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HISTORY

OF THE

SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS

HIGHLAND CLANS

AND

HIGHLAND REGIMENTS

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE GAELIC LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND MUSIC

By the Rev. THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

AND AN ESSAY ON HIGHLAND SCENERY

By the late Professor JOHN WILSON

EDITED BY

JOHN S. KELTIE, F.S.A. Scot.

Illustrated

WITH A SERIES OF PORTRAITS, VIEWS, MAPS, ETC., ENGRAVED ON STEEL,
CLAN TARTANS, AND UPWARDS OF TWO HUNDRED WOODCUTS,
INCLUDING ARMORIAL BEARINGS

VOL. II.

A. FULLARTON & CO.
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
1875

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Kyle of Durness
Kyle of Tongue
Strathy Pt.
Thurso
Sinclair B.
Wick
L. Inchard
L. Laxford
Hope
L. Erriboll
LORD REAY'S COUNTRY
Strath Naver
L. Naver
L. na Clan
CAITHNESS
SINCLAIRS
Dunbeath Cas.
Ord of Caithness
Helmsdale
Rhu Stoer
Ancienly MACLEODS
Assynt
L. Inver
L. Enard
Ancienly MACNICOLS
Loch Shin
Glen cassley
GUNNS
SUTHERLANDS
Lairg
Str. Brora
Loch Road
Broad Bay
Stornoway
L. Erisort
L. Resort
MACAULAYS
MACKENZIES
MORRISONS
Ancienly MACLEODS
LEWIS
THE MINCH
Parish of ROMARTY
L. Broom
L. Grudaird
L. Fyre
L. Braan
Ullapool
Rhu Rea
L. Seaforth
Loch Seaforth
L. Scaig
W. Loch Tarbert
E. Loch Tarbert
Shiant I.
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MACLEODS
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R. Oykel
Str. Carron
ROSS COUNTY
Dornoch
Dornoch Cas.
L. Fleet
Tarbet Ness
DORNOCH FIRTH
Tain
Invergordon
MACKENZIES
GRUINARD
Loch Maree
GAIRLOCH
Gairloch
Air Point
Ben Wyvis
MONROES
Cromarty
Cromarty Firth
MORAY FIRTH
Burghead
Lossiemouth
Elgin
Fort George
Fortrose
Ancienly URQUHARTS
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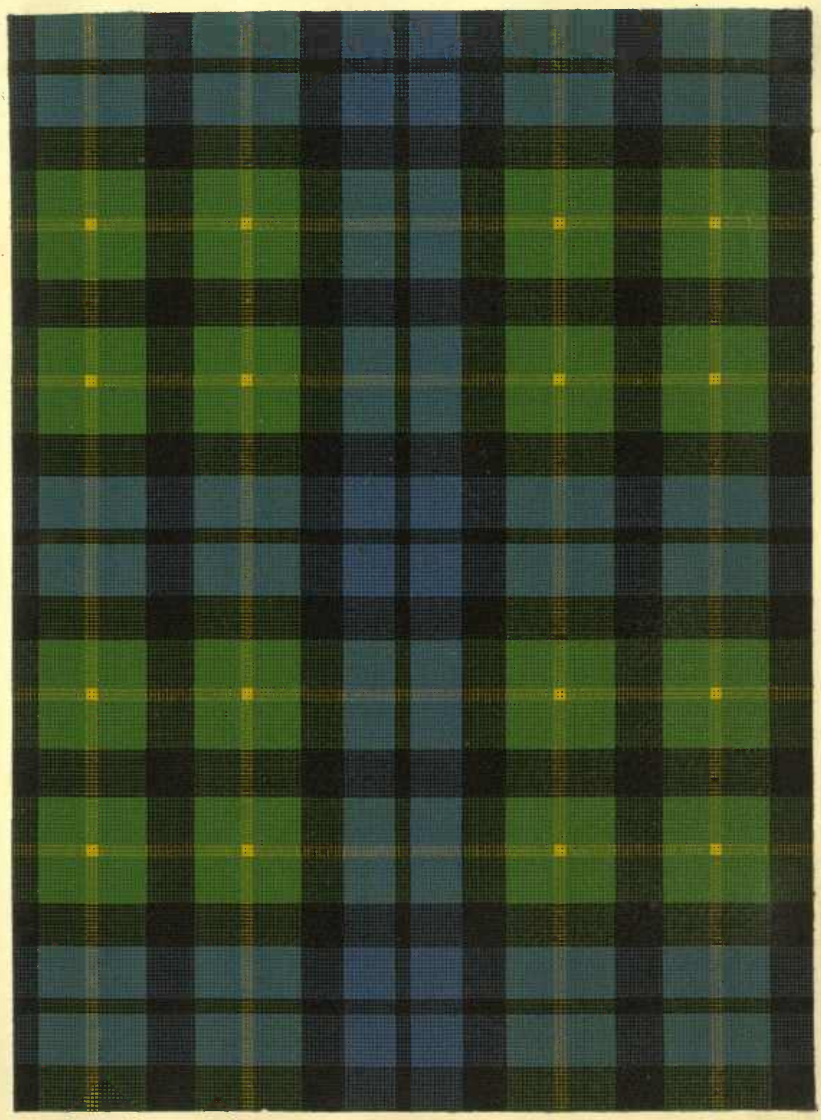


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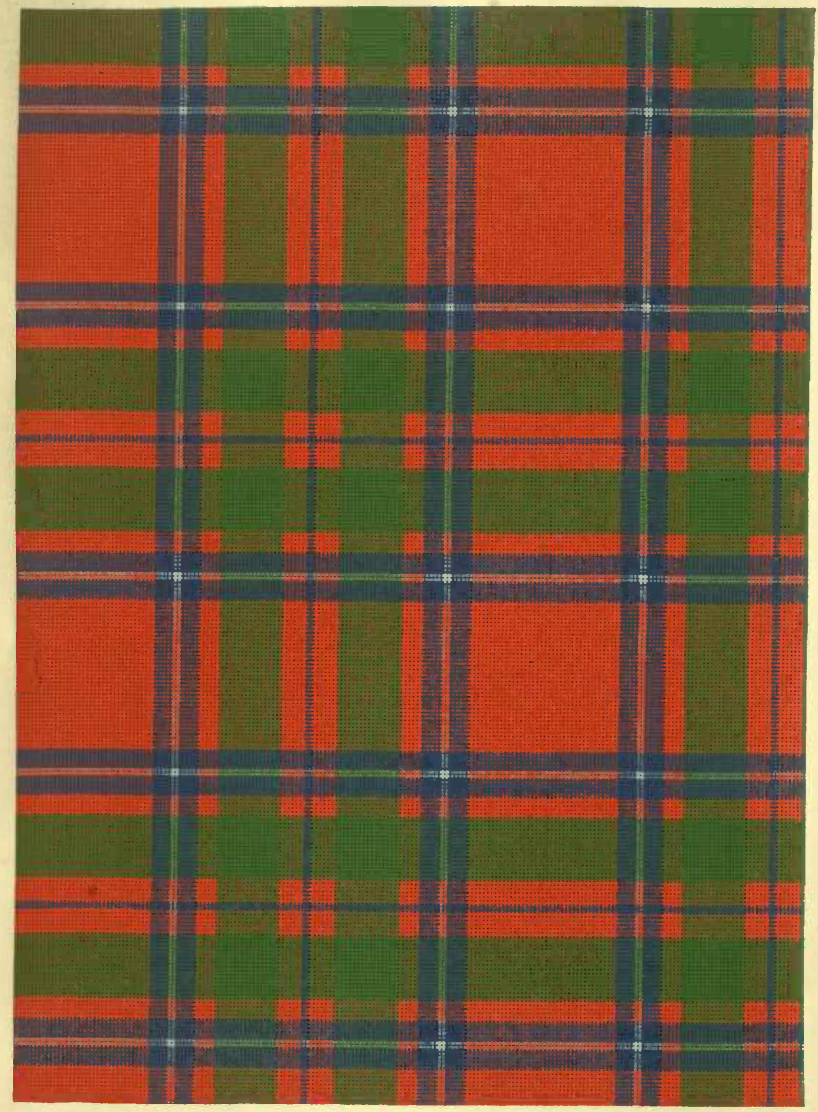
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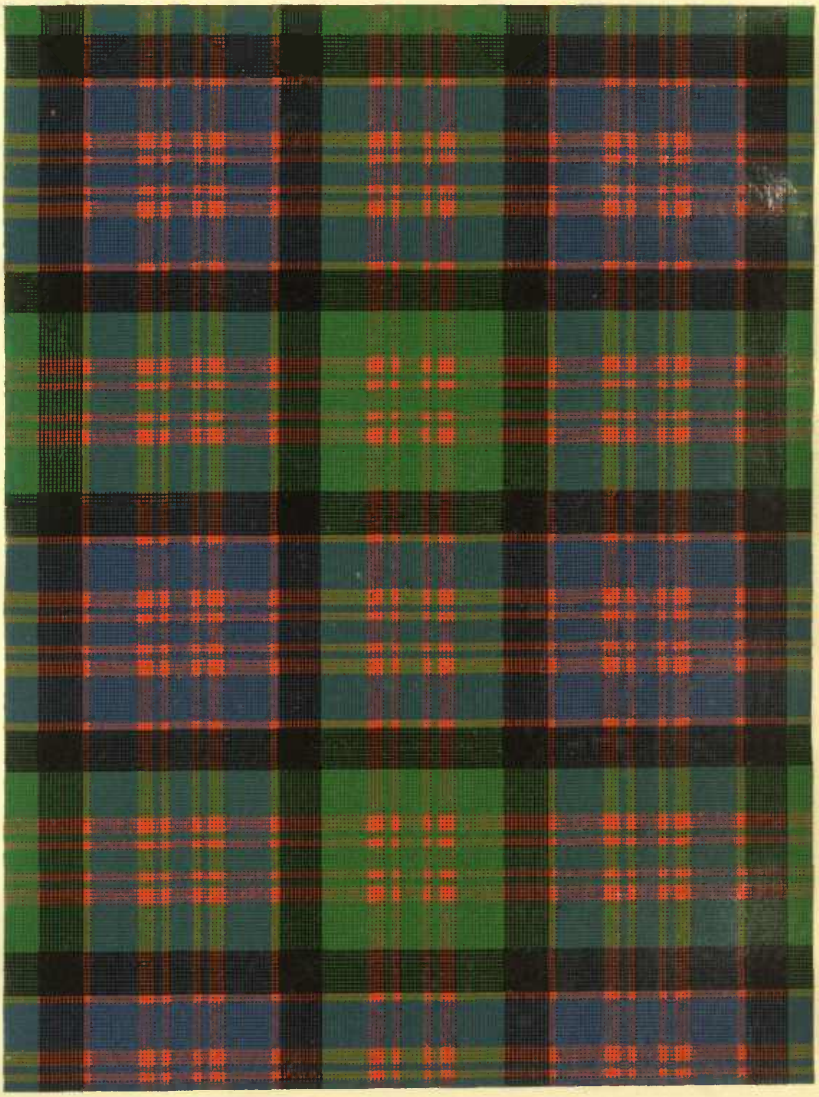
MACGREGOR.



BREADALBANE. CAMPBELL.



CHISHOLM.



MACDONALD.

PART FIRST—*Continued.*

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS.

CHAPTER XLII.

Social condition of the Highlands—Black Mail—Watch Money—The Law—Power of the Chiefs—Land Distribution—Tacksmen—Tenants—Rents—Thirlage—Wretched State of Agriculture—Agricultural Implements—The *Caschroim*—The *Reestle*—Methods of Transportation—Drawbacks to Cultivation—Management of Crops—Farm Work—Live Stock—*Garrons*—Sheep—Black Cattle—Arable Land—Pasturage—Farm Servants—The *Bailte Geamhre*—Davoch-lands—Milk—Cattle Drovers—Harvest Work—The *Quern*—Fuel—Food—*Social Life in Former Days*—Education—Dwellings—Habits—*Gartmore Papers*—Wages—Roads—Present State of the Highlands.

As we have already (in ch. xviii.) given a somewhat minute description of the clan-system, it is unnecessary to enter again in detail upon that subject here. We have, perhaps, in the chapter referred to, given the most brilliant side of the picture, still the reader may gather, from what is said there, some notion of what had to be done, what immense barriers had to be overcome, ere the Highlander could be modernised. Any further details on this point will be learned from the Introduction to the History of the Clans.

As might have been expected, for some time after the allaying of the rebellion, and the passing of the various measures already referred to, the Highlands, especially those parts which bordered on the Lowlands, were to a certain extent infested by what were known as cattle-lifters—*Anglicé*, cattle-stealers. Those who took part in such expeditions were generally "broken" men, or men who belonged to no particular clan, owned no chief, and who were regarded generally as outlaws. In a paper said to have been written in 1747, a very gloomy and lamentable picture of the state of the country in this respect is given, although we suspect it refers rather to the period preceding the rebellion than to that succeeding it. However, we shall quote what the writer says on the matter in question, in order to give the reader an idea of the nature and extent of this system of pillage or "requisition:"—

"Although the poverty of the people principally produces these practices so ruinous to society, yet the nature of the country, which is thinnely inhabitate, by reason of the extensive moors and mountains, and which is so well fitted for conceallments by the many glens, dens, and cavitys in it, does not a little contribute. In such a country cattle are privately transported from one place to another, and securely hid, and in such a country it is not easy to get informations, nor to apprehend the criminalls. People lye so open to their resentment, either for giving intelligence, or prosecuting them, that they decline either, rather than risk their cattle being stoln, or their houses burnt. And then, in the pursuit of a rogue, though he was almost in hands, the grounds are so hilly and unequall, and so much covered with wood or brush, and so full of dens and hollows, that the sight of him is almost as soon lost as he is discovered.

"It is not easy to determine the number of persons employed in this way; but it may be safely affirmed that the horses, cows, sheep, and goats yearly stoln in that country are in value equall to £5,000; that the expences lost in the fruitless endeavours to recover them will not be less than £2,000; that the extraordinary expences of keeping herds and servants to look more narrowly after cattle on account of

stealling, otherways not necessary, is £10,000. There is paid in *blackmail* or *watch-money*, openly and privately, £5,000; and there is a yearly loss by understocking the grounds, by reason of theifts, of at least £15,000; which is, altogether, a loss to landlords and farmers in the Highlands of £37,000 sterling a year. But, besides, if we consider that at least one-half of these stollen effects quite perish, by reason that a part of them is buried under ground, the rest is rather devoured than eat, and so what would serve ten men in the ordinary way of living, swallowed up by two or three to put it soon out of the way, and that some part of it is destroyed in concealed parts when a discovery is suspected, we must allow that there is £2,500 as the value of the half of the stollen cattle, and £15,000 for the article of understock quite lost of the stock of the kingdom.

"These last mischiefs occasions another, which is still worse, although intended as a remedy for them—that is, the engaging companys of men, and keeping them in pay to prevent these thiefts and depredations. As the government neglect the country, and don't protect the subjects in the possession of their property, they have been forced into this method for their own security, though at a charge little less than the land-tax. The person chosen to command this *watch*, as it is called, is commonly one deeply concerned in the theifts himself, or at least that hath been in correspondence with the thieves, and frequently who hath occasioned thiefts, in order to make this watch, by which he gains considerably, necessary. The people employed travell through the country armed, night and day, under pretence of enquiring after stollen cattle, and by this means know the situation and circumstances of the whole country. And as the people thus employed are the very rogues that do these mischiefs, so one-half of them are continued in their former bussiness of stealling that the busieness of the other half may be necessary in recovering."[1]

This is probably a somewhat exaggerated account of the extent to which this species of robbery was carried on, especially after the suppression of the rebellion; if written by one of the Gartmore family, it can scarcely be regarded as a disinterested account, seeing that the Gartmore estate lies just on the southern skirt of the Highland parish of Aberfoyle, formerly notorious as a haunt of the Macgregors, affording every facility for lifters getting rapidly out of reach with their "ill-gotten gear." Still, no doubt, curbed and dispirited as the Highlanders were after the treatment they got from Cumberland, from old habit, and the assumed necessity of living, they would attempt to resume their ancient practices in this and other respects. But if they were carried on to any extent immediately after the rebellion, when the Gartmore paper is said to have been written, it could not have been for long; the law had at last reached the Highlands, and this practice ere long became rarer than highway robbery in England, gradually dwindling down until it was carried on here and there by one or two "desperate outlawed" men. Long before the end of the century it seems to have been entirely given up. "There is not an instance of any country having made so sudden a change in its morals as that of the Highlands; security and civilization now possess every part; yet 30 years have not elapsed since the whole was a den of thieves of the most extraordinary kind."[2]

As we have said above, after the suppression of the rebellion of 1745–6, there are no stirring narratives of outward strife or inward broil to be narrated in connection with the Highlands. Indeed, the history of the Highlands from this time onwards belongs strictly to the history of Scotland, or rather of Britain. Still, before concluding this division of the work, it may be well to give a brief sketch of the progress of the Highlands from the time of the suppression of the jurisdictions down to the present day. Not that after their disarmament the Highlanders ceased to take part in the world's strife; but the important part they have taken during the last century or more in settling the destinies of nations, falls to be narrated in another section of this work. What we shall concern ourselves with at present is the consequences of the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions (and with them the importance and power of the chiefs), on the

[1] Gartmore MS. in Appendix to Burt's *Letters*.

[2] Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*.

http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found

internal state of the Highlands; we shall endeavour to show the alteration which took place in the social condition of the people, their mode of life, their relation to the chiefs (now only landlords), their mode of farming, their religion, education, and other points.

From the nature of clanship—of the relationship between chief and people, as well as from the state of the law and the state of the Highlands generally—it will be perceived that, previous to the measure which followed Culloden, it was the interest of every chief to surround himself with as many followers as he could muster; his importance and power of injury and defence were reckoned by government and his neighbours not according to his yearly income, but according to the number of men he could bring into the field to fight his own or his country's battles. It is told of a chief that, when asked as to the rent of his estate, he replied that he could raise 500 men. Previous to '45, money was of so little use in the Highlands, the chiefs were so jealous of each other and so ready to take advantage of each other's weakness, the law was so utterly powerless to repress crime and redress wrong, and life and property were so insecure, that almost the only security which a chief could have was the possession of a small army of followers, who would protect himself and his property; and the chief safety and means of livelihood that lay in the power of the ordinary clansman was to place himself under the protection and among the followers of some powerful chief. "Before that period [1745] the authority of law was too feeble to afford protection.[3] The obstructions to the execution of any legal warrant were such that it was only for objects of great public concern that an extraordinary effort was sometimes made to overcome them. In any ordinary case of private injury, an individual could have little expectation of redress unless he could avenge his own cause; and the only hope of safety from any attack was in meeting force by force. In this state of things, every person above the common rank depended for his safety and his consequence on the number and attachment of his servants and dependants; without people ready to defend him, he could not expect to sleep in safety, to preserve his house from pillage or his family from murder; he must have submitted to the insolence of every neighbouring robber, unless he had maintained a numerous train of followers to go with him into the field, and to fight his battles. To this essential object every inferior consideration was sacrificed; and the principal advantage of landed property consisted in the means it afforded to the proprietor of multiplying his dependants."[4]

Of course, the chief had to maintain his followers in some way, had to find some means by which he would be able to attach them to himself, keep them near him, and command their services when he required them. There can be no doubt, however chimerical it may appear at the present day, that the attachment and reverence of the Highlander to his chief were quite independent of any benefits the latter might be able to confer. The evidence is indubitable that the clan regarded the chief as the father of his people, and themselves as his children; he, they believed, was bound to protect and maintain them, while they were bound to regard his will as law, and to lay down their lives at his command. Of these statements there can be

[3] As a specimen of the manner in which justice was administered in old times in the Highlands, we give the following: In the second volume of the Spalding Club Miscellany, p. 128, we read of a certain "John MacAlister, in Dell of Rothemurkus," cited on 19th July 1594 "before the Court of Regality of Spynie." He was "decerned by the judge—ryplie aduysit with the action of spuilzie persewit contrane him be the Baron of Kincardine, ... to have vrongouslie intromittit with and detenit the broune horse lybellit, and thairfor to content and pay to the said Complainer the soume of threttene schillings and four pennis money." The reader will notice the delicate manner in which what looks very like a breach of the eighth commandment is spoken of in a legal document of that period. John the son of Alister "confessed" the intromission with the brown horse, but pled in defence that he "took him away ordowrlie and nocht spulyed, but be vertue of the Act of Athell, boynd for ane better horse spuilzeat be the said persewar from the said Defender." Whether this was the truth, or whether, though it were true, John the son of Alister was justified in seizing upon the Baron's broune horse in lieu of the one taken by the Baron from him, or whether it was that the Baron was the more powerful of the two, the judge, it will have been noticed, decerned against the said John M'Alister, not, however, ordaining him to return the horse, but to pay the Baron "thairfor" the sum of thirteen shillings.—*Memorials of Clan Shaw*, by Rev. W. G. Shaw, p. 24.

[4] *Observations on the Present State of Highlands*, by the Earl of Selkirk, p. 13.

no doubt. "This power of the chiefs is not supported by interest, as they are landlords, but as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of the families, for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates, as may appear from several, and particularly one who commands in his clan, though, at the same time, they maintain him, having nothing left of his own."[5] Still it was assuredly the interest, and was universally regarded as the duty of the chief, to strengthen that attachment and his own authority and influence, by bestowing upon his followers what material benefits he could command, and thus show himself to be, not a thankless tyrant, but a kind and grateful leader, and an affectionate father of his people. Theoretically, in the eye of the law, the tenure and distribution of land in the Highlands was on the same footing as in the rest of the kingdom; the chiefs, like the lowland barons, were supposed to hold their lands from the monarch, the nominal proprietor of all landed property, and these again in the same way distributed portions of this territory among their followers, who thus bore the same relation to the chief as the latter did to his superior, the king. In the eye of the law, we say, this was the case, and so those of the chiefs who were engaged in the rebellion of 1715–45 were subjected to forfeiture in the same way as any lowland rebel. But, practically, the great body of the Highlanders knew nothing of such a tenure, and even if it had been possible to make them understand it, they would probably have repudiated it with contempt. The great principle which seems to have ruled all the relations that subsisted between the chief and his clan, including the mode of distributing and holding land, was, previous to 1746, that of the family. The land was regarded not so much as belonging absolutely to the chief, but as the property of the clan of which the chief was head and representative. Not only was the clan bound to render obedience and reverence to their head, to whom each member supposed himself related, and whose name was the common name of all his people; he also was regarded as bound to maintain and protect his people, and distribute among them a fair share of the lands which he held as their representative. "The chief, even against the laws, is bound to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who, by accidents, are fallen into decay. If, by increase of the tribe, any small farms are wanting, for the support of such addition he splits others into lesser portions, because *all must be somehow provided for;* and as the meanest among them pretend to be his relatives by consanguinity, they insist upon the privilege of taking him by the hand wherever they meet him."[6] Thus it was considered the duty, as it was in those turbulent times undoubtedly the interest, of the chief to see to it that every one of those who looked upon him as their chief was provided for; while, on the other hand, it was the interest of the people, as they no doubt felt it to be their duty, to do all in their power to gain the favour of their chiefs, whose will was law, who could make or unmake them, on whom their very existence was dependent. Latterly, at least, this utter dependence of the people on their chiefs, their being compelled for very life's sake to do his bidding, appears to have been regarded by the former as a great hardship; for, as we have already said, it is well known that in both of the rebellions of last century, many of the poor clansmen pled in justification of their conduct, that they were compelled, sorely against their inclination, to join the rebel army. This only proves how strong must have been the power of the chiefs, and how completely at their mercy the people felt themselves to be.

To understand adequately the social life of the Highlanders previous to 1746, the distribution of the land among, the nature of their tenures, their mode of farming, and similar matters, the facts above stated must be borne in mind. Indeed, not only did the above influences affect these matters previous to the suppression of the last rebellion, but also for long after, if, indeed, they are not in active operation in some remote corners of the High-

[5] Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 5.

[6] Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 5.

lands even at the present day; moreover, they afford a key to much of the confusion, misunderstanding, and misery that followed upon the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions.

Next in importance and dignity to the chief or laird were the cadets of his family, the gentlemen of the clan, who in reference to the mode in which they held the land allotted to them, were denominated tacksmen. To these tacksmen were let farms, of a larger or smaller size according to their importance, and often at a rent merely nominal; indeed, they in general seem to have considered that they had as much right to the land as the chief himself, and when, after 1746, many of them were deprived of their farms, they, and the Highlanders generally, regarded it as a piece of gross and unfeeling injustice. As sons were born to the chief, they also had to be provided for, which seems to have been done either by cutting down the possessions of those tacksmen further removed from the family of the laird, appropriating those which became vacant by the death of the tenant or otherwise, and by the chief himself cutting off a portion of the land immediately in his possession. In this way the descendants of tacksmen might ultimately become part of the commonalty of the clan. Next to the tacksmen were tenants, who held their farms either directly from the laird, or as was more generally the case, from the tacksmen. The tenants again frequently let out part of their holdings to sub-tenants or cottars, who paid their rent by devoting most of their time to the cultivation of the tenant's farm, and the tending of his cattle. The following extract from the Gartmore paper written in 1747, and published in the appendix to Burt's *Letters*, gives a good idea of the manner generally followed in distributing the land among the various branches of the clan :—

"The property of these Highlands belongs to a great many different persons, who are more or less considerable in proportion to the extent of their estates, and to the command of men that live upon them, or follow them on account of their clanship, out of the estates of others. These lands are set by the landlord during pleasure, or a short tack, to people whom they call good-men, and who are of a superior station to the commonality. These are generally the sons, brothers, cousins, or nearest relations of the landlord. The younger sons of famillys are not bred to any business or employments, but are sent to the French or Spanish armies, or marry as soon as they are of age. Those are left to their own good fortune and conduct abroad, and these are preferred to some advantageous farm at home. This, by the means of a small portion, and the liberality of their relations, they are able to stock, and which they, their children, and grandchildren, possess at an easy rent, till a nearer descendant be again preferred to it. As the propinquity removes, they become less considered, till at last they degenerate to be of the common people; unless some accidental acquisition of wealth supports them above their station. As this hath been an ancient custom, most of the farmers and cottars are of the name and clan of the proprietor; and, if they are not really so, the proprietor either obliges them to assume it, or they are glaid to do so, to procure his protection and favour.

"Some of these tacksmen or good-men pos sess these farms themselves; but in that case they keep in them a great number of cottars, to each of whom they give a house, grass for a cow or two, and as much ground as will sow about a boll of oats, in places which their own plough cannot labour, by reason of brush or rock, and which they are obliged in many places to delve with spades. This is the only visible subject which these poor people possess for supporting themselves and their famillys, and the only wages of their whole labour and service.

"Others of them lett out parts of their farms to many of these cottars or subtennants; and as they are generally poor, and not allways in a capacity to stock these small tenements, the tacksmen frequently enter them on the ground laboured and sown, and sometimes too stocks it with cattle; all which he is obliged to redeliver in the same condition at his removal, which is at the goodman's pleasure, as he is usually himself tennent at pleasure, and for which during his possession he pays an extravagantly high rent to the tacksman.

"By this practice, farms, which one family and four horses are sufficient to labour, will

have from four to sixteen famillys living upon them."[7]

"In the case of very great families, or when the domains of a chief became very extensive, it was usual for the head of the clan occasionally to grant large territories to the younger branches of his family in return for a trifling quit-rent. These persons were called chieftains, to whom the lower classes looked up as their immediate leader. These chieftains were in later times called tacksmen; but at all periods they were considered nearly in the same light as proprietors, and acted on the same principles. They were the officers who, under the chief, commanded in the military expeditions of the clans. This was their employment; and neither their own dispositions, nor the situation of the country, inclined them to engage in the drudgery of agriculture any farther than to supply the necessaries of life for their own families. A part of their land was usually sufficient for this purpose, and the remainder was let off in small portions to cottagers, who differed but little from the small occupiers who held their lands immediately from the chief; excepting that, in lieu of rent, they were bound to a certain amount of labour for the advantage of their immediate superior. The more of these people any gentleman could collect around his habitation, with the greater facility could he carry on the work of his own farm; the greater, too, was his personal safety. Besides this, the tacksmen, holding their lands from the chief at a mere quit-rent, were naturally solicitous to merit his favour by the number of their immediate dependants whom they could bring to join his standard."[8]

Thus it will be seen that in those times every one was, to a more or less extent, a cultivator or renter of land. As to rent, there was very little of actual money paid either by the tacksmen or by those beneath them in position and importance. The return expected by the laird or chief from the tacksmen for the farms he allowed them to hold, was that they should be ready when required to produce as many fighting men as possible, and give him a certain share of the produce of the land they held from him. It was thus the interest of the tacksman to parcel out their land into as small lots as possible, for the more it was subdivided, the greater would be the number of men he could have at his command. This liability on the part of the subtenants to be called upon at any time to do service for the laird, no doubt counted for part of the rent of the pendicles allotted to them. These pendicles were often very small, and evidently of themselves totally insufficient to afford the means of subsistence even to the smallest family. Besides this liability to do service for the chief, a very small sum of money was taken as part of the rent, the remainder being paid in kind, and in assisting the tacksmen to farm whatever land he may have retained in his own hands. In the same way the cottars, who were subtenants to the tacksmen's tenants, had to devote most of their time to the service of those from whom they immediately held their lands. Thus it will be seen that, although nominally the various tenants held their land from their immediate superiors at a merely nominal rent, in reality what was actually given in return for the use of the land would, in the end, probably turn out to be far more than its value. From the laird to the cottar there was an incessant series of exactions and services, grievous to be borne, and fatal to every kind of improvement.

Besides the rent and services due by each class to its immediate superiors, there were numerous other exactions and services, to which all had to submit for the benefit of their chief. The most grievous perhaps of these was thirlage or multure, a due exacted from each tenant for the use of the mill of the district to convert their grain into meal. All the tenants of each district or parish were thirled or bound to take their grain to a particular mill to be ground, the miller being allowed to appropriate a certain proportion as payment for the use of the mill, and as a tax payable to the laird or chief. In this way a tenant was often deprived of a considerable quantity of his grain, varying from one-sixteenth to one-eighth, and even more. In the same way many parishes were thirled to a particular smith. By these and similar exactions and contributions did the proprietors

[7] Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 341–3.
[8] *Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 184, 5.

and chief men of the clan manage to support themselves off the produce of their land, keep a numerous band of retainers around them, have plenty for their own use, and for all who had any claim to their hospitality. This seems especially to have been the case when the Highlanders were in their palmiest days of independence, when they were but little molested from without, and when their chief occupations were clan-feuds and cattle raids. But latterly, and long before the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, this state of matters had for the most part departed, and although the chiefs still valued themselves by the number of men they could produce, they kept themselves much more to themselves, and showed less consideration for the inferior members of the clan, whose condition, even at its best, must appear to have been very wretched. "Of old, the chieftain was not so much considered the master as the father of his numerous clan. Every degree of these followers loved him with an enthusiasm, which made them cheerfully undergo any fatigue or danger. Upon the other hand, it was his interest, his pride, and his chief glory, to requite such animated friendship to the utmost of his power. The rent paid him was chiefly consumed in feasts given at the habitations of his tenants. What he was to spend, and the time of his residence at each village, was known and provided for accordingly. The men who provided these entertainments partook of them; they all lived friends together; and the departure of the chief and his retinue never fails to occasion regret. In more polished times, the cattle and corn consumed at these feasts of hospitality, were ordered up to the landlord's habitation. What was friendship at the first became very oppressive in modern times. Till very lately in this neighbourhood, Campbell of Auchinbreck had a right to carry off the best cow he could find upon several properties at each Martinmas by way of mart. The Island of Islay paid 500 such cows yearly, and so did Kintyre to the Macdonalds."[9] Still, there can be no doubt, that previous to 1746 it was the interest of the laird and chief tacksmen to keep the body of the people as contented as possible, and do all in their power to attach them to their interest. Money was of but little use in the Highlands then; there was scarcely anything in which it could be spent; and so long as his tenants furnished him with the means of maintaining a substantial and extensive hospitality, the laird was not likely in general to complain. "The poverty of the tenants rendered it customary for the chief, or laird, to free some of them every year, from all arrears of rent; this was supposed, upon an average, to be about one year in five of the whole estate."[1]

In the same letter from which the last sentence is quoted, Captain Burt gives an extract from a Highland rent-roll, of date probably about 1730; we shall reproduce it here, as it will give the reader a better notion as to how those matters were managed in these old times, than any description can. "You will, it is likely," the letter begins, "think it strange that many of the Highland tenants are to maintain a family upon a farm of twelve merks Scots per annum, which is thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling, with perhaps a cow or two, or a very few sheep or goats; but often the rent is less, and the cattle are wanting.

"In some rentals you may see seven or eight columns of various species of rent, or more, viz., money, barley, oatmeal, sheep, lambs, butter, cheese, capons, &c.; but every tenant does not pay all these kinds, though many of them the greatest part. What follows is a specimen taken out of a Highland rent-roll, and I do assure you it is genuine, and not the least by many:—

	Scots Money.	English.	Butter. Stones. Lb. Oz.	Oatmeal. Bolls. B. P. Lip.	Muttons.
Donald mac Oil vic ille Challum ...	£3 10 4	£0 5 10⅛	0 3 2	0 2 1 3	⅛ and $\frac{1}{16}$
Murdoch mac ille Christ. ...	5 17 6	0 9 9⅛	0 6 4	0 3 3 3	¼ and $\frac{1}{16}$
Duncan mac ille Phadrick ...	7 0 6	0 12 3½	0 7 8	1 0 3 0½	¼ and ⅛

I shall here give you a computation of the first article, besides which there are seven more of the same farm and rent, as you may perceive by the fraction of a sheep in the last column:—

[9] Old Statistical Account of North Knapdale.

[1] Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 57.

The money.....	£0	5	$10\frac{1}{3}$ Sterling.
The butter, three pounds two ounces, at 4d. per lb.	0	1	$1\frac{1}{3}$
Oatmeal, 2 bushels, 1 peck, 3 lippys and $\frac{1}{4}$, at 6d. per peck...	0	4	$9\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$
Sheep, one-eighth and one-sixteenth, at 2s.....	0	0	$4\frac{1}{2}$
The yearly rent of the farm is.....	£0	12	$1\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{12}$."

It is plain that in the majority of cases the farms must have been of very small extent, almost equal to those of Goldsmith's Golden Age, "when every rood maintained its man." "In the head of the parish of Buchanan in Stirlingshire, as well as in several other places, there are to be found 150 families living upon grounds which do not pay above £90 sterling of yearly rent, that is, each family at a medium rents lands at twelve shillings of yearly rent."[2] This certainly seems to indicate a very wretched state of matters, and would almost lead one to expect to hear that a famine occurred every year. But it must be remembered that for the reasons above given, along with others, farms were let at a very small rent, far below the real value, and generally merely nominal; that besides money, rent at that time was all but universally paid in kind, and in services to the laird or other superior; and that many of the people, especially on the border lands, had other means of existence, as for example, cattle-lifting. Nevertheless, making all these allowances, the condition of the great mass of the Highlanders must have been extremely wretched, although they themselves might not have felt it to be so, they had been so long accustomed to it.

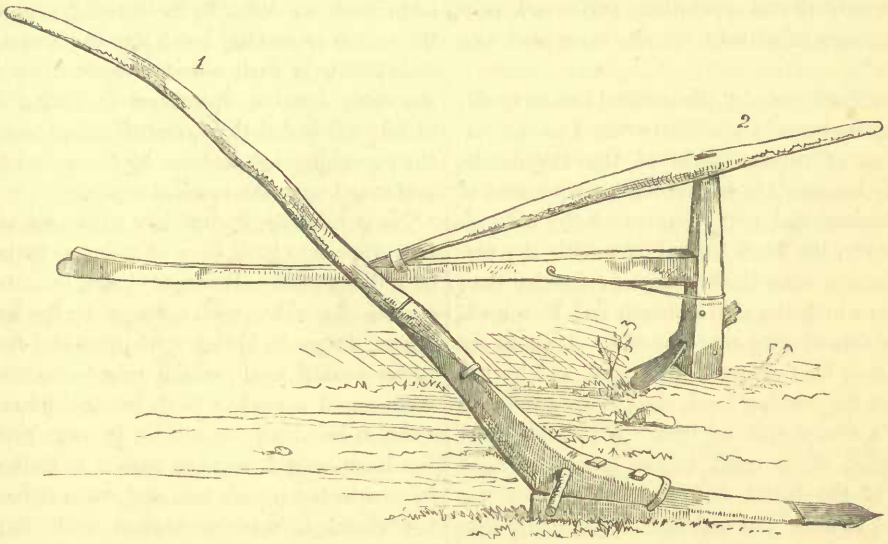
In such a state of matters, with the land so much subdivided, with no leases, and with tenures so uncertain, with so many oppressive exactions, with no incitements to industry or improvement, but with every encouragement to idleness and inglorious self-contentment, it is not to be supposed that agriculture or any other industry would make any great progress. For centuries previous to 1745, and indeed for long after it, agriculture appears to have remained at a stand-still. The implements in use were rude and inefficient, the time devoted to the necessary farming operations, generally a few weeks in spring and autumn, was totally insufficient to produce results of any importance, and consequently the crops raised, seldom anything else but oats and barley, were scanty, wretched in quality, and seldom sufficient to support the cultivator's family for the half of the year. In general, in the Highlands, as the reader will already have seen, each farm was let to a number of tenants, who, as a rule, cultivated the arable ground on the system of run-rig, *i.e.*, the ground was divided into ridges which were so distributed among the tenants that no one tenant possessed two contiguous ridges. Moreover, no tenant could have the same ridge for two years running, the ridges having a new cultivator every year. Such a system of allocating arable land, it is very evident, must have been attended with the worst results so far as good farming is concerned. The only recommendation that it is possible to urge in its favour is that, there being no inclosures, it would be the interest of the tenants to join together in protecting the land they thus held in common against the ravages of the cattle which were allowed to roam about the hills, and the depredations of hostile clans. As we have just said, there were no inclosures in the Highlands previous to 1745, nor were there for very many years after that. While the crops were standing in the ground, and liable to be destroyed by the cattle, the latter were kept, for a few weeks in summer and autumn, upon the hills; but after the crops were gathered in, they were allowed to roam unheeded through the whole of a district or parish, thus affording facilities for the cattle-raids that formed so important an item in the means of obtaining a livelihood among the ancient Highlanders.

As a rule, the only crops attempted to be raised were oats and barley, and sometimes a little flax; green crops were almost totally unknown or despised, till many years after 1745; even potatoes do not seem to have been at all common till after 1750, although latterly they became the staple food of the

[2] Gartmore MS.

Highlanders. Rotation of crops, or indeed any approach to scientific agriculture, was totally unknown. The ground was divided into infield and outfield. The infield was constantly cropped, either with oats or bear; one ridge being oats, the other bear alternately. There was no other crop except a ridge of flax where the ground was thought proper for it. The outfield was ploughed three years for oats, and then pastured for six years with horses, black cattle, and sheep. In order to dung it, folds of sod were made for the cattle, and what were called flakes or rails of wood, removable at pleasure, for folding the sheep. A farmer who rented 60, 80, or 100 acres, was sometimes under the necessity of buying meal for his family in the summer season.[3]

Their agricultural implements, it may easily be surmised, were as rude as their system of farming. The chief of these were the old Scotch plough and the *caschroim* or crooked spade, which latter, though primitive enough, seems to have been not badly suited to the turning over of the land in many parts of the Highlands. The length of the Highland plough was about four feet and a half, and had only one stilt or handle, by which the ploughman directed it. A slight mould-board was fastened to it with two leather straps, and



1. Old Scotch plough. 2. *Caschroim*, or crooked spade.

the sock and coulter were bound together at the point with a ring of iron. To this plough there were yoked abreast four, six, and even more horses or cattle, or both mixed, in traces made of thongs of leather. To manage this unwieldy machine it required three or four men. The ploughman walked by the side of the plough, holding the stilt with one hand; the driver walked backwards in front of the horses or cattle, having the reins fixed on a cross stick, which he appears to have held in his hands.[4] Behind the ploughman came one and sometimes two men, whose business it was to lay down with a spade the turf that

[3] Old Statistical Account, vol. ix. p. 494.

[4] "When I first saw this awkward method as I then thought it, I rode up to the person who guided the machine, to ask him some questions concerning it: he spoke pretty good English, which made me conclude he was a gentleman; and yet, in quality of a proprietor and conductor, might, without dishonour, employ himself in such a work. My first question was, whether that method was common to the Highlands, or peculiar to that part of the country? and, by way of answer, he asked me, if they ploughed otherwise anywhere else? Upon my further inquiry why the man went backwards? he stopped, and very civilly informed me that there were several small rocks, which I did not see, that had a little part of them just peeping on the surface, and therefore it was necessary his servant should see and avoid them, by guiding the horses accordingly, or otherwise his plough might be spoiled by the shock. The answer was satisfactory and convincing, and I must here take notice that many other of their methods are too well suited to their own circumstances, and those of the country, to be easily amended by such as undertake to deride them."—Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43.

was torn off. In the Hebrides and some other places of the Highlands, a curious instrument called a *Reestle* or *Restle*, was used in conjunction with this plough. Its coulter was shaped somewhat like a sickle, the instrument itself being otherwise like the plough just described. It was drawn by one horse, which was led by a man, another man holding and directing it by the stilt. It was drawn before the plough in order to remove obstructions, such as roots, tough grass, &c., which would have been apt to obstruct the progress of a weak plough like the above. In this way, it will be seen, five or six men, and an equal number if not more horses or cattle, were occupied in this single agricultural operation, performed now much more effectively by one man and two horses.[5]

The *Caschroim, i.e.*, the crooked foot or spade, was an instrument peculiarly suited to the cultivation of certain parts of the Highlands, totally inaccessible to a plough, on account of the broken and rocky nature of the ground. Moreover, the land turned over with the caschroim was considerably more productive than that to which the above plough had been used. It consists of a strong piece of wood, about six feet long, bent near the lower end, and having a thick flat wooden head, shod at the extremity with a sharp piece of iron. A piece of wood projected about eight inches from the right side of the blade, and on this the foot was placed to force the instrument diagonally into the ground. "With this instrument a Highlander will open up more ground in a day, and render it fit for the sowing of grain, than could be done by two or three men with any other spades that are commonly used. He will dig as much ground in a day as will sow more than a peck of oats. If he works assiduously from about Christmas to near the end of April, he will prepare land sufficient to sow five bolls. After this he will dig as much land in a day as will sow two pecks of bere; and in the course of the season will cultivate as much land with his spade as is sufficient to supply a family of seven or eight persons, the year round, with meal and potatoes. . . . It appears, in general, that a field laboured with the caschroim affords usually one-third more crop than if laboured with the plough. Poor land will afford near one-half more. But then it must be noticed that this tillage with the plough is very imperfect, and the soil scarcely half laboured."[6] No doubt this mode of cultivation was suitable enough in a country overstocked with population, as the Highlands were in the early part of last century, and where time and labour were of very little value. There were plenty of men to spare for such work, and there was little else to do but provide themselves with food. Still it is calculated that this spade labour was three times more expensive than that of the above clumsy plough. The caschroim was frequently used where there would have been no difficulty in working a plough, the reason apparently being that the horses and cattle were in such a wretched condition that the early farming operations in spring completely exhausted them, and therefore much of the ploughing left undone by them had to be performed with the crooked spade.

As to harrows, where they were used at all, they appear to have been of about as little use as a hand-rake. Some of them, which resembled hay-rakes, were managed by the hand; others, drawn by horses, were light and feeble, with wooden teeth, which might scratch the surface and cover the seed, but could have no effect in breaking the soil.[7] In some parts of the Highlands it was the custom to fasten the harrow to the horse's tail, and when it became too short, it was lengthened with twisted sticks.

To quote further from Dr Walker's work, which describes matters as they existed about 1760, and the statements in which will apply with still greater force to the earlier half of the century:—"The want of proper carriages in the Highlands is one of the great obstacles to the progress of agriculture, and of every improvement. Having no carts, their corn, straw, manures, fuel, stone, timber, seaweed, and kelp, the articles necessary in the fisheries, and every other bulky commodity, must be transported from one place to another on horseback or on sledges. This must triple or quadruple the expense of their carriage. It must prevent particularly the use of the natural manures with which the country abounds, as, with-

[5] Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i. p. 122.

[6] Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i. p. 127. [7] Idem, 131.

out cheap carriage, they cannot be rendered profitable. The roads in most places are so bad as to render the use of wheel-carriages impossible; but they are not brought into use even where the natural roads would admit them." [8]

As we have said already, farming operations in the Highlands lasted only for a few weeks in spring and autumn. Ploughing in general did not commence till March, and was concluded in May; there was no autumn or winter ploughing; the ground was left untouched and unoccupied except by some cattle from harvest to spring time. It was only after the introduction of potatoes that the Highlanders felt themselves compelled to begin operations about January. As to the *modus operandi* of the Highland farmer in the olden time, we quote the following from the old Statistical Account of the parish of Dunkeld and Dowally, which may be taken as a very fair representative of all the other Highland parishes; indeed, as being on the border of the lowlands, it may be regarded as having been, with regard to agriculture and other matters, in a more advanced state than the generality of the more remote parishes:—"The farmer, whatever the state of the weather was, obstinately adhered to the immemorial practice of beginning to plough on Old Candlemas Day, and to sow on the 20th of March. Summer fallow, turnip crops, and sown grass were unknown; so were compost dunghills and the purchasing of lime. Clumps of brushwood and heaps of stones everywhere interrupted and deformed the fields. The customary rotation of their general crops was —1. Barley; 2. Oats; 3. Oats; 4. Barley; and each year they had a part of the farm employed in raising flax. The operations respecting these took place in the following succession. They began on the day already mentioned to *rib* the ground, on which they intended to sow barley, that is, to draw a wide furrow, so as merely to make the land, as they termed it, red. In that state this ground remained till the fields assigned to oats were ploughed and sown. This was in general accomplished by the end of April. The farmer next proceeded to prepare for his flax crop, and to sow it, which occupied him till the middle of May, when he began to harrow, and dung, and sow the ribbed barley land. This last was sometimes not finished till the month of June." [9] As to draining, fallowing, methodical manuring and nourishing the soil, or any of the modern operations for making the best of the arable land of the country, of these the Highlander never even dreamed; and long after[1] they had become common in the low country, it was with the utmost difficulty that his rooted aversion to innovations could be overcome. They literally seem to have taken no thought for the morrow, and the tradition and usage of ages had given them an almost insuperable aversion to manual labour of any kind. This prejudice against work was not the result of inherent laziness, for the Highlander, both in ancient and modern times, has clearly shown that his capacity for work and willingness to exert himself are as strong and active as those of the most industrious lowlander or Englishman. The humblest Highlander believed himself a gentleman, having blood as rich and old as his chief, and he shared in the belief, far from being obsolete even at the present day, that for a gentleman to soil his hands with labour is as degrading as slavery.[2] This belief was undoubtedly one

[8] Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i. p. 133.

[9] *Old Statistical Account*, vol. xx. p. 74.

[1] "Nothing is more common than to hear the Highlanders boast how much their country might be improved, and that it would produce double what it does at present if better husbandry were introduced among them. For my own part, it was always the only amusement I had in the hills, to observe every minute thing in my way; and I do assure you, I do not remember to have seen the least spot that would bear corn uncultivated, not even upon the sides of the hills, where it could be no otherwise broke up than with a spade. And as for manure to supply the salts and enrich the ground they have hardly any. In summer their cattle are dispersed about the *sheelings*, and almost all the rest of the year in other parts of the hills; and, therefore, all the dung they can have must be from the trifling quantity made by the cattle while they are in the house. I never knew or heard of any limestone, chalk, or marl, they have in the country; and, if some of their rocks might serve for limestone, in that case their kilns, carriage, and fuel would render it so expensive, it would be the same thing to them as if there were none. Their great dependence is upon the nitre of the snow, and they lament the disappointment if it does not fall early in the season." —*Burt's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 48–9.

[2] "An English lady, who found herself something decaying in her health, and was advised to go among the hills, and drink goat's milk or whey, told me lately, that seeing a Highlander basking at the foot of a hill in his full dress, while his wife and her mother were hard at work in reaping the oats, she asked the old woman how she could be contented to see her daughter labour in that manner, while her husband

of the strongest principles of action which guided the ancient Highlanders, and accounts, we think, to a great extent for his apparent laziness, and for the slovenly and laggard way in which farming operations were conducted.

There were, however, no doubt other reasons for the wretched state of agriculture in the Highlands previous to, and for long after, 1745. The Highlanders had much to struggle against, and much calculated to dishearten them, in the nature of the soil and climate, on which, to a great extent, the success of agricultural operations is dependent. In many parts of the Highlands, especially in the west, rain falls for the greater part of the year, thus frequently preventing the completion of the necessary processes, as well as destroying the crops when put into the ground. As to the soil, no unprejudiced man who is competent to judge will for one moment deny that a great part of it is totally unsuited to agriculture, but fitted only for the pasturage of sheep, cattle, and deer. In the Old Statistical Account of Scotland, this assertion is being constantly repeated by the various Highland ministers who report upon the state of their parishes. In the case of many Highland districts, one could conceive of nothing more hopeless and discouraging than the attempt to force from them a crop of grain. That there are spots in the Highlands as susceptible of high culture as some of the best in the lowlands cannot be denied; but these bear but a small proportion to the great quantity of ground that is fitted only to yield a sustenance to cattle and sheep. Now all reports seem to justify the conclusion that, previous to, and for long after 1745, the Highlands were enormously overstocked with inhabitants, considering the utter want of manufactures and the few other outlets there were for labour. Thus, we think, the Highlander would be apt to feel that any extraordinary exertion was absolutely useless, as there was not the smallest chance of his ever being able to improve his position, or to make himself, by means of agriculture, better than his neighbour. All he seems to have sought for was to raise as much grain as would keep himself and family in bread during the miserable winter months, and meet the demands of the laird.

The small amount of arable land was no doubt also the reason of the incessant cropping which prevails, and which ultimately left the land in a state of complete exhaustion. "To this sort of management, bad as it is, the inhabitants are in some degree constrained, from the small proportion of arable land upon their farms. From necessity they are forced to raise what little grain they can, though at a great expense of labour, the produce being so inconsiderable. A crop of oats on outfield ground, without manure, they find more beneficial than the pasture. But if they must manure for a crop of oats, they reckon the crop of natural grass rather more profitable. But the scarcity of bread corn—or rather, indeed, the want of bread—obliges them to pursue the less profitable practice. Oats and bear being necessary for their subsistence, they must prefer them to every other produce. The land at present in tillage, and fit to produce them, is very limited, and inadequate to the consumption of the inhabitants. They are, therefore, obliged to make it yield as much of these grains as possible, by scourging crops." [3]

Another great discouragement to good farming was the multitude and grievous nature of the *services* demanded from the tenant by the landlord as part payment of rent. So multifarious were these, and so much of the farmer's time did they occupy, that frequently his own farming affairs got little or none of his personal attention, but had to be entrusted to his wife and family, or to the cottars whom he housed on his farm, and who, for an acre or so of ground and liberty to pasture an ox or two and a few sheep, performed to the farmer services similar to those rendered by the latter to his laird. Often a farmer had only one day in

was only an idle spectator? And to this the woman answered, that her son-in-law was a *gentleman*, and it would be a disparagement to him to do any such work; and that both she and her daughter too were sufficiently honoured by the alliance. This instance, I own, has something particular in it, as such; but the thing is very common, *à la Palatine*, among the middling sort of people."—*Burt's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 45.

The Highlander at home is indolent. It is with impatience that he allows himself to be diverted from his favourite occupation of traversing the mountains and moors in looking after his flocks, a few days in spring and autumn, for the purposes of his narrow scheme of agriculture. It is remarked, however, that the Highlander, when removed beyond his native bounds, is found capable of abundant exertion and industry.—*Graham's Perthshire*, 235.

[3] Walker's *Hebrides*, &c., vol. i. p. 197.

the week to himself, so undefined and so unlimited in extent were these services. Even in some parishes, so late as 1790, the tenant for his laird (or *master*, as he was often called) had to plough, harrow, and manure his land in spring; cut corn, cut, winnow, lead, and stack his hay in summer, as well as thatch office-houses with his own (the tenant's) turf and straw; in harvest assist to cut down the master's crop whenever called upon, to the latter's neglect of his own, and help to store it in the cornyard; in winter frequently a tenant had to thrash his master's crop, winter his cattle, and find ropes for the ploughs and for binding the cattle. Moreover, a tenant had to take his master's grain from him, see that it was properly put through all the processes necessary to convert it into meal, and return it ready for use; place his time and his horses at the laird's disposal, to buy in fuel for the latter, run a message whenever summoned to do so; in short, the condition of a tenant in the Highlands during the early part of last century, and even down to the end of it in some places, was little better than a slave.[4]

Not that, previous to 1745, this state of matters was universally felt to be a grievance by tenants and farmers in the Highlands, although it had to a large extent been abolished both in England and the lowlands of Scotland. On the contrary, the people themselves appear to have accepted this as the natural and inevitable state of things, the only system consistent with the spirit of clanship with the supremacy of the chiefs. That this was not, however, universally the case, may be seen from the fact that, so early as 1729, Brigadier Macintosh of Borlum (famous in the affair of 1715) published a book, or rather essay, on *Ways and Means for Enclosing, Fallowing, Planting, &c., Scotland*, which he prefaced by a strongly-worded exhortation to the gentlemen of Scotland to abolish this degrading and suicidal system, which was as much against their own interests as it was oppressive to the tenants. Still, after 1745, there seems to be no doubt that, as a rule, the ordinary Highlander acquiesced contentedly in the established state of things, and generally, so far as his immediate wants were concerned, suffered little or nothing from the system. It was only after the abolition of the jurisdictions that the grievous oppressive hardship, injustice, and obstructiveness of the system became evident. Previous to that, it was, of course, the laird's or chief's interest to keep his tenants attached to him and contented, and to see that they did not want; not only so, but previous to that epoch, what was deficient in the supply of food produced by any parish or district, was generally amply compensated for by the levies of cattle and other gear made by the clans upon each other when hostile, or upon their lawful prey, the Lowlanders. But even with all this, it would seem that, not unfrequently, the Highlanders, either universally or in certain districts, were reduced to sore straits, and even sometimes devastated by famine. Their crops and other supplies were so exactly squared to their wants, that, whenever the least failure took place in the expected quantity, scarcity or cruel famine was the result. According to Dr Walker, the inhabitants of some of the Western Isles look for a failure once in every four years. Maston, in his *Description of the Western Islands*, complained that many died from famine arising from years of scarcity, and about 1742, many over all the Highlands appear to have shared the same fate from the same cause.[5] So that, even under the old system, when the clansmen were faithful and obedient, and the chief was kind and liberal, and many cattle and other productions were imported free of all cost, the majority of the people lived from hand to mouth, and frequently suffered from scarcity and want. Infinitely more so was this the case when it ceased to be the interest of the laird to keep around him numerous tenants.

All these things being taken into consideration, it is not to be wondered at that agriculture in the Highlands was for so long in such a wretched condition.

They set much store, however, by their small black cattle and diminutive sheep, and appear in many districts to have put more dependence upon them for furnishing the means of existence, than upon what the soil could yield.

The live-stock of a Highland farm consisted mainly of horses, sheep, and cattle, all of them

[4] *Old Statistical Account*, vol. x. p. 17.

[5] See accounts of various Highland parishes in the *Old Statistical Account*.

of a peculiarly small breed, and capable of yielding but little profit. The number of horses generally kept by a farmer was out of all proportion to the size of his farm and the number of other cattle belonging to him. The proportion of horses to cattle often ranged from one in eight to one in four. For example, Dr Webster mentions a farm in Kintail, upon which there were forty milk cows, which with the young stock made one hundred and twenty head of cattle, about two hundred and fifty goats and ewes, young and old, and ten horses. The reason that so great a proportion of horses was kept, was evidently the great number that were necessary for the operation of ploughing, and the fact that in the greater part of the Highlands carts were unknown, and fuel, grain, manure, and many other things generally carried in machines, had to be conveyed on the backs of the horses, which were of a very small breed, although of wonderful strength considering their rough treatment and scanty fare. They were frequently plump, active, and endurable, though they had neither size nor strength for laborious cultivation. They were generally from nine to twelve hands high, short-necked, chubby-headed, and thick and flat at the withers.[6] "They are so small that a middle-sized man must keep his legs almost in lines parallel to their sides when carried over the stony ways; and it is almost incredible to those who have not seen it how nimbly they skip with a heavy rider among the rocks and large moor-stones, turning zig-zag to such places as are passable."[7] Walker believes that scarcely any horses could go through so much labour and fatigue upon so little sustenance.[8] They were generally called *garrons*, and seem in many respects to have resembled the modern Shetland pony. These horses for the greater part of the year were allowed to run wild among the hills, each having a mark indicating its owner; during the severest part of winter they were sometimes brought down and fed as well as their owners could afford. They seem frequently to have been bred for exportation.

Sheep, latterly so intimately associated with the Highlands, bore but a very small proportion to the number of black cattle. Indeed, before sheep-farming began to take place upon so large a scale, and to receive encouragement from the proprietors, the latter were generally in the habit of restricting their tenants to a limited number of sheep, seldom more than one sheep for one cow. This restriction appears to have arisen from the real or supposed interest of the landlord, who looked for the money part of his rent solely from the produce of sale of the tenants' cattle. Sheep were thus considered not as an article of profit, but merely as part of the means by which the farmer's family was clothed and fed, and therefore the landlord was anxious that the number should not be more than was absolutely necessary. In a very few years after 1745, a complete revolution took place in this respect.

The old native sheep of the Highlands, now rare, though common in some parts of Shetland, is thus described by Dr Walker. "It is the smallest animal of its kind. It is of a thin lank shape, and has short straight horns. The face and legs are white, the tail extremely short, and the wool of various colours; for, beside black and white, it is sometimes of a bluish grey colour, at other times brown, and sometimes of a deep russet, and frequently an individual is blotched with two or three of these different colours. In some of the low islands, where the pasture answers, the wool of this small sheep is of the finest kind, and the same with that of Shetland. In the mountainous islands, the animal is found of the smallest size, with coarser wool, and with this

[6] Walker's *Hebrides*, &c., vol. ii. p. 159.

[7] Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 38.

[8] Still they would seem to have been of comparatively little use for farming operations; for Dr Walker, writing about 1760, when the breed was at least no worse than it was previous to 1745, speaks thus:—"The number of horses is by far too great upon every Highland farm. They are so numerous, because they are inefficient; and they are inefficient, because they have neither stature nor food to render them sufficiently useful. Their number has never been restrained by the authority of the landlords, like that of the sheep. For in many places, they are bred and sold off the farm to advantage, being sent in droves to the south. In this case, their numbers upon a farm may be proper. But in general, there are six, eight, or ten horses upon the smaller farms, and sixteen, twenty, or more upon the larger; without any being bred for sale, and even few for supporting the stock. None of them perform the work of a horse; even where such numbers are kept, and purely for labour, each of them, in many places, do not plough two acres of land annually. They get no food the whole year round, but what they can pick up upon the hills, and their sustenance is therefore unluckily accounted as nothing.'

very remarkable character, that it has often four, and sometimes even six horns.

"Such is the original breed of sheep over all the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. It varies much indeed in its properties, according to the climate and pasture of different districts; but, in general, it is so diminutive in size, and of so bad a form, that it is requisite it should be given up, wherever sheep-farming is to be followed to any considerable extent. From this there is only one exception: in some places the wool is of such a superior quality, and so valuable, that the breed perhaps may, on that account, be with advantage retained."

