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THE MEDICAL AND SURGICAL ASPECTS OF 'THE 'FORTY-FIVE' (THE JACOBITE RISING OF 1745–6)

By GORDON GORDON-TAYLOR C.B., O.B.E., SURGEON REAR-ADMIRAL

'The 'Forty-Five', notwithstanding its curious nomenclature, possesses a special connotation for Scottish ears. Apart from being *Bladna Tearlach* (Charles's year) to those who speak the Gaelic tongue, 1745 was a year of no inconsiderable interest and activity in the sphere of British medicine and surgery. Fontenoy and the Jacobite Rising provided experience in military surgery; the Surgeons' Company had its inception during the late spring; and the year saw the doors thrown wide by a number of hospitals in Great Britain and Ireland. In 1745 there was opened Middlesex Hospital on the south side of Windmill Street, off Tottenham Court Road or, as the records have it, "the road from Sr. Giles's Church to Hampstead"—with fields at its doors, "some marshy and containing ponds fed by tributaries of the Tybourne". In the self-same year, Liverpool Royal Infirmary commenced its long story of service to humanity, as did the Salop County Infirmary, the Worcester Infirmary, with a Cameron as its first physician, and the famous Rotunda in Dublin. In London, St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's on either side of the Thames dated back to previous centuries, but for 25 years before the period of '45 a succession of hospitals in the Metropolis had opened their doors—Westminster (1720), Guy's (1725), St. George's (1734), and 'The London' (1741).

The 'Hospital Movement' was not confined to England. Across the Border the little hospital with 6 beds first opened in 1729 in Robertson's Close blossomed into the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, which received patients into its wards on Dec. 17, 1741. Cullen had already established a Medical School in Glasgow in 1744 illustrating his lectures by clinical cases in the wards; the Aberdeen Infirmary had been opened in 1742.

In May, 1745, the very month which witnessed the Battle of Fontenoy, the Surgeons of London, who for 205 years had been associated with the Barbers as the Barber-Surgeons' Company, were separated from the elder brotherhood by an Act of Parliament and were incorporated as an independent company, the Surgeons' Company—the theme of a previous Vicary Lecture.*

On July 1, I745, eight days before the engagement (Brett 17, 270-8) off the Lizard between the English frigate *Lion* and the French ships *Elizabeth* and *Du Teillay*, with Prince Charles on board, the Court of Assistants of the new Company held its first meeting at the Stationers' Hall, which offered them hospitality until Surgeons' Hall in Old Bailey was ready.

Apart from the immediate medical environment of 'The 'Forty-Five', it may not be unprofitable to glance at the Britain of that period and survey the background of this tragic, if romantic, Rising. London was already a city of nearly three-quarters of a million souls; much of the Western and West-Central districts of modern London

* Being The Vicary Lecture of 1945, delivered within the precincts of the Royal College of Surgeons of England on Culloden Day, April 16, 1945.

were fields, and the "New Road" which later indicated the northern limit of London proper was not yet in being. (Rocque, Plan of London, 1746.) (Heckethorn 143) The toll-gates fortunately lacked the numbers and spared the traveller the vexations imposed by the adverse traffic-lights of to-day. Possibly the noise nuisance may have disturbed the citizen of two hundred years ago; the clattering of carts or coaches and the clop-clop of the horses' hooves upon the cobbles, intermingled with the recurrent cries of the hawker and the 'prentice boy, must have been a source of annoyance till dusk, while the nights must have resembled this war's 'black-out' and the pedestrian after twilight incurred similar risks to the modern wayfarer from slips or faulty steps between the cobbles or into the central kennel where water and refuse ran. The miserable illumination came from candles in the street windows, and the linkman fulfilled the functions nowadays performed by the more convenient electric torch.

Indoors men sat wearily in the candlelight in their drawing rooms, or in clubs considered themselves fortunate that the quota of candles per table was twice that permitted to the inns and hostelries The city merchant still lived above his shop, and there were yet houses on London Bridge.

The south side of our own Lincoln's Inn Fields was called Portugal Row; and a hundred years were to elapse before the Hall of Lincoln's Inn raised itself to enhance the privacy of New Square: and the precincts of the Law at the Eastern end of the fields. The Duke of York's Theatre occupied the site of Room V of the Hunterian Museum before the holocaust of 1941, but at the time of the '45 the Playhouse had been commandeered by the military, and occupied by a detachment of the 3rd Foot Guards Portugal Street had previously been crowded with the coaches and sedans of those who came to the theatre, but was still paced, despite the closure of the theatre, by visitors to the coffee houses in the neighbourhood, such as Willis and Serle's, and to taverns, such as "The Bell and Dragon" or "The Black Jack" The beautiful and attractive Kitty Clive had not yet come to Great Queen Street, but in this street Sir Robert Strange, the engraver, becoming involved in the '45, found shelter from his pursuers under a woman's crinoline (Hearnshaw 472)

The physicians anticipated the surgeons in their appreciation of the amenities of Lincoln's Inn Fields, for Dr Jurin was already living at No 51 in 1745, becoming President of the Royal College of Physicians in 1750, while Sir William Watson went to practise there a few years later, remaining at No 15 from 1757 to 1787, during part of which period he was a Censor. It was only in the last decade of the eighteenth century that the surgeons became attracted to the Square.

Malaria was an endemic pestilence in the metropolis, the marshy ground west of Tottenham Court Road and also from Chelsea down alongside the Thames was a breeding-ground for the mosquito. There had been a small-pox epidemic in 1740-42, an influenza epidemic in 1742-43, and a typhus epidemic in 1741-42 and in 1745-46.

Apart from the disabilities and drawbacks of frequently recurrent maternity, the housewife should have suffered few household worries with meat at fourpence a pound, when an experienced cook could be obtained from £15 a year, and a nurse or housemaid received £5 or £6 per annum. The footman had to be satisfied with £6 or £7 and one livery a year and had to pay for his own washing, the keep of a horse cost but sixpence a day.

Outside London, the roads of England were abominable, the turnpike stretched little more than a hundred miles northward, nor was it metalled in the middle of the eighteenth century, further towards the Border the highways were little more than tracks fit only for horses or the lumbering stage-coach, which took more than a week from London to the Scottish capital. Cumberland's hasty journey north to Edinburgh after Hawley's defeat at Falkirk, which was completed in less than 6 days, evoked special comment, but he travelled

day and night. Young and old alike found it easier and quicker to travel on horseback.

In Scotland between 1725 and 1736, General Wade had industriously constructed 250 miles of roadway and built over 40 bridges, establishing a number of forts at strategic points. For the most part, however, rural districts in Scotland presented almost insurmountable difficulties to wayfarers, the country doctor counted himself fortunate if there were roads which enabled him to make his journey on horseback. Aberdeenshire, a hotbed of Jacobitism, was but little cultivated in the middle of the eighteenth century, and in some regions was little more than a wilderness of moor, bog, and stone The Stocket Wood approached Aberdeen closely, and the road north to Old Meldrum was a mass of boulders. (103, 122) The poverty of the country permitted no sons of leisure, and the second and younger sons of the laird frequently elected the tavern or the scalpel as a means of livelihood, and even when a medical diploma had been obtained, the duress of life drove them across the seas to practise their profession—hence the Scottish 'spate' of doctors to Russia in the eighteenth century. In some cases even a combination of lancet and inn parlour was necessary to eke out a precarious livelihood in that bleak country beyond the Cheviots.

Of the literary giants of the eighteenth century Defoe, Pope, and Gay, the poet and dramatist, were already dead, Oliver Goldsmith and Edmund Burke were still at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1745 Samuel Johnson was struggling hard with poverty, sometimes roaming the streets of London without money to pay for a night's lodging, Richardson had published his *Pamela* four years before, and Fielding *Joseph Andrews* in 1742 Smollett, who had previously obtained a post as a surgeon in one of H. M. ships and visited the West Indies, had removed his name from the Navy Book in May, 1744, and settled as a surgeon in Downing Street. His *Tears of Scotland* was published in 1745, and his *Roderick Ran*dom two years after the Rebellion was settled Thomas Gray's "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton" and his "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" were both 'on the stocks' in 1745. Allan Ramsay, the Scottish poet, was almost 60 and his son, the painter, 32.

In 1745 Kneller was dead, Zoffany was only 12 years old, Gainsborough 18, and Joshua Reynolds 22, Hogarth, the Londoner, was two score years and ten, and in 1745 appeared his "Marriage a la Mode" and in 1746 the engraving of Mr Garrick in the character of Richard III. The aftermath of the Rising did not escape his attention, and in 1746 he depicted Simon Lovat at St Albans on his way to London as a prisoner.

Adam, the architect, and Wedgwood, the potter, were still boys at the period under consideration, William Robertson, the Scottish historian, offered his services to Cope, who declined them, Adam Ferguson, the philosopher of Edinburgh, of almost the same age, was Deputy Chaplain of the Black Watch and used his claymore at Fontenoy. David Hume, philosopher, economist, and historian, was at the zenith of his course.

Newton had died in 1737, and Colin MacLaurin, the precocious Scots mathematician, died in 1746 of dropsy resulting from his exertions in organizing the defence of Edinburgh. In 1745, the Dutchman, Menschenbroek, invented the Leyden jar. James Watt (1736-1819), the engineer, was only 9 at the time of the Rebellion, and Hugh Black (1728-99) still in his 'teens, and James Hutton, the geologist, yet unborn. Across the Irish Sea, David Garrick, then in his twenty-eighth year, played the role of Hamlet at Smock Alley, Dublin, where he also appeared as Orestes, Faulconbridge, and Iago in other Shakespearean productions. A few days after Culloden he made his first appearance as Hamlet at Covent Garden. The first performance of Handel's *Messiah* had taken place in London, in 1743.

Among the surgeons and anatomists of the period, Bartholin (d. 1738), the great Boerhaave, of Leyden (d. 1739)1 James Douglas (d 1742), the anatomist and man-midwife of London, and Santorini (d. 1737) were already dead by the time of the

Rebellion. Scarpa was scarce yet in his mother's womb when Culloden was fought, Goethe, Vicq. D'Azyr, and the great Benjamin Bell, of Edinburgh (b. 1749), were still in the loins of their fathers. The famous Lettsom was barely a year old, Descemet, Gimbernat, Wolfe and Wrisberg, Zinn, and William Hey, of Leeds, were little beyond boyhood. Lieberkuhn, Meckel, and von Haller were in their thirties, Heister and Morgagni were nearing their three-score years and ten, Ranby was first Master of the Surgeons' Company, and Cheselden was destined to hold this office in the year of Culloden Moor. William Hunter had reached the metropolis in 1741, but John, who was to come to London "with only immortality in his pocket", was still at Long Calderwood during Scotland's throes. Percival Pott had become assistant surgeon at St. Bartholomew's in 1744, while abroad Albinus had just drawn attention to the scalenus minimus, and Bertin, from Rennes, was describing the renal columns and the sphenoidal ossicles which bear his name to-day.

