

GENERAL GEORGE WADE
AND HIS ROADS.

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GENERAL GEORGE WADE
AND HIS ROADS

BY
SIR K. S. MACKENZIE, BART.

*(Paper read at the Inverness Field Club,
April 13, 1897.)*

PRINTED AT THE COURIER OFFICE, INVERNESS.

1897.



Portrait of General Wade Commander in Chief of the Military Forces in Scotland

GENERAL WADE.

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General George Wade and his Roads.

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SIR KENNETH S. MACKENZIE, BART.

The researches of the members of the Inverness Field Club in past years have brought to light some interesting vestiges of the military occupation of the Highlands in the eighteenth century, when law and order were being established there, and when military parties were being employed in constructing those roads of communication which have contributed more than any other single cause to the material progress of this part of the kingdom. These roads were commenced in 1725 and the system under which they were carried on remained in operation, with very little interval, till 1814, though before then many of them had been abandoned. They had attained their fullest development about 1784, when Lieutenant-General Alexander Mackay, then commanding the forces in North Britain, reported that they extended to about 1100 miles. Though popularly associated with the name of General Wade, he was in reality responsible for a very small share of them; but he was their originator, and to him must be awarded the credit of having contrived the system which afterwards received such great extension. Yet, beyond his mere name there is little generally

known of him in our day, and it may not be out of place to record in the transactions of an Inverness society what can be gathered of his life, and of his part in opening up the Highlands.

The easily accessible materials for the story of Wade's life are scanty. His name is not to be found in the catalogue of the library of the British Museum, nor does it occur in any biographical dictionaries in common use. There is a short memoir of him in a work called the Georgian Era, and another in the historical records of the British Army among the succession of Colonels of the 3rd Dragoon Guards. His pedigree is given in the fourth edition of Burke's "Landed Gentry" under the head of Wade of Westmeath, and he receives obituary notices in the "Scots Magazine" and the "Gentleman's Magazine" for March 1743, his age, however, being incorrectly stated if the inscription on his monument may be relied on. His official letter and order-book from June 1725, to August, 1728, is preserved at the Junior United Service Club in London. Large extracts from it have been given by Chambers in his "Domestic Annals of Scotland," and from there have found their way into other publications. A few letters have been printed among the Culloden papers. In the appendix to Jamieson's edition of Burt's "Letters" are two long reports addressed to George the First, one in the autumn of 1724, the other at the conclusion of the following year, and the New Spalding Club lately printed a supplement to the first of these reports delivered to George I in April 1725, and a third report by Wade, sent to George II. in the winter of 1727-28. The votes of money for roads may be seen in the House of Commons journals; and in the Rolls Office in Chancery Lane there are some interesting records.

Among them is a document, so far as known, not yet printed, containing the instructions given to Wade when he took up the command of the forces in Scotland, a copy of which is appended to this paper. As yet unpublished, there is a M.S. memoir of Marshal Wade by Mr Charles Dalton, the editor of "English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714" of which the writer of this paper only lately became aware. It contains a very full account of the Marshal's military services drawn from official records, and Mr Dalton has most kindly allowed use to be made here of his M.S., a permission of which considerable advantage has been taken. From the above named sources the following paper has been mainly compiled.

George Wade was born in 1673. The family of which he sprung had originally been settled in the English Midlands, and afterwards moved into the Western Counties, but the first of its members who need here be noticed was his grandfather, William Wade, who was a major in the army of the Commonwealth, and who in 1653 under Cromwell's settlement of Ireland, obtained a grant of lands in Westmeath and King's County. He had married a Miss Stonestreet, and by her had one son, Jerome Wade of Killavalley, Co. Westmeath, who must already have reached manhood when his father established himself in Ireland. This Jerome left three sons—William, who died without issue, and was buried in St George's Chapel at Windsor; Jerome, who succeeded his father at Killavalley; and George, the subject of this notice, who entered the army in 1690, receiving a commission as ensign in Lord Bath's Regiment, afterwards known as the 10th Foot, on the 26th December of that year. Those

were not idle times for British soldiers, and tradition has it—though Mr Dalton throws doubt on it—that in his first year's service George Wade was at the Battle of Aughrim, in Ireland, where the followers of the Stuarts made their last stand. What is certain is that in the following year, 1691, the regiment went to Flanders, where it remained till the Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, taking part in the battles of Steinkirk and Landau, the Siege of Namur, and other important engagements. On returning home it was quartered in Ireland for a couple of years, and again sent to Flanders in 1702, by which time George Wade had become captain of the Grenadier Company. His was one of the attacking party when Liege was taken by storm that autumn, and he led his company to the assault. The gallantry of the Grenadier Company on this occasion is specially referred to in the records of the 10th Foot (Dalton M.S.) Wade received his promotion to the rank of Major in March 1703, and to that of Lieut.-Colonel on the 25th of October of that year, attaining thus to second in command of his regiment in little more than twelve years' service. Rapid though his promotion had been, it does not seem to have satisfied his ambition, for on the breaking out of the Spanish War of Succession he volunteered for service with the expedition to Portugal, under Lord Galway, and on the 27th of August 1704, he was appointed Adjutant-General of this Army Corps, with the brevet rank of Colonel. Lord Galway took the field the following spring, and on the 9th of June 1705, Wade obtained command of the 33rd Regiment of Foot, vacant by the death of Colonel Duncanson, who was killed at the Siege of Valencia di Alcantara. He took part in the subse-

quent operations which resulted in the entry to Madrid; and in the retreat thence, and at the Battle of Almanza, in the spring of 1707, when he commanded a brigade of four battalions, of which his own was one, he established his reputation as a soldier. Having been sent home with despatches, he was promoted to Brigadier-General on 1st January 1708, and returning to Spain in the summer of that year, he arrived at Barcelona as General Stanhope—who had assumed the command in Spain in place of Lord Galway—was organising the expedition to Minorca, and joined it as second in command. Here he again distinguished himself at the taking of St Phillip's Castle the most important stronghold on the island. A breach had been made in a line wall which formed part of its outer defences, and General Stanhope had not intended to attack it till next day. It fell out otherwise, because, as told by Armstrong in his History of Minorca, "Brigadier Wade being posted at some distance on the right with two battalions, some of his Grenadiers entered the line without orders, which the Brigadier no sooner perceived than he advanced with all the men he could suddenly get together to sustain them." The General had to march to their support, and the British and their allies having lodged themselves that night at the foot of the Glacis, the Garrison recapitulated the following day.

In 1709, Charles III., whose claims to the Spanish throne we were supporting, wrote Wade a complimentary letter, and conferred on him the rank of Major-General while serving in Spain. He commanded a brigade in the campaign of 1710, and distinguished himself so greatly at the Battle of Saragossa, that he was said to have

had a great share in the success of the day. General Stanhope strongly recommended him for promotion to the rank of Major-General in the British Army, but his services did not receive this recognition during Queen Anne's reign.

Charles III. having become Emperor of Germany in 1711, withdrew his pretensions to the Spanish throne, and peace ensuing, Wade went on to the retired list. In 1714, shortly after the accession of George ~~III.~~ he was promoted to Major-General, and in the following year he was returned to the House of Commons as Member for Hindon, in Wiltshire. When the Rebellion of 1715 broke out, he was sent in command of two regiments of Dragoons to Bath, where he seems to have remained for a couple of years, and to have been very active in suppressing the Jacobitism of that place. Here he no doubt had opportunities of gaining a footing in fashionable society. The author of the Georgian Era says that he was "a notorious gambler, but a worthy man where women were not concerned." However faulty his sense of morals, he must have been socially agreeable, for he became a favorite with the King, and seems to have left a good impression on Horace Walpole. He was returned to Parliament for Bath in 1722, and retained the seat till his death; and he presented the municipality with a portrait of himself, which still hangs in the Guildhall there.

Wade had now a friend at court in his old brother officer and former commander, James Stanhope, who in 1717 was first Lord of the Treasury. On 19th March in that year the Colonely of the 4th Horse—now the 3rd Dragoon~~s~~ was given to Wade, an appointment of *some* profit and little or no duty. In 1719, he was sent

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as second in command with the expedition to Vigo, which met with such success as to secure peace before the autumn had closed. This ends the period of his career during which he distinguished himself as a soldier. He had never been in supreme command, but in positions assigned to him he had always shown a courage and gallantry that won him credit, and which saved his reputation in later years when age and declining health had affected his alertness, and made him inefficient as a commander.

