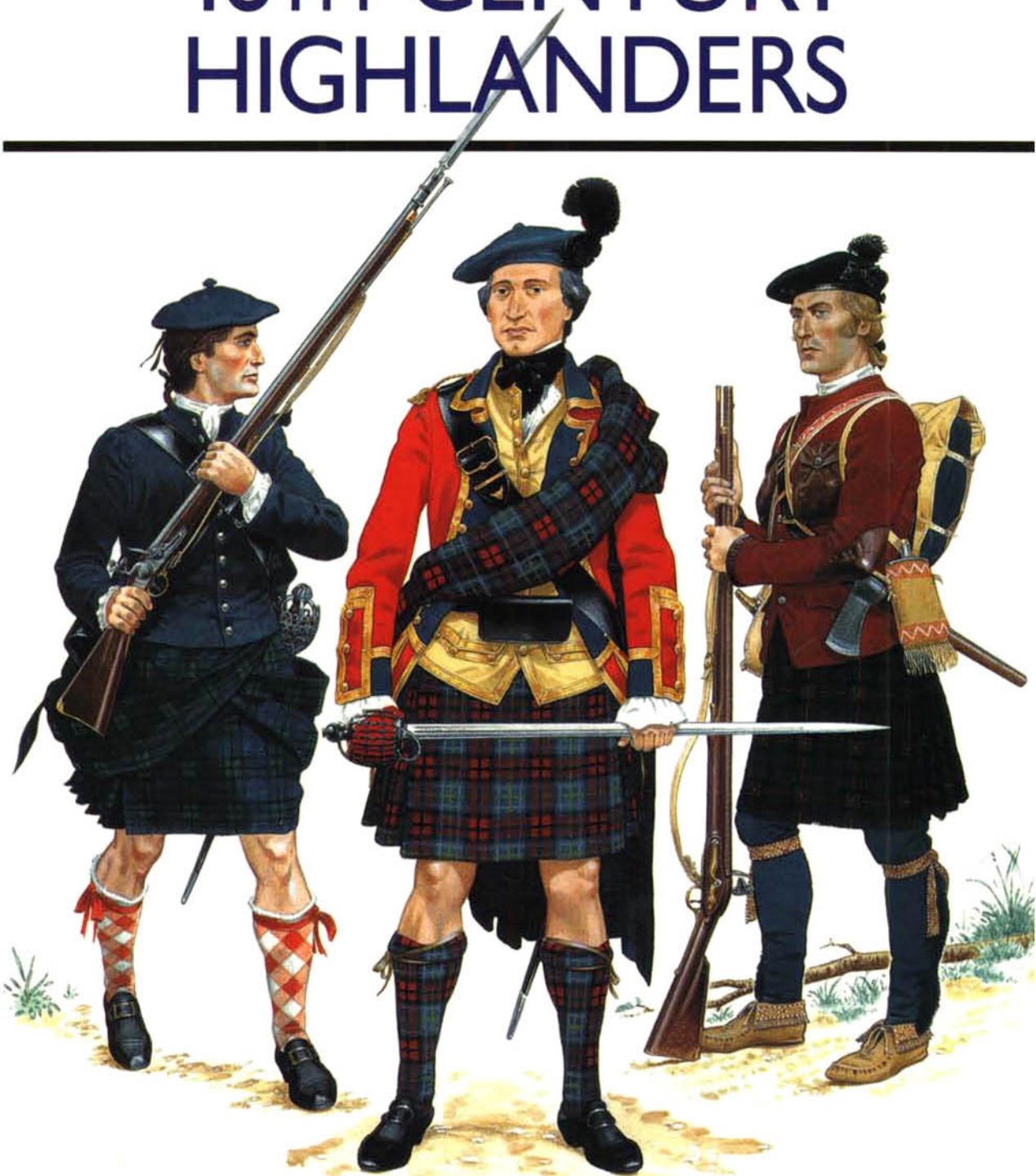


# 18TH CENTURY HIGHLANDERS



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#### **Dedication:**

To the lads of X Company

#### **Acknowledgements and author's note:**

I would like to express once again my appreciation of the assistance provided by the staff of the Scottish United Services Museum in Edinburgh Castle, and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

#### **Further reading:**

J.M. Bulloch's *Territorial Soldiering in the North-East of Scotland 1759-1815* (Aberdeen 1914) covers most highland regiments raised during this period in considerable detail. David Stewart of Garth's *Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1822) is also useful, but needs to be approached with some care; as does John Prebble's rather one-sided *Mutiny* (London 1975).

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# 18TH-CENTURY HIGHLANDERS

## THE FIRST HIGHLAND REGIMENTS

On 25 October 1739 Letters of Service were granted to John, Earl of Crawford, for forming a regiment of foot from the six independent companies then making up the Highland Watch, augmented by four additional companies. The new regiment then took precedence as the 43rd Foot.

Strictly speaking the 43rd, now better known as the Black Watch, was not the first highland regiment raised for service in the British Army. Several units, including the notorious Earl of 'Argyle's, had been raised in King William's time some 50 years earlier, only to be disbanded on the outbreak of peace. These early highland regiments were, however, outwardly indistinguishable from their Lowland Scots and English counterparts, and virtually no concessions were made to their highland origins. Most of them, it is true, wore blue bonnets rather than hats, and the Laird of Grant's Regiment at least was wholly armed with firelocks; but otherwise they wore breeches and long coats, and were armed with pikes and matchlock muskets.

The new 43rd Regiment, by contrast, not only wore bonnets but had short jackets in place of coats, and belted plaids instead of breeches. In addition to



*Private, 43rd Regiment, from the 1742 Cloathing Book. The earliest and one of the better illustrations of highland military uniform, this engraving predictably fails to capture the intricacies of tartan, but does manage to show a number of interesting features. Note the odd cartridge pouch worn in place of a purse, and the absence of dirk and pistols; the narrow sword belt appears to be buff rather*

*than black leather. The most curious feature is what appears to be a piece of white lace with a red zig-zag line attached to the soldier's bonnet. The significance is unknown, but it may simply have been slipped in by the artist to show a lace pattern worn by the grenadiers but not by the battalion companies. (Scottish United Services Museum)*



*Reconstruction: Independent Company, 1746. Bayonet and cartridge box have erroneously been transposed, but the photograph usefully shows how untidy the skirts of the plaid could become—to the*

*despair of contemporary artists attempting to interpret tartans. (Author's collection)*  
*Reconstruction: rear view of Independent Company soldier, again showing the untidy appearance of the plaid. (Author's collection)*

their firelocks and bayonets they were armed with Scots broadswords, pistols and dirks. In the early days a few of them may even have carried circular shields or targes. The British Army was never to be the same again.

The Highland Watch had been set up by General Wade in 1724 as an armed police force or gendarmerie rather than as a military unit. To some extent it



appears to have been treated by its members as a social club, which had rather more in common with the more exclusive 19th-century Volunteer Rifle associations than with the rest of the army. It was a common gibe that every highlander, however humble, accounted himself a gentleman, but this was more than ordinarily true of the men of the Watch. Colonel David Stewart of Garth described them thus:

‘Many of the men who composed these companies were of a higher station in society than that from which soldiers in general are raised; cadets of gentlemen’s families, sons of gentlemen farmers, and tacksmen, either immediately or distantly descended from gentlemen’s families;—men who felt them-

selves responsible for their conduct to high-minded and honourable families, as well as to a country for which they cherished a devoted affection.

'Hence it became an object of ambition with all the young men of spirit to be admitted, even as privates, into a service which procured them the privilege of wearing arms. This accounts for the great number of men of respectable families who were to be found in the ranks of the Black Watch. . . . When this regiment was first embodied, it was no uncommon thing to see private soldiers riding to the exercising ground followed by servants carrying their firelocks and uniforms.'

The army probably proved just as much of a shock to these elegant young men as they did to it; and therein lay the seeds of the infamous Black Watch Mutiny of 1743. While there were a number of contributory factors the heart of the problem was the inability of a number of members of the old Watch to adjust to regular military life.

Service in the army was very different: the easy

discipline had to go, naturally, and there could be no more riding grandly to the parade ground. Instead they were drilled in the platoon exercise and the other skills required of British infantrymen. Their job was no longer to roam the hills keeping law and order, or at least a decent pretence of it. Now they had to be able to manoeuvre as a battalion and trade volleys at close range with the enemy—assumed as a matter of course to be the French. This was not what some of them had enlisted for.

Ordered south to London, they were intended for service in Germany, but a fatal combination of inadequate information, rumour and seditious gossip led many to believe that they were actually going to the deadly 'fever islands' of the West Indies. The trouble, little suspected by the NCOs (a sure sign that

*Print by J.S. Muller dated 4 November 1746, depicting members of the 43rd Highlanders. Although drawn from the life the treatment is fairly crude,*

*and there are obvious similarities with the well-known 'Mutineer' prints also published by Bowles. (SUSM)*



only a minority of troublemakers were involved), came to a head while the regiment was quartered around Highgate and Finchley, whence a large party determined to desert and return to Scotland.

Happily, about 40 per cent of the regiment as constituted under the terms of the Letters of Service in 1740 were by contrast men who had consciously enlisted as soldiers, rather than as members of a gentlemen's club. (The new recruits had been sneeringly referred to by the original members of the Watch as 'Scrubs'.) In the aftermath of the mutiny some attempt was made to blame the trouble upon these 'Scrubs', but this is belied by the large number of convicted mutineers who were found to own their



own broadswords—a clear indication of their status as 'gentlemen'.

After some initial excitement on Finchley Common, therefore, the bulk of the regiment remained loyal to their officers, and only 112 men out of all ten companies actually attempted to desert. Quickly recaptured in Northamptonshire, three of the mutineers were subsequently shot, and others were sent, ironically, to the fever-ridden colony of Georgia; but the remainder of the battalion was then sent on to Germany, as had always been intended.

Hard on the heels of the mutiny came the Jacobite Rising of 1745, an event of some considerable importance in the evolution of highland regiments. The removal of the 43rd to Flanders left a gap which was filled in June 1745 by John, Earl of Loudon's 64th Highlanders. The outbreak of the rebellion later that summer found the regiment incomplete, untrained, and at first incapable of carrying out its counter-insurgency role. Together with some hastily raised Independent Companies, the 64th did much valuable work in containing the rebellion; but some well-publicised setbacks, and their original failure to nip the rebellion in the bud, led the Government to conclude that such work was better left to regular soldiers. Consequently Loudon's men found themselves serving in Flanders before disbandment in 1748; while the 43rd, re-numbered as the 42nd at the Peace, were posted to Ireland instead of resuming their old role as the Highland Watch.

## EXPANSION, 1757–87

There the matter might easily have rested; but the Government was now aware of the large pool of soldierly manpower available in Scotland and, just as importantly, that there were men keen to recruit and lead them, in the hope either of suitable employment, of preferment, or even of absolution for having taken part in the rebellion. The extent of which the clan

*Highland piper copied from Bowles for Grose's Military Antiquities, and allegedly depicting Donald*

*MacDonald, one of the Black Watch mutineers. Note the disarray of the Plaid. (Author)*

system played a part in the process is perhaps debatable, but as late as 1778 Captain George Mackay of Bighouse, an officer in the Duke of Gordon's 'Northern Fencibles', was able to write:

'The people of this country are so much attached to their masters that with them they do not scruple going to any distant country. But I was afraid should I send a part of the men and I do not go with them . . . they would take it in their heads they were to be sent to other regiments, and not to your Grace's; which would occasion a great stagnation in my recruiting.'

Nevertheless, to regard the new regiments as old-style clan levies dressed up in red coats is probably a rather too simplistic view. Nor, despite Pitt the Elder's often quoted remarks, would it be true to regard the raising of highland regiments as a means by which the Government could syphon off troublesome subjects and win an empire at little expense. Only eight out of the 70 new Regiments of Foot raised during the Seven Years' War were highland corps, and it was by no means the case that they were regarded as expendable. For example, out of 37 battalions to see service in the West Indies during the war only four were highland units (1/42nd, 2/42nd, 77th and 100th); while a single highland battalion served in India alongside five other regular battalions and the East India Company's forces. In any case, a quarter to a third of the men serving in nominally highland regiments were lowland Scots, and in some cases as many as a half.

Highland units were commonly more expensive to raise and equip than other Line regiments. Competition between recruiters was sufficiently intense as to require higher bounties in order to induce would-be soldiers to choose one regiment over another, and the clothing and equipment was also generally more expensive. The Government tolerated this for the good reason that highland regiments could usually be raised very quickly, and could be regarded as battleworthy in an astonishingly short time. Montgomerie's 77th and Fraser's 78th had very little training before being shipped to North America in 1758; and similarly Keith's 87th Highlanders did

well at Eibelshausen in 1759 'which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits just arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with regular discipline'.

Much the same thing happened in the American War with the raising of Fraser's 71st Highlanders, as Stewart of Garth remarks:

'Without any training, except what they got on board the transport from non-commission officers, nearly as ignorant as themselves, these men were brought into action at Brooklyn. . . . Such, indeed, were the constant and active duties, and incessant marching, actions, and changes of quarters of the 71st, that little time could be spared; and, therefore, little attempt was made to give them the polish of parade discipline till the third year of the war. Field discipline, and forcing their enemy to fly wherever they met him, they understood perfectly.'



*Highland soldier from Major George Grant's Highland Military Discipline. The artist is unknown, though there are obvious similarities with*

*Muller's work. Major Grant was cashiered for his premature surrender of Fort George, Inverness, to the rebels in 1746. (Author)*



*Sir Stuart Thrieland of Fingask (detail), by William Delacour. Thrieland was a Jacobite, but his portrait very usefully illustrates the tendency of the belted*

*plaid to ruck up between the legs to resemble a pair of shorts or, as in two previous illustrations, to be depicted with skirts open at the front. (Private collection)*

Three factors above all contributed to give highland regiments this distinctive character. One has already been mentioned: the fact that soldiering was regarded in the north of Scotland as a respectable occupation. The highlands were badly overpopulated, and service in the army was widely regarded as an acceptable alternative to emigration. Sometimes, of course, the two could profitably be combined: while most of the regiments raised for the Seven Years War were brought home to Scotland to be disbanded, men belonging to the 77th, 78th and the short-lived 2/42nd were given the option of taking their discharge (and a substantial land-grant) in North America. Quite a number did so, and the expectation that this would again be the case proved a strong incentive to enlistment during the American War just over ten years later.

## Officers and recruitment

The second important factor was the fairly homogenous nature of the officer corps. There was a well-established principle that the company commanders appointed to new regiments should be experienced soldiers, and fewer officers than might at first appear were related, however distantly, to commanding officers. Only a quarter of the old 78th's officers, for example, bore the surname Fraser. Nevertheless, in newly raised units confirmation of an officer's commission depended on his finding the appropriate number of recruits. An English officer could, in the last resort, buy the men he required from a 'crimp' – and thereby end up with all sorts of rubbish. A highland officer, on the other hand, was expected to enlist highlanders, or at least men who could pass for such, and he could do that only by recruiting in Scotland. It was therefore in the commanding officer's interest to recommend local gentlemen and professional soldiers with a highland, or at the least a Scots, background, whether related to him or not, rather than relying upon the regimental agent to find officers for him. Local men would not only be sensible of their obligations to their benefactor but, more importantly, could exert the influence needed to find the necessary recruits through their own contacts.