Thus was the stage set for the drama of "The 'Forty-Five"

THE HEIGHT AND PHYSIQUE OF THE JACOBITE ARMY

The men who routed Cope's force at Prestonpans were no 'supermen', later on, when Fortune frowned, the average height of 346 prisoners of all ages, male and female, awaiting transportation in October, 1746, was found to be 5ft 4.125in, there was no distinct difference in physique between the West Highlanders and the men from Aberdeenshire, Angus, or East Lothian. The height compared unfavourably with that of the soldiers recruited by the Crown when London was menaced by the Highland army.

Despite the shortness of stature of many of the Highlanders, some were tall, thus, some of the Robertsons were over 6ft.* Age did not seem to diminish their 'toughness', Grant, of Braemar, subsequently lived to be 105 years, Threipland reached the age of 89, Pitsligo and Gordon of Glenbucket, though 67 and 72 years of age respectively, took part in the march into England and were at Culloden. Glenbucket escaped from the coast of Buchan to Norway, thence to Boulogne, where he died in 1750 in his seventy-seventh year, Pitsligo, who lived to be 84, led a hunted life in the north-east of Scotland for many years. On one occasion his asthmatic breathing nearly betrayed his presence to those in search of him.

Murdoch Mackenzie, of Letterewe, who had fought at Sheriffmuir in '15 and Glenshiel in '19, was determined to be 'out', although a very old man. His enthusiasm was damped and his activity curtailed by his wife (a daughter of MacKenzie, of Applecross) pouring hot water on his feet as if by accident and scalding him so much that he was unable to walk (Hearnshaw). Donald MacLeod, of Gualtergill, that Homeric figure, was nearly seventy.

Donald MacLeod, of Bernera, at 53 fought in the '15 and at Prestonpans, Falkirk, and Culloden. He was 'tough' enough to disobey his Chief, MacLeod of Dunvegan, and even to fight against his own eldest son. He lived to be 90, and was called the 'Old Trojan', because of his sturdy character and numerous progeny, for his third wife was only 16 when he married her at 75, and 9 children were born of this wedlock.

On the other hand, records show that a few of the Jacobite Army had serious physical and mental defects, thus, John MacLennan, of Glengarry's Regiment, captured after Culloden, had club-feet, Andrew Porteous was "a lame object on crutches", Angus MacDougall, taken prisoner at Falkirk, is described in the Prison Returns as a "blind Highland piper", Hugh Johnston, of the Manchester Regiment was "blind of an eye".

"Keppoch's Dumbie" and David Fraser were both deaf-mutes and Matthew Matthews, of the Manchester Regiment, was deaf, nevertheless, Fraser is said to have slain seven of Hawley's men at Falkirk, the

* Private account from descendants.

deaf-mutes doubtless had little idea of what they were fighting for.

William Hargreave had a "distempered brain", Simon Langton was almost an idiot, and in the unsuccessful defence of James Bradshaw, of Elcho's Life Guards, it was alleged that he was mad. The State Papers say of Alexander Haldane that he was "wrong in his judgement", in Aberdeen he stated that he had been dismissed from Sempill's Regiment for "lameness"[*]

THE JACOBITE SURGEONS

Although the standard of the Jacobite Army was unfurled in the West of Scotland, and the Rising is generally believed to have been essentially an affair of the Highlands, the parts of the country from which the doctors in the Prince's Army were recruited, or where they are known to have suffered for their sympathies, were pre-eminently the North-eastern and Eastern Counties. Angus provided the greatest number, and then in descending order of contribution, Edinburgh, Perthshire, Inverness and the Isles, Fife, Aberdeenshire, etc.

There are excellent biographical notes of surgeons of the Prince's Army contained in at least two articles dealing with the medical arrangements of the '45 (a) "The Medical Heroes of The 'Forty-Five", by W A MacNaughton (MacNaughton), and (b) "Story of the Army Surgeons from 1715-1748", by Major H.A.L. Howell (HOWELL 22, 463), RAMC. To the exhaustive list compiled by MacNaughton, I can add but few names, some of these additions were "surgeon-apprentices", others were arrested on mere suspicion of Jacobite sympathies, a fair number "earned arms" and only took up the practice of medicine after the rising, some played the double role of leech and warrior, some were doctors and 'mine host', a few were quacks For the convenience of any future student the following names, which are not included in MacNaughton's (MacNaughton) comprehensive list but are available in the various literature dealing with the Rising, are appended—

Mr Maiden, (69, 174) surgeon of Crail, Fifeshire, whose offence consisted only in drinking the Prince's health, *William Gray* and *James Rattray*, of Perth, and *John Gordon* and *John Lindsay*, of Montrose, are described as "surgeon-apprentices" (Rosebery). John Gordon, of Montrose, was probably the son of Dr William Gordon of Montrose and the great-great-grandson of Dr William Gordon, Mediciner at Kings

Figure 1 - Alexander Wood (1725-1807) (Original in the possession of Alexander W. Inglis, Esq.)

College, Aberdeen (d. 1640) He is said to have "carried arms" in England and at Falkirk and to have been "lurking" in the North (Rosebery 168, 320).

Charles Gordon, probably of Buckie, is described as a "surgeon-apprentice", but had the rank of Captain. He assisted in robbing Lord Sinclair of his horses near Portsoy (Rosebery 28). *Thomas Carmichael*, of Perth, along with James Smyth and George Stirling (the last two mentioned in MacNaughton's list), was apprehended in February, 1746, by order of James, Duke of

[*] He had deserted from the English Regiment to join Lord Drummond's Regiment and was captured at Glamis the day before Culloden.

Atholl, Lord Lieutenant of Perthshire, on suspicion of having favoured the Rising. Although they do not appear to have been 'out', they were "crammed into the Tolbooth at Perth without any proper provision for their sustenance."

The two *Wedderburn brothers* from Dundee only embraced the profession of medicine after the Rising (Rosebery 238). The Wedderburns were Jacobites to the core, their father was captured at Culloden and hanged at Kennington—"merely because he was proved to have collected the excise for the Prince in the Counties of Angus and Kincardine." John Wedderburn (1729-1803) was only a boy of 16, but held a commission as a Lieutenant in Lord Ogilvy's Regiment, he took part in the march to Derby and back to Culloden. In 1747 he went to Jamaica and practised as a surgeon.

James Wedderburn (1730-1809) was also engaged in the Rising, although only 15 years of age, he also subsequently practised medicine in Jamaica.

John Ogilvie (twin son of James Ogilvie, of Auchiries, Rathven, Aberdeenshire) carried arms, ultimately he became a doctor.

Donald McIntyre was shown in the State Papers as a "quack doctor." He was captured at Carlisle and transported.

Dr Deacon, a non-juring physician of Manchester, sent three of his sons to join the Highland Army.

Alexander Wood (1725-1807), (Warand 104) often dubbed "Long Sandy Wood", is referred to in Lauder's "Representation" as having taken charge of 280 of Cope's wounded in the Charity Workhouse, Edinburgh, along with Lauder, "who are the surgeons belonging to that House." At the time Wood was only twenty, but subsequently this popular surgeon attained a position of great distinction in Edinburgh (Fig 1).

Dr John MacLean, (Warand) surgeon of Troternish, Skye, is mentioned as having dressed Captain Roy MacDonald's wounded foot and sent dressings to him when the Captain was hiding in caves (Warand 53).

Any account of medical aspects of the ''FortyFive' would be woefully lacking in colour and perspective that did not include some reference to Archie Cameron (*Fig* 2), Threipland (*Fig* 3), and the Edinburgh Surgeons of the Jacobite Army like Lauder and Rattray, and also Murdoch Macdonald (Warand 48).

FIG 2—Dr Archibald Cameron (From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh)

The story of *Dr Archibald Came*ron (1707-53) by Lord Amulree awaits publication, and it suffices for me to make the briefest reference to some of the incidents of his life and to his death. A younger brother of Lochiel, educated in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Paris, he was a cultured physician and country gentleman, practising among his own clansmen and attending to the needs of the military road-makers working under Wade. It is manifest that he was also intensely interested in the affairs of Scotland and like all his famous family an ardent Jacobite. His political activities included the deputation to Prince Charles in the *Du Teillay* before the latter set foot on the mainland, the concealment and distribution of the "Loch Arkaig treasure", and his visits to Britain subsequently to the collapse of the Rising.

Archie Cameron was also a soldier, and took an active part in the unsuccessful attack on Ruthven Barracks in September, 1745 After reaching France in October, 1746, he

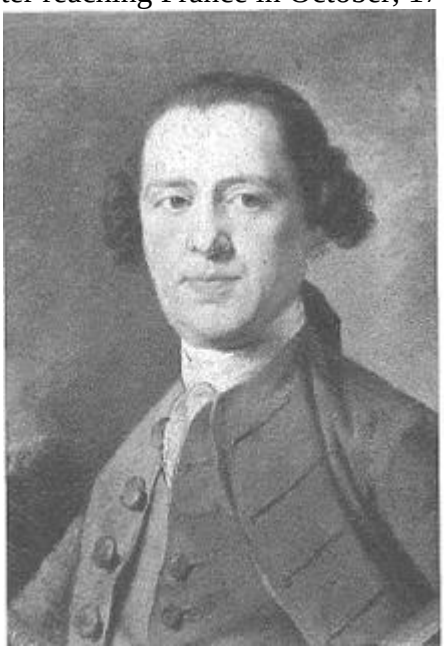

FIG 3—Sir Stuart Threipland (1716-1805) (Original by Delacour in the possession of Colonel W. Murray-Threipland, DSO)

was appointed to a Captaincy in the Albany Regiment, and in 1748 was made Colonel of Lord Ogilvy's Regiment in Flanders. Dr Archie was wounded at Falkirk and Culloden, he refers to the late discomforts of the wound in the chest received at Falkirk, which doubtless would have been fatal had it not been for his 'targe' "especially if the ball received at Falkirk and is still in my body give me as much pain and trouble as it did in winter and spring last which helped the continuance of my sickness at that time." He was the seventy-seventh and last of the Jacobite prisoners to be executed for complicity in the Rising on June 7, 1753.