In 1724 George I. sent General Wade on a special mission to Scotland, which was one of considerable delicacy. The population of the Highlands had been for long in a state of unrest. Law and order were enforced with difficulty, if enforced at all. The Disarming Act, which followed the Rebellion of 1715, had not been effectively carried out, and the loyal clans who had respected it were said to have placed themselves at the mercy of the disloyal, who had concealed and retained their arms. Many remedies for the ills of the country were suggested to the Government. Among them a memorial by Lord Lovat (printed in the appendix to Jamieson's edition of "Burt's Letters") attracted special attention, and on the 3rd July 1724, George I. instructed General Wade to proceed to the Highlands of Scotland, narrowly to inspect the situation of the Highlanders, their manners, customs, and the state of the country in regard to the depredations said to be committed in that part of his Majesty's dominions, to make special inquiry into the allegation that the effect of the last Disarming Act had been to leave the loyal party in the Highlands naked and defenceless at the mercy of the disloyal; to report how far Lovat's memorial

was founded on fact, and whether his proposed remedies might properly be applied; and, lastly, to suggest to the King, from his own observation, "such other remedies as may conduce to the quiet of his Majesty's faithful subjects, and the good settlement of that part of the kingdom."

The day after he received these instructions, Wade proceeded on his journey, and on his return in the autumn he presented a lengthy report which, being printed in full in the appendix to Jamieson's edition of Burt's letters from the Highlands, it is unnecessary here to summarise. Confining attention mainly to the origin of the military roads, it may suffice to say that the report concluded by suggesting, under eleven different heads, what, from his own observation, Wade considered necessary to be done; and although he had in the body of his report observed on "the great disadvantages regular troops are under when they engage with those who inhabit mountainous situations," and the still greater impracticability of the Highlands "from the want of roads and bridges," yet under none of those eleven heads does he make any recommendation that ~~the~~ roads should be constructed. In April of the following year however, he delivered to the King a supplement to his report, containing his scheme for reducing the Highlands to obedience, and among the purposes for which he says money would be required, he includes "mending the roads between the Garrisons and Barracks for the better communication of his Majesty's troops."

As a result of his report he was given the opportunity of carrying out the suggestions he had made and received his commission as Commander of the Forces in North Britain on the 25th December

1724 (1). In the opening page of his letter and order-book, preserved at the Junior United Service Club, the entry is made "Major-General Wade arrived at Edinburgh 16th June 1725," but if this was his first visit to Scotland after having received the command there he must have issued orders previously from London, for in instructions of 22nd September for raising an independent company by Lovat, to be found in the same letter-book, and which has also been printed by Jamieson, reference is twice made to a former order of 15th May.

Previous to setting out for Scotland in June, there were placed in Wade's hands a warrant (2) dated the 1st of that month for disarming the Highlanders under the Act for that purpose passed in the preceding session of Parliament, and also of the same date a set of general instructions (3) for dealing with that part of the country, a copy of which is appended to this paper. George Lockhart of Carnwath, writing to the Chevalier St. George, reports the rumour that Wade's "Commission was of such a nature that none so extensive had before been heard of in Scotland." What his powers really were these instructions tell. They authorise him, among other things, out of such moneys as come into his hands (4) to defray the extraordin-

(1) This date is taken from the Home Office Military Entry Book, and has been supplied, with other information, by the courtesy of the gentleman who presides in the Government search-room at the Record Office.

(2) Home Office Military Entry Book, vol. 14, p. 60.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 52.

(4) In the Treasury Minute Book for this period the following entry occurs, under date 28th May 1725:—
"Major-General Wade to have £1000 by the hands of the Paymaster of the Forces in consideration of his services and the charge and expense he was at in going

ary charges "for repairing the roads between the Garrisons and Barracks where the same is practicable, for the better communication of our troops."

On his arrival in Scotland Wade must have set to work with energy, for in a letter of 27th October—preserved among the Scottish Domestic State Papers at the Record Office—he already writes:—"I have made some progress in the roads of communication, and left the vessel for navigating on the Lake Ness in such forwardness that I hope it will be finished in a fortnight's time." When the year closed he was able to write of the roads still more confidently. On the 31st January 1726, in reporting to the King how he had carried out the instructions he had received, he says, "I presume also to acquaint your Majesty that parties of regular troops have been constantly employed in making the roads of communication between Killyhuimen and Fort-William, who have already made so good a progress in that work that I hope before the end of next summer they will be rendered both practicable and convenient for the march of your Majesty's forces between those garrisons, and facilitate their assembling in one body, if occasion should require." At the conclusion of this report, he mentions that the extraordinary expense incurred in the previous year did not, on the whole, exceed £2000; but further ~~added~~ for various purposes would be required, and he specially asks "that a sum be provided annually for making the roads of communication, and a salary for the person employed as inspector for carrying on so necessary work."

outlay

through and visiting the Highlands of Scotland last year; as also the further sum of £5000 upon account for expenses in regulating the said Highlands.

There are great discrepancies between the writers who have referred to Wade's roads as to the periods they assign for their construction. In a memorial on the Military Roads of North Britain, written in 1799 by Colonel Anstruther, then Inspector of those roads, (which formed part of a "Statement of the origin and extent of the roads in Scotland made at the public expense," printed by order of the House of Commons, and bound up with the 6th Report of the Commissioners of Highland Roads and Bridges,) it is said that these roads were begun to be made about the year 1730. In a memorandum (to be found in the same place) submitted to the Treasury the previous year by Sir Ralph Abercromby, it is said they were begun in 1732 by General Wade. Chalmers, whose authority is seldom doubted, says they were begun in 1720 and completed in 1730. Burt, in his final letter, which is an appendix to the other letters that had been written eight years previously, says that the roads had then been completed "within these few weeks," and that they "were begun in the year 1726, and have continued eleven years in the prosecution." Robert Chambers, in his Domestic Annals of Scotland, gives some scope to his fancy in describing Wade's operations, and assumes 1726 as the year in which they were commenced, apparently on the authority of Burt, whom he describes as one of several engineers and surveyors brought down by the General from England.

Now, we have Wade's own statement, more than once repeated, that he began operations between Fort-Augustus and Fort-William in 1725; and it was not till he had seen the result of the first season's work that he began to press the im-

portance of road construction. It may be that in 1726, the date fixed by Burt and Chambers as the first year of road-making, the work was undertaken more seriously and on a larger scale than in the previous summer; but there is some reason to doubt whether Burt was so competent an authority regarding the roads as he is usually assumed to be. In Jamieson's introduction to the Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland, he says that the author is "commonly understood to have been Captain Burt, an Officer of Engineers, who, about 1730, was sent into Scotland as a contractor," and this seems to have been generally accepted, although the Corps of Engineers had no military rank till 1767; and the letters bear evidence that they began to be written as early as 1727. Nor is there anything in them which gives colour to the notion that he was a civil engineer employed on the roads, as Chambers states on the authority of an obituary notice in the "Scots Magazine" (1). In the instructions furnished to Wade by George L. Edmund Burt is described as "Agent for the Estates

(1) "Feb. 4, 1755.—At London, Edmund Burt, Esq., late agent to General Wade, chief surveyor during the making of roads through the Highlands, and author of the Letters concerning Scotland."—*Scots Mag. Obituary*. The first edition of the Letters was published in 1754, and was therefore quite recent at the time of Burt's death. It met with considerable demand. A ~~printed~~ edition was published in Dublin the following year, and a second edition was issued in 1759. That the connection of his name with the letters is correct seems not unlikely, but 22 years had elapsed since Wade's roads were completed, and that a myth should have crept into the notice about the occupation at Inverness of the author of the Letters is quite compatible with the accuracy of journalists at that time, of which many similar examples might be given.

