

Culloden Dykes
Documentary Search
by K.R. Aitchison, December 1994

Summary

The intention of this search was to cast light on the layout of the battlefield of Culloden as it was on 16th April 1746. This was carried out by a thorough investigation of cartographic and documentary information. The search revealed that there were dykes and structures on the battlefield but that the exact location of these could not be pinpointed, owing to the inaccuracy of 18th century mapping. Only the general location and form of the dykes and buildings can be specified, but some information on the construction of these structures has also been discovered. In addition, details of the settlement at Leanach and of the road which ran across or near the battlefield were noted.

Introduction

The land on which the battle took place is now largely but not entirely NTS property. There were a number of features on the battlefield which affected the fighting and which are no longer extant. Foremost amongst these features was a series of enclosure dykes immediately to the south of the fighting. Evidence of where these dykes originally stood was sought in maps of the battlefield dating from immediately after the battle until the mid-19th century, when the land was improved and the last of the dykes removed. The course of the old road to Inverness, which crossed the moor and possibly the battlefield, was also investigated, as was the situation and layout of buildings at Old Leanach, a farming settlement that has existed since before the time of the battle.

The research was carried out through an exhaustive study of maps held in Edinburgh libraries, plus a search through contemporary documentary sources and modern interpretations. The lists of maps of the battle in Moir (1983) and Anderson (1920) were the starting points for this search; a few more maps have been discovered, and the map catalogue at the end of this study is now more extensive than any published list.

The following paper begins with a consideration of maps contemporary with the battle, followed by later maps and written sources. This is compared with more recent interpretations regarding the dykes, Old Leanach and the graves of the English, and is followed by conclusions relating to the dykes, the road and the settlement at Leanach.

Cartographic Sources: Contemporary Maps

At least one of the highly-ranked participants in the battle drew a sketch plan of the field either at the time or immediately afterwards. Colonel Yorke's sketch in his orderly book (Map 47) is the source from which he drew the plan (Map 46) which is reproduced in the NTS guide to the battlefield (1962). Lord Elcho's sketch of the field (Map 31; Charteris 1907) was not published until 1747, but may well have been made at the time of the battle. However, it is effectively little more than an order of battle.

Yorke's plan is very rough, but does show a subdivided enclosure at the south edge of the battlefield, which elements of the Hanoverian army broke through to attack the Jacobites in the flank. It does not show the road to Inverness as running across the battlefield, but instead lying almost entirely to the north of the area where the fighting took place.

The earliest dated plan is that of Sandby, Cumberland's 'official artist' (Tomasson and Buist 1962, 185), which is dated 23rd April 1746, one week after the battle (Map 43; Fig. 1). Taylor (1968) does not believe that Sandby was actually present at the battle, owing to his fanciful sketches of the action. His plan shows two separate enclosures to the south of the battlefield. The larger, which extends almost to the River Nairn and is sub-rectangular in shape, is divided into two parts. The east and west walls of the northern part are shown as having been breached by the Hanoverian army. This enclosure is labelled 'Parks belonging to Culloden'. To the north of this enclosure is a semi-enclosed, smaller area. This structure appears to be a single dyke, forming three sides of a pentagon, with a slight inturn to the west and a trailing continuation to the east.

The map drawn by Lieutenant Jones (Map 36), who was presumably also at the battle, shows the larger enclosures of the 'Parks of Culloden' in a very similar way to the Sandby map. The smaller enclosure is shown as being of a more closed shape, and not extending as far into the battlefield. He shows the course of the 'Moor Road' in more detail at the Hanoverian side of the battleground, and with an equivalent loss of detail at the Jacobite side. He also has the Jacobite army starting from a position which was probably further forward than they actually occupied at the start of the battle. In many other respects the map is very similar to Sandby's map, from the overall layout and point of view down to smaller details. It would seem very likely that one of these is based on the other.

Sandby shows the 'Muir Road to Inverness' as running across the field from north-west to south-east, with a short branch running south just behind the Jacobite front line.

In D. Campbell's MS map (Map 25), which appears to have been copied directly from Sandby's, the road is only shown west of the Jacobite positions. In the published version of his map (Map 26), the Muir Road follows the same line as on Sandby's map, and the branch continues parallel to the Jacobite lines to a small hamlet near the north-west corner of the enclosures.

There are a number of anonymous versions which appear to be derived from this set of maps. Map 12 is very similar to Sandby's original, as is Map 10 which has only minor differences in labelling, and Map 7 is very similar to D. Campbell's published map (Map 26), even down to the curious double inturn at the north-west end of the small enclosure. This feature is also reproduced in J. Campbell's 1747 map (Map 27).