The small, shaggy black cattle, so well known even at the present day in connection with the Highlands, was the principal live-stock cultivated previous to the alterations which followed 1745. This breed appears to have been excellent in its kind, and the best adapted for the country, and was quite capable of being brought to admirable perfection by proper care, feeding, and management. But little care, however, was bestowed on the rearing of these animals, and in general they were allowed to forage for themselves as best they could. As we have said already, the Highland farmer of those days regarded his cattle as the only money-producing article with which his farm was stocked, all the other products being necessary for the subsistence of himself and his family. It was mainly the cattle that paid the rent. It was therefore very natural that the farmer should endeavour to have as large a stock of this commodity as possible, the result being that, blind to his own real interests, he generally to a large extent overstocked his farm. According to Dr Walker,[9] over all the farms in the north, there was kept above one-third more of cattle than what under the then prevailing system of management could be properly supported. The consequence of course was, that the cattle were generally in a half-fed and lean condition, and, during winter especially, they died in great numbers.

As a rule, the arable land in the Highlands bore, and still bears, but a very small proportion to that devoted to pasture. The arable land is as a rule by the sea-shore, on the side of a river or lake, or in a valley; while the rest of the farm, devoted to pasturage, stretches often for many miles away among the hills. The old mode of valuing or dividing lands in Scotland was into shilling, sixpenny, and threepenny lands of Scotch money. Latterly the English denomination of money was used, and these divisions were termed penny,[1] halfpenny, and farthing lands. A tacksman generally rented a large number of these penny lands, and either farmed them himself, or, as was very often done, sublet them to a number of tenants, none of whom as a rule held more than a penny land, and many, having less than a farthing land, paying from a few shillings to a few pounds of rent. Where a number of tenants thus rented land from a tacksman or proprietor, they generally laboured the arable land in common, and each received a portion of the produce proportioned to his share in the general holding. The pasturage, which formed by far the largest part of the farm, they had in common for the use of their cattle, each tenant being allowed to pasture a certain number of cattle and sheep, *soumed* or proportioned[2] to the quantity of land he held. "The tenant of a penny land often keeps four or five cows, with what are called their followers, six or eight horses, and some sheep. The followers are the calf, a one-year-old, a two-year-old, and a three-year-old, making in all with the cow five head of black cattle. By frequent deaths among them, the number is seldom complete, yet this penny land has or may have upon it about twenty or twenty-five head of black cattle, besides horses and sheep." The halfpenny and farthing lands seem to have been allowed a larger proportion of live stock than the penny lands, considering their size.[3] It was seldom, however, that a tenant confined himself strictly to the number for which he was soumed, the desire to have as much as possible of the most profitable commodity frequently inducing to overstock, and thus defeat his main purpose.

During summer and autumn, the cattle and other live stock were confined to the hills to prevent them doing injury to the crops, for

Hebrides, &c., vol. ii. p. 50.

[1] A penny land apparently contained about the tenth part of a davoch, *i.e.*, about forty acres.

[2] The rule in souming seems to have been that one cow was equal to eight, in some places ten, sheep, and two cows equal to one horse.

[3] Walker's *Hebrides*, &c., vol. i. p. 56.

the lands were totally unprotected by enclosures. After the ground was cleared of the crops, the animals were allowed to roam promiscuously over the whole farm, if not over the farms of a whole district, having little or nothing to eat in the winter and spring but what they could pick up in the fields. It seems to have been a common but very absurd notion in the Highlands that the housing of cattle tended to enfeeble them; thus many cattle died of cold and starvation every winter, those who survived were mere skeletons, and, moreover, the farmer lost all their dung which could have been turned to good use as manure. Many of the cows, from poverty and disease, brought a calf only once in two years, and it was often a month or six weeks before the cow could give sufficient milk to nourish her offspring. Thus many of the Highland cattle were starved to death in their calf's skin.

A custom prevailed among the Highlanders of old, common to them with other mountainous pastoral countries, *e.g.*, Switzerland. During winter the tenants of a farm with their families, cottars, and servants, lived in the *Bailte Geamhre*, or winter town, in the midst of the arable land; but in summer, after all the sowing was done, about the middle of June, a general migration was made to the hills along with the cattle, the arable ground with all its appurtenances being allowed to take care of itself. The following passage, quoted from the old Statistical Account of Boleskine and Abertarff, Inverness-shire, will give a notion of the working of this practice :—

"The whole country, with two exceptions, consists of a variety of half davoch-lands, each of which was let or disponed by the Lovat family or their chamberlain to a wadsetter or principal tacksman, and had no concern with the sub-tenantry; each sub-tenant had again a variety of cottars, equally unconnected with the principal tacksman; and each of these had a number of cattle of all denominations, proportional to their respective holdings, with the produce whereof he fed and clad himself and whole family. As there were extensive shealings or grasings attached to this country, in the neighbourhood of the lordship of Badenoch, the inhabitants in the beginning of summer removed to these sheallings with their whole cattle, man, woman, and child; and it was no uncommon thing to observe an infant in one creel, and a stone on the other side of the horse, to keep up an equilibrium; and when the grass became scarce in the sheallings, they returned again to their principal farms, where they remained while they had sufficiency of pasture, and then, in the same manner, went back to their sheallings, and observed this ambulatory course during the seasons of vegetation; and the only operations attended to during the summer season was their peats or fuel, and repairing their rustic habitations. When their small crops were fit for it, all hands descended from the hills, and continued on the farms till the same was cut and secured in barns, the walls of which were generally made of dry stone, or wreathed with branches or boughs of trees; and it was no singular custom, after harvest, for the whole inhabitants to return to their sheallings, and to abide there till driven from thence by the snow. During the winter and spring, the whole pasturage of the country was a common, and a poind-fold was a thing totally unknown. The cultivation of the country was all performed in spring, the inhabitants having no taste for following green crops or other modern improvements."

The milk produced by the small Highland cows was, and indeed is, small in quantity, but in quality it resembles what in the Lowlands is known as cream. Of course, the butter and cheese made from such milk is unusually rich.

About the end of August or beginning of September, the cattle had generally been got into good condition by their summer feeding, the beef then, according to Captain Burt, being "extremely sweet and succulent." It was at this time that the drovers collected their herds, and drove them to the fairs and markets on the borders of the lowlands, and sometimes so far south as the north of England. As from the want of good roads and any means of rapid conveyance, the drovers took a considerable time to reach their destination, and had in the meantime to be fed, a certain sum per head had to be paid to the owners of the territories through which they passed, for the liberty of being allowed grazing for the cattle. Burt gives the following graphic account of a scene

he himself witnessed on the march south of one of these herds of cattle. "I have several times seen them driving great numbers of cattle along the sides of the mountains at a great distance, but never, except once, was near them. This was in a time of rain, by a wide river, where there was a boat to ferry over the drovers. The cows were about fifty in number, and took the water like spaniels; and when they were in, their drivers made a hideous cry to urge them forwards: this, they told me, they did to keep the foremost of them from turning about; for, in that case, the rest would do the like, and then they would be in danger, especially the weakest of them, to be driven away and drowned by the torrent. I thought it a very odd sight to see so many noses and eyes just above water, and nothing of them more to be seen, for they had no horns, and upon the land they appeared like so many large Lincolnshire calves." These drovers do not seem as a rule to have been the owners of cattle, but a class of men whose business it was to collect into one herd or drove the saleable cattle of a number of farmers, take them south to the markets and bring back the money, receiving a small commission for their trouble. As a rule they seem to have been men who, when their integrity was relied on, made it a point of honour to be able to render a satisfactory account of every animal and every farthing; although probably no one would be more ready to join in a *creach* or cattle-lifting expedition, which in those days was considered as honourable as warfare. The drovers "conducted the cattle by easy stages across the country in trackways, which, whilst they were less circuitous than public roads, were softer for the feet of the animals, and he often rested at night in the open fields with his herds."[4] A good idea of the character of this class of Highlanders may be obtained from Sir Walter Scott's *Chronicles of the Canongate*.[5]

All the other operations connected with or arising out of agriculture were conducted in as rude and ineffective a manner as those above mentioned. The harvest was always an anxious season with the Highlander, as from the wetness of the climate and the early period at which rain set in, their crops might never come to useful perfection, or might be swept away by floods or heavy rains before they could be gathered in.[6] Dr Walker declares that in the Hebrides and Western Highlands the people made up their minds to lose one harvest in four on account of the wetness of the climate. If the crops, however, escaped destruction from the elements, the farmers were glad to get them reaped as quickly as possible. As a rule, the common sickle seems to have been used for cutting down the grain, although it appears to have been not uncommon to tear it from the

[4] Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii. p. 65.

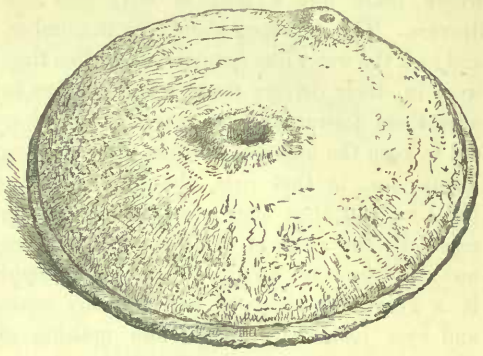
[5] The following remarks, taken from the Gartmore MS. at the end of Burt's *Letters*, gives one by no means a favourable idea of these drovers, but it must be borne in mind that the writer lived on the border of the most notorious and ill-behaved part of the Highlands, Rob Roy's country, and that he himself was properly a Lowlander. The extract will serve to show how business transactions were conducted in the Highlands. "It is alledged, that much of the Highlands lye at a great distance from publick fairs, mercates, and places of commerce, and that the access to these places is both difficult and dangerous; by reason of all which, trading people decline to go into the country in order to traffick and deal with the people. It is on this account that the farmers, having no way to turn the produce of their farms, which is mostly cattle, into money, are obliged to pay their rents in cattle, which the landlord takes at his own price, in regaird that he must either grase them himself, send them to distant markets, or credite some person with them, to be againe at a certain profite disposed of by him. This introduced the busieness of that sort of people commonly known by the name of Drovers. These men have little or no substance, they must know the language, the different places, and consequently be of that country. The farmers, then, do either sell their cattle to these drovers upon credite, at the drovers price (for ready money they seldom have), or to the landlord at his price, for payment of his rent. If this last is the case, the landlord does again dispose of them to the drover upon credite, and these drovers make what profites they can by selling them to grasiers, or at markets. These drovers make payments, and keep credite for a few years, and then they either in reality become bankrupts, or pretend to be so. The last is most frequently the case, and then the subject of which they have cheated is privately transferred to a confident person in whose name, upon that reall stock, a trade is sometimes carried on, for their behoof, till this trustee gett into credite, and prepaire *his* affairs for a bankruptcy. Thus the farmers are still keept poor; they first sell at an under rate, and then they often lose alltogether. The landlords, too, must either turn traders, and take their cattle to markets, or give these people credite, and by the same means suffer."—Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 364, 365.

[6] "The latter part of the season is often very wet; and the corn, particularly oats, suffer very much. June and August are the months which have least rain. September and October are frequently very wet: during these months, not only a greater quantity of rain falls, but it is more constant, accompanied by a cold and cloudy atmosphere, which is very unfavourable either to the ripening of grain, or drying it after it is cut. In July and August a good deal of rain falls; but it is in heavy showers, and the intervals are fine, the sun shining clear and bright often for several days together."—*Garnett's Tour*, vol. i. p. 24.

earth by the roots.[7] The harvest work seems to have been generally performed by women, as is indeed the case still in some parts of Scotland. This, Burt thinks, tended much to retard the harvest, as it sometimes took a woman and a girl a fortnight to do what with the aid of a man might have been done in a couple of days.[8] So short-lived was the supply of grain, and so ill-off were the people sometimes, that it was not uncommon for them to pluck the ears as they ripened, like fruit, and even scorch the grain when green and squeeze it into an unwholesome pulp.[9]

The flail appears to have been the only article used to separate the grain from its husk, and the only winnowing it got was from the draught that passed through the rude barn, which had two doors opposite each other for the purpose.

The quern or hand-mill is the oldest machine used for grinding grain. It consisted of two stones, one above the other, the former turned round by a handle and having an opening in the top to admit the grain. This primitive kind of mill, even for long after 1745, was used all over the Highlands to convert the scanty supply of grain into meal. The quern was generally driven by two women sitting opposite each other, but it was also adapted to a rude water-wheel, the axle of which was fixed in the upper stone. This rude water-mill is still used in Shetland, and is of the very simplest construction.



Quern, from the collection of the late Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart.

A common method of preparing the grain for the quern was called *graddaning*, which consisted in taking a handful of corn in the stalk, setting fire to it, and when it had burnt long enough, knocking the grain from the head by means of a stick; thus both thrashing and drying it at the same time. This of course was a wretched and most extravagant mode of procedure, blackening and otherwise spoiling the grain, and wasting the straw. This process was common in the Western Islands, where also there was a kind of very rude kiln, on the bare ribs of which were put the heads of the grain, which, when dried, were pulled down on the floor and immediately thrashed and winnowed, and stored up hot in plates, ready for the quern. Thus could a man have cut the sheaves, dry and thrash the barley, clean it for the quern, and make his breakfast thereof after it was ground.[1] Another method common in Badenoch and the central Highlands was to switch the corn out of the ear with a stick, separate it from the chaff, and put it in a pot on the fire, while a person kept stirring it

[7] Buchanan's *Travels in the Hebrides*, p. 154.

[8] "In larger farms belonging to gentlemen of the clan, where there are any number of women employed in harvest-work, they all keep time together by several barbarous tones of the voice, and stoop and rise together as regularly as a rank of soldiers when they ground their arms. Sometimes they are incited to their work by the sound of a bagpipe, and by either of these they proceed with great alacrity, it being disgraceful for any one to be out of time with the sickle." This custom of using music to enable a number of common workers to keep time, seems to have been in vogue in many operations in the Highlands. We quote the following graphic account of the process of fulling given by Burt in the same letter that contains the above quotation, (vol. ii. p. 48.) "They use the same tone, or a piper, when they thicken the newly-woven plaiding, instead of a fulling-mill. This is done by six or eight women sitting upon the ground, near some river or rivulet, in two opposite ranks, with the wet cloth between them; their coats are tucked up, and with their naked feet they strike one against another's, keeping exact time as above mentioned. And among numbers of men, employed in any work that requires strength and joint labour (as the launching a large boat, or the like), they must have the piper to regulate their time, as well as usky to keep up their spirits in the performance; for pay they often have little, or none at all." — Burt's *Letters*.

[9] Burton's *Scotland* (1689–1748), vol. ii. p. 395.— "The poverty of the field labourers hereabouts is deplorable. I was one day riding out for air and exercise, and in my way I saw a woman cutting green barley in a little plot before her hut: this induced me to turn aside and ask her what use she intended it for, and she told me it was to make bread for her family. The grain was so green and soft that I easily pressed some of it between my fingers; so that when she had prepared it, certainly it must have been more like a poultice than what she called it, bread."—Burt's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 224.

[1] Buchanan's *Hebrides*, p. 156.

with a wooden spatula. "I have seen," says a gentleman from Laggan, "the corn cut, dried, ground, baked, and eaten in less than two hours.[2]

There must, however, have been a mill on a somewhat larger scale than either the hand or water-quern, situated in a great many of the Highland districts, as it is well known that in the Highlands as well as the Lowlands, multure and thirlage were common exactions by which the tenants were oppressed. The tenants would be no doubt glad in many cases to escape the heavy mill-dues by grinding their grain for themselves, as well as their rude contrivances would allow them. But the convenience of a well-constructed mill in a district is evident, and of course it is but fair that those who take advantage of the mill should pay for it. Moreover, in early times, when large mills were first introduced into a district by the laird or proprietor, it was natural enough that he should endeavour, either by bargain or force, to get his tenants to take their grain to the district-mill to be ground, as only by this means could the expense of building and keeping up of the mill be defrayed and a miller induced to rent it. As money was scarce in those days, and as rent and other dues were paid in kind, it was natural and fair enough that the landlord should exact a small portion of the grain taken to his mill as due to him for keeping the mill up, and also for the miller to take payment for his trouble and time by keeping to himself a certain proportion of the meal into which he had converted the grain. But like every other custom, this was liable to abuse, and did in the end turn out to be a most grievous exaction and a great hindrance to agricultural improvement. Every farmer was thirled to a particular mill, thirlage being a due payable to the landlord; and the miller, besides having a croft or small farm attached to the mill, was allowed to exact multure, or a proportion of meal, to pay himself for his trouble. Besides these there appears to have been other exactions which could be made by the miller on various pretexts, and the amount of which depended pretty much upon his own caprice. Altogether they not unfrequently amounted to an eighth or a tenth of the meal produced by the grain. Yet for long after 1745, even into the present century, did these exactions continue to be in force in many parts of the country; and an almost universal complaint by the writers of the articles on the Highland parishes in the Old Statistical Account, is the grievous nature of these and other exactions.

Almost the only fuel used by the Highlanders, not only in the early part but during the whole of last century, was peat, still used in many Highland districts, and the only fuel used in a great part of Orkney and Shetland. The cutting and preparing of the fuel, composed mainly of decayed roots of various plants, consumed a serious part of the Highlander's time, as it was often to be found only at a great distance from his habitation; and he had to cut not only for himself but for his laird, the process itself being long and troublesome, extending from the time the sods were first cut till they were formed in a stack at the side of the farmer's or cottar's door, over five or six months; and after all, they frequently turned out but a wretched substitute for either wood or coal; often they were little else than a mass of red earth. It generally took five people to cut peats out of one spot. One cut the peats, which were placed by another on the edge of the trench from which they were cut; a third spread them on the field, while a fourth trimmed them, a fifth resting in the meantime ready to relieve the man that was cutting.

As would naturally be expected, the houses and other buildings of the Highlanders were quite in keeping with their agricultural implements and general mode of life. Even the tacksmen or gentlemen of the clan, the relations of the chief, lived in huts or hovels, that the poorest farmer in most parts of Scotland at the present day, would shudder to house his cattle in. In most cases they appear to have been pretty much the same as those of the small farmers or cottars, only perhaps a little larger. Burt mentions such a house belonging to a gentleman of the clan, which he visited in one of his peregrinations round Inverness. He says[3] it consisted of one long apartment without any partition, "where the family was at one end, and some cattle at the other." The owner of this rude habitation must have been somewhat shrewd and sensible, as he

[2] Logan's *Gael*, vol. ii p. 97.

[3] *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 7.

could not only perceive the disadvantages of this mode of life to which he was doomed, but had insight and candour enough to be able to account for his submission to them. "The truth is," Captain Burt reports him to have said, "we are insensibly inured to it by degrees; for, when very young, we know no better; being grown up, we are inclined, or persuaded by our near relations, to marry—thence come children, and fondness for them: but above all," says he, "is the *love of our chief*, so strongly is it inculcated to us in our infancy; and if it were not for that, I think the Highlands would be much thinner of people than they now are." How much truth there is in that last statement is clearly evidenced by the history of the country after the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions, which was the means of breaking up the old intimate relation between, and mutual dependence of, chief and people. Burt says elsewhere, that near to Inverness, there were a few gentlemen's houses built of stone and lime, but that in the inner part of the mountains there were no stone-buildings except the barracks, and that one might have gone a hundred miles without seeing any other dwellings but huts of turf. By the beginning of last century the houses of most of the chiefs, though comparatively small, seem to have been substantially built of stone and lime, although their food and manner of life would seem to have been pretty much the same as those of the tacksmen. The children of chiefs and gentlemen seem to have been allowed to run about in much the same apparently uncared for condition as those of the tenants, it having been a common saying, according to Burt, "that a gentleman's bairns are to be distinguished by their speaking English." To illustrate this he tells us that once when dining with a laird not very far from Inverness—possibly Lord Lovat—he met an English soldier at the house who was catching birds for the laird to exercise his hawks on. This soldier told Burt that for three or four days after his first coming, he had observed in the kitchen ("an out-house hovel") a parcel of dirty children half naked, whom he took to belong to some poor tenant, but at last discovered they were part of the family. "But," says the fastidious English Captain, "although these were so little regarded, the young laird, about the age of fourteen, was going to the university; and the eldest daughter, about sixteen, sat with us at table, clean and genteelly dressed."[4]

There is no reason to doubt Burt's statement when he speaks of what he saw or heard, but it must be remembered he was an Englishman, with all an Englishman's prejudices in favour of the manners and customs, the good living, and general fastidiousness which characterise his own half of the kingdom, and many of an Englishman's prejudices against the Scotch generally and the turbulent Highlanders in particular. His letters are, however, of the utmost value in giving us a clear and interesting glimpse into the mode of life of the Highlanders shortly before 1745, and most Scotchmen at least will be able to sift what is fact from what is exaggeration and English colouring. Much, no doubt, of what Burt tells of the Highlanders when he was there is true, but it is true also of people then living in the same station in other parts of Scotland, where however among the better classes, and even among the farmers, even then, there was generally a rough abundance combined with a sort of affectation of rudeness of manner. It is not so very long ago since the son of the laird, and he might have been a duke, and the son of the hind were educated at the same parish school; and even at the present day it is no uncommon sight to see the sons of the highest Scottish nobility sitting side by side on the same college-benches with the sons of day-labourers, ploughmen, mechanics, farmers, and small shop-keepers. Such a sight is rare in the English universities; where there are low-born intruders, it will in most cases be found that they belong to Scotland. We do not make these remarks to prejudice the reader in any way against the statements of Burt or to depreciate the value of his letters; all we wish the reader to understand is that he was an Englishman, rather fond of gossip, and perhaps of adding point to a story at the expense of truth, with all the prejudices and want of enlightenment and consmopolitanism of even educated Englishmen of 150 years ago. He states facts correctly, but from a peculiar and very un-Scottish point of view. His evidence, even when stripped of its slight colouring, is invaluable, and, even to the

[4] Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 96.

modern Highlander, must prove that his ancestors lived in a very miserable way, although they themselves might not have realised its discomfort and wretchedness, but on the contrary, may have been as contented as the most well-to-do English squire or prosperous English farmer.

Even among the higher members of the clans, the tacksmen and most extensive farmers, the fare does not seem to have been by any means abundant, and generally was of the commonest kind. For a few months in the end of the year, when the cattle and sheep were in condition to be killed, animal food appears to have been plentiful enough, as it must also have been after any successful cattle-foray. But for the rest of the year, the food of even the gentlemen in many places must have been such as any modern farmer would have turned up his nose at. In other districts again, where the chief was well-off and liberal, he appears to have been willing enough to share what he had with his relations the higher tenants, who again would do their best to keep from want the under tenants and cottars. Still it will be seen, the living of all was very precarious. "It is impossible for me," says Burt,[5] "from my own knowledge, to give you an account of the ordinary way of living of these gentlemen; because, when any of us (the English) are invited to their houses there is always an appearance of plenty to excess; and it has been often said they will ransack all their tenants rather than we should think meanly of their housekeeping: but I have heard it from many whom they have employed, and perhaps had little regard to their observations as inferior people, that, although they have been attended at dinner by five or six servants, yet, with all that state, they have often dined upon oat meal varied several ways, pickled herrings, or other such cheap and indifferent diet." Burt complains much of their want of hospitality; but at this he need not have been surprised. He and every other soldier stationed in the Highlands would be regarded with suspicion and even dislike by the natives, who were by no means likely to give them any encouragement to frequent their houses, and pry into their secrets and mode of life. The Highlanders were well-known for their hospitality, and are so in many places even at the present day, resembling in this respect most people living in a wild and not much frequented country. As to the every-day fare above mentioned, those who partook of it would consider it no hardship, if indeed Burt had not been mistaken or been deceived as to details. Oatmeal, in the form of porridge and brose, is common even at the present day among the lower classes in the country, and even among substantial farmers. As for the other part of it, there must have been plenty of salmon and trout about the rivers and lochs of Inverness-shire, and abundance of grain of various kinds on the hills, so that the gentlemen to whom the inquisitive Captain refers, must have taken to porridge and pickled herring from choice: and it is well known, that in Scotland at least, when a guest is expected, the host endeavours to provide something better than common for his entertainment. Burt also declares that he has often seen a laird's lady coming to church with a maid behind her carrying her shoes and stockings, which she put on at a little distance from the church. Indeed, from what he says, it would seem to have been quite common for those in the position of ladies and gentlemen to go about in this free and easy fashion. Their motives for doing so were no doubt those of economy and comfort—not because they had neither shoes nor stockings to put on. The practice is quite common at the present day in Scotland, for both respectable men and women when travelling on a dusty road on a broiling summer-day, to do so on their bare feet, as being so much more comfortable and less tiresome than travelling in heavy boots and thick worsted stockings. No one thinks the worse of them for it, nor infers that they must be wretchedly ill off. The practice has evidently at one time been much more common even among the higher classes, but, like many other customs, lingers now only among the common people.

From all we can learn, however, the chiefs and their more immediate dependants and relations appear by no means to have been ill-off, so far as the necessaries of life went, previous to the rebellion of 1745. They certainly had not a superfluity of money, but many of the chiefs were profuse in their hospitality, and had always abundance if not variety to eat and drink.

[5] *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 97.

http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found

Indeed it is well known, that about 200 years before the rebellion, an enactment had to be made by parliament limiting the amount of wine and brandy to be used by the various chiefs. Claret, in Captain Burt's time, was as common in and around Inverness as it was in Edinburgh; the English soldiers are said to have found it selling at sixpence a quart, and left it at three or four times that price. In their habits and mode of life, their houses and other surroundings, these Highland gentlemen were no doubt rough and rude and devoid of luxuries, and not over particular as to cleanliness either of body or untensils, but still always dignified and courteous, respectful to their superiors and affable to their inferiors. Highland pride is still proverbial, and while often very amusing and even pitiable, has often been of considerable service to those who possess it, stimulating them to keep up their self-respect and to do their best in whatever situation they may be placed. It was this pride that made the poorest and most tattered of the tacksmen tenants with whom Burt came in contact, conduct himself as if he had been lord of all he surveyed, and look with suspicion and perhaps with contempt upon the unknown English red-coat.

As a kind of set-off to Burt's disparaging account of the condition of Highland gentlemen, and yet to some extent corroborating it, we quote the following from the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Boleskine and Abertarf in Inverness-shire. The district to which this account refers was at least no worse than most other Highland parishes, and in some respects must have been better than those that were further out of the reach of civilisation.[6] "Till the beginning of this century, all the heritors and wadsetters in this parish lived in houses composed of cupple trees, and the walls and thatch made up of sod and divot; but in every wadsetter's house there was a spacious hall, containing a large table, where he and his family and dependants eat their two

"Sir Robert Gordon's Allowance for his Lady and Family, from December 14th 1740 to December 14th 1741.

	Sterling. £	s.	d.
Imprimis, to 36 bolls malt, at 8 shillings and 4 pence per boll,	15	0	0
Item, to 36 bolls meal, at same price,	15	0	0
Item, to 10 bolls wheat, at 13 shillings and 4 pence per boll,	6	13	4
Item, to 12 beeves at £1 per piece,	12	0	0
Item, to meal to servants without doors,	9	7	6
Item, to servants' wages within and without doors,	41	5	0
Item, to cash instantly delivered,	50	6	2
Item, to be paid monthly, £4, 4s.,	50	8	0
	£200	0	0

"*Servants' Wages* 1741.

Imprimis to gentlewomen,	10	0	0
Item, to five maids,	5	6	8
Item, to two cooks,	5	0	0
Item, to two porters,	3	0	0
Item, to Robin's servant,	1	0	0
Item, to the groom,	5	5	0
Item, to the neighbour,	3	6	8
Item, to three oout-servants,	7	0	0
Item, to two herds,	1	6	8
	£41	5	0

"Inventar of Plenishing in Thunderton's Lodging in Duffus, May 25, 1708.

"*Strypt Room.*

"Camlet hangings and curtains, feather bed and bolster, two pillows, five pair blankets, and an Inglish blanket, a green and white cover, a blew and white chamber-pot, a blew and white bason, a black jopand table and two looking-glasses, a jopand tee-table with a tee-pat and plate, and nine cups and nine dyshes, and a tee silver spoon, two glass sconces, two little bowles, with a leam stoap and a pewter head, eight black ken chairs, with eight silk cushens conform, an easie chair with a big cushen, a jopand cabinet with a walnut tree stand, a grate, shuffle, tonges, and brush; in the closet, three piece of paper hangings, a chamber box, with a pewter pan therein, and a brush for cloaths.

"*Closet next the Strypt Room.*

"Four dishes, two assiets, six broth plates, and twelve flesh plates, a quart flagon, and a pynt flagon, a pewter porenger, and a pewter flacket, a white iron jaculate pot, and a skellet pann, twenty-one timber plates, a winter for warming plates at the fire, two Highland plaids, and a sewed blanket, a bolster, and four pillows, a chamber-box, a sack with wool, and a white iron dripping pann.

"*In the farest Closet.*

"Seventeen drinking glasses, with a glass tumbler and two decanters, a oil cruet, and a vinegar cruet, a urinal glass, a large blew and white posset pot, a white leam posset pat, a blew and white bowl, a dozen of blew and white leam plates, three milk dishes, a blew and white leam porenger, and a white leam porenger, four jelly pots, and a little butter dish, a crying chair, and a silk craddle.

"*In the Moyhair Room.*

"A sute of stamped cloath hangings, and a moyhair bed with feather bed, bolster, and two pillows, six pair blankets, and an Inglish blanket and a twilt, a leam chamber-pat, five moyhair chairs, two looking-glasses, a cabinet, a table, two stands, a table cloak, and window hangings, a chamber-box with a pewter pann, a leam bason, with a grate and tongs and a brush; in the closet, two carpets, a piece of Arres, three pieces lyn'd strypt hangings, three wawed strypt curtains, two piece gilded leather, three trunks and a craddle, a chamber-box, and a pewter pann, thirty-three pound of heckled lint, a ston of vax, and a firkin of sop, and a brush for cloaths, two pair blankets, and a single blanket.

"*In the Dyning-Room.*

"A sute of gilded hangings, two folding tables, eighteen low-backed ken chairs, a grate, a fender, a brass tongs, shuffle, brush, and timber brush, and a poring iron, and a glass kes.

"*In my Lady's Room.*

"Gilded hangings, standing bed, and box bed, stamped drogged hangings, feather bed, bolster, and two pillows, a pallise, five pair of blankets, and a single one, and a twilt, and two pewter chamber-pots, six chairs, table, and looking-glass a little folding table, and a chist of drawers, tonges, shuffle, porrin-iron, and a brush, two window curtains of linen; in the Laird's closet, two trunks, two chists, and a citrena cabinet, a

[6] The following quotations from Mr Dunbar's *Social Life in Former Days*, giving details of household furniture and expenses, may be taken as "a correct index of the comforts and conveniences" of the best off of the old Highland lairds; for as they refer to Morayshire, just on the borders of the Highlands, they cannot be held as referring to the Highlands generally, the interior and western districts of which were considerably behind the border lands in many respects:—

meals a-day with this single distinction, that he and his family sat at the one end of the table, and his dependants at the other; and it was reckoned no disparagement for the gentlemen to sit with commoners in the inns, such as the country then afforded, where one *cap*, and afterwards a single glass, went round the whole company. As the inhabitants experienced no want, and generally lived on the produce of their farms, they were hospitable to strangers, providing they did not attempt a settlement among them. But it was thought then disgraceful for any of the younger sons of these wadsetters to follow any other profession than that of arms and agriculture; and it is in the remembrance of many now living, when the meanest tenant would think it disparaging to sit at the same table with a manufacturer."

The following quotation from the Statistical Account of Rannoch, in Perthshire, will give an idea of another phase of the life of Highland gentlemen in those days, as well as enable the reader to see how it was, considering the general poverty of the country, the low rent,

table, and a looking-glass, the dow holes, two carpet chairs, and a chamber-box with a pewter pan, and a little bell, and a brush for cloath.

"*My Lady's Closet.*

"A cabinet, three presses, three kists, and a spicerie box, a dozen leam white plates, a blew and white leam plate, a little blew butter plate, a white leam porenger, and three gelly pots, two leam dishes, and two big timber capes, four tin congs, a new pewter basson, a pynt chopen, and mutchken stoups, two copper tankers, two pewter salts, a pewter mustard box, a white iron peper and suggar box, two white iron graters, a pot for starch, and a pewter spoon, thirteen candlesticks, five pair snuffers and snuf dishes conform, a brass mortar and pistol, a lantern, a timber box, a dozen knives and a dozen forks, and a carpet chair, two milk congs, a milk cirn, and kirn staff, a sisymilk, and creamen dish and a cheswel, a neprie basket, and two new pewter chamber pots.

"*A Note of Plate.*

"Three silver salvers, four salts, a large tanker, a big spoon, and thirteen littler spoons, two jugs, a sugar box, a mustard box, a peper box, and two little spoons.

"*An Account of Bottles in the Salt Cellar.*

"*June the first* 1708.

Of Sack, five dozen and one,	5	1
Of Brandie, three dozen and three,	3	3
Of Vinegar and Aquavitie, seven,	0	7
Of Strong Ale, four dozen and four,	4	4
Of other Ale, nine dozen,	9	0
In the ale cellar, fifteen dozen and ten,	15	10
In the hamper, five dozen empty,	5	0
In the wine cellar, nine with English Ale,	0	9
White Wine, ten,	0	10
Of Brandy, three,	0	3
With Brandy and Surop, two,	0	2
With Claret, fifteen,	1	3
With Mum, fifteen,	1	3
Throw the house, nineteen,	1	7
There is in all, forty-nine dozen and two,	49	2
And of mutchkin bottles twenty-five,	2	1

"Received ten dozen and one of chapen bottles full of claret. More received—eleven dozen and one of pynt bottles, whereof there was six broke in the home-coming. 1709, June the 4th, received from Elgin forty-three chopen bottles of claret."

the unproductiveness of the soil, and the low price of cattle, they were still able to keep open table and maintain more retainers than the land could support. "Before the year 1745 Rannoch was in an uncivilized barbarous state, under no check, or restraint of laws. As an evidence of this, one of the principal proprietors never could be compelled to pay his debts. Two messengers were sent from Perth, to give him a charge of horning. He ordered a dozen of his retainers to bind them across two hand-barrows, and carry them, in this state, to the bridge of Cainachan, at nine miles distance. His property in particular was a nest of thieves. They laid the whole country, from Stirling to Coupar of Angus, under contribution, obliging the inhabitants to pay them Black Meal, as it is called, to save their property from being plundered. This was the centre of this kind of traffic. In the months of September and October they gathered to the number of about 300, built temporary huts, drank whisky all the time, settled accounts for stolen cattle, and received balances. Every man then bore arms. It would have required a regiment to have brought a thief from that country."

As to the education of the Highland gentry, in this respect they seem not to have been so far behind the rest of the country, although latterly they appear to have degenerated in this as in other respects; for, as will be seen in the Chapter on Gaelic Literature, there must have been at one time many learned men in the Highlands, and a taste for literature seems not to have been uncommon. Indeed, from various authorities quoted in the Introduction to Stuart's *Costume of the Clans*, it was no uncommon accomplishment in the 16th and 17th centuries for a Highland gentleman to be able to use both Gaelic and Latin, even when he could scarcely manage English. "If, in some instances," says Mrs Grant,[7] "a chief had some taste for literature, the Latin poets engaged his attention more forcibly than the English, which he possibly spoke and wrote, but inwardly despised, and in fact did not understand well enough to relish its delicacies, or taste its poetry." "Till of late years," says the same writer on

[7] *Essays*, vol. i. p. 30.

the same page, "letters were unknown in the Highlands except among the highest rank of gentry and the clergy. The first were but partially enlightened at best. Their minds had been early imbued with the stores of knowledge peculiar to their country, and having no view beyond that of passing their lives among their tenants and dependants, they were not much anxious for any other. . . . . In some instances, the younger brothers of patrician families were sent early out to lowland seminaries, and immediately engaged in some active pursuit for the advancement of their fortune." In short, so far as education went, the majority of the Highland lairds and tacksmen appear to have been pretty much on the same footing with those in a similar station in other parts of the kingdom.

From what has been said then as to the condition of the chiefs or lairds and their more immediate dependants the tacksmen, previous to 1745, it may be inferred that they were by no means ill-off so far as the necessaries and even a few of the luxuries of life went. Their houses were certainly not such as a gentleman or even a well-to-do farmer would care to inhabit now-a-days, neither in build nor in furnishing; but the chief and principal tenants as a rule had always plenty to eat and drink, lived in a rough way, were hospitable to their friends, and, as far as they were able, kind and lenient to their tenants.

It was the sub-tenants and cottars, the common people or peasantry of the Highlands, whose condition called for the utmost commiseration. It was they who suffered most from the poverty of the land, the leanness of the cattle, the want of trades and manufactures, the want, in short, of any reliable and systematic means of subsistence. If the crops failed, or disease or a severe winter killed the half of the cattle, it was they who suffered, it was they who were the victims of famine, a thing of not rare occurrence in the Highlands.[8] It seems indeed impossible that any one now living could imagine anything more seemingly wretched and miserable than the state of the Highland subtenants and cottars as described in various contemporary accounts. The dingiest hovel in the dirtiest narrowest "close" of Edinburgh may be taken as a fair representative of the house inhabited formerly in the Highlands by the great mass of the farmers and cottars. And yet they do not by any means appear to have regarded themselves as the most miserable of beings, but on the contrary to have been light-hearted and well content if they could manage to get the year over without absolute starvation. No doubt this was because they knew no better state of things, and because love for the chief would make them endure any thing with patience. Generally the houses of the subtenants and cottars who occupied a farm were built in one spot, "all irregularly placed, some one way, some another, and at any distance, look like so many heaps of dirt." They were generally built in some small valley or strath by the side of a stream or loch, and the collection of houses on one farm was known as the "toon" or town, a term still used in Shetland in the very same sense, and in many parts of Scotland applied to the building occupied by even a single farmer. The cottages were generally built of round stones without any cement, thatched with sods, and sometimes heath; sometimes they were divided into two apartments by a slender partition, but frequently no such division was made. In the larger half resided the family, this serving for kitchen, eating, and sleeping-room to all. In the middle of this room, on the floor, was the peat fire, above which was a gaping hole to allow the escape of the smoke, very little however of this finding its way out, the surplus, after every corner of the room was filled, escaping by the door. The other half of the cottage was devoted to the use of the live-stock when "they did not choose to mess and lodge with the family."[9] Sometimes these cottages were built of turf or mud, and sometimes of wattle-work like baskets, a common system of fencing even yet in many parts of the Highlands where young wood is abundant. As a rule these huts had to be thatched and otherwise repaired every year to keep them habitable; indeed, in many places it was quite customary every spring to remove the thatch and use it as man-

[8] There appears to have been a dreadful one just three years before '45. See Stat. Account of various Highland parishes.

[9] Garnett's *Tour*, vol. i. p. 121.

ure. Buchanan, even in the latter half of the 18th century, thus speaks of the dwellings of tenants in the Western Isles; and, in this respect at least, it is not likely they were in worse plight than those who lived in the early part of the century. "The huts of the oppressed tenants are remarkably naked and open; quite destitute of furniture, except logs of timbers collected from the wrecks of the sea, to sit on about the fire, which is placed in the middle of the house, or upon seats made of straw, like foot hassacks, stuffed with straw or stubble. Many of them must rest satisfied with large stones placed around the fire in order. As all persons must have their own blankets to sleep in, they make their beds in whatever corner suits their fancy, and in the mornings they fold them up into a small compass, with all their gowns, cloaks, coats, and petticoats, that are not in use. The cows, goats, and sheep, with the ducks, hens, and dogs, must have the common benefit of the fire, and particularly the young and tenderest are admitted next to it. This filthy sty is never cleaned but once a-year, when they place the dung on the fields as manure for barley crops. Thus, from the necessity of laying litter below these cattle to keep them dry, the dung naturally increases in height almost mid-wall high, so that the men sit low about the fire, while the cattle look down from above upon the company." We learn from the same authority that in the Hebrides every tenant must have had his own beams and side timbers, the walls generally belonging to the tacksman or laird, and these were six feet thick with a hollow wall of rough stones, packed with moss or earth in the centre. A tenant in removing carried his timbers with him to his new location, and speedily mounted them on the top of four rude walls. But indeed the condition of many of the Western Isles both before and after 1745 and even at the present day, was frequently much more wretched than the Highlands in the mainland generally. Especially was this the case after 1745, although even before that their condition can by no means be taken as typical of the Highlands generally. The following, however, from the Statistical Account of the island of Tiree, might have applied at the time (about 1745), to almost any part of the Highlands. "About 40 years ago, a great part of the lands in this parish lay in their natu-



A Cottage in Islay. From Pennant's *Voyage to the Hebrides*, 1774.

ral uncultivated state, and such of them as were in culture produced poor starved crops. The tenants were in poor circumstances, the rents low, the farm houses contemptible. The communication from place to place was along paths which were to be known by the footsteps of beasts that passed through them. No turnips, potatoes, or cabbages, unless a few of the latter in some gardens; and a great degree of poverty, indolence, and meanness of spirit, among the great body of the people. The appearance of the people, and their mode of thinking and acting, were but mean and indelicate; their peats were brought home in creels; the few things the farmer had to sell were carried to market upon the backs of horses; and their dunghills were hard by their doors." We have reliable testimony, however, to prove, that even the common Highland tenants on the mainland were but little better off than those in the islands; their houses were almost equally rude and dirty, and their furniture nearly as scanty. The Statistical Account of the parish of Fortingal, in Perthshire, already quoted, gives a miserable account of the country and inhabitants previous to 1745, as does also the letters of Captain Burt in reference to the district which came under his observation; and neither of these districts was likely to be in worse condition than other parts of the Highlands, further removed from intercourse with the Lowlands. "At the above period [1745], the bulk of the tenants in Rannoch had no such thing as beds. They lay on the ground, with a little heather, or fern, under them. One single blanket was all their bed-cloaths, excepting their body-cloaths. Now they have standing-up beds, and abundance of blankets. At that time the houses in Rannoch were huts of, what they called, 'Stake and Rife.' One could not enter but on all fours; and after entering, it was impossible to stand upright. Now there are comfortable houses built of stone. Then the people were miserably dirty, and foul-skinned. Now they are as cleanly, and are clothed as well as their circumstances will admit of. The rents of the parish, at that period, were not much above £1500, and the people were starving. Now they pay £4660 *per annum*, and upwards, and the people have fulness of bread. It is hardly possible to believe, on how little the Highlanders formerly lived. They bled their cows several times in the year, boiled the blood, eat a little of it like bread, and a most lasting meal it was. The present incumbent has known a poor man, who had a small farm hard by him, by this means, with a boll of meal for every mouth in his family, pass the whole year." This bleeding of the cattle to eke out the small supply of oatmeal is testified to by many other witnesses. Captain Burt refers to it;[1] and Knox, in his *View of the British Empire*,[2] thus speaks of it:—"In winter, when the grounds are covered with snow, and when the naked wilds afford them neither shelter nor subsistence, the few cows, small, lean, and ready to drop down through want of pasture, are brought into the hut where the family resides, and frequently share with them their little stock of meal, which had been purchased or raised for the family only, while the cattle thus sustained are bled occasionally to afford nourishment for the children, after it has been boiled or made into cakes."

It must be borne in mind that at that time potatoes were all but unknown in the Highlands, and even in the Lowlands had scarcely got beyond the stage of a garden root. The staple food of the common Highlander was the various preparations of oats and barley; even fish seems to have been a rarity, but why it is difficult to say, as there were plenty both in the sea and in freshwater rivers and lochs. For a month or two after Michaelmas, the luxury of fresh meat seems to have been not uncommon, as at that time the cattle were in condition for being slaughtered; and the more provident or less needy might even go the length of salting a quantity for winter, but even this practice does not seem to have been common except among the tacksmen. "Nothing is more deplorable than the state of this people in time of winter." Then they were completely confined to their narrow glens, and very frequently night and day to their houses, on account of the severe snow and rain storms. "They have no diversions to amuse them, but sit brooding in the smoke over the fire till

[1] *Letters*, vol. ii. 28. [2] Vol. i. p. 124.

their legs and thighs are scorched to an extraordinary degree, and many have sore eyes and some are quite blind. This long continuance in the smoke makes them almost as black as chimney-sweepers; and when the huts are not water-tight, which is often the case, the rain that comes through the roof and mixes with the soootiness of the inside, where all the sticks look like charcoal, falls in drops like ink. But, in this circumstance, the Highlanders are not very solicitous about their outward appearance."[3] We need not wonder under these circumstances at the prevalence of a loathsome distemper, almost peculiar to the Highlands, and the universality of various kinds of vermin; and indeed, had it not been that the people spent so much of their time in the open air, and that the pure air of the mountains, and been on the whole temperate in drinking and correct in morals, their condition must have been much more miserable than it really was. The misery seems to have been apparent only to onlookers, not to those whose lot it was to endure it. No doubt they were most mercilessly oppressed sometimes, but even this oppression they do not seem to have regarded as any hardship, as calling for complaint on their part:—they were willing to endure anything at the hands of the chief, who, they believed, could do no wrong.

As a rule the chiefs and gentlemen of the clan appear to have treated their inferiors with kindness and consideration, although, at the same time, it was their interest and the practice of most of them to encourage the notions the people entertained of their duty to their chiefs, and to keep them in ignorance of everything that would tend to diminish this profitable belief. No doubt many of the chiefs themselves believed as firmly in the doctrine of clanship as their people; but there is good reason to believe, that many of them encouraged the old system from purely interested and selfish motives. Burt tells us that when a chief wanted to get rid of any troublesome fellow, he compelled him, under threat of perpetual imprisonment or the gallows, to sign a contract for his own banishment, when he was shipped off from the nearest port by the first vessel bound for the West Indies. Referring no doubt to Lord Lovat,[4] he informs us that this versatile and long-headed chief acted on the maxim that to render his clan poor would double the tie of their obedience; and accordingly he made use of all oppressive means to that end. "To prevent any diminution of the number of those who do not offend him, he dissuades from their purpose all such as show an inclination to traffic, or to put their children out to trades, as knowing they would, by such an alienat on shake off at least good part of their slavish attachment to him and his family. This he does, when downright authority fails, by telling them how their ancestors chose to live sparingly, and be accounted a martial people, rather than submit themselves to low and mercenary employments like the Lowlanders, whom their forefathers always despised for the want of that warlike temper which they (his vassals) still retained, &c." This cunning chief was in the habit, according to Dr Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, of sending from Inverness and paying for the insertion in the Edinburgh *Courant* and *Mercury* of glaring accounts of feasts and rejoicings given by himself or held in his honour.[5] And it is well known that this same lord during his life-time erected a handsome tombstone for himself inscribed with a glowing account of his heroic exploits, intended solely for the use of his clansmen. By these and similar means would crafty selfish lairds keep their tenants and cottars in ignorance of their rights, and make them resigned to all the oppressive impositions laid upon them. No doubt Lovat's was an extreme case, and there must have been many gradations of oppressions, and many chiefs who really cared for their people, and did their best to make them happy and comfortable, although, considering their circumstances and general surroundings, it is difficult to see how they could succeed. Yet notwithstanding their miserable and filthy huts, their scanty and poor food, their tattered and insufficient clothes, their lean cattle and meagre crops, their country wet above and below, their apparent want of all amusements and of anything to lighten their cheerless condition, and the op-

[3] Burt, ii. p. 34.

[4] *Letters*, vol. i. p. 51.

[5] Fraser-Mackintosh's *Antiquarian Notes*, p. 1.

pressive exactions of their chiefs, the Highlanders as a body certainly do not seem to have been an unhappy or discontented people, or to have had any feeling of the discomfort attending their lot.[6] There seems to have been little or no grumbling, and it is a most remarkable fact that suicide was and probably is all but unknown among the Highlanders. Your genuine Highlander was never what could strictly be called a merry man; he never had any of the effervescence of the French Celt, nor of the inimitable never failing light-hearted humour of his Irish brother; but, on the other hand, under the old system, at heart he showed little or no discontent, but on the contrary seems to have been possessed of a self-satisfied, contented cheerfulness, a quiet resignation to fate, and a belief in the power and goodness of his chief, together with an ignorance and contempt for all outside his own narrow sphere, that made him feel as happy and contented as the most comfortable peasant farmer in France. They only became discontented and sorely cut up when their chiefs,—it being no longer the interest of the latter to multiply and support their retainers,—began to look after their own interests solely, and show little or no consideration for those who regarded them with reverence alone, and who thought their chief as much bound to support and care for them and share his land and his bread with them, as a father is to maintain his children. After the heritable jurisdictions were abolished, of course everything was changed; but before that there is every reason to believe that the Highland tenants and cottars were as contented and happy, though by no means so well off, as the majority of those in the same condition throughout the United Kingdom. Indeed the evils which prevailed formerly in the Highlands, like all other evils, look far worse in prospect (in this case retrospect) than they do in reality. Misery in general is least perceived by those who are in its midst, and no doubt many poor and apparently miserable people wonder what charitable associations for their relief make so much fuss about, for they themselves see nothing to relieve. Not that this misery is any the less real and fruitful of evil consequences, and demanding relief; it is simply that those who are in the midst of it can't, very naturally, see it in its true light. As to the Highlands, the tradition remained for a long time, and we believe does so still in many parts, that under the old regime, chiefs were always kind as fathers, and the people faithful and loving as children; the men were tall and brave, and the women fair and pure; the cattle were fat and plentiful, and the land produced abundance for man and beast; the summers were always warm, and the winters mild; the sun was brighter than ever it has been since, and rain came only when wanted. In short everybody had plenty with a minimum of work and abundance of time for dancing and singing and other amusements; every one was as happy as the day was long. It was almost literally "a land flowing with milk and honey," as will be seen from the following tradition:[7]—"It is now indeed idle, and appears fabulous, to relate the crops raised here 30 or 40 years ago. The seasons were formerly so warm, that the people behoved to unyoke their ploughs as soon as the sun rose, when sowing barley; and persons yet living, tell, that in traveling through the meadows in the loan of Fearn, in some places drops of honey were seen as the dew in the long grass and plantain, sticking to their shoes as they passed along in a May morning; and also in other parts, their shoes were oiled as with cream, going through such meadows. Honey and bee hives were then very plenty. . . Cattle, butter, and cheese, were then very plenty and cheap." This glowing tradition, we fear, must melt away before the authentic and too sober accounts of contemporaries and eye-witnesses.

As for wages to day-labourers and mechanics, in many cases no money whatever was given; every service being frequently paid for in kind;

[6] "The manners and habits of this parish [as of all other Highland parishes] have undergone a material change within these 50 years; before that period they lived in a plain simple manner, experienced few wants, and possessed not the means, nor had any desire, of procuring any commodities. If they had salt [upon which there was a grievous duty] and tobacco, paid their pittance of rents, and performed their ordinary services to their superiors, and that their conduct in general met their approbation, it seemed to be the height of their ambition."—*Old Statistical Account of Boleskin and Abertarf, Inverness-shire* (1798).

[7] Old Statistical Account of Fearn, Ross-shire.

where money was given, a copper or two a day was deemed an ample remuneration, and was probably sufficient to provide those who earned it with a maintenance satisfactory to themselves, the price of all necessary provisions being excessively low. A pound of beef or mutton, or a fowl could be obtained for about a penny, a cow cost about 30 shillings, and a boll of barley or oatmeal less than 10 shillings; butter was about twopence a pound, a stone (21 lbs.) of cheese was to be got for about two shillings. The following extract, from the Old Statistical Account of Caputh, will give the reader an idea of the rate of wages, where servants were employed, of the price of provisions, and how really little need there was for actual cash, every man being able to do many things for himself which would now require perhaps a dozen workmen to perform. This parish being strictly in the lowlands, but on the border of the Highlands, may be regarded as having been, in many respects, further advanced than the majority of Highland parishes.[8] "The ploughs and carts were usually made by the farmer himself; with little iron about the plough, except the colter and share; none upon the cart or harrows; no shoes upon the horses; no hempen ropes. In short, every instrument of farming was procured at small expense, wood being at a very low price. Salt was a shilling the bushel: little soap was used: they had no candles, instead of which they split the roots of fir trees, which, though brought 50 or 60 miles from the Highlands, were purchased for a trifle. Their clothes were of their own manufacturing. The average price of weaving ten yards of such cloth was a shilling, which was paid partly in meal and partly in money. The tailor worked for a quantity of meal, suppose 3 pecks or a firlot a-year, according to the number of the farmer's family. In the year 1735, the best ploughman was to be had for L.8 Scots (13s. 4d.) a year, and what was termed a bounty, which consisted of some articles of clothing, and might be estimated at 11s. 6d.; in all L.1, 4s. 10d. sterling. Four years after, his wages rose to L.24 Scots, (L.2) and the bounty. Female servants received L.2 Scots, (3s. 4d.) and a bounty of a similar kind; the whole not exceeding 6s. or 7s. Some years after their wages rose to 15s. Men received for harvest work L.6 Scots, (10s.); women, L.5 Scots, (8s. 4d.). Poultry was sold at 40 pennies Scots, (3⅓d.) Oat-meal, bear and oats, at L.4 or L.5 Scots the boll. A horse that then cost 100 merks Scots, (L.5 : 11 : 1⅓) would now cost L.25. An ox that cost L.20 Scots, (L.1 : 13 : 4) would now be worth L.8 or L.9. Beef and mutton were sold, not by weight, but by the piece; about 3s. 4d. for a leg of beef of 3½ stones; and so in proportion. No tea nor sugar was used: little whisky was drunk, and less of other spirits: but they had plenty of good ale; there being usually one malt barn (perhaps two) on each farm."[9]

When a Highlander was in need of anything which he could not produce or make himself, it was by no means easy for him to obtain it, as by far the greater part of the Highlands was utterly destitute of towns and manufactures; there was little or no commerce of any kind. The only considerable Highland town was Inverness, and, if we can believe Captain Burt, but little business was done there; the only other places, which made any pretensions to be towns were Stornoway and Campbeltown, and these at the time we are writing of, were little better than fishing villages. There were no manufactures strictly speaking, for although the people

[8] "The spades, ploughs, harrows, and sledges, of the most feeble and imperfect kinds, with all their harnessing, are made by the farmer and his servants; as also the boats, with all their tackle.—The boat has a Highland plaid for a sail; the running rigging is made of leather thongs and willow twigs; and a large stone and a heather rope serve for an anchor and cable; and all this, among a people of much natural ingenuity and perseverance. There is no fulling mill nor bleachfield; no tanner, maltster, or dyer; all the yarn is dyed, and all the cloth fulled or bleached by the women on the farm. The grain for malt is steeped in sacks in the river; and the hides are tanned, and the shoes made at home. There are, indeed, itinerant shoemakers, tailors, wrights, and masons, but none of these has full employment in his business, as all the inhabitants, in some measure, serve themselves in these trades: hence, in the royal boroughs of Inveraray, Campbelton, and Inverness, and in the considerable villages of Crieff, Callander, Oban, Maryburgh, Fort Augustus, and Stornoway, there are fewer tradesmen, and less demand for the workmanship of mechanics, than in any other places of the same size; yet these are either situated in, or are next adjacent to, a more extensive and populous country, than any other similar towns or villages in Scotland."—Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. ii. pp. 374, 5.

[9] *Old Stat. Account*, vol. ix. pp. 494, 5.

spun their own wool and made their own cloth, exportation, except perhaps in the case of stockings, seems to have been unknown. In many cases a system of merchandise somewhat similar to the ruinous, oppressive, and obstructive system still common in Shetland, seems to have been in vogue in many parts of the Highlands. By this system, some of the more substantial tacksmen would lay in a stock of goods such as would be likely to be needed by their tenants, but which these could not procure for themselves, such as iron, corn, wine, brandy, sugar, tobacco, &c. These goods the tacksmen would supply to his tenants as they needed them, charging nothing for them at the time; but, about the month of May, the tenant would hand over to his tacksman-merchant as many cattle as the latter considered an equivalent for the goods supplied. As the people would seldom have any idea of the real value of the goods, of course there was ample room for a dishonest tacksman to realise an enormous profit, which, we fear, was too often done. "By which traffic the poor wretched people were cheated out of their effects, for one half of their value; and so are kept in eternal poverty."[1]

As to roads, with the exception of those made for military purposes by General Wade, there seems to have been none whatever, only tracts here and there in the most frequented routes, frequently impassable, and at all time unsafe without a guide. Captain Burt could not move a mile or two out of Inverness without a guide. Bridges seem to have been even rarer than slated houses or carriages.

We have thus endeavoured to give the reader a correct idea of the state of the country and people of the Highlands previous to the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions. Our only aim has been to find out the truth, and we have done so by appealing to the evidence of contemporaries, or of those whose witness is almost as good. We have endeavoured to exhibit both the good and bad side of the picture, and we are only sorry that space will not permit of giving further details. However, from what has been said above, the reader must see how much had to be accomplished by the Highlanders to bring them up to the level of the rest of the country, and will be able to understand the nature of the changes which from time to time took place, the difficulties which had to be overcome, the prejudices which had to be swept away, the hardships which had to be encountered, in assimilating the Highlands with the rest of the country.

Having thus, as far as space permits, shown the condition of the Highlands previous to 1745, we shall now, as briefly as possible, trace the history down to the present day, showing the march of change, and we hope, of progress after the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions. In doing so we must necessarily come across topics concerning which there has been much rancorous and unprofitable controversy; but, as we have done in the case of other disputed matters, we shall do our best to lay facts before the reader, and allow him to form his opinions for himself. The history of the Highlands since 1745 is no doubt in some respects a sad one; much misery and cruel disappointment come under the notice of the investigator. But in many respects, and, we have no doubt in its ultimate results, the history is a bright one, showing as it does the progress of a people from semi-barbarism and slavery and ignorance towards high civilisation, freedom of action with the world before them, and enlightenment and knowledge, and vigorous and successful enterprise. Formerly the Highlanders were a nuisance to their neighbours, and a drag upon the progress of the country; now they are not surpassed by any section of her Majesty's subjects for character, enterprise, education, loyalty, and self-respect. Considering the condition of the country in 1745, what could we expect to take place on the passing and enforcing of an act such as that which abolished the heritable jurisdictions? Was it not natural, unavoidable that a fermentation should take place, that there should be a war of apparently conflicting interests, that, in short, as in the achievement of all great results by nations and men, there should be much experimenting, much groping to find out the best way, much shuffling about by the people to fit themselves to their new circumstances, before matters could again fall into something like a settled condition, before each man would find his place in the

[1] Gartmore Paper, in Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 364.

new adjustment of society? Moreover, the Highlanders had to learn an inevitable and a salutary lesson, that in this or in any country under one government, where prosperity and harmony are desired, no particular section of the people is to consider itself as having a right to one particular part of the country. The Highlands for the Highlanders is a barbarous, selfish, obstructive cry in a united and progressive nation. It seems to be the law of nature, as it is the law of progress, that those who can make the best use of any district ought to have it. This has been the case with the world at large, and it has turned out, and is still turning out to be the case with this country. The Highlands now contain a considerable lowland population, and the Highlanders are scattered over the length and breadth of the land, and indeed of the world, honourably fulfilling the noble part they have to play in the world's history. Ere long there will be neither Highlander nor Lowlander; we shall all be one people, having the best qualities of the blood of the formerly two antagonistic races running in our veins. It is, we have no doubt, with men as with other animals, the best breeds are got by judicious crossings.