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Late of the late Earl of Seaforth and of Glenmoriston, nor sold by the late Commissioners" on the forfeited estates; and he is similarly described in Wade's letter-book at the Junior United Service Club in an order of 8th October 1725, addressed to Colonel Clayton, commanding at Inverness. It is so improbable that there should have been two Englishmen of this name at the same time in Inverness, that it may be taken as certain, if the author of the letters from the Highlands was Edmund Burt, his employment was not in connection with the roads, but with the forfeited estates. He must have been the successor of Ross of Easter Fearn, and Bailie Robert Ross, of Tain, who retired from the stewardship of those estates in 1722, after having been repulsed by Donald Murchison at Baile Ath-na-Mullach, on the heights between Afric and Kintail (1). It is

(1) In his final letter Burt says that it was written eight years after he had concluded the preceding series of twenty-five. These had been sent off at intervals of a fortnight, and there was one post that was missed by the eighth letter. Therefore they were all despatched within about twelve months, the first of them nine years, the last eight years, as he says, before the final letter describing the roads, which was written in 1736, i.e., eleven years after 1726, when the roads, according to him, were commenced. In this series of letters, written in 1727-8, the roads are only casually mentioned twice or thrice. The writer never indicates that he had anything to do with them, and, if he refers to soldiers or officers, it is not as to comrades-in-arms, but as to independent fellow-countrymen who could bear out his statements. He speaks of a mess he had formed with others, but explains in the opening of letter 8 that in using the plural number he is referring to the English living at Inverness. About the nature of his employment he tells us nothing directly, but he says in letter 5, "Nothing could be more public than the reasons" of his residence in Inverness, and he mentions

stated by Burt and by Chambers that the number of men employed on the roads was five hundred, and latterly this was so. But the work was not begun on this scale, for as late as 1723 Wade appears, from a letter quoted below, to have felt he was stretching a point in detailing as many as 300 soldiers for road duty, and in 1725 he may not have employed half this number. Whatever the number may have been, he says in his report to the King that he made "good progress" that year with the road between Kilhuimen and Fort-William, and in 1726 he completed it, and extended it also in the other direction to Inverness. Writing to Lord Townsend

that his appointment was one which the natives of the country thought they would have been competent to fill. It can hardly, therefore, have been of the nature of a road surveyorship, a department of which the natives must have been specially ignorant. His duties led him to employ skilled workmen, and to have dealings with the neighbouring gentry, and yet his must have been a revenue office and not a spending one, for he tells how he had several times taken 500 guineas to Edinburgh in his portmanteau without an escort, and the inference is open that larger sums were taken by him under escort. Though he says little of roads in the first series of letters, he gives all the details of the rent of land, and in the appended letter about roads he states distinctly that the working parties of soldiers "were under the command and direction of proper officers, who were all subalterns," not, therefore, engineers or surveyors drawn from civil life. In 1745 Burt seems to have been in the position of a commissariat officer, for in a MS. letter-book of Duncan Grant, merchant in Inverness, ~~now~~ in the possession of *the now deceased* Mr John Noble at Inverness, there is a letter from Mr Grant to Edmund Burt in London, drawing on him for £92 10s 3d, at ten days after sight, on account of coals and candles supplied to the garrison of Fort-George, Inverness, for the twelve months ending on the following 17th June.

late

from Kilhuimen, on the 16th September of that year, he says—"I have inspected the new road between this place and Fort-William, and ordered it to be enlarged and carried on for wheel-carriages over the mountains on the south side of Lake Ness as far as the town of Inverness, so that before midsummer next there will be a good coach road from that place to Fort-William, which before was not passable on horseback in many places. The work is carried on by the Military with less expense and difficulty than I at first imagined it could be performed; and the Highlanders, from the ease and conveniency of transporting their merchandise, begin to approve and applaud what they at first repined at and submitted to with reluctance." A member of this Association, Mr Thomas Wallace, lately discovered the remains of what seemed to have been a military camp beside the river Fechlin. It may quite possibly have been constructed and occupied by the soldiers who were employed on the road between Fort-Augustus and Inverness.

On the 7th March 1727, Wade became a Lieutenant-General, and in the following month he writes again to Lord Townshend asking for a further allowance from the contingencies for the Army, for carrying on the road. He adds—"The great military way through the centre of the Highlands, extending from Fort-William to Inverness, 50 miles in length, is now about finished and made practicable for the march of troops, cannon, or other wheel-carriages, and may be continued to Perth at a very moderate expense by the regiments quartered in those parts.

On the 11th June 1727, George I. died, and Wade's commission as Commander of the Forces in Scotland was renewed by George II. on the

20th of that month (1). At the close of the year, or early in 1728, he sends a report to the King, published in 1895 by the New Spalding Club, which opens with this statement—"Your Majesty was pleased to command me to repair to the Highlands of Scotland, and to proceed in the execution of the several orders and instructions I had before received from His late Majesty of Blessed Memory." His instructions of 1st June 1725 still held good therefore under the new reign. Nevertheless there may have been uncertainty as to this for a time, and if so, it would account for the fact that the intended extension towards Perth of the road from Fort-William to Inverness was not proceeded with in 1727. In that year there was no new work undertaken, and any expenditure on roads must have been confined to perfecting that between Fort-William and Inverness. In the report of his operations for 1727, Wade writes—"I presume further to report to Your Majesty that the great road of communication extending from the East to the West Sea through the middle of the Highlands has been successfully carried on upon the south side of the lakes from Inverness to Fort-William, being near 60 miles in length, and is now practicable for the march of Artillery or other wheel carriages, as may appear by my having travelled to that garrison the last summer in a coach and six horses to the great wonder of the inhabitants, who, before this road was made, could not pass on horseback without danger and difficulty. This work was very troublesome from the interposition of rocks, bogs, and mountains, yet was performed by Your Majesty's troops quartered in those parts without any assistance

(1) Home Office Military Entry Book, vol. 14, p. 149.

from the people of the country. The non-commissioned officers and soldiers are allowed double pay during the time they are employed in this service, and if it is Your Majesty's pleasure to continue the same allowance out of the Contingencies for the Army, as was granted by his late Majesty for the two preceding years, with some provision for erecting stone bridges where they are wanting, a military way may be made through the mountains from Inverness southwards as far as Perth, which will open up a short and speedy communication with the troops quartered in the Low Country; contribute to civilise the Highlanders; and, in my humble opinion, will prove the most effectual means to continue them in a due obedience to Your Majesty's Government."

In 1728 Wade at last took in hand the road from Inverness southwards, and on the 20th July of that year he wrote from Blair to the Right Hon. Henry Pelham, "I am now with all possible diligence carrying on the new road for wheel-carriages between Dunkeld and Inverness, of about 80 English measured miles in length, and, that no time may be lost in a work so essential for His Majesty's service, I have employed 300 men on different parts of this road that the work may be done during the favourable season of the year." Fifteen miles of the road were completely finished, and were as passable, he says, for wheel-carriages as any in England. Two stone bridges had been built the previous year between Inverness and Fort-William; two others were in course of construction; and eight or ten more would be wanted to complete the communication. Burt tells that at the outset fords were cleared across the rivers by removing the large stones, but as the next inundation brought down others in their

room there was no remedy to be found for the inconvenience of these rugged and rapid passages but bridges, for the construction of which artificers had to be employed; and either from the delay in commencing the work, or from the scarcity of artificers, the bridges do not appear to have kept pace with the roads.

The Inverness and Dunkeld road was still in progress through the summer of 1729, in which year, on the 27th of August, Wade dates a letter to Duncan Forbes, the Lord-Advocate, "From my Hutt at Dalnacardoch," where he was himself superintending the work, and the Lord-Advocate, replying, writes, "Never was penitent banished into a more barren Desert to suffer for his sins, than what you have suffered in since your confinement in Drumochter." By the month of September, however, the road was so far finished that Wade was able to drive over it from Inverness in his coach, accompanied as far as Ruthven by the Lord-Advocate, who there turned back. Writing to him from Edinburgh, on the 2nd October, the General tells how he had continued his journey to Loch-Garry, where he feasted with his "highwaymen" on four roasted oxen; thence proceeding, still in his coach, to his Hutt at Dalnacardoch, and presumably later getting the coach by some means through to Edinburgh. It may be surmised that in the Lord-Advocate's company he had been living too freely, and that he found solitude at Dalnacardoch more conducive to his health, for he says to his friend, "The five days I continued there"—the Hutt—"set me upon my legs again, and enabled me to take a second survey of the projected road between Dalnacardoch and Crieff, which is to be the work of next season." When engaged on this projected work the follow-

ing year, he received another visit from the Lord-Advocate, who, writing on the 2nd August 1730, from Perth to an unknown correspondent, says, (1) "I have visited Mr Wade at his roads, which go on with all the despatch and success imaginable. The Highlanders begin to turn their heads and hands to labour, which in a little time must produce a great change upon the face, as well as upon the politics of the country." It was beginning to dawn on the Statesmen of the time that these roads were to have a political and economic as well as a military value.