Influence worked in a number of ways. At its mildest, tenants and subtenants might be encouraged to enlist, or more commonly to allow their sons to enlist, either by way of obliging their landlord and thus laying up favours to be called in at a later date, or else in return for more immediate reward. John Cameron of Kinlochleven wrote quite frankly to the Duke of Gordon in May 1778:

'If your Grace will give me the farm of Kilmanivag and Brackletter for five years, I will furnish your Grace two handsome men tomorrow. I would be glad to give my assistance to your Grace without those terms, but, as it is not in my power to accommodate the friends of those who go, I am obliged to ask these as I have no lands of my own.'

In other words, Kinlochleven knew of two men who were willing to enlist if some provision was made for their dependants. If the Duke would give him a five-year lease on the farm, he would look after the dependants and the Duke would get his two recruits.

At the other extreme, influence could sometimes



descend to the level of naked threats, as uttered by Alexander Cameron of Letterfinlay, another of the Duke's tenants:

'I hope he had not the assurance to tell he did it [enlisted] willingly. To the contrary it was the utmost compulsion. I offered him twice in your presence to engage and I would continue him upon the same footing with the rest of the subtenants. . . . His return always was a flat denyall upon which I have sett his lands to other people and threatened to eject him instantly; which was the only cause that induced him to go to serve.'

This, if subtler, smacked overmuch of the old Jacobite threats to burn the thatch of those who would not join with them; but the subtenants could usually give as good as they got. A certain Donald McBain, for example, offered to enlist in the Northern Fencibles on condition of being made a sergeant and getting a new lease of his farm; and this was by no means an isolated example.

At the end of the day there was, however, a limit to the number of recruits who could be found by these means, and most of those actually enlisted were found in the usual way—amongst unemployed labourers and other workmen at markets, encouraged with high bounties and copious quantities of whisky. In 1778 the Rev. Robert McPherson of Aberarder wrote that 'no person appeared in the country for Captain Maxwell [1/7/1st] to take upon him the horrid drudgery of drinking whysky and to act the recruiting sergeant among the people.' Much the same situation evidently prevailed in the next war, for the accounts of the 79th (Cameron) Highlanders record '7 November 1793. . . . to 66 gallons of whisky £12.8.3.'

Indeed, one of the striking features of these regiments is the extent to which even at an early date large numbers of lowland Scots were recruited. This is usefully illustrated by the 'State' of Montgomerie's 77th Highlanders, compiled at Nairn on 9 March 1757. The occasion was apparently a less than happy one. The regiment had just been recruited up to a strength of 1,029 private soldiers (its establishment was 1,040 exclusive of sergeants and officers), but the inspecting general proceeded to reject no fewer than

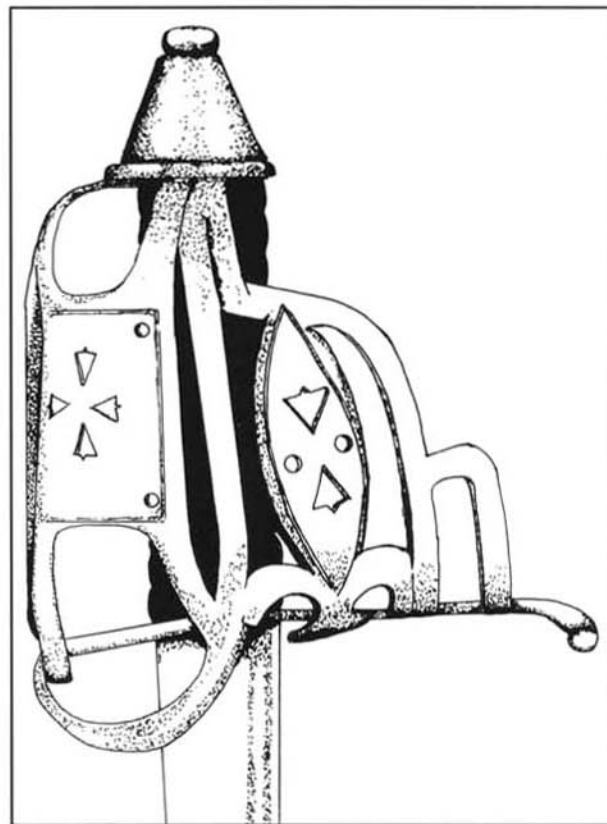
472 of them—a quite astonishing proportion. However, the 'State' also recorded, company by company, where the men had been recruited:

Lt.Col. Montgomerie: Athole and Strathdearn  
Major James Grant: Strathspey and Urquhart  
Major Alexander Campbell: West Highlands  
Captain John Sinclair: Sutherland and Caithness  
Captain Hugh McKenzie: Glasgow and Ross-shire  
Captain John Gordon: Edinburgh and Aberdeenshire  
Captain Alexander McKenzie: Perthshire and Aberdeenshire\*  
Captain William McDonald: Edinburgh and Skye  
Captain George Munro: Fairn Donald  
Captain Roderick McKenzie: Kintail

(\* all 117 recruits in this company were rejected. . . .)

The Grants had long held lands in Strathspey and Urquhart, and the McKenzies in Kintail; Sinclair is a common name in the far north of Scotland, and McDonald was probably a Skye-man; nevertheless, it is clear from this list that while the regiment was substantially raised in the highlands it could by no means be described as a clan levy.

This is also borne out by a muster roll for Captain



*Government pattern  
broadsword for sergeants  
and other ranks. This  
rather crude Glasgow-style*

*iron hilt was in use  
throughout the period  
covered by this study.  
(Author's drawing)*

Hamilton Maxwell's company of Fraser's 71st Highlanders, raised in 1775. Most of the 89 men were enlisted at Fochabers on the border between Moray and Banffshire, though recruiting parties had evidently also been active in Fort William and Huntly. Unsurprisingly, 42 of the recruits came from Moray and Banffshire; but the remainder from Aberdeenshire (including the city of Aberdeen itself), Inverness, Nairn, Ross-shire, Sutherland, Caithness and Argyllshire. There were even two men from Lincolnshire: Robert Kingsley, a wool-comber enlisted at Fort William, and a brickmaker named Edward Sampson, attested at Fochabers. The commonest occupation recorded was labourer (61 men), the others being a mixture of shoemakers, weavers, tailors, and even a fiddler (who promptly deserted).

More unusually, perhaps, one volunteer picked up by the 81st Highlanders in 1779 turned out to be a

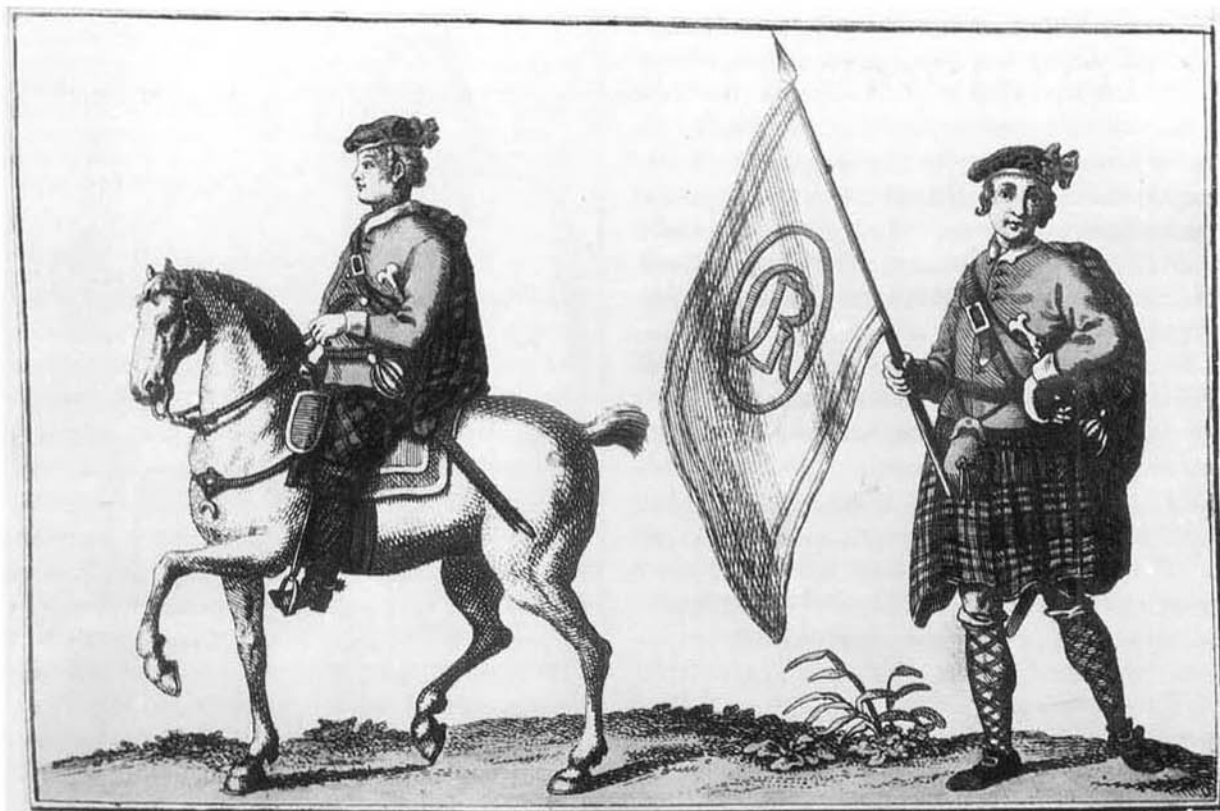
*Officer and ensign of the 43rd Highlanders (?), by J.C. Schmidhammer. The device on the colours is unreliable, but the depiction of the officer*

*wearing trews and riding boots is interesting. No date is given, but Schmidhammer was active until about 1750. (SUSM)*

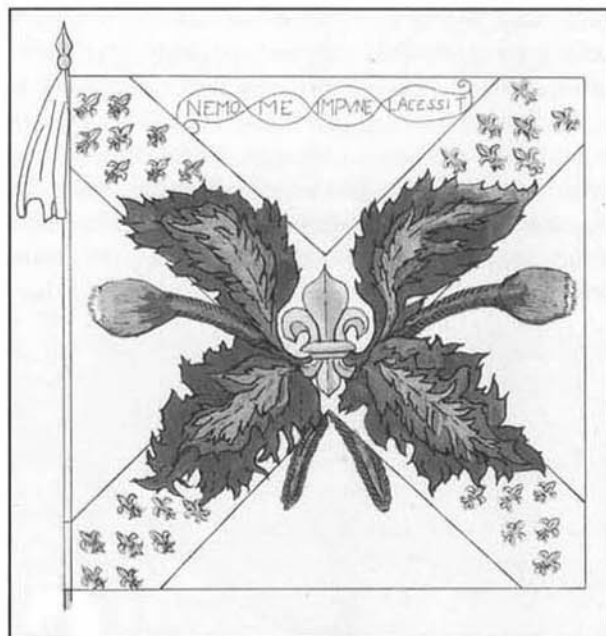
girl, much to the amusement of a rival recruiter for the Northern Fencibles: 'I forgot to tell you they recruited a female in men's clothes at Drumblade. She was kept a day or two and dismissed.'

Notwithstanding this indiscriminate recruiting there was still, in every company, a solid core of NCOs and men who had some connection with their officers and could be relied upon to set an example. Nor did it end there, for the officers themselves were conscious that obligations stretched both ways. Moreover a harsh, tyrannical officer would soon find his reputation going before him, frightening off recruits—who would have no difficulty whatever in finding another regiment to join—and destroying his reputation of 'credit' amongst his neighbours. There was, in short, a strong incentive for both officers and men to behave well; and the bonding between them which is so much stressed in modern training appears to have been present in highland regiments to a rather higher degree than in much of the rest of the army at this time.

The third factor, more psychological than particularly practical, was the broadsword. The old



highland way of fighting was to advance towards the enemy, fire a single volley at relatively close range, and then run in under the smoke led by the swordsmen who made up the front rank. This was certainly done with some success at Fontenoy in 1745; but the broadsword was essentially no more than a symbol. The tactic worked by intimidating the opposition, in exactly the same way as the French massed columns were to do in the 1790s, when bayonets proved just as effective as broadswords. Fraser's 78th on the Plains of Abraham before Quebec may have been the last to charge with broadswords, but the offensive spirit continued to be encouraged. Indeed, this goes a long way to explaining why highland units—like the French National Guards—survived on the most basic of training: little instruction was needed for a volley followed by a brisk bayonet charge. The disadvantage, of course, was that if the enemy failed to be intimidated—as at the Cowpens in 1781—a certain brittleness of morale might be revealed.



*King's Colour, Royal Ecossois [sic]. The Regimental Colour carried by this Scots/Highland regiment in the French service was identical save for having a blue rather*

*than a white field. The thistle is depicted in its natural tinctures and the white saltire is dusted with gold fleurs de lis. (Author's watercolour)*

## CLOTHING AND EQUIPMENT

The most striking difference between highland regiments and others was, of course, their distinctive clothing and equipment. Man for man highland regiments were significantly more expensive to outfit, and not surprisingly some items soon disappeared while others were modified. In 1745 a schedule was drawn up of the clothing and equipment supplied to recruits for Loudon's 64th Highlanders:

to a plaid and coat .....	£1 6s 0d
to a waistcoat .....	6s 6d
to a shirt and neckcloth .....	3s 8d
to nine pair of brogues .....	6s 8d
to four pair of hose .....	3s 0d
to a bonnet .....	1s 0d
to leather accoutrements .....	14s 6d
to a basket hilted sword .....	8s 6d

The total cost came to £3 13s 10d (£3.70), and this evidently required some explanation, for a direct comparison was drawn between the cost of certain

items and the cost of comparable ones supplied to ordinary infantrymen:

<i>Item</i>	<i>Soldier</i>	<i>Highlander</i>	<i>Difference</i>
sword	5s 0d	8s 6d	3s 6d
shoes	4s 0d	6s 8d	2s 8d
hose	1s 4d	3s 0d	1s 8d
hat	3s 0d	1s 0d	2s 0d

Allowing for the money saved by buying a knitted bonnet instead of a hat the difference came to 5s 10d—about a fortnight's wages for a common soldier, before stoppages.

The items listed were provided by the commanding officers out of the Off Reckonings, an allowance made for the purpose by the Government, and by stoppages from the soldiers' pay. Consequently both clothing and equipment would normally be retained by the soldier on his discharge (in the case of the broadsword he would be given a cash allowance instead). Indeed there was some trouble in 1763 when the 87th and the 88th Highlanders were ordered to be

disbanded before receiving fresh clothing to which they were entitled. Conversely, when the 77th (Athole) Highlanders were disbanded at Portsmouth in 1783 they protested at the imposition of stoppages to pay for new clothing. This may in some measure be regarded as poetic justice, since the clothing in question had been provided for a posting to India which was frustrated by the regiment's mutinous refusal to go.