Sir Stuart Threipland, of Fingask (1716-1805), was the chief medical adviser of the Prince till Culloden. His name, Stuart, betokens the direction of his family's loyalties. Threipland's own father had been 'out' in the '15, and the future doctor was born at Fingask when his sire was in hiding and the house occupied by Hanoverian troops. He is said to have been christened Stuart by his mother when both were expected to die, the weakling lived to be 89 (Hearnshaw). Threipland graduated at Edinburgh in 1742, became a Fellow of the College of Physicians of Edinburgh in 1744, and was its President from 1766 to 1770. He lost a brother at Prestonpans, went with the Highland forces to Derby and was a fugitive in the Badenoch district after Culloden along with Lochiel and Cluny MacPherson. Lochiel, who was wounded in both ankles at Culloden was his patient "until Threipland left Badenoch in July, by which time Lochiel's wounds were so far healed that he only used to keep them clean and apply dry dressings to them" (*Lyon in Mourning*). Threipland did not render professional service to the Prince during the months which followed Culloden, since Charles Edward did not join Lochiel in Ben Alder for more than a month after the doctor had returned to Edinburgh in the guise of a Presbyterian probationer. Threipland ultimately made his escape to Rouen and found himself among a coterie of notable Jacobite exiles—Sir Robert Strange, the engraver, William Hamilton of Bangour, the poet, Andrew Lumisden, who was private secretary to both James III and Prince Charles and William Rait, of Dundee, another surgeon. These two doctors ultimately got back their paternal acres Threipland outlived all the great Jacobite figures of the '45, Lord Airhe having died in 1803.

Within the precincts of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh is an eighteenth-century travelling medicine chest, which is traditionally called "Prince Charlie's medicine chest" (Comrie) and may have been brought from France to Scotland by the Prince. It was certainly in the possession of Threipland, who presented it to Alexander Wood, the surgeon ("Long Sandy Wood"), from the latter it went to his son. Dr George Wood, and then to Dr John Smith, who handed it to the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. By the great courtesy of Dr T. H. Graham I have been privileged to inspect this chest, which measures 10in x 10in and presents an extraordinarily well-packed collection of phials and small pewter boxes

containing salts, powders, pills, ointments, essential oils, gums, tinctures, and mixtures, etc. There is also writing material and several simple instruments.

John Congalton (MacNaughton) belonged to an East Lothian Jacobite family and is said to have "carried arms", he was in surgical partnership with Rattray, and the firm later took in "Long Sandy Wood."

John Rattray (MacNaughton; Warand) was closely associated with George Lauder in all the surgical activities of the Rising. Reference to his share in the campaign is to be found (see pp 50, 51, loc cit) Rattray was already a Fellow of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons (1740) and one of the original members of the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, at the first match for the silver club played on Leith Links on April 2, 1744, he won the trophy. He died July 5, 1771 (*Scots Magazine*).

George Lauder, (Warand) the Edinburgh surgeon, had become a Fellow in 1737 and was President of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons in the year of the Rising. He was also in virtue of this office a member of the Town Council and witnessed some of the excited meetings which preceded the arrival of the Jacobite Army in the Scottish capital. Lauder played some part in the negotiations with the Governor of Edinburgh Castle concerning the custody of the arms which had been collected for the defence of the city, and which, falling into the grasp of the Highlanders, did no little to effect the complete rout of Cope's forces a few days later. A record of his surgical activities during the Rising are to be found elsewhere (see pp 50, 51). Lauder was one of the leading operators of Edinburgh, and was particularly successful as a lithotomist. He died in 1762 of a fractured skull, after being thrown from his horse on his way to see a patient. Several of his pupils figured in the Rising.

George Hay (Warand) (1729-1811), of Jacobite stock, was an apprentice to George Lauder when the Prince came to Edinburgh After four months' service with the Prince, an attack of ague compelled him to fall out, he was seized, his medical status was not

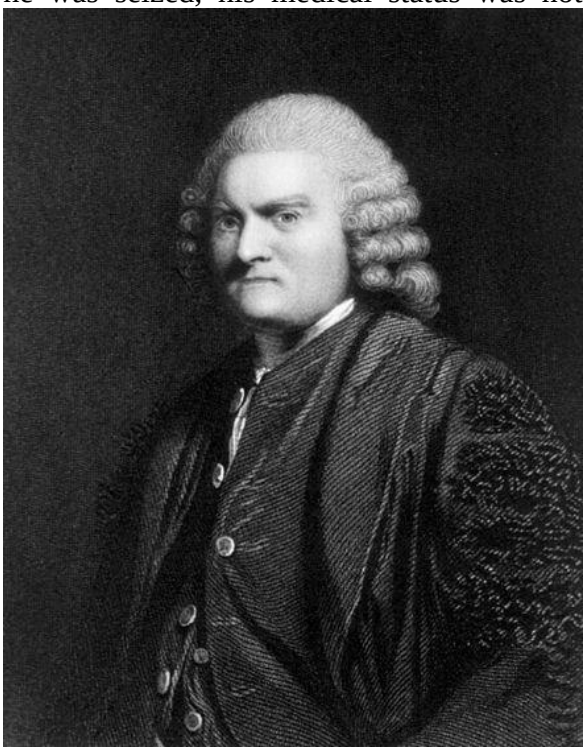

FIG 4—Sir John Pringle (1707-1782)

recognized, and his freedom not restored till the General Amnesty of 1747. Having become a Catholic, Hay could not graduate in Edinburgh or become a Licentiate of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons. He, therefore, went to Rome and prepared himself for the priesthood, his subsequent life figure largely in the *Annals of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, where he attained the dignity of a Bishop.

Dr Murdoch Macleod, second (or third) son of Malcolm Macleod VIII of Raasay (wounded at Culloden p 12), after 1745 settled on the farm of Eyre (Skye) and began to practise medicine. He received a visit from Dr Samuel Johnson and Boswell, the former remarking that he was "glad to see him so well married, for he had a high esteem for physicians" (his wife was Anne, daughter of Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale).

THE SURGEONS IN THE HANOVERIAN ARMY

There are very few new names among the Hanoverian doctors—a note about an unqualified doctor Cantley, and a modicum

of less known information about Brown, the garrison doctor at Inverness, and Dr Clerk, of Edinburgh.

Sir John Pringle (1707-82) (*Fig*. 4) was senior in age to Threipland, his *vis-a-vis* on the Jacobite side, and had already a career of some distinction behind him. His duties as Physician-General to Cumberland in this campaign were almost entirely concerned with the prevention and treatment of medical conditions, and only after Culloden was he charged with the care of wounded. In his own words, “from the middle of February, 1746, when the (Hanoverian) army crossed the Forth to the end of the campaign there had been in hospital upwards of 2000 men, including the wounded. Of this number nearly 300 died, mostly of ‘malignant fever’” (i.e., typhus). (Pringle)

Pringle, in Flanders, and Huxham, in Britain, simultaneously studied influenza, both used this name and described the disease, but Huxham’s book was published two years before Pringle’s. The latter was far in advance of his age in matters of military hygiene, and it was also probably his suggestion that hospitals should be regarded as immune from gunfire. There is much information about Pringle in books of medical history and in other works dealing with the eighteenth century.

Alexander Monro, *sen* (*Fig*. 5) was, like the rest of his clan, a stout Hanoverian, after the battle he came out from Edinburgh and attended the wounded soldiers on the field of Prestonpans, and had many Jacobite and Hanoverian injured removed to the wards of the Edinburgh Infirmary, which had been opened nearly four years before.

Alexander Cunningham, (HOWELL) Surgeon to Ligonier’s Dragoons (the 13th) from Nov 30, 1745 to 1752, possibly present at Prestonpans as surgeon’s mate (loc cit, pp 50, 51), and *William Trotter*, (HOWELL) Surgeon to Hamilton’s Dragoons (the 14th), March 21, 1745, till August, 1747, true to the highest traditions of British Army surgeons, surrendered to the Highlanders that they might attend their own wounded.

Other surgeons on the Hanoverian side

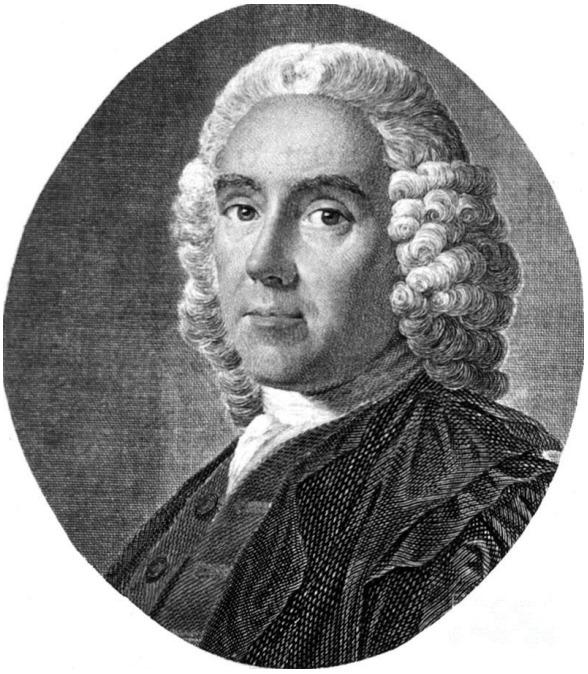

Figure 5–Alexander Monro, sen.

were—

Hugh Hunter (*Johnston's Roll of the AMS* 293), who was Surgeon to the Highland Earl of Loudoun’s Regiment, June 8, 1745, and taken prisoner at Prestonpans.

William Park (or *Parck*) (*Johnston's Ro*ll, 232), Surgeon to the garrison of Edinburgh from Feb 4, 1742, till 1754. He is referred to in documents in the Signet Library, Edinburgh, as Mr Park, Surgeon in Castle of Edinburgh, to whom several payments for medical care of rebel prisoners are recorded (see *Rosebery’s Li*st, p 393).