The Corryarrick road occupied the year 1731. No letters of Wade's of this period appear to have been published, but Chambers quotes a letter (2), signed N. Macleod, supposed to be the Chief of that name, which describes an entertainment the writer saw given at Corryarrick to the working parties of soldiers on the King's birthday, 30th October 1731. He "found that there were six working parties of Tatten's, Montague's, Mark Ker's, Harrison's, and Handyside's regiments, and the party from the Highland Companies, making in all about 500 men, who had this summer, with indefatigable pains, completed the great road for wheel-carriages between Fort-Augustus and Ruthven." According to Burt, this road joined the Drumochter road at Dalwhinnie, and not at Ruthven, and Rutherford's map so shows it. But the inscription below this map is largely a quotation from Burt, and it seems likely that it was from his account of the roads that Rutherford's inspiration was chiefly drawn. Wildey's map shows the road from

(1) Domestic State Papers (Scotland) Record Office.

(2) Domestic ~~Annals~~ of Scotland, vol. 3, p. 562.

Annals

Fort-Augustus to Dalwhinnie, with a branch to Ruthven from a place marked "Catcleugh on Cross in Hand"; but then, unfortunately, Wildey also shows a road from Atholl to Badenoch over the Minegaid, where certainly no road was ever made, and other roads that were not of Wade's making. There is, however, no question that whether in 1731, or a year or two later, a road was made by Wade from Dalwhinnie to Corryarrick; and that he formed a road of communication between the Garrisons of Ruthven and Fort-Augustus it is hardly possible to doubt, since it was part of his general scheme to establish communication between the different Highland Garrisons.

The estimates (1) submitted to the House of Commons in 1733 show that 40 miles of military roads, previously opened up, had been completed in 1732; that bridges were built on them, and that preparation was made for bridging the Tay at Weem. Six hundred pounds had been advanced by Wade to provide materials for this bridge, and from an account for the year 1732, copied into his letter-book, it appears that the employment of this sum was entrusted to William Caulfield, afterwards the Surveyor in charge of the completed roads. The same account shows that in this year £150 was spent in bridging "Fer-ragag," near Lake Ness; and £55 on a bridge at "Aberhallader."

In 1733, twenty miles of new road are said to have been made, and the Tay Bridge built. If these 20 miles were actually new, it is uncertain where they were situated. The connection of Dalwhinnie with the Ruthven and Fort-Augus-

(1) House of Commons Journal, 5th February 1733.

tus road may have formed part of them, and there may have been stretches that had been left untouched, and had still to be made between Dalnacardoch and Dunkeld; or it may be that the term "new road" is used in the estimate with reference to the roads generally that Wade had been making, on some of which further expenditure had been required. But the great work of the year was the building of "a freestone bridge over the Tay, of five arches, nearly 400 feet in length, the middle arch 60 feet wide, the starlings of oak, and the piers and landbreasts founded on piles shod with iron" (1). The bridge, a handsome structure, stands to this day a monument to Wade. He himself regarded it as the completion and crown of his road-making work, and he caused two inscriptions to be placed on it, one in English, which tells that he laid the first stone on the 23rd April 1733, and finished the work the same year (2); the other in Latin (3), con-

(1) House of Commons Journal, 7th February 1734.

(2) The English inscription is, "At the Command of his Majesty King George the 2nd, this bridge was erected in the year 1733. This with the roads and other military works for securing life and easy communication between the Highlands and Trading Towns in the Low Country, was by his Majesty committed to the care of Lieutenant-General George Wade, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, who laid the first stone of this Bridge on the 23rd of April and finished the work in the same year."

(3) The Latin inscription is:—

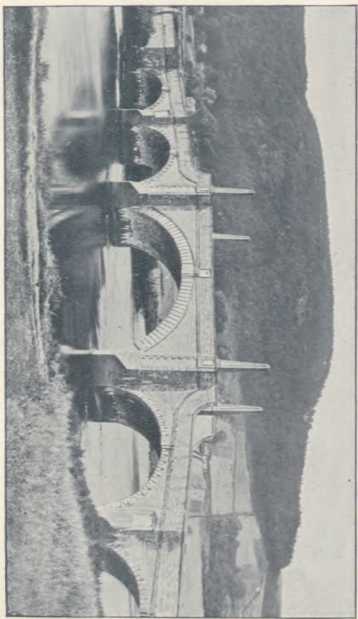
MIRARE
VIAM HANC MILITAREM
ULTRA ROMANÆ TERMINOS
M. PASSUO CCL HAC ILLAC EXTENSA
TESQ; & PALUDIB; INSULTANTE;
PER RUPES MONTESQ; PATREFACTA;
ET INDIGNANTI TAVO,

memorating his connection with the construction, not only of the bridge, but also of the whole extent of the military roads, the length of which is said to be 250 miles "ultra Romanos terminos." Burt gives some account of Roman works at Crieff, a place which seems to have been regarded as the limit of the Roman occupation, and which was the southernmost point reached by Walcra roads. Burt also gives the length of the roads as 250 miles; but not improbably he took the figures from the Latin inscription on the bridge, which he quotes. It was written by Dr Friend, headmaster of Westminster School. Dr Friend was renowned at the time for his epitaphs and inscriptions, as the following epigram by Pope tells:—

"Friend, for your epitaphs I'm grieved,
Where still so much is said,
One-half will never be believed,
The other never read."

It would, perhaps, not be safe to take the mileage of the roads, or the period of their construction recorded in the Latin inscription as an exact statement of fact. Something must be allowed for the exigencies of compression in such a composition. We know that the roads were commenced in 1725, and their total length, as added

UT CERNIS INSTRATAM,
OPUS HOC ARDUU SUA SOLERTIA
ET DECENNALI MILITUM OPERA
AN ÆR X 1733 PERE-CIT G WADE
COPIARUM IN SCOTIA PREFECTUS,
ECCE QUANTUM VALEANT
REGIA GEORGH ED AUSPICIA.



TAY BRIDGE.

up in the note below (1), falls a little short of 250 miles. The inscriptions are repeated on both sides of the bridge. There are three marble tablets on its upper side, one above the pier next the north bank, on which is the Latin inscription in capital letters, with numerous abbreviations; one above the keystone of the central arch, with the letters G.R. and a crown surmounting a crossed sword and sceptre; and one above the pier nearest the south bank, on which the English inscription is placed. On the lower side of the bridge there are corresponding panels of grey stone on which the relative positions of the inscriptions are reversed—that in English being on the northern pier, and that in Latin on the southern one, and here in small letters. There are some minute differences in the copies that have been taken of these inscriptions. Those given in the subjoined note have been kindly supplied by Mr John Cameron, Aberfeldy, who says they were accurately taken from the tablets on the upper side of the bridge by a Mr Gow on 15th May 1880.

With the completion of the Tay Bridge General Wade seems to have discontinued his work as a roadmaker, save that he bridged the Spean two or

(1) Taylor and Skinner's road distances are as follows:—

	Miles.	Furlongs.
Fort-William to Inverness... ..	61	5
Inverness to Dunkeld (Inver Inn) ...	100	4
Fort-Augustus to Dalwhinnie	31	4
Dalnacardoch to Crieff	44	1
	237	6
Add Ruthven to Catcleugh, estimated... ..	8	
	245	6

three years later (1). In addition to what he had drawn from contingencies in 1725, Parliament voted him for roads during his command in Scot-