### Weapons

Firearms were not included in these 'mountings', since they were supplied by the Board of Ordnance and returned to store on a regiment's disbandment. The 42nd was armed with the standard .75 calibre Land Pattern firelock with a 46 in. barrel, though they had them shortened to 42 in. in March 1759, £48 13s 0d being paid to 'sundry blacksmiths'. Loudon, on the other hand, had his regiment



*Highland soldier and corporal copied from Van Gucht for Grose's Military Antiquities. The plaids are depicted fairly reliably; and the corporal, identified by his shoulder knot, has his hair brushed up under his bonnet in accordance with the prevailing practice in the 1740s and 1750s.*

equipped with a light infantry carbine set up for him by the London gunmaker John Barber. Most of the highland units raised, probably including the 2/42nd, were equipped either with the 'Carbine for Highlanders and Artillerymen' devised by the Board of Ordnance in 1756 (the 77th and 78th certainly got them). Both carbines were lighter weapons of .68 calibre with a 42 in. barrel and wooden ramrod. In 1775 Fraser's 71st and the other highland units raised during the American War received the new Short

Land Pattern firelock with 42 in. barrel, though it may have taken some time to replace the 42nd's older firelocks. Highland units serving in India appear to have taken their Short Land Pattern firelocks out with them, but exchanged them there for the lighter 39 in. barrelled firelock used by the East India Company's troops (this later becoming the famous 'India Pattern' used by most of the British Army during the Napoleonic Wars).

In addition to the usual firelocks and bayonets an



*Officer and sergeant also copied from Van Gucht. Note that unlike the private and corporal, both have their hair clubbed at the rear.*

allowance was paid over to the commanding officers to cover the purchase of one pistol for each private soldier and NCO. This was a 'traditional' weapon sanctioned at a time when the highlanders were largely employed on policing and internal security duties. Covert operations aside, the theory was of course that the highlander discharged his firelock, then discarded it and ran forward with his broadsword in one hand and the pistol in the other. The usefulness of pistols in conventional soldiering in Flanders or Germany soon became questionable, since reliance was placed there on the firelock with fixed bayonet rather than the broadsword. It is interesting to note that a grenadier of the 42nd depicted by the Swiss artist David Morier in 1748 or 1749 has no pistol.

There was in fact a certain suspicion in official circles that pistols were retained simply in order to provide a perquisite for the commanding officer. In 1761 proof was demanded from Colonel Campbell of

*Three useful studies by  
Johan Christian Leopold  
of highlanders in 'undress',  
providing good rear views  
of the short jackets.  
(SUSM)*

the 88th that the pistols had actually been purchased, before the Ordnance Board would pay up. In the following year an investigation revealed that although the commanding officers were then being allowed £1 15s 7d a pair, they were actually buying some very inferior ones from Isaac Bissell of Birmingham at 18s a pair!

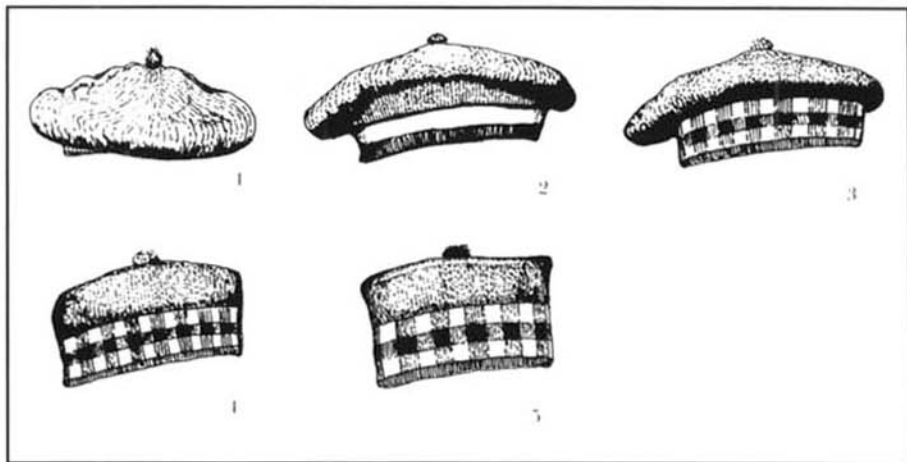
Whether they were actually carried after this time is uncertain. No mention is made of pistols in inspection reports on the 42nd between 1768 and 1775, although money was requested from the Board to purchase pistols in December 1775; but according to Stewart of Garth they were withdrawn from the men on active service in the following year.

Broadswords were also withdrawn from the 42nd and 71st at the same time, though in practice they had been little used for some years. In 1759 the 42nd and 77th Highlanders were specifically exempted from an order forbidding the carrying of swords in the field, but when the 42nd were inspected in 1768 all their broadswords (including those belonging to the grenadiers) were noted to be in store. In 1775 the inspection report provided an explanation:

'Lieutenant Colonel Stirling says that the Highlanders on several occasions declined using broad-



*Evolution of the bonnet: (1) c.1742; (2) c.1762; (3) c.1780; (4) c.1780; (5) c.1790. All dates are approximate, and refer to recorded examples in contemporary illustrations. There was, however, a considerable overlap in styles, and it is quite likely that all five were worn more or less contemporaneously during the American War. (Author's drawing)*



swords in America, that they all prefer bayonets, and that swords for Battalion men, though part of their dress and establishment, are incumbrances.'

The fact of the matter was that, as the men complained, by the 1770s they were an encumbrance at the best of times—even when paraded for the annual inspection. In the early days it had been a different matter. As Stewart of Garth observed, the privilege of carrying arms was a strong incentive for young gentlemen to join the Watch. Once the regiment began recruiting in the normal way from the 1740s onwards it was a different matter. The popular image of the highlander portrays him as a well-armed swordsman, but this was only ever true of the gentlemen ranged in the front rank of clan regiments. The men who stood behind them, their tenants, subtenants and workmen, were rather less well armed and rarely carried broadswords. Although something upwards of 1,500 Jacobites were killed at Culloden in 1746 only 192 broadswords were afterwards recovered from the field, amongst thousands of firelocks and bayonets. Recruits for the 42nd and other highland regiments raised after the 1740s were not, therefore, men who were accustomed to carrying, far less using, broadswords, and once the novelty wore off they were ready enough to discard them in favour of the lighter and handier bayonet.

Even officers appear to have discarded their broadswords in certain circumstances. They were rarely worn with breeches, a lighter weapon being preferred, and light infantry officers in particular found them unwieldy. This is illustrated by a story told of Major William Murray of Lintrose, an officer

of the 42nd who nearly came to grief during the skirmishing around the Brooklyn Heights:

'Major Murray was nearly carried off by the enemy, but saved himself by his strength of arm and presence of mind. As he was crossing to his regiment from the light infantry battalion which he commanded, he was attacked by an American officer and two soldiers, against whom he defended himself for some time with his fusil, keeping them at a respectful distance. At last, however, they closed upon him, when unluckily his dirk slipped behind, and he could not, owing to his corpulence, reach it. Observing that the rebel officer had a sword in his hand, he snatched it from him, and made so good use of it, that he compelled them to retreat, before some men of the regiment, who had heard the noise, could come up to his assistance.'

### Highland clothing

Other items of clothing and equipment were similarly modified or discarded over the years, either for the sake of practicality or with a view to bringing highland regiments into greater conformity with the rest of the army.

**Jackets** remained short throughout the period. Initially they were single-breasted garments with small cuffs and cropped skirts, a common style worn throughout Scotland and not confined to the highlands. Portrait evidence suggests that Field Officers (Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels and Majors) wore lapels displaying the regimental facing colour as early as the 1740s, and company officers, if not the rank and file, adopted them in about 1760. Under the 1768



*John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, Colonel of the 64th Highlanders 1745–1748: watercolour sketch from Allan Ramsay's portrait dated 1747. Note the lapels only worn by field officers of highland regiments at this period. A portrait of one of*

*Loudon's subalterns, John Reid, shows no lapels. Both portraits do show buff sword belts being worn instead of the black ones traditionally used by highland units in the 18th century. See Plate B2 for colouring. (SUSM)*

Warrant the coat differed only in being cropped short to accommodate the plaid.

The plaid was made from two strips of tartan material woven on a 27 in. width and sewn up the middle to give a finished width of 54 inches. The length of the plaid varied between three and five yards according to the rank of the wearer—the more material used, the more elegant the pleating, apart from any considerations of warmth. Private soldiers commonly received six yards (three yards once it was sewn together) every two years, sergeants more, and officers as much as they cared to purchase.

Its virtues and versatility were frequently extolled in the most laudatory terms, but the belted plaid is in fact a far from practical garment for the soldier. The upper part can very conveniently double as a cloak in bad weather but otherwise is something of an encumbrance. When the Argyll Fencibles mutinied in Edinburgh Castle in October 1779 one of their complaints concerned the difficulty of wearing the conventional cartridge box on a crossbelt which had just replaced the old belly-box.

The solution was, of course, the philabeg or kilt. This was basically the lower part or skirt of the belted plaid, with the pleats sewn in place and the superfluous upper part removed. It differed from the modern garment in that the pleats were of the loose 'box' type rather than the deep 'knife' pleats common today; and by being fastened by means of bodkin-like pins (or occasionally buttons, as in the case of a surviving Gordons kilt of c.1796) in place of straps and buckles. Traditionally the kilt is said to have been 'invented' by an English foundry manager named Rawlinson in the 1720s, but whatever the truth of the story its introduction into the British Army appears to have been due in large part to Lord Howe. Before his death near Ticonderoga in 1758 this energetic and imaginative young commander had done much to adapt the clothing and equipment of his troops to active service conditions in North America; and a surgeon, describing these changes, mentioned that 'The Highlanders have put on Breeches and Lord How's Filabegs'. This suggests that Howe was instrumental in having the kilt accepted as a substitute for the plaid.

At first the kilt was used as a fatigue garment, made from worn-out plaids, but it was so much more convenient and comfortable that by the time of the American War it had supplanted the plaid on all but the most formal occasions. Three to three and a half yards of material was sufficient for a kilt; and in January 1769 the 42nd received 1,008 yards of tartan specifically for philabegs, which indicates that worn-out plaids were no longer good enough for the purpose. Plaids were normally left in store on campaign; in 1780 those belonging to the 71st were available to be borrowed by the newly raised North Carolina Highlanders.

The **bonnet** was invariably knitted and felted, using a heavy blue wool. In the 1740s it was quite flat, with the edge of the crown overhanging and largely



obscuring the headband. The loose tufts of wool left sticking up in the centre were twisted into a tiny ball, but at a fairly early stage an entirely decorative ball or tourie was added. Normally this was made from red wool, which contrasted well with the blue bonnet; but during the American War the practice was instituted of distinguishing the bonnets worn by flank company men by using white touries for grenadiers and green for light infantry.

Meanwhile, the shape of the bonnet was undergoing a radical alteration. By the late 1750s it was not uncommon to find it cocked up to expose the headband and the tightening tape which encircled it. This was originally blue but once it became exposed red ones became common; and then, as more of the headband was exposed a chequered band replaced the tightening tape on the outside. (It was implausibly suggested by Stewart of Garth that the diced band was intended to represent the fesse-chequey on the Stuart arms, but there is no reason to suppose that it was in fact anything more than a decorative feature mirroring the diced hose. Indeed, some early portraits suggest that occasionally a diagonal chequer appeared on the band.)

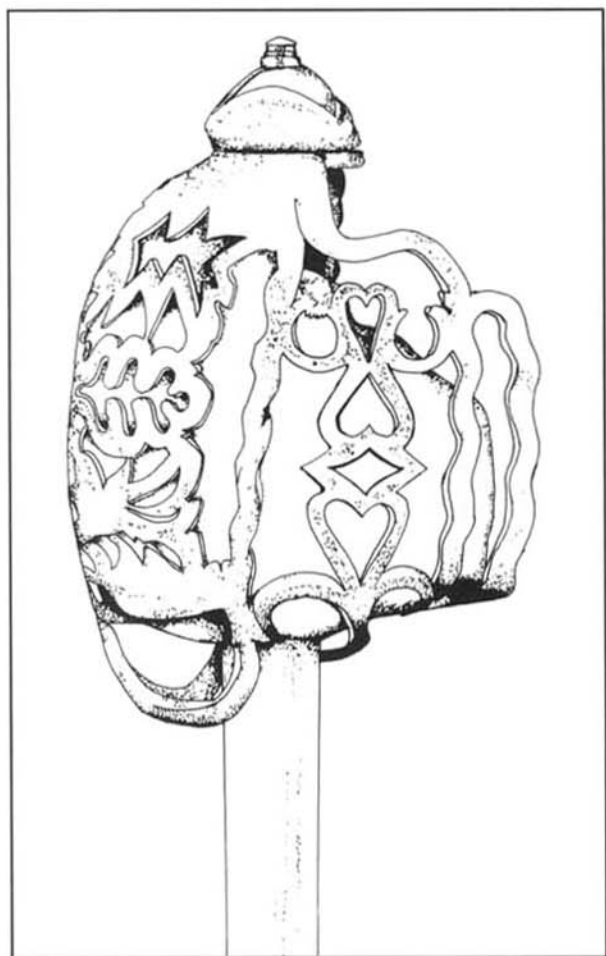
The introduction of the diced band coincided with, or rather was a consequence of, a heightening of the bonnet which apparently began in the 1760s. The size of the bonnet as knitted remained unchanged, but it was now beginning to be blocked up into a cylindrical shape rather than lying flat. Why this was done is not clear. The evidence suggests that in the first instance only officers may have worn the new style, which may indicate nothing more significant than the dictates of fashion. On the other hand Stewart of Garth mentions that the bonnet was stuffed and padded, so it is possible that they were in fact blocked up with a view to providing greater protection from sword cuts.

The change in style took some time, and some regiments adopted the new bonnet more quickly than others. A number of units retained the old flat bonnet as a fatigue cap, which doubtless explains why the 42nd took delivery of 400 diced bonnets and 240 ordinary ones in January 1773. Even then it is likely

that the diced bonnets worn by the rank and file were of the transitional type now known as the Balmoral, featuring a flat top over a diced band. Copley shows these being worn by the 2/73rd at Gibraltar. General adoption of the drum-shaped Kilmarnock bonnet (all bonnets were in fact made in that burgh) may not have begun until as late as 1779; another of the complaints made by the mutinous Argyll Fencibles was that they were required to cock up their bonnets in an unnatural manner, which sounds very much like the 'Kilmarnock' style.

The 'hummel bonnet', referred to from time to time and frequently confused in secondary sources with the Kilmarnock bonnet, was not the name of a particular style, but rather a term applied to any bonnet unadorned with feathers or the bearskin tufts adopted by the regiments serving in America during the Seven Years War.

Hose were almost invariably made from a white



*Typically florid Stirling-type hilt of the style favoured in particular by officers of the 42nd. (Author's drawing)*

material with a red/pink check, although a portrait of Lieutenant Colonel Gordon of the 105th Highlanders shows hose made from the same distinctive tartan sett as his plaid. Throughout most of the 18th century hose were made to measure from woven material; in 1773 the 42nd acquired 720 yards of plaiding which, woven on a 27 in. width, was apparently sufficient for 960 pairs. By the 1790s, however, knitted hose were starting to make an appearance, and can be seen in *Days*' watercolours of the 42nd.