Patrick Blair (*Johnston’s Roll*, 157) was Surgeon to Cope’s 5th Foot, July 26, 1735, to November, 1747, there is, however, no authentic record of his service in Scotland. *Joshua Pilot* (*Johnston’s Roll*, 240), Surgeon to Battereau’s Regiment of Foot, a French Hugenot, is known from private papers to have been with his regiment in Scotland under Cumberland. *Francis Drummond*, Surgeon to Lascelles’ Regiment, is mentioned by Lauder as sometimes coming to the Workhouse to inquire after the wounded of his regiment. *Dr James Grainger* (*Johnston’s Roll*, 304), born in Duns in 1721, was apprenticed to George

Lauder, the Edinburgh surgeon, and attended medical classes at the University. He joined the Army and was Surgeon to Pulteney's Regiment of Foot, being present at Falkirk and Culloden, and afterwards in Holland from 1746 to 1748, Grainger occupied his spare time with the study of Latin poets.

Doubtless the uncertainty of a livelihood in a country as bleak and poor as the Scotland of that period rendered an army surgeoncy a prize. Some correspondence reproduced in *More Culloden Papers* (Warand) refers to the candidature of a certain *Dr R Brown* as Surgeon to the troops in Inverness and other Highland garrisons. The approach to Sir John Cope for his recommendation was made through Brown's brother-in-law, Baillie William Mackintosh (sometime Burgh Treasurer of Inverness) who approached the Lord President Cope, writing from London on Nov 3 to Duncan Forbes, promised his support, but said that he must first get the approval of Wade who was at that time in Flanders.

In a subsequent letter, Nov 30, 1744, he mentions Wade's approval, and later that the King had consented to Brown succeeding Dr Cuthbert Mention is made of considerable competition for the appointment.

MY LORD,

I had an obliging letter from Marshal Wade from Ostent in answer to mine on the subject of the surgion, he is very glad to give his consent to your Lordship's recommendation. Sir Will Yonge not being come from Bath, I thought it best to secure Mr Pelham against other solicitations (and many there have been).

Later

The King has consented that Mr Brown shall succeed Dr Cuthbert, of which your Lordship will please to acquaint Mr Brown and I shall get his commission out as soon as I can.

Dr Duncan Munro (1687-1746), having acquired considerable wealth in the East Indies, returned to Scotland in 1726 He was nearly 60 years of age, and had no particular business in the action at Falkirk, but "attended lest his brother had need of him" The brother. Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, was attacked by several Highlanders of Lochiel's Regiment and was shot in the groin and received two fatal sword wounds over the eye and on the mouth. The doctor also was shot in the breast and "received terrible and fatal wounds from the sword."

Four students of "physic" belonging to the Edinburgh Company of Volunteers (HOWELL) joined the Hanoverian Forces, were captured at Falkirk and subsequently escaped from Doune Castle by making ropes of their bedclothes. *William MacGhie* afterwards became physician to Guy's Hospital, *Home* was the author of "Douglas", *Barrow* dislocated his ankle and fractured several ribs in the descent, but with the help of Home and a 'borrowed' horse reached safety, *Robert Douglas* became a surgeon in the Royal Navy.

Cumberland, on assuming command of the Hanoverian troops, called for surgeons to accompany the army to Scotland. As has happened on many occasions before and since, surgeons of promise were not found wanting in their eagerness to render aid to the wounded, and even in the middle of the eighteenth century surgical experience was largely gained in the service of Mars. Three friends, *Cowell*, a young Quaker, *Thomas Dunsdale*, afterwards to acquire fame in other spheres, and *Joseph Warner* (1717-1801), each anxiously seeking hospital appointments, joined the colours. Warner soon received a surgical appointment at Guy's, became FRS in 1754, was the first surgeon to ligature the common carotid artery in 1775, and was an examiner for the Surgeons' Company from 1771 till his death in 1801. Cowell was made surgeon to St Thomas's.

In addition to the doctors and surgeons there was unqualified assistance on the Hanoverian as well as the Prince's side *Alexander Cantley*, butler to Thomas Grant, of Achoynany, (A. a. Tayler 336) was one of the earliest to take an interest in James Ferguson, the astronomer. Cantley was "clever at mathematics, music and languages and even something of a doctor."

Dr James Clerk, of Edinburgh, was apparently a popular physician with those

chieftains who professed loyalty to the Crown. The following extract from a letter from the Laird of MacLeod to President Duncan Forbes contains a reference (Warand) to the doctor—

The rainy weather or some cause or other (but it's neither eating or drinking) has hurt me, and I'm a good deal more uneasie these four or five days with my limbs than I was. I want but the least hint from you to draw me nearer Clarky.

I am Intyrlie yours,

NORMAND MACLEOD

John Macleod, fourth of Talisker, "brought up to the medical profession", in 1745 joined one of the Independent Companies raised that year by the Laird of Macleod.

Jervase Wright, (Fitzherbert 172, 190) surgeon to General Wade's Horse.

PRESTONPANS

The engagement was brief and ended in a complete rout of Cope's force within a few minutes, the exact number of which varies from four to seven in the different accounts of the battle. "A few shots from cannon, a tempest of plaids, as the Highlanders tossed them down and ran on half-naked in their smocks, a scattered fire from their ranks, one weak volley from the English infantry, no clash of steel, but a wild yell from the Celts and then a pursuit and slaughter." (Andrew Lang)

By 1745 Sir John Cope may not have been a man in the full vigour of health. Correspondence between John Forbes and the Lord President (Warand) in 1744 refers to Cope's sojourn at Bath for the waters, to his attack of "St Anthony's Fire" there, and to his reputation as a gallant. The famous Dr William Oliver, father-in-law of Pringle, physician to Bath Mineral Waters Hospital, and inventor of the "Bath Oliver", inscribed to him some verses, being his "Advice to Sir John Cope upon his catching St Anthony's Fire by drinking Bath Waters" (Hist. MMS Com. Rep. IX App 132, B).

See gentle Cope with love and gout oppress'd
Alternate torments rattling in his breast,
Trys at a cure, but tampers still in vain.
What eases one, augments the other pain
The charming girl who strives to lend relief.
Instead of healing, heightens all his grief
He drinks for health, but then for love he sighs,
Health's in her hand, destruction in her eyes,
She gives us water, but with each touch alas
The wicked girl electrifies the glass,
To ease the gout we swallow draughts of love.
And then, like Etna, burst in fires above.
Sip, not, dear Knight, the daughter's liquid fire.
But take the healing beverage from the sire,
'Twill ease your gout, for love no cure is known.
The god of physick could not heal his own.

There is another letter from Cope (Warand) to the Lord President written from Charges Street, W, in November, 1744, in which he refers to an illness associated with fever, which laid him low, his temperature may have been due to malaria, to which the suggestive word "intermitted" employed, lends some support.

It is with difficulty I am able to write so much, being so weekned by a violent fever which has kept me in bed almost these fourteen days, at last it intermitted, and last night I miss'd my fitt, so all danger is over, and I must wait with patience for strength Nothing like a Northern air for health and spirits Heaven send your Lordship a continuance of both, for the sake of your friends in particular and the publick good.

I am with great respect & truth

My Lord,

Your most obliged humble servant, JNO COPE

The Wounded at Prestonpans—These were, of course, predominantly Cope's men, and the numbers taken care of and the nature of the injuries can be gauged from a perusal of Lauder's "Representation" (Warand) of his case for release. I have no evidence whether he and Rattray voluntarily joined Prince Charles' service or whether they were "pressed" *vi et armis*, but both performed valuable work after Prestonpans, especially in the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse. It is difficult to find agreement with the statement "there was not a surgeon but us to be found." Munro certainly came to the battlefield and secured the removal of Hanoverian and Jacobite wounded to the Royal Infirmary, Cunningham and Trotter operated on 23 of Cope's officers in Cheapes house, but the

numbers which Lauder alleges to have been dealt with by Rattray, Wood, and himself must have represented a considerable percentage of the injured (1000 of Cope's men were prisoners).

The following is headed—

REPRESENTATION OF GEORGE LAUDER, SURGEON, IN EDINBURGH

The Day before the Battle of Preston Pans I was taken Prisoner from Edinburgh by the Rebels to take care of the Wounded in case of Action, and have been detained by them for the same purpose ever since.

The Officers (i.e., Hanoverian) who were made prisoners at that Battle have often told me, they reckoned it a great happiness to the Army, that 1 and Mr Rattray (who was in the same Situation with me) were there as a great Many of the Wounded both Officers and Soldiers must have inevitably perished, without immediate assistance, and there was not a Surgeon but us to be found.

Amongst the many taken care of by me the following gentlemen were not only dressed in the field but taken care of during the whole course of their *cures*, viz—

Capt Poyntz who had one very dangerous wound in his hand and five in his head.

Major Griffith had a large wound in his head.

Lieutenant Disney had his hand cutt of with a Sword and a shot in his shoulder, and must have dyed with loss of Blood in a very short time without assistance.

Lieutenant Hewitson had two dangerous wounds in his Head, one thro' both Tables of his Skull and a very bad one in his Arm.

Lieutenant Swinie had a large wound on his Face.

Mr Bishop son to Captain Bishop who was killed in the Action had fourteen wounds, some of them exceedingly dangerous, and must have died without extraordinary Care. I not only dressed him and operated on him, furnishing both external and internal medicines, as I did to the others, but even found him Lodgings, Nurses and Money for his Subsistance, he being an Orphan destitute of Friends and Money. Besides the above named I gave advice and the first dressings and operations to many more, who were afterwards taken care of by other Surgeons.

Mr Rattray likeways took care of many amongst whom were Captain Sandilands who had Sixteen wounds.

Mr (perhaps Birnie) who had six wounds and would have died with loss of Blood without instant help.

Mr Rattray and I, that day likeways operated upon and dressed almost three hundred private Men, two hunderd and eighty of which were taken into the Charity Work-house, where they were taken care of by Mr Wood and I, who are the Surgeons belonging to that House, but my charge of them was greatest as I performed the whole operations and furnished the Medicines out of my own Shop gratis. These facts can be attested by the Gentlemen themselves, and by Hugh Hunter Surgeon to my Lord Loudoun's Regiment who I desired some time to assist me with the Private Men, as also by Francis Drummond the Surgeon to Colonel Lascelle's Regiment, who came some times to the Work House to enquire of me concerning the Men of Colonel Lascelles Regiment. Myself and six Apprentices and Students continued dayly six or eight hours a day with the said Dressings. Colonel Halket will likeways attest that three Days after the Action he came to me (expressed) the sense he had of the obligation he lay under to me for the care I had taken of the Men, and told me that he understood that there was three or four of his men about seven Miles in the Country, who needed their Legs or Arms to be cut off, but as the Surgeon to their Regiment was only a Young man, he did not incline that the Thing should be done by his sole Advice, or even that he should be the operator. He therefore desired me to visit them, and to perform the operations if I judged them proper I went and saw them, thought the operations unnecessary and brought the men to Edinburgh, where they were taken care of.