The second 'family' of maps of the battle originates with those drawn by Daniel Paterson. On his (?earlier ?military) map (Map 39; Fig. 2) he shows the large enclosure, which others refer to as the Park or Parks of Culloden, as being only one enclosed area, with a single dyke to the west linking this enclosure with the River Nairn. He also shows the small enclosure as being proportionally much larger and more open in form. The west end of this smaller enclosure extends out into the field of battle, and Paterson's maps suggest combat took place across this

ground. He also shows the grounds of Culloden House as having a much less regular form than in the Jones-Sandby maps, and he omits the road across the moor entirely. Another map of his, which may be later, also produced in 1746 but with more conventional spelling (Map 38) appears to have been copied from this (presumably) earlier map.

J. Millan's map (Map 37) is considered by the authors of *The Early Maps of Scotland* to be derived from Paterson's maps. Again, it does not show the road across the moor, and shows the grounds of Culloden House in the same way that Paterson does. However, his map shows the large enclosure as a single unit extending all the way to the river, and the small enclosure as being a relatively very open, almost semi-circular shape, which does not extend into the line of fire. The anonymous Map 15 is clearly also derived from Paterson's maps.

There is one map (Map 40) of Paterson's however, that is notably different. It is unusual in that it could be a copy of Sandby's map (Map 43; Fig. 1) with the road across the moor removed. It even shows the extension of the east end of the small enclosure in a manner which is closer to the maps of Sandby, D. Campbell and J. Campbell than to his other maps. Whether this actually suggests that Paterson's work is derived from that of Sandby or one of the others previously mentioned is open to question, but it would seem that, in light of the lack of detail shown by Paterson in other areas (the grounds of Culloden House and the shape and extent of the large enclosure), his maps may be less reliable than those of the other 'family'.

Finlayson's map (Map 34; Fig. 3), considered by the authors of *The Early Maps of Scotland* not to belong to either group and also to be the best available, shows the northern part of the large enclosure as being less regular in shape than in other maps, and shows the small enclosure as being open to the east (i.e. towards the Hanoverian army), rather than to the north or north-east, as in all other maps but one. He shows the moor road as running diagonally across the battlefield, as in Sandby's map.

Two anonymous maps are also interesting; both Maps 6 and 8 are loosely in the Sandby style, but with notable differences in the depiction of the small enclosure. Map 6 shows it as a fairly open shape, opening to the east, but with an unclosed pentagonal field abutting it to the north-east. This is also the only map other than Col. Yorke's to show the road bending in the middle of the field, and so running north-west to south-east across the battlefield. Map 8 shows the small enclosure as a completely closed, hexagonal feature. In this map it is also almost joined to the large enclosure by a short length of dyke, and features a long, trailing dyke which runs south (parallel to the large enclosure) for a short distance before running east. This map also excludes the road across the moor.

Finally, there are a number of maps which show little more than the order of battle, with topographical features shown schematically if at all. Dubois' plan (Map 30), dated May 7 1746, is such a map, as is an anonymous map held at the Scottish Record Office (Map 16). This also applies to the map in Boyse (1747) (Map 18), the map in Ray's *Compleat History of the Rebellion* (1754) (Map 19), that in Home (1802) (Map 20) as well as Corbet's (Map 29) and Cave's (Map 28) renditions. The maps published in contemporary journals (Beckington's in the *British Magazine* of May 1746 [Map 23] and the anonymous maps in the *Scots Magazine* [Map 2] and the *London Magazine* [Map 5] of the same month, as well as the *Virginia Gazette* of July 24-31, 1746 [Map 1]) are all of this type.

Cartographic Sources: Later C18 and C19 Maps

Unfortunately, no estate maps covering the area of the battlefield could be found. However, the First Edition Ordnance Survey Maps of 1869 and 1870 do provide some interesting information.

The line forming the boundary between both the parishes of Croy and Dalcross and Daviot and Dunlichity and the counties of Inverness-shire and Nairnshire runs across the eastern part of the battlefield, by now known as The Field of the English. The boundary follows an irregular line, not respecting the field boundaries shown on the OS maps, which have remained the same to the present day.