While it was an article of faith in certain quarters that highlanders should wear highland dress at all times, the attitude of both officers and men was in practice quite flexible. There is no doubt that they took considerable pride in wearing what was fashionably termed in romantic circles 'The Garb of Old Gaul'; but at the same time little enough objection was made to wearing breeches if the occasion arose. There is clear evidence that the 'De-kilting Act' was rarely enforced after the early 1750s, but nevertheless most of the recruits enlisted during the Seven Years War and the American War were more accustomed to wearing breeches than kilts.

During the Seven Years War the 2/42nd at

least wore the kilt on Guadaloupe (allegedly to the quivering excitement of French planters' wives and daughters); but thereafter, notwithstanding grumbles from the traditionalists, linen pantaloons were issued as a matter of course to highlanders serving in the East and West Indies, and exceptionally in Gibraltar.

The situation in North America is less clear. Regimental orders show that breeches or 'drawers' made from tent cloth were worn by the 42nd in North America until 1761 (officers had linen ones) for road-work, boat-work and other fatigues, before being replaced in that year by the philabeg. In 1784 an inspection report on the 42nd commented: '... could not appear in their full uniform for want of plaids, etc., which the C.O. thought annually to dispose of during the late War to purchase a more commodious dress for the American Service, with the approbation of the Commander in Chief. The men appeared remarkably clean dressed, the men had on white strong ticken trousers with short black cloth gaiters.' This does not, however, appear to have been a widespread practice, although a wing of the 76th wore trousers for obvious reasons when employed as mounted infantry. Otherwise the evidence indicates that the other highland regiments in America (the 71st, 74th and 84th) retained their kilts, as did at least two Provincial units: the North Carolina Highlanders and the Highland Company of the Queen's Rangers.

*Engraved powderhorn carried in North America by a soldier named 'James Camron in the 42 Royall Heylanders' [sic]. It is*

*suspended from an Indian woman's tumpline or burden strap woven from moose-hair. (SUSM)*



*Sir Robert Murray Keith, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, 87th Highlanders, 1758–1763. This portrait was painted in 1774 while Keith was British ambassador at Vienna, but the green facings indicate that he is depicted in his old regimentals. The embroidery around the button-holes is gold, the waistcoat is a creamy buff, and the plaid is a greenish sett probably derived from the Government sett. Note the elaborate Stirling-style sword hilt. (SUSM)*



## HIGHLAND REGIMENTS

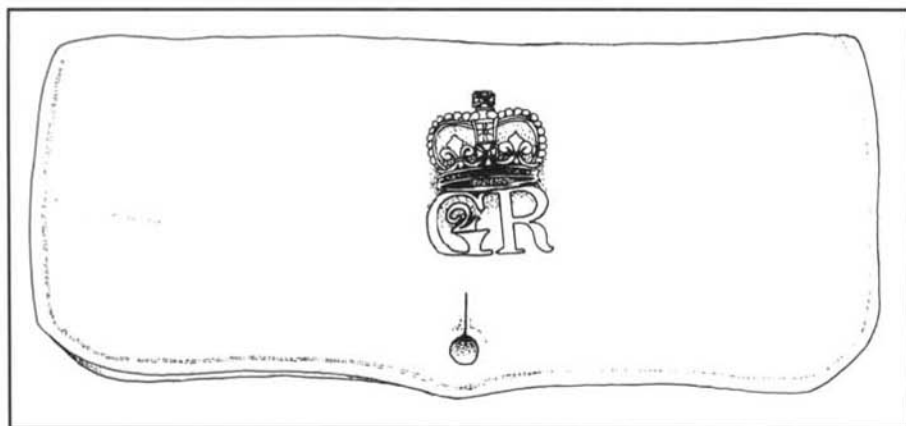
Most highland regiments raised during the 18th century enjoyed only a very brief existence, being recruited at the outset of each successive crisis and then disbanded or renumbered on the outbreak of peace. Consequently there was a very confusing duplication of regimental numbers. In the period between 1757 and 1792, there were two 71st, two 73rd, two 74th, two 77th and two 78th Highland Regiments—and a third 78th raised in 1793. In the

schedule below each regiment is identified by the number it bore during the period actually under discussion, and details of the unit's history and uniform similarly relate only to that period.

### The War of the Austrian Succession, 1743–1748

#### 43rd Highland Regiment

Embodied from Independent Companies as 43rd Foot 1739/40. Mutinied 1743 but then served in Germany and Flanders 1743–45, most notably at Fontenoy. Stationed in England during Jacobite Rising 1745/6, then took part in L'Orient raid, before again serving in Flanders 1747 to 1748. Sent to



*Cartridge box flap. Secondary sources generally state that the cypher was a metal badge but in this case at least it has been stamped on in gold leaf. The cartridge box itself is very simple and comprises a wooden block drilled to take the charges, with this leather flap nailed to the back of the block together with two belt loops. (Author's drawing)*

Ireland at end of war and re-numbered as 42nd, 1749.

Three additional companies recruiting in Scotland 1745 effectively formed a 2nd Bn., serving there during the rebellion and after, until reduced in 1748. *Uniform:* Yellow buff facings. Gold braid for officers. No OR's lace shown in 1742 Cloathing Book, but Morier painting of 1748 or 1749 shows pointed-end loops with two red lines. Tartan was originally undifferenced Government sett, but a red overstripe was added in 1746 for all companies. This was introduced by the regiment's new commanding officer Lord John Murray and thereafter referred to as 'The Colonel's Tartan' (see Plate C1).

#### **64th (Loudon's) Highlanders**

Raised 1745 and served in Scotland 1745/46 in detached companies—one fought at Culloden. Properly embodied 1747 and sent to Flanders. Took part in unsuccessful defence of Bergen-op-Zoom, and disbanded 1748.

*Uniform:* White or dove grey facings. Gold braid for officers. Red tartan sett similar if not identical to modern Stuart of Bute (see Plate B2). Officers' waistcoats were also of red tartan. Belts and equipment were buff rather than black leather.

### **The Seven Years War, 1756–1763**

#### **42nd Highland Regiment**

Embodied 1739/40 as 43rd Foot, but renumbered 1749. Sent to New York in 1756, took part in unsuccessful attempt on Louisburg 1757 and on Ticonderoga 1758. Created Royal Highland Regiment 1758 (before Ticonderoga—*not* in recognition

of its bravery there), and 2nd Bn. raised at same time. This served on Martinique and Guadeloupe 1759 before joining 1st Bn. Both bns. at taking of Martinique and the Havannah 1762, then back to North America. Fought at Bushy Run. 2nd Bn. reduced 1763, and regiment returned to Ireland 1767.

*Uniform:* Buff facings changed to blue 1758. Lace loops appear to have been altered to 'flowerpot' bastion shape c.1760. Tartan for all companies was the Government sett with red overstripe. Kilts apparently worn by 2nd Bn. on Guadeloupe in 1759, but regimental orders show mitasses and sometimes breeches worn in North America. (See Plate D.)

#### **77th (Montgomerie's) Highlanders**

Raised 1757 as 1st Highland Regiment. Served in North America—New York and the Carolinas—and at taking of Martinique and the Havannah 1762. Light Company and one other took part in retaking of St. Johns, Newfoundland, 1762. Contingent fought at Bushy Run. Disbanded 1763.

*Uniform:* Facings may originally have been red (see commentary to Plate C2) but certainly green by 1761. Silver braid for officers, no lace pattern recorded for ORs. Tartan also unrecorded but probably undifferenced Government sett.

#### **78th (Fraser's) Highlanders**

Raised in Inverness-shire 1757 as 2nd Highland Regiment. Served in North America, most notably at taking of Quebec. Disbanded 1763.

*Uniform:* White or very pale buff facings. No lace pattern recorded. Tartan appears from paintings to have been unidentified reddish brown sett (see Plate C3).

### 87th (Keith's) Highlanders

Raised 1759. Served with some distinction in Germany as part of British Grenadier Brigade, most notably at Warburg and Kloster Kamp. Disbanded 1763.

*Uniform:* Green facings. Gold braid for officers arranged rather curiously (see Plate E1), no lace pattern recorded for ORs. Tartan appears from portraits to have been undifferenced Government sett, with a distinct greenish tinge.

### 88th (Campbell's) Highlanders

Raised 1760, serving alongside 87th in Germany and effectively comprising a second battalion of that regiment. Disbanded 1763.

*Uniform:* No details known. Facings were probably green.

### 89th (Morris's) Highlanders

Raised in Aberdeenshire 1759 with an unusually high proportion for the time of Lowland Scots recruits. Served in India 1761–1764, most notably at Buxar. Disbanded 1765.

*Uniform:* Light yellow facings. Silver braid for officers, no lace pattern recorded for ORs. Tartan was probably undifferenced Government sett.

### 100th (Campbell's) Highlanders

Embodied 1761 from Independent Companies. Initially sent to Channel Islands but took part in capture of Martinique 1762. Disbanded 1763.

*Uniform:* No details known, though facings probably yellow.

### 101st (Johnstone's) Highlanders

Embodied 1761 from Independent Companies (mainly raised in Perthshire). Intended for service in Germany, but effectively a depot battalion supplying drafts for the 87th and 88th Highlanders. Disbanded 1763.

*Uniform:* Pale yellowish buff facings, otherwise no details known.

### 105th (Queen's) Highlanders

Two battalions raised 1761. Served in Ireland until disbanded 1763.

*Uniform:* Sky-blue facings. Gold braid for officers, no lace pattern recorded for ORs. Tartan appears to

have been an unidentified blue and red sett (see Plate E3).

### 114th (Maclean's or Royal Highland Volunteers)

Letters of Service October 1761, but only six companies raised by end of war. No overseas service.

*Uniform:* Blue facings? Silver braid for officers. Tartan probably undifferenced Government sett.

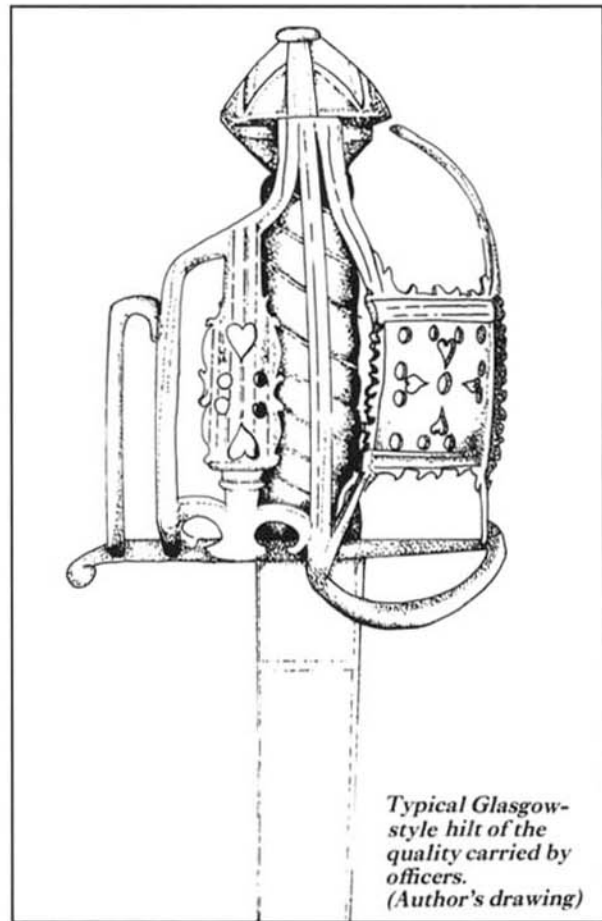
### Argyle Fencibles

Raised 1759 for home service only and disbanded in 1763.

*Uniform:* Yellow facings and undifferenced Government sett.

### Sutherland Fencibles

Raised 1759 for home service only and disbanded in 1763. Stewart of Garth notes that since there were some 260 men in the regiment upwards of 5ft. 11ins.



*Typical Glasgow-style hilt of the quality carried by officers.  
(Author's drawing)*

in height, it boasted a second Grenadier Company in place of a Light Company.

*Uniform:* Yellow facings. Portrait of Earl of Sutherland shows no lapels for field officers. Thin silver braid for officers, no lace pattern recorded for ORs. Tartan was undifferenced Government sett. Sutherland portrait shows mixed yellow and red garters.

### The American War, 1775–1783

#### 1/42nd Royal Highland Regiment

Sent to North America 1776; fought at Long Island (temporarily reorganised into two battalions) and in the Jerseys, at Brandywine, Paoli's Tavern, Germantown (Light Company only), Billingsport, White Marsh and Monmouth. Thereafter in New York



garrison, except for taking part in the capture of Charleston in 1780. The Light Company served at Yorktown in the Light Infantry battalion, since a sergeant and five men are returned as having been killed there. Served in Canada 1783–1789.

#### 2/42nd Royal Highland Regiment

Raised 1780 and sent to India in the following year. Served in the south against Haider Ali and his son Tippoo Sahib, most notably in the defence of Mangalore. Became 73rd Highlanders 1786.

*Uniform [both bns.]:* Blue facings. Gold braid for officers arranged in square-end loops; reference to a Sergeant McPherson wearing silver braid; ORs had white lace with single red line arranged in 'flowerpot' bastion loops—changed to 'jew's harp' bastions by 1792. Stewart of Garth, who joined the regiment in 1787, states categorically that plaids were made from undifferenced Government sett, while the same sett with the red overstripe was used for kilts. White trousers or pantaloons worn by both battalions on active service—officers in white breeches and stockings. Mention made of Light Company officers in America carrying dirks in place of broadswords.

#### 71st (Fraser's) Highlanders

Two battalions raised 1775 and hastily sent to North America in the following year; fought at Long Island (temporarily reorganised into three battalions), Brandywine, Billingsport, Savannah, Augusta, Savannah (again), Charleston, Camden, Cowpens, Guilford Courthouse, Green Spring, and Yorktown. Detachment still in Charleston at end of war. Disbanded 1783.

*Uniform:* White facings. Silver braid for officers, white lace with red worm for ORs, arranged in paired square-end loops. Tartan was undifferenced Government sett. Plain blue bonnets were originally specified but portrait of Major McPherson (1st Bn.) shows

*The sitter in this rather naïve painting is traditionally identified as Lieutenant John Leith of the 2/42nd Highlanders. Leith joined the battalion as an ensign on 27 July 1758, was promoted to lieutenant on 4 December 1759, and retired on the disbandment of the battalion in 1763. The style*

*of the uniform, however, appears to be of a decade later, and is quite unlike that worn by his contemporary, Captain John Campbell of Melfort (see Plate D1). Another curious feature is that the guard of his sword is pierced with a horseman's loop. (SUSM)*

Kilmarnock bonnet. According to Stewart of Garth the regiment adopted a red hackle in about 1777.

#### 1/73rd (Lord McLeod's) Highlanders

Raised 1777 (840 highlanders, 236 lowland Scots and 34 English and Irish). Initially served in garrison of Jersey but sent to Madras 1779, where they served against Haider Ali and Tippoo Sahib. Fought at Conjeveram, Porto Novo, Sholungar, Arnee, and Cuddalore. Became 71st Highlanders 1786.

#### 2/73rd Highlanders

Raised 1778 and sent to Gibraltar, remaining there throughout the siege. Disbanded 1783, and officers senior to 1st Bn. men allowed to go out to India to join it.