Besides taking care of the wounded I likeways at my own expense, carryed out to the Prisoners at Colonel Gardiners House two Dozen of Wine, eight large loaves of bread, and a good quantity of Cheese.

The Rev Carlyle, of Inveresk, describes collector Cheape's house on the field of Prestonpans, to which 23 of *Cope's wounded officers* had been removed. He offered his services to the busy Cunningham and Trotter, the former was at the moment attending a pale and apparently dying young Officer, Captain Blake by name, a piece of whose skull about 2in square had been blown off.

The end-result of this operation is interesting. In a copy of *The Times* of 1801 the following note appeared—

LEFT AMONG THE DEAD

> Among the numerous inquiries made after the Sovereign’s (George III) health, the following card was left.
>
> Captain Blake of the Grenadiers, George Street, Westminster, in the Regiment of Colonel Murray at Preston Pans in 1745—left among the dead in the field of action with no less than 11 wounds, one so capital as to carry away 3 inches of his skull—Preserved 56 years to relate the event and enabled by Gracious protection to make his personal inquiries after his Majesty’s health.

But not only did the surgeons of both sides render succour to the wounded, but the Highlanders themselves rendered first aid to the many casualties left in their hands by the tempestuous flight of Cope and his fugitives. “I observed some of our privat men run to P. Seton for ale and other liquors to support the wounded. And as one proof for all, to my own particular observation I saw a Highlander supporting a poor wounded soldier by the arms ’till he should ease nature and afterwards carry him on his back into a house and left him sixpence at parting. In all which we followed not only the dictates of humanity but the orders of our Prince in all (Warand) (*Lockhart Pa*pers, 1817, 2, 491 London). For a time after Prestonpans the Royal Infirmary was practically a military hospital. The Jacobite wounded who remained after the Prince marched South automatically became prisoners, there were 18 Jacobite sick and wounded in the Infirmary between September, 1745, and April, 1746, 14 were casualties in action, of whom 2 underwent successful amputations.

Among the Highland wounded who passed into Government hands as prisoners may be mentioned—

Alexander Cameron, *shot through the chest and back*, admitted to the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, taken captive when the Highland Army marched south. He lived 13 months, ultimately dying of his wounds.

John Campbell was wounded at Prestonpans and admitted to the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary Later he is described “wants left leg”. Recovery

CROSSING THE BORDER

“With a hundred pipers and a’” the Border was crossed on Nov 8, they raised a loud shout and unsheathed their claymores. Lochiel, while in the act of drawing his weapon, accidentally cut his own hand, this was considered a bad omen.

There is a reference (Fitzherbert) to a wound of the throat received by Lord Elcho at Penrith, this was sutured.

At Derby (Journal) the doctors come into the picture, for the Mayor sent out to Charles’ Camp John Davinson, merchant, John Graham, apothecary, and Doctor Douglas, a physician, to ask for terms for the town. The answer was that terms would only be granted if the Castle was surrendered, and this was done.

THE WOUNDED AT FALKIRK

Lauder’s “Representation” (Warand) mentions that he was without instruments, bandages, dressings, and medicines soon after Falkirk when the Jacobite force hastily departed northward, that he only got them again just before Culloden, and that they were subsequently again taken from him.

After the Battle of Falkirk, I took care of Captain Fitzgerald of Colonel Munro’s Regiment, who had two wounds in his head and in a bad state of health otherwise, both he and Captain Halley must certainly be sensible too, that it was by my representation of the bad consequences, it would be to their healths, if they were carried alongst with the other Prisoners, that the one was left at Aberdeen and the other at St Ninians. I not only dressed wounds of all the wounded men and Militia prisoners at Stirling (which was the Place I was ordered to reside at) but likeways gave them money towards their substance, this can be attested by Mr Simpson, Minister of the Gospel at Falla, who was a Prisoner. I believe both he and Mr Maitland will likeways attest the pains I was att to get a place for a Hospital to them

where I might have them better taken of, both as to the Dyet and other ways, but the hurry and confusion the Rebells were continually in at that time prevented their doing anything of that sort, to either their own People or Prisoners. From their abandoning Stirling till now I was not of the smallest use to either side, having neither Instruments, Bandages, Dressings, or Medicines they having been left in Athole in the hurry of their Flight from Stirling, and brought again to Inverness by Lord George Murray a few Days before the Battle of Colloden. The Lord Presidents Chamberlain and other Servants can bear Witness to the use I designed them for that day.

Lochiel was slightly "wounded in the heel by a musket-ball during the heat of the action at Falkirk." As Dr Archie was lending Lochiel assistance he himself was wounded (loc cit, p 48). Shortly after the battle Lochiel was able to lead a detachment into the town of Falkirk.

James Farquharson, of Balmoral (Tayler, *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire of the '45*, p 170), was wounded in the shoulder at Falkirk. The wound proved more severe than at first thought, and he was forced into inactivity in Aberdeenshire—"He came to Perth right bad in a chaise." (Bisset's Diary, Feb 7, 1746).

In Stirling jail William Chrystie, Chyrurgeon, treated 26 prisoner-patients, of whom 16 were "fever" patients. Ten had gunshot wounds (2 of them with fractures), received during the Siege of Stirling Castle. In one case an amputation proved necessary, but ended fatally. The surgeon charged 6 shilligs and 8 pence for the amputation—the same fee as for attending a fever case. (Hearnshaw)

MALIGNANT FEVER (TYPHUS) AND 'THE '45'

Typhus has been a scourge of Armies in the field for 500 years, and the Civil War of 1745 was no exception, the "malignant fever of the hospitals" was almost certainly typhus. The disease broke out furiously among the infantry embarked in the Low Countries and landed at Newcastle, Holy Island, and Berwick in the autumn of 1745. The sick disembarked at Newcastle were lodged in a hospital (or house) which also received the sick from Marshal Wade's army, not only were the nurses and those constantly in the wards victims of the malady, but also the medical attendants "Three of the town apothecaries, four of their apprentices, and two journeymen were seized with the contagion and died."

Though Ligonier's and Price's regiments left their sick behind at Antwerp, by the time the transports reached Holy Island 97 soldiers were already ill with "malignant fever", and no fewer than 40 succumbed. The inhabitants of Holy Island also caught the infection and 50 died—one-sixth of the population. There were fewer sick among the troops landed at Berwick, where the disease was apparently less severe and did not spread.

In December, 1745, an army of twelve battalions of infantry and three regiments of cavalry was assembling in the Staffordshire area under Cumberland. Pringle resolved on a policy of dispersal of the sick of this army, the men as they fell ill were left in the various towns under the care of the local surgeons and apothecaries. Apart from Lichfield, the men were not nursed in any common hospital, there was no epidemic and cases did well, "malignant fever" was unknown and there was no mortality. However, in Lichfield there were many more sick and the workhouse had to be fitted up as a hospital. "Too many cases were admitted, the air was corrupted, the common fevers became malignant and several died." (Pringle)

In Scotland until the outbreak of typhus in Inverness (see below) the diseases of the Army were chiefly respiratory infections. In the last three weeks of February, 1746, the Duke's troops were in billets in Perth, two battalions were quartered in churches. Pringle says "the hard coughs in particular with inflammations of the pleura and lungs were most frequent." Three hundred sick were left behind in Perth and Montrose in "Corporation Halls and private houses."

The Army was quartered in Aberdeen most of March, but subsequently a considerable proportion of the force was dispersed in Aberdeenshire villages. The men suffered from the extra cold, the easterly winds, cold beds, guards and out-duties and their own mismanagement, their ailments were the common winter infections. The officers fared better in warm quarters, and the respiratory diseases were not so frequent, but some of them developed gout. (Hearnshaw) In Aberdeen the sick were lodged in the hospital of the town (Aberdeen Infirmary) and in other large houses and escaped 'hospital fever.' Four hundred sick were left behind at Aberdeen, Inverurie, and Strathbogie, when the Army moved north, but only a small proportion died. Before Inverness was reached another 60 or 70 had fallen sick, apart from those wounded at Culloden, and were left in the townships and villages through which the Duke's Army passed. (Pringle)

Aberdeen—During his occupation of Aberdeen, Cumberland converted Gordon's Hospital (*Fig.* 6) into a fort and garrisoned it with 200 men under Captain Crosbie—with the object " of securing the town against any insults from Glenbucket's people or any others who may have forebore showing themselves when we were here with the Army " Despite Its name, the building was never intended for the sick, but had been erected in 1732 for the poor children of decayed burgesses. There had been delay in using it, "since the expense of the building had materially encroached on the funds in their hands (the amount of which was originally £10,300), and owing to this and to the troubled state of the country in 1745 and 1746 the house remained unoccupied (*except that it was used as a barracks by the Royalist troops in* 1746) until 1750. The first occupants were the Hanoverian troops, who surrounded the building with a trench and earthen ramparts faced with pallisades and christened it "Fort Cumberland." Doubtless "minor sick" were treated there.

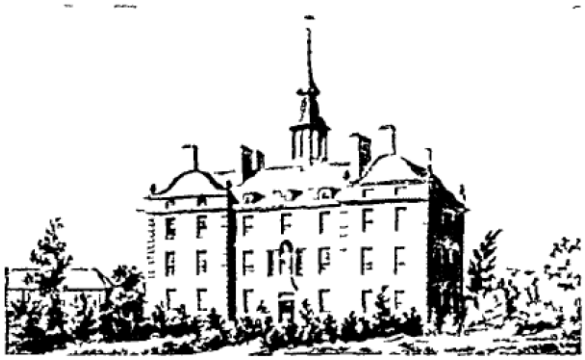

Figure 6—Gordon's Hospital, Aberdeen, in the eighteenth century (called 'Fort Cumberland' in March 1746)

Inverness—At Inverness two malt-barns were commandeered for the reception of the Hanoverian wounded, who numbered 270 in all. "There were many with cuts of the broadsword, till then uncommon wounds in the hospitals, but these were easily healed (1) as the openings were large in proportion to the depth, (2) as they bled much at first, and (3) as there were no contusions and eschars as in gunshot wounds to obstruct a good digestion." (Pringle)

In addition to these "wards" for the wounded, arrangements were made for the sick. Two "well-aired houses" were taken over for the more serious sick, the regimental medical officers had to find quarters for the less severe cases. It was hoped that these measures might prevent any epidemic which the conditions prevailing in Inverness appeared likely to favour. There was no outbreak until the arrival of Houghton's Regiment which had been sent up as a reinforcement. These had with them 36 deserters from English gaols for court-martial who brought "jail-fever" along with them. Three days after the coming ashore at Nairn 6 officers were seized with "jail-fever" and 80 men were left there with the same disease. During the ten following days that they were in camp in Inverness they sent into hospital 120 patients with the same fever. The symptoms and course of the disease left no doubt that "jail-fever" and hospital fever were the same, previous conjecture was now a certainty.

