còir aig na com-pàrtichean barrachd fhaighinn a-mach mu dhualchais na sgìre aca fhèin - na sgeulachdan agus an t-seòrsa cainnt a th’ aig na dacine - cho math ris na h-òrain agus an ceòl. Tha mi air leth toilichte gu bheil sin air tighinn troimhe anns a’ phróiseact luachmhor seo agus tha mi an dòchas gum bi com-pàrtichean aig Fèisean a’ deannamh feum den stuth a chaidh a chrùimneachadh airson iomadh bhadhma fhathast agus gum bi iad a’ cur ris an tasglann a stèidheachadh.

Art MacCarmaig, Stiùiriche, Fèisean nan Gàidheal

Working with Fèisean in many communities, I was always of the opinion that participants should find out more about the heritage of their own area - the stories and the language of the people - as well as the songs and the music. I am extremely happy that is what is coming through this valuable project and I hope that Féis participants will make use of the materials collected for many years to come and will add to the archive that has been established.”

Arthur Cormack, Chief Executive Officer, Fèisean nan Gàidheal