*Uniform [both bns.]:* Buff facings. Thin silver braid for officers, and white lace with single red line for ORs set in square-end loops. Tartan was Government sett with one red and two buff overstrips. (See Plates G1 and H for variations.)

#### 74th (Campbell's) Highlanders

Raised 1778, half in Argyllshire and half in Glasgow and the Lowlands. Sent to Halifax 1778. Flank companies served in south, most notably at siege of Charleston. Battalion companies took part in seizure of Penobscot and thereafter formed its garrison. Disbanded 1783.

*Uniform:* Bright yellow facings. Thin silver braid for officers set in pairs; ORs had white square-end loops with single red line. Tartan was undifferenced Government sett.

#### 76th (MacDonald's) Highlanders

Raised 1778. Seven companies of highlanders, mainly from the Western Isles, two of lowland Scots, and one Irish. Sent to New York in summer of 1779. Flank companies detached; Light Company to 2nd Light Infantry. Grenadiers remained in New York, but rest of regiment then served in south at Petersburg, Green Spring and Yorktown. Disbanded 1784.

*Uniform:* Deep green facings. Probably gold braid for officers; ORs had white square-end loops with a dark blue line, probably arranged in pairs. Tartan unrecorded; undifferenced Government sett is most likely, but MacDonald tartan is cited for Fencibles raised in the 1790s.



*Major General Simon Fraser (1736–1782). This officer was one of a number of former Jacobites who recovered their fortunes through service to the crown, though he is perhaps best known as the prosecutor in*

*the infamous Appin Murder trial. He raised the 78th Highlanders in 1757, serving under Wolfe at Quebec, and raised the two-battalion 71st Highlanders in 1775. (Private collection)*

#### 77th (Murray's) Highlanders

Raised in Perthshire 1778. Served in Ireland until 1783, then to Portsmouth with the intention that they should go to India. Mutinied and refused to go, so disbanded.

*Uniform:* Red facings (1778), green later? Silver braid for officers. Tartan was Government sett with red overstripe.

#### 78th (Seaforth's) Highlanders

Raised in Ross-shire 1778, but including some 200 lowland Scots. Intended for service in India, but temporarily reinforced garrison of Jersey and took part in defence of that island against the French. Embarked for India 1781, but attacked by a 'putrid

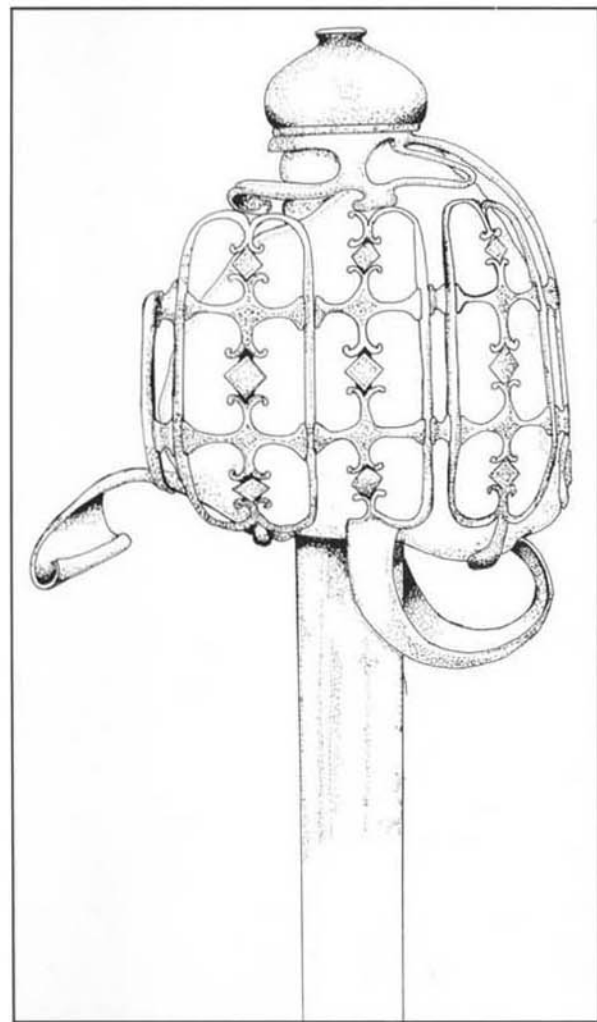
fever' and scurvy, resulting in the loss of some 230 men on the voyage. Fought at Cuddalore and Palacatcherry. Became 72nd Highlanders 1786.

*Uniform:* Yellow facings, though 1778 inspection report says orange. Silver braid for officers, worn in bastion loops according to watercolour by David Allen; ORs, white bastion loops with bluish green line. Tartan was undifferenced Government sett.

### 81st (Gordon's) Highlanders

Raised in Aberdeenshire 1778. Served in Ireland until 1783, then to Portsmouth with intention of being shipped to India, but after mutiny of 77th they were disbanded.

*Uniform:* White facings. Silver epaulettes and buttons for officers, but no braid. Tartan was undifferenced Government sett.



### 1/84th Royal Highland Emigrants

Raised in Canada 1775, mainly from former members of 42nd, 77th and 78th Highlanders discharged at the end of the Seven Years War. Remained there throughout the war, serving most notably in the defence of Quebec in 1775/76. Disbanded 1784.

### 2/84th Royal Highland Emigrants

Embodied in Nova Scotia 1775, partly composed as above but with a substantial number of men recruited in North Carolina. Five companies remained in Nova Scotia throughout the war, but others served in south and fought at Eutaw Springs. Disbanded 1784.

*Uniform [both bns.]:* Blue facings. Gold braid for officers; ORs, white lace with blue line between two red lines in square-end loops arranged in pairs. Tartan was Government sett with red overstripe.

### Western Fencibles

Raised 1778 for home service, mainly recruited in Argyllshire but including a substantial contingent from Glasgow and the south-west. Disbanded 1783.

*Uniform:* Yellow facings. Silver braid for officers. Tartan was undifferenced Government sett.

### Northern Fencibles

Raised 1778 for home service, mainly recruited in north-east Scotland but substantial numbers also found in Inverness-shire and Ross-shire. Disbanded 1783.

*Uniform:* Yellow facings. Silver braid for officers. Tartan was undifferenced Government sett. Yellow worsted imitation feathers worn in bonnets.

### Sutherland Fencibles

Raised in north of Scotland 1779 for home service. Disbanded 1783.

*Uniform:* Yellow facings. Silver braid for officers. Tartan was undifferenced Government sett.

*'Military hilt.'* Owing nothing to the rival Stirling and Glasgow traditions, this style was popular in the mid-18th century, and examples can be seen in Delacour's portrait of an unknown officer of the 78th and Batoni's painting of

Lieutenant Colonel Gordon of the 105th Highlanders, besides those reproduced here. (Author's drawing)



- 1: Highland Independent Coy., 1730s  
2: 43rd Foot, 1743  
3: Piper, 43rd Foot, 1743



- 1: Sutherland Independent Coy., 1746  
2: Officer, 64th Foot, 1746  
3: Grenadier, French 'Royal Eccossois', 1746



- 1: Grenadier, 42nd Highlanders, 1749  
2: Private, 77th Highlanders, 1761  
3: Officer, 78th Highlanders, 1759



42nd Highlanders, N. America, 1762:

1: Officer

2: Private, guard duty

3: Private, active service



- 1: Officer, 87th Highlanders, 1760  
2: Adjutant, 89th Highlanders, 1760s  
3: Officer, 105th Highlanders, 1760s





1: Sgt., 1/71st Highlanders, 1775  
2: Pte., Royal Highland Emigrants, 1778  
3: Pte., North Carolina Highlanders, 1780

- 1: Pte., 2/73rd Highlanders, 1781  
2: Officer, 81st Highlanders, 1780s  
3: Pte., Northern Fencibles, 1780s



73rd/71st Highlanders, India, 1780s:

1: Officer, 1785

2: Piper, 1791

3: Light Company, 1791





## India, 1786–1800

### 71st Highlanders

Raised 1777 as 73rd Highlanders and sent to India 1779. Renumbered 1786. Fought at Dindigul (flank companies) 1790, Bangalore, Seringapatam, Nundydroog and Savandroog 1791, and the siege of Seringapatam 1792. Took part in minor operations against French in following year, and flank companies to Ceylon. Finally returned to Britain 1798 after 18 years in India.

*Uniform:* Buff facings. Silver braid for officers; ORs, white lace with single red line arranged in square-end loops. Tartan was Government sett with one red and two buff overstripes. (See Plate H for service variations.)

### 72nd Highlanders

Raised 1778 as 78th and sent to India 1781. Renumbered 1786. Fought at Dindigul and Palacatcherry 1790, Bangalore, Seringapatam, Nundydroog and Ootradroog 1791, and siege of Seringapatam 1792. Took part in siege of Pondicherry (French) 1793, and capture of Ceylon 1795. Effectives drafted 1797 and remainder embarked for Scotland.

*Uniform:* Yellow facings. Silver braid for officers; ORs, white bastion loops with bluish green line. Tartan was undifferenced Government sett. Service variations similar to 71st.

### 73rd Highlanders

Raised 1780 as 2/42nd and sent to India 1781. Renumbered 1786. Served in Bengal 1786 to 1791, but took part in sieges of Seringapatam 1792 and of Pondicherry 1793. Served on Ceylon 1795–1797, then to Madras. Took part in siege and storming of Mysore 1799. Embarked for Scotland 1805. Re-established as 2nd Bn. Black Watch, 1881.

*Uniform:* Basically as for the 42nd except in the substitution of green for blue facings. Gold braid for officers. Bastion loops with red line for ORs, differing from 42nd in that single red line was on inside rather than outside of loop. Tartan was undifferenced Government sett for belted plaids, and same with red overstripe for kilts. Service variations similar to 71st.

### 74th Highlanders

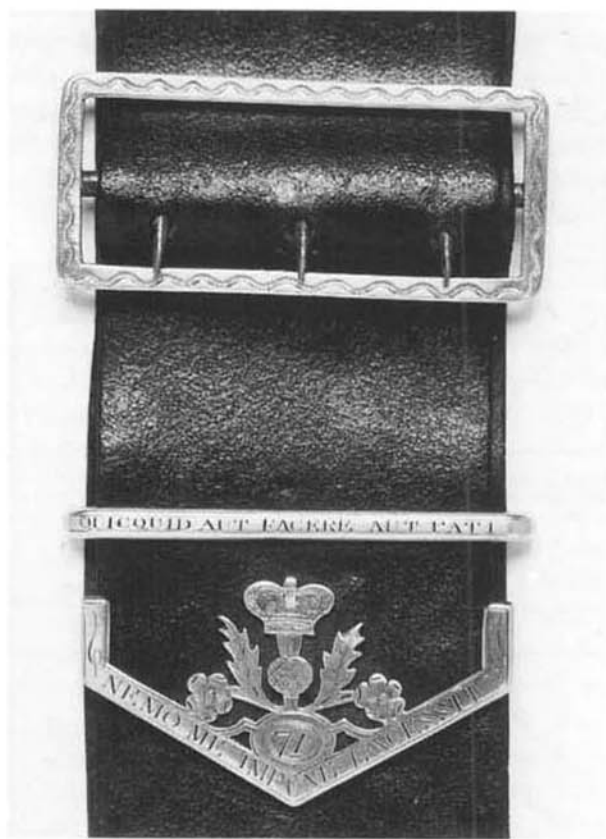
Hastily raised 1787 for service in India; about half regiment recruited in Glasgow/Paisley area. Took part in storming of Bangalore 1791, and siege of Seringapatam 1792; flank companies sent to siege of Pondicherry 1793. Took over effectives of 71st 1797 (oddly enough, became 2HLI 1881). Storming of Seringapatam 1799. Fought at Assaye and Argaum 1803. Returned to Scotland 1805.

*Uniform:* White facings. Gold braid for officers; ORs, square-end loops with single red line. Highland dress not worn at this period. White hats specified 1787.

### 75th Highlanders

Raised in Perthshire and north of Scotland 1787 for service in India. Took part in operations on the Malabar coast 1791–92 but not seriously engaged. Storming of Seringapatam 1799. Returned to Scotland 1806.

*Uniform:* Yellow facings. Silver braid for officers; ORs, square-end loops with two yellow and one red lines, arranged in pairs. Highland dress not worn at this period. White hats specified 1787.



Sword belt buckle and slide, 71st Highlanders. (SUSM)

# THE PLATES

## *A1: Highland Independent Company, 1730s*

The clothing of the original Independent Companies raised in 1725 is not very clearly documented, and Wade's original instructions merely enjoined the Captains to provide a plaid, clothing and bonnet, and to try to ensure that the plaids of each company were 'to be as near as they can of the same sort and colour'. The Captains evidently responded to this by very sensibly fixing upon an acceptable pattern or sett and then putting in a bulk order to the weavers. Surviving letters refer to the redistribution of surplus plaids from one company to another, and one written by Lord Lovat in 1725 clinches the matter by discussing the cost of 'ye whole tartan for ye sex companies'. Clearly, therefore, all of the companies were from the beginning wearing what is now known as the Government or Black Watch sett. It differed from the sett worn today only in that the softer dyes allowed the blue and green elements to predominate; and in that the size of the actual checks was then rather smaller—about four inches, which equates with the size of checks on the McKenzie and Cameron of Erracht setts as presently worn by the Queen's Own Highlanders. Red jackets and waistcoats would also appear to have been provided for the Watch, but there is some evidence that men frequently turned out in 'coloured' clothing, either off-

duty or when conducting covert operations. Involvement in the latter may also explain why, in addition to his uniform, each man was issued with a numbered badge, in the form of a red saltire, by way of identification.

## *A2: 43rd Regiment of Foot, 1743*

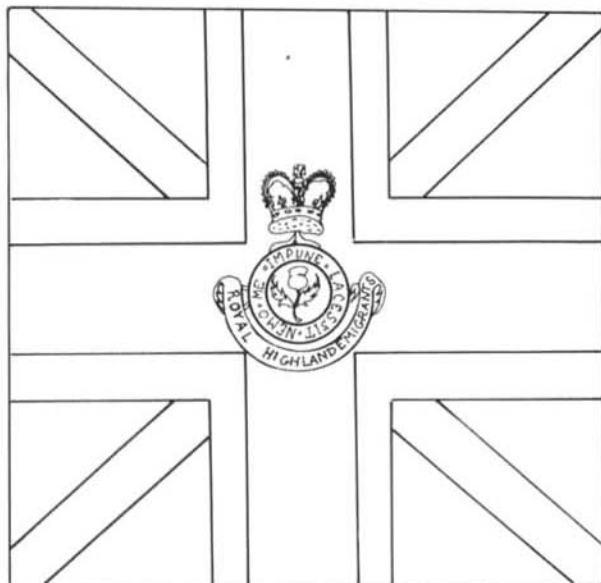
Whether the original Independent Companies were distinguished from one another by coloured facings does not appear, but when they were embodied as the 43rd Foot in 1739 they had yellowish buff facings. A white edging to the paired buttonholes seems to be shown in the 1742 Cloathing Book, but not in other sources, and this may be a colourist's error. Before the general introduction of the philabeg or kilt in the 1750s the plaid was often worn in the manner illustrated when in camp or quarters.