Of course it is seldom the case that any great changes take place in the social or political policy of a country without much individual suffering: this was the case at all events in the Highlands. Many of the poor people and tacksmen had to undergo great hardships during the process of this new adjustment of affairs; but that the lairds or chiefs were to blame for this, it would be rash to assert. Some of these were no doubt unnecessarily harsh and unfeeling, but even where they were kindest and most considerate with their tenants, there was much misery prevailing among the latter. In the general scramble for places under the new arrangements, every one, chief, tacksman, tenant, and cottar, had to look out for himself or go to the wall, and it was therefore the most natural thing in the world that the instinct of self-preservation and self-advancement, which is stronger by far than that of universal benevolence, should urge the chiefs to look to their own interests in preference to those of the people, who unfortunately, from the habit of centuries, looked to their superiors alone for that help which they should have been able to give themselves. It appears to us that the results which have followed from the abolition of the jurisdictions and the obliteration of the power of the chiefs, were inevitable; that they might have been brought about in a much gentler way, with much less suffering and bitterness and recrimination, there is no doubt; but while the process was going on, who had time to think of these things, or look at the matter in a calm and rational light? Certainly not those who were the chief actors in bringing about the results. With such stubbornness, bigotry, prejudice, and ignorance on one side, and such power and poverty and necessity for immediate and decided action on the other, and with selfishness on both sides, it was all but inevitable that results should have been as they turned out to be. We shall do what we can to state plainly, briefly, and fairly the real facts of the case.

CHAPTER XLIII.

State of Highlands subsequent to 1745—Progress of Innovation—First mention of Emigration—Pennant's account of the country—Dr Johnson—Emigration fairly commenced in 1760—The Tacksmen the first to suffer and emigrate—Consequences to those who remained—Wretched condition of the Western Islands—Introduction of large sheep-farms—Ejection of small tenants—"Mailers"—Hebrides—Real Highland grievance—Title-deeds—The two sides of the Highland Question—Truth on both sides—Excessive population—Argument of those who condemn depopulation—The sentimental and military arguments—Testimony as to wretched condition of Highlanders—Highlands admirably suited for sheep—Effect of sheep-farming on Highland scenery—Highlands unsuited to black cattle—Large and small farms—Interference—Fishing and farming cannot be successfully united—Raising rents—Depopulation—How far the landlords were to blame—Kelp—Advantages and disadvantages of its manufacture—Potatoes—Introduction into the Highlands—Their importance—Failures of Crop—Disease—Amount of progress made during latter part of 18th century.

As we have said already, the Highlanders, chiefs and people, were so confounded, and prostrated by the cruel proceedings and stringent measures which followed Culloden, that it was some time ere they could realise the new position of affairs. Little alteration appears to have, for some years, been effected

in the relationship subsisting between people and chiefs, the latter being now simply landlords. The gentlemen and common people of the clans continued to regard their chief in the same light as they did previous to the abolition of the jurisdictions, for they did not consider that their obedience to the head of the clan was in the least dependent upon any legislative enactments. They still considered it their duty to do what they could to support their chief, and were still as ready as ever to make any sacrifice for his sake. At the same time, their notions of the chief's duty to his people remained unaltered; he, they thought, was bound as much as ever to see to it that they did not want, to share with them the land which belonged to the chief not so much as a proprietor, but as the head and representative of his people. The gentlemen, especially, of the clan, the tacksmen or large farmers, most firmly and sincerely believed that they had as much right to a share of the lands as the chief himself, their relation; he was as much bound to provide for them as a father is bound to make provision for his children. There is no doubt also that many of the chiefs themselves, especially the older ones, held the same belief on this matter as their subordinates, so that in many instances it was not till the old laird had passed away, and a new one had filled his place, that the full effect of the measures already described began to be felt. Of course, many of the chiefs and gentlemen who had taken part in the rebellion had been compelled to leave the country in order to save their lives, and many of the estates had been forfeited to government, which entrusted the management of them to commissioners. It was probably these estates upon which changes began to be first effected.

All the accounts we have of the Highlands from travellers and others down to the end of the 18th century, show the country in a state of commotion and confusion, resulting from the changes consequent on the rebellion, the breaking up of old relationships, and the gradual encroachment of lowland civilisation, lowland modes of life, and lowland methods of agriculture. Up to the end of the century, the positive changes do not appear to have been great or extensive, they seem more to have been of a tentative experimental kind, attempts to find out the most suitable or profitable way of working under the new regime. The result of these experiments of this unsettling of many-century-old customs and ideas, and of the consequent shifting and disturbing of the people, was for a long time much discontent and misery. The progress of change, both with regard to place and in respect of the nature of the innovations, was gradual, beginning, as a rule, with those districts of the Highlands which bordered on the lowlands, and proceeding in a direction somewhat north-west. It was these border districts which got first settled down and assimilated in all respects to the lowlands, and, although in some instances the commotion was felt in the Western Islands and Highlands a few years after 1746, yet these localities, as a rule, were longest in adjusting themselves to the new state of things; indeed, in many western districts, the commotion has not yet subsided, and consequently misery and discontent still frequently prevail. In the same way it was only little by little that changes were effected, first one old custom giving way and then another, their places being filled by others which had prevailed in the lowlands for many years before. Indeed, we think the progress made by the Highlands during the last century has been much greater than that of the lowlands during the same period; for when, in the case of the Highlands, the march of progress commenced, they were in many respects centuries behind the rest of the country, whereas at the present day, with the exception of some outlying districts above mentioned, they are in almost every respect as far forward and as eager to advance farther as the most progressive districts of the south. This is no doubt owing to the extra pressure which was brought to bear upon them in the shape of the measures which followed Culloden, without which they no doubt must have progressed, but at a much slower rate. Perhaps this is the reason why certain outlying districts have lagged behind and are still in a state of unsettlement and discontent, the people, and often the lairds, refusing to acknowledge and give way to the necessity for change, but even yet attempting to live and act in accordance with the old-fashioned clannish mode of managing men and land.

The unsettled state of the Highlands, and the fact that many Highlanders were leaving the country, attracted attention so early as about 1750. For in 1752, a pamphlet was published by a Mr John Campbell, pretending to give "A Full and Particular Description of the Highlands," and propounding a scheme which, in the author's estimation, would "prove effectual in bringing in the most disaffected among them." There is little said in this book of the actual condition of the Highlanders at that time, only a few details as to their manners, funeral-customs, marriages, &c., and a lamentation, ever since repeated, that so many should be compelled to leave their native land and settle among foreigners. The author does not mention emigration to America; what he chiefly deplores is the fact that so many Highlanders, from the unkindness of their superiors at home, should have taken service in various capacities, civil and military, in other European countries, frequently fighting in foreign armies against their fellow-countrymen. However, from the general tone of his remarks, it may be gathered that he refers mainly to those who were compelled to leave the country on account of the part they took in the late rebellion, and not on account of any alterations which had yet taken place in the internal affairs of the Highlands. Still it is plainly to be inferred that already much misery and discontent prevailed in the country.

Pennant made his two tours in Scotland in the years 1769 and 1772. His travels in the Highlands were confined mainly to the Western Islands and the districts on the west coast, and his account is little else than a tale of famine and wretchedness from beginning to end. What little agriculture there was, was as bad as ever, the country rarely producing enough of grain to supply the inhabitants, and in many places he fears "the isles annually experience a temporary famine." In the island of Islay a thousand pounds worth of meal was annually imported, and at the time of Pennant's visit "a famine threatened." Indeed, the normal state of the Western Highlands at least appears for long to have been one bordering on famine, or what would have been considered so in any less wretched country; and periodically many seem to have died from absolute want of food. Here is a sad picture of misery; Pennant is speaking more particularly of Skye, but his remarks might have been applied to most of the Western Islands. "The poor are left to Providence's care; they prowl like other animals along the shores to pick up limpets and other shell-fish, the casual repasts of hundreds during part of the year in these unhappy islands. Hundreds thus annually drag through the season a wretched life; and numbers, unknown, in all parts of the Western Highlands, fall beneath the pressure, some of hunger, more of the putrid fever, the epidemic of the coasts, originating from unwholesome food, the dire effects of necessity."[1] No change for the better to record in agriculture, the farms still overstocked with horses, black cattle and men, the fishing still all but neglected, hovels wretched as ever, and clothes as tattered and scanty—nothing in short to be seen but want and wretchedness, with apparently no inclination in the people to better their condition. Johnson, who visited the Western Islands in the autumn of 1773, has a very similar report to make. Everything seemed to be in a state of transition; old relationships were being broken up, and a spirit of general discontent and feeling of insecurity were abroad. As to the poor condition of the people generally, Johnson essentially confirms the statements of Pennant, although he hints that they did by no means appear to be unhappy, or able to realise their wretched condition.

At the time of Pennant's and Johnson's visits to the Highlands, the new leaven of change had fairly begun to work. Already had depopulation and emigration begun, and to some extent sheep-farming on a large scale had been introduced.

Emigration from the Highlands to America seems to have fairly commenced shortly after 1760, as, in a pamphlet[2] published in 1784, it is stated that between the years 1763 and 1775 above 20,000 Highlanders left their homes to settle on the other side of the Atlantic. The first apparently to suffer from the altered state of things in the Highlands, the decreasing value of men and the increasing value of money, were the tacksmen, or large farmers,

[1] Pennant's *Tour*, vol. ii. p. 305.
[2] *A View of the Highlands, &c.*

the relations of the old chiefs, who had held their farms from generation to generation, who regarded themselves as having about as much right to the land as the lairds, and who had hitherto been but little troubled about rent. After a time, when the chiefs, now merely lairds, began to realise their new position and to feel the necessity of making their land yield them as large an income as possible, they very naturally sought to get a higher rent for the farms let to these tacksmen, who, in most cases, were the only immediate holders of land from the proprietor. These tacksmen, in many cases, appear to have resented this procedure as they would a personal injury from their dearest friends. It was not that the addition to the rents was excessive, or that the rents were already as high as the land could bear, for generally the additions seem to have been trifling, and it is well known that the proprietors received nothing like the rents their lands should have yielded under a proper system of management. What seems to have hurt these gentlemen was the idea that the laird, the father of his people, should ever think of anything so mercenary as rent, or should ever by any exercise of his authority indicate that he had it in his power to give or let his farms to the highest bidders. It was bad enough, they thought, that an alien government should interfere with their old ways of doing; but that their chiefs, the heads of their race, for whom they were ready to lay down their lives and the lives of all over whom they had any power, should turn against them, was more than they could bear. The consequence was that many of them, especially in the west, threw up their farms, no doubt thinking that the lairds would at once ask them to remain on the old terms. This, however, was but seldom done, and the consequence was that many of these tacksmen emigrated to America, taking with them, no doubt, servants and sub-tenants, and enticing out more by the glowing accounts they sent home of their good fortune in that far-off land.

In some cases, the farms thus vacated were let to other tacksmen or large tenants, but in most instances, the new system was introduced of letting the land directly to what were formerly the sub-tenants, those who had held the land immediately from the ousted tacksmen. A number of these sub-tenants would take a large farm among them, sub-dividing it as they chose, and each becoming liable for his proportion of the rent. The farms thus let were generally cultivated on the run-rig system already referred to, the pasture being common to all the tenants alike.

That certain advantages followed these changes there is no doubt. Every account we have of the Highlands during the earlier part of the 18th century, agrees in the fact that the Highlands were over-peopled and over-stocked, that it was impossible for the land to yield sufficient to support the men and beasts who lived upon it. Hence, this drafting off of a considerable portion of the population gave that which remained breathing-room; fewer people were left to support, and it is to be supposed that the condition of these would be improved. Moreover, they would probably have their farms at a cheaper rent than under the old system, when the demands of both tacksmen and laird had to be satisfied, the former, of course, having let the land at a much higher rate than that at which they held it from their superior. Now, it was possible enough for the laird to get a higher rent than before, and at the same time the people might have their farms at a lower rent than they had previously given to the tacksmen. There would also be fewer oppressive services demanded of these small tenants than under the old system, for now they had only the laird to satisfy, whereas previously they had both him and the tacksman. There would still, of course, be services required by the laird from these tenants, still would part of the rent be paid in kind, still would they be thirled to particular mills, and have to submit to many similar exactions, of the oppressiveness of which, however, it was long before they became conscious; but, on the whole, the condition of those districts from which emigrations took place must to some extent have been the better for the consequent thinning of the population. Still no alteration appears to have taken place in the mode of farming, the nature of tenures, mode of paying rent, houses, clothes, food of the people. In some parts of the Highlands and islands, no alteration whatever appears

to have been made on the old system; the tacksmen were allowed to remain undisturbed, and the people lived and held land as formerly. But even in those districts from which emigrations were largely made, little or no improvement seems to have been the consequence, if we may trust the reports of those who saw how things stood with their own eyes. Pennant, Johnson, Buchanan,[3] Newte,[4] the Old Statistical Account, all agree that but little improvement was noticeable over the greater part of the Highlands from 1745 down till near the end of the 18th century.

One reason why emigration made so little difference in the way of improvement on the condition of those who remained in the country was, that no check was put upon the overstocking of the farms with men and animals. In spite of emigration, the population in many districts increased instead of diminished. A common practice among those tenants who conjointly held a large farm was for a father, on the marriage of a son or daughter, to divide his share of the farm with the young couple, who either lived in the old man's house or built a hut for themselves and tried to make a living out of the share of the pendicle allotted to them. To such an extent was this practice carried, that often a portion of land of a few acres, originally let to and sufficient to maintain one family, might in a few years be divided among six or eight families, and which, even if cultivated in the best manner possible, could not support its occupants for more than two or three months a year. On account of this ruinous practice, Skye, which in 1750 had 15,000 inhabitants, most of whom were in a condition of misery and want, in 1857, in spite of large and repeated emigrations, had a population of about 23,000. This custom was common in many Highland (chiefly western) districts down to only a few years ago, and was fruitful of many pernicious consequences—of frequent famines, the constant impoverishing of the soil, the over-stocking of pasture-land, and continual wretchedness.

In some cases, the farms vacated by the old tacksmen, instead of being let to the old sub-tenants, were let to whatever stranger would give the highest offer. On farms so let, the condition of the sub-tenants who were continued on the old footing, appears often to have been miserable in the extreme. These new-come tacksmen or middlemen cared nothing either for chiefs or people; they paid their rent and were determined to squeeze from those under them as large a return as possible for their outlay. In confirmation of these statements, and to show the sad condition of many parts of the Highlands in their state of transition, we quote the following passage from Buchanan's *Travels in the Hebrides*, referring to about 1780. Even allowing for exaggeration, although there is no reason to believe the writer goes beyond the truth, the picture is almost incredibly deplorable :—

"At present they are obliged to be much more submissive to their tacksmen than ever they were in former times to their lairds or lords. There is a great difference between that mild treatment which is shown to sub-tenants and even scallags, by the old lessees, descended of ancient and honourable families, and the outrageous rapacity of those necessitous strangers who have obtained leases from absent proprietors, who treat the natives as if they were a conquered and inferior race of mortals. In short, they treat them like beasts of burthen; and in all respects like slaves attached to the soil, as they cannot obtain new habitations, on account of the combinations already mentioned, and are entirely at the mercy of the laird or tacksman. Formerly, the personal service of the tenant did not usually exceed eight or ten days in the year. There lives at present at Scalpa, in the Isle of Harris, a tacksman of a large district, who instead of six days' work paid by the sub-tenants to his predecessor in the lease, has raised the predial service, called in that and in other parts of Scotland, *manerial bondage*, to fifty-two days in the year at once; besides many other services to be performed at different though regular and stated times : as tanning leather for brogues, making heather ropes for thatch, digging and drying peats for fuel; one pannier of peat charcoal to be carried to the smith; so many days for gathering and shearing sheep and lambs; for ferrying cattle from island to island, and other distant places, and

[3] *Travels in the Western Islands.*
[4] *Tour in England and Scotland* (1785).

several days for going on distant errands; so many pounds of wool to be spun into yarn. And over and above all this, they must lend their aid upon any unforeseen occurrence whenever they are called on. The constant service of two months at once is performed at the proper season in the making of kelp. On the whole, this gentleman's sub-tenants may be computed to devote to his service full three days in the week. But this is not all: they have to pay besides yearly a certain number of cocks, hens, butter, and cheese, called CAORIGH-FERRIN, the WIFE'S PORTION! This, it must be owned, is one of the most severe and rigorous tacksmen descended from the old inhabitants, in all the Western Hebrides: but the situation of his sub-tenants exhibits but too faithful a picture of the sub-tenants of those places in general, and the exact counterpart of such enormous oppression is to be found at Luskintire."

Another cause of emigration and of depopulation generally, was the introduction of sheep on a large scale, involving the junction into one of several small farms, each of which might before have been occupied by a number of tenants. These subjects of the introduction of sheep, engrossing of farms, and consequent depopulation, have occupied, and still to some extent do occupy, the attention of all those who take an interest in the Highlands, and of social economists in general. Various opinions have been passed on the matters in question, some advocating the retention of the people at all costs, while others declare that the greatest part of the Highlands is fit only for pasture, and it would be sheer madness, and shutting our eyes wilfully to the sad lessons of experience, to stock a land with people that is fit only to sustain sheep, and which at its very best contains mere specks of arable ground, which, even when cultivated to the utmost, can yield but a poor and unprofitable return.

Whatever opinion may be passed upon the general question, there can be no doubt that at first the introduction of sheep was fruitful of misery and discontent to those who had to vacate their old home and leave their native glens to find shelter they knew not well where. Many of those thus displaced by sheep and by one or two lowland shepherds, emigrated like the discontented tacksmen to America, those who remained looking with ill-will and an evil eye on the lowland intruders. Although often the intruder came from the South country, and brought his sheep and his shepherds with him, still this was not always the case; for many of the old tacksmen and even sub-tenants, after they saw how immensely more profitable the new system was over the old, wisely took a lesson in time, and following the example of the new lowland tenant, took large farms and stocked them with sheep and cattle, and reduced the arable land to a minimum. But, generally speaking, in cases where farms formerly subdivided among a number of tenants were converted into sheep farms, the smaller tenant had to quit and find a means of living elsewhere. The landlords in general attempted to prevent the ousted tenants from leaving the country by setting apart some particular spot either by the sea-shore or on waste land which had never been touched by plough, on which they might build houses and have an acre or two of land for their support. Those who were removed to the coast were encouraged to prosecute the fishing along with their agricultural labours, while those who were settled on waste land were stimulated to bring it into a state of cultivation. It was mainly by a number of such ousted Highlanders that the great and arduous undertaking was accomplished of bringing into a state of cultivation Kincardine Moss, in Perthshire. At the time the task was undertaken, about 1767, it was one of stupendous magnitude; but so successfully was it carried out, that in a few years upwards of 2000 acres of fine clay-soil, which for centuries had been covered to the depth of seven feet with heath and decayed vegetable matter, were bearing luxuriant crops of all kinds. In a similar way, many spots throughout the Highlands, formerly yielding nothing but heath and moss, were, by the exertions of those who were deprived of their farms, brought into a state of cultivation. Those who occupied ground of this kind were known as *mailers*, and, as a rule, they paid no rent for the first few years, after which they generally paid the proprietor a shilling or two per acre, which was gradually increased as the land improved

and its cultivation extended. For the first season or two the proprietor usually either lent or presented them with seed and implements. In the parish of Urray, in the south-east of Ross-shire, about the year 1790, there were 248 families of this kind, most of whom had settled there within the previous forty years. Still the greater number of these, both tacksmen and sub-tenants, who were deprived of their farms, either on account of the raising of the rents or because of their conversion into large sheep-walks, emigrated to America. The old *Statistical Account of North Uist* says that between the years 1771 and 1775, a space of only four years, several thousands emigrated from the Western Highlands and Islands alone. At first few of the islands appear to have been put under sheep; where any alteration on the state of things took place at all, it was generally in the way of raising rents, thus causing the tacksmen to leave, who were succeeded either by strangers who leased the farms, or by the old sub-tenants, among whom the lands were divided, and who held immediately from the laird. It was long, however, as we have already indicated, before the innovations took thorough hold upon the Hebrides, as even down almost to the present time many of the old proprietors, either from attachment to their people, or from a love of feudal show, struggle to keep up the old system, leaving the tacksmen undisturbed, and doing all they can to maintain and keep on their property a large number of sub-tenants and cottars. Almost invariably, those proprietors who thus obstinately refused to succumb to the changes going on around them, suffered for their unwise conduct. Many of them impoverished their families for generations, and many of the estates were disposed of for behoof of their creditors, and they themselves had to sink to the level of landless gentlemen, and seek their living in commerce or otherwise.

Gradually, however, most of the proprietors, especially those whose estates were on the mainland Highlands, yielded, in general no doubt willingly, to change, raised their rents, abolished small tenancies, and gave their lands up to the sheep farmers. The temptation was, no doubt, often very great, on account of the large rents offered by the lowland graziers. One proprietor in Argyleshire, who had some miles of pasture let to a number of small tenants for a few shillings yearly, on being offered by a lowlander who saw the place £300 a year, could not resist, but, however ruefully, cleared it of his old tenants, and gave it up to the money-making lowlander. It was this engrossing of farms and the turning of immense tracks of country into sheep-walks, part of which was formerly cultivated and inhabited by hundreds of people, that was the great grievance of the Highlanders during the latter part of last century. Not that it could aggravate their wretchedness to any great extent, for that was bad enough already even before 1745; it seems to have been rather the fact that their formerly much-loved chiefs should treat them worse than they could strangers, prefer a big income to a large band of faithful followers, and eject those who believed themselves to have as great a right to the occupancy of the land as the chiefs themselves. "The great and growing grievance of the Highlands is not the letting of the land to tacksmen, but the making of so many sheep-walks, which sweep off both tacksmen and sub-tenants all in a body."[5] The tacksmen especially felt naturally cut to the quick by what they deemed the selfish and unjust policy of the chiefs. These tacksmen and their ancestors in most cases had occupied their farms for many generations; their birth was as good and their genealogy as old as those of the chief himself, to whom they were all blood relations, and to whom they were attached with the most unshaken loyalty. True, they had no writing, no document, no paltry "sheep-skin," as they called it, to show as a proof that they had as much right to their farms as the laird himself. But what of that? Who would ever have thought that their chiefs would turn against them, and try to wrest from them that which had been gifted by a former chief to their fathers, who would have bitten out their tongue before they would ask a bond? The gift, they thought, was none the less real because there was no written proof of it. These parchments were quite a modern innovation, not even then uni

[5] Newte.

versally acknowledged among the Highlanders, to whom the only satisfactory proof of proprietorship and chiefship was possession from time immemorial. Occasionally a chief, who could produce no title-deed to his estate, was by law deprived of it, and his place filled by another. But the clan would have none of this; they invariably turned their backs upon the intruder, and acknowledged only the ousted chief as their head and the real proprietor, whom they were bound to support, and whom they frequently did support, by paying to him the rents which were legally due to the other. In some cases, it would seem,[6] the original granters of the land to the tacksmen conveyed it to them by a regular title-deed, by which, of course, they became proprietors. And we think there can be no doubt, that originally when a chief bestowed a share of his property upon his son or other near relation, he intended that the latter should keep it for himself and his descendants; he was not regarded merely as a tenant who had to pay a yearly rent, but as a sub-proprietor, who, from a sense of love and duty would contribute what he could to support the chief of his race and clan. In many cases, we say, this was the light in which chief, tacksmen, and people regarded these farms tenanted by the gentlemen of the clan; and it only seems to have been after the value of men decreased and of property increased, that most of the lairds began to look at the matter in a more commercial, legal, and less romantic light. According to Newte—and what he says is supported to a considerable extent by facts—"in the southern parts of Argyleshire, in Perthshire, Aberdeenshire, Moray, and Ross, grants of land were made in writing, while in Inverness-shire, Sutherlandshire, the northern parts of Argyleshire, and the Western Islands, the old mode was continued of verbal or emblematical transference. In Ross-shire, particularly, it would appear that letters and the use of letters in civil affairs had been early introduced and widely spread; for property is more equally divided in that country than in most other counties in Scotland, and than in any other of the Highlands. Agreeably to these observations, it is from the great estates on the northern and western sides of Scotland that the descendants of the original tacksmen of the land, with their families, have been obliged to migrate by the positive and unrelenting demands of rent beyond what it was in their power to give, and, indeed, in violation of those conditions that were understood and observed between the original granter and original tenant and their posterity for centuries."[7] These statements are exceedingly plausible, and we believe to a certain extent true; but it is unnecessary here to enter upon the discussion of the question. What we have to do with is the unquestionable fact that the Highland proprietors did in many instances take advantage of the legal power, which they undoubtedly possessed, to do with their land as they pleased, and, regardless of the feelings of the old tacksmen and sub-tenants, let it to the highest bidders. The consequence was that these tacksmen, who to a certain extent were demoralised and knew not how to use the land to best advantage, had to leave the homes of their ancestors; and many of the small farmers and cottars, in the face of the new system of large sheep-farms, becoming cumberers of the ground, were swept from the face of the country, and either located in little lots by the sea-side, where they became useful as fishers and kelp-burners, or settled on some waste moor, which they occupied themselves in reclaiming from its native barrenness, or, as was frequently the case, followed the tacksmen, and sought a home in the far west, where many of them became lairds in their own right.

These then are the great results of the measures which followed the rebellion of 1745–6, and the consequent breaking up of the old clan system—extensive sheep-farming, accompanied with a great rise in the rent of land, depopulation, and emigration. As to the legality of the proceedings of the proprietors, there can be no doubt; as little doubt is there that the immediate consequence to many of the Highlanders was great suffering, accompanied by much bitterness and discontent. As to the morality or justice of the laird's conduct, various opinions have been, and no doubt for

[6] Newte's *Travels*, p. 127.

[7] Newte's *Travels*, p. 127.

long will be, expressed. One side maintains that it was the duty of these chiefs upon whom the people depended, whom they revered, and for whom they were ready to die, at all events, to see to it that their people were provided for, and that ultimately it would have been for the interest of the proprietors and the country at large to do everything to prevent from emigrating in such numbers as they did, such a splendid race of men, for whose services to the country no money equivalent could be found. It is maintained that the system of large farms is pernicious in every respect, and that only by the system of moderate sized farms can a country be made the best of, an adequate rural population be kept up, and self-respect and a high moral tone be nourished and spread throughout the land. Those who adopt this side of the question pooh-pooh the common maxims of political economy, and declare that laws whose immediate consequences are widespread suffering, and the unpeopling of a country, cannot be founded on any valid basis; that proprietors hold their lands only in trust, and it is therefore their duty not merely to consider their own narrow interests, but also to consult the welfare and consult the feelings of their people. In short, it is maintained by this party, that the Highland lairds, in acting as they did, showed themselves to be unjust, selfish, heartless, unpatriotic, mercenary, and blind to their own true interests and those of their country.

On the other hand, it is maintained that what occurred in the Highlands subsequent to 1745 was a step in the right direction, and that it was only a pity that the innovations had not been more thorough and systematic. For long previous to 1745, it is asserted the Highlands were much over-peopled, and the people, as a consequence of the vicious system under which they had lived for generations, were incurably lazy, and could be roused from this sad lethargy only by some such radical measures as were adopted. The whole system of Highland life and manners and habits were almost barbarous, the method of farming was thoroughly pernicious and unproductive, the stock of cattle worthless and excessive, and so badly managed that about one half perished every winter. On account of the excessive population, the land was by far too much subdivided, the majority of so-called farmers occupying farms of so small a size that they could furnish the necessaries of life for no more than six months, and consequently the people were continually on the verge of starvation. The Highlands, it is said, are almost totally unsuited for agriculture, and fit only for pasturage, and that consequently this subdivision into small farms could be nothing else than pernicious; that the only method by which the land could be made the most of was that of large sheep-farms, and that the proprietors, while no doubt studying their own interests, adopted the wisest policy when they let out their land on this system. In short, it is maintained by the advocates of innovations, the whole body of the Highlanders were thoroughly demoralised, their number was greater by far than the land could support even if managed to the best advantage, and was increasing every year; the whole system of renting land, of tenure, and of farming was ruinous to the people and the land, and that nothing but a radical change could cure the many evils with which the country was afflicted.

There has been much rather bitter discussion between the advocates of the two sides of the Highland question; often more recrimination and calling of names than telling argument. This question, we think, is no exception to the general rule which governs most disputed matters; there is truth, we believe, on both sides. We fear the facts already adduced in this part of the book comprise many of the assertions made by the advocates of change. As to the wretched social condition of the Highlanders, for long before and after 1745, there can be no doubt, if we can place any reliance on the evidence of contemporaries, and we have already said enough to show that the common system of farming, if worthy of the name, was ruinous and inefficient; while their small lean cattle were so badly managed that about one half died yearly. That the population was very much greater than the land, even if used to the best advantage, could support, is testified to by every candid writer from the Gartmore paper[8] down almost to the

[8] Burt's *Letters*, Appendix.

present day. The author of the Gartmore paper, written about 1747, estimated that the population of the Highlands at that time amounted to about 230,000; "but," he says, "according to the present economy of the Highlands, there is not business for more than one half of that number of people. . . The other half, then, must be idle and beggars while in the country." "The produce of the crops," says Pennant,[9] "very rarely are in any degree proportioned to the wants of the inhabitants; golden seasons have happened, when they have had superfluity, but the years of famine are as ten to one." It is probable, from a comparison with the statistics of Dr Webster, taken in 1755,[1] that the estimate of the author of the Gartmore paper was not far from being correct; indeed, if anything, it must have been under the mark, as in 1755 the population of the Highlands and Islands amounted, according to Webster, to about 290,000, which, in 1795, had increased to 325,566,[2] in spite of the many thousands who had emigrated. This great increase in the population during the latter part of the 18th century is amply confirmed by the writers of the Statistical Accounts of the various Highland parishes, and none had better opportunities of knowing the real state of matters than they. The great majority of these writers likewise assert that the population was far too large in proportion to the produce of the land and means of employment, and that some such outlet as emigration was absolutely necessary. Those who condemn emigration and depopulation, generally do so for some merely sentimental reason, and seldom seek to show that it is quite possible to maintain the large population without disastrous results. It is a pity, they say, that the Highlander, possessing so many noble qualities, and so strongly attached to his native soil, should be compelled to seek a home in a foreign land, and bestow upon it the services which might be profitably employed by his mother country. By permitting, they say, these loyal and brave Highlanders to leave the country, Britain is throwing away some of the finest recruiting material in the world, for—and it is quite true—the Highland soldier has not his match for bravery, moral character, and patriotism.

These statements are no doubt true; it certainly is a pity that an inoffensive, brave, and moral people should be compelled to leave their native land, and devote to the cultivation of a foreign soil those energies which might be used to the benefit of their own country. It would also be very bad policy in government to lose the chance of filling up the ranks of the army with some of the best men obtainable anywhere. But then, if there was nothing for the people to do in the country, if their condition was one of chronic famine, as was undoubtedly the case with the Highlanders, if the whole productions of the country were insufficient even to keep them in bare life, if every few years the country had to contribute thousands of pounds to keep these people alive, if, in short, the majority of them were little else than miserable beggars, an encumbrance on the progress of their country, a continual source of sadness to all feeling men, gradually becoming more and more demoralised by the increasingly wretched condition in which they lived, and by the ever-recurring necessity of bestowing upon them charity to keep them alive,—if such were the case, the advocates for a thinning of the population urge, whom would it profit to keep such a rabble of half-starved creatures huddled together in a corner of the country, reaping for themselves nothing but misery and degradation, and worse than useless to everybody else. Moreover, as to the military argument, it is an almost universal statement made by the writers of the Old Statistical Account (about 1790), that, at that time, in almost all the Highland parishes it was scarcely possible to get a single recruit, so great was the aversion of the people both to a naval and military life. Besides, though the whole of the surplus population had been willing to volunteer into the army, of what value would it have been if the country had no use for them; and surely it would be very questionable policy to keep thousands of men in idleness on the bare chance that they might be required as soldiers.

The sentimental and military arguments are no doubt very touching and very convincing to

[9] *Tour*, ii. 306.
[1] See Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i. pp. 24, 28.
[2] Walker, vol. i. p. 31.

men in whom impulse and imagination predominate over reason and clearness of vision, and are fitting subjects for a certain kind of poetry, which has made much of them; but they cannot for one moment stand the test of facts, and become selfishly cruel, impracticable, and disastrous, when contrasted with the teachings of genuine humanity and the best interests of the Highlanders. On this subject, the writer of the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Lochgoilhead makes some remarks so sensible, and so much to the point, that we are tempted to quote them here. "It is frequent," he says, "with people who wish well to their country, to inveigh against the practice of turning several small farms into one extensive grazing, and dispossessing the former tenants. If the strength of a country depends upon the number of its inhabitants, it appears a pernicious measure to drive away the people by depriving them of their possessions. This complaint is very just with regard to some places in Scotland; for it must be greatly against the interest of the nation to turn rich arable land, which is capable at the same time of supporting a number of people, and of producing much grain, into pasture ground. But the complaint does not seem to apply to this country. The strength of a nation cannot surely consist in the number of idle people which it maintains; that the inhabitants of this part of the country were formerly sunk in indolence, and contributed very little to the wealth, or to the support of the state, cannot be denied. The produce of this parish, since sheep have become the principal commodity, is at least double the intrinsic value of what it was formerly, so that half the number of hands produce more than double the quantity of provisions, for the support of our large towns, and the supply of our tradesmen and manufacturers; and the system by which land returns the most valuable produce, and in the greatest abundance, seems to be the most beneficial for the country at large. Still, however, if the people who are dispossessed of this land emigrated into other nations, the present system might be justly condemned, as diminishing the strength of the country. But this is far from being the case; of the great number of people who have been deprived of their farms in this parish, for thirty years past, few or none have settled out of the kingdom; they generally went to sea, or to the populous towns upon the Clyde. In these places, they have an easy opportunity, which they generally embrace, of training up their children to useful and profitable employments, and of rendering them valuable members of society. So that the former inhabitants of this country have been taken from a situation in which they contributed nothing to the wealth, and very little to the support of the state, to a situation in which their labour is of the greatest public utility. Nor has the present system contributed to make the condition of the inhabitants of the country worse than it was before; on the contrary, the change is greatly in their favour. The partiality in favour of former times, and the attachment to the place of their nativity, which is natural to old people, together with the indolence in which they indulged themselves in this country, mislead them in drawing a comparison between their past and their present situations. But indolence was almost the only comfort which they enjoyed. There was scarcely any variety of wretchedness with which they were not obliged to struggle, or rather to which they were not obliged to submit. They often felt what it was to want food; the scanty crops which they raised were consumed by their cattle in winter and spring; for a great part of the year they lived wholly on milk, and even that in the end of spring and beginning of winter was very scarce. To such extremity were they frequently reduced, that they were obliged to bleed their cattle in order to subsist for some time upon the blood; and even the inhabitants of the glens and valleys repaired in crowds to the shore, at the distance of three or four miles, to pick up the scanty provision which the shell-fish afforded them. They were miserably ill clothed, and the huts in which they lived were dirty and mean beyond expression. How different from their present situation? They now enjoy the necessaries, and many of the comforts of life in abundance: even those who are supported by the charity of the parish feel no real want. Much of the wretchedness which formerly prevailed in this and in other parishes in the Highlands, was owing to the indolence of the

people, and to their want of management; but a country which is neither adapted for agriculture nor for rearing black cattle, can never maintain any great number of people comfortably."

No doubt the very men who deplore what they call the depopulation of the Highlands would advocate the advisability of emigration in the case of the unemployed surplus population of any other part of the country. If their arguments against the emigration of the Highlanders to another country, and in favour of their being retained in their own district were logically carried out, to what absurd and disastrous consequences would they lead? Supposing that all the people who have emigrated from this country to America, Australia, and elsewhere, had been kept at home, where would this country have been? There would scarcely have been standing room for the population, the great majority of whom must have been in a state of indescribable misery. The country would have been ruined. The same arguments might also be used against the emigration of the natives of other countries, many of whom are no doubt as attached to their native soil as the Highlanders; and if the principle had been rigidly carried out, what direful consequences to the world at large would have been the result. In fact, there would have been little else but universal barbarism. It seems to be admitted by all thoughtful men that the best outlet for a redundant or idle population is emigration; it is beneficial to the mother country, beneficial to the emigrants, and beneficial to the new country in which they take up their abode. Only thus can the earth be subdued, and made the most of.

Why then should there be any lamentation over the Highlanders leaving their country more than over any other class of respectable willing men? Anything more hopelessly wretched than their position at various times from 1745 down to the present day it would be impossible to imagine. If one, however, trusted the descriptions of some poets and sentimentalists, a happier or more comfortably situated people than the Highlanders at one time were could not be found on the face of the globe. They were always clean, and tidy, and well dressed, lived in model cottages, surrounded by model gardens, had always abundance of plain wholesome food and drink, were exuberant in their hospitality, doated on their chiefs, carefully cultivated their lands and tended their flocks, but had plenty of time to dance and sing, and narrate round the cheerful winter hearth the legends of their people, and above all, feared God and honoured the king. Now, these statements have no foundation in fact, at least within the historical period; but generally the writers on this side of the question refer generally to the period previous to 1745, and often, in some cases, to a time subsequent to that. Every writer who pretends to record facts, the result of observation, and not to draw imaginary Arcadian pictures, concurs in describing the country as being sunk in the lowest state of wretchedness. The description we have already given of the condition of the people before 1745, applies with intensified force to the greater part of the Highlands for long after that year. Instead of improving, and often there were favourable opportunities for improvement, the people seemed to be retrograding, getting more and more demoralised, more and more miserable, more and more numerous, and more and more famine-struck. In proof of what we say, we refer to all the writers on and travellers in the Highlands of last century, to Pennant, Boswell, Johnson, Newte, Buchanan,[3] and especially the Old Statistical Account. To let the reader judge for himself as to the value of the statements we make as to the condition of the Highlands during the latter part of last century, we quote below a longish extract from a pamphlet written by one who had visited and enquired into the state of the Highlands about the year 1780.[4] It is written

[3] *Western Isles.*

[4] "Upon the whole, the situation of these people, inhabitants of Britain! is such as no language can describe, nor fancy conceive. If, with great labour and fatigue, the farmer raises a slender crop of oats and barley, the autumnal rains often baffle his utmost efforts, and frustrate all his expectations; and instead of being able to pay an exorbitant rent, he sees his family in danger of perishing during the ensuing winter, when he is precluded from any possibility of assistance elsewhere.

"Nor are his cattle in a better situation; in summer they pick up a scanty support amongst the morasses or heathy mountains; but in winter, when the grounds are covered with snow, and when the naked wilds

by one who deplores the extensive emigration which was going on, but yet who, we are inclined to believe, has slightly exaggerated the misery of the Highlanders in order to make the sin of absentee chiefs, who engross farms, and raise enormously the rents, as great as possible. Still, when compared with the statements made by other contemporary authorities, the exaggeration seems by no means great, and making allowances, the picture presented is a mocking, weird contrast to the fancies of the sentimentalist. That such a woful state of things required radical and uncompromising measures of relief, no one can possibly deny. Yet this same writer laments most pitiably that 20,000 of these wretched people had to leave their wretched homes and famine-struck condition, and the oppression of their lairds, for lands and houses of their own in a fairer and more fertile land, where independence and affluence were at the command of all who cared to bend their backs to labour. What good purpose, divine or human, could be served by keeping an increasing population in a land that cannot produce enough to keep the life in one-half of its people? Nothing but misery, and degradation, and oppression here; happiness, advancement, riches, and freedom on the other side of the water. Is there more than one conclusion?

In spite of all the emigration that has taken place from this country, no one has, we daresay, any real dread of depopulation; the population is increasing over all the land every year, not excepting the Highlands. As for soldiers, no

afford neither shelter nor subsistence, the few cows, small, lean, and ready to drop down through want of pasture, are brought into the hut where the family resides, and frequently share with them the small stock of meal which had been purchased, or raised, for the family only; while the cattle thus sustained, are bled occasionally, to afford nourishment for the children after it hath been boiled or made into cakes.

"The sheep being left upon the open heaths, seek to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the weather amongst the hollows upon the lee-side of the mountains, and here they are frequently buried under the snow for several weeks together, and in severe seasons during two months or upwards. They eat their own and each other's wool, and hold out wonderfully under cold and hunger; but even in moderate winters, a considerable number are generally found dead after the snow hath disappeared, and in rigorous seasons few or none are left alive.

"Meanwhile the steward, hard pressed by letters from Almack's or Newmarket, demands the rent in a tone which makes no great allowance for unpropitious seasons, the death of cattle, and other accidental misfortunes; disguising the feelings of his own breast—his Honour's wants must at any rate be supplied, the bills must be duly negotiated.

"Such is the state of farming, if it may be so called, throughout the interior parts of the Highlands; but as that country hath an extensive coast, and many islands, it may be supposed that the inhabitants of those shores enjoy all the benefits of their maritime situation. This, however, is not the case; those gifts of nature, which in any other commercial kingdom would have been rendered subservient to the most valuable purposes, are in Scotland lost, or nearly so, to the poor natives and the public. The only difference, therefore, between the inhabitants of the interior parts and those of the more distant coasts, consists in this, that the latter, with the labours of the field, have to encounter alternately the dangers of the ocean and all the fatigues of navigation.

"To the distressing circumstances at home, as stated above, new difficulties and toils await the devoted farmer when abroad. He leaves his family in October, accompanied by his sons, brothers, and frequently an aged parent, and embarks on board a small open boat, in quest of the herring fishery, with no other provision than oatmeal, potatoes. and fresh water; no other bedding than heath, twigs, or straw, the covering, if any, an old sail. Thus provided, he searches from bay to bay, through turbulent seas, frequently for several weeks together, before the shoals of herrings are discovered. The glad tidings serve to vary, but not to diminish his fatigues. Unremitting nightly labour (the time when the herrings are taken), pinching cold winds, heavy seas, uninhabited shores covered with snow, or deluged with rains, contribute towards filling up the measure of his distresses; while to men of such exquisite feelings as the Highlanders generally possess, the scene which awaits him at home does it most effectually.

"Having disposed of his capture to the Busses, he returns in January through a long navigation, frequently admidst unceasing hurricanes, not to a comfortable home and a cheerful family, but to a hut composed of turf, without windows, doors, or chimney, environed with snow, and almost hid from the eye by its astonishing depth. Upon entering this solitary mansion, he generally finds a part of his family, sometimes the whole, lying upon heath or straw, languishing through want or epidemical disease; while the few surviving cows, which possess the other end of the cottage, instead of furnishing further supplies of milk or blood, demand his immediate attention to keep them in existence.

"The season now approaches when he is again to delve and labour the ground, on the same slender prospect of a plentiful crop or a dry harvest. The cattle which have survived the famine of the winter, are turned out to the mountains; and, having put his domestic affairs into the best situation which a train of accumulated misfortunes admits of, he resumes the oar, either in quest of the herring or the white fishery. If successful in the latter, he sets out in his open boat upon a voyage (taking the Hebrides and the opposite coast at a medium distance) of 200 miles, to vend his cargo of dried cod, ling, &c., at Greenock or Glasgow. The produce, which seldom exceeds twelve or fifteen pounds, is laid out, in conjunction with his companions, upon meal and fishing tackle; and he returns through the same tedious navigation.

"The autumn calls his attention again to the field; the usual round of disappointment, fatigue, and distress awaits him; thus dragging through a wretched existence in the hope of soon arriving in that country where the weary shall be at rest."—*A View of the Highlands, &c.*, pp. 3–7.

doubt plenty will be forthcoming when wanted; if not so, it is not for want of men well enough fitted for the occupation. As every one knows, there is seldom a want of willing workers in this country, but far more frequently a great want of work to do.

That by far the larger part of the surface of the Highland districts is suited only for the pasturage of sheep, is the testimony of every one who knows anything about the subject. Those who speak otherwise must either ignore facts or speak of what they do not know, urged merely by impulse and sentimentalism. True, there are many spots consisting of excellent soil suited for arable purposes, but generally where such do occur the climate is so unfavourable to successful agriculture that no expenditure will ever produce an adequate return.[5] Other patches again, not, however, of frequent occurrence, have everything in their favour, and are as capable of producing luxuriant crops as the most fertile district of the lowlands. But nearly all these arable spots, say those who advocate the laying of the whole country under sheep, it is absolutely necessary to retain as winter pasturage, if sheep-farming is to be carried on successfully. The mountainous districts, comprising nearly the whole of the Highlands, are admirably suited for sheep pasturage when the weather is mild; but in winter are so bleak and cold, and exposed to destructive storms, that unless the sheep during winter can be brought down to the low and sheltered grounds, the loss of a great part of the flocks would inevitably be the consequence. Hence, it is maintained, unless nearly the whole of the country is allowed to lie waste, or unless a sheep farmer makes up his mind to carry on an unprofitable business, the arable spots in the valleys and elsewhere must, as a rule, be retained as pasture. And this seems to be the case in most districts. It must not be imagined, however, that the surface of the Highlands is one universal expanse of green and brown fragrant heather; every tourist knows that in almost every glen, by the side of many lochs, streams, and bogs, patches of cultivated land are to be met with, bearing good crops of oats, barley, potatoes, and turnips. These productions chiefly belong to the large sheep farmers, and are intended for the use of themselves, their servants, and cattle, and but seldom have they any to dispose of. Others of these arable spots belong to small farmers, the race of whom is happily not yet extinct. But, on the whole, it would seem that so far as agricultural products are concerned, the Highlands seldom, if ever, produce sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants, importation being thus necessary.

A curious and interesting point connected with the introduction of sheep into the Highlands may be mentioned here:—By means of this innovation, the whole aspect of the country seems to have been changed. Previous to that, the whole country seems to have borne a universal aspect of blackness, rarely relieved by a spot of green, arising from the fact that almost the only product of the mountains was dark-brown heath. Captain Burt and others who visited the Highlands previous to the extensive introduction of sheep, indulge in none of the raptures over Highland scenery, that the most common-place and prosy tourist thinks it his duty to get into at the present day. They speak of the country almost with horror, as a black howling wilderness, full of bogs and big boulders, and almost unfit for human habitation. They could see no beauty in the country that it should be desired; it was a place to get out of as soon as possible. How far these sentiments may have been justified by facts it is impossible now to say; but it is the almost universal assertion by the writers in the *Old Statistical Account*, that the appearance of the Highland hills was rapidly changing, and that instead of the universal dark-brown heath which previously covered them, there was springing up the light-brown heath and short green bent or strong grass so well known to all modern tourists. If the Highland hills formerly bore anything like the aspect presented at the present day by the dreary black wet hills of Shetland, the remarks of Burt and others need not cause astonishment. But as the great outlines and peculiar features of the country must have been the same then as now, we suspect that these early English adventurers into the High-

[5] See Old and New *Statistical Accounts, passim.*

lands wanted training in scenery or were determined to see nothing to admire. But, indeed, admiration of and hunting for fine scenery seem to be quite a modern fashion, and were quite unknown to our ancestors in the beginning of last century, or were confined to a few crazy poets. Men require to be trained to use their eyes in this as in many other respects. There can be no doubt that the first impulse to the admiration of the Highlands and Highlanders was given by the poems and novels of Sir Walter Scott; it was he who set the sheepish stream of tourists agoing, and indirectly to him many a Highland hotel-keeper owes a handsome fortune. The fact at all events seems unquestionable, that the extensive introduction of sheep has to a large extent changed the external aspect of the Highlands.

It must not be imagined that, previous to the changes we are speaking of, there were no sheep in the Highlands; there were always a few of a very small native breed, but the staple stock of the Highland farmer was, as we previously mentioned, black cattle. The sheep, however, have also to a very large extent superseded them, a fact which is deplored by those who lament the many innovations which which have been introduced since 1745. But by all accounts much of the country is unsuited to the pasturage of black cattle, and as cattle and sheep do not thrive well together, the only alternative seems to be the introduction of sheep alone into those districts unsuited for cattle. "More than one-third of the country consists of mountains and declivities too steep and abrupt for black cattle, and the grass they produce too short and fine to afford them a tolerable pasture except in the height of summer. The greater part of the pasture is therefore lost, though it might all be beneficially consumed with sheep. A flock of sheep will thrive where cows and oxen would starve, and will go at all seasons of the year to such heights as are inaccessible to black cattle. . . . In a situation of this kind the very wool of a flock would amount to more than the whole profit to be obtained by black cattle."[6] The only conclusion to be drawn from these statements is, that the wisest thing that could be done was to introduce sheep into those districts which were being wasted on black cattle.

Along with the introduction of sheep, indeed, to a great extent caused by that, was the enlargement of farms, which with the raising of rents led to the depopulation of many districts. The old system of letting farms in the Highlands has already been sufficiently explained, and the introduction of sheep seems to have rendered it necessary that this old system should be abolished, and that a large extent of country should be taken by one man. The question between large and small farms does not appear to us to be the same as between the old and new system of letting land. Under the old system, a farm of no great extent was often let to a large number of tenants, who frequently sub divided it still more, by either sub-letting part, or by sharing their respective portions with their newly-married sons and daughters. The testimony as to the perniciousness of this old system is universal; it was, and until recently continued to be, the chief source of all the misfortunes that have afflicted the Highlands. As to whether, however, this old system should have been entirely abolished, or whether some modification of it might not have been retained, has been a matter of dispute. Some maintain that the Highlands can be profitably managed only on the large farm system, and only thus can sheep be made to pay, while others assert that, though many districts are suitable for large farms, still there are others that might with great profit be divided into small holdings. By this latter method, it is said, a fair proportion of all clases would be maintained in the Highlands, noblemen, gentlemen, farmers large and small, cottars, labourers, and that only when there is such a mixture can a country be said to be prosperous. Moreover, it is held a proprietor, who in this country should be considered as a steward rather than the absolute owner of his estate, has no right to exclude the small farmer from having a chance of making a respectable living by the occupation for which he is suited; that he stands in the way of his own and his country's interests when he discourages the

[6] Walker's *Hebrides and Highlands.*

small farmer, for only by a mixture of the two systems can the land be made the most of; and that, to say the least of it, it is selfish and wrong in proprietors not to consider the case of the poor as well as the rich.

On the question as to the expediency of large or small farms we cannot pretend to be able to judge; we know too little of its real merits. However, it appears to us that there is no reason why both systems cannot be very well combined in many parts of the Highlands, although there are many districts, we believe, totally unsuited for anything else but sheep-farms of the largest dimensions. Were the small farms made large enough to sufficiently support the farmer and his family, and remunerate him for his outlay and labour, were precautions taken against the subdivision of these moderate-sized holdings, and were leases of sufficient duration granted to all, it seems to us that there is nothing in the nature of things why there should not be farms of a small size in the Highlands as well as farms covering many miles in extent. We certainly do think it too bad to cut out the small respectable class of farmers entirely, and put the land of the country in the hands of a sort of farmer aristocracy; it is unfair and prejudicial to the best interests of the country. But the small farmers must first show that they deserve to be considered; certainly the small farmers under the old Highland system, which we believe is not yet quite extinct in some remote districts, deserved only to have the land they so mismanaged taken from them and given to others who could make a better use of it. Some consideration, we think, ought to be had towards the natives of the country, those whose ancestors have occupied the land for centuries, and if they are able to pay as good a rent as others, and show themselves willing to manage the land as well, in all humanity they ought to have the preference. But these are matters which we think ought to be left to adjust themselves according to the inevitable laws which regulate all human affairs. Interference in any way between landlord and tenant by way of denunciation, vituperation, or legislation, seems to us only to make matters worse. It seems to us that the simplest commercial maxims—the laws of profit and loss, if they have fair play—will ultimately lead to the best system of managing the land of the Highlands and of every other district, both in the interests of the proprietors and those of the tenants. If proprietors find it most profitable to let their lands in large lots, either for agriculture, for cattle, for sheep, or for deer, there is no reason why they should not do so, and there is no doubt that in the end what is most advantageous to the proprietor is so to the tenant, and *vice versa*, as also to the country at large. If, on the other hand, it be found that letting land in small lots is more profitable than the other practice, few proprietors, we daresay, would hesitate to cut up their land into suitable lots. But all this, we think, must be left to experiment, and it cannot be said that the Highlands as a whole have as yet got beyond the stage of probation; changes from small to large and from large to small farms—mostly the former—and changes from sheep to deer and deer to sheep are still going on; but, no doubt, ere long both proprietors and tenants of land will find out what their real common interest is, and adjust themselves in their proper relations to each other. It is best to leave them alone and allow them to fight the battle out between themselves. Interference was attempted at the end of last century to stop emigration and to settle the ousted tenants on small lots by the sea-shore, where both fishing and farming could be carried on, but the interference did no good. Emigration was not diminished, although curiously it was the proprietors themselves, who subsequently did their best to promote emigration, that at this time attempted to stop it. The people seem generally until lately to have been quite willing and even anxious to emigrate at least those of most intelligence; not that they cared not for their country, but that, however much they loved it, there was no good in staying at home when nothing but misery and starvation stared them in the face. We say that the landlords and others, including the Highland Society, interfered, and endeavoured to get government to interfere, to prevent the great emigrations which were going on, and which they feared would ere long leave the country utterly peopleless. But the interference was of no use, and was quite

uncalled for. Emigration still went on, and will go on so long as there is a necessity for it; and the country will always have plenty of inhabitants so long as it can afford a decent subsistence. When men know better the laws of sociology—the laws which govern human affairs—interference of this kind will be simply laughed at.

The scheme of the landlords—who, while they raised the rents and extended their farms, were still loath to lose their numerous tenants and retainers—of settling those on the coast where they could combine farming and fishing, failed also, for the simple reason that, as it has been fairly proved, one man cannot unite successfully the two occupations in his own person. In this sense "no man can serve two masters." "No two occupations can be more incompatible than farming and fishing, as the seasons which require undivided exertion in fishing are precisely those in which the greatest attention should be devoted to agriculture. Grazing, which is less incompatible with fishing than agriculture, is even found to distract the attention and prevent success in either occupation. This is demonstrated by the very different success of those who unite both occupations from those who devote themselves exclusively to fishing. Indeed, the industrious fisher finds the whole season barely sufficient for the labours of his proper occupation."[7] It seems clear, then, that the Highland proprietors should be left alone and allowed to dispose of their land as they think fit, just as the owner of any other commercial commodity takes it to whatever market he chooses, and no harm accrues from it. If the Highland peasantry and farmers see it to be to their advantage to leave their native land and settle in a far-off soil where they will have some good return for hard work, we do not see that there is any call for interference or lamentation. Give all help and counsel to those who require and deserve them by all means either to stay at home or go abroad; but to those who are able to think and free to act for themselves nothing is necessary but to be left alone.

As we have already said, another cause of emigration besides sheep-farming, though to some extent associated with it, was the raising of rents. Naturally enough, when the number of tenants upon a laird's estate ceased to make him of importance and give him power, he sought by raising his rents to give himself the importance derived from a large income. There can be no doubt that, previous to this, farms were let far below their real value, and often at a merely nominal rent; and thus one of the greatest incitements to industry was wanting in the case of the Highland tenants, for when a man knows that his landlord will not trouble him about his rent, but would rather let him go scot-free than lose him, it is too much to expect of human nature in general that it will bestir itself to do what it feels there is no absolute necessity for. Thus habits of idleness were engendered in the Highlanders, and the land, for want of industrious cultivation, was allowed to run comparatively waste. That the thinning of the population gave those who remained a better chance of improving their condition, is testified to by many writers in the *Old Statistical Account*, and by other contemporary authorities, including even Dr Walker, who was no friend to emigration. He says,[8] "these measures in the management of property, and this emigration, were by no means unfriendly to the population of the country. The sub-tenants, who form the bulk of the people, were not only retained but raised in their situation, and rendered more useful and independent." It is amusing now to read Dr Walker's remarks on the consequences of emigration from the Highlands; had his fears been substantiated,—and had they been well grounded, they ought to have been by this time, for sheep-farming, rent-raising, depopulation, and emigration have been going on rapidly ever since his time—the Highlands must now have been "a waste howling wilderness." "If the [Highlanders]," he says,[9] "are expelled, the Highlands never can be reclaimed or improved by any other set of men, but must remain a mere grazing-field for England and the South of Scotland. By this alteration, indeed, the present rents may, no doubt, be augmented, but they must become

[7] Essay on *The Fisheries of Scotland*, in *Highland Society Prize Essays*, vol. ii.

[8] *Hebrides and Highlands*, vol. ii. p. 406.

[9] *Idem*, p. 409.

immediately stationary, without any prospect of further advancement, and will in time from obvious causes be liable to great diminution. All improvement of the country must cease when the people to improve it are gone. The soil must remain unsubdued for ever, and the progress of the Highlands must be finally stopt, while all the cultivated wastes of the kingdom are advancing in population and wealth." How these predictions have been belied by facts, all who know anything of the progress of the Highlands during the present century must perceive. All these changes and even grievances have taken place, and yet the Highlands are far enough from anything approximating to depopulation or unproductiveness, and rents, we believe, have not yet ceased to rise.

Notwithstanding the large emigration which has been going on, the population of the Highlands at the census of 1861 was at least 70,000 greater than it was in the time of Dr Walker.[1] The emigration, especially from the west, does not seem to have been large enough, for periodically, up even to the present day, a rueful call for help to save from famine comes from that quarter." This very year (1863) the cry of destitution in Skye has been loud as ever, and yet from no part of the Highlands has there been a more extensive emigration. From the very earliest period in the history of emigration down to this date, Skye has been largely drawn upon, and yet the body of the people in Skye were never more wretched than at this moment."[2] Dr Walker himself states that, in spite of an emigration of about 6000 between the years 1771 and 1794 from the Hebrides and Western Highlands, the population had increased by about 40,000 during the forty years subsequent to 1750.[3] Yet though he knew of the wretched condition of the country from an over-crowded population, practical man as he was, he gives way to the vague and unjustifiable fears expressed above. It is no doubt sad to see the people of a country, and these possessing many high qualities, compelled to leave it in order to get room to breathe; but to tirade against emigration as Dr Walker and others do in the face of such woful facts as are known concerning the condition of the Highlands is mere selfish and wicked sentimentalism.

Another fact, stated by the same author, and which might have taught him better doctrines in connection with some of the border parishes, is worth introducing here. The population of seventeen parishes in Dumbartonshire, Perthshire, and Argyllshire, bordering on the low country, decreased in population between 1755 and 1795, from 30,525 to 26,748, *i.e.*, by 3,787; these parishes having been during that time to a great extent laid out in cattle and sheep. Now, according to the *Old Statistical Account* (about 1795), these very parishes were on the whole among the most prosperous in the Highlands, those in which improvements were taking place most rapidly, and in which the condition of the people was growing more and more comfortable. It appears to us clear that the population of the Highlands did require a very considerable thinning; that depopulation to a certain extent was, and in some places still is, a necessary condition to improvement.

The main question is, we think, how to get these districts which are in a state of wretchedness and retrogression from over-population rid of the surplus. Unless some sudden check be put upon the rate of increase of the general population, there never will be a lack of hands to bring in the waste places when wanted, and to supply all other demands for men. No doubt, it is a pity, if it be the case, that any extensive districts which could be brought to a high style of cultivation, and would then be better employed than in pasture should be allowed to lie waste, when there is every necessity for the land being made to yield as much as possible. And if the Highlanders are willing, it certainly does seem to be better to keep them at home and employ them for such purposes rather than let them go abroad and give their services to strangers. We should fancy the larger a population there is in a country where there is room enough for them, and which can give them enough to eat and drink, the better for that country. All we maintain is, that it being proved that the population in many parts of the Highlands having been redundant.