In Inverness, there were also frequent cases of slight diarrhœa, which Pringle thought might be the result of the Ness water which had always been accounted a laxative to those unaccustomed to drink it. These

cases either cleared up quickly or yielded to astringents. When a force left Inverness for Fort Augustus, 600 sick were left behind (excluding the wounded). In Fort Augustus and Fort William there were "dysenteries, fluxes and agues."

A note in *More Culloden Papers* details the buildings utilized by the Hanoverian sick and wounded, which involved very considerable expense to the town of Inverness—

> Repairs and conveniences made for the King's Army after their entering the Town the 16 April 1746 immediately after the Battle of Culloden.
>
> Repairing glass work of Charity School, Library & Achnacloich's kiln used as hospitals by the Army.
>
> Clerk MacBean's house also taken for a hospital.
>
> Fairfield's kiln fitted also for a hospital.

A description of typhus cases in Blair Castle and of the overcrowding which led to its spread is to be found in the account of a *Surgeon attached to the Hanoverian Army*.

On the Jacobite side there was little illness or accident during the period of invasion of England. In the *Lockhart Papers* there is a statement attributed to Lord George Murray that "by all accidents such as death by sickness (of which it is believed that there was more in one day in General Wade's Army than were in six weeks in His R. H.'s) we did not lose forty men in the whole expedition including the 12 at Penrith."

THE NATURE OF INJURIES IN JACOBITES WOUNDED AT CULLODEN MOOR

The types of wounds in those recovering may be gauged from the following extracts, they include through-and-through wounds, retained fragments, compound fractures with osteomyelitis, head wounds, etc., and contusions.

Cameron of Lochiel (Warand) "As the action was near over, Lochiel was wounded in both his legs. He was carried out of the field by four of his men who brought him to a little barn", later on they "put him on a horse, and brought him to Clunie's house in Badenoch, where he continued till next morning and then went to Lochaber. When he left the barn he dismist two of the four men, the other two supported him on the horse."

"Breackachie informed me that Lochiel was quite out of all danger as to his wounds when Sir Stewart Threipland (alias Dr Threpland) left Badenoch, which was some time in the month of July 1746. 'But then' added Breackachie, 'Lochiel's wounds were not entirely closed up, neither was he free of pain, when the Prince came to Badenoch, at which very time Lochiel was not able to walk well about, but behoved to be removed about from place to place on horseback. However, before notice came of the two ships on the west coast, Lochiel's wounds were quite closed up and skinned over, and he was then fit to travel.'"

Captain Roy MacDonald (Warand) was bid by the dying Keppoch "Do the best for yourself, for 1 am gone", and in walking off the field received "a musket bullet in at the sole of the left foot and out at the buckle, and yet that day he walked five miles without stopping (the foot bleeding all the time and the wounds being altogether without any dressing or so much as a rag about them) to a place two miles beyond Inverness called Bunchrive, where he got a horse and rode eight miles the same day, always pushing his way towards the Isle of Sky, where he was very desirous to be "He durst not put the wounded foot into a stirrup, it was swelled so big, and he had no shoe upon it, for he had lost the shoe when he got the wound."

Next day, Thursday, April 17, he luckily fell in with one, Balfour, a young man (who had been surgeon to the MacGregors in the Prince's service and who was taking care of Murdoch MacLeod of Raasay). "This Balfour dressed the foot by only putting some dry tow upon the hole beneath and the hole above and rolling a bandage above all The foot got no more dressing till he came upon the Isle of Skye, being Wednesday April 23rd, eight days after the battle" "He took up his quarters in the house of John MacLean, surgeon in Troternish, and had the foot dressed for the second time upon the Wednesday April 23rd, and by this time it had such a stink that one could scarce enter the room where he was." The story is somewhat reminiscent of Philoctetes, except that for a time he "continued in the surgeon's house. Later the Captain had three different caves, where by turns he made his abode for eight weeks, and during that time Lady Margaret (MacDonald) furnished

him with provisions and necessaries, and the surgeon forgetting ancient clan prejudices used to send dressings to him for the wounded foot, by a proper hand. In the caves he had beds only of ferns or heath, and wrapped himself in his tartain plaid. The midges and flies from the heat of the season (part of July and August) proved very uneasy companions to him, which obliged him frequently to retire into the inner parts of the caves, where the coolness kept them from him.” The wounded foot took long to heal and sequestra were discharged, but ultimately a good result was obtained. “The ram was exceedingly heavy, and dangerous to the wound in his foot, which was still open, and was not quite healed up till sometime in November, 1746, it continuing all that time (now and then) to throw out small bones. He now walks as cleverly as ever without any the smallest pain or halt, and made a journey from Sky to Edinburgh in twelve days on foot, and as he came along visited several friends and acquaintances.”

Captain MacDonald brought to Edinburgh a Latin ode to his wounded foot written by John MacPherson, Presbyterian preacher at Sleat in Skye, which appeared in the Scot’s Magazine, December, 1747 (*Lyon in Mournung*, 2, 37). The poem is too long to reproduce here in full, but one stanza describes in detail the anatomical nature of the injury and the loss of his shoe.

Non modo carnes, gracilesque fibras,
Tendines, vertumque laceravit ossa,
Calceo secta ligula repente
Me spoliavit.

Captain MacDonald, of Belfinlay, “who was 18 years old and an officer in the Highland army, has the misfortune to be shott through the two leggs in that action which rendered him uncapable to make his escape. He lay in a field after he received his wounds, and was betwixt the fire of the English army and that of the few French troops that made some resistance after the Highlanders were routed, where showers of balls pass’d by him. He remained likewise in the field all that night after he was stript of all his cloaths, his very shirt and breeches being taken from him. He lay a prisoner at Inverness, not being able to be transported with the broken bones in his legs till the indemnity which set him free.’’

Further details of Belfinlay’s compound fracture of both bones of the leg are forthcoming, the injury was produced by “small shot out of the belly of a cannon”, and a metal fragment was extracted. In February, 1749, 24 sequestra had extruded themselves, and during April, 1749, 2 more splinters were pointing and he was confined to his room in the Canongate, Edinburgh.

Belfinlay recovered “the use of his legs so well that in his journey to Edinburgh he walked from his own house to Inverary, being no less than sixty long miles, but he is still afraid that there are some more splinters of bones to be taken out. He is a tall, strapping, beautiful young man, but has contracted a delicacy of constitution with his sufferings.” (Warand)

John Fraser, Ensign in the Master of Lovat’s Regiment, was shot through the thigh by a musket bullet at the Battle of Culloden, and the following day Fraser received further injuries from one of Cumberland’s soldiery, who, with the butt of his gun, struck him on the face, dashed out one of his eyes, and beat down his nose flat and shattered to his cheek. Fraser was taken to some place of concealment and recovered from his wounds.

I likewise asked him about the wound he had received in the action at Culloden He told me that the bullet entred at the left shoulder, and lodged under the right shoulder blade, and that one, Balfour, a surgeon, took the bullet out the day after the battle. (Warand)

Dr Murdoch MacLeod, (Warand) Raasay’s third son, was at Kirnag when Captain Roy MacDonald arrived there, he had received a musket bullet in at one shoulder, and which had made its way under the skin by the root of the neck to the other shoulder where it lodged. At Kirnag, Mr Balfour made incision upon the shoulder and took the bullet out Malcolm MacLeod and his wife and Murdoch MacLeod accompanied, Donald Roy MacDonald to the “ferry at the head of Loch Terirtan, where they parted, they sailing for the Isle of Rasey.” Belfinlay said that Robert Nairn (? Thomas) was among the wounded who had got off from the field of battle, Nairn’s legs being quite safe, but one of his arms was almost cut off with wounds, that the said Nairn was his fellow prisoner in the same room with him, and that Nairn (when pretty well recovered) made his escape out of the said room Belfinlay added that Mr Nairn had almost died of a mortification in his back, when bedrid in his wounds, and he believed Mr Nairn would never have the right use of his wounded arm. (Warand)

There are few details about *Captain Allan Cameron* (Warand) of Collart’s injuries at Culloden, save that he had a broken arm and

though brutally treated in a prison ship on the way to London, he recovered *Thomas Fraser* (Warand) (or Frazer) was shot through the thigh, he escaped and recovered. *Patrick Fleming of Auchintoul* (A. a. Tayler) (14th Laird), said to have been the best swordsman in the Prince's army, received a gunshot fracture of the leg at Culloden. Feigning death, he endured the agony of having his boots dragged off by the Hanoverian soldiery. Fleming recovered.

"That in the same country house the said Lauchlan Grant did see likewise, at the same time, another man (Warand) whose head he (Lauchlan Grant) believed was cloven to the harns, and whose tongue was so hanging out that the poor man himself could not put it in again. But Lauchlan Grant put in the poor man's tongue, and tied a napkin about his cloven head, upon which the poor man thanked Lauchlan Grant in Erse, and prayed God to reward him."

John Tyrie, a priest, was twice wounded in the head, but escaped capture.

John Macdonald of Leek was wounded in the thigh at Culloden and remained six months in the house of Grant of Glenmoriston 'till his wound was healed. Later on he joined the Fraser Highlanders and survived 'till 1813.

The 16th ClanRanald was wounded in the head at Culloden, and escaped to his grandmother's house in Inverness, whence for his greater safety he made his way to Moydart. With Kinloch Moydart he had come aboard the Du Teillay in the summer of 1745.

MacLeod of Glendale's son, who had sailed to Scotland with the Prince as his aide-de-camp, was wounded at Culloden. One of his son's ultimately *practised as a physician in* Harris.

Macdonald of Dalchosme was killed at Culloden, his eldest son died of wounds at Dalchosme. A daughter, Barbara, who led an anxious and strenuous existence in 1746, taking food to her brother John, in hiding, lived to be 91.