## *A3: Piper, 43rd Regiment of Foot, 1743*

Based on a contemporary print of Donald MacDonnell, one of the Black Watch mutineers sentenced to be drafted into Oglethorpe's Georgia regiment, this figure displays a number of interesting features. A high proportion of the rank and file in the early days were still what might be termed 'gentlemen volunteers', and carried their own broadswords with hilts more agreeable to individual fancy than to any uniform pattern. The plaid has characteristically rucked up between the legs to resemble a pair of shorts; and the curious pipe-banner, bearing a red cross on a yellow ground, may be a relic of the Independent Companies and their red badges.

## *Br: Sutherland Independent Company, 1746*

It is unlikely that the Argyllshire Militia battalion and the eighteen Independent Companies raised during the Jacobite Rebellion wore anything more uniform than the old red cross in their bonnets before Culloden, but afterwards things appear to have



*King's Colour, Royal Highland Emigrants. Although this unit eventually became the 84th Foot, numbered colours do not appear to have been issued and the original set was carried throughout the regiment's service. The central device features a thistle on a red ground surrounded by a green*

*circle bearing the motto NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT. The scroll bearing the regimental title is gold. The Regimental Colour was blue with the same central device and the Royal cypher in each corner slanting inwards. (Author's drawing)*

improved and clothing was in fact provided. Captain Alexander Gunn, the Laird of Gunn and commander of the 1st Sutherland Company, ordered 'cloth and plaids for a hunder and ten men of the ordinary cloath the military gets, the Sergeants being a degree finer. I'll need 12 yards to each plaid.' Further on in the same letter he specified yellow facings for their coats. The provision of broadswords for these companies seems to have been a problem and most, like their Jacobite opponents, were armed only with firelocks and bayonets.

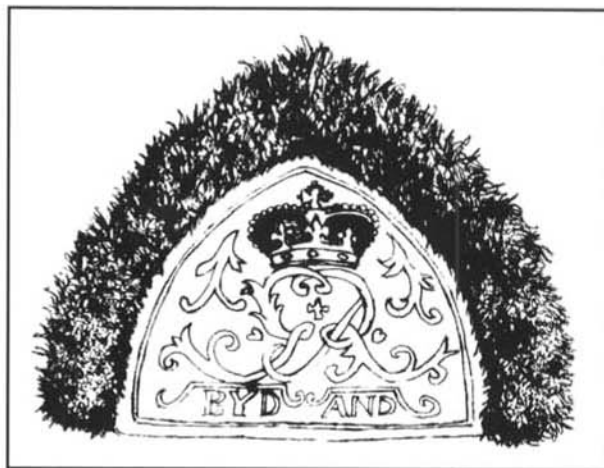
### **B2: Officer, 64th Regiment of Foot, 17??**

Despite a number of setbacks Loudon's Highlanders played an important role in containing the rebellion in the highlands. Their most spectacular (and profitable) success came in March 1746, when a vital consignment of French gold was forced ashore at Melness, near Tongue. On the 26th a detachment of Loudon's men led by Lieutenant John Reid captured both escort and gold hard by Loch Loyal. The official line afterwards was that the French had managed to dump the gold in the loch before surrendering; but local tradition holds that a substantial part of the 12,000 guineas was shared out between Loudon's men and a Mackay Independent Company which also took part in the fight. A subsequent Jacobite attempt to recover the gold ended in disaster when its leaders were captured—or allowed themselves to be captured—by another detachment of Loudon's men at Dunrobin Castle.

The uniform shown is based upon Allan Ramsay's portrait of Loudon himself, depicting the lapels which in highland regiments seem to have been peculiar to field officers before the 1760s. The red tartan appears to be the sett now known as Stuart of Bute, an attribution which may arise from the portrait's being in the possession of that family when the Sobieski Stuart brothers forged their *Vestiarium Scoticum*, the source of most modern 'clan' tartans. The waistcoat, largely obscured by gold braiding, is also tartan; this feature also crops up in a portrait of Lieutenant Reid, though the sett may be a simple black on red check of the style known as 'Rob Roy'.

### **B3: Grenadier, 'Royal Ecossois', 1746**

Most of the men escorting the French gold belonged to a 60-strong picquet from the Irish Regiment



*Light infantry cap, Northern Fencibles, 1778. Contemporary documentation mentions that this regiment's Light Company caps had a fur edging. This reconstruction is based upon a surviving frontlet (evidently an officer's, in*

*red velvet) with a fur edging added in the same style as the caps worn by the 25th Foot's 'Highland Company'. (Author's drawing)*

Berwick, but a draft from this Scots regiment in French service was also present. Recruited, very largely in the highlands, by Lord John Drummond in 1744, the Royal Ecossois (this spelling is used by the officers signing their paroles after Culloden) formed the greater part of the 'French' contingent in the Jacobite army. On the eve of Culloden the marquis de Guilles reported to his king that the French contingent comprised 260 men of the Irish Picquets (including 148 new recruits) besides 42 men of the Regiment Berwick who had landed separately, and 131 officers and men of Fitzjames's Horse. The Royal Ecossois by contrast mustered no fewer than 350 officers and men.

A 1750 watercolour shows that they were by that time wearing the French infantryman's ordinary long-skirted *justaucorps* coat and cocked hat; but in 1746, according to depositions and trial evidence, particularly relating to Drummond himself and to an officer named Oliphant, they wore hip-length Scots-style jackets and blue bonnets. The battalion or fusilier companies had white breeches, but the grenadiers are particularly remarked upon in army lists and memoirs as wearing plaids, depicted here as the Drummond sett seen in contemporary portraits.



### *C1: Grenadier, 42nd Highlanders, 1749*

Over the winter of 1747–48 a Swiss artist, David Morier, began a series of studies of grenadiers, depicting one from each regiment of the British Army. Internal evidence and an analysis of the paintings clearly suggests that the task was completed by 1749, and not 1751 as is usually stated. Included in the series was a grenadier of the 42nd. He wears the furred cap authorised for both the 43rd and 64th in 1747, and has the controversial red overstripe in his plaid. This was introduced by Lord John Murray shortly after he became Colonel of the regiment in 1745; the red line was probably added in 1746 in order to distinguish the regulars of the 43rd from the men in the new Independent Companies who were also being issued with plaids of the undifferentiated Government sett. It is not clear when the evenly spaced lace loops were introduced, since they are not otherwise shown in illustrations of highland soldiers before the 1760s, and it is just possible that they were originally a grenadier distinction. Morier's painting shows an odd harlequin chequer on the hose rather than the usual pattern; but close examination of this, and two later paintings by other artists showing the same odd feature, suggests that the harlequin chequer may be attributed to artistic incompetence and does not in fact record a short-lived variant pattern. As to equipment, he has the usual 'belt-order' worn by highland units, both cartouche box and bayonet being worn on a waistbelt, and a sword belt over his right shoulder. Intriguingly, however Cox & Co.'s accounts reveal that in 1759 £9 9s 8d was spent on match cases. In ordinary regiments these obsolete items (very largely a grenadier's 'badge') were worn on the cross belt supporting the large cartridge box worn on the right hip—an item of equipment conspicuously absent from Morier's painting.

*Lieutenant James Stewart, 1/42nd. This Grenadier Company officer wears a common form of undress uniform in which the kilt is replaced by breeches and stockings. Boots or gaiters were presumably worn in the field; and the 42nd's light infantry officers apparently wore dirks as a substitute for the clumsy broadsword. Stewart entered the 5th Foot but*

*exchanged into the 42nd as a lieutenant on 7 December 1777. He then took a further 13 years to reach the rank of captain on 24 November 1790. Subsequently he became a major on 21 October 1795, and lieutenant colonel on 14 December 1796. He retired on 19 September 1804 after 27 years' service with the regiment, and died in 1819. (SUSM)*

### *C2: Private, 77th Highlanders, 1761*

Raised by the Hon. Archibald Montgomerie as the 1st Highland Regiment in 1757, this unit was recruited all over Scotland. A total want of any information on the tartan worn suggests that it was the usual Government sett. According to C.C.P. Lawson they originally had red facings; but a list of forces in North America published in New York in 1761 evidences green, and Lawson appears to have confused them with the 77th Highlanders of 1778 who were in fact allocated red facings on their first being raised. The soldier is shown in full marching order, with a linen haversack worn on the right balancing the duffle-bag-like knapsack on the left. His bulky belted plaid has been replaced by the more practical philabeg as recommended by Lord Howe—there do not appear to be many references to its being worn in the army before this period. The cartridge box is copied from an original in the Morristown museum, and merely comprises a drilled wooden block with a leather flap nailed on.

### *C3: Officer, 78th Highlanders, 1759*

In contrast to the rather cosmopolitan 77th, Simon Fraser's 2nd Highland Regiment was recruited from amongst the *soi-disant* Jacobite clans of the Great Glen, and had white or very pale buff facings. The figure is based upon William Delacour's portrait of an unknown officer of the regiment; particularly noteworthy is the brown sett used for the plaid. Benjamin West's famous painting of the death of Wolfe also has a highlander in the background wearing a brown kilt, while Fraser himself is depicted in a plaid with broad buff and green stripes. Although West has frequently been criticised for including all manner of irrelevant individuals in the composition, he does appear to have taken some pains over the details of military dress, making a commendable effort to depict the clothing actually worn on campaign, and the painting should not therefore be lightly disregarded. Like the 77th this regiment was raised rather hurriedly, and it is possible that no uniform provision of plaids was made until some time in 1760 after the French blockade of Quebec was lifted.

*Typical socket bayonet.  
This particular example  
was made by Thomas Gill  
for the East India  
Company between 1805*

*and 1817, but 18th-century  
examples were identical in  
form. (Author's  
photograph)*

### *Plate D: 42nd Highlanders, North America, 1762*

Sent to North America in 1756, the 42nd took part in operations at the southern end of the Great Lakes. Service in this heavily forested region brought about a number of modifications to the ordinary highland uniform which are well documented in standing orders.

### *D1: Officer*

Based upon a portrait of Captain John Campbell of Melfort, this figure illustrates the general introduction of lapels for all highland officers in about 1760, and the appearance of the very popular but as yet quite unofficial white or buff waistcoat. Lacing of officers' coats in the regiment is first mentioned in Cox & Co.'s accounts for 1760, the required gold braid costing Ensign McLean £4 7s od—twice as much as it cost to fully clothe one of his men. The bonnet is now starting to be cocked up, exposing the brow band at the front. Ostrich feathers were authorised as an adornment for the bonnet at about the same time. The firelock, the replacement of the dirk with a bayonet, and the substitution of a cartridge box for the purse are evidently intended to indicate that the gallant captain is on active service, but the whitish waistcoat must have made a horridly convenient aiming mark.

The portrait can be fairly exactly dated, since Melfor was originally commissioned as a lieutenant in Montgomerie's 77th Highlanders in 1757, purchasing a captaincy in the 42nd in 1761 and selling out in 1763. In 1778 he returned to the army as second major of the Western (or Argyle) Fencibles.

### *D2: Private*

Standing orders indicate that at this time waistcoats were the normal working dress and jackets were



reserved for more formal occasions such as guard mountings, when they were worn in hot weather without a waistcoat underneath. Since Campbell of Melfort's portrait shows bastion loops it may reasonably be supposed that the rank and file also wore them by this time, in place of the pointed loop shown by Morier in 1748 or 1749. It is assumed that lapels were not added to ORs' coats until 1768, but it is possible that when company grade officers adopted them in about 1760 the rank and file followed suit, coming into line with the rest of the army. Unfortunately we lack reliable contemporary illustrations of highlanders for this period of the war. Cox & Co.'s accounts show that although all other equipment supplied to the regiment at this time was of black leather, firelock slings were buff.

### *D3: Private*

In contrast to his comrades this highlander is dressed and equipped for the woods. His coat has been discarded and his waistcoat has two leather pockets on the breast, for flints and musket balls, while underneath the kilt his legs are protected by a pair of mitasses or Indian leggings. These were normally made of blue woollen cloth (specified in regimental standing orders), though other colours were not unknown. The powderhorn and tumpline are copied from a surviving example carried by a soldier of the 42nd named Camron [*sic*] and now in the SUSM, while his tin canteen is carried in an Indian bag to prevent reflections. The knapsack is now worn square on the back, an Indian fashion which both the British and French brought back to Europe. The firelock is



*Major Duncan McPherson of Cluny, 1/71st Highlanders. Although the painting is rather crude, the military sword hilt is easily recognisable. The small figures in the background are all wearing kilts rather than belted plaids. Cluny subsequently became lieutenant colonel of the battalion, but then exchanged into the Scots Guards. He retired in 1791 and died in 1820. (SUSM)*

*Light infantry cap. This particular example may have belonged to the Western Fencibles, and is typical of those worn on formal occasions by other highland regiments. In the field the more comfortable bonnet was preferred. (SUSM)*



the .69 in. calibre light carbine intended for use by highlanders and artillerymen and introduced in 1757, most easily identifiable by a wooden ramrod and an oval escutcheon plate.

***E1: Officer, 87th Highlanders, 1760***

Keith's 87th served in Germany with Campbell's 88th, and although they were separately numbered officers exchanged freely between the two battalions. Indeed the 87th, raised in August 1759 as the 'Highland Volunteers', seem to have been split the following January to provide a nucleus for the 88th, since all of the latter regiment's officers were originally gazetted to the 87th. In view of this it is surprising to find such a distinctive uniform worn by the 87th—based here on a portrait of Captain John Gorrie (commissioned 27 October 1759, from lieutenant 72nd Foot). The bright green facings are also shown in a portrait of Colonel Keith, but unfortunately no portraits seem to exist of officers from the 88th to show whether they too wore green. A number of prints by the German artist Martin

Englebrecht, showing highlanders with yellow or yellow-buff facings, have been cited as evidence that either or both regiments wore yellow facings; but these must in fact relate to the Black Watch, who had been in Germany in the 1740s, since Englebrecht died in 1756. The elaborate gold braiding will presumably have been arranged in a regimental pattern, and the frequent exchanges must therefore have been an expensive business. The sett of the plaids depicted in Gorrie's and Keith's portraits is unclear; though both have a decidedly green appearance, the use of the undifferenced Government sett is nevertheless the likeliest interpretation.

***E2: Adjutant, 89th Highlanders, early 1760s***

Adjutants of infantry regiments were normally lieutenants, but the 89th's was Ensign Alexander Donald, commissioned 13 October 1759. Despite his responsible appointment he did not obtain a lieutenant's commission until 28 April 1764. Details of the regiment's uniform are rather vague, but Ensign Donald is shown with the lemon yellow



*Reconstruction: the philabeg or kilt. Note how this box-pleated garment, copied from a surviving example of c.1796 in the Scottish United Services*



*Museum, comes high up the body, providing excellent protection in cold and damp weather to the abdomen and kidneys. (Author's collection)*

facings allocated to Aberdeenshire regiments. As Adjutant he will have been required to appear mounted on parade and regulations therefore called for riding boots, and for saddle-housings in the regimental facing colour. The tartan sett worn by the regiment is also unknown. It was probably the undifferenced Government sett, and C.C.P. Lawson states that it was the same as that worn by the Black Watch (presumably without the red overstripe), but in view of the recorded variants worn by the 64th, 78th and 105th this cannot automatically be assumed to be the case.