[1] Social Science Transactions for 1863, p. 608.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] *Hebrides*, &c., vol. ii. p. 401

so much so as to lead to misery and degradation, it was far better that the surplus should emigrate than that they should be kept at home to increase the misery and be an obstruction to the progress of the country. Keep them at home if possible; if not, permit them without any weak sentimental lamentation to go abroad. It has been said that if the Highlander is compelled to leave his native glen, he would as soon remove to a distance of 4000 as to a distance of 40 miles; and that indeed many of them, since they must move, prefer to leave the country altogether rather than settle in any part of it out of sight of their native hills. There is no doubt much truth in this, so that the outcry about keeping the Highlanders at home is to a great extent uncalled for; they don't wish to stay at home. Still many of them have been willing to settle in the lowlands or in other parts of the Highlands. We have already referred to the great services rendered by the ousted tenants on the borders of the Perthshire and Dumbartonshire Highlands who settled in the neighbourhood of Stirling and reclaimed many thousand acres of Kincardine moss, now a fertile strath. Similar services have been rendered to other barren parts of the country by many Highlanders, who formerly spent their time in lolling idleness, but who, when thus given the opportunity, showed themselves to be as capable of active and profitable exertion as any lowland peasant or farmer. Many Highlanders also, when deprived of their farms, removed to some of our large towns, and by their exertions raised themselves and their families to an honourable and comfortable position, such as they could never have hoped to reach had they never left their native hills. By all means keep the Highlanders at home if they are willing to stay and there is work for them to do; but what purpose can be served in urging them to stay at home if the consequence be to increase the already enormous sort of pauperism?

That the landlords, the representatives of the old chiefs, were not accountable for much of the evil that flowed from the changes of which we have been speaking, no one who knows the history of the Highlands during the last century will venture to assert. Had they all uniformly acted towards their old tenants with humanity, judiciousness, and unselfishness, much misery, misunderstanding, and bitter ill-will might have been avoided. It is, we venture to believe, quite against the spirit of the British constitution as it now exists, and quite out of accordance with enlightened reason and justice, not to say humanity, that these or any other landed proprietors should be allowed to dispose of their land as they choose without any consideration for the people whose fathers have been on it for centuries, or without regard to the interests of the country to which the land belongs. Many of the Highland proprietors, in their haste to get rich, or at least to get money to spend in the fashionable world, either mercilessly, and without warning, cleared their estates of the tenants, or most unseasonably oppressed them in the matter of rent. The great fault of many of the landlords—for they were not all alike—was in bringing about too suddenly changes, in themselves, perhaps, desirable enough. Rents seem to have been too suddenly raised to such a rate as tended to inspire the tenant with despair of being able to meet it. Some also, in their desire to introduce the large farm system, swept the tenants off the ground without warning, and left them to provide for themselves; while others made a show of providing for them by settling them in hamlets by the seaside, where, in general, they were worse off than ever. It was in their utter want of consideration for these old tenants that many of the Highland landlords were to blame. Had they raised the rents gradually, extended the size of their farms slowly, giving the old tenants a chance under the new system, and doing their best to put these necessarily ejected in a way of making a living for themselves, tried to educate their people up to the age in the matter of agriculture, social habits, and other matters; lived among them, and shown them a good example;—in short, as proprietors, rigidly done their duty to their tenants, as descendants of the old chiefs treated with some tender consideration the sons of those who worshipped and bled for the fathers of their clan, and as men, shown some charity and kindness to their poorer brethren, the improvement of the Highlands might have been brought

about at a much less expense of misery and rancour. That these old Highlanders were open to improvement, enlightenment, and education, when judiciously managed, is proved by what took place in some of the border and other districts, where many improvements were effected without great personal inconvenience to any one, and without any great or sudden diminution of the population. Especially in the Western and Northern Highlands and the Islands, the landlords went to extremes in both directions. Some of them acted as we have just indicated, while others again, moved by a laudable consideration for, and tenderness towards the old tenants, retained the old system of small holdings, which they allowed to be now and then still more subdivided, endeavouring, often unsuccessfully, to obtain a rise of rent. In most cases the latter course was as fatal and as productive of misery and ruin as the former. Indeed, in some cases it was more so; for not only was the lot of the tenant not improved, but the laird had ultimately to sell his estate for behoof of his creditors, and himself emigrate to the lowlands or to a foreign country. This arose from the fact that, as the number of tenants increased, the farms were diminished in size more and more, until they could neither support the tenant nor yield the landlord a rent adequate to his support. In this way have many of the old hospitable chiefs with small estates dropped out of sight; and their places filled by some rich lowland merchants, who would show little tenderness to the helpless tenantry.

But it is an easy matter now to look calmly back on these commotions and changes among the Highlanders, and allot praise or blame to chiefs and people for the parts they played, forgetting all the time how difficult these parts were. Something decisive had to be done to prevent the Highlands from sinking into inconceivable misery and barbarism; and had the lairds sat still and done nothing but allowed their estates to be managed on the old footing, ruin to themselves and their tenants would have been the consequence, as indeed was the case with most of those who did so. It was very natural, then, that they should deem it better to save themselves at the expense of their tenants, than that both land and tenants should be involved in a common ruin. They were not the persons to find out the best mode of managing their estates, so that they themselves might be saved, and the welfare of their tenants only considered. In some cases, no doubt, the lairds were animated by utter indifference as to the fate of their tenants; but we are inclined to think these were few, and that most of them would willingly have done much for the welfare of their people, and many of them did what they could; but their first and most natural instinct was that of self-preservation, and in order to save themselves, they were frequently compelled to resort to measures which brought considerable suffering upon their poor tenants. We have no doubt most did their best, according to their knowledge and light, to act well their parts, and deal fairly with their people; but the parts were so difficult, and the actors were so unaccustomed to their new situation, that they are not to be too severely blamed if they sometimes blundered. No matter how gently changes might have been brought about, suffering and bitterness would necessarily to a certain extent have followed; and however much we may deplore the great amount of unnecessary suffering that actually occurred, still we think the lasting benefits which have accrued to the Highlands from the changes which were made, far more than counterbalance this temporary evil.

What we have been saying, while it applies to many recent changes in the Highlands, refers chiefly to the period between 1750 and 1800, during which the Highlands were in a state of universal fermentation, and chiefs and people were only beginning to realise their position and perceive what were their true interests. We shall very briefly notice one or two other matters of interest connected with that period.

The only manufacture of any consequence that has ever been introduced into the Highlands is that of kelp, which is the ashes of various kinds of sea-weed containing some of the salts, potash, and chiefly soda, used in some of the manufactures, as soap, alum, glass, &c. It is used as a substitute for barilla, imported from Spain, America, and other places during the latter part of last century, on

account of the American and continental wars, as well as of the high duties imposed on the importation of salt and similar commodities. The weeds are cut from the rocks with a hook or collected on the shore, and dried to a certain degree on the beach. They are afterwards burnt in a kiln, in which they are constantly stirred with an iron rake until they reach a fluid state; and when they cool, the ashes become condensed into a dark blue or whitish-coloured mass, nearly of the hardness and solidity of rock. The manufacture is carried on during June, July, and August; and even at the present day, in some parts of the Islands and Highlands, affords occupation to considerable numbers of both sexes.[4] This manufacture seems to have been introduced into some of the lowland parts of the Scottish coast early in the eighteenth century, but was not thoroughly established in the Highlands till about the year 1750. At first it was of little importance, but gradually the manufacture spread until it became universal over all the western islands and coasts, and the value of the article, from the causes above-mentioned, rose rapidly from about £1 per ton, when first introduced, to from £12 to £20 per ton[5] about the beginning of the present century. While the great value of the article lasted, rents rose enormously, and the income of proprietors of kelp-shore rose in proportion. As an example, it may be stated that the rent of the estate of Clanranald in South Uist previous to 1790 was £2200, which, as kelp increased in value, rapidly rose to £15,000.[6] While the kelp season lasted, the whole time of the people was occupied in its manufacture, and the wages they received, while it added somewhat to their scanty income, and increased their comfort, were small in proportion to the time and labour they gave, and to the prices received by those to whom the kelp belonged. Moreover, while the kelp-fever lasted, the cultivation of the ground and other agricultural matters seem to have been to a great extent neglected, extravagant habits were contracted by the proprietors, whose incomes were thus so considerably increased, and the permanent improvement of their estates were neglected in their eagerness to make the most of an article whose value, they did not perceive, was entirely factitious, and could not be lasting. Instead of either laying past their surplus income or expending it on the permanent improvement of their estates, they very foolishly lived up to it, or borrowed heavily in the belief that kelp would never decrease in value. The consequence was that when the duties were taken off the articles for which kelp was used as a substitute in the earlier part of the 19th century, the price of that article gradually diminished till it could fetch, about 1830-40, only from £2 to £4 a ton. With this the incomes of the proprietors of kelp-shores also rapidly decreased, landing not a few of them in ruin and bankruptcy, and leading in some instances to the sale of the estates. The income above mentioned, after the value of kelp decreased, fell rapidly from £15,000 to £5000. The manufacture of this article is still carried on in the West Highlands and Islands, and to a greater extent in Orkney, but although it occupies a considerable number of hands, it is now of comparatively little importance, much more of the sea-weed being employed as manure. While it was at its best, however, the manufacture of this article undoubtedly increased to a very large extent the revenue of the West Highlands, and gave employment to and kept at home a considerable number of people who otherwise might have emigrated. Indeed, it was partly on account of the need of many hands for kelp-making that proprietors did all they could to prevent the emigration of those removed from the smaller farms, and tried to induce them to settle on the coast. On the whole, it would seem that this sudden source of large income ultimately did more harm than good to the people and to the land. While this manufacture flourished, the land was to a certain extent neglected, and the people somewhat unfitted for agricultural labour; instead of looking upon this as a temporary source of income, and living accordingly, both they and the proprietors lived as if it should never fail, so that when the value of kelp rapidly decreased, ruin and absolute poverty stared both proprietors and people in the face. Moreover, by preventing the small tenants from leaving

[4] *Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 95.
[5] *New Statistical Account of Baray.*
[6] *New Stat. Account of South Uist*

the country, and accumulating them on the coasts, the country became enormously over-peopled, so that when the importance of this source of employment waned, multitudes were left with little or no means of livelihood, and the temporary benefits which accrued to the Highlanders from the adventitious value of kelp, indirectly entailed upon them ultimately hardships and misfortunes greater than ever they experienced before, and retarded considerably their progress towards permanent improvement.

By all accounts the potato, introduced from Chili into Spain about the middle of the sixteenth century, was first introduced into Ireland by or through the instrumentality of Sir Walter Raleigh about the end of that century. From Ireland it seems shortly after to have been introduced into England, although its cultivation did not become anything like common till more than a century afterwards, and its use seems to have been restricted to the upper classes.[7] Its value as a staple article of food for the poorer classes remained for long unappreciated. According to the Old Statistical Account of Scotland, potatoes were first cultivated in the fields there in the county of Stirling, in the year 1739, although for long after that, in many parts of the country, they were planted only as a garden vegetable. According to Dr Walker, potatoes were first introduced into the Hebrides from Ireland in the year 1743, the island of South Uist being the first to welcome the strange root, although the welcome from the inhabitants seems to have been anything but hearty. The story of its introduction, as told by Dr Walker,[8] is amusing, though somewhat ominous when read in the light of subsequent melancholy facts. "In the spring of that year, old Clanronald was in Ireland, upon a visit to his relation, Macdonnel of Antrim; he saw with surprise and approbation the practice of the country, and having a vessel of his own along with him, brought home a large cargo of potatoes. On his arrival, the tenants in the island were convened, and directed how to plant them, but they all refused. On this they were all committed to prison. After a little confinement, they agreed, at last, to plant these unknown roots, of which they had a very unfavourable opinion. When they were raised in autumn, they were laid down at the chieftain's gate, by some of the tenants, who said, the Laird indeed might order them to plant these foolish roots, but they would not be forced to eat them. In a very little time, however, the inhabitants of South Uist came to know better, when every man of them would have gone to prison rather than not plant potatoes."

By the year 1760 potatoes appear to have become a common crop all over the country; and by 1770 they seem to have attained to that importance as a staple article of food for the common people which they have ever since maintained.[9] The importance of the introduction of this valuable article of food, in respect both of the weal and the woe of the Highlands, cannot be over-estimated. As an addition to the former scanty means of existence it was invaluable; had it been used only as an addition the Highlanders might have been spared much suffering. Instead of this, however, it ere long came to be regarded as so all-important, to be cultivated to such a large extent, and to the exclusion of other valuable productions, and to be depended upon by the great majority of the Highlanders as almost their sole food, that one failure in the crop by disease or otherwise must inevitably have entailed famine and misery. For so large a share of their food did the common Highlanders look to potatoes, that, according to the *Old Statistical Account*, in many places they fed on little else for nine months in the year.

The first remarkable scarcity subsequent to 1745 appears to have been in the year 1770,[1] arising apparently from the unusual severity of the weather, causing the destruction of most of the crops, and many of the cattle. That, however, of 1782–83 seems to have been still more terrible, and universal over all the Highlands, according to the *Old Statistical Account*. It was only the interference of government and the charity of private individuals that prevented multitudes from dying of starvation. Neither of these famines, however, seem to have been

[7] *Rural Cyclopædia*, article POTATO.
[8] *Hebrides and Highlands*, vol. i. p. 251.
[9] Tennant's *Tour*, vol. ii. p. 306.
[1] Johnson's *Tour*, p. 196, and Pennant in several places.

caused by any failure in the potato crop from disease, but simply by the inclemeney of seasons. But when to this latter danger there came subsequently to be added the liability of the staple article of food to fail from disease, the chances of frequently recurring famines came to be enormously increased. About 1838 potatoes constituted four-fifths of the food of the common Higlanders.[2] However, we are anticipating. It is sufficient to note here as a matter of great importance in connection with the later social history of the Highlands, the universal cultivation of the potato sometime after the middle of the eighteenth century. Even during the latter part of last century, potato-disease was by no means unknown, though it appears to have been neither so destructive nor so widespread as some of the forms of disease developed at a later period. New forms of disease attacked the root during the early part of the present century, working at times considerable havoc, but never apparently inducing anything approaching a famine. But about 1840, the potato disease *par excellence* seems to have made its first appearance, and after visiting various parts of the world, including the Highlands, it broke out generally in 1845, and in 1846 entailed upon the Highlands indescribable suffering and hardship. Of this, however, more shortly. One effect attributed frequently in the *Old Statistical Account* to the introduction and immoderate use of the potato is the appearance of diseases before unknown or very rare. One of the principal of these was dropsy, which, whether owing to the potato or not, became certainly more prevalent after it came into common use, if we may trust the testimony of the writers of the *Statistical Account*.

In looking back, then, by the aid of the authority just mentioned, along with others, on the progress made by the Highlands during the latter half of the eighteenth century, while there is much to sadden, still there is much that is cheering. The people generally appear in a state of ferment and discontent with themselves, and doing their best blindly to grope their way to a better position. While still there remain many traces of the old thraldom, there are many indications that freedom and a desire after true progress were slowly spreading among the people. Many of the old grievous services were still retained; still were there many districts thirled to particular mills; still were leases rare and tenures uncertain, and rents frequently paid in kind; in many districts the houses were still unsightly and uncomfortable huts, the clothing scanty, and the food wretched and insufficient. In most Highland districts, we fear, the old Scotch plough, with its four or five men, and its six or ten cattle, was still the principal instrument of tillage; drainage was all but unknown; the land was overstocked in many places with people and cattle; the ground was scourged with incessant cropping, and much of the produce wasted in the gathering and in the preparing it for food. Education in many places was entirely neglected, schools few and far between, and teachers paid worse than ploughmen! The picture has certainly a black enough background, but it is not unrelieved by a few bright and hopeful streaks.

On many parts of the border-Highlands improvements had been introduced which placed them in every respect on a level with the lowlands. Many of the old services had been abolished, leases introduced, the old and inefficient agricultural instrument replaced by others made on the most approved system. Houses, food, and clothing were all improved; indeed, in the case of the last article, there is frequent complaint made that too much attention and money were expended on mere ornamentation. The old method of constant cropping had in not a few districts been abolished, and a proper system of rotation established; more attention was paid to proper manuring and ingathering, and instead of restricting the crops, as of old, to oats and barley, many other new cereals, and a variety of green crops and grasses had been introduced. Not only in the districts bordering on the Lowlands, but in many other parts of the Highlands, the breed of sheep, and cattle, and horses had been improved, and a much more profitable system of management introduced. By means of merciful emigration, the by far too redundant population of the Highlands had been considerably reduced, the position

[2] Fullarton & Baird's *Remarks on the Highlands and Islands*, p. 10. 1838.

of those who left the country vastly improved, and more room and more means of living afforded to those who remained. A more rational system of dividing the land prevailed in many places, and sheep-farming—for which alone, according to all unprejudiced testimony, the greater part of the surface of the Highlands is fitted — had been extensively introduced. The want of education was beginning to be felt, and in many districts means were being taken to spread its advantages, while the moral and religious character of the people, as a whole, stood considerably above the average of most other districts of Scotland. In short, the Highlanders, left to themselves, were advancing gradually towards that stage of improvement which the rest of the country had reached, and the natural laws which govern society had only not to be thwarted and impertinently interfered with, to enable the Highlanders ere long to be as far forward as the rest of their countrymen. From the beginning of this century down to the present time they have had much to struggle with, many trials to undergo, and much unnecessary interference to put up with, but their progress has been sure and steady, and even comparatively rapid. We must glance very briefly at the state of the Highlands during the present century; great detail is uncalled for, as much that has been said concerning the previous period applies with equal force to the present.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Progress of Highlands during present century—Depopulation and emigration—Questions between landlords and tenants—Hardships of the ousted tenants—Sutherland clearings—Compulsory emigration—Famines—Poorer tenants compelled to take service—Sir John M'Neill's Report —Changes complained of inevitable—Emigration the only remedy —Large and small farms—Experiments—Highlanders succeed when left to themselves—Substitution of deer for sheep—Recent state of Highlands—Means of improvement—Increased facilities for intercourse of great value—Population of chief Highland counties—Highland colonies—Attachment of Highlanders to their old home—Conclusion.

THE same causes have been at work and the same processes going on since 1800, as there were during the latter half of last century.

Taking stand at the date, about 1840, of the *New Statistical Account*, and looking back, the conclusion which, we think, any unprejudiced inquirer must come to is, that the Highlands as a whole had improved immensely. With the exception of some of the Western Islands, agriculture and sheep-farming at the above date were generally abreast of the most improved lowland system, and the social condition of the people was but little, if any, behind that of the inhabitants of any other part of the country. In most places the old Scotch plough was abolished, and the improved two-horse one introduced; manuring was properly attended to, and a system of rotation of crops introduced; runrig was all but abolished, and the land properly inclosed; in short, during the early half of the present century the most approved agricultural methods had been generally adopted, where agriculture was of any importance. Thirlage, multures, services, payment in kind, and other oppressions and obstructions to improvement, were fast dying out, and over a great part of the country the houses, food, clothing, and social condition of the people generally were vastly improved from what they were half a century before. Education, moreover, was spreading, and schools were multiplied, especially after the disruption of the Established Church in 1843, the Free Church laudably planting schools in many places where they had never been before. In short, one side of the picture is bright and cheering enough, although the other is calculated to fill a humane observer with sadness.

Depopulation and emigration went on even more vigorously than before. Nearly all the old lairds and those imbued with the ancient spirit of the chiefs had died out, and a young and new race had now the disposal of the Highland lands, a race who had little sympathy with the feelings and prejudices of the people, and who were, naturally, mainly anxious to increase as largely as possible their rent-roll. In the earlier part of the century at least, as in the latter half of the previous one, few of the proprietors wished, strictly speaking, to depopulate their estates, and compel the inhabitants to emigrate, but simply to clear the interior of the small farms into which many properties

were divided, convert the whole ground into sheep pasture, let it out in very large farms, and remove the ejected population to the coasts, there to carry on the manufacture of kelp, or engage in fishing. It was only when the value of kelp decreased, and the fishing proved unprofitable, that compulsory emigration was resorted to.

It is unnecessary to say more here on the question of depopulation and emigration, the question between Highland landlords and Highland tenants, the dispute as to whether large or small farms are to be preferred, and whether the Highlands are best suited for sheep and cattle or for men and agriculture. Most that has been written on the subject has been in advocacy of either the one side or the other; one party, looking at the question exclusively from the tenant's point of view, while the other writes solely in the interests of the landlords. The question has scarcely yet been dispassionately looked at, and perhaps cannot be for a generation or two yet, when the bitter feelings engendered on both sides shall have died out, when both landlords and tenants will have found out what is best for themselves and for the country at large, and when the Highlands will be as settled and prosperous as the Lothians and the Carse of Gowrie. There can be no doubt, however, that very frequently landlords and their agents acted with little or no consideration for the most cherished old feelings, prejudices, and even rights, of the tenants, whom they often treated with less clemency than they would have done sheep and cattle. It ought to have been remembered that the Highland farmers and cottars were in a condition quite different from those in the lowlands. Most of them rented farms which had been handed down to them from untold generations, and which they had come to regard as as much belonging to them as did the castle to the chief. They had no idea of lowland law and lowland notions of property, so that very often, when told to leave their farms and their houses, they could not realise the order, and could scarcely believe that it came from the laird, the descendant of the old chiefs, for whom their fathers fought and died. Hence the sad necessity often, of laying waste their farms, driving off their cattle, and burning their houses about their ears, before the legal officers could get the old tenants to quit the glens and hill-sides where their fathers had for centuries dwelt. It was not sheer pig-headed obstinacy or a wish to defy the law which induced them to act thus; only once, we think, in Sutherland, was there anything like a disturbance, when the people gathered together and proceeded to drive out the sheep which were gradually displacing themselves. The mere sight of a soldier dispersed the mob, and not a drop of blood was spilt. When forced to submit and leave their homes they did so quietly, having no spirit to utter even a word of remonstrance. They seemed like a people amazed, bewildered, taken by surprise, as much so often as a family would be did a father turn them out of his house to make room for strangers. In the great majority of instances, the people seem quietly to have done what they were told, and removed from their glens to the coast, while those who could afford it seem generally to have emigrated. Actual violence seems to have been resorted to in very few cases.

Still the hardships which had to be endured by many of the ousted tenants, and the unfeeling rigour with which many of them were treated is sad indeed to read of. Many of them had to sleep in caves, or shelter themselves, parents and children, under the lee of a rock or a dyke, keeping as near as they could to the ruins of their burnt or fallen cottage, and living on what shell-fish they could gather on the shore, wild roots dug with their fingers, or on the scanty charity of their neighbours; for all who could had emigrated. Many of the proprietors, of course, did what they could to provide for the ousted tenants, believing that the driving of them out was a sad necessity. Houses, and a small piece of ground for each family, were provided by the shore, on some convenient spot, help was given to start the fishing, or employment in the manufacture of kelp, and as far as possible their new condition was made as bearable as possible. Indeed, we are inclined to believe, that but few of the landlords acted from mere wantonness, or were entirely dead to the interests of the old tenants; but that, their own interests naturally being of the greatest importance to them, and some

radical change being necessary in the management of lands in the Highlands, the lairds thoughtlessly acted as many of them did. It was the natural rebound from the old system when the importance and wealth of a chief were rated at the number of men on his estate; and although the consequent suffering is to be deplored, still, perhaps, it was scarcely to be avoided. It is easy to say that had the chiefs done this or the government done the other thing, much suffering might have been spared, and much benefit accrued to the Highlanders; but all the suffering in the world might be spared did people know exactly when and how to interfere. It would be curious, indeed, if in the case of the Highlands the faults were all on one side. We believe that the proprietors acted frequently with harshness and selfishness, and did not seek to realise the misery they were causing. They were bound, more strongly bound perhaps than the proprietors of any other district, to show some consideration for the people on their estates, and not to act as if proprietors had the sole right to benefit by the land of a country, and that the people had no right whatever. Had they been more gentle, introduced the changes gradually and judiciously, and given the native Highlanders a chance to retrieve themselves, much permanent good might have been done, and much suffering and bitterness spared. But so long as the world is merely learning how to live, groping after what is best, so long as men act on blind unreasoning impulse, until all men learn to act according to the immutable laws of Nature, so long will scenes such as we have been referring to occur. The blame, however, should be laid rather to ignorance than to wanton intention.

Of all the Highland counties, perhaps Sutherland is better known than any other in connection with the commotions which agitated the Highlands during the early part of this century, and, according to all accounts, the depopulation is more marked there than anywhere else. The clearance of that county of the old tenants, their removal to the coast, and the conversion of the country into large sheep-farms commenced about 1810, under the Marquis of Stafford, who had married the heiress of the Sutherland estate. The clearing was, of course, carried out by Mr Sellar, the factor, who, on account of some of the proceedings to which he was a party, was tried before a Court of Justiciary, held at Inverness in 1816, for culpable homicide and oppression. Many witnesses were examined on both sides, and, after a long trial, the jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty," in which the judge, Lord Pitmilly, completely concurred. This, we think, was the only verdict that could legally be given, not only in the case of the Sutherland clearings, but also in the case of most of the other estates where such measures were carried on. The tenants were all duly warned to remove a considerable number of weeks before the term, and as few of them had many chattels to take with them, this could easily have been done. Most of them generally obeyed the warning, although a few, generally the very poor and very old, refused to budge from the spot of their birth. The factor and his officers, acting quite according to law, compelled them, sometimes by force, to quit the houses, which were then either burnt or pulled to the ground. As a rule, these officers of the law seem to have done their duty as gently as law officers are accustomed to do; but however mildly such a duty had been performed, it could not but entail suffering to some extent, especially on such a people as many of the Highlanders were who knew not how to make a living beyond the bounds of their native glen. The pictures of suffering drawn, some of them we fear too true, are sometimes very harrowing, and any one who has been brought up among the hills, or has dwelt for a summer in a sweet Highland glen, can easily fancy with how sad a heart the Highlander must have taken his last long lingering look of the little cottage, however rude, where he passed his happiest years, nestled at the foot of a sunny brae, or guarded by some towering crag, and surrounded with the multitudinous beauties of wood and vale, heather and ferns, soft knoll and rugged mountain. The same result as has followed in the Highlands has likewise taken place in other parts of the country, without the same outcry about depopulation, suffering, emigration, &c., simply because it has been brought about gradually. The process commenced in the

Highlands only about a hundred years since, was commenced in the lowlands and elsewhere centuries ago; the Highlanders have had improvements thrust upon them, while the lowlanders were allowed to develope themselves.

After the decline in the price of kelp (about 1820), when it ceased to be the interest of the proprietors to accumulate people on the shore, they did their best to induce them to emigrate, many proprietors helping to provide ships for those whom they had dispossessed of their lands and farms. Indeed, until well on in the present century, the Highlanders generally seem to have had no objections to emigrate, but, on the contrary, were eager to do so whenever they could, often going against the will of the lairds and of those who dreaded the utter depopulation of the country and a dearth of recruits for the army. But about 1840 and after, compulsion seems often to have been used to make the people go on board the ships provided for them by the lairds, who refused to give them shelter on any part of their property. But little compulsion, however, in the ordinary sense of the term, seems to have been necessary, as the Highlanders, besides having a hereditary tendency to obey their superiors, were dazed, bewildered, and dispirited by what seemed to them the cruel, heartless, and unjust proceedings of their lairds.

The earliest extensive clearing probably took place on the estate of Glengarry, the traditional cause of it being that the laird's lady had taken umbrage at the clan. "Summonses of ejection were served over the whole property, even on families most closely connected with the chief."[3] From that time down to the present day, the clearing off of the inhabitants of many parts of the Highlands has been steadily going on. We have already spoken of the Sutherland clearings, which were continued down to a comparatively recent time. All the Highland counties to a greater or less extent have been subjected to the same kind of thinning, and have contributed their share of emigrants to America, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere. It would serve no purpose to enter into details concerning the clearing of the several estates in the various Highland counties; much, as we have said, has been written on both sides, and if faith can be put in the host of pamphlets that have been issued during the present century on the side of the ejected Highlanders, some of the evictions were conducted with great cruelty;[4] much greater cruelty and disregard for the people's feelings than we think there was any need for, however justifiable and necessary the evictions and clearings were.

We have already referred to the frequent occurrence of famines during the past and present centuries in the Highlands, arising from the failure of the crops, principally, latterly, through the failure of the potatoes. These frequent famines gave a stimulus to emigration, as, of course, the people were anxious to escape from their misery, and the proprietors were glad to get quit of the poor they would otherwise have had to support. Besides the failure of the crops, other causes operated, according to Mr Tregelles, in the pamphlet already referred to, to produce the frequent occurrence of distress in the Highlands; such as the relation of landlord and tenant, the defective character of the poor-law, the excessive division and subdivision of the land, the imprudence and ignorance of some of the peasantry, inertness, also consequent on chronic poverty, want of capital. Every few years, up even to the present time, a cry of distress comes from the Highlands. Besides the famines already referred to in 1837 and 1846, a still more severe and distressing one occurred in 1850, and seems, according to the many reports and pamphlets issued, to have continued for some years after. In the one of 1837, many Highland proprietors and private gentlemen, forming themselves into an association, did what they could to assist the Highlanders, mainly by way of emigration. Not only was it for the advantage of Highland proprietors, in respect of being able to let their

[3] Those who wish further details may refer to the following pamphlets:—*The Glengarry Evictions*, by Donald Ross; *Hist. of the Hebrides*, by E. O. Tregelles; *Twelve Days in Skye*, by Lady M'Caskill; *Exterminations of the Scottish Peasantry*, and other works, by Mr Robertson of Dundonnachie; *Highland Clearances*, by the Rev. E. J. Findlater; *Sutherland as it was and is*; and the pamphlet in last note. On the other side, see Selkirk on Emigration; Sir J. M'Neill's report and article in *Edin. Review* for Oct. 1857.

[4] *The Depopulation System in the Highlands*, by an Eye-Witness. Pamphlet. 1849.

lands at a better rent, to do what they could to enable the people to emigrate, but by doing so, and thus diminishing the number of poor on their estates, they considerably decreased the large tax they had to pay under the recent Scotch Poor-law Act. "Formerly the poor widows and orphans and destitute persons were relieved by the parish minister from the poors' box, by voluntary subscriptions, which enabled the extremely needy to receive four or five shillings the quarter; and this small pittance was felt on all hands to be a liberal bounty. The landlord added his five or ten pound gift at the beginning of the year, and a laudatory announcement appeared in the newspaper. But the Act for the relief of the poor of Scotland now provides that a rate shall be levied on the tenant or occupier, and some of those who formerly paid £10 per annum, and were deemed worthy of much commendation, have now to pay £400 per annum without note or comment! Can we be surprised, then, that some of the landlords, with increased claims on their resources, and perhaps with diminished ability to meet such claims, should look round promptly and earnestly for a remedy? One of the most obvious and speedy remedies was emigration; hence the efforts to clear the ground of those who, with the lapse of time, might become heavy encumbrances. It need not be matter of surprise that the landlord should clear his ground of tenants who, for a series of years, had paid no rent; although perhaps a wiser and better course would have been to have sought for and found some good means of continued lucrative employment. . . . The lands are divided and subdivided until a family is found existing on a plot which is totally inadequate for their support; and here we see their imprudence and ignorance. Families are reared up in misery, struggling with impossibilities, producing at last that inertness and dimness of vision which result from a sick heart."[5] Most of those who write, like Mr Tregelles, of the distress of the Highlands in 1850 and succeeding years, do so in the same strain. They declare there is no need for emigration, that the land and sea, if properly worked, are quite sufficient to support all the inhabitants that were ever on it at any time, and that the people only need to be helped on, encouraged and taught, to make them as prosperous and the land as productive as the people and land of any other part of the kingdom. While this may be true of many parts, we fear it will not hold with regard to most of the Western Islands, where until recently, in most places, especially in Skye, the land was so subdivided and the population so excessive, that under the most productive system of agriculture the people could not be kept in food for more than half the year. Even in some of the best off of the islands, it was the custom for one or more members of a family to go to the south during summer and harvest, and earn as much as would pay the rent and eke out the scanty income. "The fact is, that the working classes of Skye, for many years anterior to 1846, derived a considerable part of their means from the wages of labour in the south. Even before the manufacture of kelp had been abandoned, the crofters of some parts at least of Skye appear to have paid their rents chiefly in money earned by labour in other parts of the kingdom. When that manufacture ceased, the local employment was reduced to a small amount, and the number who went elsewhere for wages increased. The decline of the herring-fishery, which for several years had yielded little or no profit in Skye, had a similar effect. The failure of the potato crop in 1846 still further reduced the local means of subsistence and of employing labour, and forced a still greater number to work for wages in different parts of the country. From the Pentland Firth to the Tweed, from the Lewis to the Isle of Man, the Skye-men sought the employment they could not find at home; and there are few families of cottars, or of crofters at rents not exceeding £10, from which at least one individual did not set out to earn by labour elsewhere the means of paying rent and buying meal for those who remained at home. Before 1846, only the younger members of the family left the district for that purpose; since that year, the crofter himself has often found it necessary to go. But young and old, crofters and cottars, to whatever distance they may have gone, return home for the winter, with

[5] Tregelles' *Hints on the Hebrides.*

rare exceptions, and remain there nearly altogether idle, consuming the produce of the croft, and the proceeds of their own labour, till the return of summer and the failure of their supplies warn them that it is time to set out again. Those whose means are insufficient to maintain them till the winter is past, and who cannot find employment at that season at home, are of course in distress. and, having exhausted their own means, are driven to various shifts, and forced to seek charitable aid."

The above extract is from the Report by Sir John M'Neill, on the distress in Highlands and Islands in 1850–51, caused by the failure of the crops. He went through most of the western island and western mainland parishes examining into the condition of the people, and the conclusion he came to was, that the population was excessive, that no matter how the land might be divided, it could not support the inhabitants without extraneous aid, and that the only remedy was the removal of the surplus population by means of emigration. Whether the population was excessive or not, it appears to us, that when the sudden, deep, and extensive distresses occurred in the Highlands, it was merciful to help those who had no means of making a living, and who were half starving, to remove to a land where there was plenty of well-paid work. Sir John believes that even although no pressure had been used by landlords, and no distresses had occurred, the changes which have been rapidly introduced into the Highlands, extending farms and diminishing population, would have happened all the same, but would have been brought about more gradually and with less inconvenience and suffering to the population. "The change which then (end of last century) affected only the parishes bordering on the Lowlands, has now extended to the remotest parts of the Highlands, and, whether for good or for evil, is steadily advancing. Every movement is in that direction, because the tendency must necessarily be to assimilate the more remote districts to the rest of the country, and to carry into them, along with the instruction, industry, and capital, the agricultural and commercial economy of the wealthier, more intelligent, and influential majority of the nation. If it were desirable to resist this progress, it would probably be found impracticable. Every facility afforded to communication and intercourse must tend to hasten its march, and it is not to be conceived that any local organisation could resist, or even materially retard it. If nothing had occurred to disturb the ordinary course of events, this inevitable transition would probably have been effected without such an amount of suffering as to call for special intervention, though no such change is accomplished without suffering. The crofter would have yielded to the same power that has elsewhere converted the holdings of small tenants into farms for capitalists; but increased facilities of communication, and increased intercourse, might previously have done more to assimilate his language, habits, and modes of living and of thinking to those of men in that part of the country to which he is now a stranger, and in which he is a foreigner.

"There would thus have been opened up to him the same means of providing for his subsistence that were found by those of his class, who, during the last century, have ceased to cultivate land occupied by themselves. But the calamity that suddenly disabled him from producing his food by his own labour on his croft, has found him generally unprepared to provide by either means for his maintenance. All the various attempts that have yet been made in so many parishes to extricate the working classes from the difficulties against which they are unsuccessfully contending, have not only failed to accomplish that object, but have failed even to arrest the deterioration in their circumstances and condition that has been in progress for the last four years. In every parish, with one or two exceptions, men of all classes and denominations concur unanimously in declaring it to be impossible, by any application of the existing resources, or by any remunerative application of extraneous resources, to provide for the permanent subsistence of the whole of the present inhabitants; and state their conviction that the population cannot be made self-sustaining, unless a portion removes from the parish. . . . . The working classes in many parishes are convinced that the emigration of a part of their number affords the only prospect of escape from a

position otherwise hopeless; and in many cases individuals have earnestly prayed for aid to emigrate. Petitions numerously signed by persons desirous to go to the North American colonies, and praying for assistance to enable them to do so, have been transmitted for presentation to Parliament. In some of the parishes where no desire for emigration had been publicly expressed, or was supposed to exist, that desire began to be announced as soon as the expectation of extraneous aid was abandoned. It has rarely happened that so many persons, between whom there was or could have been no previous concert or intercourse, and whose opinions on many important subjects are so much at variance, have concurred in considering any one measure indispensable to the welfare of the community; and there does not appear to be any good reason for supposing that this almost unanimous opinion is not well founded."[6]

These are the opinions of one who thoroughly examined into the matter, and are corroborated by nearly all the articles on the Highland parishes in the *New Statistical Account*. That it was and is still needful to take some plan to prevent the ever-recurring distress of the Western Highlands, and especially Islands, no one can doubt; that emigration is to some extent necessary, especially from the islands, we believe, but that it is the only remedy, we are inclined to doubt. There is no doubt that many proprietors, whose tenants though in possession of farms of no great size were yet very comfortable, have cleared their estate, and let it out in two or three large farms solely for sheep. Let emigration by all means be brought into play where it is necessary, but it is surely not necessary in all cases to go from one extreme to another, and replace thousands of men, women, and children by half-a-dozen shepherds and their dogs. Many districts may be suitable only for large farms, but many others, we think, could be divided into farms of moderate size, large enough to keep a farmer and his family comfortably after paying a fair rent. This system, we believe, has been pursued with success in some Highland districts, especially in that part of Inverness-shire occupied by the Grants.

In Sir John M'Neill's report there are some interesting and curious statements which, we think, tend to show that when the Highlanders are allowed to have moderate-sized farms, and are left alone to make what they can of them, they can maintain themselves in tolerable comfort. In the island of Lewis, where the average rent of the farms was £2, 12s., the farmer was able to obtain from his farm only so much produce as kept himself and family for six months in the year; his living for the rest of the year, his rent and other necessary expenses, requiring to be obtained from other sources, such as fishing, labour in the south, &c. So long as things went well, the people generally managed to struggle through the year without any great hardship; but in 1846, and after, when the potato crops failed, but for the interference of the proprietor and others, many must have perished for want of food. In six years after 1846, the proprietor expended upwards of £100,000 in providing work and in charity, to enable the people to live. Various experiments were tried to provide work for the inhabitants, and more money expended than there was rent received, with apparently no good result whatever. In 1850, besides regular paupers, there were above 11,000 inhabitants receiving charitable relief. Yet, notwithstanding every encouragement from the proprietor, who offered to cancel all arrears, provide a ship, furnish them with all necessaries, few of the people cared to emigrate. In the same way in Harris, immense sums were expended to help the people to live, with as little success as in Lewis; the number of those seeking relief seemed only to increase. As this plan seemed to lead to no good results, an attempt was made to improve the condition of the people by increasing the size of their farms, which in the best seasons sufficed to keep them in provisions for only six months. The following is the account of the experiment given by Mr Macdonald, the resident factor:—"At Whitsunday 1848 forty crofters were removed from the island of Bernera, then occupied by eighty-one; and the lands thus vacated were divided among the forty-one who remained. Those

[6] *Sir John M'Neill's Report*, pp. xxxiv.-xxxv.

who were removed, with two or three exceptions, were placed in crofts upon lands previously occupied by tacksmen. Six of the number who, with one exception, had occupied crofts of about five acres in Bernera, were settled in the Borves on crofts of ten acres of arable, and hill-grazing for four cows, and their followers till two years old, with forty sheep and a horse,—about double the amount of stock which, with one exception, they had in Bernera. The exceptional case referred to was that of a man who had a ten-acre croft in Bernera, with an amount of black cattle stock equal to that for which he got grazing in the Borves, but who had no sheep. They are all in arrear of rent, and, on an average, for upwards of two years. These six tenants were selected as the best in Bernera, in respect to their circumstances. I attribute their want of success to the depreciation in the price of black cattle, and to their not having sufficient capital to put upon their lands a full stock when they entered. Their stipulated rent in the Borves was, on an average, £12. Of the forty-one who remained, with enlarged crofts, in Bernera, the whole are now largely in arrear, and have increased their arrears since their holdings were enlarged. I attribute their want of success to the same causes as that of the people in the Borves. The result of his attempt to improve the condition of these crofters, by enlarging their crofts, while it has failed to accomplish that object, has at the same time entailed a considerable pecuniary loss upon the proprietor.

"An attempt was made, at the same time, to establish some unsuccessful agricultural crofters, practised in fishing, as fishermen, on lands previously occupied by tacksmen, where each fisherman got a croft of about two acres of arable land, with grazing for one or two cows, and from four to six sheep, at a rent of from £1 to £2 sterling. This experiment was equally unsuccessful. It is doubtful whether they were all adequately provided with suitable boats and tackle, or 'gear;' but many of them were; and some of those who were not originally well provided were supplied with what was wanted by the destitution fund. Of these fishermen Mr Macdonald says:—'Not one of them, since entering on the fishing croft, has paid an amount equal to his rent. The attempt to improve the condition of those men, who had previously been unsuccessful as agricultural crofters, by placing them in a position favourable for fishing, has also failed; and this experiment also has entailed a considerable pecuniary loss upon the proprietor, who is not now receiving from these fishermen one-fourth of the rent he formerly received from tacksmen for the same lands. I therefore state confidently, that in Harris the proprietor cannot convert lands held by tacksmen into small holdings, either for the purposes of agriculture or fishing, without a great pecuniary sacrifice; and that this will continue to be the case, unless potatoes should again be successfully cultivated. I cannot estimate the loss that would be entailed upon the proprietor by such a change at less than two-thirds of the rental paid by the tacksmen. The results of the experiments that have been made on this property would, in every case, fully bear out this estimate. It is my conscientious belief and firm conviction, that if this property were all divided into small holdings amongst the present occupants of land, the result would be, that in a few years the rent recoverable would not be sufficient to pay the public burdens, if the potatoes continue to fail, and the price of black cattle does not materially improve.'"[7]

Yet not one family in Harris would accept the proprietor's offer to bear all the expense of their emigration.

The condition of Lewis and Harris, as above shown, may be taken as a fair specimen of the Western Islands at the time of Sir John M'Neill's inquiry in 1851.

An experiment, which if properly managed, might have succeeded, was tried in 1850 and the two following years; it also proved a failure. The following is the account given in the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1857. The reader must remember, however, that the article is written by an advocate of all the modern Highland innovations:—A number of people in the district of Sollas in North Uist had agreed to emigrate, but "a committee in the town of Perth, which had on hand £3000 collected for the Highland Destitution Relief Fund of 1847, resolved to form these people

[7] *Sir John M'Neill's Report*, pp. xxii., xxiii.

into a 'settlement,' Lord Macdonald assenting, and giving them the choice of any land in the island not under lease. The tenants, about sixty in number, removed to the selected place in autumn 1850, provided by the committee with an agricultural overseer. In the following spring a large crop of oats and potatoes was laid down. The oats never advanced above a few inches in height, and ultimately withered and died, and the potatoes gave little or no return. A great part of the land so dealt with has never since been touched, and it is now even of less value than before, having ceased to produce even heather. This result, however, we are bound to mention, was at the time, and perhaps still, popularly ascribed, like all Highland failures, to the fault of those in authority. A new overseer was therefore sent, and remained about a year and a half; but in 1852 a third of the people, becoming painfully impressed with the truth of the matter, went off to Australia. In 1853 a third manager was sent 'to teach and encourage;' but as the money was now running short, he had little to give but advice, and as the people could not subsist on *that* any more than on the produce of their lots, they went off to seek employment elsewhere—and so ended what was called 'this interesting experiment,' but of which it seems to be now thought inexpedient to say anything at all. The results were to spend £3000 in making worse a piece of the worst possible land, and in prolonging the delusions and sufferings of the local population, but also in supplying one more proof of the extreme difficulty or impossibility of accomplishing, and the great mischief of attempting, what so many paper authorities in Highland matters assume as alike easy and beneficial."

It would almost seem, from the failure of the above and many other experiments which have been tried to improve the condition of the Highlanders, that any extraneous positive interference by way of assistance, experiments, charity, and such like, leading the people to depend more on others than on themselves, leads to nothing but disastrous results. This habit of depending on others, a habit many centuries old, was one which, instead of being encouraged, ought to have been by every possible means discouraged, as it was at the bottom of all the evils which followed the abolition of the jurisdictions. They had been accustomed to look to their chiefs for generations to see that they were provided with houses, food, and clothing; and it could only be when they were thoroughly emancipated from this slavish and degrading habit that they could find scope for all their latent energies, have fair play, and feel the necessity for strenuous exertion.

As a contrast to the above accounts, and as showing that it is perfectly possible to carry out the small or moderate farm system, even on the old principle of runrig, both with comfort to the tenants and with profit to the proprietors; and also as showing what the Highlanders are capable of when left entirely to themselves, we give the following extract from Sir J. M'Neill's Report, in reference to the prosperity of Applecross in Ross-shire:—

"The people have been left to depend on their own exertions, under a kind proprietor, who was always ready to assist individuals making proper efforts to improve their condition, but who attempted no new or specific measure for the general advancement of the people. Their rents are moderate, all feel secure of their tenure so long as they are not guilty of any delinquency, and a large proportion of those who hold land at rents of £6 and upwards, have leases renewable every seven years. During the fifteen years ending at Whitsunday 1850, they have paid an amount equal to fifteen years' rent. Many of the small crofters are owners, or part owners, of decked vessels, of which there are forty-five, owned by the crofters on the property; and a considerable number have deposits of money in the banks. The great majority of these men have not relied on agriculture, and no attempt has been made to direct their efforts to that occupation. Left to seek their livelihood in the manner in which they could best find it, and emancipated from tutelage and dependence on the aid and guidance of the proprietor, they have prospered more than their neighbours, apparently because they have relied less upon the crops they could raise on their lands, and have pursued other occupations with more energy and perseverance.

"Of the crofters or small tenants on this property who are not fishermen, and who are

dependent solely on the occupation of land, the most prosperous are those who have relied upon grazing, and who are still cultivating their arable land in 'runrig.' These club-farmers, as they are called, hold a farm in common, each having an equal share. They habitually purchase part of their food. They have paid their rents regularly, and several of them have deposits of money in bank. Mr. Mackinnon, who has for more than fifteen years been the factor on the property, gives the following account of the club-farmers of Lochcarron:—

"'Of the lotters or crofters paying £6 and upwards, a large proportion have long had leases for seven years, which have been renewed from time to time. Those paying smaller rents have not leases. The lots which are occupied by tenants-at-will are much better cultivated than those which are held on leases. I don't, of course, attribute the better cultivation to the want of leases; all I infer from this fact is, that granting leases to the present occupants of lots has not made them better cultivators of their lots. The most successful of the small tenants are those who have taken farms in common, in which the grazings are chiefly stocked with sheep, and in which there happens to be a sufficient extent of arable land connected with a moderate extent of grazing to enable them to raise crops for their own subsistence. Since the failure of the potatoes, however, all the tenants of this class have been obliged to buy meal. On those farms which are held on lease, the land is still cultivated on the 'runrig' system. There are five such farms on Mr. Mackenzie's property in the parish of Lochcarron. One of these is let at £48, to six persons paying £8 each; another for £56, to seven men at £8 each; another for £72, to eight men at £9 each; another to eight men at £13, 10s., equal to £108; another to eight men at £15 each, equal to £120. The cultivation on all of these farms is on the 'runrig' system. Their sales of stock and wool are made in common,—that is, in one lot. Their stock, though not common property (each man having his own with a distinctive mark), are managed in common by a person employed for that purpose. The tenants of this class have paid their rents with great punctuality, and have never been in arrear to any amount worth mentioning. A considerable number of them have money in bank. They have their lands at a moderate rent, which is no doubt one cause of their prosperity. Another cause is, that no one of the tenants can subdivide his share without the consent of his co-tenants and of the proprietor. The co-tenants are all opposed to such subdivision of a share by one of their number, and practically no sub-division has taken place. Their families, therefore, as they grow up, are sent out to shift for themselves. Some of the children find employment at home,—some emigrate to the colonies.'"[8]

Of course it is not maintained that this is the most profitable way for the proprietor to let his lands; it is not at all improbable that by adopting the large-farm system, his rent might be considerably increased; only it shows, that when the Highlanders are left to themselves, and have fair play and good opportunities, they are quite capable of looking after their own interests with success.

A comparatively recent Highland grievance is the clearance off of sheep, and the conversion of large districts, in one case extending for about 100 miles, into deer forests. Great complaint has been made that this was a wanton abuse of proprietorship, as it not only displaced large numbers of people, but substituted for such a useful animal as the sheep, an animal like the deer, maintained for mere sport. No doubt the proprietors find it more profitable to lay their lands under deer than under sheep, else they would not do it, and by all accounts[9] it requires the same number of men to look after a tract of country covered with deer, as it would do if the same district were under sheep. But it certainly does seem a harsh, unjust, and very un-British proceeding to depopulate a whole district, as has sometimes been done, of poor but respectable and happy people, for the mere sake of providing sport for a few gentlemen. It is mere sophistry to justify the substitution of deer for sheep, by saying that one as well as the other is killed and eaten as food. For thousands whose daily food is mutton, there is not more than one who regards venison as anything else than

[8] *Sir John M'Neill's Report*, xxvi. xxvii.
[9] See *Edin. Rev.* for Oct. 1857.

a rarity; and by many it is considered unpalatable. Landlords at present can no doubt do what they like with their lands; but it seems to us that in the long-run it is profitable neither to them nor to the nation at large, that large tracts of ground, capable of maintaining such a universally useful animal as the sheep, or of being divided into farms of a moderate size, should be thrown away on deer, an animal of little value but for sport.

As we have more than once said already, the Highlands are in a state of transition, though, we think, near the end of it; and we have no doubt that erelong both proprietors and tenants will find out the way to manage the land most profitable for both, and life there will be as comfortable, and quiet, and undisturbed by agitations of any kind, as it is in any other part of the country.

Since the date of the New Statistical Account and of Sir J. M'Neill's Report, the same processes have been going on in the Highlands with the same results as during the previous half century. The old population have in many places been removed from their small crofts to make way for large sheep-farmers, sheep having in some districts been giving place to deer, and a large emigration has been going on. Much discontent and bitter writing have of course been caused by these proceedings, but there is no doubt that, as a whole, the Highlands are rapidly improving, although improvement has doubtless come through much tribulation. Except, perhaps, a few of the remoter districts, the Highlands generally are as far forward as the rest of the country. Agriculture is as good, the Highland sheep and cattle are famous, the people are about as comfortable as lowlanders in the same circumstances; education is well diffused; churches of all sects are plentiful, and ere long, doubtless, so far as outward circumstances are concerned, there will be no difference between the Highlands and Lowlands. How the universal improvement of the Highlands is mainly to be accomplished, we shall state in the words of Sir John M'Neill. What he says refers to the state of the country during the distress of 1851, but they apply equally well at the present day.

"It is evident that, were the population reduced to the number that can live in tolerable comfort, that change alone would not secure the future prosperity and independence of those who remain. It may be doubted whether any specific measures calculated to have a material influence on the result, could now be suggested that have not repeatedly been proposed. Increased and improved means of education would tend to enlighten the people, and to fit them for seeking their livelihood in distant places, as well as tend to break the bonds that now confine them to their native localities. But, to accomplish these objects, education must not be confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic. The object of all education is not less to excite the desire for knowledge, than to furnish the means of acquiring it; and in this respect, education in the Highlands is greatly deficient. Instruction in agriculture and the management of stock would facilitate the production of the means of subsistence. A more secure tenure of the lands they occupy would tend to make industrious and respectable crofters more diligent and successful cultivators. But the effects of all such measures depends on the spirit and manner in which they are carried out, as well as on the general management with which they are connected throughout a series of years. It is, no doubt, in the power of every proprietor to promote or retard advancement, and he is justly responsible for the manner in which he uses that power; but its extent appears to have been much overrated. The circumstances that determine the progress of such a people as the inhabitants of those districts, in the vicinity, and forming a part of a great nation far advanced in knowledge and in wealth, appear to be chiefly those which determine the amount of intercourse between them. Where that intercourse is easy and constant, the process of assimilation proceeds rapidly, and the result is as certain as that of opening the sluices in the ascending lock of a canal. Where that intercourse is impeded, or has not been established, it may perhaps be possible to institute a separate local civilization, an isolated social progress; but an instance of its successful accomplishment is not to be found in those districts.

"Whatever tends to facilitate and promote intercourse between the distressed districts

and the more advanced parts of the country, tends to assimilate the habits and modes of life of their inhabitants, and, therefore, to promote education, industry, good management, and everything in which the great body excels the small portion that is to be assimilated to it." [1]

Notwithstanding the immense number of people who have emigrated from the Highlands during the last 100 years, the population of the six chief Highland counties, including the Islands, was in 1861 upwards of 100,000 more than it was in 1755. In the latter year the number of inhabitants in Argyll, Inverness, Caithness, Perth, Ross, and Sutherland, was 332,332; in 1790–98 it was 392,263, which, by 1821, had increased to 447,307; in 1861 it had reached 449,875. Thus, although latterly, happily, the rate of increase has been small compared with what it was during last century, any fear of the depopulation of the Highlands is totally unfounded.

Until lately, the great majority of Highland emigrants preferred British America to any other colony, and at the present day Cape Breton, Prince Edward's Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and many other districts of British North America, contain a large Highland population, proud of their origin, and in many instances still maintaining their original Gaelic. One of the earliest Highland settlements was, however, in Georgia, where in 1738, a Captain Mackintosh settled along with a considerable number of followers from Inverness-shire. Hence the settlement was called New Inverness.[2] The favourite destination, however, of the earlier Highland emigrants was North Carolina, to which, from about 1760 till the breaking out of the American war, many hundreds removed from Skye and other of the Western Islands. During that war these colonists almost to a man adhered to the British Government, and formed themselves into the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, which did good service, as will be seen in the account of the Highland Regiments. At the conclusion of the war, many settled in Carolina, while others removed to Canada, where land was allotted to them by Government. That the descendants of these early settlers still cherish the old Highland spirit, is testified to by all travellers; some interesting notices of their present condition may be seen in Mr David Macrae's *American Sketches* (1869). Till quite lately, Gaelic sermons were preached to them, and the language of their forefathers we believe has not yet fallen into disuse in the district, being spoken even by some of the negroes. Those who emigrated to this region seem mostly to have been tacksmen, while many of the farmers and cottars settled in British America. Although their fortunes do not seem to have come up to the expectations of themselves and those who sent them out, still there is no doubt that their condition after emigration was in almost every respect far better than it was before, and many of their descendants now occupy responsible and prominent positions in the colony, while all seem to be as comfortable as the most well-to-do Scottish farmers having the advantage of the latter in being proprietors of their own farms. According to the Earl of Selkirk, who himself took out and settled several bands of colonists, "the settlers had every incitement to vigorous exertion from the nature of their tenure. They were allowed to purchase in fee-simple, and to a certain extent on credit. From 50 to 100 acres were allotted to each family at a very moderate price, but none was given gratuitously. To accommodate those who had no superfluity of capital, they were not required to pay the price in full, till the third or fourth year of their possession; and in that time an industrious man may have it in his power to discharge his debt out of the produce of the land itself."[3] Those who went out without capital at all, could, such was the high rate of wages, soon save as much as would enable them to undertake the management of land of their own. That the Highlanders were as capable of hard and good labour as the lowlanders, is proved by the way they set to work in these colonies, when they were entirely freed from oppression, and dependance, and charity, and had to depend entirely on their own exertions.

[1] *Sir John M'Neill's Report*, xxxviii. xxxix.
[2] The American Gazetteer. Lond. 1762. Art. *Inverness, New.*
[3] Selkirk on *Emigration*, p. 212.

Besides the above settlements, the mass of the population in Caledonia County, State of New York, are of Highland extraction, and there are large settlements in the State of Ohio, besides numerous families and individual settlers in other parts of the United States. Highland names were numerous among the generals of the United States army on both sides in the late civil war.[4]

The fondness of these settlers for the old country, and all that is characteristic of it, is well shown by an anecdote told in Campbell's *Travels* in North America (1793). The spirit manifested here is, we believe, as strong even at the present day when hundreds will flock from many miles around to hear a Gaelic sermon by a Scotch minister. Campbell, in his travels in British America, mainly undertaken with the purpose of seeing how the new Highland colonists were succeeding, called at the house of a Mr Angus Mackintosh on the Nashwack. He was from Inverness-shire, and his wife told Campbell they had every necessary of life in abundance on their own property, but there was one thing which she wished much to have –that was heather. "And as she had heard there was an island in the Gulf of St Lawrence, opposite to the mouth of the Merimashee river, where it grew, and as she understood I was going that way, she earnestly entreated I would bring her two or three stalks, or cows as she called it, which she would plant on a barren brae behind her house where she supposed it would grow; that she made the same request to several going that way, but had not got any of it, which she knew would greatly beautify the place; for, said she, 'This is an ugly country that has no heather; I never yet saw any good or pleasant place without it.'" Latterly, very large numbers of Highlanders have settled in Australia and New Zealand, where, by all accounts, they are in every respect as successful as the most industrious lowland emigrants.

No doubt much immediate suffering and bitterness was caused when the Highlanders were compelled to leave their native land, which by no means treated them kindly; but whether emigration has been disastrous to the Highlands or not, there can be no doubt of its ultimate unspeakable benefit to the Highland emigrants themselves, and to the colonies in which they have settled. Few, we believe, however tempting the offer, would care to quit their adopted home, and return to the bleak hills and rugged shores of their native land.

[4] Dr M'Lauchlan's paper in Social Science Transactions for 1863.

CHAPTER XLV.

GAELIC LITERATURE, LANGUAGE, AND MUSIC.

BY THE REV. THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN, LL.D., F.S.A.S.

Extent of Gaelic literature—Claims of Ireland—Circumstances adverse to preservation of Gaelic literature—"The Lament of Deirdre"—"The Children of Usnoth"—"The Book of Deer"—The Legend of Deer—The memoranda of grants—The "Albanic Duan"—"Muireadhach Albannach"—Gaelic charter of 1408—Manuscripts of the 15th century—"The Dean of Lismore's Book"—Macgregor, Dean of Lismore—"Ursgeul"—"Bas Dhiarmaid"—Ossian's Eulogy on Fingal—Macpherson's Ossian—"Fingal"—Cuchullin's chariot—"Temora"—Smith's Sean Dana"—Ossianic collections—Fingal's address to Oscar—Ossian's address to the setting sun—John Knox's Liturgy—Kirk's Gaelic Psalter—Irish Bible—Shorter Catechism—Confession of Faith—Gaelic Bible—Translations from the English—Original prose writings—Campbell's Ancient Highland Tales—"Maol A Chliobain"—"The man in the tuft of wool"—Alexander Macdonald—Macintyre—Modern poetry—School-books—The Gaelic language—Gaelic music.

THE literature of the Highlands, although not extensive, is varied, and has excited not a little interest in the world of letters. The existing remains are of various ages, carrying us back, in the estimation of some writers, to the second century, while contributions are making to it still, and are likely to be made for several generations.