(1) In the "Scots Magazine" for November 1754, there is a letter subscribed "Caledonius," which may have been by Burt, as a reference to it is given after his obituary notice in the following January number, to which is appended an account of Wade's roads, clearly derived from the same source as that in Burt's final letter where the notice of bridges is cut short with the remark, "Of these I shall say but little, because to you they are no novelty." The following more detailed account of them is given by "Caledonius":—"There are 40 stone bridges built upon these roads. The most considerable are those of Gary and Tumble of single arches upwards of 50 feet span, over rapid rivers which in time of floods roll down stones of monstrous size; those of Peiklaw and Ferrigie, over a great torrent which forms the famous cascade of Evers, within a quarter-of-a-mile of Lochness; these are both raised on single arches, each upwards of forty feet span; St George's bridge, at Garvamore, over the river Spey, which has two arches of forty feet each; the pier rests upon an island in the midst of the river, and the whole length of the bridge is about one hundred and fifty feet. The high bridge over the river Speyer, which runs at foot of two very steep hills, over surprising rocks, where at the lowest the river is eighteen deep, and in floods rises to near fifty; it has three arches, the middlemost fifty feet span, founded upon rocks, from the top to the usual level of the river is seventy feet; the other arches are thirty feet each, upon dry ground at low water; the road descends a great way down in traverses from each side of the river, and the bridge is two hundred feet in length, over a chasm frightful to behold. Lastly, Tay Bridge, the only one upon the river Tay; this is built of freestone, and the work extremely well executed. It consists of five arches; the middle one is sixty feet span; the piers are founded upon piles, and bound with strong frames of oak; the whole length is three hundred and seventy feet, and in the opinion of good Judges, is a most beautiful and useful structure.

land, as shown in the note below (1), £22,730. He held this command for over fifteen years, but his roadmaking work was practically completed

(1) The following entries occur in the House of Commons Journals:—

1728	6th Feby.—To satisfy his Majesty's warrant to Lieutenant-General Wade on account of making roads or other services performed in North Britain.....	£1000	0	0
1729	27th Jany.—To satisfy his Majesty's warrant to Lieutenant-General Wade on account of making roads and other services performed in North Britain.....	214	0	0
1730	26th Jany.—To satisfy his Majesty's warrant to Lieutenant-General Wade on account of extraordinary services and expenses in the year 1729.....	3528	15	0
1731	29th Jany.—To Lieutenant-General Wade for carrying on and finishing the great wheel carriage road in North Britain.....	3520	8	0
1732	24th Jany.—To satisfy his Majesty's warrants of 28th April 1730 and 22nd December 1731 to Lieutenant-General Wade for carrying on and perfecting the great wheel-carriage road through the Highlands in North Britain.....	3281	4	8
1733	5th Feby.—To satisfy his Majesty's warrant of 28th December 1732 to Lieutenant-General Wade for completing 40 miles of road for wheel-carriages, and building bridges in the Highlands, including £800 advanced by him for providing materials for building a stone bridge of five large arches over the River Tay....	3528	13	2

in the first nine of those years. Burt, writing in 1736, speaks indeed of the roads as then recently finished, and it is true that "Highbridge" over the Spean was only built in that year (1); but except

1734			
7th Feby.	—To satisfy his Majesty's warrant dated 3rd May 1733, payable to Lieutenant-General Wade, to defray the charge of making 20 miles of new road in the Highlands of North Britain, and building on the said road two stone bridges of one arch each, 15 feet wide, as also for building a freestone bridge over the River Tay of five arches near 400 feet in length, the middle arch 6½ feet wide, the starlings of oak, and the piers and landbreasts founded on piles shod with iron	4731	5 9
1737			
3rd March	—To satisfy his Majesty's warrant dated the 18th March 1736, payable to Lieutenant-General George Wade upon account, for building a stone bridge over the River Speyen, near Fort-William	1000	0 0
		£22,730	6 7

The votes are all to make good expenses incurred in the preceding year. Though in some instances termed merely extraordinary expenses, it may be fairly assumed that they were mainly incurred on roads, as, with the cessation of roadmaking, these extraordinary expenses also cease.

(1) The following copy of the inscription on Highbridge has been kindly furnished by Mr N. B. Mackenzie, Fort-William:—"In the ninth year of his Majesty King George II., this bridge was erected under the care of Lieutenant-General Wade, Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in North Britain."—1736.

for that work no Parliamentary grant for roads is recorded in Wade's time after the Tay Bridge was built in 1733. His successor, Lieut.-General Jasper Clayton, in March 1742 drew £941 2s "on account of making and repairing the road from Stirling to Crieff, being 14 computed miles by estimate," and in Willdey's map this road is shown as one of Wade's. In February 1745 Sir John Cope had £1000 "on account of making new roads in North Britain." Bishop Pococke tells in 1760 that on a rock between Luss and Tarbat on Loch-Lomond-side he saw this inscription, "Colonel Lascelles' regiment 1745," that regiment being employed, he says, on this part of the road. Two maps of the military roads in the Highlands, which have already been alluded to, were issued during the rebellion of the '45. One, entitled "An exact plan of His Majesty's Great Roads through the Highlands of Scotland, drawn by Andrew Rutherford," was published on the 9th December 1745, probably in Scotland. The other, entitled "A Map of the King's Roads made by his Excellency General Wade in the Highlands of Scotland from Stirling to Inverness with adjacent countries &c." was published in London by Thomas Willdey on January 4th 1746. On neither of these maps is there any indication of a road between Luss and Tarbat, and if Cope broke ground there in 1745, he cannot have completed an extent sufficient for use. Besides the roads described ten years earlier by Burt as having been made by Wade, Rutherford's map shows only Clayton's extension of them from Crieff to Stirling. Willdey's map, while purporting to show Wade's roads alone, includes, in addition to those in Rutherford's map, connections between Ruthven and Catcleugh, Dunkeld and Amulree, and Perth and Glenalmond.

together with a road over the Minigaig, which, as a wheel-carriage road, was undoubtedly pure fancy. Nor can any reference be found to the connection between Perth and Glenalmond in the records of the military roads. As has been said, there is reason to believe that the junction between Catcleugh and Ruthven must have been effected by Wade, and it is known of that through Strathbran between Dunkeld and Amulree, that for the first time, in 1783, it, along with the roads by Corryarrick, and from Inverness to Fort-William, was included in the list of newer military roads, on to which Wade's other roads had shortly before been gradually smuggled. Whether Cope spent the £1000 entrusted to him in perfecting works of Wade's which were then still known as the new roads, or in breaking ground at Loch-Lomondside, or in forming the road through Strathbran, cannot now be said, but neither Willdey's map of 1746, nor the letter^s of "Caledonius" in the "Scots Magazine" in 1754, lend any colour to the idea that the roads that have here been named as executed by Wade received before the Rebellion any extensions besides that to Stirling, with the possible exception of the connection between Dunkeld and Amulree (1). After the Rebellion work

(1) In the 2nd vol. of Antiquarian Notes, lately published by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, it is mentioned at page 168 that General Wade finished a road up Glenroy to the lower marches of Annat and Glenturret, and at page 171 that the General lived for some time at Leckroy, which is near the head of Glenroy, and wrote letters from there. These letters, could they have been here cited, might have added much to the interest of this paper: but though it may be hoped they are not lost, they have been mislaid. In the absence of any known contemporary reference to this Glenroy road as a wheel-carriage road, it may be permitted to doubt

was resumed on a much larger scale by the direction of the Duke of Cumberland. Space does not allow an account of that to be entered on here. It may, however, be noted in passing that in 1761

whether it had this character. At the same time it must be admitted that it is a question whether the roads shown by Willdey, and named by Burt in the "Scots Magazine," will account for 250 of Wade's computed miles. On Willdey's map the length of the stages on the road from Crieff to Inverness are marked, and they sum up just 100 miles. Taylor and Skinner give the length of this road as 114 measured miles. If Willdey's mileage was that computed by the military authorities, they must have counted more than nine furlongs to the mile, and the 245 miles quoted on a previous page as the length of the roads there attributed to Wade, according to Taylor and Skinner, would, according to the military computation, not exceed 215. On the other hand, it may be remarked that the computed miles which Pococke in his travels in Scotland names, seem to have no definite or constant relation to the measured miles. In support of the allegation that Wade constructed a road in Glenroy, it may be said that there is not only a difficulty in accounting otherwise for the 250 miles of road for which he claims credit, but a difficulty also in saying where the 20 miles of new road were situated which he made in 1733. But scepticism is fortified by finding no mention of the Glenroy road in the "Memorial concerning a cross-road from Inverloch by Ruthven in Badenoch and through Braemar to Aberdeen," published in 1836 by the New Spalding Club, which, though undated, was evidently written between 1740, when Wade had left Scotland, and 1747, when road-making was again in full swing. The writer says that Wade, after completing his roads from South to North most wisely resolved to make a cross-road from East to West through the middle of the kingdom, but that he delayed the execution of this project till better informed as to the fittest line for the road, and afterwards, for some reason unknown to the writer, the design was entirely dropped. The writer clearly knew nothing of a commencement of the design in Brae-Lochaber.