### *E3: Officer, 105th Highlanders, early 1760s*

Based upon Pompeo Batoni's flamboyant portrait of Lieutenant Colonel William Gordon of Fvvie, this

officer's plaid has a very intricately patterned sett which may not actually be of a regimental pattern. The replacement of the purse with a plain black cartridge box (an odd choice for a field officer) does however suggest that it is indeed part of his uniform. The precise arrangement of the sett is unclear in the original; it so defeated the artist as to reduce him to depicting only the vertical lines, but as it is predominantly blue in appearance it cannot be the red Huntly sett as has sometimes been suggested.

Gordon (1735–1816) was as flamboyant as his portrait. He entered the army as a cornet in the 11th Dragoons on 26 July 1756, becoming a captain in the 16th Light Dragoons on 4 August 1759, a major in the 2/84th Foot some time in 1760, and lieutenant colonel of the 105th Highlanders on 11 October 1762. He subsequently raised the 81st Highlanders in 1778; was a member of Parliament—famous for threatening to run his sword through Lord George Gordon in the House of Commons in 1780; married his housekeeper, by whom he already had an illegitimate son; and died a general.

### *F1: Sergeant, 1/71st Highlanders, 1775*

In contrast to Simon Fraser's old 78th Highlanders the uniform of the 71st is fairly well documented. In December 1775 it was laid down that the facings were to be white, the number '71' was to be on the buttons, and the lace was white with a red worm. Mention is also made of blue bonnets and the Government sett tartan. Captain Hamilton Maxwell's company was raised for him in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire by his sister, the Duchess of Gordon, and, unusually, was clothed locally. The reference in Fraser's instructions to blue bonnets, confirmed in a bill presented by Alexander Umphray of Fochabers on 13 December 1775, is particularly interesting since it indicates that initially the old flat bonnet was worn, though later portraits of officers such as Lieutenant Colonel Duncan McPherson show the Kilmarnock bonnet, and an early form of cap badge on the cockade. Umphray's bill also shows that four yards of tartan went into a sergeant's kilt, in contrast to the three and a half allowed for each private (tartan for the recruits alone cost £11 2s 8d), and amongst other items provided by Umphray for the recruiting sergeants was 13 yards of yellow ribbon—the Duchess's colours.

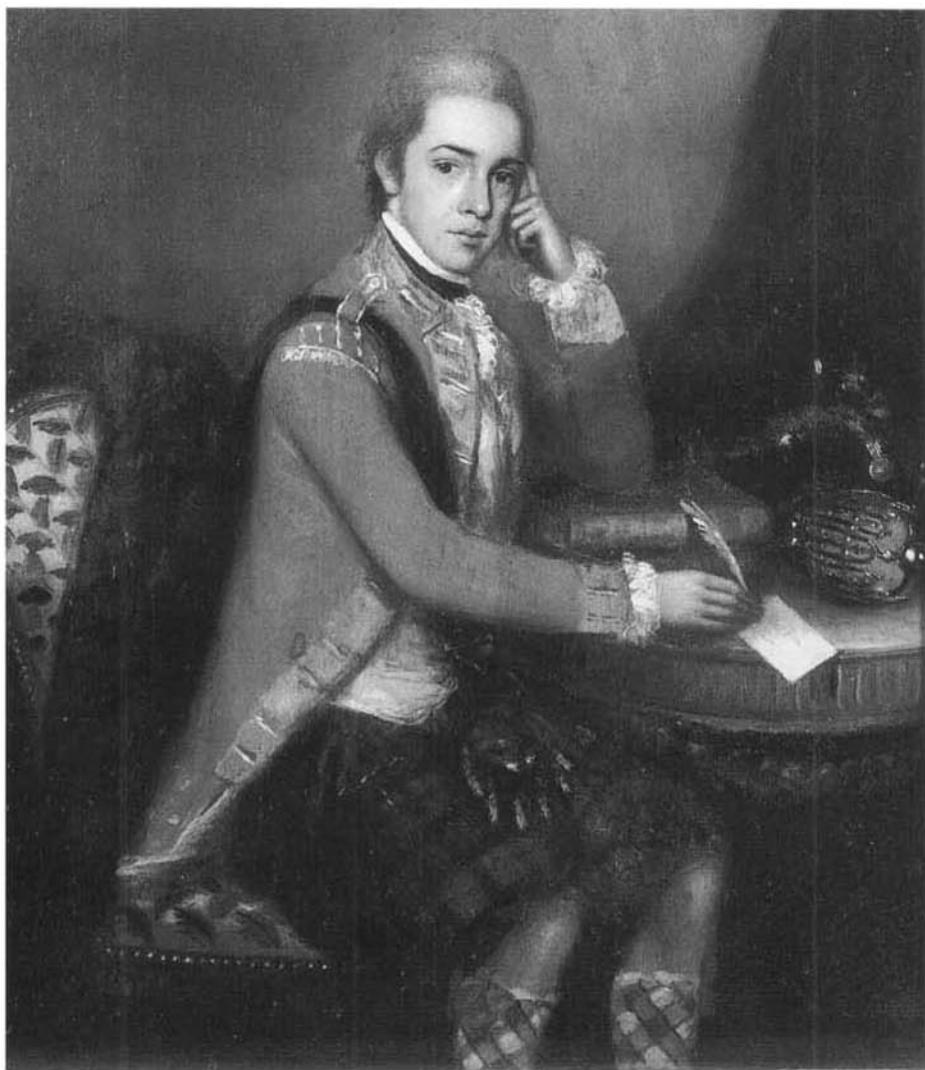


***F2: Private, Royal Highland Emigrants, 1778***

When this regiment was raised in North America in 1775, in part from discharged members of the 42nd, 77th and 78th, it was ordered that ‘... The whole Corps to be clothed, armed and accoutred in like manner, with His Majesty’s Royal Highland Regiment (42nd) ...’ In fact, while they wore highland dress and had dark blue facings, they were distinguished from the 42nd by having their buttons set in pairs and square-ended rather than bastion lace loops; the lace pattern was also quite different from that worn by the 42nd; and racoon skin purses were worn in place of the 42nd’s goatskin ones. According to Stewart of Garth the rank and file carried half-basket hilted swords.

The figure is based on a Von Germann water-

colour sketch depicting one of the six members of the regiment attached to General Burgoyne’s headquarters during the ill-fated Saratoga campaign. The bonnet, decorated with a bearskin tuft, is the old flat type, and the plaid has a red overstripe as worn by the 42nd (Von Germann’s colouring of the kilt is far from clear, but there is definitely some red in it). It should be noted that as with the 71st, later portraits of officers show Kilmarnock bonnets with diced bands, and plaids of the undifferenced Government sett. It is possible that when Von Germann’s sketch was made old items of clothing and equipment were being used pending the arrival of supplies from Britain. This was in fact a recurring problem throughout the American War, and in 1781 General Haldimand directed that surplus clothing belonging to the 21st (Royal Scots



*Unknown officer of a Grenadier Company, c.1780. The yellow facings, paired lace loops and dark furred purse might point to the 74th, but he could equally well belong to a Fencible unit. The lapels have been lengthened at some point. Although the quality of the painting is rather poor, the military broadsword hilt shows up very clearly. (SUSM)*



*An unusually good study of an officer of the 81st Highlanders, c.1780. Despite being armed with what appears to be an ordinary Short Land Pattern firelock he probably belongs to a battalion company, since he has neither flank company wings on his shoulders, nor a grenadier's match-case on*

*the black shoulder belt supporting the cartridge box. Facings are white, and the plaid is the undifferenced Government sett (see Plate G2 for details). The waistcoat appears to have been cut away slightly to accommodate the brown fur purse, and he has a half-basket hilted sword. (SUSM)*

Fusiliers)—who had been interned since Saratoga—should be turned over to the regiment. This led to an interesting reply from Allan Maclean, colonel of what was by then the 84th Highlanders: ‘I dare not without an order from headquarters for that purpose, change the tartan hose, bonnet and plaid, into round hats, breeches and stockings, though the latter, is in my opinion a preferable dress for a soldier in Canada.’ Predictably, no more was heard of the suggestion.

### *F3: Private, North Carolina Highlanders, 1780*

As early as 1776 men were raised for the Royal Highland Emigrants from among the highland Scots settlers in the Cross Creek area of North Carolina, but they were intercepted and defeated on their way to the coast, at Moore’s Creek Bridge. (Oddly enough, one of those involved in the débâcle was Allan MacDonald of Kingsburgh, husband of the celebrated Flora MacDonald). Why Governor Josiah Martin raised this two-company battalion in 1780 rather than feeding reinforcements into the five companies of the 2/84th, who were then in the south, is not clear. On 10 October 1780 Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Innes, Inspector General of Provincial Forces in America, described the uniform then being assembled: ‘Blue jackets are making as fast as possible for such New Levies as Governor Martin may raise which with the Plaids of the 71st will at least keep them comfortable till the proper Cloathing arrives from England.’

### *G1: Private, 2/73rd Highlanders, 1781*

Sketches and paintings by Trumbull and Copley depicting this battalion at Gibraltar show kilts and plaids being worn, but a 1781 inspection return noted: ‘Officers in plaid jackets, linen waistcoats, and long linen trowsers, to be uniform with the men. Accoutrements of black leather; no cartouche boxes. The men in jackets made out of the old plaids, and long linen trowsers. The kilts and hose long completely worn out.’ The bonnet, shown in sketches for Drinkwater’s history of the siege, is of the transitional semi-flat type now known as a Balmoral, and featuring for the first time the entirely decorative diced band. Copley and Trumbull on the other hand both show officers wearing Kilmarnock bonnets. The tartan is the Government sett with one red and two buff overstripes.



*Reconstruction: the Kilmarnock bonnet. The three views give a good impression of the bonnet's appearance when worn pulled down on the head like a nightcap, a practice unrecorded by artists but*

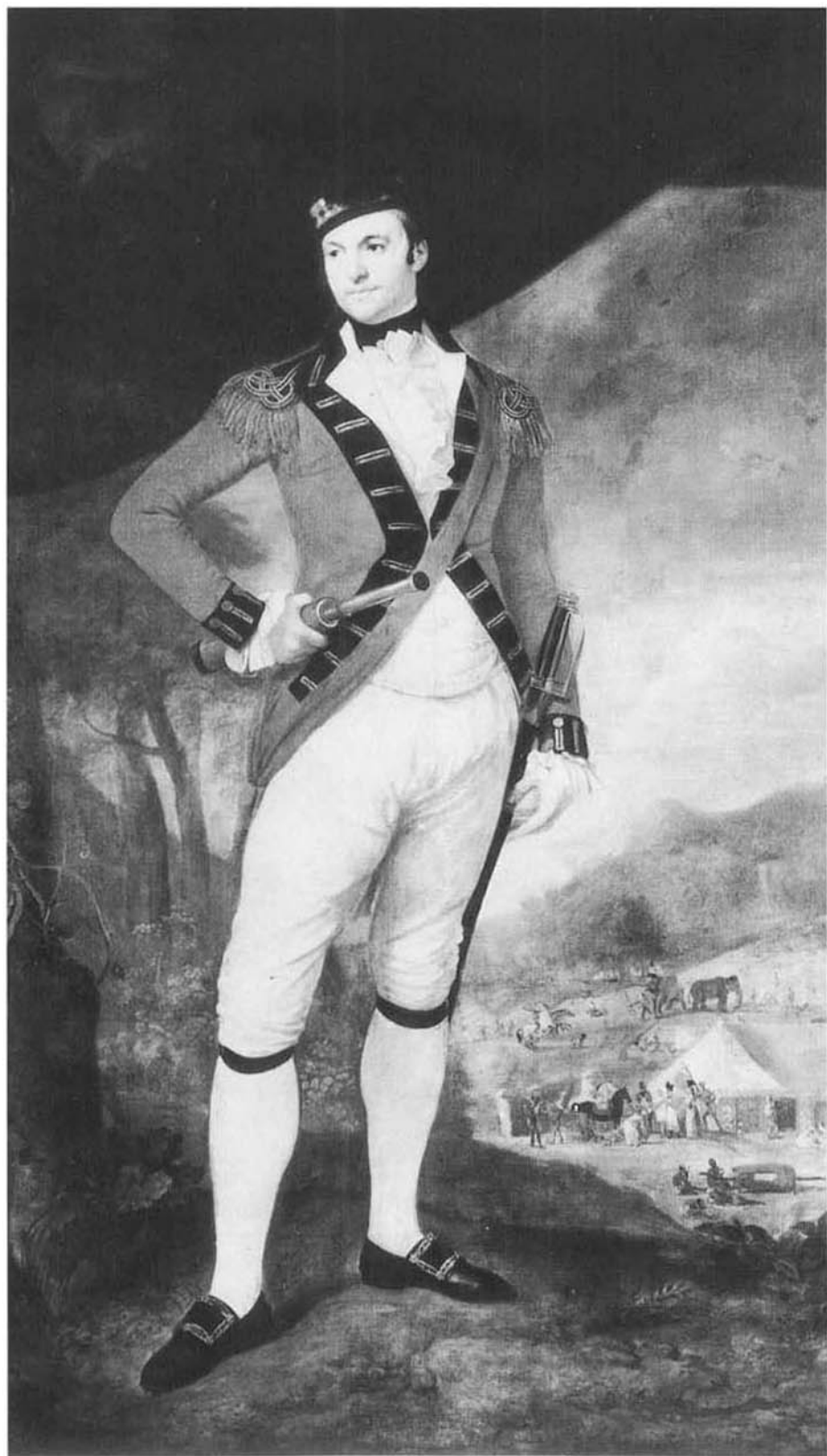
*described in memoirs and deplored in standing orders. It is easy to see from these photographs how it eventually developed into the Glengarry. (Author's collection)*

***G2: Officer, 81st Aberdeenshire Highland Regiment, 1780s***

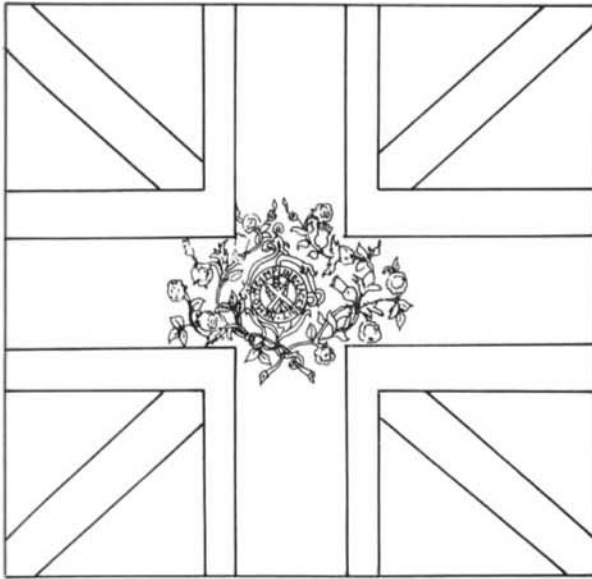
The 81st were raised at the end of 1777 by General Gordon of Fyvie, who had been lieutenant colonel of the 105th in the old French War. The choice of white facings, rather than the lemon yellow customary for units raised in this area, is unexplained; it may be that yellow was too closely associated with the Duke of Gordon, and the raising of this regiment certainly alienated the duke from the Fyvie branch of the

family. The resultant irritation may be gauged by a letter which the duke wrote in January 1778: 'When Sandy Gordon delivered me Fyvie's letter at Edinburgh with the list of officers I was very angry, and said I was surprised at his brother's having got a regiment through my interest and not giving me the nomination of one officer. He answered in a huff, "Well by God, we can raise it without you".' The anti-Huntly faction in Aberdeenshire proceeded to do just that; and indeed there was a further echo of the resultant feud when one of Fyvie's old officers, Alexander Leith-Hay, raised the 109th Highlanders in 1794 in direct competition with the Huntly family's 100th (later 92nd) Gordon Highlanders.