The issue of the Culloden Dykes was discussed in the pages of the *Inverness Courier* and those of the *Transactions of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club* in the first decade of the 20th century. It would appear that visitors to the field saw the walls in 1836; 'The mouldering remains of that old and shattered wall still stretch across the moor in the very course laid down on the original plans of the battle.' (W. Howitt, quoted in Fraser 1905), and that there were still remains visible on the occasion of the centenary of the battle in 1846. The last traces of the dykes were lost when the area was improved in the 1840's, but not before the area was mapped in 1840. Two maps were discussed in the *Inverness Courier* of August 2nd, 1910. The first is a 'Plan of the Muir of Culloden, shewing the proposed arrangement for letting it on improving leases' (Map 22); the second is an enlargement of part of this map, and is titled 'Lands of Leanach and others as let to Mr. Rose, 1840' (Map 21). These maps:

... show the walls from the neighbourhood of Culchunaig (west side) to a point eastward about the centre of the present cultivated field. Mr Peter Anderson says that a projection of the wall, perhaps a low projection, extended still further eastward towards the Well of the Dead ... [the larger map] shows the front wall on the Highland right, and two walls which ran down from it to the river, forming an enclosure known as the park. The front wall at the west end is fifteen yards nearer the river than the parish boundary shown on the Ordnance Survey, and eight yards nearer at the east end.

... Careful measurements have been made of Mr Rose's maps ... at the west end, above the farm house of Culchunaig, the wall starts at a point about 1066 yards from the River Nairn. At the east end it is about 1116 yards from the river. If the old wall were produced eastward, it would pass practically through the Well of the Dead, and about 140 yards north, or northwest of the old Leanach House ... (Inverness Courier, August 2nd 1910).

It is clear that the 'projection' referred to was the smaller enclosure, and that this did not survive to 1840. It is also significant that the north end of the Park enclosure does not follow the line of the parish boundary, but is slightly to the south of it. In the editorial note following Fraser's article (1905), it is noted that the dyke was 130 yards (120 m) from the present wall (i.e. that bounding the forested area) at its west end, and 75-80 yards (69-74 m) from it at its east end.

These maps were the property of Mr Rose's son, John Rose of Abersky, in 1910, but

unfortunately, they are not held by the SRO or NLS, if they still exist at all.

J. Gowie is considered by Fraser (1905) to have examined the dykes in person, and incorporates them into his map of 1845 (Map 35; Fig. 4). He shows the smaller enclosure as being basically one wall, continuing the line of the north side of the Park practically to Leanach. As it is known that this enclosure no longer existed at the time Gowie made his map, and that no earlier map shows it in this form, it is probably reasonable to discount this interpretation. The Park enclosures are shown in a manner common with practically all of the earlier maps. One possibly significant feature of the map is that a small stream is shown flowing into the Nairn, near but inside the west wall of the Park enclosure. On the OS 1st Edition, this stream rises on the west (i.e. outside) side of the parish boundary. Almost all of the 1746 maps do not record this stream, thus making it difficult to establish whether this was an error of Gowie's or if it is an important point to consider.

Written Sources

Very few of the accounts of the battle in the various histories published soon after the end of the uprising describe the dykes in any detail, other than that they all agree on the Hanoverian forces throwing down the park dykes to outflank the Jacobites (e.g. Johnstone 1821). It is possible that these dykes were not overly impressive constructions. Black (1990) quotes the Duke of Cumberland, writing two days after the battle: 'General Hawley had by the help of our Highlanders beat down two little stone walls and came in on the right flank of their second line.'

The only possible reference to the smaller enclosure comes immediately before the battle, when Lord Bury investigates a position in no-man's land. 'His Royal Highness, having sent Lord Bury forward, within a hundred Paces of the Rebels, to reconnoitre something that appeared like a battery, and found it to be some old Walls they were posted behind...' (Ray 1749, 358)

Tomasson and Buist (1962) describe a very interesting feature of the dykes, unfortunately without stating where the information came from (it is not in Lord George Murray's account of the battle). Murray orders the Atholl Brigade:

... move from behind the west park wall on to the moor. In order to give his men an unobstructed front he had to lead them well clear not only of the Jacobite right-wing battery but of a half-ruinous turf dyke which projected from the north side of the Leanach [i.e. the smaller] enclosures. (Tomasson and Buist 1962, 160).

No further information is added in the accounts of the battle in the May 1746 issues of the *London*, the *Scots* and the *British Magazines*.

Modern Interpretations

Anderson (1920) distinguishes the dykes at the south side of the battlefield into the Park dykes — the larger enclosure, which the Hanoverians breached and moved through — and the Old Leanach dyke, which was the smaller enclosure at the east corner of the Park enclosure. Anderson states that the parish boundaries noted above followed the line of the Old Leanach

dyke, and the county boundary also followed the line of the park dyke. Tulloch (1898) also has a dyke extending from the Park walls, in the direction of the Well of the Dead.

This has been accepted by Taylor (1968), but his map appears to make the Old Leanach enclosure proportionally much larger than it appears on the contemporary maps of the battle. His location of the Park dykes seems quite reasonable, although the line of the east side of the dyke is perhaps questionable. He locates the road as following the 'Stable Hollow' (a hollow way?), and running along the north side of the battlefield, rather than across it (following only Col. Yorke's map).