(Batardeau?)

Lord Ligonier ordered the construction of "A. Battredean, to prevent the River Tay leaving its channel, and breaking through the low ground at the North end of the Bridge," and that in 1774, £230 was voted for work done in the preceding year on "piling and shoeing under the great bridge over the River Tay at Aberfeldy, in great danger."

To Wade's contemporaries who had travelled through the Highlands over precipitous tracks and across morasses impassable without a guide, his roads seemed marvels of engineering skill, and of a character that left little to be desired (1), but the next generation was less satisfied with them, and much of the money spent on the military roads later in the century was employed in bettering those that had been first constructed, by diverting portions of them here and there, or, as it was called, making new cuts. No detailed records are to be found of what was done in this way till 1798, but in the sixteen years from 1798 to 1813, out of an outlay of £65,775 on the military roads, £22,976 was spent in making over 54 miles of new cuts and constructing 48 new bridges upon them. The reasons given for these diversions indicate the real character of the roads which had been so eulogised 70 or 80 years earlier. In some cases they had to be shifted because on the original line

(1) Of the original tracks as Burt first knew them he writes in letter 15—"No stranger, or even a native unacquainted with the way, can venture among the hills without a conductor." But in his final letter he says—"The roads on these moors are now as smooth as Constitution Hill, and I have galloped on some of them for miles together in great tranquillity, heightened by reflection on my former fatigue, when, for a great part of the way, I had been obliged to quit my horse, it being too dangerous to ride, and even hazardous to pass on foot."



SPEY BRIDGE AT GARVAHMORE.

they were liable to be "destroyed by eruptions of stone and gravel from the mountains," in other cases they were "frequently flooded and rendered impassable by the rivers." There were dangerous passes where the road was only eight or nine feet wide without the protection of a parapet, and there were steep inclines with gradients as high as one in four. The length of Wade's road between Carr-Bridge and Dalmagarrie according to Taylor and Skinner in 1766 was only ten miles. In nine of the years between 1798 and 1813 there were diversions of greater or less extent made here which together amounted to twelve miles and 260 yards. The whole of that stretch of road must therefore have been changed, or some of the diversions must have been rediverted, and the cause assigned for this work was "to avoid a dangerous inconvenient and nearly impassable tract of road, liable to be shut up with snow." At the Black Rock, near the General's Hut at Loch Ness-side, £951 was spent "to avoid a steep, narrow, and very dangerous pass over the shoulder of this rock, one foot of ascent on either side to every five feet of roadway, breadth of road only from seven to eight feet. Here an empty cart was a load for a horse at all seasons, and in winter when it was covered with ice, it was impracticable to pass it." The cause of another diversion near Pitmain was that the bridge at Aultlawry "had been built when the road was first made in so injudicious a situation that no carriage could pass it without extreme danger, and when it was practicable travellers preferred a dangerous ford a little below." Useful though Wade's roads had been when constructed, these extracts show that their standard was far below what is desiderated by modern requirements;

and from the extent to which deviations have consequently been made from them, there can be very little of the original road from Inverness to Perth now forming part of our existing Highland road. There were fewer alterations on the line from Inverness to Fort-William north of the Spean, and perhaps hardly any on the Corryarrick road, which, except that many small bridges were placed on it after Wade's time, and that it is in disrepair, otherwise remains a sample of his work. Only over the larger streams can he have erected bridges, as he constructed ~~about~~ ^{but} 40 altogether on his 250 miles of road. The defect was afterwards made good. With sufficient time and patience, full information on this point might, perhaps, be extracted from the Declared Accounts at the Record Office. With less labour something may be learnt about it from the House of Commons Journals between 1770 and 1784. Mention is there made of at least 17 new arches built in those years on the road between Dunkeld and Inverness, besides great numbers on other roads, and this apart from rebuilding many that were swept away by summer waterspouts or winter floods.

Imperfect though Wade's roads were from our point of view, when he had finished them to his own satisfaction, it became necessary to provide for their maintenance, and in the estimates for 1734, £400 was voted to "William Caulfield, Esq., for surveys and keeping in repair the new roads throughout the Highlands." He was continued in this office for 35 years, the annual allowance being raised to £500 from 1740. In 1746 Caulfield, who had then become a Major, was entrusted with the construction of the military roads at that time recommenced. He con-

tinued Wade's system. Artificers were employed for the bridges and mason work at 1s 6d a day, and horse labour was paid for at the rate of 5s a day for a cart and two horses (1); but the rough work was performed by military parties under the command of their own officers, extra pay being allowed ^{of} 6d a day for privates and drummers, 8d for corporals, 1s for sergeants, and 3s for subaltern officers, who, under Wade, had only received 2s 6d. There were from 25 to 100 privates in each party, the smaller parties being commanded by sergeants, the larger ones by subalterns, and the ordinary period during which they were engaged at work in each year, and for which they received extra pay, was 92 days.

Wade's roads, which in his time were called the new roads, became known as the old roads after military road-making recommenced. During Caulfield's inspectorship these "old roads" were kept in repair by the allowance of £500 which he drew annually. There is some indication of a doubt whether he had always properly applied the money, in the very specific terms of the following entry in the estimates for 1766:—
 "To Major Caulfield, Inspector of the Roads and Bridges in North Britain, to be taken for the 33rd year's allowance, and to be applied by him for the charge of surveying and repairing and amending the said roads and bridges according to such orders as he shall receive from the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in North Britain, £500." (2) Ten years later his successor, while continuing to draw this annual allowance, began gradually to throw the cost of repairing the old

(1) Audited Accounts, 1753-6.

(2) House of Commons Journal, 14th Feb. 1766.

roads on the grants for those newly made, and by the end of the century the £500 had come to be regarded so entirely as the Inspector's perquisite that compensation was demanded when the abolition of the office was in question.

General Wade seems to have lived on very friendly terms with those among whom he was thrown during his long residence in Scotland, and such of his correspondence with the Lord Advocate Forbes as has been preserved shows that between those two there was a real intimacy. The carrying out of the Disarming Act was no agreeable duty, but Wade effected its purpose without incurring ill-will. He was authorised to issue licences, or permits, to carry arms to those whose pursuits required it, and he reports to George II that in 1725 he had granted 230 such licences for two years, that he recalled them on the death of George I in 1727 and in the following September re-issued 210 in the new King's name, "to continue in force for three years" he says "provided the persons possessing the same during that time behaved themselves as faithful subjects to Your Majesty, and peaceably and quietly to the people of the country." One of these licences in favour of John Shaw of Kinrara subscribed by Wade, and having a very perfect seal affixed to it is possessed by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh.

There is no doubt that many of the arms given up to Wade were worthless. He received delivery of those of the Clann Choinnich at Brahan Castle on the 28th August 1725, and he reported that "784 of the several species mentioned in the Act of Parliament" were handed over to him. Five days later George Lockhart of Carnwath, writing to the Chevalier St. George, says of Donald Murchison, the factor for the exiled chief of the clan, "I know

from one that saw him, that he has taken up and secured all the arms of value on Seaforth's estate, which he thought better than to trust them to the care and prudence of their several owners; and the other chieftains I hear have done the same." It cannot have escaped Wade's notice that the serviceable arms given up to him were few, yet the function was performed, as he says, with "solemnity," and no expression on his part showed signs of doubt that he was being treated otherwise than in good faith. He expressed himself satisfied, and assured the chiefs that it was the King's intention that "they should be treated with kindness and humanity, provided the peace of the country was secured by preventing the frequent disorders occasioned by the practice of wearing arms." In the supplement of April 1725 to his report of the previous year he had suggested as an alternative to dispossessing the Highlanders of their arms, reducing them "to the necessity of hiding them underground where they would rust and spoil," and possibly he had this now in view. At all events, while he could make it the interest of the chiefs to be on friendly terms with him, they were unlikely to redistribute them, for in the hands of any one not licenced to carry arms and liable at any moment to capture, there would have been considerable risk that the source whence they had been obtained would be discovered. Thus under the licensing system, though palpable evasions of the Disarming Act were ignored, the practice of wearing arms fell out of use, and raids and forays ceased to be habitual in the country. Law and order were to some considerable extent restored and the arts of peace became possible; but drastic though the reform was, it was carried out in such a way as to leave a favourable impression of Wade in the minds of the Highlanders.