Hugh Fraser, at one time secretary to Lord Lovat, who turned King's Evidence against his master, had a certificate issued on his behalf by *Arthur Baynes*, a surgeon in Inverness, dated August 22, 1746, to the effect that Fraser "has several bones to come out of his Arm and is in a bad State of Body otherwise, being much weakened by violent sweatings and looseness for these three weeks past", and that it would be dangerous to move him. Fraser was sent by sea to Edinburgh in November and by road to London in December. On May 25, 1947, there is a report from Dr Freeman of Conduit Street, London, that "ye gross Neglect of his former Surgeons had rendered impossible a total Recovery of his Arm." However, he says that his own skill has been the means of restoring some function to his hand and fingers. Finally, he suggests a visit to Bath as a means of rehabilitation. King's Evidence apparently opened the door to skilful methods and even fashionable places of treatment. (Hearnshaw)

"Nursing" After Culloden—Mrs Ann Leith, (Pringle) who has been described as the Florence Nightingale of the Rising, apparently came from Strathbogie. She and her maid, Effy, set out on the morning of Culloden with the object of taking food, etc., to friends in the Highlands Army, which she knew to be terribly short of food. From April 17 to July 29 she was "never two hours at a time in my own house, but while I slept, still going from person to person and from one great person to another soliciting favours for the destrest." She appealed to Lord Lewis Drummond and the Marquis d'Eguilles who were prisoners on parole, to use their influence with Lord Cathcart, Lord Albemarle, and Captain Collingwood.

She was herself arrested by Captain Eyre, when on her way to visit and succour her personal friends, but was released by General Huske's orders. Mrs Leith was a cousin of Gordon of Glenbucket and was specially kind to his blind eldest son when the latter was a prisoner in Inverness, even lending him money which apparently was never repaid. (Hearnshaw) The cause of "Colonel" John Gordon's "threat and blindness" is stated by Lord Elcho to have been drink, but this seems very improbable. In January, 1749, she writes that she herself had been "destressed with the Rheumatizm in my limbs that I can hardly make a street length at any time."

THE PRINCE'S HEALTH AND ILLNESSES IN 1745-6

Until the Battle of Falkirk the Prince displayed the tireless energy and indefatigability of youth. He walked the Corriearrick Pass at such a pace that the Highlanders were glad when he lost the heel

of one of his brogues (*Lyon in Mourning*, 208). The *Lockhart Papers* (2, 498) also refer to his walking powers, even at night, "one of the darkest nights I ever saw, yet did His R. H. walk it on foot, and most of the way without a lanthorn, yet never stumbled which many of us Highlanders often did." This refers to a march from Penrith to Carlisle at night. During his wanderings after Culloden he smoked a lot (*Lyon in Mourning*, 177), the pipes often broke and he put quills into one another to make the stem long enough, and "the tobacco smoak cool."

The Prince caught a severe cold after Falkirk and remained at Bannockburn House

FIG. 7—Bannockburn House, where the Prince was ill, January 1746 (By courtesy of Miss Wyllie)

where he was nursed by Clementina Walkinshaw during the last weeks of January. His cold never got quite well and flared up again after the surprise attack on Moy, and he finally developed pneumonia Some extracts from Sullivan's Diary reproduced below from Henrietta Tayler's *1745 and After* (145, 146, 176, 181, 187, 188, 207) instance the maladies from which the Prince suffered during the period immediately before Culloden and while he was "skulking" in the West and in the Isles. The first two references (pp 143, 144) concern his illness in Elgin when he was nursed at Thunderton House by Mrs Anderson, of Arrandour. Despite

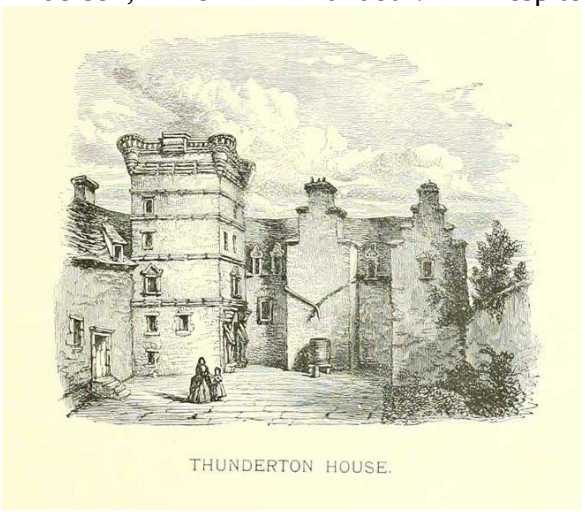

FIG. 8—Thunderton House (From an old print)

Sullivan's mention of spotted fever (loc cit, 143), there can be little doubt that the Prince had pneumonia. Henrietta Tayler draws my attention to the fact that Mrs Anderson carefully preserved the bed-clothes in which the Prince slept which she would scarcely have done if typhus had been the ailment in question. The incident (loc cit 5 181) refers to the visit to Stornoway after a difficult march in the Long Islands. The Prince apparently had "a form of dysentery throughout his wanderings, but regarded the laxity of his bowel as due to milk (Hearnshaw) and to the lack of alcohol, had great confidence in the curative properties of treacle which Sullivan managed to produce and which had the desired effect. Henceforth he would have no more milk. The extract (loc cit, 188) shows that he did not suffer from scabies—a ubiquitous scourge in Scotland at that time. The Prince was in poor general condition when he finally got back to Paris, even worse than when Sullivan left him in the end of June.

> H. R. Hs was very ill at this time with a spotted favor, but it was kept so secret yt Sullivan knew nothing of it until night, yt Sr Thomas made him a confidence of it The Prince happily recover'd a most viollent &. dengerous favour & got up the ninth or tenth day, against the Docters advise, being still in the favor, & said yt peoples were sick, only when they thought themselfs so, they starved him almost, giving him but very light breaths, but when he got up, he wou'd eat a soupe, the

next day eat something else, the Docters were mad, thought he'd Kill himself. In three days after the Prince arrived at Invernesse, as well as cou'd be expected, after such a such a sicknesse, but very low a furiouse weave comes & throws the Prince flatte again the other side of the boat, the Prince crys out "there is no hurt, there is no hurt." Sullivan & o'Neil goes to help him up, another weave comes throws them all three one upon another. I declair to yu the Prince was blew wth cold, & so was every body The Prince was in a terrible condition setting aside cold & hunger without even complaining, he had not a Shoe to his feet, all tore to pieces, they held only wth coards yt they tyed up with, his toes were quit stript. But as the milk did not agree with him, & yt he had no other kind of Liquor, he took a looseness, wch turned to a bloody flux. He'd not let a soul know this but old Sainclair, he grew so low & so peal yt Sulhvan was frightend "if I had traicle, I'd be cured immediately." Sullivan remembred yt he had a little pot yt he carryed about him when he was Ill himself, went imediatly &. found it, the Prince took of it, with a little broath, & in three days time the flux caissed. The Prince drank no more milk, lived upon watter & was parfectly well. Clenranold came to joyn here, & brought him, where wth all to make him a surtout of good English Cloath, When the Prince got on his highland Cloaths he was quite another man "Now," says he leping, "I only want the Itch to be a compleat highlander." He was in a frightfull condition as those gents says when he arrived aboard the ships, not only his feet all cut & stript, but his legs & thyes in ulsers, even worse then he was when Sullivan quitted him nothing left but the wig, wch was a most abominable one, but a Lady discovers it was not given away, but thrown aside, & she wou'd have it. She was told u wou'd infect her, yt It was full of vermine, as really it was, & never such a one was set to frighten Crows away, but she got it, & set it up pretiously, as the rest was by those yt had them.

THE ARMAMENTARIUM OF THE SURGEON OF 'THE 'FORTY-FIVE'

For surgeons in the field Ranby's *Method of Treating Gunshot Wo*unds, published in 17443 must have been not only the most modern but the most convenient in size. It is difficult to imagine the conveyance by Army surgeons of such volumes as the sixth edition of Wiseman (1734) or the English translations of Dionis (1710), Garengot (1723), or Heister's compendium (1743).

The instruments available for the Army surgeon are detailed in the Preface to Ranby's book (*Fig.* 9). Some information regarding the nature of the drugs employed in Scotland at the time may be found in the contents of Prince Charles's Medicine Chest and the cost to the patient of medicines, etc., supplied can be ascertained by reference to accounts submitted by surgeons of the time. The details of an account for medicine, etc., supplied by Alexander Monro, sen., to Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, just prior to the period under consideration are not without interest (*More Culloden Papers*, 223).

Paucity of space precludes me from appending a complete list of the contents of Prince Charles' Chest (*Fig.* 10). It was not devoid of humour that the contents of a phial marked "9" were Glauber's salts. The smell of ammoniacum was still distinctive after 200 years. *Argent viv* in the list is clearly quicksilver, and *Aq Reginæ Hungar* was made from rosemary in blossom, sage, and ginger cut in pieces, and water and rectified spirit were added. This was used as a perfume, but also employed as a restorative in faintness. *Lapis infernalis* was nitrate of silver, "dragon's blood" was given as a mild astringent and was one of the ingredients in the styptic pills of Helvetius *Elixir of vitriol* "mightily strengthens the stomach and does good service in relaxation for debauch and overfeeding" *Sal succini* was used in rheumatism, gout, suppressed or repressed eruptions and cramps, *Pil e styrace* was useful in chronic coughs and some other pulmonary affections, etc., etc. In a *Journal of an English Medical Officer who attended the Duke of Cumberland's Army as far North as Inverness*, published in 1746, there is a note about the Scottish Sabbath, which, in fact, did not differ greatly in the end of the nineteenth century.

THE

METHOD

OF TREATING

GUNSHOT WOUNDS

BY

JOHN RANBY,

Principal SERJEANT SURGEON to His MAJESTY and F. R. S.

LONDON

Printed for JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON in Ludgate-street. MDCCXLI

The PREFACE

A Screw Saw with two Blades
A Knife and Catlin
An Artery Forceps.
Two Cauteries.
Four Chissels, large, and of different Figures
A Trephine, with two Heads and a Key
A *Perforatory*
A *Lenticular* and *Raspatory*
A Case of crooked Needles.
A large, and small, Catheter
Crooked Scissors
Two *Whalebone Probes*, } Thirteen or fourteen Inches long
A *Steel Probe* }
A Speculum Oris
A Plaister Knife

A

The PREFACE

A Trocar
Paces
A Brush for the Trephine
A Bar Instrument with two Claws
Bullet Forceps, twelve Inches long with four sharp Teeth
Ditto, strait, without Teeth
A Levatory
A Screw Tourniquet.
A Case of Pocket Instruments
A Case of Lancets.