It has been often said that the literature of the Celts of Ireland was much more extensive than that of the Celts of Scotland—that the former were in fact a more literary people—that the ecclesiastics, and medical men, and historians (*seanachies*) of Scotland had less culture than those of the sister island, and that they must be held thus to have been a stage behind them in civilisation and progress. Judging by the remains which exist, there seems to be considerable ground for such

a conclusion. Scotland can produce nothing like the MS. collections in possession of Trinity College Dublin, or the Royal Irish Academy. There are numerous fragments of considerable value in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and in the hands of private parties throughout Scotland, but there is nothing to compare with the Book of Lecan, *Leabhar na h-uidhre*, and the other remains of the ancient literary culture of Ireland, which exist among the collections now brought together in Dublin; nor with such remains of what is called Irish scholarship as are to be found in Milan, Brussels, and other places on the continent of Europe.

At the same time there is room for questioning how far the claims of Ireland to the whole of that literature are good. Irish scholars are not backward in pressing the claims of their own country to everything of any interest that may be called Celtic. If we acquiesce in these claims, Scotland will be left without a shred of aught which she can call her own in the way of Celtic literature; and there is a class of Scottish scholars who, somewhat more generous than discriminating, have been disposed to acquiesce but too readily in those claims. We have our doubts as to Ireland having furnished Scotland with its Gaelic population, and we have still stronger doubts as to Ireland having been the source of all the Celtic literature which she claims. A certain class of writers are at once prepared to allow that the Bobbio MSS. and those other continental Gaelic MSS. of which Zeuss has made such admirable use in his *Grammatica Celtica*, are all Irish, and they are taken as illustrative alike of the zeal and culture of the early Irish Church. And yet there is no evidence of such being the case. The language certainly is not Irish, nor are the names of such of the writers as are usually associated with the writings. Columbanus, the founder of the Bobbio Institution, may have been an Irishman, but he may have been a Scotchman. He may have gone from Durrow, but he may have gone from Iona. The latter was no less famous than the former, and had a staff of men quite as remarkable. We have authentic information regarding its ancient history. It sent out Aidan to Northumberland, and numerous successors after him, and there is much presumptive evidence that many of these early missionaries took their departure from Scotland, and carried with them their Scottish literature to the Continent of Europe. And the language of the writers is no evidence to the contrary. In so far as the Gaelic was written at this early period, the dialect used was common to Ireland and Scotland. To say that a work is Irish because written in what is called the Irish dialect is absurd. There was no such thing as an Irish dialect. The written language of the whole Gaelic race was long the same throughout, and it would have been impossible for any man to have said to which of the sections into which that race was divided any piece of writing belonged. This has long been evident to men who have made a study of the question, but recent relics of Scottish Gaelic which have come to light, and have been published, put the matter beyond a doubt. Mr Whitley Stokes, than whom there is no better authority, has said of a passage in the "Book of Deer" that the language of it is identical with that of the MSS. which form the basis of the learned grammar of Zeuss: and there can be no doubt that the "Book of Deer" is of Scottish authorship. It is difficult to convince Irish scholars of this, but it is no less true on that account. Indeed, what is called the Irish dialect has been employed for literary purposes in Scotland down to a recent period, the first book in the vernacular of the Scottish Highlands having been printed so lately as the middle of last century. And it is important to observe that this literary dialect, said to be Irish, is nearly as far apart from the ordinary Gaelic vernacular of Ireland as it is from that of Scotland.

But besides this possibility of having writings that are really Scottish counted as Irish from their being written in the same dialect, the Gaelic literature of Scotland has suffered from other causes. Among these were the changes in the ecclesiastical condition of the country which took place from time to time. First of all there was the change which took place under the government of Malcolm III. (Ceannmor) and his sons, which led to the downfall of the ancient Scottish Church, and the supplanting of it by the Roman Hierarchy. Any literature existing in the 12th century would have been of the older church, and

would have little interest for the institution which took its place. That there was such a literature is obvious from the "Book of Deer," and that it existed among all the institutions of a like kind in Scotland is a fair and reasonable inference from the existence and character of that book. Why this is the only fragment of such a literature remaining is a question of much interest, which may perhaps be solved by the fact that the clergy of the later church could have felt little interest in preserving the memorials of a period which they must have been glad to have seen passed away. Then the Scottish Reformation and the rise of the Protestant Church, however favourable to literature, would not have been favourable to the preservation of such literature. The old receptacles of such writings were broken up, and their contents probably destroyed or dispersed, as associated with what was now felt to be a superstitious worship. There is reason to believe that the Kilbride collection of MSS. now in the Advocates' Library, and obtained from the family of Maclachlan of Kilbride, was to some extent a portion of the old library of Iona, one of the last Abbots of which was a Ferquhard M'Lachlan.

Besides these influences, unfavourable to the preservation of the ancient literature of the Scottish Highlands, we have the fierce raid of Edward I. of England into the country, and the carrying away of all the national muniments. Some of these were in all probability Gaelic. A Gaelic king and a Gaelic kingdom were then things not long past in Scotland; and seeing they are found elsewhere, is there not reason to believe that among them were lists of Scottish and Pictish kings, and other documents of historical importance, such as formed the basis of those Bardic addresses made by the royal bards to the kings on the occasion of their coronation? These might have been among the records afterwards intended to be returned to Scotland, and which perished in the miserable shipwreck of the vessel that bore them. These causes may account for the want of a more extensive ancient Celtic literature in Scotland, and for the more advantageous position occupied in this respect by Ireland. Ireland neither suffered from the popular feeling evoked at the Reformation, nor from the spoliations of an Edward of England, as Scotland did. And hence the abundant remains still existing of a past literature there.

And yet Scotland does not altogether want an ancient Celtic literature, and the past few years have done much to bring it to light. It is not impossible that among our public libraries and private repositories relics may be still lying of high interest and historical value, and which more careful research may yet bring into view. The Dean of Lismore's book has only been given to the world within the last six years, and more recently still we have the "Book of Deer," a relic of the 11th or 12th century.

On taking a survey of this literature, it might be thought most natural to commence with the Ossianic remains, both on account of the prominence which they have received and the interest and controversy they have excited, and also because they are held by many to have a claim to the highest antiquity,—to be the offspring of an age not later than the 2d or 3d century. But it is usual to associate literature with writing, and as the Gaelic language has been a written one from a very early period, we think it best to keep up this association, and to take up the written remains of the language as nearly as may be in their chronological order. The first of these to which reference may be made is

The Lament of Deirdre.

This poem is found in a MS. given to the Highland Society by Lord Bannatyne, and now in the archives of the Advocates' Library. The date of the MS. is 1238, but there is every reason to believe that the poem is of much higher antiquity. The preserved copy bears to have been written at Glenmasan, a mountain valley in the parish of Dunoon, in Cowal. The MS. contains other fragments of tales in prose, but we shall refer only to the poetical story of Deirdre, or, as it is usually called in Gaelic, "Dàn Chloinn Uisneachain." The tale is a famous one in the Highlands, and the heroes of it, the sons of Usnoth, have given name to Dun Mhac Uisneachain, or Dun Mac Sniochain, said to be the Roman *Bere-*

gonium, in the parish of Ardchattan in Argyleshire. We give the following version of the poem as it appears in the Report of the Highland Society on the Poems of Ossian (p. 298).

Do dech Deardir ar a héise ar crichibh Alban, agus ro chan an Laoidh :—

Inmain tir in tir ud thoir,
Alba cona lingantaibh
Nocha ticfuinn eisdi ille
Mana tisain le Naise.
Inmain Dun Fidhgha is Dun Finn
Inmain in Dun os a cinn
Inmain Inis Draignde
Is inmain Dun Sûibnei.
Caill cuan gar tigeadh Ainnle mo nuar
Fagair lim ab bitan
Is Naise an oirear Alban.
Glend Laidh do chollain fan mboirmin caoimh
Iasg is sieng is saill bruich
Fa hi mo chuid an Glend laigh.
Glend masain ard a crimh geal a gasain
Do nimais colladh corrach
Os Inbhar mungach Masain.
Glend Eitchi ann do togbhus mo ched tigh
Alaind a fidh iar neirghe
Buaile grene Ghlind eitchi.
Mo chen Glend Urchaidh
Ba hedh in Glend direach dromchain
Uallcha feara aoisi ma Naise
An Glend Urchaidh.
Glend da ruadh
Mo chen gach fear da na dual
Is binn guth cuach
Ar craeib chruim
Ar in mbinn os Glenndaruadh
Inmain Draighen is tren traigh
Inmain Auichd in ghainimh glain
Nocha ticfuin eisde anoir
Mana tisuinn lem Inmain.

English Translation.

Deirdre looked back on the land of Alban, and sung this lay :—

Beloved is that eastern land,
Alba (Scotland), with its lakes.
Oh that I might not depart from it,
Unless I were to go with Naos!
Beloved is Dunfigha and Dunfin.
Beloved is the Dun above it.
Beloved is Inisdraiyen (Imstrynich?),
And beloved is Dun Sween.
The forest of the sea to which Ainnle would come, alas!
I leave for ever,
And Naos, on the seacoast of Alban.
Glen Lay (Glen Luy?), I would sleep by its gentle murmur.
Fish and venison, and the fat of meat boiled,
Such would be my food in Glen Lay.
Glenmasan! High is its wild garlic, fair its branches.
I would sleep wakefully
Over the shaggy Invermasan.
Glen Etive! in which I raised my first house,
Delightful were its groves on rising
When the sun struck on Glen Etive.
My delight was Glen Urchay;
It is the straight vale of many ridges.
Joyful were his fellows around Naos
In Glen Urchay.
Glendaruadh (Glendaruel?),
My delight in every man who belongs to it.
Sweet is the voice of the cuckoo
On the bending tree,
Sweet is it above Glendaruadh.
Beloved is Drayen of the sounding shore!
Beloved is Avich (Dalavich?) of the pure sand.
Oh that I might not leave the east
Unless it were to come along with me! Beloved—

There is some change in the translation as compared with that given in the Highland Society's Report, the meaning, however, being nearly identical in both. The tale to which this mournful lyric is attached,—the story of the children of Usnoth and their sad fate, bears that Conor was king of Ulster. Visiting on one occasion the house of Feilim, his *seanachie*, Feilim's wife, was delivered of a daughter while the king was in the house. Cathbad the Druid, who was present, prophesied that many disasters should befal Ulster on account of the child then born. The king resolved to bring her up as his own future wife, and for this end enclosed her in a tower where she was excluded from all intercourse with men, except her tutor, her nurse, and an attendant called Lavarcam. It happened that in the course of time, by means of this Lavarcam, she came to see Naos, the son of Usnoth. She at once formed a warm affection for him; the affection was reciprocated, and Naos and Deirdre, by which name the young woman was called, fled to Scotland, accompanied by Ainle and Ardan, the brothers of Naos. Here they were kindly received by the king, and had lands given them for their support. It is not unlikely that these lands were in the neighbourhood of Dun Mhac Uisneachain in Lorn. Here they lived long and happily. At length Conor desired their return, and sent a messenger to Scotland, promising them welcome and security in Ireland if they would but return. Deirdre strongly objected, fearing the treachery of Conor, but she was overruled by the urgency of her husband and his brothers. They left Scotland, Deirdre composing and singing the above mournful lay. In Ireland they were at first received with apparent kindness, but soon after the house in which they dwelt was surrounded by Conor and his men, and after deeds of matchless valour the three brothers were put

to death, in defiance of Conor's pledge. The broken hearted Deirdre cast herself on the grave of Naos and died, having first composed and sung a lament for his death. This is one of the most touching in the catalogue of Celtic tales; and it is interesting to observe the influence it exerted over the Celtic mind by its effect upon the topographical nomenclature of the country. There are several Dun Deirdres to be found still. One is prominent in the vale of the Nevis, near Fortwilliam, and another occupies the summit of a magnificent rock overhanging Loch Ness, in Stratherrick. Naos, too, has given his name to rocks, and woods, and lakes ranging from Ayrshire to Inverness-shire, but the most signal of all is the great lake which fills the eastern portion of the Caledonian valley, Loch Ness. The old Statistical Account of Inverness states that the name of this lake was understood to be derived from some mythical person among the old Celts; and there can be little doubt that the person was Naos. The lake of Naos (*Naise* in the genitive), lies below, and overhanging it is the Tower of Deirdre. The propinquity is natural, and the fact is evidence of the great antiquity of the tale.

There are other MSS. of high antiquity in existence said to be Scotch; but it is sufficient to refer for an account of these to the Appendix to the Report of the Highland Society on the Poems of Ossian, an account written by an admirable Celtic scholar, Dr Donald Smith, the brother of Dr John Smith of Campbeltown, so distinguished in the same field.

The next relic of Celtic literature to which we refer is

The Book of Deer.

This is a vellum MS. of eighty-six folios, about six inches long by three broad, discovered in the University Library of Cambridge, by Mr Bradshaw, the librarian of the University. It had belonged to a distinguished collector of books, Bishop Moore of Norwich, and afterwards of Ely, whose library was presented to the University more than a century ago. The chief portion of the book is in Latin, and is said to be as old as the 9th century. This portion contains the Gospel of St John, and portions of the other three Gospels. The MS. also contains part of an Office for the visitation of the sick, and the Apostles' Creed. There is much interest in this portion of the book as indicative of the state of learning in the Celtic Church at the time. It shows that the ecclesiastics of that Church kept pace with the age in which they lived, that they knew their Bible, and could both write and read in Latin. The MS. belonged to a Culdee establishment, and is therefore a memorial of the ancient Celtic Church. It is a pity that we possess so few memorials of that Church, convinced as we are that, did we know the truth, many of the statements made regarding it by men of a different age, and belonging to a differently constituted ecclesiastical system, would be found to be unsupported by the evidence. It is strange that if the Culdee establishments were what many modern writers make them to have been, they should have had so many tokens of their popularity as this volume exhibits; and we know well that that Church did not fall before the assaults of a hostile population, but before those of a hostile king.

But the more interesting portion of the *Book of Deer*, in connection with our inquiry, will be found in the Gaelic entries on the margin and in the vacant spaces of the volume. These have all been given to the world in the recent publication of portions of the book by the Spalding Club, under the editorship of Dr John Stuart. Celtic scholars are deeply indebted to the Spalding Club for this admirable publication, and although many of them will differ from the editor in some of the views which he gives in his accompanying disquisitions, and even in some of the readings of the Gaelic, they cannot but feel indebted to him for the style in which he has furnished them with the original, for it is really so, in the plates which the volume contains. On these every man can comment for himself and form his own inferences. We have given us in this MS.

The Legend of Deer.

Columcille acusdrostán mac cosgreg adálta tangator áhi marroalseg día doíb goníc abbordobóir acusbéde cruthnec robomormær bûchan aragínn acusessé rothídnaíg dóib ingathráig sáin insaere gobraíth ómormaer acusóthósec. tangator asáathle sen incathráig ele acusdoráten ricolumcille sì iarfallán dórath dé acusdorodloeg arinmormær i bédé gondas tabrád dó acusníthárat acusrogab mac dó galár iarnéré naglerêc acusrobomaréb act mádbec iarsén dochuíd inmormaer dattác naglerec gondendæs ernacde les inmac gondisád slánté dó acusdórat inedbaírt doíb uácloic intiprat goníce chlóic petti mic garnáit doronsat innernacde acustanic slante dó; Iarsén dorat collumcille dódrostán inchadráig sén acusrosbenact acusforacaib imbrether gebe tisaid ris nabad blienec buadacc tangator deara drostán arscartháin fri collumcille rolaboir columcille bedeár ánim ó húnn ímácć.

English Translation.

Columcille and Drostan, son of Cosgreg, his pupil, came from I as God revealed to them to Aberdour, and Bede the Pict was Mormaor of Buchan before them, and it was he who gifted to them that town in freedom for ever from mormaor and toiseach. After that they came to another town, and it pleased Columcille, for it was full of the grace of God, and he asked it of the Mormaor, that is Bede, that he would give it to him, and he would not give it, and a son of his took a sickness after refusing the clerics, and he was dead but a little. After that the Mormaor went to entreat of the clerics that they would make prayer for the son that health might come to him, and he gave as an offering to them from Cloch an tiprat (the stone of the well) as far as Cloch Pit mac Garnad (the stone of Pitmacgarnad). They made the prayer, and health came to him. After that Collumcille gave that town to Drostan, and he blessed it, and left the word, Whosoever comes against it, let him not be long-lived or successful. Drostan's tears came (Deara) on separating from Collumcille. Collumcille said, Let Deer (Tear) be its name from hence forward.

Such is the legend of the foundation of the old monastery of Deer, as preserved in this book, and written probably in the twelfth century. It was in all probability handed down from the close of the sixth or from a later period, but it must not be forgotten that a period of six hundred years had elapsed between the events here recorded and the record itself as it appears. It is hard to say whether Columba ever made this expedition to Buchan, or whether Drostan, whose name is in all likelihood British, lived in the time of Columba. The Aberdeen Breviary makes him nephew of the saint, but there is no mention of him in this or any other connection by early ecclesiastical writers, and there is every reason to believe that he belonged to a later period. It was of some consequence at this time to connect any such establishment as that at Deer with the name of Columba. There is nothing improbable in its having been founded by Drostan.

It is interesting to observe several things which are brought to light by this legend of the twelfth century. It teaches us what the men of the period believed regarding the sixth. The ecclesiastics of Deer believed that their own institution had been founded so early as the sixth century, and clearly that they were the successors of the founders. If this be true, gospel light shone among the Picts of Buchan almost as soon as among the people of Iona. It has been maintained that previous to Columba's coming to Scotland the country had felt powerfully the influence of Christianity,[1] and the legend of Deer would seem to corroborate the statement. From the palace of Brude the king, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, on to the dwelling of the Mormaor, or Governor of Buchan, Christianity occupied the country so early as the age of Columba. But this is a legend, and must not be made more of than it is worth. Then this legend gives us some view of the civil policy of the sixth century, as the men of the twelfth viewed it. The chief governor of Buchan was Bede, the same name with that of the venerable Northumbrian historian of the eighth century. He is simply designated as Cruthnec (Cruithneach) or the Pict. Was this because there were other inhabitants in the country besides Picts at the time, or because they were Picts in contrast with the people of that day? The probability is, that these writers of the twelfth century designated Bede as a Pict, in contradistinction to themselves, who were probably of Scotic origin. Then the names in this document are of interest. Besides that of Bede, we have Drostan and Cosgreg, his father, and Garnaid. Bede, Drostan, Cosgreg, and Garnaid, are names not known in the Gaelic nomenclature of Scotland or Ireland. And there are names of places, Aberdobhoir, known as Aberdour to this day, Buchan also in daily use, Cloch in tiprat not known now, and Pit mac garnaid also

[1] *Early Scottish Church*, p. 146.

become obsolete. Aberdobhoir (Aberdwfr) is purely a British name; Buchan, derived from the British *Bwch*, a cow, is also British; Pit mac garnaid, with the exception of the Mac, is not Gaelic, so that the only Gaelic name in the legend is Cloch in tiprat, a merely descriptive term. This goes far to show what the character of the early topography of Scotland really is.

Then there is light thrown upon the civil arrangements of the Celtic state. We read nothing of chiefs and clans, but we have Mormaors (great officers), and Toiseachs (leaders), the next officer in point of rank, understood to be connected with the military arrangements of the country, the one being the head of the civil and the other of the military organisation. At this time there was a Celtic kingdom in Scotland, with a well established and well organised government, entirely different from what appears afterwards under the feudal system of the Anglo-Saxons, when the people became divided into clans, each under their separate chiefs, waging perpetual war with each other. Of all this the Book of Deer cannot and does not speak authoritatively, but it indicates the belief of the twelfth century with regard to the state of the sixth.

The farther Gaelic contents of the Book of Deer are notices of grants of land conferred by the friends of the institution. None of these are real charters, but the age of charters had come, and it was important that persons holding lands should have some formal title to them. Hence the notices of grants inscribed on the margin of this book, all without date, save that there is a copy of a Latin charter of David I., who began his reign in the year 1124.

The *memoranda* of grants to the monastery are in one case headed with the following blessing—*Acus bennact inchomded arcecmormar acusarcectosech chomallfas acusdansil daneis.* "And the blessing of the one God on every governor and every leader who keeps this, and to their seed afterwards." The first grant recorded follows immediately after the legend given above. It narrates that Comgeall mac eda gave from Orti to Furene to Columba and to Drostan; that Moridach M'Morcunn gave Pit mac Garnait and Achad toche temni, the former being Mormaor and the latter Toiseach. Matain M'Caerill gave a Mormaor's share in Altin (not Altere, as in the Spalding Club's edition), and Culn (not Culii) M'Batin gave the share of a Toiseach. Domnall M'Giric and Maelbrigte M'Cathail gave Pett in muilenn to Drostan. Cathal M'Morcunt gave Achad naglerech to Drostan. Domnall M'Ruadri and Malcolum M'Culeon gave Bidbin to God and to Drostan. Malcolum M'Cinatha (Malcolm the Second) gave a king's share in Bidbin and in Pett M'Gobroig, and two davachs above Rosabard. Malcolum M'Mailbrigte gave the Delerc. Malsnecte M'Luloig gave Pett Malduib to Drostan. Domnall M'Meic Dubhacin sacrificed every offering to Drostan. Cathal sacrificed in the same manner his Toiseach's share, and gave the food of a hundred every Christmas, and every Pasch to God and to Drostan. Kenneth Mac meic Dobarcon and Cathal gave Alterin alla from Te (Tigh) na Camon as far as the birch tree between the two Alterins. Domnall and Cathal gave Etdanin to God and to Drostan. Cainneach and Domnall and Cathal sacrificed all these offerings to God and to Drostan from beginning to end free, from Mormaors and from Toiseachs to the day of judgment.

It will be observed that some of the words in this translation are different from those given in the edition of the Spalding Club. Some of the readings in that edition, notwithstanding its general accuracy, are doubtful. In the case of *uethe na camone*, unless the *ue* is understood as standing for *from*, there is no starting point at all in the passage describing the grant. Besides, we read Altin allend, as the name of Altin or Alterin in another grant. This seems to have escaped the notice of the learned translator.

These grants are of interest for various reasons. We have first of all the names of the grantees and others, as the names common during the twelfth and previous centuries, for these grants go back to a period earlier than the reign of Malcolm the Second, when the first change began to take place in the old Celtic system of polity. We have such names as *Comgeall Mac Eda*, probably *Mac Aoidh*, or, as spelt now in English, Mackay; *Moridach M'Mor-*

cunn (*Morgan*), or, as now spelt, M'Morran; *Matain MCaerill*, Matthew M'Kerroll; *Culn M'Batin*, Colin M'Bean; *Domhnall M'Girig*, Donald M'Erig (Gregor or Eric?); *Malbrigte M'Cathail*, Gilbert M'Kail; *Cathal M'Morcunt*, Cathal M'Morran; *Domhnall M'Ruadri*, Donald M'Rory; *Malcolum M'Culeon*, Malcolm M'Colin; *Malcolum M'Cinnatha*, Malcolm M'Kenneth, now M'Kenzie. This was king Malcolm the Second, whose Celtic designation is of the same character with that of the other parties in the notice. *Malcolum M'Mailbrigte*, Malcolm M'Malbride; the nearest approach to the latter name in present use is Gilbert. Malsnecte M'Luloig, *Malsnechta M'Lulaich*. The former of these names is obsolete, but M'Lullich is known as a surname to this day. Domnall M'Meic Dubhacin (not Dubbacin), the latter name not known now. The name *Dobharcon* is the genitive of *Dobharcu*, an otter. The names of animals were frequently applied to men at the time among the Celts. The father of King Brude was *Mialchu*, a greyhound. *Loilgheach* (Lulach), a man's name, is in reality a milch cow.

The next set of grants entered on the margin of this remarkable record are as follows: —Donchad M'Meic Bead mec Hidid (probably the same with Eda, and therefore Aoidh), gave Acchad Madchor to Christ and to Drostan and to Coluimcille; Malechi and Comgell and Gillecriosd M'Fingun witnesses, and Malcoluim M'Molini. Cormac M'Cennedig gave as far as Scali merlec. Comgell M'Caennaig, the Toiseach of Clan Canan, gave to Christ and to Drostan and to Columcille as far as the Gortlie mor, at the part nearest to Aldin Alenn, from Dubuci to Lurchara, both hill and field free from Toiseachs for ever, and a blessing on those who observe, and a curse on those who oppose this.

The names here are different from those in the former entry, with few exceptions. They are Duncan, son of Macbeth, son of Hugh or Ay, Malachi, Comgall, Gilchrist M'Kinnon, and Malcolm M'Millan, Comgall M'Caennaig (M'Coinnich or M'Kenzie?) In this entry we have the place which is read Altere and Alterin by Mr Whitley Stokes. It is here entered as Aldin Alenn, as it is in a former grant entered as *Altin*. In no case is the *er* written in full, so that Alterin is a guess. But there is no doubt that *Aldin Alenn* and *Alterin alla* are the same place. If it be *Alterin* the *Alla* may mean rough, stony, as opposed to a more level and smooth place of the same name. It will be observed that in this entry the name of a clan appears *Clande Canan* (*Clann Chanain*). There was such a clan in Argyleshire who were treasurers of the Argyle family, and derived their name from the Gaelic *Càin*, a Tax. It is not improbable that the name in Buchan might have been applied to a family of hereditary tax-gatherers.

The next series of grants entered on the margin of the "Book of Deer" are as follows: —Colbain Mormaor of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Gartnait, his wife, and Donnalic M'Sithig, the Toiseach of Clenni Morgainn, sacrificed all the offerings to God and to Drostan, and to Columcilli, and to Peter the Apostle, from all the exactions made on a portion of four *davachs*, from the high monasteries of Scotland generally and the high churches. The witnesses are Brocein and Cormac, Abbot of Turbruaid, and Morgann M'Donnchaid, and Gilli Petair M'Dounchaid, and Malæchin, and the two M'Matni, and the chief men of Buchan, all as witnesses in Elain (Ellon).

The names in this entry are Colban, the mormaor, a name obsolete now—although it would seem to appear in M'Cubbin—Eva, and Gartnait. The former seems to have been the Gaelic form of Eve, and the latter, the name of Eva's father, is gone out of use, unless it appear in M'Carthy—Donnalic (it is Donnachac, as transcribed in the edition of the Spalding Club), M'Sithig or Donnalic M'Keich, the surname well known still in the Highlands—*Brocein*, the little badger, *Cormac*, *Morgan*, *Gillepedair*, *Malœchin*, the servant of Eachainn or Hector, and *M'Matni* or M'Mahon, the English Matheson. There is another instance here of a clan, the clan Morgan.

The most of these names must be understood merely as patronymic, the son called, according to the Celtic custom, after the name of his father. There is no reason to think that these were clan names in the usual sense. King Malcolm II. is called *Malcolum M'Cinnatha*,

or Malcolm the son of Kenneth, but it would be sufficiently absurd to conclude that Malcolm was a Mackenzie. And yet there are two clans referred to in these remarkable records, the clan Canan and the clan Morgan. There is no reason to believe that either the Buchanans of Stirlingshire or of Argyleshire had any connection with the tribe of Canan mentioned here; but it is possible that the Mackays of the Reay country, whose ancient name was Clan Morgan, may have derived their origin from Buchan. It is interesting to observe that the Toiseachs are associated with these clans, *Comgell Mac Caennaig* being called the *Toiseach* of Clan Canan, and *Donnalic M'Sithig* the *Toiseach* of Clan Morgan, although neither of the men are designated by the clan name. It would seem that under the *Mormaors* the family system existed and was acknowledged, the *Mormaor* being the representative of the king, and the *Toiseach* the head of the sept, who led his followers to battle when called upon to do so. At the same time the clan system would seem to have been in an entirely different condition from that to which it attained after the introduction of the feudal system, when the chiefs for the first time got feudal titles to their lands.

Many other inferences might be made from these interesting records. It is enough, however, to say that they prove beyond a question the existence of a literary culture and a social organisation among the ancient Celts for which they do not always get credit; and if such a book existed at Deer, what reason is there to doubt that similar books were numerously dispersed over the other ecclesiastical institutions of the country?

There is one curious entry towards the close of the MS.—"*Forchubus caichduini imbia arrath in lebran colli, arutardda bendacht foranmain in truagan rodscribai . . . . . 7*," which is thus translated by Mr Whitley Stokes:—"Be it on the conscience of every one in whom shall be for grace the booklet with splendour; that he give a blessing on the soul of the wretchock who wrote it."

This is probably the true meaning of the Gaelic. But the original might be rendered in English by the following translation:—"Let it be on the conscience of each man in whom shall be for good fortune the booklet with colour, that he give a blessing on the soul of the poor one who wrote it." *Rath* is good fortune, and *li* is colour, referring probably to the coloured portions of the writing, and *Truaghan* is the Gaelic synonym of the "miserus" or "miserimus" of the old Celtic church. Mr Whitley Stokes, as quoted by Dr Stuart, says (p. lx), "In point of language this is identical with the oldest Irish glosses in Zeuss' *Grammatica Celtica*."

The Albanic Duan.

This relic of Celtic literature might have been taken as chronologically preceding the Book of Deer, but while portions of the latter are looked upon as having been written previous to the ninth century, the former, so far as we know, is of the age of Malcolm III. It is said to have been sung by the Gaelic bard of the royal house at the coronation of Malcolm. It is transcribed here as it appears in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, where it is given as copied from the M'Firbis MS. in the Royal Irish Academy:—

A eolcha Alban uile,
A shluagh feuta foltbhuidhe,
Cia ceud ghabhail, au eòl duibh,
Ro ghabhasdair Albanbruigh.

Albanus ro ghabh, lià a shlogh,
Mac sen oirderc Isicon,
Brathair is Briutus gan brath,
O raitear Alba eathrach.

Ro ionnarb a brathair bras,
Briotus tar muir n-Icht-n-amhnas,
Ro gabh Briutus Albain ain,
Go rinn fhiadhnach Fotudain.

Fota iar m-Briutus m-blaith, m-bil,
Ro ghabhsad Clanna Nemhidh,
Erglan iar teacht as a loing,
Do aithle thoghla thuir Conuing.

English Translation.

Ye learned of Alban altogether
Ye people shy, yellow-haired
Which was the first invasion, do ye know
That took the land of Alban?

Albanus took it, active his men,
That famous son of Isacon,
The brother of Briutus without guile
From whom Alba of the ships is said.

Briutus banished his bold brother
Over the stormy sea of Icht.
Briutus took the beautiful Alban
To the tempestuous promontory of Fotudan.

Long after Briutus the noble, the good,
The race of Neimhidh took it,
Erglan, after coming out of his ship
After the destruction of the tower of Conaing.

Cruithnigh ros gabhsad iarttain,
Tar ttiachtain a h-Erean-mhuigh,
.X.righ tri fichid righ ran,
Gabhsad diobh an Cruithean-chlar.

The Cruithne took it after that
On coming out of Erin of the plain,
Seventy noble kings of them
Took the Cruithnean plain.

Cathluan an ced righ diobh-soin,
Aisnedhfead daoibh go cumair,
Rob e an righ degheanach dhibh
An cur calma Cusaintin.

Cathluan was the first king of them,
I tell it you in order,
The last king of them was
The brave hero Constantine.

Clanna Eathach ina n-diaigh,
Gabhsad Albain iar n-airdghliaidh,
Clanna Conaire an chaomhfhir,
Toghaidhe na treun Ghaoidhil.

The children of Eochy after them
Seized Alban after a great fight,
The children of Conair, the gentle man,
The choice of the brave Gael.

Tri mec Erc mec Eachdach ait,
Triar fuair beannachtair Patraicc,
Ghabhsad Albain, ard a n-gus,
Loarn, Fearghus, is Aonghus.

Three sons of Erc the son of Eochy the joyous,
Three who got the blessing of Patrick,
Seized Alban ; great was their courage,
Lorn, Fergus, and Angus.

Dech m-bliadhna Loarn, ler bladh,
I fflaitheas Oirir Alban,
Tar es Loarn fhel go n-gus,
Seacht m-bliadhna ficheat Fearghus.

Ten years to Lorn, by which was renown,
In the sovereignty of Oirir Alban,
After Lorn the generous and strong
Seven and twenty years to Fergus.

Domhangart mac d'Fheargus ard,
Aireamh cuig m-bliadhan m-biothgarg,
A .XXXIIII. gan troid,
Do Comghall mac Domhangoirt.

Domangart, son of the great Fergus,
Had the number of five terrible years.
Twenty-four years without a fight
Were to Comghall son of Domangart.

Da bhliadhan Conaing gan tair,
Tar es Comhghaill do Gobhran,
Ti bliadhna fo cuig gan roinn
Ba ri Conall mac Comhghoill.

Two years of success without contempt
After Comghall to Gobhran.
Three years with five without division
Was king Conall son of Comghall.

Cethre bliadhna ficheat tall
Ba ri Aodhan na n-iol-rann,
Dech m-bliadhna fo seacht seol n-gle,
I fflaitheas Eathach buidhe.

Four and twenty peaceful years
Was king Aodhan of many songs.
Ten years with seven, a true tale,
In sovereignty Eochy buy.

Connchadh Cearr raithe, rel bladh,
A .XVI. dia mac Fearchar,
Tar es Ferchair, feaghaidh rainn,
.XIIII. bliadhna Domhnaill.

Connchadh Cearr a quarter, star of renown,
Sixteen years to his son Ferchar,
After Ferchar, see the poems,
Thirteen years to Donald.

Tar es Domhnaill bric na m-bla,
Conall, Dunghall .X. m-bliadhna,
.XIII. bliadhna Domhnaill duinn
Tar es Dunghail is Chonail.

After Donald breac of the shouts,
Was Conall, Dungal ten years,
Thirteen years Donald Donn
After Dungal and Conall.

Maolduin mac Conaill na ccreach
A .XVII. do go dlightheach,
Fearchair fadd, feagha leat,
Do chaith bliadhain thar .XX.

Maolduin, son of Conall of spoils,
Seventeen years to him rightfully.
Ferchar fadd, see you it
Spent one year over twenty.

Da bliadhain Eachdach na-n-each,
Ro ba calma an ri rightheach,
Aoin bhliadhain ba flaith iarttain,
Aineallach maith mac Fearchair.

Two years was Eochy of steeds,
Bold was the king of palaces.
One year was king after that
Aincellach the good, son of Ferchar.

Seachd m-bliadhna Dunghail dein,
Acus a ceither do Ailpen,
Tri bliadhna Muireadhiogh mhaith,
.XXX. do Aodh na ardfhlaith.

Seven years was Dungal the impetuous,
And four to Ailpin.
Three years Murdoch the good,
Thirty to Aodh as high chief.

A ceathair ficheat, nir fhann,
Do bhliadhnaibh do chaith Domhnall,
Da bhliadhain Conaill, cem n-gle,
Is a ceathair Chonall ele.

Eighty, not feeble
Years did Donald spend.
Two years Conall, a noble course,
And four another Conall.

Naoi m-bliadhna Cusaintin chain,
A naoi Aongusa ar Albain,
Cethre bliadhna Aodha ain,
Is a tri deng Eoghanain.

Nine years Constantine the mild,
Nine Angus over Alban,
Four years the excellent Aodh,
And thirteen Eoghanan.

Triocha bliadhain Cionaoith chruaidh,
A ceathair Domhnall drechruaidh,
.XXX. bliadhain co na bhrigh,
Don churadh do Cusaintin.

Thirty years Kenneth the hardy,
Four Donald of ruddy face,
Thirty years with effect
To the hero, to Constantine.

Da bhliadhain, ba daor a dath,
Da brathair do Aodh fhionnscothach,
Domhnall mac Cusaintin chain,
Ro chaith bliadhain fa cheathair.

Cusaintin ba calma a ghleac,
Ro chaith a se is da fhicheat,
Maolcoluim cethre bliadhna,
Iondolbh a h-ocht airdriagla.

Seacht m-bliadhna Dubhod der.
Acus a ceathair Cuilen,
A .XXVII, os gach cloinn
Do Cionaoth mac Maolcholuim.

Seacht m-bliadhna Cusaintin cluin
Acus a ceathair Macdhuibh
Triochadh bliadhain, breacaid rainn
Ba ri Monaidh Maolcoluim.

Se bliadhna Donnchaid glain gaoith
.XVII. bliadhna mac Fionnlaoich
Tar es Mecbeathaidh go m-blaidh
.vii mis i fflaithios Lughlaigh.

Maolcholuim anosa as ri,
Mac Donnchaidh dhata dhrechbhi,
A re nocha n-fidir neach,
Acht an t-eolach as eolach
A eolcha.

Da righ for chaogad, cluine,
Go mac Donnchaidh drech ruire,
Do shiol Erc ardghlain anoir,
Gabhsad Albain, a eolaigh.

Two years, sad their complexion,
To his brother Aodh the youthfully fair,
Donald, son of Constantine the mild,
Spent a year above four.

Constantine, bold was his conflict
Spent forty and six.
Malcolm four years.
Indulf eight in high sovereignty.

Seven years Dubhoda the impetuous,
And four Cuilen.
And twenty-seven over all the tribes
To Kenneth the son of Malcolm.

Seven years Constantine, listen,
And four to Macduff,
Thirty years, the verses mark it,
Was king of Monaidh, Malcolm.

Six years was Duncan of pure wisdom,
Seventeen years the son of Finlay,
After him Macbeth with renown,
Seven months in sovereignty Lulach.

Malcolm is now the king,
Son of Duncan the yellow-coloured,
His time knoweth no one
But the knowing one who is knowing,
Ye learned.

Two kings over fifty, listen,
To the son of Duncan of coloured face,
Of the seed of Erc the noble, in the east,
Possessed Alban, ye learned.

Although this poem is given in Gaelic as it appears in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*,[2] the English translation differs in some places. At p. 60 *Tri bliadhna fo cuig*[3] is translated by Mr Skene "three years five times," while in the same page *dech m-bliadhna fo seacht* is translated "ten years and seven." There is no apparent ground for such a distinction. So in p. 61 *ceathar ficheat*, eighty, is translated "four and twenty," which is at variance with the usus of the Gaelic language. The above translation seems the true one.

This poem is manifestly of great antiquity and of deep historical interest. Of the authorship little is known. It has been suggested that it is of Irish origin.[4] This is possible, for judging by the syuchronisms of Flann Mainistreach, the Irish seanachies were well informed on Scottish matters. But whether Irish or not, the whole poem refers to Scotland, and is entitled to a place among the Celtic remains of the country. It is our oldest and most authentic record of the Scottish kings, and in this respect commended itself to the regard of Pinkerton, who was no friend of anything that was creditable to the Celts or helped to establish their claims.

[2] P. 57.

[3] *Fo* here and elsewhere in the poem seems to represent *fa*, upon, rather than *ar*, as Mr Skene supposes.

[4] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Int. p. xxxvii.

Muireadhach Albannach.

The name of Muireadhach Albannach is well known among the literary traditions of Celtic Scotland. In a curious genealogy by Lachlan Mac Mhuireadhaich or Vuirich, usually called Lachlan M'Pherson, given in the Report of the Highland Society of Scotland on Ossian,[5] the said Lachlan traces his own genealogy back through eighteen generations to this Muireadhach or Murdoch of Scotland, and states that his ancestors were bards to M'Donald of Clanronald during the period. The original Murdoch was an ecclesiastic, and has probably given their name to the whole M'Pherson clan. There is a curious poetical dialogue given in the Dean of Lismore's Book between him and Cathal Crò dhearg, King of Connaught, who flourished in the close of the 12th century, upon their entering at the same time on a monastic life. The poem would seem to show Murdoch to have been a man of

[5] P. 275.

high birth, while his own compositions are evidence both of his religious earnestness and his poetical talent. Until the publication of the Dean of Lismore's book, it was not known that there were any remains of his compositions in existence, but that collection contains several, all on religious subjects. The following is a specimen of his composition, and of the Gaelic poetry of the 12th or 13th century :—

Mithich domh triall gu tigh Pharais,
'N uair a' ghuin gun e soirbh.
Cosnaim an tigh treun gun choire,
Gun sgeul aig neach 'eil oirnn.
Dean do sriuth ri do shagairt
'S coir cuimhne ach gu dìù umad olc.
Na beir do thigh righ gun agh
Sgeul a's priomh ri agradh ort.
Na dean folchainn a'd pheacadh,
Ge grain ri innseadh a h-olc ;
Leigeadh de'd chuid an cleith diomhar,
Mur be angair a gabhail ort.
Dean do shith ris an luchd-dreuchd,
Ge dona, ge anmhuinn le'd chor,
Sguir ri'd lochd, do ghul dean domhain,
Mu'm bi olc ri fhaighinn ort.
Mairg a threigeadh tigh an Ardrigh,
Aig ghràdh peacaidh, turagh an ni,
An t-olc ni duine gu diomhair
Iomadh an sin fiachan mu'n ghniomh.
Aig so searmoin do shiol an Adhaimh,
Mar shaoilim nach bheil se an bhreug,
Fulang a bhais seal gu seachainn
An fear nach domh gu'n teid.
Fhir a cheannaich siol an Adhaimh
D'fhuil, a cholla, 'us da chridhe,
Air a reir gu'n deanadh sealga,
Ger ge dian ri 'm pheacadh mi.

English Translation.

'Tis time for me to go to the house of Paradise
While this wound is not easily borne,
Let me win this house, famous, faultless,
While others can tell nought else of us.
Confess thyself now to thy priest,
Remember clearly all thy sins ;
Carry not to the house of the spotless King
Aught that may thee expose to charge.
Conceal not any of thy sins
However hateful its evil to tell ;
Confess what has been done in secret,
Lest thou expose thyself to wrath ;
Make thy peace now with the clergy
That thou mayst be safe as to thy state ;
Give up thy sin, deeply repent,
Lest its guilt be found in thee.
Woe to him forsook the great King's house
For love of sin, sad is the deed ;
The sin a man commits in secret
Much is the debt his sin incurs.
This is a sermon for Adam's race,
I think I've nothing said that's false,
Though men may death for a time avoid,
'Tis true they can't at length escape.
Thou who hast purchased Adam's race,
Their blood, their body, and their heart,
The things we cherish thou dost assail
However I may sin pursue.[6]

It is not necessary to give farther specimens of Murdoch of Scotland's poetry here, as those existing are very similar to the above ; but several specimens will be found in the Dean of Lismore's Book, from which the above is taken. The original has been difficult to read, and in consequence to render accurately, but there is little doubt that the real meaning of the poem is given. If the Book of Deer be a specimen of the Gaelic at the close of the 12th century in the east of Scotland, the above is a specimen of the same language from the west, probably from the Hebrides.

Gaelic Charter.

In 1408, Donald, Lord of the Isles, the hero of Harlaw, made a grant of lands in Islay to Brian Vicar Mackay, one of the old Mackays of the island. The charter conveying these lands still exists, and is written in the Gaelic language. As it is now published by the Record Commission, it is not necessary to give it here, but it is a document of much interest, written by Fergus M'Beth or Beaton, one of the famous Beatons who were physicians to the Lord of the Isles, and signed with the holograph of the great island chief himself. The lands conveyed are in the eastern part of the island, north of the Mull of Oa, and embrace such well-known places as Baile-Vicar, Cornabus, Tocamol, Cracobus, &c. The style of the charter is that of the usual feudal charters written in Latin, but the remarkable thing is to find a document of the kind written in Gaelic at a time when such a thing was almost unknown in the Saxon dialects of either Scotland or England.

Manuscripts of the 15th Century.

The Highlands seem to have had a large number of men of letters during the 15th century, and most of our existing manuscript materials seem to be of that age. These materials are of various kinds. They consist of short theological treatises, with traditional anecdotes of saints and others which seem to

[6] From *Dean of Lismore's Book*, with a few verbal alterations, p. 157.

have been prevalent in the church at the time. One of the theological treatises now in the library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, has reference to the Sacrament of the Supper, and maintains the purely Protestant doctrine that the sacrament can only profit those who receive it in faith. There are anecdotes of priests, often called by the Gaelic name of *maighistir*, which would indicate that the priests of the period had wives, and that the doctrine of celibacy had not then entered the Scottish church.

Some of the manuscripts are genealogical, and as such are of much value to the Scottish historian. They show what the ideas of the *seanachies* of the thirteenth century were regarding the origin of the Highland clans. Some of these genealogical records have been published by the Iona Club, and are in this way accessible to the general reader. They are indicative of the care taken at the period to preserve memorials of family history, and were of value not only as conducing to the gratification of family pride, but to the preservation of family property, inasmuch as these were the only means in accordance with which succession to property could be determined. The consequence is, that they are not always very reliable, favour being apt to bias the recorder on one side, just as enmity and ill-will were apt to bias him on the other. It is remarkable how ready the *seanachy* of a hostile clan was to proclaim the line of the rival race illegitimate. This affects the value of these records, but they are valuable notwithstanding, and are to a considerable extent reliable, especially within the period where authentic information could be obtained by the writer.

A portion of these manuscripts deals with medical and metaphysical subjects, the two being often combined. We are hardly prepared to learn to how great an extent these subjects were studied at an early period in the Highlands. We are apt to think that the region was a barbarous one without either art or science. A sight of the sculptures which distinguished the 14th and 15th centuries is prone to remove this impression. We find a style of sculpture still remaining in ancient crosses and gravestones that is characteristic of the Highlands; elaborate ornaments of a distinct character, rich and well executed tracery, figures well designed and finished. Such sculptures, following upon those of the prehistoric period found still within the ancient Pictish territory, exist chiefly throughout the West Highlands, and indicate that one art, at least, of native growth, distinguished the Gaelic Celts of the Middle Ages.

The medical manuscripts existing are chiefly the productions of the famous Macbeths or Beatons, the hereditary physicians of the Lords of the Isles for a long series of years. The charter of lands in Islay, already referred to, drawn out by Fergus Beaton, is of a date as early as 1408, and three hundred years after, men of the same race are found occupying the same position. Hereditary physicians might seem to offer but poor prospects to their patients, and that especially at a time when schools of medicine were almost if not altogether unknown in the country; but the fact is, that this was the only mode in which medical knowledge could be maintained at all. If such knowledge were not transmitted from father to son, the probability was that it would perish, just as was the case with the genealogical knowledge of the *seanachies*. This transmission, however, was provided for in the Celtic system, and while there was no doubt a considerable difference between individuals in the succession in point of mental endowments, they would all possess a certain measure of skill and acquirement as the result of family experience. These men were students of their science as it existed at the time. The Moors were then the chief writers on medicine. Averroes and Avicenna were men whose names were distinguished, and whose works, although little known now, extended to folios. Along with their real and substantial scientific acquirements, they dived deep into the secrets of Astrology, and our Celtic students, while ready disciples of them in the former study, followed them most faithfully and zealously in the latter likewise. There are numerous medical and astrological treatises still existing written in the Gaelic language, and taken chiefly from the works of Moorish and Arabian writers. How these works reached the Scottish Highlands it is hard to say, nor is it easier to understand how the ingredients of the medical prescriptions of these practitioners could be

obtained in a region so inaccessible at the time. The following specimen of the written Gaelic of medical manuscripts, is taken from Dr O'Donovan's grammar:—[7]

"Labhrum anois do leighes na h-eslainti so oir is eigin nethi imda d'fhaghbhail d'a leighes; ocus is é céd leighes is ferr do dhênamh dhi. 1. na lenna truaillighthi do glanad maille caterfusia; óir a deir Avicenna 's an 4 Cān. co n-déin in folmhughadh na leanna loisgi d'inarbad. An 2.ní oilemhain bidh ocus dighi d'ordughadh dóibh; an tres ní, an t-adhbhar do dhileaghadh; an 4.ní a n-innarbadh go h-imlán; an 5.ní, fothraicthi do dhénum dóibh; an 6.ní, is eigin lictuber comhfhurtachta do thobhairt dóib. An 7.ní, is eigin neithi noch aentuighius riu do thobhairt dóib muna roib an corp línta do droch-leannaibh."

English Translation.

"Let me now speak of the cure of this disease (scurvy), for many things must be got for its cure; the first cure which is best to be made is to clean the corrupt humours with caterfusia; for Avicenna says in the fourth Canon that evacuation causes an expulsion of the burnt humours. The second thing, to order the patients a proper regimen of meat and drink the third thing, to digest the matter; the fourth thing, to expel them completely; the fifth thing, to prepare a bath for them; the sixth, it is necessary to give them strengthening lictub. The seventh, it is necessary to give them such things as agree with them, unless the body be full of bad humours."

This extract is taken from an Irish manuscript, but the language is identical with that in use in the writings of the Beatons. Celtic Scotland and Celtic Ireland followed the same system in medicine as in theology and poetry.

The metaphysical discussions, if they may be so called, are very curious, being characterised by the features which distinguished the science of metaphysics at the time. The most remarkable thing is that there are Gaelic terms to express the most abstract ideas in metaphysics;—terms which are now obsolete, and would not be understood by any ordinary Gaelic speaker. A perusal of these ancient writings shows how much the language has declined, and to what an extent it was cultivated at an early period. So with astrology, its terms are translated and the science is fully set forth. Tables are furnished of the position of the stars by means of which to foretell the character of future events. Whatever literature existed in Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries, extended its influence to the Scottish Highlands. The nation was by no means in such a state of barbarism as some writers would lead us to expect. They had legal forms, for we have a formal legal charter of lands written in Gaelic; they had medical men of skill and acquirement; they had writers on law and theology, and they had men skilled in architecture and sculpture.

The Dean of Lismore's Book.

When the Highland Society of Scotland were engaged in preparing their report on the poems of Ossian, they thought it important to search with all possible diligence after such sources of ancient Gaelic poetry as might have been open to Macpherson, and especially for such written remains as might still be found in the country. Among others they applied to the Highland Society of London, whose secretary at the time, Mr John Mackenzie, was an enthusiastic Highlander, and an excellent Gaelic scholar. The Society furnished several interesting manuscripts which they had succeeded in collecting, and among these an ancient paper book which has since been called the "Book of the Dean of Lismore." This book, which now lies in the library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, is a small quarto very much defaced, of about seven inches square, and one inch and a quarter in thickness. It is bound in a piece of coarse sheepskin, and seems to have been much tossed about. The manuscript is written in what may be called phonetic Gaelic, the words being spelled on the same principle as the Welsh and Manx, although the application of the principle is very different. "Athair," *father*, is "Ayr;" "Saor," *free*, is "Seyr;" "Fhuair," *found*, is "Hoar;" "Leodhas," *Lewis*, is "Looyss;" "iuchair," *a key*, is "ewthir;" "ghràdh," *love*, is "Zrau." This principle of phonetic spelling, with a partial admission of the Irish eclipsis and the Irish dot in aspiration, distinguishes the whole manuscript, and has made it very difficult to interpret. The letter used is the English letter of the 15th and 16th centuries, and the MS. was transcribed by the late Mr Ewen M'Lachlan of Aberdeen, an admirable Gaelic scholar. But no attempt was made to transfer its contents into modern Gaelic, or to interpret them, save in the case of a few fragments which

[7] *Irish Grammar*, p. 419.

were transferred and interpreted by Dr Smith for the Highland Society. Recently, however, the whole manuscript, with few exceptions, has been transcribed, presented in a modern Gaelic dress, translated and annotated, by the writer; and a historical introduction and additional notes have been furnished by Dr W. F. Skene.

The volume is full of interest, as presenting a view of the native literature of the Highlands in the 15th and 16th centuries, while it contains productions of a much earlier age. The fragments which it contains are both Scottish and Irish, showing how familiar the bardic schools were with the productions of both countries. Much of the contents consists of fragments of what is usually called Ossianic poetry—compositions by Ossian, by Fergus filidh his brother, by Conall MacEdirsceoil, by Caoilte M'Ronan, and by poets of a later age, who imitated these ancient bards, such as Allan MacRorie, Gilliecallum Mac an Olla, and others. The collection bears on one of its pages the name "Jacobus M'Gregor decanus Lismorensis," *James M'Gregor, Dean of Lismore*, and it has been conjectured from this fact and the resemblance of the writing in the signature to that of the body of the manuscript, that this was the compiler of the work. That the manuscript was the work of a M'Gregor is pretty evident. It contains a series of obits of important men, most of them chiefs and other men of note of the clan Gregor, and there are among the poetical pieces of a date later than the Ossianic, numerous songs in praise of that clan. It seems, however, that M'Gregor had a brother called Dougal, who designates himself *daoroglach*, or "apprentice," who had some share in making the compilation. These M'Gregors belonged to Fortingall in Perthshire, although James held office in the diocese of Argyll. He was vicar of the parish of Fortingall, and it is presumed usually resided there.

In giving specimens from M'Gregor's collection, it may be desirable to treat of the whole of what is called the Ossianic poetry. It is in this collection that we find the earliest written specimens of it, and although Macpherson's Ossian did not appear for two centuries later, it seems better to group the whole together in this portion of our notice. The word "ursgeul" was applied by the Highlanders to these poetical tales. This word has been translated "a *new* tale," as if the *ùr* here meant "new" in contradistinction to older tales. But the word *ùr* meant "noble" or "great," as well as "new," and the word as so used must be understood as meaning a "*noble* tale" in contradistinction to the *sgeulachd*, or other tale of less note. From what source M'Gregor derived his materials is not said, but the probability is that he was indebted both to manuscripts and to oral tradition for them. We shall here give a specimen of the Dean's collection as it appears in the original, with a version in regular Gaelic spelling, and an English translation. It is the poem usually called "Bàs Dhiarmaid," or *the Death of Diarmad.*

Modern Gaelic.

A HOUDIR SO ALLANE M'ROYREE.

Glennschee in glenn so rame heive
A binn feig agus lon
Menik redeis in nane
Ar on trath so in dey agon
A glen so fa wenn Zwlbin zwrm
Is haald tulchi fa zran
Ner wanew a roythi gi dark
In dey helga o inn na vane
Estith beg ma zalew leith
A chuddycht cheive so woym
Er wenn Zulbin is er inn fail
Is er M'ezoynn skayl troyg
Gur lai finn fa troyg in shelga
Er V'ezwn is derk lei
Zwll di wenn Zwlbin di helga
In turkgi nach fadin erm zei
Lai M'ezwnn narm ay
Da bay gin dorchirre in tork
Gillir royth ba zoill finn
Is sche assne rin do locht

A H-ÙGHDAIR SO AILEAN M'RUADHRAIDH.

Gleannsìth an gleann so ri'm thaobh,
'S am binn feidh agus loin,
Is minig a rachas an Fheinn
Air an t-srath so an deigh an con.
An gleann so fa Bheinn Ghulbainn ghuirm,
Is aillidh tulcha fo'n ghréin,
Na sruthana a ruith gu dearg,
An deigh shealg o Fhionn na Feinn.
Eisdibh beag mar dh'fhalbh laoch,
A chuideachd chaoimh so uam,
Air Bheinn Ghulbainn 'us air Fionn fial,
'Us air M' O'Dhuinn, sgeul truagh:
Gur le Fionn fa truagh an t-sealg
Air Mhac O'Dhuinn a's deirge lith,
Dhol do Bheinn Ghulbainn do shealg
An tuirc nach faodainn airm dhith.
Le Mac O'Dhuinn an airm aigh,
Do'm b'e gu'n torchradh an torc,
Geillear roimhe, bu dh'fhoill Fhinn,
Is e esan a rinn do lochd.

Er fa harlow a zail
M'ozunn graw nin sgoll
Ach so in skayll fa tursych mnaan
Gavr less di layve an tork
Zingywal di lach ni wane
Da gurri ea assi gnok
In schenn tork schee bi garv
Di vag ballerych na helve mok
Soeyth finn is derk dreach
Fa wenn zwlbin zlass in telga
Di fre dinnit less in tork
Mor in tolga a rin a shelga
Di clastich cozar ni wane
Nor si narm teach fa a cann
Ersi in a vest o swoyn
Is glossis woyth er a glenn
Curris ri faggin nin leich
In shen tork schee er freich borb
Bi geyr no ganyth sleygh
Bi traneiseygh na gath bolga
M'ozwnn ni narm geyr
Frager less in na vest olk
Wa teive reyll trom navynyth gay
Currir sleygh in dayl in turk
Brissir in eran less fa thre
Si chran fa reir er in mwk
In sleygh o wasi waryerka vlaye
Rait less nochchar hay na corp
Targir in tan lann o troyle
Di chossin mor loye in narm
Marviss M'ozunn fest
Di hanyth feyn de hess slane
Tuttis sprocht er Inn ne wane
Is soyis sea si gnok
Makozunn nar dult dayve
Olk less a hecht slane o tork
Er weith zoyth faddi no host
A durt gar wolga ri ray
Tothiss a zermit o hocht
Ga maid try sin tork so id taa
Char zult ay a chonyth finn
Olk leinn gin a heacht da hygh
Toissi tork er a zrum
M'ozunn nach trome trygh
Toiss na ye reiss
A zermit gi meine a torc
Fa lattis troygh ya chinn
A zil nin narm rim gort
Ymbeis bi hurrus goye
Agus toissi zayve in tork
Gunne i freich neive garve
Boonn in leich bi zarg in drod
Tuttis in sin er in rein
M' O'Zwne nar eyve fealle
Na la di heive in turk
Ach sen ayd zut gi dorve
A la schai in swn fa creay
M' O'Zwne keawe in gleacht
Invakane fullich ni wane
Sin tulli so chayme fa art
Saywic swlzorme essroye
Far la berrit boye gi ayr
In dey a horchirt la tork
Fa hulchin a chnokso a taa
Dermit M' O'Zwne oyill
Huttom tra ead nin noor
Bi gil a wrai no grane
Bu derk a wail no blai k . . .
Fa boe innis a alt
Fadda rosk barglan fa lesga
Gurme agus glassi na hwle
Maissi is cassi gowl ni gleacht
Binnis is grinnis na zloyr
Gil no zoid varzerk vlaa
Mayd agis evycht sin leich

Fear fa tharladh an gaol,
Mac O'Dhuinn gràdh nan sgoil,
Ach so an sgeul fa tursach mnathan,
Gabhar leis do laimh an torc.
Diongal do laoch na Feinn
Do chuireadh e as a chnoc,
An seann torc Sithe bu ghairbhe,
Do fhac ballardaich na h-alla-muic.
Suidhidh Fionn is deirge dreach,
Fa Bheinn Ghulbainn ghlais an t-seilg,
Do frith dh' imich leis an torc,
Mòr an t-olc a rinn a shealg.
Ri clàisdeachd co-ghair na Feinn
'N uair 's an arm a teachd fa 'ceann
Eireas a bheisd o shuain,
'Us gluaiseas uath' air a ghleann.
Cuireas ri fàgail nan laoch,
An seann torc 'us e air friodh borb,
Bu gheire no gath nan sleagh,
Bu treine a shaigh no gath bolga.
Mac O'Dhuinn nan arm geur,
Freagras leis a' bheisd olc,
O' thaobh thriall trom, nimhneach, gath,
Cuirear sleagh an dail an tuirc.
Brisear a crann leis fa thri,
Is i a crann fa rèir air a' mhuc,
An t-sleagh o bhos bhar-dhearg, bhlàth,
Raitleis noch char e' na corp.
Tairngear an tan lann o' truaill,
Do choisinn mòr luaidh an arm,
Marbhas Mac O'Dhuinn a' bheisd,
Do thainig e féin as slàn.
Tuiteas sprochd air Fionn na Feinn,
'Us suidheas e 's a chnoc,
Mac O' Dhuinn nach do dhiult daimh
Olc leis a thighinn slàn o'n torc.
Air bhith dha fada 'n a thosd,
A dubhairt, ged a b' olc ri ràdh,
Tomhais, a Dhiarmaid o' shoc,
Cia meud troidh 's an torc a ta.
Char dhiult e athchuinge Fhinn,
Olc leinn gun e theachd d'a thigh.
Tomhaisidh an torc air a dhruim,
Mac O'Dhuinn nach trom troidh.
Tomhais 'n a aghaidh a ris,
A Dhiarmaid gu mion an torc ;
Fa leat is truagh dha chinn,
A ghille nan arm roinn ghoirt.
Imicheas, bu thurus goimh,
Agus tomhaisidh dhoibh an torc.
Guinidh a fhriogh nimh, garbh
Bonn an laoich bu gharbh an trod.
Tuiteas an sin air an raon,
Mac O'Dhuinn nior aoibh feall ;
'N a luidhe do thaobh an tuirc,
Ach sin e dhuit gu doirbh.
A ta se an sin fa chreuchd
Mac O'Dhuinn caomh an gleachd ;
Aon mhacan fulangach nam Fiann
'S an tulach so chitheam fa fheart.
Seabhag sùilghorm Easruaidh,
Fear le'm beireadh buaidh gach àir,
An deigh a thorchairt le torc
Fa thulchain a chnuic so a ta.
Diarmad Mac O'Dhuinn aibheil,
A thuiteam troimh eud ; mo nuar !
Bu ghile a bhràgh'd no grian,
Bu dheirge a bheul no blàth caora.
Fa buidhe innis a fhalt,
Fada rosg barghlan fa liosg,
Guirme agus glaise 'n a shùil,
Maise 'us caise cùl nan cleachd.
Binneas 'us grinneas 'n a ghlòir,
Gile 'n a dhoid bhar-dhearg bhlàth,
Meud agus éifeachd 's an laoch

Seng is ser no kness bayn
Coythtyc is maaltor ban
M' O'Żwne bi vor boye
In turri char hog swle
O chorreich wr er a zroy
Immin deit eyde is each
Fer in neygin creach nar charre
Gilli a bar gasga is seith
Ach troyg mir a teich so glenn
Glennschee.