When Wade entered on his system of road construction, he had only military purposes in view, and having regard to the point at which he stopped those works, it may be said that he was satisfied when he had completed the communication between the different Highland garrisons, and between them and the troops quartered in the Low Country. Yet he was not unaware, as we know from his letters, that the people of the country found "ease and conveniency in transporting their merchandise" over his roads, and he gives it as his opinion in writing to George II., that these roads would "contribute to civilise the Highlanders." In the following recommendation of the same report he proposed another scheme with this object. It was "that all due encouragement be given for erecting a market-town in the ground between the old barracks, at Killihumen, and the end of the lake, a space about 500 yards in length and 400 in breadth, which, being situated in the centre of the Highlands, will very much contribute to civilise the Highlanders, who, by living separate in the hills, where there are no towns, are without example to induce them to change their barbarous customs." The scheme was never carried out. Burt says it was entertained for some months with fondness, but "this Utopian town had no other foundation than a pique against two or three of the magistrates of Inverness, for whose transgression the town was to be humbled by this contrivance." It is possible that Wade may have presented this scheme at the suggestion of an interested party, but very unlikely that he himself was actuated by sinister motives. Even George Lockhart, who was strongly prejudiced against him, says, "he's a well enuff tempered man, and Lord Stanhope, who has made a special study of

these times, records his opinion that Wade was "a judicious and conciliatory man, inasmuch as he became personally popular even whilst faithfully obeying most distasteful orders," and he adds that "He employed himself more usefully in making military roads across the Highlands, but these (such is the capriciousness of fame) are perhaps less remembered for the solid advantage than for the silly panegyric they produced:—

"Had you seen these roads before they were made
You would lift up your hands and bless General
Wade."

In a note by Jamieson to Burt's quotation of the Tay Bridge inscription (a note which has been elsewhere copied) it is said that this distich occurs on an obelisk erected near Fort-William to perpetuate the memory of the Marshal's chief exploit in making the road from Inverness to Inverary but if this obelisk ever existed, all memory of it seems to have passed away, and in any case it could not have commemorated the event supposed, as Wade made no road to Inverary.

He became a full General on 2nd July 1739, and was relieved of the command in Scotland the following year by General Clayton, whose commission (1) was dated 1st May 1740. It is possible that Wade may have left Scotland some months before this time, since it was not unusual for him to go south in the winter. War with Spain had broken out in the Autumn of 1739. Fresh troops had to be enrolled and trained, and in 1740 it is said that he was engaged in reviewing them and that he commanded a camp at Newberry.

On 31st January 1742 he was appointed Lieut.-

(1) Home Office Military Entry Book, Rolls Office.

General of the Ordnance, and on the 24th of June in that year was made a Privy Councillor (1). The former office brought him the pay of £3 a day, and he retained to the close of his life the governorships of Fort-William, Fort-Augustus, and Fort-George, to which he had been gazetted on 6th June 1733. With the pay and allowances from these, from his Colonelcy of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, and from his rank as General in the army, he must have had a considerable income. On the 14th December 1743 he became a Field Marshal(2), and war having broken out with France, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Flanders, which were allied with those of the Austrians under the Duke d'Arenberg and the Dutch under the Count of Nassau. The allied commanders disagreed among themselves, and their forces were outnumbered by those of their opponents. Horace Walpole, writing in May 1744, says, "We hear of great quarrels between Marshal Wade and Duke d'Arenberg, and in June he reports to his correspondent that while the Allies numbered only 36,000, the French had 90,000 men in the field, and were expecting a reinforcement of 40,000 more. The circumstances did not lend themselves to success, and Wade, who was enfeebled by ill-health, and annoyed by reflections on his inertness, asked leave to go home at the close of that year's campaign. The permission was granted, and in March 1745, the Duke of Cumberland having been appointed Captain-General of his Majesty's forces both abroad and at home, Wade's further service in the Netherlands was, at his own desire,

(1) Haydn's Book of Dignities, 1851.
 (2) Home Office Military Entry Book.

dispensed with, and the Duke took the command there. At the same time the Marshal was made Commander-in-Chief in England (1), an appointment which he held till the Duke's return in December.

On the outbreak of the rebellion in the autumn of 1745, Marshal Wade was appointed to the command of the army in the North intended for its suppression. He reached Newcastle early in November, where his force was augmented by a number of Dutch troops landed there from Holland, and by British regiments from Flanders. He failed, however, to push on at once into Scotland, and the rebel army, evading him, entered England by Carlisle, and marched to Derby, whence it was forced to retire on the 6th December by the Duke of Cumberland. It should then have been Wade's business to cut off the retreat, but his movements were too slow for the rapid march of the Highlanders, and on reaching Ferrybridge, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, he held a council of war, at which it was decided to be hopeless to intercept Prince Charles. A party of Dragoons, under General Oglethorpe was detached to reinforce the Duke of Cumberland's Cavalry, and the rest of Wade's army returned to Newcastle. His want of energy was severely animadverted on at the time, and though he does not appear to have been formally superseded, General Hawley was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, and marched there with the larger part of the troops assembled at Newcastle. It is to be said for Wade that his army suffered much from sickness. The "Volunteer"—supposed to have been a medical man—who has

(1) Succession of Colonels 3rd Dragoon Guards.

left an account of his journey with the Duke of Cumberland's army, tells how, on arriving at Newcastle, he "heard of the great sickness amongst the men in Marshal Wade's army occasioned by the inclemency of the weather, the hospitals being filled. These fevers raged also amongst the town's people, and even amongst the surgeons and apothecaries that attended them, many of whom also died." Whether this was sufficient excuse for Wade's inactivity cannot now be said. His age accounted for some lack of vigour in difficulties occasioned by disease and an inclement season. He was 73 years old, and at that time of life the élan necessary for a successful soldier has passed away. If he was in fault, it seems to have been in a degree which the responsible authorities did not think serious, for he retained his seat at the Privy Council and his other honours till his death, which took place on the 14th March 1748. The last three years of his life were spent more or less in retirement, but he still exercised a certain influence in military matters, and in 1746 presided over the Court Martial which tried Sir John Cope for his defeat at Prestonpans. He was never married. The "Scots Magazine" says "he died worth above £100,000, £80,000 of which he has left to two sons, officers in the army; and the remainder to two daughters" (1).

There are two mezzotint prints of Wade, both of the year 1736. One about 16 by 12 inches, executed by A. Vanhoecken from a painting by his brother Joseph, has been here reproduced on a small scale. The other, by Faber, from a painting by J. Van Diest, is about 12 inches high by 10 wide, and shows Wade's head and bust within

(1) Scots Magazine Obituary, March 1748.

an oval ring. In this print he is in civilian dress. The face in these portraits is a pleasant one, but hardly conveys the impression of commanding ability.

Marshal Wade was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a flag on the south side of the nave marks his resting-place. Over a door leading from the south aisle into the cloisters there is a monument to him by Roubiliac, having this inscription:—

To the Memory
of GEORGE WADE,
Field Marshal of His Majesty's Forces,
Lieut.-General of the Ordnance,
Colonel of His Majesty's 3rd Regiment of Dragoon
Guards,
Governor of Fort-William, Fort-Augustus, and Fort-
George,
And One of His Majesty's Most Honourable
Privy Council.
He died 14th March 1748; aged 75.

On the slab over his grave there is a very similar inscription, but with the year of death given as 1747. The discrepancy is due to the double reckoning of the Civil and Ecclesiastical year in use in England up to 1752, the New-Year in one case commencing only on 25th March. According to our present reckoning, Wade died in 1746. In the Succession of Colonels of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, and in the obituary notices in the "Scots" and "Gentleman's Magazines" Wade's age at his death is given as 80. This would have made him 22 before he received his first commission, and 77 when, in 1745, he still held command on active service for the suppression of the Rebellion. The age named on his gravestone is, therefore, on all grounds most probably the correct one.