Tomasson and Buist's map (1962) has the road following the line shown for it on Sandby *et al.*, but shows the enclosures very differently. This map suggests there was no gap between the Park and Leanach enclosures, and has them sharing a common wall. This is not supported by any of the 1746 maps. It also assigns a much more curvilinear shape to the Leanach enclosure. Interestingly, it labels the north side of the Leanach enclosure (which they have running parallel to the park dykes) as being the turf dyke mentioned above, while the park dykes are labelled as being of dry-stone construction.

Old Leanach

The farmhouse at Leanach, now known as Old Leanach, is shown on almost all of the 1746 maps. Most of the maps only show buildings schematically, with between one (Paterson, Map 40) and five (anonymous, Map 8) structures indicated in the vicinity of Leanach.

Those plans that do not simply show schematic houses indicate that there were three or possibly four buildings in the area. Sandby (Map 43; Fig. 1) shows three buildings, one of which is L-shaped (the 'legs' of the L pointing west and north), with one of the smaller buildings lying to the west of this structure, and the other to the south, with a small attached enclosure. Campbell's MS map (Map 25) is the only other map to show a small enclosed field; this map shows three rectilinear buildings, but his published version of the same map (Map 26) shows four buildings, the central building being L-shaped and aligned as in Sandby's map, with two smaller buildings to the west and one to the east of the central building. He even goes so far as to label this group a 'village'. The anonymous Map 10 is a direct copy of Sandby's (Map 43; Fig. 1), and shows the buildings in the same way.

None of the maps of the Paterson 'family' show the buildings in anything but a schematic manner, for example Map 39 (Fig. 2).

Finlayson's map (Map 34; Fig. 3) shows three structures aligned east-west, with the central building being L-shaped. In this case, the 'legs' of the L are shown pointing east and south, in diametric opposition to the way that they are shown in the Sandby 'family' of maps.

In Gowie's map (Map 35; Fig. 4), drawn a century after the battle, two buildings are shown. There is a smaller building to the north of a larger, T-shaped building, with the legs of the T pointing to the west, the east and the south. The map published by Anderson (1920; 1st edition 1867) is believed to be based on visits made by the writer to the site in the mid-19th century; he shows the cottage as T-shaped also.

The Ordnance Survey 1st Edition map, from 1869-70, shows an L-shaped building, with the legs pointing north east and south east; this is how the building now called Old Leanach appears today.

It seems that at the time of the battle Old Leanach was an L-shaped building, with some peripheral structures, probably two. All the maps show at least one structure to the west of the farmhouse; the others disagree as to whether the other structure was to the east or south of it. As only Finlayson's map appears to get the alignment of the farmhouse correct, perhaps it is the most reliable in this matter. This map shows the other outbuilding as being to the east of the farmhouse.

It also seems that at some time between the battle and the mid-19th century, the farmhouse was expanded to the west, but that this extension no longer existed by the time of the first Ordnance Survey.

It is also popularly believed that there was a barn to the south of the cottage which was burned over wounded Jacobite soldiers after the battle. There are ruins of a structure to the south-west of Old Leanach which have been interpreted as being the remains of this barn, and it is shown on the current OS map as such.

Forbes (1895-6) relates a number of accounts of the burning of the barn taking place, all of which are taken from letters dated between 1747 and 1750 (v.1, 218; v.2, 189, 298, 320; v.3, 72); none of these are eyewitness descriptions, the number of persons killed varies between 18 and 40, and one of the accounts of the incident states that the wounded men were not burned alive, but taken out and shot (v.1, 218). There is no firm link to Old Leanach, except that it was the closest farm to the battle; one account describes 'three tennants [*sic*] houses and all their office houses' (v.2, 298) being burnt, while the others describe the burning of a single house, barn or hut.

Perhaps it is possible that this story was a rumour started following the execution of the wounded on the battlefield — an event which certainly did take place. All the accounts are hearsay and they vary greatly in detail.

Graves of the English

It is also popularly believed that the few Hanoverian dead were buried on the battlefield very soon after the battle. No indication of where this actually took place could be discovered, and the only description of the event seems may be rather unreliable. Anderson (1920, 114) quotes Mr John Rose, who was born at Balvraid (a few hundred metres from the battlefield) as recalling that:

... a female servant in Mr Rose's family related that her grandfather had told her that he was at the time [of the battle] a boy herding on the Moor; and having been attracted by the digging of the trenches, had drawn near to look on, when one of the persons so engaged lifted a man's dissevered arm and struck him on the cheek, bidding him to go away.

However, Anderson (1920, 84) does also note that bones had been found on the Field of the English (to the west of Leanach) during ploughing.