Seang 'us saor 'n a chneas bàn.
Cothaich 'us mealltair bhan,
Mac O'Dhuinn bu mhòr buaidh,
'S an t-suiridh cha thog sùil,
O chuireadh ùir air a ghruaidh.
Immirdich fhaoghaid 'us each,
Fear an éigin chreach nar char,
Gille b'fhearr gaisge 'us sitheadh,
Ach is truagh mar a theich 's a ghleann.
Gleannsìth.

English Translation.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS IS ALLAN M'RORIE.

Glenshee the vale that close beside me lies
Where sweetest sounds are heard of deer and elk,
And where the Feinn did oft pursue the chase
Following their hounds along the lengthening vale.
Below the great Ben Gulbin's grassy height,
Of fairest knolls that lie beneath the sun
The valley winds. It's streams did oft run red,
After a hunt by Finn and by the Feinn.
Listen now while I detail the loss
Of one a hero in this gentle band;
'Tis of Ben Gulbin and of generous Finn
And Mac O'Duine, in truth a piteous tale.
A mournful hunt indeed it was for Finn
When Mac O'Duine, he of the ruddiest hue,
Up to Ben Gulbin went, resolved to hunt
The boar, whom arms had never yet subdued.
Though Mac O'Duine of brightest burnished arms,
Did bravely slay the fierce, and furious boar,
Yet Finn's deceit did him induce to yield,
And this it was that did his grievous hurt.
Who among men was so belov'd as he?
Brave Mac O'Duine, beloved of the schools;
Women all mourn this sad and piteous tale
Of him who firmly grasped the murderous spear.
Then bravely did the hero of the Feinn
Rouse from his cover in the mountain side
The great old boar, him so well known in Shee,
The greatest in the wild boar's haunt e'er seen.
Finn sat him down, the man of ruddiest hue,
Beneath Ben Gulbin's soft and grassy side;
For swift the boar now coursed along the heath;
Great was the ill came of that dreadful hunt.
'Twas when he heard the Feinn's loud ringing shout,
And saw approach the glittering of their arms,
The monster wakened from his heavy sleep
And stately moved before them down the vale.
First, to distance them he makes attempt
The great old boar, his bristles stiff on end,
These bristles sharper than a pointed spear,
Their point more piercing than the quiver's shaft.
Then Mac O'Duine, with arms well pointed too,
Answers the horrid beast with ready hand;
Away from his side then rushed the heavy spear,
Hard following on the course the boar pursued.
The javelin's shaft fell shivered into three,
The shaft recoiling from the boar's tough hide.
The spear hurl'd by his warm red-fingered hand,
Ne'er penetrated the body of the boar.
Then from its sheath he drew his thin-leav'd sword,
Of all the arms most crowned with victory.
Mac O'Duine did then the monster kill
While he himself escaped without a wound.
Then on Finn of the Feinn did sadness fall,
And on the mountain side he sat him down;
It grieved his soul that generous Mac O'Duine
Should have escaped unwounded by the boar.
For long he sat, and never spake a word,
Then thus he spake, although't be sad to tell;
"Measure, Diarmad, the boar down from the snout,
And tell how many feet 's the brute in length;"
What Finn did ask he never yet refused;
Alas! that he should never see his home.

Along the back he measures now the boar,
Light-footed Mac O'Duine of active step.
"Measure it the other way against the hair,
And measure, Diarmad, carefully the boar.
It was indeed for thee a mournful deed,
Furth of the sharply-pointed, piercing arms,
He went, the errand grievous was and sad,
And measured for them once again the boar.
The envenomed pointed bristle sharply pierced
The soul of him the bravest in the field.
Then fell and lay upon the grassy plain
The noble Mac O'Duine, whose look spoke truth;
He fell and lay along beside the boar
And then you have my mournful saddening tale.
There does he lie now wounded to the death,
Brave Mac O'Duine so skilful in the fight,
The most enduring even among the Feinn,
Up there where I see his grave.
The blue-eyed hawk that dwelt at Essaroy
The conqueror in every sore-fought field
Slain by the poisoned bristle of the boar.
Now does he lie full-stretched upon the hill,
Brave, noble Diarmad Mac O'Duine
Slain, it is shame! victim of jealousy.
Whiter his body than the sun's bright light,
Redder his lips than blossoms tinged with red;
Long yellow locks did rest upon his head,
His eye was clear beneath the covering brow,
Its colour mingled was of blue and gray;
Waving and graceful were his locks behind,
His speech was elegant and sweetly soft;
His hands the whitest, fingers tipped with red;
Elegance and power were in his form,
His fair soft skin covering a faultless shape,
No woman saw him but he won her love.
Mac O'Duine crowned with his countless victories
Ne'er shall he raise his eye in courtship more;
Or warrior's wrath give colour to his cheek;
The following of the chase, the prancing steed,
Will never move him, nor the search for spoil.
He who could bear him well in wary fight,
Has now us sadly left in that wild vale.
Glenshee.

This is, in every way, a fair specimen of the Dean's MS., and of the story of the death of Diarmad as it existed in Scotland in the year 1512. The story is entirely a Scottish one, Glenshee being a well-known locality in the county of Perth, and Ben Gulbin a well-known hill in Glenshee. This has been called an Ossianic poem, but, according to Dean M'Gregor, it was not composed by Ossian, but by a poet obviously of more recent times;—Allan MacRorie, who was probably a composer of the 15th century. The resemblance of Diarmad to Achilles will occur at once to the classical reader, and there is no reason to doubt that

there were large classes in the Highlands in the middle ages well acquainted with classical literature.

Another specimen of the Dean's poems may be given as one which the compiler attributes to Ossian. It is Ossian's eulogy on his father Finn, or Fingal, as he is called by M'Pherson:—

Modern Gaelic.

AUCTOR HUJUS OISIAN MAC FHINN.

Sé la gus an dé o nach fhaca mi Fionn,
Cha-n fhaca ri'm ré se bu gheire leam;
Mac nighinn O'Théige, rìgh nam buillean tròm,
M'oide, 'us mo rath, mo chiall 'us mo chon.
Fa filidh fa flath, fa rìgh air ghéire,
Fionn flath, rìgh na Feinn, fa triath air gach tìr;
Fa miall mòr mara, fa leobhar air leirg,
Fa seabhag glan gaoithe, fa saoi air gach ceaird.
Fa h-oileanach ceart, fa marcaich nior mhearbh,
Fa h-ullamh air ghniomh, fa steith air gach seirm;
Fa fìor, ceart, a bhreith, fa tamhaiche tuaith.
Fa ionnsaichte 'n a àigh, fa brathach air buaidh;
Fa h-e an teachdair ard, air chalm'us air cheòl,
Fa diùltadh nan daimh o dh'fhàg graidh na gloir.
A chneas mar an cailc, a ghruaidh mar an ròs,
Bu ghlan gorm a rosg, 'fholt mar an t-òr.
Fa dùil daimh 'us daoine, fa aireach nan àgh,
Fa h-ullamh air ghniomh, fa min ri muathaibh.
Fa h-e am miall mòr, mac muirne gach magh,
B'fhear loinneadh nan lann, an crann os gach fiodh.
Fa saoibhir an rìgh, a bhotul mòr glas,
D'fhion dhoirt gheur dhoibh, tairbh nochchar threa
. . . . . broinn bhàin
. . . air an t-sluagh, fa bu chruaidh cheum,
Fa chosnadh an gniomh, fa Bhanbha nam beann
Gun d'thug am flath triochaid catha fa cheann,
Air sgraiteach dha, M'Cumhail nior cheil,
A deir fa ghò, nì clos gò 'n a bheul;
Ni euradh air neach, a fhuair fear o Fhionn,
Cha robh ach rìgh gréine, rìgh riamh os a chionn.
Nior dh'fhàg beist an loch, no nathair an nimh,
An Eirinn nan naomh, nar mharbh an saor seimh.
Ni h-innisinn a ghniomh, a bhithinn gu de bhràth,
Nior innisinn uam, trian a bhuaidh 's a mhaith.
Ach is olc a taim, an deigh Fhinn na Feinn,
Do chaith leis an fhlath, gach maith bha 'na dheigh.
Gun anghnath aoin mhòir, gun eineach glan gaoithe,
Gun òr 'us mnathaibh rìgh, 's gun bhreith nan laoch.
Is tuirseach a taim, an deigh chinn nan ceud,
Is mi an crann air chrith, is mo chiabh air n-eug
Is mi a chno chith, is mi an t-each gun sréin,
Achadan mi an uair, is mi an tuath gun treith;
Is mi Oisian MacFhinn, air trian de'm ghniomh,
An fhad 's bu bheò Fionn, do bu leam gach ni.
Seachd slios air a thigh, M'Cumhail gon fleadh,
Seachd fichead sgiath chlis, air gach slios diubh sin;
Caogad uidheam olaidh an timchioll mo rìgh,
Caogad laoch gun iomagain anns gach uidheam dhiubh.
Deich bleidh bàn, 'n a thalla ri òl,
Deich eascradh gorm, deich corn de'n òr.
Ach bu mhaith an treabh, a bh'aig Fionn na Feinn,
Gun doichioll, gun drùth, gun gleois, gun gléidh.
Gun tàrchuis ann, air aon fhear d'a Fheinn,
Aig dol air gach nì, do bhì càch d'a réir.
Fionn flath an t-sluaigh, sothran air a luaidh,
Rìgh nan uile àigh, roimh dhuine nior dhiùlt.
Nior dhiùlt Fionn roimh neach, ge bu bheag a loinn,
Char chuir as a theach, neach dha'r thainig ann.
Maith an duine Fionn, maith an duine e,
Noch char thiodhlaic neach, leth dhe'r thiodhlaic se.
Sé.

English Translation.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS IS OSSIAN, THE SON OF FINN.

'Twas yesterday week I last saw Finn,
Ne'er did I feel six days so long;
Teige's daughter's son, a powerful king;
My teacher, my luck, my mind, and my light,
Both poet and chief, as brave as a king,
Finn, chief of the Feine, lord of all lands,
Leviathan at sea, as great on land,
Hawk of the air, foremost in arts,
Courteous, just, a rider bold,
Of vigorous deeds, the first in song,
A righteous judge, firm his rule,
Polished his mein, who knew but victory.
Who is like him in fight or song?
Resists the foe in house or field,
Marble his skin, the rose his cheek.
Blue was his eye, his hair like gold,
All men's trust, of noble mind.
Of ready deeds, to women mild,
A giant he, the field's delight,
Best polished spears, no wood like their shafts.
Rich was the king, his great green bottle
Full of sharp wine, of substance rich.
Excellent he, of noble form,
His people's head, his step so firm,
Who often warred, in beauteous Banva,
There thirty battles he bravely fought.
With miser's mind from none withheld,
Anything false his lips ne'er spoke.
He never grudged, no, never, Finn;
The sun ne'er saw king who him excelled,
The monsters in lakes, the serpent by land,
In Erin of saints, the hero slew.
Ne'er could I tell, though always I lived,
Ne'er could I tell the third of his praise.
But sad am I now, after Finn of the Feinn;
Away with the chief, my joy is all fled.
No friends 'mong the great, no courtesy;
No gold, no queen, no princes and chiefs;
Sad am I now, our head ta'en away!
I'm a shaking tree, my leaves all gone;
An empty nut, a reinless horse.
Sad, sad am I, a feeble kern,
Ossian I, the son of Finn, strengthless indeed.
When Finn did live all things were mine;
Seven sides had the house of Cumhal's son,
Seven score shields on every side;
Fifty robes of wool around the king;
Fifty warriors filled the robes.
Ten bright cups for drink in his hall,
Ten blue flagons, ten horns of gold.
A noble house was that of Finn.
No grudge nor lust, babbling nor sham;
No man despised among the Feinn;
The first himself, all else like him.
Finn was our chief, easy's his praise;
Noblest of kings, Finn ne'er refused
To any man, howe'er unknown;
Ne'er from his house sent those who came.
Good man was Finn, good man was he;
No gifts e'er given like his so free.
'Twas yesterday week.

This is a specimen of a peculiar kind of ancient Celtic poetry. It was usually sung to music, and has a remarkable resemblance to some of the hymns of the early Latin Church.

There is another composition of the same kind in praise of Gaul, called usually "Rosg Ghuill," or the War-Song of Gaul.

It is unnecessary to give further specimens of these remains of the ancient heroic poetry of the Highlands here, nor is it necessary to quote any of the more modern compositions with which the Dean of Lismore's MS. abounds. It is enough to remark how great an amount of poetry was composed in the Highlands in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. That was indeed an age of bards when poetical genius was amply rewarded by great and liberal chiefs. It is of interest further to observe how ample the answer furnished by the Lismore MS. is to the ill-natured remarks of Dr Johnson, who maintained that there was not a word of written Gaelic in the Highlands more than a hundred years old. We shall now dismiss the Dean's MS., but we shall exhaust the subject of Ossian's poems by a cursory view of the other and later collections of those poems, and especially the collection of Macpherson.

Macpherson's Ossian.

It is quite unnecessary here to enter on the question of the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, as edited by Macpherson.[8] The subject has been so largely treated in numerous publications, that we consider it better to give a short historical sketch of the publication, with such specimens as may serve to show the character of the work.

The first of Macpherson's publications appeared in the year 1760. It is entitled, "Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language." The first edition of this volume was immediately followed by a second, and the deepest interest was excited in the subject of Celtic literature among literary men. The work originally consisted of fifteen fragments, to which a sixteenth was added in the second edition. These are all in English, there not being one word of Gaelic in the book. Not that there is any reason to doubt that the fragments are genuine, and that Macpherson spoke what was perfectly consistent with truth when he said, as he does at the beginning of his preface, "The public may depend on the following fragments as genuine remains of ancient Scottish poetry." Still it is to be regretted that the original Gaelic of these compositions was not given. It would have enabled the public, in the Highlands at least, to have judged for themselves on the question of their authenticity, and it would have afforded a guarantee for the accuracy of the translation. This, however, was not done, and there are none of the fragments contained in this little volume, the original of which can now be found anywhere.

In his preface to these "Fragments," Macpherson gives the first intimation of the existence of the poem of "Fingal." He says:—"It is believed that, by a careful inquiry, many more remains of ancient genius, no less valuable than those now given to the world, might be found in the same country where these have been collected. In particular, there is reason to hope that one work of considerable length, and which deserved to be styled an heroic poem, might be recovered and translated, if encouragement were given to such an undertaking. The subject is an invasion of Ireland by Swarthan, king of Lochlyn, which is the name of Denmark in the Erse language. Cuchulaid, the general or chief of the Irish tribes, upon intelligence of the invasion, assembles his forces; councils are held, and battles fought; but after several unsuccessful engagements the Irish are forced to submit. At length Fingal, king of Scotland, called in this poem 'The Desert of the Hills,' arrives with his ships to assist Cuchulaid. He expels the Danes from the country, and returns home victorious. This poem is held to be of greater antiquity than any of the rest that are preserved; and the author speaks of himself as present in the expedition of Fingal." In the "Fragments" the opening of this poem is given, but whether from tradition or MS. is not said. It proceeds:—"Cuchulaid sat by the wall, by the tree of the rustling leaf. His spear leaned against the mossy rock. His shield lay by him on the grass. Whilst he thought on

[8] This question has been recently discussed by the Rev. Archibald Clerk of Kilmallie, in his elegant edition of the *Poems of Ossian*, published since the above was written, under the auspices of the Marquis of Bute. We refer our readers to Mr Clerk's treatise for a great deal of varied and interesting information on this subject.

the mighty Carbre, whom he slew in battle, the scout of the ocean came, Moran the son of Fithil." In 1762 there appeared a quarto volume, edited by Macpherson, containing the poem of "Fingal" and several other compositions. The poem commences, "Cuchullin sat by Tura's walls; by the tree of the rustling leaf. His spear leaned against the mossy rock. His shield lay by him on the grass. As he thought of mighty Carbar, a hero whom he slew in war, the scout of the ocean came, Moran the son of Fithil." It will be seen that there are several variations in the two versions, and as we proceed these will appear to be more numerous and more marked. It is somewhat remarkable that the Garve of the earlier version should become Swaran in the second. The whole comparison is interesting, and sheds some light on the progress of the poems in the hand of the editor. It may be interesting, in juxtaposition with the above extracts, to give the Gaelic, as furnished at a later period, by the executors of Macpherson. It is as follows:—

"Shuidh Cuchullin aig balla Thura,
Fo dhùbhra craoibh dhuille na fuaim;
Dh'aom a shleagh ri carraig nan còs,
A sgiath mhòr r'a thaobh air an fheur.
Bha smaointean an fhir air Cairbre,
Laoch a thuit leis an garbh-chòmhrag,
'N uair a thàinig fear-coimhid a' chuain,
Luath mhac Fhithil nan ceum àrd."

The English in both the versions—that of 1760 and that of 1762—is a pretty accurate rendering of this. In some cases the Gaelic expletive is awanting, as in "garbh-chòmhrag," and the name Moran is, in the last line, substituted for the Gaelic description, "The swift son of Fithil, of bounding steps." These, however, are allowable liberties in such a case. The variations are, however, more considerable as the several versions proceed, but that of 1760 turns out to be a mere fragment of the first book of the great epic of 1762. The other fragments have also their representatives in the larger work. Some of them appear in the poem called "Carrickthura," and some of them in the epic of "Fingal," but in all these cases the later compositions are great expansions of the shorter poems given in the earlier work. A comparison of these versions is full of interest, and in the hands of fair and acute criticism, is capable, as already said, of shedding much light on the whole question of Macpherson's Ossian. One thing is beyond question, that the names of Ossian's heroes were familiar to the Scottish Highlanders from the earliest period; that they knew more of their deeds, and spoke more of them than of those of Wallace and Bruce; that the country was teeming with poetical compositions bearing to have these deeds as their subjects; that the topography of the country was in every quarter enriched with names drawn from Fingal and his men; and that to say that the whole of this was the invention of Macpherson, is nothing but what the bitterest national prejudice could alone receive as truth.

There are many of the pieces in Macpherson's Ossian of marvellous power. The description of Cuchullin's chariot in the first book of Fingal is equal to any similar composition among the great classical epics. It proceeds:—

"Carbad! carbad garbh a' chòmhraig,
'Gluasad thar 'chomhnard le bàs;
Carbad cuimir, luath, Chuchullin,
Sàr-mhac Sheuma nan cruaidh chàs.
Tha 'earr a' lùbadh siòs mar thonn,
No ceò mu thom nan carragh geur,
Solus chlocha-buadh mu'n cuairt,
Mar chuan mu eathar 's an oidhche.
Dh'iubhar faileusach an crann;
Suidhear ann air chnàmhaibh caoin;
'S e tuineas nan sleagh a th'ann,
Nan sgiath, nan lann, 's nan laoch.
Ri taobh deas a' mhòr-charbaid
Chithear an t-each meanmnach, séidear,
Mac ard-mhuingeach, cliàbh-fharsuing, dorcha,
Ard-leumach, talmhaidh, na beinne;
'S farumach, fuaimear, a chos;
Tha sgaoileadh a dhosain shuas,
Mar cheathach air àros nan os;
Bu shoilleir a dhreach, 's bu luath
'Shiubhal, Sithfada b'e 'ainm.
Ri taobh eile a charbaid thall
Tha each fiarasach nan srann,
Caol-mhuingeach, aiginneach, bròdach,
Luath-chosach, sròn ach, nam beann.
Dubh-sròn-gheal a b'ainm air an steud-each.
Làn mhìle dh'iallaibh tana
'Ceangal a' charbaid gu h-àrd;
Cruaidh chabstar shoilleir nan srian
'Nan gialaibh fo chobhar bàn;
Tha clochan-boillsge le buaidh
'Cromadh sios mu mhuing nan each,
Nan each tha mar cheò air sliabh,
A' giùlan an triath gu chliù.
Is fiadhaiche na fiadh an colg,
Co làidir ri iolair an neart;
Tha 'm fuaim mar an geamhradh borb
Air Gorm-mheall mùchta fo shneachd.
'Sa charbad chithear an triath,
Sar mhac treun nan geur lann,
Cuchullin nan gorm-bhallach sgiath,
Mac Sheuma mu'n éireadh dan.
A ghruaidh mar an t-iubhair caoin,
A shuil nach b'fhaoin a' sgaoileadh àrd,
Fo mhala chruim, dhorcha, chaoil;

A chiabh bhuidhe 'n a caoir m'a cheann,
'Taomadh mu ghnùis àluinn an fhir,
'S e 'tarruing a shleagh o 'chùl.
Teich-sa, shàr cheannard nan long,
Teich o'n t-sonn 's e 'tighinn a nall,
Mar ghaillinn o ghleann nan sruth."

It is difficult to give an English rendering of the above passage that would convey the elegance and force of the original. The admirer of Gaelic poetry cannot but regret that the English reader cannot peruse the Gaelic version, assured, as he feels, that his doing so would raise considerably his estimate of the Gaelic muse. There is not, perhaps, in any language a richer piece of poetical description than the above. Macpherson's English version of it is as follows:—

"The car, the car of battle comes, like the flame of death; the rapid car of Cuchullin, the noble son of Semo. It bends behind like a wave near a rock; like the golden mist of the heath. Its sides are embossed with stones, and sparkle like the sea round the boat of night. Of polished yew is its beam, and its seat of the smoothest bone. The sides are replenished with spears; and the bottom is the footstool of heroes. Before the right side of the car is seen the snorting horse, the high-maned, broad-breasted, proud, high-leaping, strong steed of the hill. Loud and resounding is his hoof; the spreading of his mane above is like that stream of smoke on the heath. Bright are the sides of the steed, and his name is Sulin-sifadda. Before the left side of the car is seen the snorting horse; the thin-maned, high-headed, strong-hoofed, fleet, bounding son of the hill; his name is Dusronnal among the stormy sons of the sword. A thousand thongs bind the car on high. Hard polished bits shine in a wreath of foam. Thin thongs, bright-studded with gems, bend on the stately necks of the steeds—the steeds that, like wreaths of mist, fly over the streamy vales. The wildness of deer is in their course, the strength of the eagle descending on her prey. Their noise is like the blast of winter on the sides of the snow-headed Gormal.

"Within the car is seen the chief, the strong, stormy son of the sword; the hero's name is Cuchullin, son of Semo, king of shells. His red cheek is like my polished yew. The look of his blue rolling eye is wide beneath the dark arch of his brow. His hair flies from his head like a flame, as, bending forward, he wields the spear. Fly, king of ocean, fly; he comes like a storm along the streamy vale."

The Gaelic scholar will at once observe that the above is a free but a fair translation of the original Gaelic, and the character of the translation is such as to give no idea of imposition. It is just such a translation as a man of poetic temperament and talent would give of the passage.

In 1763 Macpherson published a second quarto containing the poem of Temora in eight books, along with several other pieces. The first book of the former had appeared in the collection of 1762, the editor saying that it was merely the opening of the poem; but the great interest about the publication of 1763 is that here for the first time we are presented with the Gaelic original of one of the books of the poem. It is not true that Macpherson never offered to publish any portion of the original until he was obliged to do so by the pressure of public opinion, for in this case he published the Gaelic original of a part of the work altogether of his own accord. In a short introductory paragraph to the Gaelic, he says that he chooses the seventh book of Temora, "not from any other superior merit than the variety of its versification. To print any part of the former collection," he adds, "was unnecessary, as a copy of the originals lay for many months in the booksellers hands for the inspection of the curious." Of this new publication, however, he sees it right to furnish a portion "for the satisfaction of those who doubt the authenticity of Ossian's poems." The editor adds that "though the erroneous orthography of the bards is departed from in many instances in the following specimen, yet several quiescent consonants are retained, to show the derivation of the words." He accounts for the uncouth appearance of the language by the use of the Roman letters, which are incapable of expressing the sounds of the Gaelic. What kind of orthography Macpherson would have selected he does not say. He could not be unacquainted with the phonetic orthography of the Dean of Lismore's book, and may, perhaps, have had it in view in the above remarks. But the orthography which he himself uses is neither the bardic nor

the phonetic, and is more uncouth than any orthography which the bards were in the habit of using. One thing is clear, that the Gaelic of the seventh book of Temora was never copied from any manuscript written by a bard. The book opens as follows :—

"O linna doir-choille na *Leigo*
Air uair, eri' ceo taobh-ghórm nan tón ;
Nuair dhunas dorsa na h'oicha
Air iulluir shuil-greina nan speur.
Tomhail, mo Lara nan sruth
Thaomas du'-nial, as doricha cruaim ;
Mar ghlas-scia', roi taoma nan nial
Snamh seachad, ta Gellach na h'oicha.
Le so edi' taisiu o-shean
An dlù-ghleus, a measc na gaoith,
'S iad leumach o osna gn osna
Air du'-aghai' oicha nan sian.
An taobh oitaig, gu palin nan seoid
Taomas iad cëach nan speur
Gorm-thalla do thannais nach beo
Gu am eri' fón marbh-rán nan teud."

Translated by Macpherson thus :—

"From the wood-skirted waters of Lego ascend at times grey-bosomed mists ; when the gates of the west are closed, on the sun's eagle eye. Wide over Lara's stream is poured the vapour dark and deep ; the moon like a dim shield, is swimming through its folds. With this, clothe the spirits of old their sudden gestures on the wind when they stride from blast to blast along the dusky night. Often, blended with the gale, to some warrior's grave, they roll the mist, a grey dwelling to his ghost until the songs arise."

Any reader who understands the Gaelic must allow, without hesitation, that while this is a free it is a fair rendering of the original ; while he will be constrained to add that in point of force and elegance the Gaelic is superior to the English version. Many of the expletives in Gaelic are not rendered in English at all, and these add largely to the poetic force and beauty of the former. The orthography of the Gaelic will be seen to be most uncouth and unphilosophical. "Linna" for "Linne" has no principle to warrant it; so with "oicha" for "oidhche," "Gellach" for "gealach," "cruaim" for "gruaim," "taisin" for "taibhsean." Then there are no accents to guide the reader except that the acute accent is used in such extraordinary words as "tón," "fón," which are written for "tonn," "fonn." Altogether it would appear that the writer of the Gaelic of this book of Temora was to a large extent unacquainted with Gaelic orthography, and was unable to write the Gaelic language accurately. The orthography is, indeed, a mere jumble. Still the fact is an interesting and significant one as connected with the whole history of the Ossianic poetry that, at so early a period, Macpherson should have given, as a debt which he felt to be due to the public, a large specimen of the original of one of his poems. If there is any cause of regret connected with the matter, it is that he did not let the country know where he found these poems, and refer others to the sources whence he derived them himself. These have never been discovered by any body else, although numerous pieces of Ossianic poetry are well known in the Highlands to the present day.

There were various versions of Macpherson's collection, but the most interesting of all was the Gaelic original of the whole poems published in 1807. In this edition a Latin translation was furnished by Mr Robert M'Farlane. The book is a very handsome one, and in every way creditable to its editors. Mr M'Lachlan of Aberdeen revised the Gaelic, and no man was more competent for such a duty. The introduction to the edition of 1818 is understood to have been written by an excellent Gaelic scholar, the late Rev. Dr Ross of Lochbroom, and is an eloquent and powerful composition. Several translations of Ossian's poems have appeared, but the interest of the work is mainly associated with the name and labours of James Macpherson.

Smith's Sean Dana.

In 1780 appeared a volume of Ossian's Poems, translated and edited by the Rev. John Smith of Kilbrandon, afterwards the Rev. Dr Smith of Campbeltown. The volume is entitled "Gaelic Antiquities, &c.," containing, among other things, "A Collection of Ancient Poems, translated from the Gaelic of Ullin, Ossian, &c." Dr Smith was an admirable Gaelic scholar, as was evidenced by his translation of a portion of the Scriptures into that language, and his metrical version of the Gaelic Psalms. The work before us is a work highly creditable to Dr. Smith's talents and industry, and although he complains of the reception which his efforts on behalf of Gaelic literature met with, it is still prized by Gaelic scholars.

In the year 1787 appeared the Gaelic version of the same poems in an octavo volume, entitled, "Sean Dana le Oisian, Orran, Ulann,

&c." It is a pity that the two versions did not appear simultaneously, as there have not been wanting those who have charged Dr. Smith, as was done in the case of Macpherson, with composing himself much of the poetry which he gives as Ossian's. The same has been said of another collector of the name of Kennedy, who collected a large number of poems which now lie in MS. in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh; but it is a curious fact that some of the pieces which Kennedy is said to have acknowledged having composed, can be shown to be ancient.

Dr. Smith's collection begins with the poem called "Dan an Deirg," *the Song of Dargo*, or *the Red Man*. It is a famous song in the Highlands, as is indicated by the proverbial saying, "Gach dàn gu dàn an Deirg," *Every song yields to the song of Dargo*. It was sung to a simple, touching air, which is still known. This poem is given by Dr. Smith in two sections, entitled severally, "A' cheud chuid," and "An dara cuid." The song is given by the M'Callums (referred to below), but it is most perplexing that not one word of their version agrees with Dr. Smith's. Their version is manifestly of the ancient form and rhythm, with the usual summary at the head of it given by Gaelic reciters ere beginning one of their songs. None of this is found in Dr. Smith's version, which is cast very much in the mould of Macpherson's Gaelic Ossian. Mr. J. A. Campbell, in his *Popular Tales of the Highlands* (vol. iii., p. 51), gives a few lines of the lament of the wife of Dargo for her husband, but they do not correspond in one line with the version of Dr. Smith. The same may be said of Dr. Smith's "Diarmad," which is entirely different from all the existing versions of the same poem. The versions of the Dean of Lismore and of Gillies (mentioned below) are identical, and so are to a large extent other existing versions taken down from oral recitation, but Dr. Smith's differs largely from them in locality, matter, and rhythm. It removes the story of the death of this Fingalian hero from Glenshee to Sliabh Ghaodhail, in Kintyre. At the same time, it is quite possible that different poems existed bearing the same name; and Dr. Smith's poems are compositions of decided excellence. They add much to the stores of the Gaelic scholar, and the English translation is done with a skill little inferior to that of Macpherson himself

Other Collections of Ossianic Poems.

The earliest collector and publisher of the poems of Ossian was Mr. Jerome Stone at Dunkeld, who furnished the *Scots Magazine* in 1756 with a translation in rhyme of "Bàs Fhraoich," or the Death of Fraoch. Stone did not give the Gaelic original of this or of any other of his collections, but they were found after his death, and a selection of them is printed in the Report of the Highland Society on Ossian. A Mr Hill, an English gentleman, made some collections in Argyleshire in 1780; and several pieces were published by a bookseller of the name of Gillies at Perth, who published an excellent volume of Gaelic poetry in 1786.

Gillies's pieces have the true ring of the ancient poetry of the Highlands, and are in many cases to be found floating still among the traditional poetry of the people. The Ossianic pieces are numerous. They are—"Suiridh Oisein air Eamhair àluinn," *the Courtship of Ossian and Eviralin;* "Comhrag Fhinn agus Mhanuis," *the Conflict of Fingal and Manus;* "Marbhadh Chonlaoich le Cuchulain," *the Slaughter of Conlach by Cuchullin;* "Aisling Mhailmhìne," *Malvina's Dream;* "Briathran Fhinn ri Oscar," *Fingal's Address to Oscar;* "Rosg Ghuill," *the War-song of Gaul;* "Dàn na h-Inghin," *the Song of the Maiden*, usually called "Fainesoluis;" "Conn mac an Deirg," *Conn, son of Dargo;* "Duan Fhraoich," *the Song of Fraoch;* "Cath righ Sorcha," *the Battle of the King of Sorcha;* "Marbh-rann Oscair," *the Death-song of Oscar;* "Ceardach Mhic Luinn, "*the Smithy of the Son of Linn;* "Duan a Mhuircartaich," *the Song of Muircartach;* "Caoidh Dhéirdir," *Deirdre's Lament*, in which the poem given already from the old MS. of 1268 appears as a part of it. It is most interesting in this case to compare the written with the traditional poem; "Bàs Dhiarmaid," *the Death of Diarmad;* "Dearg mac Deirg," *the Song of Dargo;* "Teanntachd mòr na Feinn," *the great trial of the Fingalians;* "Laoidh Laomuinn mhic an Uaimh-fhir," *the Song of Laomuinn:*

'Eairagan," *Earragon;* "Na Brataichean," *the Banners;* "Bàs Oscair," *the Death of Oscar;* in all twenty-one fragments or whole pieces, some of them of considerable length, and almost all, if not all, taken down from oral recitation. This list is given in full, in order to show what pieces of professed Ossianic poetry could be found in the Highlands soon after the publication of Macpherson's work by other and independent compilers. A comparison of those pieces with Macpherson's Ossian is interesting to the inquirer in this field. The following specimen of one of Gillies's alleged compositions of Ossian may be given here :—

BRIATHRAN FHINN RI OSCAR.

A mhic mo mhic 's e thubhairt an rìgh,
Oscair, a righ nan òg fhlath,
Chunnaic mi dealradh do lainne 's b'e m' uaill
'Bhi 'g amharc do bhuaidh 's a chath.
Lean gu dlù ri cliù do shinnsireachd
'S na dìbir a bhi mar iadsan.
'N uair bu bheò Treunmhor nan rath,
'Us Trathull athair nan treun laoch,
Chuir iad gach cath le buaidh,
'Us bhuannaich iad cliù gach teugbhail.
'Us mairidh an iomradh 's an dàn
Air chuimhn' aig na baird an déigh so.
O ! Oscair, claoidh thus' an treun-armach,
'S thoir tearmunn do'n lag-lamhach, fheumach;
Bi mar bhuinne-shruth reothairt geamhraidh
Thoirt gleachd do naimhdibh na Feinn,
Ach mar fhann-ghaoth sheimh, thlàth, shamhraidh,
Bi dhoibhsan a shireas do chabhar.
Mar sin bha Treunmhor nam buadh,
S bha Trathull nan ruag 'n a dheigh ann,
'S bha Fionn 'na thaic do 'n fhann
'G a dhion o ainneart luchd-eucoir.
'N a aobhar shìninn mo lamh,
Le failte rachainn 'n a choinnimh,
'Us gheibheadh e fasgath 'us caird,
Fo sgàil dhrithlinneach mo loinne.

English Translation.

ADDRESS OF FINGAL TO OSCAR.

Son of my son, so said the king,
Oscar, prince of youthful heroes,
I have seen the glitter of thy blade, and 'twas my pride
To see thy triumph in the conflict.
Cleave thou fast to the fame of thine ancestors,
And do not neglect to be like them.
When Treunmor the fortunate lived,
And Trathull the father of warriors,
They fought each field triumphantly,
And won the fame in every fight.
And their names shall flourish in the song
Commemorated henceforth by the bards.
Oh ! Oscar, crush thou the armed hero,
But spare the feeble and the needy;
Be as the rushing winter, spring-tide, stream,
Giving battle to the foes of the Fingalians,
But as the gentle, soothing, summer breeze
To such as seek for thy help.
Such was Treunmor of victories,
And Trathull of pursuits, thereafter,
And Fingal was a help to the weak,
To save him from the power of the oppressor.
In his cause I would stretch out my hand,
With a welcome I would go to meet him,
And he should find shelter and friendship
Beneath the glittering shade of my sword.

The above is a true relic of the ancient Ossianic poetry, full of power and full of life, and indicates the existence of a refinement among the ancient Celts for which the opponents of Macpherson would not give them credit. Gillies tells us that his collection was made from gentlemen in every part of the Highlands. It is perhaps the most interesting collection of Highland song which we possess.

In 1816 there appeared a collection of Gaelic poetry by Hugh and John M'Callum. It was printed at Montrose, and the original Gaelic version and an English translation were published simultaneously. The work is called "An Original Collection of the Poems of Ossian, Orann, Ulin, and other bards who flourished in the same age." There are twenty-six pieces altogether, and the editors give the sources whence they were all derived. These are such as Duncan Matheson in Snizort, Isle of Skye; Hector M'Phail in Torasay, Mull; Donald M'Innes, teacher, Gribun, Mull; Dr. M'Donald of Killean, from whom "Teanntachd mòr na Feinn" was obtained —the Doctor maintaining, it appears, that his version was a better one than that given by Gillies; Archibald M'Callum in Killean; and others who furnish "Laoidh nan ceann," a poem found in the collection of the Dean of Lismore, as are several others of the M'Callums' collection.

This collection is a very admirable one, perfectly honest, and presents us with some compositions of high poetic merit. The addresses of Ossian to the sun, which Macpherson declines to give in Gaelic, substituting for one of them a series of asterisks, although he gives it in English, are here given in both languages; and the Gaelic versions are perhaps the finest compositions in the book. The address to the setting sun is here given as a specimen of the M'Callums' collection :—

OISIAN DO 'N GHREIN AN AM LUIDH.

An d' fhàg tha gorm astar nan speur,
A mhic gun bheud a's òr bhuidh ciabh ?
Tha dorsa na h-oidhche dhuit féin,
Agus pàilliuin do chlos 's an Iar,
Thig na tonna mu'n cuairt gu mall
'Choimhead an fhir a 's gloine gruaidh,
A' togail fo eagal an ceann
Ri 'd fhaicinn cho àillidh a'd shuain;
Theich iadsan gun tuar o'd thaobh.
Gabh-sa codal anu ad uaimh
A ghrian, 'us pill an tùs le h-aoibhneas.
Mar bhoillsge grein' 's a gheamhradh
'S e ruith 'n a dheann le raon Lena
Is amhuil laithe nam Fiann.
Mar ghrian eadar frasaibh a' tréigsinn
Dh' aom neoil chiar-dhubh nan speur,
'Us bhuin iad an deò aoibhinn o 'n t-sealgair,
Tha lom gheugan na coill' a' caoidh,
Is maoth lusrach an t-sleibh' a' seargadh;
Ach pillidh fathasd a' ghrian
Ri doire sgiamhach nan geug ùra,
'Us nì gach crann 's a Chéitean gàire
Ag amharc an àird ri mac an speura.

English Translation.

OSSIAN'S ADDRESS TO THE SETTING SUN.

Hast thou left the blue course of the sky'
Faultless son of golden locks ?
The gates of the night are for thee,
And thy place of repose is in the west.
The waves gather slowly around
To see him of fairest countenance;
Raising their heads in fear.
As they witness thy beauty in repose,
They fled pale from thy side.
Take thou rest in thy cave,
O sun, and return with rejoicing.
As the sunbeam in the winter time
Descending quick on the slope of Lena,
So are the days of the Fingalians.
As the sun becoming darkened among showers,
The dark clouds of the sky descended
And bore away the joyous light from the huntsman.
The bare branches of the wood weep,
And the soft herbage of the mountain withers.
But the sun shall return again
To the beautiful forest of the fresh-clothed branch,
And each bough shall smile in the early summer,
Looking up to the son of the sky.

The collection of the M'Callums was a real addition to the stores of Gaelic poetry, and is most helpful in bringing to a satisfactory conclusion the whole question of the ancient Gaelic poetry of Scotland. Were there no other Gaelic compositions in existence save those pieces which this volume contains, they would be sufficient to prove the high character of the heroic poetry of the Scottish Gael for everything that constitutes true poetic power.

It would be wrong in such a sketch as this to overlook the interesting and ingenious contribution made to the discussion of the Ossianic question in the third and fourth volumes of Mr. J. Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*. The whole four volumes are full of interesting materials for the student of Gaelic literature and antiquities, but the third and fourth volumes are those in which a place is given to the ancient Ossianic poems. Mr. Campbell, the representative of a distinguished Highland family, and unlike many of the class to which he belongs, an excellent Gaelic scholar, made collections on his own account all over the Highlands. He had as his chief coadjutor in the work Mr. Hector M'Lean, teacher in Islay, and he could not have had a better—Mr M'Lean being possessed of scholarship, enthusiasm, and sound judgment. The result is a very remarkable collection of the oral literature of the Highlands, including selections from a large amount of poetry attributed to Ossian. This book is a truly honest book, giving the compositions collected just as they were found among the native Highlanders. We shall take occasion again to refer to the Sgeulachds, or tales, and shall only refer at present to the Ossianic remains presented to us by Mr. Campbell.

Mr. Campbell's collections include most of the pieces that have been brought together in the same way, with such variations, of course, as must be looked for in the circumstances. He furnishes us with a version of the Lay of Diarmad (vol. iii., 50), having peculiar features of its own, but to a large extent identical with the versions of the Dean of Lismore and of Gillies. It is of much interest to compare this version, taken down within the last few years, with one taken down one hundred years ago, and another taken down three hundred and fifty years ago. The retentive power of human memory for generations is remarkably illustrated by the comparison. Mr Campbell also gives us " The Lay of Oscar," " The Praise of Gaul," " The Poem of Oscar," and several other minor compositions, some of which had never before been printed. These, with Mr. Campbell's own disquisitions, are full of interest; but for the details we must refer the reader to Mr. Campbell's volumes.

From all that has been written on the subject of these ancient Gaelic poems of Ossian, it is perfectly clear that Ossian himself is no creation of James Macpherson. His name has been familiar to the people both of the High-

lands and Ireland, for a thousand years and more. "Oisian an deigh na Feinn," *Ossian after the Fingalians*, has been a proverbial saying among them for numberless generations. Nor did Macpherson invent Ossian's poems. There were poems reputed to be Ossian's in the Highlands for centuries before he was born, and poems, too, which for poetic power and interest are unsurpassed; which speak home to the heart of every man who can sympathise with popular poetry marked by the richest felicities of diction; and which entitles them justly to all the commendation bestowed upon the poems edited by Macpherson.

Modern Gaelic Literature.

It will be seen that a large proportion of the existing Gaelic literature of the early period is poetical. Not that it is so altogether, by any means; and if any large amount of it had come down to us, there is no reason for believing that so large a share of it would be poetical. But the prose MS. writings of the ancient Gael have, with the few exceptions already referred to, perished; and have left us with such poetical compositions as adhered to the national memory.

As we enter upon the era of printing, we are disposed to look for a more extensive literature, and no doubt we find it. But with the era of printing came the use of another language, and the Gaelic ceased to be the vehicle for carrying abroad the thoughts of the learned. Religion still continued to make use of its services, but it ceased to be the handmaid of science and philosophy.

The first printed Gaelic book which we find is Bishop Carsewell's Gaelic translation of the Liturgy of John Knox. It is well known that Knox compiled a prayer-book for the use of the Scottish Reformed Church, and that it was thought desirable that this prayer-book should be translated into the Gaelic language for the use of the Highlanders. The translation was undertaken by Mr. John Carsewell, who was appointed superintendent of the ancient diocese of Argyle, which office he filled for many years. The book was printed at Edinburgh, in 1567. The language is what is in modern times called Irish, but might in Carsewell's time be called Scotch, for none other was written in Scotland in so far as Gaelic was written at all. There are but three copies of this book known to exist — an entire copy in the library of the Duke of Argyle, and two imperfect copies, one in the library of the University of Edinburgh, and one in the British Museum. This book was printed before one line of Irish Gaelic was printed. Extracts from the volume will be found in the *Highland Society's Report upon Ossian*, and in M'Lauchlan's *Celtic Gleanings*. The former extract is made to show that the names of Fingal and the Fingalians were well known in the Highlands at the period of the Reformation. In 1631 a translation of Calvin's Catechism appeared, probably executed by Carsewell.

In 1659 appeared the first fifty of the Psalms of David in metre by the Synod of Argyle. It is called "An ceud chaogad do Shalmaibh Dhaibhidh a meadrachd Gaoidhilg," *the first Fifty of the Psalms of David in Gaelic Metre*. The language of the original here is what is called Irish, although it is, as is the Gaelic of Carsewell, the ordinary written Gaelic of the period. This translation forms the groundwork of all the editions of the Psalms that have been used since in the Scottish Church. The rest of the Psalms followed the first fifty in 1694, and the Psalter of the Argyle Synod became then complete. The introduction to the little volume of 1659 details the difficulties which the authors met in converting the Psalms into Gaelic metre, one of which, they say, was the necessity of adapting them to the structure of the English Psalm tunes. How Gaelic congregational singing was conducted in the Highlands previous to this little book appearing, it is hard to say. The introduction concludes with the words, "Anois, a Legthora, dense dithcheall ann sann obair bhigse bhuiliughadh gu maith, agus guidh ar an Tighearna é fein do bheannughadh an tshoisgeil ann sna tirthaibh gaoidhlachsa, agus lasair shoilleir lán teasa do dheanamh don tsraid bhig do lasadh cheana ionta. Grasa maille roit."

English Translation.

"And now, reader, strive to use this little work, and pray the Lord that He himself would bless the gospel in these Gaelic lands,

and that He would make a bright flame full of heat of this little spark which has been now lighted in it."

This little volume is now scarce, but full of interest to the Gaelic student.

Alongside of the Synod of Argyle, another indefatigable labourer in the same field was at work. This was Mr Robert Kirk, minister at Balquhidder. There seems to have been no Rob Roy in the district at the time, and Mr. Kirk appears to have had a quiet life in his Highland parish; more so, indeed, than other Scottish ministers of the time, for he seems to have been engaged in his translation during the heat of the persecution of the Covenanters, and it was published in 1684, four years before the Revolution. Kirk is said to have been so anxious to have precedence of the Synod of Argyle, that he invented a machine for awakening him in the morning by means of water made to fall upon his face at a certain hour. His Psalter preceded that of the Synod by a period of ten years.

Mr Kirk dedicates his volume, which is published with the sanction of the Privy Council, and with the approbation of "the Lords of the Clergy, and some reverend ministers who best understand the Irish language," to the Marquis of Athole, &c., of whom he says that his "Lordship has been of undoubted courage and loyalty for the king, and still alongst inflexible to the persuasions or threats of frozen neutralists or flaming incendiaries in Church or State." Kirk further states that the work was "done by such as attained not the tongue (which he calls Scottish-Irish) without indefatigable industry," manifestly pointing to himself as one who had so acquired it.

This little volume of the minister of Balquhidder is a most interesting contribution to our Gaelic literature. The language is what many writers call Irish, although there is no reason to believe that Mr Kirk ever was in Ireland, or conversed with speakers of Irish Gaelic. He knew and used the dialect which writers of the Gaelic language had used for centuries, and used at the time. No Irish writer could use a dialect more purely Irish than that found in Kirk's Gaelic preface. Kirk concludes his preface with the following lines:—

Imthigh a Dhuilleachain gu dàn,
Le Dan glan diagha duisg iad thall.
Cuir failte air Fonn fial na bFionn,
Ar garbh-chriocha, 's Indseadh gall.

English Translation.

Go, little leaflet, boldly,
With pure holy songs wake them yonder,
Salute the hospitable land of the Fingalians,
The rugged borders, and the Isles of the strangers.

"The land of the Fingalians" was the Highlands generally; "the rugged borders" was the west coast of Inverness-shire and Ross-shire; and "the Isles of the Strangers" were the Hebrides, so called from being long in possession of the Norsemen.

In 1690 Mr Kirk edited in Roman letters an edition of Bedel's Irish Bible, with O'Donnell's New Testament, for the use of the Highlanders. Kirk says in the title-page of the work, "Nocha ta anois chum maitheas coit-cheann na nGaoidheil Albanach athruighte go hair-each as an litir Eireandha chum na mion-litir shoileighidh Romhanta" *which is now for the common good of the Highlanders changed carefully from the Irish letter to the small readable Roman letter.* At the close of the book there is a vocabulary of Irish words with their Gaelic equivalents. Many of the equivalents are as difficult to understand as the original Irish.

In 1694 the completed Psalm-book of the Synod of Argyle appeared. It was very generally accepted, and although some editions of Kirk's Psalter appeared, the Synod's Psalter became the Psalter of the Church, and was the basis of all the metrical versions of the Gaelic Psalms that have appeared since.

The Shorter Catechism was published in Gaelic by the Synod of Argyle about the same time with their first fifty Psalms. Numerous editions have been printed since, and perhaps there is no better specimen of the Gaelic language in existence than what is to be found in the common versions of it. The earlier versions are in the dialect so often referred to, called Irish. The title of the book is "Foirceadul aithghearr cheasnuighe, an dus ar na ordughadh le coimhthional na Ndiaghaireadh ag Niarmhanister an Sasgan, &c." That may be called Irish, but it was a Scottish book written by Scottish men.

In 1725 the Synod of Argyle, who cannot be too highly commended for their anxiety to

promote the spiritual good of their countrymen in the Highlands, published a translation of the Confession of Faith into Gaelic. It is a small duodecimo volume printed at Edinburgh. The Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed follow the Confession. The book is well printed, and the language is still the so-called Irish. The title runs:—"Admhail an Chreidimh, air an do reitigh air ttus coimhthionol na nDiaghaireadh aig Niarmhoinister an Sasgan; &c. . . ar na chur a Ngaoidheilg le Seanadh Earraghaoidheal." *The Confession of Faith, &c., translated into Gaelic by the Synod of Argyle.*

It is interesting with respect to the dialect in which all the works referred to appear, to inquire whence the writers obtained it, if it be simply Irish. Carsewell's Prayer-book appeared before any work in Irish Gaelic was printed. The ministers of the Synod of Argyle were surely Scottish Highlanders and not Irishmen. Mr Kirk of Balquidder was a lowland Scot who acquired the Gaelic tongue. Now these men, so far as we know, were never in Ireland, and there were no Irish-Gaelic books from which they could acquire the tongue. There might be manuscripts, but it is not very probable that men would inspect manuscripts in order to enable them to write in a dialect that was foreign to the people whom they intended to benefit. Yet these all write in the same dialect, and with the identical same orthography. Surely this proves that the Scottish Gael were perfectly familiar with that dialect as the language of their literature, that its orthography among them was fixed, that the practice of writing it was common, as much so as among the Irish, and that the people readily understood it. It is well known that the reading of the Irish Bible was common in Highland churches down to the beginning of this century, and that the letter was, from the abbreviations used, called "A' chorra litir," and was familiar to the people. At the same time, the language was uniformly called Irish, as the people of the Highlands were called Irish, although there never was a greater misnomer. Such a designation was never employed by the people themselves, and was only used by those who wrote and spoke English. In the title of the Confession of Faith published in Gaelic in 1725, it is said to be translated into the Irish language by the Synod of Argyle.

Gaelic Bible.

Religious works formed the staple of the literature issued from the Gaelic press from the period now spoken of to the present day. The great want for many years was the Bible. For a long time the clergy used the Irish edition reprinted for the use of the Highlands by Mr Kirk; but this was not satisfactory, from the difference of the dialect; many in consequence preferred translating from the English. This habit pervaded all classes, and it is not improbable that there are in the Highlands still persons who prefer translating the Scriptures for their own use to the common version. Certain traditional forms of translation were at one time in general use, and occasionally the translations given bordered on the ludicrous. A worthy man was once translating the phrase "And they were astonied," and he made it "Bha iad air an clachadh,' *They were stoned.* It was in every way desirable that a correct translation of the Gaelic Bible should be provided for the use of the Highlands, and this was finally undertaken by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. The person employed to perform the work was the Rev. James Stewart of Killin, a man fully qualified for it, and although his translation retained too much of the Irish dialect of O'Donnell's Irish New Testament, it was welcomed as a highly creditable work, and as a great boon to the Highlands. Many minor changes have been made in the Gaelic New Testament of 1767, but it has been the basis of all subsequent editions which have sought merely to render certain portions of the work more idiomatic and pleasing to a Scottish ear. The publishing of this version of the New Testament proved a great benefit to the Highlands.

Soon after the publication of the New Testament, it was resolved that the Old Testament should be translated into Gaelic also. This work, like the former, was undertaken by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, assisted by a collection made throughout the congregations of the Church of Scotland

amounting to £1483. The principal translator employed was the Rev. Dr John Stewart of Luss, son of the translator of the New Testament, who translated three portions of the work, while a fourth portion, including the Prophets, was executed by the Rev. Dr Smith, of Campbellton, the accomplished editor of the Sean Dana. The whole work was completed and published in the year 1801. This work has been of incalculable service to the Highlands, and is one of the many benefits conferred upon that portion of the country by the excellent Society who undertook it. Objections have been taken to the many Irish idioms introduced into the language, and to the extent to which the Irish orthography was followed, but these are minor faults, and the work itself is entitled to all commendation.

Translations from the English.

Much of our modern Gaelic prose literature consists of translations from the English. In this the Gaelic differs from the Welsh, in which is to be found a large amount of original prose writing on various subjects. This has arisen from the demand for such a literature being less among the Highlanders, among whom the English language has made greater progress, so much so, that when a desire for extensive reading exists, it is generally attended with a sufficient knowledge of English. Translations of religious works, however, have been relished, and pretty ample provision has been made to meet the demand. The first book printed in modern Scottish Gaelic was a translation of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, executed by the Rev. Alex. M'Farlane, of Kilninver, and published in 1750. There is much of the Irish orthography and idiom retained in this work, but it is a near approach to the modern spoken language of the Highlands. Since then many of the works of well-known religious authors have been translated and published, among which may be mentioned works by Boston, Bunyan, Brookes, Colquhoun, and Doddridge. These are much prized and read throughout the Highlands. The translations are of various excellence; some of them accurate and elegant, while others are deficient in both these qualities. Dr Smith's version of Alleine's *Alarm* is an admirable specimen of translation, and is altogether worthy of the fame of Dr Smith. The same may be said of Mr M'Farlane's translation of *The History of Joseph*, which is an excellent specimen of Gaelic writing. The *Monthly Visitor* tract has been translated by the writer for the last twelve years, and it has a large circulation.

Original Prose Writings.

Of these Mr Reid, in his *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica*, gives but a scanty catalogue. He gives but a list of ten, most of them single sermons. There are several other such writings, however, which have been added since Reid's list was made up. Among these appears M'Kenzie's *Bliadhna Thearlaich*, "Charles's year," a vigorous well-written account of the rebellion of 1745–6. M'Kenzie was the compiler of a volume of Gaelic poetry in which the best specimens of the works of the bards are generally given, and although having ideas of his own on the subject of orthography, few men knew the Gaelic language better. We have also a volume on astronomy by the Rev. D. Connell; and a *History of Scotland* by the Rev. Angus Mackenzie, both of them creditable performances. It is doubtful how far these works have been patronised by the public, and how far they have been of pecuniary benefit to their authors, but they are deserving works, and if they have not proved a remunerative investment, it is from want of interest on the part of the readers more than from want of ability on the part of the writers. In addition to these have been several magazines, the contents of which have in some instances been collected into a volume and published separately. Of these are *An teachdair Gaidhealach*, "The Gaelic Messenger," edited by the late Rev. Dr M'Leod of Glasgow, and a Free Church magazine *An Fhianuis*, "The Witness," edited by the Rev. Dr Mackay, now of Harris. "The Gaelic Messenger," *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach*, contained a large proportion of papers furnished by the editor, Dr M'Leod. These have been since that time collected into a volume by his son-in-law the Rev. Archibald Clerk of Kilmallie, and published under the title of *Caraid nan Gaidheal*, "The Friend of the Highlanders." This is an admirable volume, containing, as it does, our best

specimens of racy, idiomatic Gaelic, of which Dr M'Leod was a master. It is a most interesting addition to our Gaelic literature. Besides this, Dr M'Leod produced *Leabhar nan Cnoc*, "The Book of the Knowes," a school collection of prose and poetry, and several other lesser works. The *Leabhar nan Cnoc* is an admirable collection of fragments, well adapted for school use, and at the same time interesting to the general reader,

But the most remarkable addition that has recently been made to Gaelic prose literature is Mr J. F. Campbell's collection of "Sgeulachdan" or ancient Highland tales. It was long known that a large amount of this kind of literature existed in the Highlands; that it formed the treasure of the reciter, a character recognised and appreciated in every small community; and that it was the staple fireside amusement of many a winter evening. Specimens of this literature appeared occasionally in print, and one of great interest, and remarkably well given, called *Spiorad na h-aoise*, "The Spirit of Age," appears in *Leabhar nan Cnoc*, the collection already spoken of. Mr Campbell set himself to collect this literature from the traditions of the people, and he has embodied the result in four goodly volumes, which every lover of the language and literature of the Celt must prize. Many coadjutors aided Mr Campbell in his undertaking, and he was happy in finding, as has been already said, in Mr Hector M'Lean, teacher, Islay, a most efficient collector and transcriber of the tales. These tales were known among the Highlanders as "Sgeulachdan" Tales, or "Ursgeulan" Noble Tales, the latter having reference usually to stories of the Fingalian heroes. They are chiefly "Folk lore" of the kinds which are now known to pervade the world amongst a certain class as their oral literature. The Tales themselves are of various degrees of merit, and are manifestly derived from various sources. Some of them took their origin in the fertile imagination of the Celt, while others are obviously of classical origin, and are an adaptation of ancient Greek and Latin stories to the taste of the Celt of Scotland. Mr Campbell, in his disquisitions accompanying the tales, which are often as amusing and instructive as the tales themselves, traces numerous bonds of connection between them and similar legends common to almost all the European nations. He shows where they meet and where they diverge, and makes it very clear that most of them must have had a common origin. It has been maintained that many of these legends were brought to Scotland by returning Crusaders; that they were often the amusement of the camp among these soldiers of the ancient Church; and that, related among hearers of all nations, they became dispersed among those nations, and that thus Scotland came to obtain and to retain her share of them.

That Scotland felt largely the influence of the Crusades cannot be denied by any observant student of her history. Her whole political and social system was modified by them, while to them is largely due the place and power which the mediæval Church obtained under the government of David I. That Scottish literature should have felt their influence is more than likely, and it is possible, although it is hardly safe to go further, that some of these tales of the Scottish Highlands owe their existence to the wanderings of Scottish Crusaders. Be their origin, however, what it may, they afford a deeply interesting field of enquiry to the student of the popular literature of the country. In our own view, they are of great value, as presenting us with admirable specimens of idiomatic Gaelic. We transcribe one tale, making use of the ordinary orthography of the Gaelic, Mr Campbell having used forms of spelling which might serve to expres the peculiarities of the dialect in which he found them couched.