THE Hospitals are not only furnish'd with these, but, thro' an abundance of Care and Tenderness for the Patients supplied likewise with several very curious additional ones;

FIG. 9—Title page and preface from Ranby’s *The Method of Treating Gunshot Wounds*

The diarist complains that on a Sunday “he stopped at the post house for refreshment, but could have nothing but an egg or two with some wine or thick Scots ale, it being a custom through many parts of Scotland to eat only an egg or nothing for dinner, and to have a hot supper at night.”

Account for Medicines, Etc., supplied by Alexander Monro, Surgeon-Apothecary, from 1724 to 1744

Accot the Right Honble my Lord President to Alexander Monro, Surgeon-Apothecary

			£	s	d
1724					
Jan	26	Item a vomit for Mrs Wilson	0	0	6
April	2	Item a vomit for your son	0	1	0
Sept	1	Item a Dose Sacred Tincture	0	1	8
1728					
June	19	Item to himself Diachylon Plaister	0	0	10
		Item a large Pot Basilicon Ointment	0	1	4
1731					
Aug	10	Item some Red Precipitate of Mercury	0	1	6
1732					
April	30	Item Gold Leave 12 in number	0	2	0
1736					
Jan	10	Item a Paregoric Haustus	0	0	9
1738					
Sept	12	Item a Dose Sacred Tincture	0	1	10
1744					
Jan	22	Item to the Cook a Dose Salts	0	0	10
Sept	1	Item for the Footman's Child a vomit	0	0	8
Feb	8	Item for the Postilion a dose Physic	0	1	3
Mar	18	Item to the Cat a vomit	0	0	2

He also refers to the washerwomen treading the soiled linen in a tub with their naked feet on the banks of the River Ness, at the same time holding their petticoats up to their middle. Human nature does not change much with years, for the surgeon adds that the “river edges are lined with these sort of women that are maid servants and frequently as many soldiers admiring their legs and thighs.” One’s own county pride is hurt by a reference to a disorderly house on the road out of Aberdeen towards Inverness “we pass through several small villages amongst

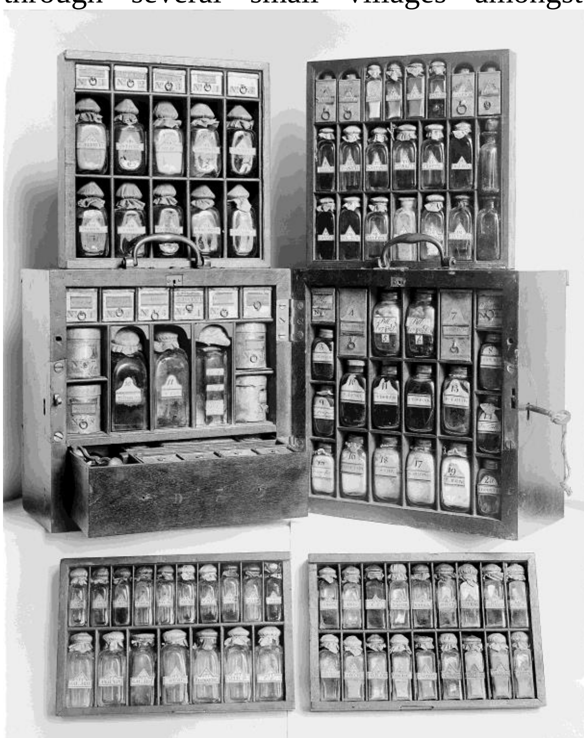

FIG. 10—Travelling medicine chest of Sir Stuart Threipland, commonly known as Prince Charlie’s medicine chest. The original is in the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh (From Comrie’s *History of Scottish Medicine*)

which is Newkirk* noted for a famous (? infamous) house kept there by an old woman and her two daughters."

EPILOGUE

I am not concerned with the political implications of the '45, nor can I claim any Cassandra-like gift of prophecy as to what might have been the final result, if this or that policy had been adopted or rejected by the Jacobite leaders in the field. The late Lord Rosebery has recorded his opinion that "in all probability, had Charles not retreated from Derby, ten thousand Frenchmen would have attempted a descent on Southern England and changed the face of our history."

Militarily, the Jacobite Rebellion may have been only an episode or diversion in the war of the Austrian Succession, one of the long series of wars in which Britain tried to prevent France from regaining paramount power in Europe, but also the Rising was the last spark of the flickering Stuart story—"a Cause for which thousands of men willingly and devotedly faced exile and ruin and death, round which some of the sweetest poetry of Scotland has twined Itself, and which the legends of the Scottish people still embalm."

But for a year Scotland was torn and riven in the throes of civil strife, clan was divided against clan, family against family, father against son, or wife, brother against brother The first lines of Lucan's "Pharsalia" are no exaggerated description of the regretful picture of Scotland's agony:

Bella per Scoticos plus quam civilia campos
Iusque datum sceleri canimus populumque potentem
In sua victrici conversum viscera dextra,
Cognatasque actes

To-day is Culloden Day, and 199 years ago on this afternoon Prince Charles was in flight to Gortuleg, destined to spend another five months in Western Scotland and the Isles in his endeavour to reach France, doomed to communion with his own thoughts over the ruin of his Cause and the disaster and death of many of his friends, but still supported by the hope of a to-morrow. His reverie and regrets are expressed by Scotland's poet in "The Chevalier's Lament"

The small birds rejoice in the green leaves returning,
The murmuring streamlet winds through the vale,
The primroses blow, in the dew of the morning,
And wild scatter'd cowslips bedeck the green dale
But what can give pleasure, or what can seem fair,
While the lingering moments are number'd by care?
No flowers gaily springing, or birds sweetly singing,
Can soothe the sad bosom of joyless despair

But 'tis not my sufferings thus wretched—forlorn,
My brave gallant friends 'tis your rum I mourn,
Your deeds proved so loyal in hot bloody trial—
Alas! Can I make you no sweeter return?

For more than 300 years before the '45 discerning men had seen that Nature designed the inhabitants of the isle of Britain to be citizens of a single nation, a consummation too long delayed and now opposed for the last time by the Clans under Prince Charles and against the will of a pacific majority in Scotland.

The little Jacobite rose of purest white, emblem of unswerving loyalty and selfless devotion, still grows on Scottish doons and in Scottish gardens, and in the grounds of Elrick, Aberdeenshire, there is a Jacobite rose tree sent years ago all the way "from the garden of Charles Edward's villa in Rome as a gift to the lady of Nethermurlands (Elrick), a great politician in her day and a great Jacobite. (Boyle) A century or two is as nothing to a rose and to this day (1899) it is hale and hearty." The original tree is now dead, but a shoot from the tree was graciously accepted for Balmoral by Her Majesty, one of whose ancestors lost his life on the Jacobite side in the Rising of 1715, though none of the Lords Strathmore took an active part in the '45. The shoot from the rose tree of Charles Edward's garden has now fresh roots in the Balmoral Garden of Her Majesty, the most honoured and the most adored of all descendants of those who once wore the white cockade.

It has not been easy for one playing some surgical share in the prosecution of this war,

* Newmachar

and at the moment shouldering other burdens perhaps less intimately connected with the war effort, to find the necessary time for the preparation of an historical lecture, but my labours have been lightened by the readiness to help so uniformly and so willingly demonstrated by all to whom I have made appeal There is, of course, much literature dealing with the '45, and there is abundant reference to this in the bibliography at the end of the paper, but one of the authors whose name must recur with inevitability whenever the '45 is under discussion is deserving of my special gratitude—Miss Henrietta Tayler, perhaps the greatest living authority on the Jacobites of the first half of the eighteenth century, who has helped with her counsel, literary material, and several illustrations.

My friends, W. R. Le Fanu and Samuel Wood, of the Library of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, have afforded me most valuable aid, and G. F. Home and W. J. Bishop, of the Library of the Royal Society of Medicine, have been no less eager and anxious to furnish assistance.

Across the Border, where the subject always seems to make a special appeal, I am under a deep obligation to many. In Aberdeen, the Lord Provost and Town Council graciously permitted me access to the records of the proceedings of the burgh at that time, and my special thanks are due to Mr D. G. Gunn, the Town Clerk, an office which my uncle, the late Dr William Gordon, held for nearly half a century. The Board of the Aberdeen Royal Infirmary courteously facilitated my efforts, and I would specially thank the Medical Superintendent, Dr Knox, Dr Alexander Lyle, and Mr John A. McConachie, the Clerk and Treasurer.

No one appeals in vain to the learning of Dr W. Douglas Simpson, Librarian, King's College, Aberdeen, the Headmaster of Gordon's College, and Mr Walter R. Humphries, HM Inspector of Schools in Scotland, have not only furnished me with valuable information about the part played by my old school in the Rebellion, but have even gone to great trouble over other inquiries relevant to my subject.

My friend, Mr A. J. C. Hamilton, FRCS, of Inverness, through contacts made for me, has greatly facilitated my labours in that city.

In Edinburgh, the Librarian of the Royal College of Physicians, Dr T. H. Graham, was himself a storehouse of lore and a skilful guide to other possible sources of information, and I cannot forget the kind help of Mr W. J. Stuart, FRCS, and Professor J. R. Learmonth, CBE, of Edinburgh University, Mr J. R. Richardson, FSA Scot, ARISA, Inspector of Antiquities, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, those in charge of the Signet Library, the Keeper of the Burgh Records, the Keeper of Manuscripts, National Library, and Mr David Band, FRCS.

Such medical historians as Lord Amulree, Professor Hume, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Dr Douglas Guthrie, of Edinburgh, kindly helped my unsteady footsteps on the track of history My old 'shipmate', Surgeon-Lieutenant A. M. Gilchrist, skilfully directed my steps in Glasgow, and finally, from Mrs Burnet Whyte, of Elrick House, Aberdeenshire, I have learned much about the Jacobite Rose, the illustration of which has been kindly supplied by Mrs Coulson, of Duff House, Arundel.

The notes on the medical and surgical aspects of the '45 have been excavated by hard endeavour from amidst material less relevant to my inquiry, collected in fragments, and hastily and imperfectly pieced together in this address. The motto of the Scottish History Society must be my excuse for this presentation—

"*Colligite fragmenta ne pereant*"

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