Conclusions

Dykes

It would appear that there were two separate enclosures on the south side of the battlefield. The walls of the larger enclosure (the Park dykes) were of stone construction, and survived in a poor condition for a long time after the battle. The northern parts of these dykes were finally removed sometime between 1846 and 1850. The smaller enclosure was probably of turf construction and did not survive for as long as the Park dykes, although exactly when it vanished is not clear.

The south and south-west sides of the large park enclosure seem to be the most likely of all the dykes to have survived; there are walls marked on the current OS map that certainly appear to fit with the 1746 maps. Against this, Fraser (1905) states that the field boundaries at that time do not equate with the 1746 walls. He goes into detail describing the position of the north wall, but does not expand on the west and east walls; the 1st OS map of 1869 does show walls running down the west side along the line of the Parish boundary, so they may well have still existed at that time (although the possibility of walls being rebuilt in the same position is quite real). All of this area is outwith the Trust property.

As to the north and north-east sides of this enclosure, and the smaller enclosure, it would seem quite reasonable to accept that the old parish boundaries across the Field of the English did indeed follow the basic lines of the dykes. In the north-east corner of the large enclosure there is an 'indentation' which fits well with the parish boundary. It must also be remembered, however, that the 'careful measurements' made of the 1840 maps showed that the parish boundary ran some 8-15 yards (7-14 m) north of the line of the north wall of the enclosure.

Some writers, such as Taylor, have taken the line of the parish boundaries to be that of the smaller enclosure; this is not entirely impossible, although it seems more likely that the parish boundaries followed the lines of both dykes. The small 'salient' in the boundary just to the north-east of the presumed location of the park enclosure could fit with the eastern part of the small enclosure, which is of a very similar shape. This would mean relocating the small enclosure from the hypothetical position worked from in the 1993 archaeological investigations, making it further to the east and probably larger than had previously been thought.

The shape of the smaller enclosure varies from map to map, from semi-circle to closed hexagon. It seems most likely that it was not a closed shape, but perhaps shaped like three sides of a pentagon, open to the north east, possibly with an inturn to the west and perhaps a continuing wall to the east.

The half-ruinous turf dyke noted by Tomasson and Buist is presumably the northernmost part of the small enclosure which is shown in the Sandby 'family' of maps as extending out beyond the line of the north wall of the park enclosure. If this is the case then its location is almost certainly in the area of the property that has been deep-ploughed for forestry. If the rest of the small enclosure was of the same style of construction, then locating it through excavation could

prove very difficult.

Road

The line of the old moor road was almost certainly diagonally across the battlefield; the line shown for it on most maps has it passing reasonably close to the enclosures, but not immediately against them. It is shown as running north of the small group of buildings near the Hanoverian left flank, which are presumably those at Leanach. This would suggest that the course the road took was more likely to be north of the marshy ground where the Well of the Dead now is than to the south of it, and so, again, would be in the forested area of the property.

Leanach

There does appear to have been a structure at the present location of Old Leanach since the date of the battle, and there is no evidence to suggest that the extant building was not the same cottage that was beside the battlefield. There also appear to have been other structures around Old Leanach cottage, but their location is far from certain. Tenuously, one could be placed to the west of the cottage, and another to the south or east. If there was a barn beside the cottage that was destroyed by fire, this may be demonstrable through remote sensing or excavation. Whether the ruins to the south-west of Old Leanach date from the time of the battle has to remain open to question.

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A number of other works were examined but found to be of little use, principally histories of the rebellion published in the years immediately following it. Lord George Murray's *A Particular Account of the Battle of Culloden* was looked at, but does not refer to the dykes.

Catalogue of Maps

Locations:

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| BM | British (Museum) Library |
| ECL | Edinburgh Central Library |
| HMC | Historic Manuscripts Commission |
| NLS | National Library of Scotland |
| NML | National Library of Scotland Map Library |
| RL | Royal Library |
| SRO | Scottish Records Office |

An asterisk (*) after the reference number of a plan indicates that it was looked at in the course of this study.

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|----|-----------|------|--|
| 1* | Anonymous | 1746 | 'The Order of Battle, fought on Straghallen-Moor, near Culloden-House, on Wednesday the 16th of April, 1746', <i>The Virginia Gazette</i> July 24-31 (Virginia) NLS 6.138 |
| 2* | Anonymous | 1746 | 'The Order of Battle on Culloden Moor', <i>The Scots Magazine</i> May 1746 NLS Mf.Sp.Ser.1 |
| 3 | Anonymous | 1746 | 'A plan of the battle of Colloden' RL CC.X.24 |
| 4 | Anonymous | 1746 | 'Plan of the Battle of Culloden' in (author unknown) <i>History of the Rebellion raised against H.M. George II</i> unlocated |
| 5* | Anonymous | 1746 | 'Plan of the Battle of Culloden, for R. Baldwin', <i>The London Magazine</i> May 1746 NLS Q.6 |
| 6* | Anonymous | 1746 | 'A plan of the Battle of Culloden' NML EMS.s.122 |
| 7* | Anonymous | 1746 | 'A plan of the Battle of Culloden' NML EMS.s.123 |
| 8* | Anonymous | 1746 | 'Plan of the Battle of Culloden' NML MS.s.124 |