The absence of lace on the coat was remarked upon at an inspection in November 1778 and is confirmed by a surviving portrait. Grenadier and light infantry caps were not supplied to the regiment until the summer of 1780, presumably because as usual bonnets were preferred. A half-basket hilted sword similar to those carried by the 84th (Royal Highland Emigrants) is shown in the same portrait.



*Lieutenant Colonel Norman Mcleod, 2/42nd, c.1783. This important portrait by Zoffany shows a long-tailed coat worn in India in place of the usual short jacket. Another noteworthy feature is the absence of buttons from the lapels, which may be an 'Indian' practice, although a coat of similar date worn by Captain John Hamilton of the 73rd is suitably garnished with buttons. (Dame Flora Mcleod of Mcleod)*



*Colours, 73rd Highland Regiment, 1786. The absence of the regimental number is rather unusual. Instead the badge of St. Andrew—silver on gold*

*within a green circle—is used. Note that the badge on the King's Colour is smaller and slightly askew. (Author's drawing)*

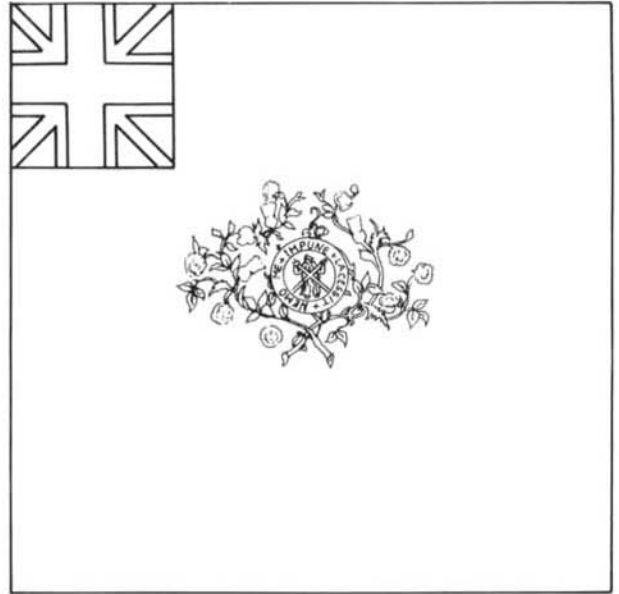
as is the Short Land Pattern firelock carried in place of the light fusil usually preferred by officers.

### **G3: Private, Northern Fencibles, 1780s**

The Duke of Gordon had been in some hopes of obtaining Letters of Service for a marching regiment. To his chagrin he was forestalled by General Gordon, but by way of consolation was permitted to raise a Fencible regiment for home service only. The Kilmarnock bonnet was still quite low at this period, and on 20 May 1780 the Duke sought (with questionable taste) to improve its appearance by replacing the by now customary black ostrich feathers with artificial ones made of yellow worsted, to match the facings. Happily, no other highland officer saw fit to follow his example. The battalion companies had the usual red touries in their bonnets; the grenadiers, and, oddly, the Light Company, both had white.

### **Plate H: 73rd/71st Highland Regiment, India, 1780s**

The 1/73rd (Lord Mcleod's) Highlanders arrived in Madras in January 1780 to take part in the campaigns against Haider Ali and his French allies. They were to



remain in India until 1797, fighting most notably at Cuddalore in 1783 and against Tippoo Sahib in 1790–92. In 1786, consequent upon the reduction of Fraser's 71st Highlanders at the close of the American War, they were renumbered 71st, while the 2/42nd (also serving in India) became the 73rd in their place.

### **H1: Officer, 1785**

Highland dress was very largely abandoned in India in favour of linen breeches or pantaloons. This was perhaps only to be expected; but surprisingly, officers also adopted long-tailed coats as worn by Line regiments in place of the usual short jacket. This figure is in part based upon a surviving coat belonging to Captain John Hamilton of the 73rd now in the Scottish United Services Museum, and a portrait of Lieutenant Colonel Mcleod of the 2/42nd. The cut is entirely conventional, with horizontal rather than vertical pocket flaps, and the button loops are embroidered rather than applied. Tall white 'sugar-loaf' hats were normally worn on campaign, but Mcleod's portrait shows the Kilmarnock bonnet worn with the long coat.

### **H2: Piper, 1791**

Although 1854 is normally given as the date at which pipers were officially authorised for highland regiments, most Letters of Service granted in the 18th



*Officer, 42nd Highlanders, 1792. An inspection report of that year noted with approval that the black belts worn up until that time by highland regiments had been replaced by the ordinary white ones. Note the small green silk rosettes, probably intended to conceal the bodkins used to secure the plaid. The purse is of spotted sealskin with a heavy gilt clasp. (SUSM)*

century allowed two pipers for the Grenadier Companies of highland units, in place of the two fifers carried on the establishment of English ones. Taken from a rather crude watercolour, this piper defiantly wears plaid and Kilmarnock bonnet, but as a concession to the climate and local insect population linen pantaloons are worn underneath the plaid to protect the legs. Note the fife case slung on the right hip.

### H3: Light Company, 1791

This uniform, taken from a watercolour sketch by Captain Alexander Allan of the Madras Army depicting the assault on Nundydroog in October 1791, gives

no hint of the regiment's highland designation. The single-breasted jacket, dipping to a distinctive point at the front, may be a forerunner of that approved for service in the Indies, but is more likely an adapted Light Company waistcoat. A rear view of a similarly dressed light infantryman of the 36th in Home's 'Death of Colonel Moorhouse at Bangalore', painted at about the same time, shows a corresponding point at the rear of the round jacket. At this time, and probably for many years before, the 71st (like other king's regiments in India) were actually equipped with firelocks supplied by the East India Company rather than with the standard Short Land Pattern.

#### Notes sur les planches en couleur

A1 Les documents historiques limités qui traitent du sujet suggèrent que les six compagnies portent le même tissu écossais fourni par le même distributeur. La taille du motif Black Watch semble être plus petit que celui qu'on voit aujourd'hui. Les vestes rouges et les gilets sont aussi fournis mais on ne les porte pas toujours, en particulier sur le champ. On distribue les insignes rouges numérotés pour les bérets. A2 À partir de 1730, tous les membres de la 43<sup>e</sup> Foot unifiée portent les revers couleur chamois; on apprend d'une source qu'un ruban blanc fait la bordure des boutonnières. On porte le plaid de cette manière au camp et dans les quartiers. A3 Une gravure d'époque illustrant un mutin; à noter la bannière bizarre de la cornemuse.

B1 D'après les documents historiques des achats faits pour la compagnie à la fin de la rébellion Jacobine en 1745. On porte rarement les épées à deux tranchants. B2 Basé sur le portrait du commandant Loudon par Allan Ramsay à cette époque, seuls les officiers de rang supérieur portent des revers. L'écossais rouge est celui de Stuart de Bute; à noter aussi le gilet en tissu écossais. B3 D'un témoignage donné au procès des prisonniers après la rébellion, le régiment n'avait pas encore adopté l'uniforme réglementaire français et les plaids des grenadiers sont aussi à noter.

C1 À partir des tableaux de Morier peints en 1747-48. On ajoute la ligne rouge à l'écossais pour les grenadiers en 1746; le motif à carrés irréguliers sur le pantalon est peut-être une erreur du peintre. C2 L'équipement de marche et le petit kilt (philabeg) remplacent le gros plaid pour le service en Amérique. C3 À pour origine le fameux portrait de Delacour - à noter le kilt marron.

D1 D'un portrait du Capitaine John Campbell, le mousquet et l'étui à cartouches indiquent probablement le service actif. On introduit les revers pour tous les officiers en environ 1760; noter que le béret commence à être porté avec la couronne poussée pour exposer le bandeau. D2 On porte le manteau seulement pendant le service et sans le gilet pendant l'été; mais d'habitude on porte seulement le gilet pour le service. On ajoute les revers aux manteaux des soldats pendant 1760 et 1768. D3 Équipé pour le travail dans les forêts, il porte un gilet avec des étuis à cartouches supplémentaires et des jambières sous le kilt, noter aussi la nouvelle mode de porter le havresac.

E1 Avec pour origine le portrait de Capitaine John Gorrie, on voit aussi les revers vert-vif dans un portrait de Colonel Keith. L'écossais est du motif gouvernemental d'ordonnance bien qu'il soit très vert dans les portraits. E2 Les Adjudants-majors sont bien habillés pour monter à cheval. Il n'y a pas de documentation sur l'uniforme des 80<sup>es</sup>, mais les revers jaunes sont typiques dans les régiments d'Aberdeenshire et l'écossais de type gouvernemental est probable. E3 Basé sur le portrait du Colonel Gordon par Batoni.

F1 L'uniforme de ce régiment est bien documenté et on voit l'utilisation du vieux beret bleu; les kilts des sergents sont fabriqués avec un tissu écossais plus abondant que ceux des soldats. Les sergents recruteurs portent des rubans jaunes. F2 Le motif de la dentelle, les boutons en paires et la housse en fourrure de raton différencient l'uniforme de cette unité de l'uniforme du 42<sup>ème</sup> régiment sur lequel il est basé. Copie d'une aquarelle de Von Germann peinte à Saratoga. F3 Un document d'inspection énumère les vestes bleues et les plaids du 71<sup>ème</sup> régiment distribués à cette armée.

G1 Un document d'inspection décrit les vestes fabriquées à partir d'anciens plaids et les pantalons en lin; les esquisses du siège de Gibraltar illustrent le béret en forme 'Balmoral' (terme moderne), et le bandeau portant les des. L'écossais est du motif gouvernemental avec une rayure rouge et deux rayures couleur chamois. G2 À noter l'absence de la dentelle sur le manteau. Épée à demi-garde et mousquet Short Land. G3 Elevé par le Duc de Gordon, ce régiment de Fencibles - il leur faut remplacer les plumes d'autruche noires coutumières sur le béret par des plumes

#### Farbtafeln

A1 Die wenigen erhaltenen Aufzeichnungen lassen erkennen, daß alle sechs Kompanien denselben, zentral eingekauftem Tartan trugen; das Muster scheint kleiner gewesen zu sein als beim heutigen Black Watch-Tartan. Rote Jacken und Westen wurden ebenfalls beige bestellt, wurden aber nicht immer getragen, besonders im Feld; nummerierte rote Mützen zeichnen in Schrägkreuz-Form wurden ausgegeben. A2 Gebliche Lederaufschläge wurden vom gesamten, neu zusammengefaßten 43. Fußregiment getragen; eine Quelle zeigt weiß eingefaltete Knopflocher. Das Tartanplaid wurde oft auf diese Weise im Lager oder in der Kaserne getragen. A3 Nach einem zeitgenössischen Druck eines Meuteers; siehe das saltsame Dudelsack-Banner.

B1 Nach Aufzeichnungen von Einkaufern, die am Ende der Jakobiter-Rebellion von 1745 für die Kompanie getätigt wurden. Der Pallasch wurde nur mehr selten getragen. B2 Beruhend auf Allan Ramseys Portrait des Kommandanten Loudon; zu diesem Zeitpunkt trugen nur Stabsoffiziere Revers. Der rote Tartan scheint ein Stuart von Bute zu sein; siehe auch Tartan-Westen. B3 Nach Aussagen von Gefangenen bei den Gerichtsverhandlungen nach dem Aufstand; das Regiment hatte noch nicht die vorschrittsmäßige französische Uniform angenommen, und die Plaids der Grenadiere waren besonders auffallend.

C1 Nach den bekannten Morier-Gemälden, entstanden 1747-48. Die rote Linie wurde dem Tartan für Grenadiere 1746 hinzugefügt; das ungleichmäßige Karo der Kniehose konnte ein Irrtum des Künstlers gewesen sein. C2 Volle Marschausrüstung, und der kleine Kilt - Philabeg - ersetzte für den Einsatz in Amerika das klobige Plaid. C3 Nach dem berühmten Portrait von Delacour, und unterstützt teilweise auch von der Hintergrundfigur in dem Gemälde von West, das den Tod von Wolfe darstellt; der ungleichmäßig braune Kilt ist beachtenswert.

D1 Nach einem Portrait von Capt. John Campbell; Muskete und Patronentasche weisen wohl auf aktiven Einsatz hin. Rock-aufschläge wurden um 1760 für alle Offiziere eingeführt; man beachte auch, daß der Hut immer mehr mit nach oben geschobener Krone getragen wird, so daß das Kopfband sichtbar wird. D2 Mantel wurden nur bei formellen Anlässen getragen, in heißem Wetter ohne Westen; die Weste allein war die normale Dienstkleidung. Die Aufschläge für Soldatenmantel wurden zwischen 1760 und 1768 eingeführt. D3 Er ist für Einsatz im Wald ausgerüstet und trägt eine Weste mit zusätzlichen Leder-Munitionstaschen sowie hohe Gamaschen unter dem Kilt; siehe Pulverhorn an indianischer Schlinge, und die neue Art, den Knapsack zu tragen.

E1 Beruhend auf einem Portrait von Capt. John Gorrie; die hellgrünen Aufschläge sind auch in einem Portrait von Oberst Keith zu sehen. Der Tartan ist wahrscheinlich reguläre Regierungsauslieferung, obwohl er in den Portraits sehr grün erscheint. E2 Adjutanten waren zum Reiten gekleidet. Die Uniformdistinktionen des 80. sind nicht aufgezeichnet, doch waren gelbe Aufschläge für die Regimenter von Aberdeenshire typisch, und ein Tartan in Regierungsmuster ist sehr wahrscheinlich. E3 Beruhend auf Batonis Portrait von Oberst Gordon.

F1 Die Regimentsuniform ist gut dokumentiert, einschließlich der früheren Verwendung des alten, flachen blauen Hutes; Sergeanten-Kilts wurden aus mehr Tartanstoff hergestellt als die für Soldaten. Werbesergeanten trugen gelbe Bänder. F2 Das Litzenmuster, die Knopfpaaire und die Tasche aus Waschbärenfell kennzeichneten diese in Amerika aufgestellte Einheit gegenüber der Uniform des 42. Regiments, aus dem sie hervorgegangen war. Dies wurde nach einem in Saratoga angefertigten Aquarell von Von Germann kopiert. F3 Ein Inspektionsbericht zählt die blauen Jacken und Plaids des 71. Regiments auf, die an diese Milizeinheit ausgegeben wurden.

G1 Ein Inspektionsbericht beschreibt aus alten Plaids hergestellte Jacken sowie Leinenhosen; Zeichnungen von der Belagerung von Gibraltar zeigen den Hut in

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Avec annotations en français sur les planches en couleur.  
Mit Aufzeichnungen auf Deutsch über den Farbtafeln.

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