Maol a Chliobain.

Bha bantrach ann roimhe so, 'us bha trì nigheanan aice, 'us thubhairt iad rithe, gu'n rachadh iad a dh'iarraidh an fhortain. Dheasaich i trì bonnaich. Thubhairt i ris an té mhòir, "Cò aca is fhearr leat an leth bheag 'us mo bheannachd, no'n leth mhòr 's mo mhallachd?" "Is fhearr leam, ars' ise, an leth mhòr 'us do mhallachd.' Thubhairt i ris an té mheadhonaich,

English Translation.

There was a widow once of a time, and she had three daughters, and they said to her that they were going to seek their fortunes. She prepared three bannocks. She said to the big daughter, "Whether do you like best the little half with my blessing, or the big half with my curse?" "I like best," said she, "the big half with your curse." She said to the

"Co aca's fhearr leat an leth bheag 'us mo bheannachd, no'n leth mhòr 'us mo mhallachd." "Is fhearr leam an leth mhòr 'us do mhallachd," ars' ise. Thubhairt i ris an té bhig, Co aca 's fhearr leat an leth mhòr 'us mo mhallachd, no'n leth bheag 's mo bheannachd?" "Is fhearr leam an leth bheag'us do bheannachd." Chord so r'a màthair, 'us thug i dhi an leth eile cuideachd.

Dh' fhalbh iad, ach cha robh toil aig an dithis 'bu shine an té 'b'òige 'bhi leo, 'us cheangail iad i ri carr-agh cloiche. Ghabh iad air an aghaidh, 's 'n uair a dh'amhairc iad as an déigh, co a chunnaic iad ach ise 'us a' chreig air a muin. Leig iad leatha car treis gus an d'ràinig iad cruach mhòine, 'us cheangail iad ris a chruaich mhòine i. Ghabh iad air an aghaidh treis, 'us dh'amhairc iad 'n an déigh, 'us cò a chunnaic iad ach ise a' tighinn, 's a' chruach mhòine air a muin. Leig iad leatha car tacan gus an d'rainig iad craobh, 'us cheangail iad ris a'chraoibh i. Ghabh iad air an aghaidh treis, 'us 'n'uair a dh'amhairc iad 'n an déigh, cò a chunnaic iad ach ise a' tighinn, 's a'chraobh air a muin. Chunnaic iad nach robh maith bhi rithe. Dh'fhuasgail iad i 'us leig iad leo i. Bha iad a' falbh gus an d'thàinig an oidhche orra. Chunnaic iad solus fada uatha, 'us ma b'fhada uatha, cha b'fhada bha iadsan 'g a ruigheachd. Chaidh iad a stigh. Ciod e bha so ach tigh famhair. Dh'iarr iad fuireach 's an oidhche. Fhuair iad sin 'us chuireadh a luidhe iad le trì nigheanan an fhamhair.

Bha caran de chneapan òmbair mu mhuinealan nigheanan an fhamhair, agus sreangan gaosaid mu'm muinealan-san. Choidil iad air fad, ach cha do choidil Maol a' chliobain. Feadh na h-oidhche thàinig path-adh air an fhamhar. Ghlaodh e r'a ghille maol carrach uisge 'thoirt d'a ionnsuidh. Thubhairt an gille maol carrach nach robh deur a stigh. "Marbh, ars' esan, té de na nigheanan coimheach, 'us thoir a'm ionnsuidh-se a fuil." "Ciamar a dh' aithnicheas mi eatorra?" ars' an gille maol carrach. "Tha caran de chneapan mu mhuinealan mo nigheanan-sa, agus caran gaosaid mu mhuinealan chàich." Chuala Maol a chliobain am famhar, 'us cho clis 's a b'urrainn i, chuir i na sreanganan gaosaid a bha m'a muineal féin agus mu mhuinealan a peathraichean mu mhuinealan nigheanan an fhamhair, agus na cneapan a bha mu mhuinealan nigheanan an fhamhair m'a muineal féin agus mu mhuinealan a peathraichean, 'us luidh i sios gu samh-ach. Thàinig an gille maol carrach, 'us mharbh e té de nigheanan an fhamhair, 'us thug e an fhuil d'a ionnsuidh. Dh'iarr e tuilleadh a thoirt d'a ionnsuidh. Mharbh e an ath thé. Dh'iarr e tuilleadh 'us mharbh e an treas té. Dhùisg Maol a' chliobain a' peathraich-ean, 'us thug i air a muin iad, 'us ghabh i air falbh. Mhothaich am famhar dith 'us lean e i.

Na spreadan teine a bha ise 'cur as na clachan le a sàiltean, bha iad a' bualadh an fhamhair 's an smigead; agus na spreadan teine a bha am famhar 'toirt as na clachan le barraibh a chos, bha iad a' bualadh Mhaol a' chliobain an cùl a' chinn. Is e so 'bu dual doibh gus an d'ràinig iad amhainn. Leum Maol a' chliobain an amhainn 'us cha b'urrainn am famhar an amhainn a leum. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo thrì nigh-eanan maola, ruagha." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat." "'Us c'uine thig thu ris?" "Thig, 'n uair bheir mo ghnothuch ann mi."

Ghabh iad air an aghaidh gus an d'ràinig iad tigh tuathanaich. Bha aig an tuathanach tri mic. Dh'innis iad mar a thachair dhoibh. Ars' an tuatha ach ri Maol a'chliobain, "Bheir mi mo mhac a's sine do'd phinthair a's sine, 'us faigh dhomh cìr mhìn òir, 'us cìr gharbh airgid, a th'aig an fhamhar," "Cha chosd e tuilleadh dhuit," ars' Maol a' chliobain. Dh'fhalbh i 'us ràinig i tigh an fhamhair. Fhuair i stigh gun fhios. Thug i leatha na cìrean 'us dhalbh i mach. middle one, "Whether do you like best the big half with my curse, or the little half with my blessing?" "I like best," said she, "the big half with your curse." She said to the little one, "Whether do you like best the big half with my curse, or the little half with my blessing?" "I like best the little half with your blessing." This pleased her mother, and she gave her the other half likewise.

They left, but the two older ones did not wish to have the younger one with them, and they tied her to a stone. They held on, and when they looked be-hind them, whom did they see coming but her with the rock on her back. They let her alone for a while until they reached a stack of peats, and they tied her to the peat-stack. They held on for a while, when whom did they see coming but her with the stack of peats on her back. They let her alone for a while until they reached a tree, and they tied her to the tree. They held on, and whom did they see coming but her with the tree on her back. They saw that there was no use in meddling with her. They loosed her, and they let her come with them. They were travelling until night overtook them. They saw a light far from them, and if it was far from them they were not long reaching it. They went in. What was this but the house of a giant. They asked to remain overnight. They got that, and they were set to bed with the three daughters of the giant.

There were turns of amber beads around the necks of the giant's daughters, and strings of hair around their necks. They all slept, but Maol a chliobain kept awake. During the night the giant got thirsty. He called to his bald rough-skinned lad to bring him water. The bald rough-skinned lad said that there was not a drop within. "Kill," said he, "one of the strange girls, and bring me her blood." "How will I know them?" said the bald rough-skinned lad. "There are turns of beads about the necks of my daughters, and turns of hair about the necks of the rest." Maol a chliobain heard the giant, and as quickly as she could she put the strings of hair that were about her own neck and the necks of her sisters about the necks of the giant's daughters, and the beads that were about the necks of the giant's daugh-ters about her own neck and the necks of her sisters, and laid herself quietly down. The bald rough-skinned lad came and killed one of the daughters of the giant, and brought him her blood. He bade him bring him more. He killed the second one. He bade him bring him more, and he killed the third. Maol a chliobain wakened her sisters, and she took them on her back and went away. The giant observed her, and he followed her.

The sparks of fire which she was driving out of the stones with her heels were striking the giant in the chin, and the sparks of fire that the giant was taking out of the stones with the points of his feet, they were striking Maol a chliobain in the back of her head. It was thus with them until they reached a river. Maol a chliobain leaped the river, and the giant could not leap the river. "You are over, Maol a chlio-bain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-skinned daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "And when will you come again?" "I will come when my business brings me."

They went on till they reached a farmer's house. The farmer had three sons. They told what happened to them. Says the farmer to Maol a chliobain, "I will give my eldest son to your eldest sister, and get for me the smooth golden comb and the rough silver comb that the giant has." "It won't cost you more," said Maol a chliobain. She left and reached the giant's house. She got in without being seen. She took the combs and hastened out. The giant observed her, and

Mhothaich am famhar dhìth ; 'us as a deigh a bha e gus an d'ràinig e an amhainn. Leum ise an amhainn 'us cha b'urrainn am famhar an amhainn a leum. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh, thu mo thrì nigheanan maola, ruagha." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo chìr mhìn òir, 'us mo chìr gharbh airgid." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "C' uine thig thu rìs ?" "Thig, 'n uair bheir mo ghnothuch ann mi."

Thug i na cìrean thun an tuathanaich, 'us phòs a piuthair mhòr-sa mac mòr an tuathanaich.

"Bheir mi mo mhac meadhonach do'd phiuthair mheadhonaich, 'us faigh dhomh claidheamh soluis an fhamhair." "Cha chosd e tuilleadh dhuit," ars' Maol a' chliobain. Ghabh i air falbh, 'us ràinig i tigh an fhamhair. Chaidh i suas ann an barr craoibhe 'bha os cionn tobair an fhamhair. Anns an oidhche thainig an gille maol carrach, 'us an claidheamh soluis leis, a dh'iarraidh uisge. An uair a chrom e a thogail an uisge, thainig Maol a' chliobain a nuas, 'us phut i sios 's an tobar e 'us bhàth i e, 'us thug i leatha an claidheamh soluis. Lean am famhar i gus an d'ràinig i an amhainn. Leum i an amhainn, 'us cha b'urrainn am famhar a leantuinn. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo thrì nigheanan maola, ruadha." "Mharbh ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo chìr mhìn òir, 's mo chìr gharbh airgid." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo ghille maol carrach." "Mharbh ma's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo chlaidheamh soluis." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "C'uine thig thu rìs." "Thig, 'n uair bheir mo ghnothuch ann mi." Ràinig i tigh an tuathanaich leis a' chlaidheamh sholuis, 'us phòs a piuthair mheadhonach 'us mac meadhonach an tuathanaich.

"Bheir mi dhuit féin mo mhac a's òige," ars' an tuathanach, "'us thoir a'm ionnsuidh boc a th'aig an fhamhar." "Cha chosd e tuilleadh dhuit" ars' Maol a' chliobain. Dh'fhalbh i 'us ràinig i tigh an fhamhair, ach an uair a bha greim aice air a bhoc, rug am famhar, oirre. "Ciod e" ars' am famhar, "a dheanadh tus' ormsa, nan deanainn uibhir a choire ort 's a rinn thus' ormsa." "Bheiriun ort gu'n sgàineadh tu thu fhéin le brochan bainne ; chuirinn an sin ann am poc thu ; chrochainn thu ri druim an tighe ; chuirinn teine fothad ; 'us ghabhainn duit le cabar gus an tuiteadh thu 'n ad chual chrionaich air an ùrlar. Rinn am famhar brochan bainne 'us thugar dhìth ri òl e. Chuir ise am brochan bainne m' a beul 'us m' a h-eudainn, 'us luidh i seachad mar gu'm bitheadh i marbh. Chuir am famhar ann am poc i, 'us chroch e i ri druim an tighe, 'us dh'fhalbh e fhéin 'us a dhaoine a dh'iarraidh fiodha do'n choille. Bha màthair an fhamhair a stigh. Theireadh Maol a' chliobain 'n uair a dh'fhalbh am famhar, "Is mise 'tha 's an t-sòlas, is mise 'tha 's a chaithir òir." "An leig thu mise ann ?" ars' a' chailleach. "Cha leig, gu dearbh." Mu dheireadh, leig i nuas am poca ; chuir i stigh a' chailleach, 'us cat, 'us laogh, 'us soitheach uachdair ; thug i leatha am boc, 'us dh'fhalbh i. An uair a thainig am famhar, thoisich e fhéin 'us a dhaoine air a' phoca leis na cabair. Bha a' chailleach a' glaodhaich, "'S mi fhéin a th' ann." "Tha fios agam gur tu fhéin a th 'ann," theireadh am famhar, 'us e ag éiridh air a' phoca. Thàinig am poc' a nuas 'n a chual' chrionaich 'us ciod e 'bha ann ach a mhàthair. An uair a chunnaic am famhar mar a bha, thug e as an déigh Mhaol a' chliobain. Lean e i gus an d'ràinig i an amhainn. Leum Maol a' chliobain an amhainn 'us cha b'urrainn am famhar a leum. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo thrì nigheanan maola, ruadha." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat" "Ghoid thu mo chìr mhin òir, 'us mo chìr gharbh airgid." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo ghille maol, carrach." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat. "Ghoid after her he went until they reached the river. She leaped the river, and the giant could not leap the river. "You are over, Maol a chliobain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-skinned daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my smooth golden comb and my rough silver comb." "Yes, if it vex you." "When will you come again." "When my business brings me."

She brought the combs to the farmer, and the big sister married the big son of the farmer.

"I will give my middle son to your middle sister, and get for me the giant's sword of light." "It won't cost you more," says Maol a chliobain." She went away, and reached the giant's house. She went up in the top of a tree that was above the giant's well. In the night the bald, rough-skinned lad came for water, having the sword of light with him. When he bent over to raise the water, Maol a chliobain came down and pushed him into the well and drowned him, and took away the sword of light. The giant followed her till she reached the river. She leaped the river, and the giant could not follow her. "You are over, Maol a chliobain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-haired daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my smooth golden comb and my rough silver comb." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my bald rough-skinned lad." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my sword of light." "Yes, if it vex you." "When will you come again ?" "When my business brings me." She reached the farmer's house with the sword of light, and her middle sister married the middle son of the farmer.

"I will give yourself my youngest son," said the farmer, "and bring me the buck that the giant has." "It won't cost you more," said Maol a chliobain. She went and she reached the giant's house, but as she got hold of the buck, the giant laid hands upon her. "What," said the giant, "would you do to me if I had done to you as much harm as you have done to me ?" "I would make you burst yourself with milk porridge. I would then put you in a bag ; I would hang you to the roof of the house ; I would place fire under you ; and I would beat you with sticks until you fell a bundle of dry sticks on the floor." The giant made milk porridge, and gave it her to drink. She spread the milk porridge over her mouth and her face, and lay down as if she had been dead. The giant put her in a bag which he hung to the roof of the house, and he and his men went to the wood to get sticks. The mother of the giant was in. When the giant went away, Maol a chliobain cried, "It is I that am in comfort ; it is I that am in the golden seat." "Will you let me there ?" said the hag. "No, indeed." At length she let down the bag ; she put the hag inside, and a cat, and a calf, and a dish of cream ; she took away the buck, and she left. When the giant came, he and his men fell upon the bag with the sticks. The hag was crying out, "It's myself that's here." "I know it is yourself that's there," the giant would say, striking the bag. The bag fell down a bundle of dry sticks, and what was there but his mother. When the giant saw how it was, he set off after Maol a chliobain. He followed her till she reached the river. Maol a chliobain leaped the river, but the giant could not leap the river. "You are over, Maol a chliobain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-skinned daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my smooth golden comb and my rough silver comb." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my bald, rough-skinned lad." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my sword of light." "Yes, if it vex

thu mo chlaidheamh soluis." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo mhàthair." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo bhoc." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "C'uine a thig thu rìs?" "Thig 'n uair bheir mo ghnothuch ann mi." "Nam bitheadh tusa bhos 'us mise thall" ars' am famhar, "Ciod e dheanadh tu airson mo leantuinn?" "Stopainn mi fhéin, agus dh'olainn gus an traoghainn, an amhainn." Stop am famhar e fhéin, 'us dh' òl e gus an do sgàin e. Phòs Maol a' chliobain Mac òg an tuathanaich.

you." "You killed my mother." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my buck." "Yes, if it vex you." "When will you come again?" "When my business brings me." "If you were over here and I over there, what would you do to follow me?" "I would stop myself up, and I would drink until I dried the river." The giant stopped himself up, and drunk until he burst. Maol a chliobain married the young son of the farmer.

The above is a fair specimen of these tales with which the story-tellers of the Highlands were wont to entertain their listeners, and pass agreeably a long winter evening. The versions of such tales are various, but the general line of the narrative is always the same. Scores of these tales may still be picked up in the West Highlands, although Mr Campbell has sifted them most carefully and skilfully, and given to the public those which are undoubtedly best. The following is a specimen referring to the famous Tom na h-iùbhraich, in the neighbourhood of Inverness. It was taken down by the writer from the recital of an Ardnamurchan man in Edinburgh, and has never been printed before. The resemblance of a portion of it to what is told of Thomas the Rhymer and the Eildon Hills, is too close to escape observation. These tales are valuable as preserving admirable specimens of the idioms of the Gaelic language.

Na Fiantaichean.

Fear a' gheadain Clòimhe.

Bha fear air astar uaireigin mu thuath, a réir coslais, mu Shiorramachd Inbhirnis. Bha e a' coiseachd là, 'us chunnaic e fear a' buain sgrath leis an làr-chaipe. Thainig e far an robh an duine. Thubhairt e ris, "Oh, nach sean sibhse, 'dhuine, ris an obair sin." Thubhairt an duine ris, "Oh, nam faiceadh tu m'athair, is e a 's sine na mise." "D'athair" ars' an duine, "am bheil d'athair beò 's an t-saoghal fhathasd?" "Oh, tha" ars' esan. "C'àite am bheil d'athair" ars' esan, "am b'urrainn mi 'fhaicinn?" "Uh, is urrainn" ars' esan, "tha e a' tarruing dhathigh nan sgrath." Dh'innis e an rathad a ghabhadh e ach am faiceadh e 'athair. Thàinig e far an robh e. Thubhairt e ris, "Nach sean sibhse, 'dhuine, ris an obair sin." "Uh," ars' esan, "nam faiceadh tu m' athair, is e a 's sine na mise." "Oh, am bheil d'athair 's an t-saoghal fhathasd?" "Uh, tha," ars' esan. "C'aite am bheil e" ars' esan, "an urrainn mi 'fhaicinn?" "Uh, is urrainn," ars' esan, "tha e a' tilgeadh nan sgrath air an tigh." Ràinig e am fear a bha 'tilgeadh nan sgrath. "Oh, nach sean sibhse, 'dhuine, ris an obair sin," ars' esan. "Uh, nam faiceadh tu m'athair," ars' esan, "tha e mòran na 's sine na mise." "Am bheil d'athair agam r'a fhaicinn?" "Uh, tha," ars' esan, "rach timchioll, 'us chi thu e a'cur nan sgrath." Thainig e 'us chunnaic e am fear a bha 'cur nan sgrath. "Oh, a dhuine" ars' esan, "is mòr an aois a dh'fheumas sibse a bhi." "Oh," ars' esan, "nam faiceadh tu m'athair." "An urrainn mi d'athair fhaicinn?" ars' esan, "C'àite am bheil e?" "Mata" ars' an duine, is òlach tapaidh coltach thu, tha mi 'creidsinn gu'm faod mi m'athair a shealltuinn duit. "Tha e," ars' esan, "stigh ann an geadan clòimhe an ceann eile an tighe." Chaidh e stigh leis 'g a fhaicinn. Bha na h-uile gin diùbhsan ro mhòr, nach 'eil an leithid a nis r'a fhaotainn. "Tha duine beag an so," ars esan, 'athair, "air am bheil coslas òlaich thapaidh, Albannach, 'us toil aige 'ur faicinn." Bhruidhinn e ris, 'us thubhairt e, "Co as a thàinig thu? Thoir dhomh do làmh, 'Albannaich." Thug a mhac làmh air seann choltair croinn a bha 'na luidhe làimh riu. Shnaim e aodach uime. "Thoir dha sin," ars' esan ris an Albannach, "'us na toir dha do làmh." Rug

English Translation.

The Fingalians.

The Man in the Tuft of Wool.

There was a man once on a journey in the north, according to all appearance in the sheriffdom of Inverness. He was travelling one day, and he saw a man casting divots with the flaughter-spade. He came to where the man was. He said to him, "Oh, you are very old to be employed in such work." The man said to him, "Oh, if you saw my father, he is much older than I am." "Your father," said the man, "is your father alive in the world still?" "Oh, yes," said he. "Where is your father?" said he; "could I see him?" "Oh, yes," said he, "he is leading home the divots." He told him what way he should take in order to see his father. He came where he was. He said to him "You are old to be engaged in such work." "Oh," said he, "if you saw my father, he is older than I." "Oh, is your father still in the world?" "Oh, yes," said he. "Where is your father?" said he; "can I see him!" "Oh, yes," said he, "he is reaching the divots at the house." He came to the man who was reaching the divots. "Oh, you are old," said he, "to be employed in such work." "Oh, if you saw my father," said he, "he is much older than I." "Is your father to be seen?" said he. "Oh, yes, go round the house and you will see him laying the divots on the roof." He came and he saw the man who was laying the divots on the roof. "Oh, man," said he, "you must be a great age." "Oh, if you saw my father." "Oh, can I see your father; where is he?" "Well," said the man, "you look like a clever fellow; I daresay I may show you my father." "He is," said he, "inside in a tuft of wool in the further end of the house." He went in with him to show him to him. Every one of these men was very big, so much so that their like is not to be found now. "There is a little man here," said he to his father, "who looks like a clever fellow, a Scotchman, and he is wishful to see you." He spoke to him, and said, "Where did you come from? Give me your hand, Scotchman." His son laid hold of the old coulter of a plough that lay there. He knotted a cloth around it. "Give him that," said he to the Scotchman, "and don't give him your hand." The old man laid hold of the coulter, while the man held

an seann duine air a' choltair, 'us a' cheann eile aig an duine eile 'na làimh. An àite an coltair a bhi leathann, rinn e cruinn e, 'us dh'fhàg e làrach nan cuig meur ann, mar gu'm bitheadh uibe taois ann. "Nach cruadalach an làmh a th'agad, 'Albannaich," ars' esan, "Nam bitheadh do chridhe cho cruadalach, tapaidh, dh'iarrainnse rud ort nach d'iarr mi' air fear roimhe." "Ciod e sin, a dhuine?" ars' esan, "ma tha ni ann a's urrainn mise 'dheanamh, ni mi e." "Bheirinnse dhuit" ars' esan, "fideag a tha an so, agus fiosraichidh tu far am bheil Tòm na h-iùbhraich, laimh ri Inbhirnis, agus an uair a theid thu ann, chi thu creag bheag, ghlas, air an dara taobh dheth. An uair a' theid thu a dh'ionnsuidh na creige, chi thu mu mheudachd doruis, 'us air cumadh doruis bhige air a' chreig. Buail sròn do choise air trì uairean, 'us air an uair mu dheireadh fosgailidh e. Dh'fhalbh e, 'us ràinig e 'us fhuair e an dorus. Thubhairt an seann duine ris, "An uair a dh'fhosgaileas tu an dorus, seirmidh tu an fhìdeag, bheir thu tri seirmean oirre 'us air an t-seirm mu dheireadh," ars' esan, "eiridh leat na bhitheas stigh, 'us ma bhitheas tu cho tapaidh 'us gun dean thu sin, is fheairrd thu fhéin e 'us do mhac, 'us d' ogha, 'us d'iar-ogha. Thug e a' cheud sheirm air an fhìdeag. Sheall e 'us stad e. Shìn na coin a bha 'n an luidhe làthair ris na daoinibh an cosan, 'us charaich na daoine uile. Thug e an ath sheirm oirre. Dh'éirich na daoine air an uilnibh 'us dh'éirich na coin 'n an suidhe. Thionndaidh am fear ris an dorus, 'us ghabh e eagal. Tharruing e an dorus 'n a dhéigh. Ghlaodh iadsan uile gu léir, "Is miosa 'dh'fhàg na fhuair, is miosa 'dh'fhàg na fhuair." Dh'fhalbh e 'n a ruith. Thàinig e gu lochan uisge, a bha an sin, 'us thilg e an fhìdeag anns an lochan. Dhealaich mise riu.

the other end in his hand. Instead of the coulter being broad, he made it round, and left the mark of his five fingers in it as if it were a lump of leaven. "You have a brave hand, Scotchman," said he. "If your heart were as brave and clever, I would ask something of you that I never asked of another." "What is that, man?" said he; "if there is anything that I can do, I shall do it." "I would give you," said he, "a whistle that I have here, and you will find out where Tomnahurich is near Inverness, and when you find it you will see a little grey rock on one side of it. When you go to the rock you will see about the size of a door, and the shape of a little door in the rock. Strike the point of your foot three times, and at the third time it will open." He went away, and he reached and found the door. "When you open the door," the old man said, "you will sound the whistle; you will sound it thrice. At the third sounding all that are within will rise along with you; and if you be clever enough to do that, you, and your son, and your grandson, and your great-grandson, will be the better of it." He gave the first sound on the whistle. He looked, and he stopped. The dogs that lay near the men stretched their legs, and all the men moved. He gave the second sound. The men rose on their elbows, and the dogs sat up. The man turned to the door and became frightened. He drew the door after him. They all cried out, "Left us worse than he found us; left us worse than he found us." He went away running. He came to a little fresh water loch that was there, and he threw the whistle into the loch. I left them.

These specimens give a good idea of the popular prose literature of the Highlands. Whence it was derived it is difficult to say. It may have originated with the people themselves, but many portions of it bear the marks of having been derived even, as has been said, from an Eastern source, while the last tale which has been transcribed above gives the Highland version of an old Scottish tradition.

Poetry.

Gaelic poetry is voluminous. Exclusive of the Ossianic poetry which has been referred to already, there is a long catalogue of modern poetical works of various merit. Fragments exist of poems written early in the 17th century, such as those prefixed to the edition of Calvin's Catechism, printed in 1631. One of these, *Faosid Eoin Steuart Tighearn na Happen*, "The Confession of John Stewart, laird of Appin," savours more of the Church of Rome than of the Protestant faith. To this century belongs also the poetry of John Macdonell, usually called Eoin Lom, and said to have been poet-laureate to Charles II. for Scotland. Other pieces exist of the same period, but little would seem to have been handed down to us of the poetry of this century.

We have fragments belonging to the early part of the 18th century in the introduction to "Lhuyd's Archæologia." These are of much interest to the Gaelic student. In 1751 appeared the first edition of Songs by Alexander Macdonald, usually called Mac Mhaighistir Alasdair. These songs are admirable specimens of Gaelic versification, giving the highest idea of the author's poetical powers. Many editions of them have appeared, and they are very popular in the Highlands. Macintyre's poems appeared in 1768. Macdonald and he stand at the very top of the list of Gaelic poets. They are both distinguished by the power and the smoothness of their composition. Macdonald's highest gifts are represented in his *Biorluinn Chloinn Raonuill*, "Clan Ranald's Galley," and Macintyre's in his *Beinn Dobhrain*, "Ben Douran."

Later than Macintyre, Ronald M'Donald, commonly called Raonull Dubh, or Black Ranald, published an excellent collection of Gaelic songs. This Ranald was son to Alexander already referred to, and was a schoolmaster in the island of Eigg. His collection

is largely made up of his father's compositions, but there are songs of his own and of several other composers included. Many of the songs of this period are Jacobite, and indicate intense disloyalty to the Hanoverian royal family.

Gillies's Collection in 1786 is an admirable one, containing many of the genuine Ossianic fragments. This collection is of real value to the Gaelic scholar, although it is now difficult to be had.

In addition to these, and at a later period, we have Turner's Collection and Stewart's Collection, both of them containing many excellent compositions. We have, later still, M'Kenzie's Beauties of Gaelic Poetry, and we have, besides these, separate volumes of various sizes; by the admirable religious bard, Dugald Buchanan; by Rob donn, the Reay bard; William Ross, the Gairloch bard; and many others, who would form a long catalogue. As might be supposed, the pieces included in these collections are of various merit, but there is much really good poetry worthy of the country which has cultivated the poetic art from the earliest period of its history, and a country which, while it gave to Gaelic poetry such a name as Ossian, gave to the poetry of England the names of Thomas Campbell and Lord Macaulay.

Grammars.

There are no early treatises on the structure and composition of the Gaelic language, such as the ancient MS. writings which still exist on Irish Grammar. Still, so early as the middle of last century, the subject had excited notice, and demands began to exist for a grammatical treatise on the Gaelic language. The first attempt to meet this demand was made by the Rev. William Shaw, at one time minister of Ardclach, in Nairnshire, and afterwards a resident in England; the author of a Gaelic dictionary, and an associate of Johnson's in opposing M'Pherson and his Ossian, as it was called by adversaries. Shaw's Grammar is made of no account by Dr Stewart, in the reference which he makes to it in his excellent grammar; but the work is interesting as the first attempt made to reduce Gaelic grammar to shape at all, and as showing several indications of a fair, if not a profound scholarship. That the volume, however, is to be held in any way as a correct analysis of the Gaelic language, is out of the question. Mr Shaw presents his readers, at the end of his volume, with specimens of Gaelic writing, which he intends to settle the orthography of the language. Anything more imperfect than the orthography of these specimens can hardly be conceived—at least it is of a kind that makes the language in many of the words unintelligible to any ordinary reader. Mr Shaw's Grammar reached a second edition, showing the interest that was taken in the subject at the time.

An abler scholar, in the person of the Rev. Dr Stewart, of Moulin, Dingwall, and the Canongate, Edinburgh, successively, took up the subject of Gaelic grammar after Mr Shaw. Mr Stewart was an eminent minister of the Scottish Church. Few ministers stood higher than he did as a preacher, and few laboured more assiduously in their pastoral work; still he found time for literary studies, and to none did he direct more of his care than to that of his native Gaelic. A native of Perthshire himself, he made himself acquainted with all the dialects of the tongue, and gives an admirable analysis of the language as it appears in the Gaelic Bible. Few works of the kind are more truly philosophical. The modesty which is ever characteristic of genius distinguishes every portion of it, while the work is of a kind that does not admit of much emendation. If it be defective in any part, it is in the part that treats of syntax. There the rules laid down comprehend but few of those principles which govern the structure of the language, and it is necessary to have recourse to other sources for information regarding many of the most important of these.

A third grammar was published about thirty years ago by Mr James Munro, at the time parish schoolmaster of Kilmonivaig. This volume is highly creditable to Mr Munro's scholarship, and in many respects supplied a want that was felt by learners of the language. The numerous exercises with which the work abounds are of very great value, and must aid the student much in its acquisition.

A double grammar, in both Gaelic and English, by the Rev. Mr Forbes, latterly

minister of Sleat, presents a very fair view of the structure of the Gaelic language, while grammars appear attached to several of the existing dictionaries. There is a grammar prefixed to the dictionary of the Highland Society, another to that of Mr Armstrong, and a third to that of Mr M'Alpine. All these are creditable performances, and worthy of perusal. In fact, if the grammar of the Gaelic language be not understood, it is not for want of grammatical treatises. There are seven or eight of them in existence.

Mr Shaw, in the introduction to his grammar, says:—"It was not the mercenary consideration of interest, nor, perhaps, the expectation of fame among my countrymen, in whose esteem its beauties are too much faded, but a taste for the beauties of the original speech of a now learned nation, that induced me either to begin, or encouraged me to persevere in reducing to grammatical principles a language spoken only by imitation; while, perhaps, I might be more profitably employed in tasting the various productions of men, ornaments of human nature, afforded in a language now teeming with books. I beheld with astonishment the learned in Scotland, since the revival of letters, neglect the Gaelic as if it was not worthy of any pen to give a rational account of a speech used upwards of 2000 years by the inhabitants of more than one kingdom. I saw with regret, a language once famous in the western world, ready to perish, without any memorial; a language by the use of which Galgacus having assembled his chiefs, rendered the Grampian hills impassable to legions that had conquered the world, and by means of which Fingal inspired his warriors with the desire of immortal fame."

That the Gaelic language is worthy of being studied, the researches of modern philologers have amply proved. For comparative philology it is of the highest value, being manifestly one of the great links in the chain of Aryan languages. Its close relation to the classical languages gives it a place almost peculiar to itself. In like manner its study throws light on national history. Old words appear in charters and similar documents which a knowledge of Gaelic can alone interpret, while for the study of Scottish topography the knowledge of it is essential. From the Tweed to the Pentland Frith words appear in every part of the country which can only be analysed by the Gaelic scholar. In this view the study of the language is important, and good grammars are of essential value for its prosecution.

Dictionaries.

At an early period vocabularies of Gaelic words began to be compiled for the benefit of readers of the language. The first of these appears attached to Mr Kirk's edition of Bedell's Irish Bible, to which reference has been made already. The list of words is not very extensive, and, as has been said, the equivalents of the words given are in many cases as difficult to understand as the words themselves. Mr Kirk's object in his vocabulary is to explain Irish words in Bedell's Bible to Scottish readers.

In 1707 Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica* appeared. It contains a grammar of the Iberno-Scottish Gaelic, and a vocabulary which is in a large measure a vocabulary of the Gaelic of Scotland. All that this learned writer did was done in a manner worthy of a scholar. His vocabulary, although defective, is accurate so far as it goes, and presents us with a very interesting and instructive view of the state of the language in his day. Lhuyd's volume is one which should be carefully studied by every Celtic scholar.

In 1738 the Rev. David Malcolm, minister at Duddingstone, published an essay on the antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, with the view of showing the affinity betwixt "the languages of the ancient Britons and the Americans of the Isthmus of Darien." In this essay there is a list of Gaelic words beginning with the letter A, extending to sixteen pages, and a list of English words with their Gaelic equivalents, extending to eight pages. Mr Malcolm brought the project of compiling a Gaelic dictionary before the General Assembly of the Scottish Church, and he seems to have had many conferences with Highland ministers friendly to his object. The Assembly appointed a committee on the subject, and they reported most favourably of Mr Malcolm's design. Still the work never seems to have gone farther; and beyond the

lists referred to, we have no fruits of Mr Malcolm's labours. Mr Malcolm calls the language Irish, as was uniformly done by English writers at the time, and spells the words after the Irish manner.

Three years after the publication of Mr Malcolm's essay in the year 1741, the first attempt at a complete vocabulary of the Gaelic language appeared. The compiler was Alexander M'Donald, at the time schoolmaster of Ardnamurchan, known throughout the Highlands as Mac Mhaighistir Alasdair, and a bard of high reputation. The compilation was made at the suggestion of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, in whose service M'Donald was at the time. The Society submitted the matter to the Presbytery of Mull, and the Presbytery committed the matter to M'Donald as the most likely man within their bounds to execute the work in a satisfactory manner. M'Donald's book is dedicated to the Society, and he professes a zeal for Protestantism, although he turned over to the Church of Rome himself on the landing of Charles Edward in the Highlands in 1745. The vocabulary is arranged under the heads of subjects, and not according to the letters of the alphabet. It begins with words referring to God, and so on through every subject that might suggest itself. It is upon the whole well executed, seeing that the author was the pioneer of Gaelic lexicographers; but the publishers found themselves obliged to insert a caveat in an advertisement at the close of the volume, in which they say that "all or most of the verbs in this vocabulary from page 143 to page 162 are expressed in the Gaelic by single words, though our author generally expresses them by a needless circumlocution." M'Donald's orthography is a near approach to that of modern Gaelic writing.

In 1780 the Rev. Mr Shaw, the author of the Gaelic grammar already referred to, published a dictionary of the Gaelic language in two volumes, the one volume being Gaelic-English, and the other English-Gaelic. This work did not assume a high place among scholars.

Following upon Shaw's work was that of Robert M'Farlane in 1795. This vocabulary is of little value to the student.

Robert M'Farlane's volume was followed in 1815 by that of Peter M'Farlane, a well known translator of religious works. The collection of words is pretty full, and the work upon the whole is a creditable one.

Notwithstanding all these efforts at providing a dictionary of the Gaelic language, it was felt by scholars that the want had not been really supplied. In those circumstances Mr R. A. Armstrong, parish schoolmaster of Kenmore, devoted his time and talents to the production of a work that might be satisfactory. The Gaelic language was not Mr Armstrong's mother tongue, and he had the great labour to undergo of acquiring it. Indefatigable energy, with the genius of a true scholar, helped him over all his difficulties, and, after years of toil, he produced a work of the highest merit, and one whose authority is second to none as an exposition of the Scoto-Celtic tongue.

Mr Armstrong's dictionary was succeeded by that of the Highland Society of Scotland, which was published in two quarto volumes in 1828. A portion of the labour of this great work was borne by Mr Ewen Maclachlan of Aberdeen, the most eminent Celtic scholar of his day. Mr Maclachlan brought the most ample accomplishments to the carrying out of the undertaking; a remarkable acquaintance with the classical languages, which he could write with facility, a very extensive knowledge of the Celtic tongues, and a mind of remarkable acuteness to discern distinctions and analogies in comparative philology. But he died ere the work was far advanced, and other scholars had to carry it through. The chief of these was the Rev. Dr M'Leod of Dundonald, aided by the Rev. Dr Irvine of Little Dunkeld, and the Rev. Alexander M'Donald of Crieff; and the whole was completed and edited under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr Mackay, afterwards of Dunoon, to whose skill and care much of the value of the work is due.

In 1831 an octavo dictionary by the Rev. Dr Macleod of Glasgow, and the Rev. D. Dewar, afterwards Principal Dewar of Aberdeen, appeared. It is drawn largely from the dictionary of the Highland Society, and is an exceedingly good and useful book.

There is a still later dictionary by Mr Neil M'Alpine, schoolmaster in Islay. It is an

excellent vocabulary of the Islay dialect, with some features peculiar to itself, especially directions as to the pronouncing of the words, which, from the peculiar orthography of the Gaelic, the learner requires.

It will be seen from the above list that there is no lack of Gaelic dictionaries any more than of Gaelic grammars, and that some of the dictionaries are highly meritorious. And yet there is room for improvement still if competent hands could be found. The student of Scottish topography meets with innumerable words which he feels assured are of the Scoto-Celtic stock. He applies to his dictionaries, and he almost uniformly finds that the words which puzzle him are absent. There seems to have been an entire ignoring of this source for words on the part of all the Gaelic lexicographers, and from the number of obsolete words found in it, but which an acquaintance with ancient MS. literature helps to explain, a large supply, and a supply of the deepest interest, might be found. Irish dictionaries afford considerable aid in searching this field, but Gaelic dictionaries furnish very little. At the same time it must be remembered that topography is itself a recent study, and that men's minds have only latterly been more closely directed to these words.

We have thus given a general view of the literature of the Scottish Gael. It is not extensive, but it is full of interest. That the language was at one time subjected to cultivation cannot be doubted by any man acquainted with the literary history of the Celtic race. The MSS. which exist are enough to demonstrate the fact, of which no rational doubt can exist, that an immense number of such MSS. have perished. An old Gaelic MS. was once seen in the Hebrides cut down by a tailor to form measuring tapes for the persons of his customers. These MSS. treated of various subjects. Philology, theology, and science found a place among Celtic scholars, while poetry was largely cultivated. The order of bards ensured this, an order peculiar to the Celts. Johnson's estimate of the extent of ancient Celtic culture was an entirely mistaken one, and shows how far prejudice may operate towards the perversion of truth, even in the case of great and good men.

Gaelic Language.

Of the Gaelic language in which this literature exists, this is not the place to say much. To know it, it is necessary to study its grammars and dictionaries, and written works. With regard to the class of languages to which it belongs, many and various opinions were long held; but it has been settled latterly without room for dispute that it belongs to the Indo-European, or, as it is now called, the Aryan class. That it has relations to the Semitic languages cannot be denied, but these are no closer than those of many others of the same class. Its relation to both the Greek and the Latin, especially to the latter, is very close, many of the radical words in both languages being almost identical. Natural objects, for instance, and objects immediately under observation, have terms wonderfully similar to represent them. *Mons*, a mountain, appears in the Gaelic *Monadh; Amnis*, a river, appears in *Amhainn; Oceanus*, the ocean, in *Cuan; Muir*, the sea, in *Mare; Caballus*, a horse, in *Capull; Equus*, a horse, in *Each; Canis*, a dog, in *Cu; Sol*, the sun, in *Solus*, light; *Salus*, safety, in *Slainte; Rex*, a king, in *Righ; Vir*, a man, in *Fear; Tectum*, a roof, in *Tigh; Monile*, a necklace, in *Muineal*. This list might be largely extended, and serves to bring out to what an extent original terms in Gaelic and Latin correspond. The same is true of the Greek, but not to the same extent.

At the same time there is a class of words in Gaelic which are derived directly from the Latin. These are such words as have been introduced into the service of the church. Christianity having come into Scotland from the European Continent, it was natural to suppose that with it terms familiar to ecclesiastics should find their way along with the religion. This would have occurred to a larger extent after the Roman hierarchy and worship had been received among the Scots. Such words as *Peacadh*, sin; *Sgriobtuir*, the scriptures; *Faosaid*, confession; *aoibhrinn*, mass or offering; *Caisg*, Easter; *Inid*, initium or shrove-tide; *Calainn*, new year's day; *Nollaig*, Christmas; *Domhnach*, God or Dominus; *Diseart*, a hermitage; *Eaglais*, a church; *Sagart*, a priest; *Pearsa* or *Pearsoin*, a parson;

Reilig, a burying place, from *reliquiæ; Ifrionn*, hell; are all manifestly from the Latin, and a little care might add to this list. It is manifest that words which did not exist in the language must be borrowed from some source, and whence so naturally as from the language which was, in fact, the sacred tongue in the early church.

But besides being a borrower, the Gaelic has been largely a contributor to other languages. What is usually called Scotch is perhaps the greatest debtor to the Gaelic tongue, retaining, as it does, numerous Gaelic words usually thought to be distinctive of itself. A list of these is not uninteresting, and the following is given as a contribution to the object:—Braw, from the Gaelic *Breagh*, pretty; Burn, from *Burn*, water; Airt, from *Airde*, a point of the compass; Baugh, from *Baoth*, empty; Kebbuck, from *Càbaig*, a cheese; Dour, from *Dùr*, hard; Fey, from *Fé*, a rod for measuring the dead; Teem, from *Taom*, to empty; Sicker, from *Shicker*, sure, retained in Manx; Leister, from *Lister*, a fishing spear, Manx; Chiel, from *Gille*, a lad; Skail, from *Sgaoil*, to disperse; Ingle, from *Aingeal*, fire; Arles, from *Earlas*, earnest; Sain, from *Sean*, to consecrate. This list, like the former, might be much increased, and shows how relics of the Gaelic language may be traced in the spoken tongue of the Scottish Lowlands after the language itself has retired. Just in like manner, but arising from a much closer relation, do relics of the Celtic languages appear in the Greek and Latin. The fact seems to be that a Celtic race and tongue did at one time occupy the whole of Southern Europe, spreading themselves from the Hellespont along the shores of the Adriatic, and the western curves of the Mediterranean, bounded on the north by the Danube and the Rhine, and extending to the western shores of Ireland. Of this ample evidence is to be found in the topography of the whole region; and the testimony of that topography is fully borne out by that of the whole class of languages still occupying the region, with the exception of the anomalous language of Biscay, and the Teutonic speech carried by the sword into Britain and other northern sections of it.

Mere resemblance of words does not establish identity of class among languages, such a similarity being often found to exist, when in other respects the difference is radical. It requires similarity of idiom and grammatical structure to establish the existence of such an identity. This similarity exists to a remarkable extent between the Gaelic and the Latin. There is not space here for entering into details, but a few examples may be given. There is no indefinite article in either language, the simple form of the noun including in it the article, thus, a man is *fear*, Latin *vir*, the former having in the genitive *fir*, the latter *viri*. The definite article *am, an, a'*, in Gaelic has no representative in Latin; thus *an duine* represents *homo*. The inflection in a large class of Gaelic nouns is by attenuation, while the nominative plural and genitive singular of such nouns are alike. So with the Latin, *monachus*, gen. *monachi*, nom. plur. *monachi*; Gaelic, manach, gen. manaich, nom. plur. manaich. The structure of the verb is remarkably similar in both languages. This appears specially in the gerund, which in Gaelic is the only form used to represent the infinitive and the present participle. The use of the subjunctive mood largely is characteristic of the Gaelic as of the Latin. The prepositions which are so variously and extensively used in Gaelic, present another analogy to the Latin. But the analogies in grammatical structure are so numerous that they can only be accounted for by tracing the languages to the same source. Another series of resemblances is to be found in the peculiar idioms which characterise both tongues. Thus, possession is in both represented by the peculiar use of the verb *to be*. *Est mihi liber*, there is to me a book, is represented in Gaelic by *tha leabhar agam*, which means, like the Latin, a book is to me.

But there is one peculiarity which distinguishes the Gaelic and the whole class of Celtic tongues from all others. Many of the changes included in inflection and regimen occur in the initial consonant of the word. This change is usually held to be distinctive of gender, but its effect is wider than that, as it occurs in cases where no distinction of gender is expressed. This change, usually called aspiration, implies a softening of the initial conso-

nants of words. Thus *b* becomes *v*, *m* becomes *v*, *p* becomes *f*, *g* becomes *y*, *d* becomes *y*, *c* becomes *ch*, more or less guttural, *s* and *t* become *h*, and so on. These changes are marked in orthography by the insertion of the letter *h*. This is a remarkable peculiarity converting such a word as *mòr* into *vòr*, spelled *mhòr; bàs* into *vàs*, spelled *bhàs; duine* into *yuine*, spelled *dhuine*. This peculiarity partly accounts for the number of letters *h* introduced into Gaelic spelling, loading the words apparently unnecessarily with consonants, but really serving a very important purpose.

It is not desirable, however, in a work like this to prosecute this dissertation farther. Suffice it to say, that philologists have come to class the Gaelic with the other Celtic tongues among the great family of Aryan languages, having affinities, some closer, some more distant, with almost all the languages of Europe. It is of much interest to scholars in respect both of the time and the place which it has filled, and fills still, and it is gratifying to all Scottish Celts to know that it has become more than ever a subject of study among literary men.

The Music of the Highlands.
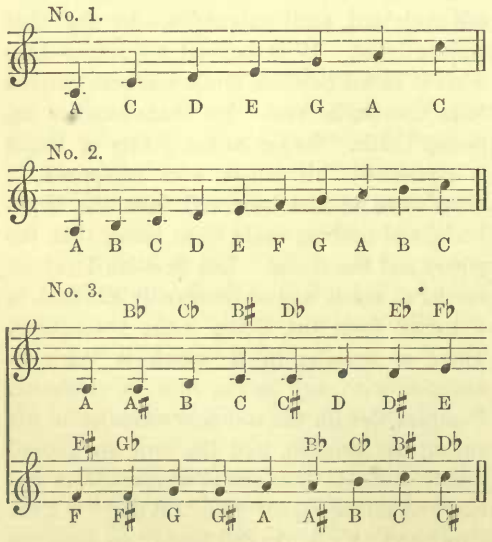
Among the Celts, poetry and music walked hand in hand. There need be no controversy in this case as to which is the more ancient art, they seem to have been coeval. Hence the bards were musicians. Their compositions were all set to music, and many of them composed the airs to which their verses were adapted. The airs to which the ancient Ossianic lays were sung still exist, and several of them may be found noted in Captain Fraser's excellent collection of Highland music. They are well known in some parts of the Highlands, and those who are prepared to deny with Johnson the existence of any remains of the ancient Celtic bard, must be prepared to maintain at the same time that these ancient airs to which the verses were sung were, like themselves, the offspring of modern imposition. But this is too absurd to obtain credence. In fact these airs were essential to the recitation of the bards. Deprive them of the music with which their lines were associated, and you deprived them of the chief aid to their memory; but give them their music, and they could recite almost without end.

The same is true of the poetry of the modern bards. Song-singing in the Highlands was usually social. Few songs on any subject were composed without a chorus, and the intention was that the chorus should be taken up by all the company present. A verse was sung in the interval by the individual singer, but the object of the chorus was to be sung by all. It is necessary to keep this in view in judging of the spirit and effect of Gaelic song. Sung as songs usually are, the object of the bard is lost sight of, and much of the action of the music is entirely overlooked. But what was intended chiefly to be said was, that the compositions of the modern bards were all intended to be linked with music, sung for the most part socially. We do not at this moment know one single piece of Gaelic poetry which was intended merely for recitation, unless it be found among a certain class of modern compositions which are becoming numerous, and which are English in everything but the language.

The music to which these compositions were sung was peculiar; one can recognise a Gaelic air at once, among a thousand. Quaint and pathetic, irregular and moving on with the most singular intervals, the movement is still self-contained and impressive,—to the Celt eminently so. It is beyond a question that what is called Scottish music has been derived from the Gaelic race. Its characteristics are purely Celtic. So far as the poetry of Burns is concerned, his songs were composed in many cases to airs borrowed from the Highlands, and nothing could fit in better than the poetry and the music. But Scottish Lowland music, so much and so deservedly admired, is a legacy from the Celtic muse throughout. There is nothing in it which it holds in common with any Saxon race in existence. Compare it with the common melodies in use among the English, and the two are proved totally distinct. The airs to which "Scots wha hae," "Auld Langsyne," "Roy's Wife," "O'a'the airts," and "Ye Banks and Braes," are sung, are airs to which nothing similar can be found in England. They are Scottish, and only Scottish, and can be recognised as such at once.

But airs of a precisely similar character can be found among all the Celtic races. In Ireland, melodies almost identical with those of Scotland are found. In fact, the Irish claim such tunes as "The Legacy," "The Highland Laddie," and others. So with the Isle of Man. The national air of the Island, "Mollacharane," has all the distinctive characteristics of a Scottish tune. The melodies of Wales have a similar type. Such a tune as "The Men of Harlech" might at any time be mistaken for a Scottish melody. And if we cross to Brittany and hear a party of Bretons of a night singing a national air along the street, as they often do, the type of the air will be found to be largely Scottish. These facts go far to prove the paternity of what is called Scottish music, and show to conviction that this music, so sweet, so touching, is the ancient inheritance of the Celt.

The ancient Scottish scale consists of six notes, as shown in the annexed exemplification, No. 1. The lowest note A, was afterwards added, to admit of the minor key in wind instruments. The notes in the diatonic scale, No. 2, were added about the beginning of the fifteenth century, and when music arrived at its present state of perfection, the notes in the chromatic scale, No. 3, were farther added. Although



many of the Scottish airs have had the notes last mentioned introduced into them, to please modern taste they can be played without them, and without altering the character of the melody. Any person who understands the ancient scale can at once detect the later additions.

"The Gaelic music consists of different kinds or species. 1. Martial music, the Goll-traidheacht of the Irish, and the Brosnachadh Catha of the Gael, consisting of a spirit-stirring measure short and rapid. 2. The Geantraidheacht, or plaintive or sorrowful, a kind of music to which the Highlanders are very partial. The Coronach, or Lament, sung at funerals, is the most noted of this sort. 3. The Suantraidheacht, or composing, calculated to calm the mind, and to lull the person to sleep. 4. Songs of peace, sung at the conclusion of a war. 5. Songs of victory sung by the bards before the king on gaining a victory. 6. Love songs. These last form a considerable part of the national music, the sensibility and tenderness of which excite the passion of love, and stimulated by its influence, the Gael indulge a spirit of the most romantic attachment and adventure, which the peasantry of perhaps no other country exhibit."

The last paragraph is quoted from Mr Logan's eloquent and patriotic work on the *Scottish Gael*,[1] and represents the state of Gaelic music when more flourishing and more cultivated than it is to-day.

The following quotation is from the same source, and is also distinguished by the accuracy of its description.

"The ancient Gael were fond of singing whether in a sad or cheerful frame of mind. Bacon justly remarks, 'that music feedeth that disposition which it findeth:' it was a sure sign of brewing mischief, when a Caledonian warrior was heard to 'hum his surly hymn.' This race, in all their labours, used appropriate songs, and accompanied their harps with their voices. At harvest the reapers kept time by singing; at sea the boatmen did the same; and while the women were graddaning, performing the *luadhadh*, or waulking of cloth, or at any rural labour, they enlivened their work by certain airs called luinneags. When milking, they sung a certain plaintive melody, to which the animals listened with calm attention. The

[1] Logan on the *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii. 252-3.

attachment which the natives of Celtic origin have to their music, is strengthened by its intimate connection with the national songs. The influence of both on the Scots character is confessedly great—the pictures of heroism, love, and happiness, exhibited in their songs, are indelibly impressed on the memory, and elevate the mind of the humblest peasant. The songs, united with their appropriate music, affect the sons of Scotia, particularly when far distant from their native glens and majestic mountains, with indescribable feelings, and excite a spirit of the most romantic adventure. In this respect, the Swiss, who inhabit a country of like character, and who resemble the Highlanders in many particulars, experience similar emotions. On hearing the national *Ranz de vaches*, their bowels yearn to revisit the ever dear scenes of their youth. So powerfully is the *amor patriæ* awakened by this celebrated air, that it was found necessary to prohibit its being played, under pain of death, among the troops, who would burst into tears on hearing it, desert their colours, and even die.

"No songs could be more happily constructed for singing during labour than those of the Highlanders, every person being able to join in them, sufficient intervals being allowed for breathing time. In a certain part of the song, the leader stops to take breath, when all the others strike in and complete the air with a chorus of words and syllables, generally without signification, but admirably adapted to give effect to the time." The description proceeds to give a picture of a social meeting in the Highlands where this style of singing is practised, and refers to the effect with which such a composition as "Fhir à bhàta," or the *Boatman*, may be thus sung.

Poetical compositions associated with music are of various kinds. First of all is the *Laoidh*, or lay, originally signifying a stately solemn composition, by one of the great bards of antiquity. Thus we have "Laoidh Dhiarmaid," The lay of Diarmad; "Laoidh Oscair," The lay of Oscar; "Laoidh nan Ceann," The lay of the heads; and many others. The word is now made use of to describe a religious hymn; a fact which proves the dignity with which this composition was invested in the popular sentiment. Then there was the "Marbhrann," or elegy. Few men of any mark but had their elegy composed by some bard of note. Chiefs and chieftains were sung of after their deaths in words and music the most mournful which the Celt, with so deep a vein of pathos in his soul, could devise. There is an elegy on one of the lairds of Macleod by a famous poetess "Mairi nighean Alasdair Ruaidh," or Mary M'Leod, which is exquisitely touching. Many similar compositions exist. In modern times these elegies are mainly confined to the religious field, and ministers and other men of mark in that field are often sung of and sung sweetly by such bards as still remain. Then there are compositions called "Iorrams" usually confined to sea songs; "Luinneags," or ordinary lyrics, and such like. These are all "wedded" to music, which is the reason for noticing them here, and the music must be known in order to have the full relish of the poetry.

There are several collections of Highland music which are well worthy of being better known to the musical world than they are. The oldest is that by the Rev. Peter Macdonald of Kilmore, who was a famous musician in his day. More recently Captain Simon Fraser, of Inverness, published an admirable collection; and collections of pipe music have been made by Macdonald, Mackay, and, more recently, Ross, the two latter pipers to her Majesty, all of which are reported of as good.

The secular music of the Highlands, as existing now, may be divided into that usually called by the Highlanders "An Ceol mòr," the great music, and in English pibrochs. This music is entirely composed for the Highland bagpipe, and does not suit any other instrument well. It is composed of a slow movement, with which it begins, the movement proceeding more rapidly through several variations, until it attains a speed and an energy which gives room for the exercise of the most delicate and accurate fingering. Some of these pieces are of great antiquity, such as "Mackintosh's Lament" and "Cogadh na Sith," Peace or War, and are altogether remarkable compositions. Mendelssohn, on his visit to the Highlands, was impressed by them, and introduced a portion of a pibroch into one of his finest compositions. Few musicians take

the trouble of examining into the structure of these pieces, and they are condemned often with little real discrimination. Next to these we have the military music of the Highlands, also for the most part composed for the pipe, and now in general employed by the pipers of Highland regiments. This kind of music is eminently characteristic, having features altogether distinctive of itself, and is much relished by Scotsmen from all parts of the country. Recently a large amount of music of this class has been adapted to the bagpipe which is utterly unfit for it, and the effect is the opposite of favourable to the good name either of the instrument or the music. This practice is in a large measure confined to regimental pipe music. Such tunes as "I'm wearying awa', Jean," or "Miss Forbes' Farewell to Banff," have no earthly power of adaptation to the notes of the bagpipe, and the performance of such music on that instrument is a violation of good taste and all musical propriety. One cannot help being struck with the peculiar good taste that pervades all the compositions of the M'Crummens, the famous pipers of the Macleods, and how wonderfully the music and the instrument are adapted to each other throughout. This cannot be said of all pibroch music, and the violation of the principle in military music is frequently most offensive to an accurate ear. This has, no doubt, led to the unpopularity of the bagpipe and its music among a large class of the English-speaking community, who speak of its discordant notes, a reflection to which it is not in the least liable in the case of compositions adapted to its scale.

Next to these two kinds follows the song-music of the Gael, to which reference has been made already. It abounds in all parts of the Highlands, and is partly secular, partly sacred. There are beautiful, simple, touching airs, to which the common songs of the country are sung, and there are airs of a similar class, but distinct, which are used with the religious hymns of Buchanan, Matheson, Grant, and other writers of hymns, of whom there are many. The dance music of the Highlands is also distinct from that of any other country, and broadly marked by its own peculiar features. There is the strathspey confined to Scotland, a moderately rapid movement well known to every Scotchman; there is the jig in $\frac{6}{8}$th time, common to Scotland with Ireland; and there is the reel, pretty much of the same class with the Strathspey, but marked by greater rapidity of motion.

There is one thing which strikes the hearer in this music, that there is a vein of pathos runs through the whole of it. The Celtic mind is largely tinged with pathos. If a musical symbol might be employed to represent them, the mind of the Saxon may be said to be cast in the mould of the major mode, and the mind of the Celt in the minor. The majority of the ordinary airs in the Highlands are in the minor mode, and in the most rapid kinds of music, the jig and the reel, an acute ear will detect the vein of pathos running through the whole.

In sacred music there is not much that is distinctive of the Celt. In forming their metrical version of the Gaelic Psalms, the Synod of Argyll say that one of the greatest difficulties they had to contend with was in adapting their poetry to the forms of the English psalm tunes. There were no psalm tunes which belonged to the Highlands, and it was necessary after the Reformation to borrow such as had been introduced among other Protestants, whether at home or abroad. More lately a peculiar form of psalm tune has developed itself in the North Highlands, which is deserving of notice. It is not a class of new tunes that has appeared, but a peculiar method of singing the old ones. The tunes in use are only six, all taken from the old Psalter of Scotland. They are—French, Dundee, Elgin, York, Martyrs, and Old London. The principal notes of the original tunes are retained, but they are attended with such a number of variations, that the tune in its new dress can hardly be at all recognised. These tunes may not be musically accurate, and artists may make light of them, but sung by a large body of people, they are eminently impressive and admirably adapted to purposes of worship. Sung on a Communion Sabbath by a crowd of worshippers in the open air, on the green sward of a Highland valley, old Dundee is incomparable, and exercises over the Highland mind a powerful influence.

And truly, effect cannot be left out of view as an element in judging of the character of any music. The pity is that this music is fast going out of use even in the Highlands. It has always been confined to the counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and part of Inverness. Some say that this music took its complexion from the old chants of the mediæval Church. One thing is true of this and all Gaelic psalmody, that the practice of chanting the line is rigidly adhered to, although from the more advanced state of general education in the Highlands the necessity that once existed for it is now passed away.