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|-----|-----------|------|--|
| 9 | Anonymous | 1746 | 'A plan of the Battle of Culloden' RL CC.X.25 |
| 10* | Anonymous | 1746 | 'Plan of the Battle of Culloden 16 April 1746' NML EMS.s.129 |
| 11 | Anonymous | 1746 | 'Plan of the Battle of Culloden 16 April 1746' RL CC.X.29 |
| 12* | Anonymous | 1746 | 'Plan of the Battle of Culloden, fought by his Royal Highness, The Duke of Cumberland, the 16th of April 1746' NML EMS.s.121 |
| 13 | Anonymous | 1746 | 'Plan of the disposition of the King's army and that of the Rebels on Straghallen Moor near Culloden House, April 16th 1746. London: Thomas Bowles' unlocated |
| 14 | Anonymous | 1746 | 'A plan of the Field of Battle' NML [could not be found] |
| 15* | Anonymous | 1746 | 'A plan of the field of battle, and the adjacent Country with the order of his Majesties Army under the Command of His Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland ... as drawn up the 16 April 1746 at the engagemt wt the rebels near Culloden House as also a plan of the Rebel Army with their commanders distinguishing each clan with their numbers brought into the field' NML EMS.s.158 |
| 16* | Anonymous | 1746 | (Order of Battle) SRO RHP 42194 |
| 17 | Anonymous | 1746 | (Plan showing battle formation and troop movements at Culloden) RL CC.X.30 |
| 18* | Anonymous | 1747 | 'Plan of the Battle near Culloden House', in Boyse, S., <i>Historical Review of the Transactions of Europe to the Insurrection in Scotland 1745</i> NLS A.110.2 |
| 19* | Anonymous | 1754 | 'Plan of the Battle of Culloden', in Ray, J., <i>A Compleat History of the Rebellion</i> NLS Hall.187.j |

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|-----|----------------|------|--|
| 20* | Anonymous | 1802 | 'Battle of Culloden or Drumossie Muir 16 April 1746. Neele, sculp.', in Home, J., <i>The History of the Rebellion in the year 1745</i> NLS A.110.a.10 |
| 21 | Anonymous | 1840 | 'Plan of the lands of Leanach and others, as let to Mr. Rose' unlocated |
| 22 | Anonymous | 1840 | 'Plan of the Muir of Culloden, shewing the proposed arrangement for letting it on improving leases' unlocated |
| 23* | Beckington, I. | 1746 | 'Plan of the Battle of Culloden', in <i>The British Magazine</i> May 1746 NLS Blk.147 |
| 24 | Bendyshe | 175? | title unknown unlocated |
| 25* | Campbell, D. | 1746 | 'Plan of the Battle of Culloden 16 April 1746' NML EMS.s.128 |
| 26* | Campbell, D. | 1746 | 'Plan of the Battle of Culloden 16 April 1746. C. Mosley, Scut, Sold by M. Overton ... and C. Mosley 1746' NML EMS.s.114 |
| 27* | Campbell, J. | 1747 | 'A Plan of the Battle of Culloden April 16th 1746. Drawn 1747' NML EMS.s.156a |
| 28* | Cave, E. | 1746 | 'A Plan of the Battle fought near Culloden House, April 16 1746' NML EMS.s.161 |
| 29* | Corbet, C. | 1746 | 'The Order of the Duke's Army as they were drawn up the 16 April 1746' NML EMS.s.159 |
| 30* | Dubois, J. | 1746 | 'A Plan of ye disposition of both Army's, in ye ever memorable battle & defeat of ye rebels by His RH ye Duke of Cumberland. Ap 16 1746 near Colloden House. Publish'd by ... J. Dubois ... May 7, 1746' NML EMS.s.157 (& EMS.s.157a) |