The monument was set up in the summer of 1750, and the "Scots Magazine" for August of that year, in announcing its erection, explains its allegory. The figure of Time on the left appears ready to destroy a trophy of Wade's ensigns of honour, arms, &c.; but is repulsed by another figure on the right which represents Fame. Such fame as he had which has survived to the present day rests exclusively on his construction of the military roads. He was the originator of a system which received immense development after his death, and with which his name remained connected in the public memory long after he had ceased to share in directing its operations. And the benefit he conferred on this part of the country in opening it up by the construction of roads, and thus bringing it into line with the rest of the kingdom can hardly be overestimated. No other action ever taken by the Government has done so much for the material welfare of Highlanders. It were ungrateful of them to let his memory die; but in point of fact, though the story of his life is practically unknown, his name is so engraven on the history of the Highlands, and has become traditionally so connected with his main work there, that not only in the popular belief is every old bridge ascribed to him, but even in the Ordnance maps of Scotland military roads are marked as Wade's, which were not projected for years after he had gone to his long home, and his ashes lay mingled with dust beneath the Abbey at Westminster.

In offering this contribution to the proceedings of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club, I gratefully acknowledge the assistance I have received in its compilation from Dr Ross, Sir James Mackenzie, Mr John Cameron, Aberfeldy;

Mr N. B. Mackenzie, Fort-William, and from the gentlemen who preside in the reading-rooms at the British Museum and at the Public Record Office; and I must specially record my obligations to Dr Mackenzie, of Culbo, for having afforded me the opportunity of seeing General Wade's letter and order-book at the Junior United Service Club; to Mr Cameron Swan for his photograph of St George's Bridge, over the Spey at Garvamore, which is here reproduced; and to Miss Yule at Tarradale House for access to books seldom met with away from public libraries; and for the privilege of being allowed to peruse Mr Dalton's MS. and to avail myself of his researches.

The following copy of instructions to General Wade was taken from the Home Office Military Entry Book in the Record Office, vol. 14, page 60:—

“Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved George Wade, Esquire, Major-General of our Forces, whom we have appointed to take upon him the Command of our Forces, Castles, Forts, and Barracks in North Britain, given at our Court of St James, the 1st day of June 1725, in the eleventh year of our reign.

“Whereas it has been humbly represented to us that notwithstanding the many good laws that have from time to time been made to reduce our Highlands of Scotland to a more civilised and legal behaviour, and to a due obedience of our laws and Government; yet that many of the inhabitants of that part of our dominions do still continue possessed of great quantities of arms and warlike weapons, with which they commit

robberies and depredations, and raise illegal exactions from our faithful subjects, now we, reposing especial trust and confidence in you, have, by our Warrant under our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date with these presents, authorised and empowered you to summon, or cause to be summoned, such of the persons and clans as are therein described, to bring in and deliver up their arms and warlike weapons, pursuant to the Act of Parliament on that behalf.

"But whereas it may be necessary for some of our subjects in that part of the kingdom (who may have occasion to travel to markets, fairs, or other places upon their lawful business, and for others who may be called on to assist the Civil Magistrate in the execution of the laws) to bear and use arms for their security and defence, you are therefore authorised and empowered in such cases to grant Licences under your hand and seal, taking care to specify in such licences the particular arms and warlike weapons which such persons shall be authorised to keep, bear, or wear.

"We have thought fit that six companies should be raised, consisting of Highlanders well affected to our Government, and you are to take care and direct that the regular troops under your command, together with the said companies, or any of them, do assist the Civil Magistrate as occasion may require.

"As the tenants of the estate late of the late Earl of Seaforth have continued hitherto in a state of disobedience and defiance of our laws and Government, and notwithstanding that by the attainder of the said late Earl for high treason, the said estate became vested in the Crown (which through our love to our people we have given

to the public), yet the said tenants have not only refused to pay in their rents in pursuance of our gracious intentions; but have paid them for the use of the said late Earl, and have supported themselves and one another in this disobedience by force of arms; and therefore, we have thought fit that when the troops are assembled and encamped, they shall be marched to the Castle of Brahan, which was the principal seat of the said late Earl, or any other part of the said Estate as you shall judge most for our service, and to cause the summons above mentioned to be sent to the clans and tenants thereof, in order effectually to disarm them.

"When you have used your utmost endeavour to perform this service, you are to proceed to send summons to such other clans or countries one after another, who are reported to be the most disaffected to our Government, or most addicted to robberies and depredations upon our faithful subjects; and in case you find it necessary to separate the troops under your command, you are to take care to send a careful officer with them, with orders to support the civil magistrate in the execution of the laws above-mentioned.

"In order to prevent, or subdue insurrection, and to hinder the Highlanders from passing into the low countries in times of rebellion, as well as for the better quartering of our Troops, you are, on your arrival at Inverness, to cause a barrack and fort to be erected upon the ground where our ancient Castle now stands (unless you shall find some other situation more proper and convenient), but if you shall think that the most proper situation, you are to cause the said Castle to be repaired, so that, together with the barracks to be there built, it may be sufficient to contain at least

400 men, as also the Governor and Officers appointed for the command of the said Fort, with such conveniency as the extent of the ground will admit of.

"And whereas the situation of the Barrack Killwemen has been represented to us to be insecure and inconvenient from its being built at too great a distance from the Lake Ness, We also think fit to empower you to contract with the Proprietors of such lands as shall be found to be necessary, if there shall be occasion for the same, and to cause a Fort or Barrack, to be erected thereupon at the end of the said lake, which, together with the barrack already built, may be sufficient to contain a Battalion of Foot, with a communication between the said Barrack and Fort, as may be convenient for their mutual support.

"You are likewise to give orders that Inspection be made into the present condition of the Castles and Forts in North Britain, and to cause necessary repairs to be made to secure them from the dangers of a hidden surprise.

"And whereas Our service may sometimes require your presence in places far distant from the said Castles and Forts and Barracks when they are in building or repairing, you are hereby authorised to appoint such proper persons as you shall judge most capable to perform the said service and inspect the said works, in the execution whereof you are not to exceed the sums following, viz.—

For the Barracks to be Erected at Inverness	£7000
For the Fort and Barrack at Killwemen	5000
And for the Repairs of the other Castles and Forts above mentioned	2000
Unless you shall receive our special order to exceed these sums.	

"And whereas it has likewise been represented unto us that the building of vessel with oars and sails on the Lake Ness will be necessary for a better communication between the Garrisons of Inverness and Killiwemen, and for sending parties to the countries bordering on the said lake, you are to cause a vessel proper for that purpose to be built for the uses above mentioned, in which expence you are not to exceed £400.

"And in order that all due encouragement may be given to such of the Highlanders who shall peaceably and quietly deliver up their arms in obedience to any summons that shall be sent them, or to such of them as shall contribute to facilitate the execution of the Disarming Act, or shall discover arms concealed, or persons outlawed, or attainted of High Treason, you are hereby authorised out of such money as shall come to your hands from time to time, to give reasonable gratuities to such persons, and in such proportions as you shall think fit and convenient, for the better carrying on this service.

"And whereas some of the persons or Clans that are disaffected to our Government may presume to hide or conceal their Arms, or to carry or send them to distant Islands or other places, you are to use your best endeavours for the discovery of such concealments, by sending any ship or vessel that may be appointed to attend the service, to seize all such Arms as may be found to be so concealed, and to bring the concealers of such Arms to justice.

"And to the end that our Troops may be the better accommodated in their Incampment on the Mountains, and that proper provision may not be wanting during their continuance there, you are also authorised and empowered out of such money

as shall come to your hands as aforesaid, to defray the extraordinary charges of such Incampment, and the carriage of soldiers' tents, ammunition, and provisions for the use of our said Forces, as also for the maintenance of Prisoners who shall be found in arms contrary to law; and likewise for repairing the roads between the Garrisons and Barracks (where the same is practicable), for the better communication of our Troops, and also for such other contingent charges as shall be found necessary for our service.

"And whereas Edmund Burt is appointed agent for the Estates late of the late Earl of Seaforth, and of Glenmorrison, not sold by the late Commissioners, you are to give him all legal assistance in the execution of the Trust reposed in him.

"You are from time to time to correspond with one of our principal Secretaries of State, and to give account of the progress you make in the execution of these services, and of any difficulties that may arise in relation to the same.

"When the season of the year shall require the troops to be sent into winter quarters, you are to report to us how far you have succeeded in the execution of these, our commands; and to lay before us your opinion of what may be further necessary to be done towards settling the peace and quiet of that part of our kingdom."

"G. R."