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| 31* | Elcho | 1747 | 'The Battle of Culloden fought on Wednesday 16 of April 1746', in Charteris, E. (ed.), <i>A Short Account of the Affairs in Scotland in the years 1744, 1745, 1746</i> NLS Hist.S.7.E |
| 32* | Elphinstone, J. | 1746 | 'A New Map of North Britain' ECL |
| 33 | Elphinstone, J. | 1746 | (MS Coloured Plan of the Battle of Culloden) BM King's Library |
| 34* | Finlayson, J. | 1746 | 'A Plan of the Battle of Culloden and the adjacent Country shewing the incampment of the English Army at Nairn and the March of the Highlanders in order to attack them by night' NML EMS.s.156 (& EMS.s.125) |
| 35* | Gowie, J. | 1845 | 'Map of Culloden Moor and part of the adjacent country' NML EMS.b.1.21 |
| 36* | Jones, J.L. | 1746 | 'A Plan of ye Battle of Culloden ... survey'd and drawn by Jasper Leigh Jones Lieut. Fireworker' NML Z3/30.b. |
| 37* | Millan, J. | 1746 | 'Culloden Battle 16 April 1746' NML EMS.s.120 |
| 38* | Paterson, D. | 1746 | 'The march of the Royal Army from Fochabers to Inverness with ane exact plan of the Battle of Culloden' NML EMS.s.127 |
| 39* | Paterson, D. | 1746 | 'A Plan of the Battle of Coullodin Moore fought on the 16th Aprile 1746' NML Z3/30.a. |
| 40* | Paterson, D. | 1746 | 'A plan of the battle of Inverness fought April 16 1746' NML EMS.s.126 |
| 41 | Pocock, R. | 1760 | 'Plan of the Order of Battle of the Rebel Army in the Battle of Culloden' BM Add.MSS. 14, 257. |
| 42 | Roy, W. | 17?? | 'Plan of Culloden House and the adjacent country when the battle took place' BM King's Library |

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| 43* | Sandby, T. | 1746 | 'Plan of the Battle of Culloden 16th April 1746; T. Sandby delint. April 23 ^d at Inverness' NML EMS.s.246a |
| 44 | Skinner | 1749 | 'Map of Culloden Muir' BM P51/8092 |
| 45 | Stair | 1746 | (Plan of the Battle of Culloden, with a narrative of the battle) HMC rep ii, 27. |
| 46* | Yorke, J. | 1746 | (Plan of the Battle of Culloden) NLS HP.3.84.1980 |
| 47 | Yorke, J. | 1746 | (Rough sketch of the Battlefield of Culloden, in Col. Yorke's orderly book) BM Add.MSS.36, 257. |

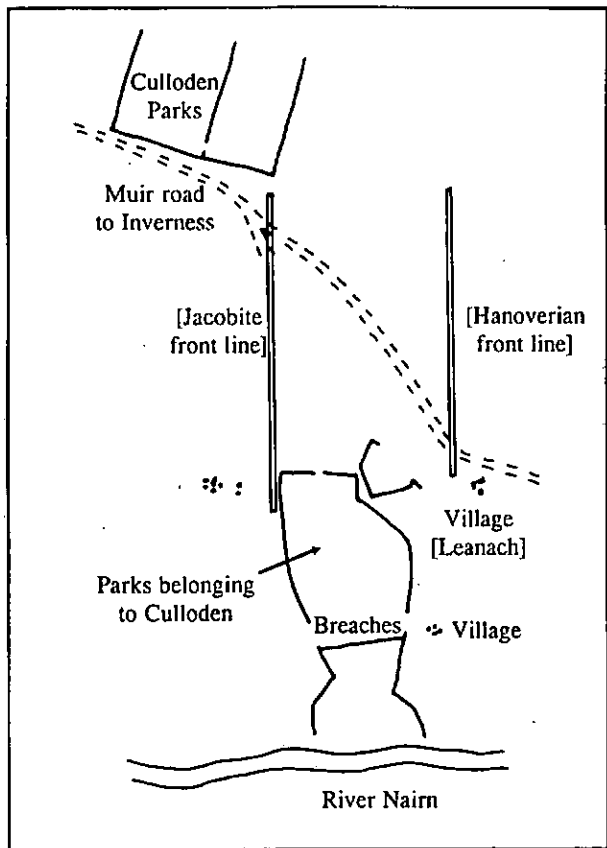


Fig. 1 Tracing of Map 43: T. Sandby, April 23rd 1746

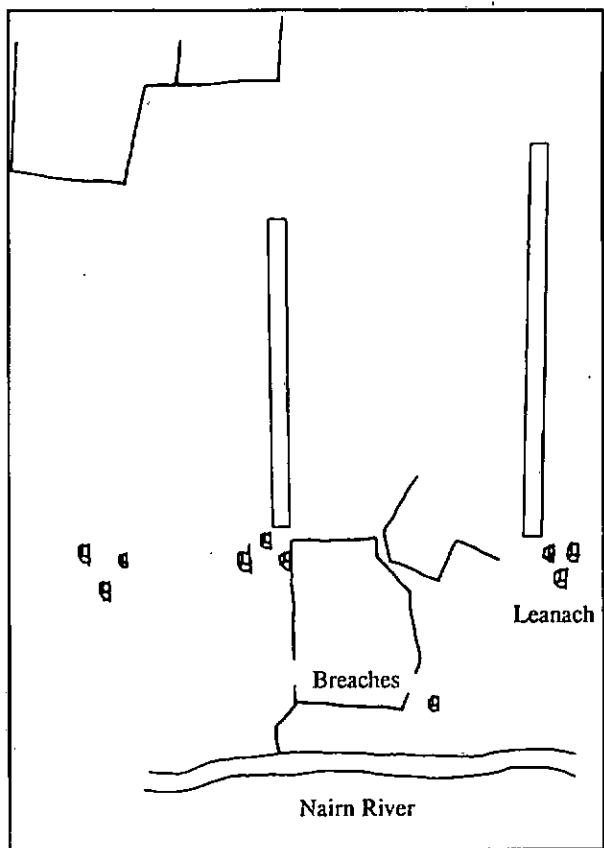


Fig. 2 Tracing of Map 39: D. Paterson, 1746

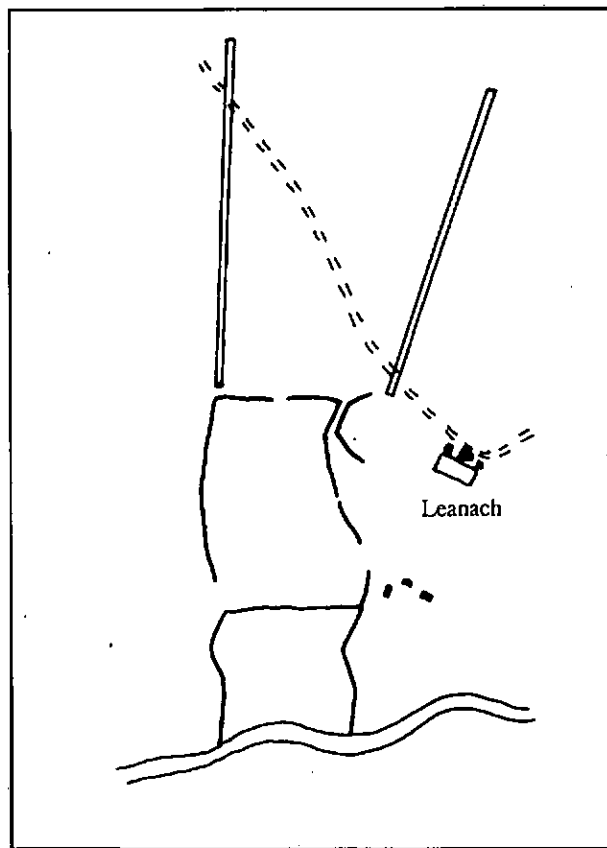


Fig. 3 Tracing of Map 34: J. Finlayson, 1746

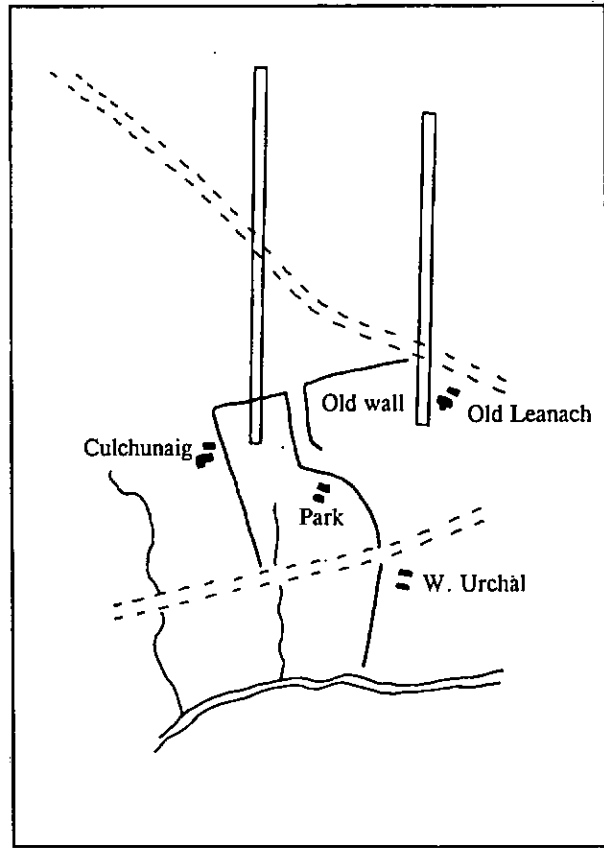


Fig. 4 Tracing of Map 35: J. Gowie, 1845