Connected with the Gaelic music, the *musical instruments* of the Celts remain to be noticed; but we shall confine our observations to the harp and to the bagpipe, the latter of which has long since superseded the former in the Highlands. The harp is the most noted instrument of antiquity, and was in use among many nations. It was, in particular, the favourite instrument of the Celts. The Irish were great proficients in harp music, and they are said to have made great improvements on the instrument itself. So honourable was the occupation of a harper among the Irish, that none but freemen were permitted to play on the harp, and it was reckoned a disgrace for a gentleman not to have a harp, and be able to play on it. The royal household always included a harper, who bore a distinguished rank. Even kings did not disdain to relieve the cares of royalty by touching the strings of the harp; and we are told by Major that James I., who died in 1437, excelled the best harpers among the Irish and the Scotch Highlanders. But harpers were not confined to the houses of kings, for every chief had his harper as well as his bard.

"The precise period when the harp was superseded by the bagpipe, it is not easy to ascertain. Roderick Morrison, usually called Ruaraidh Dall, or *Blind Roderick*, was one of the last native harpers; he was harper to the Laird of M'Leod. On the death of his master, Morrison led an itinerant life, and in 1650 he paid a visit to Robertson of Lude, on which occasion he composed a *Port* or air, called Suipeir Thighearna Leoid or *The Laird of Lude's Supper*, which, with other pieces, is still preserved. M'Intosh, the compiler of the Gaelic Proverbs, relates the following anecdote of Mr Robertson, who, it appears, was a harp-player himself of some eminence: — 'One night my father, James M'Intosh, said to Lude that he would be happy to hear him play on the harp, which at that time began to give place to the violin. After supper Lude and he retired to another room, in which there was a couple of harps, one of which belonged to Queen Mary. James, says Lude, here are two harps; the largest one is the loudest, but the small one is the sweetest, which do you wish to hear played? James answered the small one, which Lude took up and played upon till daylight.'

The last harper, as is commonly supposed, was Murdoch M'Donald, harper to M'Lean of Coll. He received instructions in playing from Rory Dall in Skye, and afterwards in Ireland; and from accounts of payments made to him by M'Lean, still extant, Murdoch seems to have continued in his family till the year 1734, when he appears to have gone to Quinish, in Mull, where he died."

The history of the *bagpipe* is curious and interesting, but such history does not fall within the scope of this work. Although a very ancient instrument, it does not appear to have been known to the Celtic nations. It was in use among the Trojans, Greeks, and Romans, but how, or in what manner it came to be introduced into the Highlands is a question which cannot be solved. Two suppositions have been started on this point, either that it was brought in by the Romans or by the northern nations. The latter conjecture appears to be the most probable, for we cannot possibly imagine that if the bagpipe had been introduced so early as the Roman epoch, no notice should have been taken of that instrument by the more early annalists and poets. But if the bagpipe was an imported instrument, how does it happen that the great Highland pipe is peculiar to the Highlands, and is perhaps the only national instrument in Europe? If it was introduced by the Romans, or by the people of Scandinavia, how has it happened that no traces of that instrument in its present shape are to be found anywhere except in the Highlands? There is, indeed. some plausi-

bility in these interrogatories, but they are easily answered, by supposing, what is very probable, that the great bagpipe in its present form is the work of modern improvement, and that originally the instrument was much the same as is still seen in Belgium and Italy.

The effects of this national instrument in arousing the feelings of those who have from infancy been accustomed to its wild and war-like tunes are truly astonishing. In halls of joy and in scenes of mourning it has prevailed; it has animated Scotland's warriors in battle, and welcomed them back after their toils to the homes of their love and the hills of their nativity. Its strains were the first sounded on the ears of infancy, and they are the last to be forgotten in the wanderings of age. Even Highlanders will allow that it is not the quietest of instruments, but when far from their mountain homes, what sounds, however melodious, could thrill round their heart like one burst of their own wild native pipe? The feelings which other instruments awaken are general and undefined, because they talk alike to Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, and Highlanders, for they are common to all; but the bagpipe is sacred to Scotland, and speaks a language which Scotsmen only feel. It talks to them of home and all the past, and brings before them, on the burning shores of India, the wild hills and oft-frequented streams of Caledonia, the friends that are thinking of them, and the sweethearts and wives that are weeping for them there; and need it be told here to how many fields of danger and victory its proud strains have led! There is not a battle that is honourable to Britain in which its war-blast has not sounded. When every other instrument has been hushed by the confusion and carnage of the scene, it has been borne into the thick of battle, and, far in the advance, its bleeding but devoted bearer, sinking on the earth, has sounded at once encouragement to his countrymen and his own coronach.

CATALOGUE
OF
GAELIC AND IRISH MANUSCRIPTS.

As connected with the literary history of the Gaelic Celts, the following lists of Gaelic and Irish manuscripts will, it is thought, be considered interesting.

CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT GAELIC MSS. IN THE POSSESSION OF THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND.

1. A folio MS., beautifully written on parchment or vellum, from the collection of the late Major Maclauchlan of Kilbride. This is the oldest MS. in the possession of the Highland Society of Scotland. It is marked Vo. A. No. I. The following remark is written on the margin of the fourth leaf of the MS.: —"Oidche bealtne ann a coimhteeh mo Pupu Muirciusa agus as olc lium nach marunn diol in linesi dem dub Misi Fithil acc furnuidhe na scoile." Thus Englished by the late Dr Donald Smith:—"The night of the first of May in Coenobium of my Pope Murchus, and I regret that there is not left of my ink enough to fill up this line. I am Fithil, an attendant on the school." This MS., which, from its orthography, is supposed to be as old as the eighth or ninth century, "consists (says Dr Smith) of a poem, moral and religious, some short historical anecdotes, a critical exposition of the Tain, an Irish tale, which was composed in the time of Diarmad, son of Cearval, who reigned over Ireland from the year 544 to 565; and the Tain itself, which claims respect, as exceeding in point of antiquity, every production of any other vernacular tongue in Europe." [1]

On the first page of the vellum, which was originally left blank, there are genealogies of the families of Argyll and Mac Leod in the Gaelic handwriting of the sixteenth century. The genealogy of the Argyll family ends with Archibald, who succeeded to the earldom in 1542, and died in 1588.[2] This is supposed to be the oldest Gaelic MS. extant. Dr Smith conjectures that it may have come into the possession of the Maclachlans of Kilbride in the sixteenth century, as a Ferquhard, son of Ferquhard Maclachlan, was bishop of the Isles, and had Iona or I Colum Kille in commendam from 1530 to 1544.—See *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops.*

To the *Tain* is prefixed the following critical exposition, giving a brief account of it in the technical terms of the Scots literature of the remote age in which it was written. "Ceathardha connagur in cach ealathuin is cuineda don tsairsisi na Tana. Loc di cedumus lighe Fercusa mhic Roich ait in rou hathnachd four mach Nai. Tempus umorro Diarmuta mhic Ceruailt in rigno Ibeirnia. Pearsa umorro Fergusa mhic Roich air is e rou tirchan do na hecsib ar chenu. A tucaid scriuint dia ndeachai Seanchan Toirpda cona III. ri ecces . . . do saighe Cuaire rig Condacht." That is—the four things which are requisite to be known in every regular composition are to be noticed in this work of the Tain. The *place* of its origin is the stone of Fergus, son of Roich, where he was buried on the plain of Nai. The *time* of it, besides, is that in which Diarmad, son of Cervail, reigned over Ireland. The *author*, too, is Fergus,

[1] Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland on the Poems of Ossian, App. No. xix., p. 290.

[2] It is, therefore, probable that these genealogies were written about the middle of the sixteenth century. A fac simile of the writing is to be found in the Report of the Committee of the Highland Society on the authenticity of Ossian, Plate II.

son of Roich; for he it was that prompted it forthwith to the bards. The *cause* of writing it was a visit which Shenachan Torbda, with three chief bards, made to Guaire, king of Connaught.[3]

O'Flaherty thus concisely and accurately describes the subject and character of the *Tain:*—"Fergusius Rogius solo pariter ac solio Ultoniæ exterminatus, in Connactiam ad Ollilum et Maudam ibidem regnantes profugit; quibus patrocinantibus, memorabile exarsit bellum septannale inter Connacticos et Ultonios multis poeticis figmentis, ut ea ferebat ætas, adornatum. Hujus belli circiter medium, octennio ante caput æræ Christianæ Mauda regina Connactiæ, Fergusio Rogio ductore, immensam bonum prœdam conspicuis agentium et insectantium virtutibus memorabilem, e Cualgnio in agro Louthiano re portavit."[4]

From the expression, "Ut ea ferebat ætas," Dr Smith thinks that O'Flaherty considered the tale of the Tain as a composition of the age to which it relates; and that of course he must not have seen the Critical Exposition prefixed to the copy here described. From the silence of the Irish antiquaries respecting this Exposition, it is supposed that it must have been either unknown to, or overlooked by them, and consequently that it was written in Scotland.

The Exposition states, that Sheannachan, with the three bards and those in their retinue, when about to depart from the court of Guaire, being called upon to relate the history of the *Tain bho*, or cattle spoil of Cuailgne, acknowledged their ignorance of it, and that having ineffectually made the round of Ireland and Scotland in quest of it, Eimin and Muircheartach, two of their number, repaired to the grave of Fergus, son of Roich, who, being invoked, appeared at the end of three days in terrific grandeur, and related the whole of the Tain, as given in the twelve Reimsgeala or Portions of which it consists. In the historical anecdotes allusion is made to Ossian, the son of Fingal, who is represented as showing, when young, an inclination to indulge in solitude his natural propensity for meditation and song. A *fac simile* of the characters of this MS. is given in the Highland Society's Report upon Ossian, Plate I., fig. 1, 2, and in Plate II.

2. Another parchment MS. in quarto, equally beautiful as the former, from the same collection. It consists of an Almanack bound up with a paper list of all the holidays, festivals, and most remarkable saints' days in verse throughout the year—A Treatise on Anatomy, abridged from Galen—Observations on the Secretions, &c.—The Schola Salernitana, in Leonine verse, drawn up about the year 1100, for the use of Robert, Duke of Normandy, the son of William the Conqueror, by the famous medical school of Salerno. The Latin text is accompanied with a Gaelic explanation, which is considered equally faithful and elegant, of which the following is a specimen:—

Caput I.—Anglorum regi scripsit schola tota Salerni.
1. As iat scol Salerni go hulidhe do seriou na fearsadh so do chum rig sag san do choimhed a shlainnte.
Si vis incolumem, si vis te reddere sanum;
Curas tolle graves, irasci crede prophanum.
Madh ail bhidh fallann, agus madh aill bhidh slan; Cuir na himsnimha troma dhit, agus creit gurub diomhain dnit fearg do dhenumh.

The words *Leabhar Giollacholaim Meigheathadh* are written on the last page of this MS., which being in the same form and hand, with the same words on a paper MS. bound up with a number of others written upon vellum in the Advocates' Library, and before which is written *Liber Malcolmi Bethune*, it has been conjectured that both works originally belonged to Malcolm Bethune, a member of a family distinguished for learning, which supplied the Western Isles for many ages with physicians.[5]

3. A small quarto paper MS. from the same collection, written at Dunstaffnage by Ewen Macphaill, 12th October 1603. It consists of a tale in prose concerning a King of Lochlin and the Heroes of Fingal: An Address to Gaul, the son of Morni, beginning—

Goll mear mileant—
Ceap na Crodhachta—

An Elegy on one of the earls of Argyle, beginning—

A Mhic Caillin a chosg lochd;

and a poem in praise of a young lady.

4. A small octavo paper MS. from the same collection, written by Eamonn or Edmond Mac Lachlan, 1654–5. This consists of a miscellaneous collection of sonnets, odes, and poetical epistles, partly Scots, and partly Irish. There is an *Ogham* or alphabet of secret writing near the end of it.

5. A quarto paper MS. from same collection. It wants ninety pages at the beginning, and part of the end. What remains consists of some ancient and modern tales and poems. The names of the authors are not given, but an older MS. (that of the Dean of Lismore) ascribes one of the poems to Conal, son of Edirskeol. This MS. was written at Aird-Chonail upon Lochowe, in the years 1690 and 1691, by Ewan Mac Lean for Colin Campbell. "Caillain Caimpbel leis in leis in leabharan. 1. Caillin mac Dhonchai mhic Dhughil mhic Chaillain oig." Colin Campbell is the owner of this book, namely Colin, son of Duncan, son of Dougal, son of Colin the younger. The above Gaelic inscription appears on the 79th leaf of the MS.

6. A quarto paper MS., which belonged to the Rev. James MacGregor, Dean of Lismore, the metropolitan church of the see of Argyle, dated, page 27, 1512, written by Duncan the son of Dougal, son of Ewen the Grizzled. This MS. consists of a large collection of Gaelic poetry, upwards of 11,000 verses. It is said to have been written "out of the books of the History of the Kings." Part of the MS., however, which closes an obituary, commencing in 1077, of the kings of Scotland, and other eminent persons of Scotland, particularly of the shires of Argyle and Perth, was not written till 1527. The poetical pieces are from the times of the most ancient bards down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The more ancient pieces are poems of Conal, son of Edirskeol, Ossian, son of Fingal, Fearghas Fili (Fergus the bard), and Caoilt, son of Ronan, the friends and contemporaries of Ossian. This collection also contains the works of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchay, who fell in the battle of Flodden, and Lady Isabel Campbell, daughter of the Earl of Argyle, and wife of Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis.[6] "The writer of this MS. (says Dr Smith) rejected the ancient character for the current handwriting of the time, and adopted a new mode of spelling conformable to the Latin and English sounds of his own age and country, but retained the aspirate mark (') . . . The Welsh had long before made a similar change in their ancient orthography. Mr Edward Lhuyd recommended it, with some variation, in a letter to the Scots and Irish, prefixed to his Dictionary of their language in the Archæologia Britannica. The bishop of Sodor and Man observed it in the devotional exercises, admonition, and catechism, which he published for the use of his diocese. It was continued in the Manx translation of the Scriptures, and it has lately been adopted by Dr

[3] Report of the Committee of the Highland Society on Ossian, App. No. xix., p. 291.
[4] Ogyg., p. 275.
[5] Appendix, *ut supra*, No. xix.
[6] Report of the Highland Society on Ossian. p. 92.

Reilly, titular Primate of Ireland, in his TAGASG KREESTY, or *Christian Doctrine*. But yet it must be acknowledged to be much inferior to the ancient mode of orthography, which has not only the advantage of being grounded on a knowledge of the principles of grammar, and philosophy of language, but of being also more plain and easy. This volume of the Dean's is curious, as distinguishing the genuine poetry of Ossian from the imitations made of it by later bards, and as ascertaining the degree of accuracy with which ancient poems have been transmitted by tradition for the last three hundred years, during a century of which the order of bards has been extinct, and ancient manners and customs have suffered a great and rapid change in the Highlands."[7] A *fac simile* of the writing is given in the Report of the Committee of the Highland Society, plate III. No. 5. Since the above was written, the whole of this manuscript, with a few unimportant exceptions, has been transcribed, translated, and annotated by the Rev. Dr M'Lauchlan, Edinburgh, and an introductory chapter was furnished by W. F. Skene, Esq., LL.D. The work has been published by Messrs Edmonston & Douglas, of Edinburgh, and is a valuable addition to our Gaelic literature.

7. A quarto paper MS. written in a very beautiful regular hand, without date or the name of the writer. It is supposed to be at least two hundred years old, and consists of a number of ancient tales and short poems. These appear to be transcribed from a much older MS., as there is a vocabulary of ancient words in the middle of the MS. Some of the poetry is ascribed to Cuchulin.

8. Another quarto paper MS. the beginning and end of which have been lost. It consists partly of prose, partly of poetry. With the exception of two loose leaves, which appear much older, the whole appears to have been written in the 17th century. The poetry, though ancient, is not Fingalian. The name, Tadg Og CC., before one of the poems near the end, is the only one to be seen upon it.

9. A quarto parchment MS. consisting of 42 leaves, written by different hands, with illuminated capitals. It appears at one time to have consisted of four different MSS. bound to together and covered with skin, to preserve them. This MS. is very ancient and beautiful, though much soiled. In this collection is a life of St Columba, supposed, from the character, (being similar to No. 27,) to be of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

10. A quarto parchment medical MS. beautifully written. No date or name, but the MS. appears to be very ancient.

11. A quarto paper MS., partly prose, partly verse, written in a very coarse and indifferent hand. No date or name.

12. A small quarto MS. coarse. Bears date 1647, without name.

13. A small long octavo paper MS. the beginning and end lost, and without any date. It is supposed to have been written by the Macvurichs of the fifteenth century. Two of the poems are ascribed to Tadg Mac Daire Bruaidheadh, others to Brian O'Donalan.

14. A large folio parchment MS. in two columns, containing a tale upon Cuchullin and Conal, two of Ossian's heroes. Without date or name and very ancient.

15. A large quarto parchment of 7½ leaves, supposed by Mr Astle, author of the work on the origin and progress of writing, to be of the ninth or tenth century. Its title is *Emanuel*, a name commonly given by the old Gaelic writers to many of their miscellaneous writings. Engraved specimens of this MS. are to be seen in the first edition of Mr Astle's work above-mentioned, 18th plate, Nos. 1 and 2, and in his second edition, plate 22. Some of the capitals in the MS. are painted red. It is written in a strong beautiful hand, in the same character as the rest. This MS. is only the fragment of a large work on ancient history, written on the authority of Greek and Roman writers, and interspersed with notices of the arts, armour, dress, superstitions, manners, and usages, of the Scots of the author's own time. In this MS. there is a chapter titled, "*Slogha Chesair an Inis Bhreatan*," or Cæsar's expedition to the island of Britain, in which *Lechlin*, a country celebrated in the ancient poems and tales of the Gäel, is mentioned as separated from Gaul by "the clear current of the Rhine." Dr Donald Smith had a complete copy of this work.

16. A small octavo parchment MS. consisting of a tale in prose, imperfect. Supposed to be nearly as old as the last mentioned MS.

17. A small octavo paper MS. stitched, imperfect; written by the Macvurichs. It begins with a poem upon Darthula, different from Macpherson's, and contains poems written by Cathal and Nial Mor Macvurich, (whose names appear at the beginning of some of the poems,) composed in the reign of King James the Fifth, Mary, and King Charles the First. It also contains some Ossianic poems, such as Cnoc an àir, &c. i. e. The Hill of Slaughter, supposed to be part of Macpherson's Fingal. It is the story of a woman who came walking alone to the Fingalians for protection from Taile, who was in pursuit of her. Taile fought them, and was killed by Oscar. There was another copy of this poem in Clanranald's little book—not the Red book, as erroneously supposed by Laing. The Highland Society are also in possession of several copies taken from oral tradition. The second Ossianic poem in this MS. begins thus:

Sè la gus an dè
O nach fhaca mi fein Fionn.

It is now six days yesterday
Since I have not seen Fingal.

18. An octavo paper MS. consisting chiefly of poetry, but very much defaced. Supposed to have been written by the last of the Macvurichs, but without date. The names of Tadg Og and Lauchlan Mac Taidg occur upon it. It is supposed to have been copied from a more ancient MS. as the poetry is good.

19. A very small octavo MS. written by some of the Macvurichs. Part of it is a copy of Clanranald's book, and contains the genealogy of the Lords of the Isles and others of that great clan. The second part consists of a genealogy of the kings of Ireland (ancestors of the Macdonalds) from Scota and Gathelic. The last date upon it is 1616.

20. A paper MS. consisting of a genealogy of the kings of Ireland, of a few leaves only, and without date.

21. A paper MS. consisting of detached leaves of different sizes, and containing, 1. The conclusion of a Gaelic chronicle of the kings of Scotland down to King Robert III.; 2. A Fingalian tale, in which the heroes are Fingal, Goll Mac Morni, Oscar, Ossian, and Conan; 3. A poem by Macdonald of Benbecula, dated 1722, upon the unwritten part of a letter sent to Donald Macvurich of Stialgary; 4. A poem by Donald Mackenzie; 5. Another by Tadg Og CC, copied from some other MS.; 6. A poem by Donald Macvurich upon Ronald Macdonald of Clanranald. Besides several hymns by Tadg, and other poems by the Macvurichs and others.

22. A paper MS. consisting of religious tracts and genealogy, without name or date.

23. A paper MS. containing instruction for children in Gaelic and English. Modern, and without date.

[7] Appendix to the Highland Society's Report. p. 300–1.

24. Fragments of a paper MS., with the name of Cathelus Macvurich upon some of the leaves, and Niall Macvurich upon some others. *Conn Mac an Deirg*, a well known ancient poem, is written in the Roman character by the last Niall Macvurich, the last Highland bard, and is the only one among all the Gaelic MSS. in that character.

With the exception of the first five numbers, all the before mentioned MSS. were presented by the Highland Society of London to the Highland Society of Scotland in January, 1803, on the application of the committee appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the poems of Ossian. All these MSS. (with the single exception of the Dean of Lismore's volume,) are written in the very ancient form of character which was common of old to Britain and Ireland, and supposed to have been adopted by the Saxons at the time of their conversion to Christianity. This form of writing has been discontinued for nearly eighty years in Scotland, as the last specimen which the Highland Society of Scotland received of it consists of a volume of songs, supposed to have been written between the years 1752 and 1768, as it contains a song written by Duncan Macintyre, titled, *An Taileir Mac Neachdain*, which he composed the former year, the first edition of Macintyre's songs having been published during the latter year.[8]

25. Besides these, the Society possesses a collection of MS. Gaelic poems made by Mr Duncan Kennedy, formerly schoolmaster at Craignish in Argyleshire, in three thin folio volumes. Two of them are written out fair from the various poems he had collected about sixty years ago. This collection consists of the following poems, viz., Luachair Leothaid, Sgiathan mac Sgairbh, An Gruagach, Rochd, Sithallan, Mùr Bheura, Tiomban, Sealg na Cluana, Gleanncruadhach, Uirnigh Oisein, Earragan, (resembling Macpherson's Battle of Lora,) Manus, Maire Borb, (Maid of Craca,) Cath Sisear, Sliabh nam Beann Fionn, Bas Dheirg, Bas Chuinn, Righ Liur, Sealg na Leana, Dun an Oir, An Cu dubh, Gleann Diamhair, Conal, Bas Chuinlaich Diarmad, Carril, Bas Ghuill (different from the Death of Gaul published by Dr Smith,) Garaibh, Bas Oscair, (part of which is the same narrative with the opening of Macpherson's *Temora*,) in three parts; Tuiridh nam Fian, and Bass Osein. To each of these poems Kennedy has prefixed a dissertation containing some account of the *Sgealaehd* story, or argument of the poem which is to follow. It was very common for the reciter, or *history-man*, as he was termed in the Highlands, to repeat the Sgealachds to his hearers before reciting the poems to which they related. Several of the poems in this collection correspond pretty nearly with the ancient MS. above mentioned, which belonged to the Dean of Lismore.[9]

26. A paper, medical, MS. in the old Gaelic character, a thick volume, written by Angus Connacher at Ardconel, Lochow-side, Argyleshire, 1612, presented to the Highland Society of Scotland by the late William Macdonald, Esq. of St Martins, W.S.

27. A beautiful parchment MS., greatly mutilated, in the same character, presented to the Society by the late Lord Bannatyne, one of the judges of the Court of Session. The supposed date upon the cover is 1238, is written in black letter, but it is in a comparatively modern hand. "Gleann Masain an cuige la deag do an . . . Mh : : : do bhlian ar tsaoirse Mile da chead, trichid sa hocht." That is, Glen-Masan, the 15th day of the . . . of M : : : of the year of our Redemption 1238. It is supposed that the date has been taken from the MS. when in a more entire state. Glenmasan, where it was written, is a valley in the district of Cowal. From a note on the margin of the 15th leaf, it would appear to have formerly belonged to the Rev. William Campbell, minister of Kilchrenan and Dalavich, and a native of Cowal, and to whom Dr D. Smith supposes it may, perhaps, have descended from his grand-uncle, Mr Robert Campbell, in Cowal, an accomplished scholar and poet, who wrote the eighth address prefixed to Lhuyd's *Archæologia*.

The MS. consists of some mutilated tales in prose, interspersed with verse, one of which is part of the poem of "Clan Uisneachan," called by Macpherson *Darthula*, from the lady who makes the principal figure in it. The name of this lady in Gaelic is Deirdir, or Dearduil. A *fac simile* of the writing is given in the appendix to the Highland Society's Report on Ossian. Plate iii. No. 4.

28. A paper MS. in the same character, consisting of an ancient tale in prose, presented to the Society by Mr Norman Macleod, son of the Rev. Mr Macleod of Morven.

29. A small paper MS. in the same character, on religion.

30. A paper MS. in the same character, presented to the Highland Society by James Grant, Esquire of Corymony. It consists of the history of the wars of Cuchullin, in prose and verse. This MS. is much worn at the ends and edges. It formerly belonged to Mr Grant's mother, said to have been an excellent Gaelic scholar.

CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT GAELIC MSS. WHICH BELONGED TO THE LATE MAJOR MACLAUCHLAN OF KILBRIDE, BESIDES THE FIVE FIRST ENUMERATED IN THE FOREGOING LIST, AND WHICH ARE NOW IN THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, EDINBURGH.

1. A beautiful medical MS. with the other MSS. formerly belonging to the collection. The titles of the different articles are in Latin, as are all the medical Gaelic MSS., being translations from Galen and other ancient physicians. The capital letters are flourished and painted red.

2. A thick folio paper MS., medical, written by Duncan Conacher, at Dunollie, Argyleshire, 1511.

3. A folio parchment MS. consisting of ancient Scottish and Irish history, very old.

4. A folio parchment medical MS. beautifully written. It is older than the other medical MSS.

5. A folio parchment medical MS. of equal beauty with the last.

6. A folio parchment MS. upon the same subject, and nearly of the same age with the former.

7. A folio parchment, partly religious, partly medical.

8. A folio parchment MS. consisting of the Histories of Scotland and Ireland, much damaged.

9. A folio parchment medical MS., very old.

10. A folio parchment MS. Irish history and poetry.

11. A quarto parchment MS., very old.

12. A long duodecimo parchment MS. consisting of hymns and maxims. It is a very beautiful MS., and may be as old as the time of St Columba.

13. A duodecimo parchment MS. much damaged and illegible.

14. A duodecimo parchment MS. consisting of poetry, but not Ossianic. Hardly legible.

15. A duodecimo parchment MS. much injured by vermin. It consists of a miscellaneous collection of history and poetry.

16. A duodecimo parchment MS. in large beautiful letter, very old and difficult to be understood.

17. A folio parchment MS. consisting of the genealogies of the Macdonalds, Macniels, Macdougals, Maclauchlans, &c.

All these MSS. are written in the old Gaelic character, and, with the exception of No. 2, have neither date nor name attached to them.

[8] Report on Ossian, Appendix, p. 312.
[9] Report on Ossian, pp. 102-9.

Besides those enumerated, there are, it is believed, many ancient Gaelic MSS. existing in private libraries. The following are known :—

A Deed of Fosterage between Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera, and John Mackenzie, executed in the year 1640. This circumstance shows that the Gaelic language was in use in legal obligations at that period in the Highlands. This MS. was in the possession of the late Lord Bannatyne.

A variety of parchment MSS. on medicine, in the Gaelic character, formerly in the possession of the late Dr Donald Smith. He was also possessed of a complete copy of the Emanuel MS. before mentioned, and of copies of many other MSS., which he made at different times from other MSS.

Two paper MS. Gaelic grammars, in the same character, formerly in the possession of the late Dr Wright of Edinburgh.

Two ancient parchment MSS. in the same character, formerly in the possession of the late Rev. James Maclagan, at Blair-Athole. Now in possession of his family. It is chiefly Irish history.

A paper MS. written in the Roman character, in the possession of Mr Matheson of Fearnaig, Ross-shire. It is dated in 1688, and consists of songs and hymns by different persons, some by Carswell, Bishop of the Isles. There is reason to fear that this MS. has been lost.

A paper MS. formerly in the possession of a Mr Simpson in Leith.

The Lilium Medecinæ, a paper folio MS. written and translated by one of the Bethunes, the physicians of Skye, at the foot of Mount Peliop. It was given to the Antiquarian Society of London by the late Dr Macqueen of Kilmore, in Skye.

Two treatises, one on astronomy, the other on medicine, written in the latter end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, formerly in the possession of Mr Astle.

GAELIC AND IRISH MSS. IN PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

IN THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY.

Three volumes MS. in the old character, chiefly medical, with some fragments of Scottish and Irish history ; and the life of St Columba, said to have been translated from the Latin into Gaelic, by Father Calohoran.

IN THE HARLEIAN LIBRARY.

A MS. volume (No. 5280) containing twenty-one Gaelic or Irish treatises, of which Mr Astle has given some account. One of these treats of the Irish militia, under Fion Maccumhail, in the reign of Cormac-Mac-Airt, king of Ireland, and of the course of probation or exercise which each soldier was to go through before his admission therein. Mr Astle has given a *fac simile* of the writing, being the thirteenth specimen of Plate xxii.

IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

An old Irish MS. on parchment, containing, among other tracts, An account of the Conquest of Britain by the Romans :—Of the Saxon Conquest and their Heptarchy :—An account of the Irish Saints, in verse, written in the tenth century :—The Saints of the Roman Breviary :—An account of the Conversion of the Irish and English to Christianity, with some other subjects. Laud. F. 92. This book, as is common in old Irish manuscripts, has here and there some Latin notes intermixed with Irish, and may possibly contain some hints of the doctrines of the Druids.

An old vellum MS. of 140 pages, in the form of a music-book, containing the works of St Columba, in verse, with some account of his own life ; his exhortations to princes and his prophecies. Laud. D. 17.

A chronological history of Ireland, by Jeffrey Keating, D.D.

Among the Clarendon MSS. at Oxford are—

Annales Ultonienses, sic dicti quod precipué contineant res gestas Ultoniensium. Codex antiquissimus caractere Hibernico scriptus ; sed sermone, partim Hibernico, partim Latino. Fol. membr. The 16th and 17th specimens in Plate xxii. of Astle's work are taken from this MS., which is numbered 31 of Dr Rawlinson's MSS.

Annales Tigernaci (Erenaci. ut opiniatur Warœus Clonmanaisensis. Vid. Annal. Ulton. ad an. 1088), mutili in initio et alibi. Liber charactere et lingua Hibernicis scriptus. Memb.

These annals, which are written in the old Irish character, were originally collected by Sir James Ware, and came into the possession successively of the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Chandos, and of Dr Rawlinson.

Miscellanea de Rebus Hibernicis, metricè. Lingua partim Latina, partim Hibernica ; collecta per Œngusium O'Colode (fortè Colidium). Hic liber vulgò Psalter Na rann appellatur.

Elegiæ Hibernicæ in Obitus quorundam Nobilium fo. 50.

Notæ quædam Philosophicæ, partim Latiné, partim Hibernicé, Characteribus Hibernicis, fo. 69. Membr.

Anonymi cujusdàm Tractatus de varies apud Hibernos veteres occultis scribendi Formulis, Hibernicé Ogum dictis.

Finleachi O Catalai Gigantomachia (vel potiùs Acta Finni Mac Cuil, cum Prœlio de Fintra), Hibernicé. Colloquia quædam de Rebus Hibernicis in quibus colloquentes introducuntur S. Patricius, Coillius, et Ossenus Hibernicé f. 12. Leges Ecclesiasticæ Hibernicé f. 53. Membr.

Vitæ Sanctorum Hibernicorum, per Magnum sive Manum, filium Hugonis O'Donnel, Hibernigé descriptæ. An. 1532, Fol. Membr.

Calieni Prophetiæ, in Lingua Hibernica. Ejusdem libri exemplar extat in Bibl. Cotton, f. 22. b.

Extracto ex Libro Killensi, Lingua Hibernica, f. 39.

Historica quædam, Hibernicé, ab An. 130, ad An. 1317, f. 231.

A Book of Irish Poetry, f. 16.

Tractatus de Scriptoribus Hibernicis.

Dr Keating's History of Ireland.

Irish MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin :—

Extracto ex Libro de Kells Hibernicé.

A book in Irish, treating,—1. Of the Building of Babel. 2. Of Grammar. 3. Of Physic. 4. Of Chirurgery. Fol. D. 10.

A book containing several ancient historical matters, especially of the coming of Milesius out of Spain. B. 35.

The book of Balimote, containing,—1. The Genealogies of all the ancient Families in Ireland. 2. The Uracept, or a book for the education of youth, written by K. Comfoilus Sapiens. 3. The Ogma, or Art of Writing in Characters. 4. The History of the Wars of Troy, with other historical matters contained in the book of Lecane, D. 18. The book of Lecane, *alias* Sligo, contains the following treatises :—1. A treatise of Ireland and its divisions into provinces, with the history of the Irish kings and sovereigns, answerable to the general history ; but nine leaves are wanting. 2. How the race of Milesius came into Ireland, and of their adventures since Moses's passing through the Red Sea. 3. Of the descent and years of the ancient fathers. 4. A catalogue of the kings of Ireland in verse. 5. The maternal genealogies and degrees of the Irish saints. 6. The genealogies of our Lady,

Joseph, and several other saints mentioned in the Scripture. 7. An alphabetic catalogue of Irish saints. 8. The sacred antiquity of the Irish saints in verse. 9. Cormac's life. 10. Several transactions of the monarchs of Ireland and their provincial kings. 11. The history of Eogain M'or, Knight; as also of his children and posterity. 12. O'Neil's pedigree. 13. Several battles of the Sept of Cinet Ogen, or tribe of Owen, from Owen Mac Neile Mac Donnoch. 14. Manne, the son of King Neal, of the nine hostages and his family. 15. Fiacha, the son of Mac Neil and his Sept. 16. Leogarius, son of Nelus Magnus, and his tribe. 17. The Connaught book. 18. The book of Fiatrach. 19. The book of Uriel. 20. The Leinster book. 21. The descent of the Fochards, or the Nolans. 22. The descent of those of Leix, or the O'Mores. 23. The descent of Decyes of Munster, or the Ophelans. 24. The coming of Muscrey to Moybreagh. 25. A commentary upon the antiquity of Albany, now called Scotland. 26. The descent of some Septs of the Irish, different from those of the most known sort, that is, of the posterity of Lugadh Frith. 27. The Ulster book. 28. The British book. 29. The Uracept, or a book for the education of youth, written by K. Comfoilus Sapiens. 30. The genealogies of St Patrick and other saints, as also an etymology of the hard words in the said treatise. 31. A treatise of several prophecies. 32. The laws, customs, exploits, and tributes of the Irish kings and provincials. 33. A treatise of Eva, and the famous women of ancient times. 34. A poem that treats of Adam and his posterity. 35. The Munster book. 36. A book containing the etymology of all the names of the chief territories and notable places in Ireland. 37. Of the several invasions of Clan-Partholan, Clan-nan vies, Firbolhg, Tu'atha de Danaan, and the Milesians into Ireland. 38. A treatise of the most considerable men in Ireland, from the time of Leogarius the son of Nelus Magnus, alias Neale of the nine hostages in the time of Roderic O'Conner, monarch of Ireland, fol. parchment. D. 19.

De Chirurgia. De Infirmitatibus Corporis humane, Hibernicé, f. Membr. C. 1.

Excerpta quædam de antiquitatibus Incolarum, Dublin ex libris Bellemorensi et Sligantino, Hibernicé.

Hymni in laudem B. Patricii, Brigidæ et Columbiæ, Hibern. plerumque. Invocationes Apostolorum et SS. cum not. Hibern. interlin. et margin. Orationes quædam excerptæ ex Psalmis; partim Latiné, partim Hibernicé, fol. Membr. I. 125.

Opera Galeni et Hippocratis de Chirurgia, Hibernicé, fol. Membr. C. 29.

A book of Postils in Irish, fol. Membr. D. 24.

Certain prayers, with the argument of the four Gospels and the Acts, in Irish (10.), 'Fiechi Slebthiensis. Hymnus in laudem S. Patricii, Hibernicé (12.), A hymn on St Bridget, in Irish, made by Columkill in the time of Eda Mac Ainmireck, cum Regibus Hibern. et success. S. Patricii (14.), Sanctani Hymnus. Hibern.

Reverendissimi D. Bedelli Translatio Hibernica S. Bibliorum.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

In addition to the above, there has been a considerable collection of Gaelic MSS. made at the British Museum. They were all catalogued a few years ago by the late Eugene O'Curry, Esq. It is unnecessary to give the list here, but Mr O'Curry's catalogue will be found an admirable directory for any inquirer at the Museum. Foreign libraries also contain many such MSS.

PART SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

CHAPTER I.

Clanship—Principle of *kin*—Mormaordoms—Traditions as to origin of Clans—Distinction between Feudalism and Clanship—Peculiarities of Clanship—Consequences of Clanship—*Manrent*—Customs of Succession—Tanistry and Gavel—Highland Marriage Customs—Hand-fasting—Highland gradation of ranks—*Calpe*—Native-men—Righ or King—Mormaor, Tighern, Thane—Tanist—*Ceantighes*—Toshach—"Captain" of a Clan—Ogtiern—Duine-wassels, Tacksmen, or Goodmen—Brehon—Position and power of Chief—Influence of Clanship on the people—Chiefs sometimes abandoned by the people—Number and Distribution of Clans.

The term *clan*, now applied almost exclusively to the tribes into which the Scottish Highlanders were formerly, and still to some extent are divided, was also applied to those large and powerful septs into which the Irish people were at one time divided, as well as to the communities of freebooters that inhabited the Scottish borders, each of which, like the Highland clans, had a common surname. Indeed, in an Act of the Scottish Parliament for 1587, the Highlanders and Borderers are classed together as being alike "dependents on chieftains or captains of clans." The border clans, however, were at a comparatively early period broken up and weaned from their predatory and warlike habits, whereas the system of clanship in the Highlands continued to flourish in almost full vigour down to the middle of last century. As there is so much of romance surrounding the system, especially in its later manifestations, and as it was the cause of much annoyance to Britain, it has become a subject of interest to antiquarians and students of mankind generally; and as it flourished so far into the historical period, curiosity can, to a great extent, be gratified as to its details and working.

A good deal has been written on the subject in its various aspects, and among other authorities we must own our indebtedness for much of our information to Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders*, Logan's *Scottish Gael* and *Clans*, and *The Iona Club Transactions*, besides the publications of the various other Scottish Clubs.

We learn from Tacitus and other historians, that at a very early period the inhabitants of Caledonia were divided into a number of tribes, each with a chief at its head. These tribes, from all we can learn, were independent of, and often at war with each other, and only united under a common elected leader when the necessity of resisting a common foe compelled them. In this the Caledonians only followed a custom which is common to all barbarous and semi-barbarous peoples; but what was the bond of union among the members of the various tribes it is now not easy to ascertain. We learn from the researches of Mr E. W. Robertson that the feeling of *kindred* was very strong among all the early Celtic

and even Teutonic nations, and that it was on the principle of *kin* that land was allotted to the members of the various tribes. The property of the land appears to have been vested in the *Cean-cinneth*, or head of the lineage for the good of his clan; it was "burdened with the support of his kindred and *Amasach*" (military followers), these being allotted parcels of land in proportion to the nearness of their relation to the chief of the clan.[1] The word *clan* itself, from its etymology,[2] points to the principle of *kin*, as the bond which united the members of the tribes among themselves, and bound them to their chiefs. As there are good grounds for believing that the original Caledonians, the progenitors of the present genuine Highlanders, belonged to the Celtic family of mankind, it is highly probable that when they first entered upon possession of Alban, whether peaceably or by conquest, they divided the land among their various tribes in accordance with their Celtic principle. The word clan, as we have said, signifies family, and a clan was a certain number of families of the same name, sprung, as was believed, from the same root, and governed by the lineal descendant of the parent family. This patriarchal form of society was probably common in the infancy of mankind, and seems to have prevailed in the days of Abraham; indeed, it was on a similar principle that Palestine was divided among the twelve tribes of Israel, the descendants of the twelve sons of Jacob.

As far back as we can trace, the Highlands appear to have been divided into a number of districts, latterly known as Mormaordoms, each under the jurisdiction of a Mormaor, to whom the several tribes in each district looked up as their common head. It is not improbable that Galgacus, the chosen leader mentioned by Tacitus, may have held a position similar to this, and that in course of time some powerful or popular chief, at first elected as a temporary leader, may have contrived to make his office permanent, and even to some extent hereditary. The title Mormaor, however, is first met with only after the various divisions of northern Scotland had been united into a kingdom. "In Scotland the royal official placed over the crown or fiscal lands, appears to have been originally known as the *Maor*, and latterly under the Teutonic appellation of Thane. . . . The original Thanage would appear to have been a district held of the Crown, the holder, Maor or Thane, being accountable for the collection of the royal dues, and for the appearance of the royal tenantry at the yearly 'hosting,' and answering to the hereditary *Toshach*, or captain of a clan, for the king stood in the place of the *Cean-cinneth*, or chief. . . . When lands were strictly retained in the Crown, the Royal Thane, or Maor, was answerable directly to the King; but there was a still greater official among the Scots, known under the title of *Mormaor*, or Lord High Steward . . . who was evidently a Maor placed over a province instead of a thanage—an earldom or county instead of a barony—a type of Harfager's royal Jarl, who often exercised as a royal deputy that authority which he had originally claimed as the independent lord of the district over which he presided."[3] According to Mr Skene,[4] it was only about the 16th century when the great power of these Mormaors was broken up, and their provinces converted into thanages or earldoms, many of which were held by Saxon nobles, who possessed them by marriage, that the clans first make their appearance in these districts and in independence. By this, we suppose, he does not mean that it was only when the above change took place that the system of clanship sprang into existence, but that then the various great divisions of the clans, losing their *cean-cinneth*, or head of the kin, the individual clans becoming independent, sprang into greater prominence and assumed a stronger individuality.

Among the Highlanders themselves various traditions have existed as to the origin of the clans. Mr Skene mentions the three principal ones, and proves them to be entirely fanciful. The first of these is the *Scottish* or *Irish* system, by which the clans trace their origin or foundation to early Irish or Scoto-Irish kings. The second is what Mr Skene terms the *heroic*

[1] *Scotland under her Early Kings*, Ap. D.
[2] Gaelic, *clann*; Irish, *clann*, or *cland*; Manx, *cloan*, children, offspring, tribe.
[3] Robertson's *Early Kings*, i. 102, 103, 104.
[4] *Highlanders*, i. 16.

system, by which many of the Highland clans are deduced from the great heroes in the fabulous histories of Scotland and Ireland, by identifying one of these fabulous heroes with an ancestor of the clan of the same name. The third system did not spring up till the 17th century, "when the fabulous history of Scotland first began to be doubted, when it was considered to be a principal merit in an antiquarian to display his scepticism as to all the old traditions of the country."[5] Mr Skene terms it the *Norwegian* or *Danish* system, and it was the result of a *furor* for imputing everything and deriving everybody from the Danes. The idea, however, never obtained any great credit in the Highlands. The conclusion to which Mr Skene comes is, "that the Highland clans are not of different or foreign origin, but that they were a part of the original nation, who have inhabited the mountains of Scotland as far back as the memory of man, or the records of history can reach; that they were divided into several great tribes possessing their hereditary chiefs; and that it was only when the line of these chiefs became extinct, and Saxon nobles came into their place, that the Highland clans appeared in the peculiar situation and character in which they were afterwards found." Mr Skene thinks this conclusion strongly corroborated by the fact that there can be traced existing in the Highlands, even so late as the 16th century, a still older tradition than that of the Irish origin of the clans. This tradition is found in the often referred to letter of "John Elder, clerk, a Reddschanke," dated 1542, and addressed to King Henry VIII. This tradition, held by the Highlanders of the "more auncient stoke" in opposition to the "Papistical curside spiritualite of Scotland," was that they were the true descendants of the ancient Picts, then known as "Redd Schankes."

Whatever may be the value of Mr Skene's conclusions as to the purity of descent of the present Highlanders, his researches, taken in conjunction with those of Mr E. W. Robertson, seem pretty clearly to prove, that from as far back as history goes the Highlanders were divided into tribes on the principle of *kin*, that the germ of the fully developed clan-system can be found among the earliest Celtic inhabitants of Scotland; that clanship, in short, is only a modern example, systematised, developed, and modified by time of the ancient principle on which the Celtic people formed their tribes and divided their lands. The clans were the fragments of the old Celtic tribes, whose mormaors had been destroyed, each tribe dividing into a number of clans. When, according to a recent writer, the old Celtic tribe was deprived of its chief, the bolder spirits among the minor chieftains would gather round them each a body of partisans, who would assume his name and obey his orders. It might even happen that, from certain favourable circumstances, a Saxon or a Norman stranger would thus be able to gain a circle of adherents out of a broken or chieftainless Celtic tribe, and so become the founder of a clan.

As might be expected, this primitive, patriarchal state of society would be liable to be abolished as the royal authority became extended and established, and the feudal system substituted in its stead. This we find was the case, for under David and his successors, during the 12th and 13th centuries, the old and almost independent mormaordoms were gradually abolished, and in their stead were substituted earldoms feudally dependent upon the Crown. In many instances these mormaordoms passed into the hands of lowland barons, favourites of the king; and thus the dependent tribes, losing their hereditary heads, separated, as we have said, into a number of small and independent clans, although even the new foreign barons themselves for a long time exercised an almost independent sway, and used the power which they had acquired by royal favour against the king himself.

As far as the tenure of lands and the heritable jurisdictions were concerned, the feudal system was easily introduced into the Highlands; but although the principal chiefs readily agreed, or were induced by circumstances to hold their lands of the Crown or of low-country barons, yet the system of clanship remained in full force amongst the native Highlanders until a very recent period, and its spirit still to a certain extent survives in

[5] *Highlanders*, p. 7, *et. seq.*

the affections, the prejudices, the opinions, and the habits of the people.[6]

The nature of the Highlands of Scotland was peculiarly favourable to the clan system, and no doubt helped to a considerable extent to perpetuate it. The division of the country into so many straths, and valleys, and islands, separated from one another by mountains or arms of the sea, necessarily gave rise to various distinct societies. Their secluded situation necessarily rendered general intercourse difficult, whilst the impenetrable ramparts with which they were surrounded made defence easy. The whole race was thus broken into many individual masses, possessing a community of customs and character, but placed under different jurisdictions; every district became a sort of petty independent state; and the government of each community or clan assumed the patriarchal form, being a species of hereditary monarchy, founded on custom, and allowed by general consent, rather than regulated by positive laws.

The system of clanship in the Highlands,[7] although possessing an apparent resemblance to feudalism, was in principle very different indeed from that system as it existed in other parts of the country. In the former case, the people followed their chief as the head of their race, and the representative of the common ancestor of the clan; in the latter, they obeyed their leader as feudal proprietor of the lands to which they were attached, and to whom they owed military service for their respective portions of these lands. The Highland chief was the hereditary lord of all who belonged to his clan, wherever they dwelt or whatever lands they occupied; the feudal baron was entitled to the military service of all who held lands under him, to whatever race they might individually belong. The one dignity was personal, the other was territorial; the rights of the chief were inherent, those of the baron were accessory; the one might lose or forfeit his possessions, but could not thereby be divested of his hereditary character and privileges; the other, when divested of his fee, ceased to have any title or claim to the service of those who occupied the lands. Yet these two systems, so different in principle, were in effect nearly identical. Both exhibited the spectacle of a subject possessed of unlimited power within his own territories, and exacting unqualified obedience from a numerous train of followers, to whom he stood in the several relations of landlord, military leader, and judge, with all the powers and prerogatives belonging to each of those characters. Both were equally calculated to aggrandise turbulent chiefs and nobles, at the expense of the royal authority, which they frequently defied, generally resisted, and but seldom obeyed; although for the most part, the chief was less disloyal than the baron, probably because he was farther removed from the seat of government, and less sensible of its interference with his own jurisdiction. The one system was adapted to a people in a pastoral state of society, and inhabiting a country, like the Highlands of Scotland, which from its peculiar nature and conformation, not only prevented the adoption of any other mode of life, but at the same time prescribed the division of the people into separate families or clans. The other system, being of a defensive character, was necessary to a population occupying a fertile but open country, possessing only a rude notion of agriculture, and exposed on all sides to aggressions on the part of neighbours or enemies. But the common tendency of both was to obstruct the administration of justice, nurse habits of lawless violence, exclude the cultivation of the arts of peace, and generally to impede the progress of improvement; and hence neither was compatible with the prosperity of a civilised nation, where the liberty of the subject required protection, and the security of property demanded an equal administration of justice.

The peculiarities of clanship are nowhere better described than in Burt's *Letters from an Officer of Engineers to his Friend in London.*[8] "The Highlanders," he says, "are divided into tribes or clans, under chiefs or

[6] For details concerning the practical working of the clan system, in addition to what are given in this introduction, we refer the reader to chaps. xviii. xlii., xliii., xliv. of Part First.

[7] We are indebted for much of what follows to Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 153, *et seq.*

[8] Letter xix., part of which has already been quoted in ch. xlii., but may with advantage be again introduced here.

chieftains, and each clan is again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. These are subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their original from their particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate protectors and defenders. The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime degree of virtue to love their chief and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government. Next to this love of their chief is that of the particular branch whence they sprang; and, in a third degree, to those of the whole clan or name, whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other tribe with which they are at variance. They likewise owe good-will to such clans as they esteem to be their particular well-wishers. And, lastly, they have an adherence to one another as Highlanders in opposition to the people of the low country, whom they despise as inferior to them in courage, and believe they have a right to plunder them whenever it is in their power. This last arises from a tradition that the Lowlands, in old times, were the possessions of their ancestors.

"The chief exercises an arbitrary authority over his vassals, determines all differences and disputes that happen among them, and levies taxes upon extraordinary occasions, such as the marriage of a daughter, building a house, or some pretence for his support or the honour of his name; and if any one should refuse to contribute to the best of his ability, he is sure of severe treatment, and, if he persists in his obstinacy, he would be cast out of his tribe by general consent. This power of the chief is not supported by interest, as they are landlords, but by consanguinity, as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of the families, for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates, as may appear from several instances, and particularly that of one (Lord Lovat) who commands his clan, though at the same time they maintain him, having nothing left of his own. On the other hand, the chief, even against the laws, is bound to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who by accidents are fallen to total decay. Some of the chiefs have not only personal dislikes and enmity to each other, but there are also hereditary feuds between clan and clan, which have been handed down from one generation to another for several ages. These quarrels descend to the meanest vassals, and thus sometimes an innocent person suffers for crimes committed by his tribe at a vast distance of time before his being began."

This clear and concise description will serve to convey an idea of clanship as it existed in the Highlands, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the system was in full force and vigour. It presented a singular mixture of patriarchal and feudal government; and everything connected with the habits, manners, customs, and feelings of the people tended to maintain it unimpaired, amidst all the changes which were gradually taking place in other parts of the country, from the diffusion of knowledge, and the progress of improvement. There was, indeed, something almost oriental in the character of immutability which seemed to belong to this primitive institution, endeared as it was to the affections, and singularly adapted to the condition of the people amongst whom it prevailed. Under its influence all their habits had been formed; with it all their feelings and associations were indissolubly blended. When the kindred and the followers of a chief saw him surrounded by a body of adherents, numerous, faithful, and brave, devoted to his interests, and ready at all times to sacrifice their lives in his service, they could conceive no power superior to his; and, when they looked back into the past history of their tribe, they found that his progenitors had, from time immemorial, been at their head. Their tales, their traditions, their songs, constantly referred to the exploits or the transactions of the same tribe or fraternity living under the same line of chiefs; and the transmission of command and obedience, of protection and attachment, from one generation to another, became in consequence as natural, in the eye of a Highlander, as the transmission of blood or the regular laws of descent. This order of things appeared to him as fixed and as inviolable as the constitution

of nature or the revolutions of the seasons. Hence nothing could shake his fidelity to his chief, or induce him to compromise what he believed to be for the honour and interest of his clan. He was not without his feelings of independence, and he would not have brooked oppression where he looked for kindness and protection. But the long unbroken line of chiefs is of itself a strong presumptive proof of the general mildness of their sway. The individuals might change, but the ties which bound one generation were drawn more closely, although by insensible degrees, around the succeeding one; and thus each family, in all its various successions, retained something like the same sort of relation to the parent stem, which the renewed leaves of a tree in spring preserve, in point of form and position, to those which had dropped off in the preceding autumn.

Many important consequences, affecting the character of the Highlanders, resulted from this division of the people into small tribes, each governed in the patriarchal manner already described. The authority of the sovereign, if nominally recognised, was nearly altogether unfelt and inoperative. His mandates could neither arrest the mutual depredations of the clans, nor allay their hereditary hostilities. Delinquents could not be pursued into the bosom of the clan which protected them, nor could the judges administer the laws, in opposition to the will or the interests of the chiefs. Sometimes the sovereign attempted to strengthen his hands by fomenting divisions between the different clans, and entering occasionally into the interests of one, in the hope of weakening another; he threw his weight into one scale that the other might kick the beam, and he withdrew it again, that, by the violence of the reaction, both parties might be equally damaged and enfeebled. Many instances of this artful policy occur in Scottish history, which, for a long period, was little else than a record of internal disturbances. The general government, wanting the power to repress disorder, sought to destroy its elements by mutual collision; and the immediate consequence of its inefficiency was an almost perpetual system of aggression, warfare, depredation, and contention. Besides, the little principalities into which the Highlands were divided touched at so many points, yet they were so independent of one another; they approached so nearly in many respects, yet, in some others, were so completely separated; there were so many opportunities of encroachment on the one hand, and so little disposition to submit to it on the other; and the quarrel or dispute of one individual of the tribe so naturally involved the interest, the sympathies, and the hereditary feelings or animosities of the rest, that profound peace or perfect cordiality scarcely ever existed amongst them, and their ordinary condition was either a chronic or an active state of internal warfare. From opposing interests or wounded pride, deadly feuds frequently arose amongst the chiefs, and being warmly espoused by the clans, were often trasmitted, with aggravated animosity, from one generation to another.

If it were profitable, it might be curious to trace the negotiations, treaties, and bonds of amity, or *manrent* as they were called, by which opposing clans strengthened themselves against the attacks and encroachments of their enemies or rivals, or to preserve what may be called the balance of power. Amongst the rudest communities of mankind may be discovered the elements of that science which has been applied to the government and diplomacy of the most civilised nations. By such bonds they came under an obligation to assist one another; and, in their treaties of mutual support and protection, smaller clans, unable to defend themselves, and those families or septs which had lost their chieftains, were also included. When such confederacies were formed, the smaller clans followed the fortunes, engaged in the quarrels, and fought under the chiefs, of the greater. Thus the MacRaes followed the Earl of Seaforth, the MacColls the Stewarts of Appin, and the MacGillivrays and MacBeans the Laird of Mackintosh; but, nevertheless, their ranks were separately marshalled, and were led by their own subordinate chieftains and lairds, who owned submission only when necessary for the success of combined operations. The union had for its object aggression or revenge, and extended no further than the occasion for which it had been formed; yet it served to

prevent the smaller clans from being swallowed up by the greater, and at the same time nursed the turbulent and warlike spirit which formed the common distinction of all. From these and other causes, the Highlands were for ages as constant a theatre of petty conflicts as Europe has been of great and important struggles; in the former were enacted, in miniature, scenes bearing a striking and amusing analogy to those which took place upon a grand scale in the latter. The spirit of opposition and rivalry between the clans perpetuated a system of hostility; it encouraged the cultivation of the military at the expense of the social virtues, and it perverted their ideas both of law and morality. Revenge was accounted a duty, the destruction of a neighbour a meritorious exploit, and rapine an honourable employment. Wherever danger was to be encountered, or bravery displayed, there they conceived that distinction was to be obtained; the perverted sentiment of honour rendered their feuds more implacable, their inroads more savage and destructive; and superstition added its influence in exasperating animosities, by teaching that to revenge the death of a kinsman or friend was an act agreeable to his manes; thus engaging on the side of the most implacable hatred and the darkest vengeance, the most amiable and domestic of all human feelings, namely, reverence for the memory of the dead, and affection for the virtues of the living.

Another custom, which once prevailed, contributed to perpetuate this spirit of lawless revenge. "Every heir or young chieftain of a tribe," says Martin, who had studied the character and manners of the Highlanders, and understood them well, "was obliged to give a specimen of his valour before he was owned and declared governor or leader of his people, who obeyed and followed him on all occasions. This chieftain was usually attended with a retinue of young men, who had not before given any proof of their valour, and were ambitious of such an opportunity to signalise themselves. It was usual for the chief to make a desperate incursion upon some neighbour or other that they were in feud with, and they were obliged to bring, by open force, the cattle they found in the land they attacked, or to die in the attempt. After the performance of this achievement, the young chieftain was ever after reputed valiant, and worthy of government, and such as were of his retinue acquired the like reputation. This custom being reciprocally used among them, was not reputed robbery; for the damage which one tribe sustained by the inauguration of the chieftain of another, was repaired when their chieftain came in his turn to make his specimen."[9] But the practice seems to have died out about half a century before the time at which Martin's work appeared, and its disuse removed one fertile source of feuds and disorders. Of the nature of the depredations in which the Highlanders commonly engaged, the sentiments with which they were regarded, the manner in which they were conducted, and the effects which they produced on the character, habits, and manners of the people, an ample and interesting account will be found in the first volume of General Stewart's valuable work on the Highlands.

It has been commonly alleged, that ideas of succession were so loose in the Highlands, that brothers were often preferred to grandsons and even to sons. But this assertion proceeds on a most erroneous assumption, inasmuch as election was never in any degree admitted, and a system of hereditary succession prevailed, which, though different from that which has been instituted by the feudal law, allowed of no such deviations or anomalies as some have imagined. The Highland law of succession, as Mr Skene observes, requires to be considered in reference, first, to the chiefship and the superiority of the lands belonging to the clan; and secondly, in respect to the property or the land itself. The succession to the chiefship and its usual prerogatives was termed the law of *tanistry;* that to the property or the land itself, *gavel.* But when the feudal system was introduced, the law of tanistry became the law of succession to the property as well as the chiefship; whilst that of gavel was too directly opposed to feudal principles to be suffered to exist at all, even in a modified form. It appears, indeed, that the Highlanders adhered strictly to succession in the male line, and that the great peculiarity which distinguished their

[9] *Description of the Western Islands.* London, 1703.

law of succession from that established by the feudal system, consisted in the circumstance that, according to it, brothers invariably succeeded before sons. In the feudal system property was alone considered, and the nearest relation to the last proprietor was naturally accounted the heir. But, in the Highland system, the governing principle of succession was not property, but the right of chiefship, derived from being the lineal descendant of the founder or patriarch of the tribe; it was the relation to the common ancestor, to whom the brother was considered as one degree nearer than the son, and through whom the right was derived, and not to the last chief, which regulated the succession. Thus, the brothers of the chief invariably succeeded before the sons, not by election, but as a matter of right, and according to a fixed rule which formed the law or principle of succession, instead of being, as some have supposed, a departure from it, occasioned by views of temporary expediency, by usurpation, or otherwise. In a word, the law of tanistry, however much opposed to the feudal notions of later times, flowed naturally from the patriarchal constitution of society in the Highlands, and was peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of a people such as we have described, whose warlike habits and love of military enterprise, or armed predatory expeditions, made it necessary to have at all times a chief competent to act as their leader or commander.

But if the law of tanistry was opposed to the principles of the feudal system, that of gavel or the succession to property amongst the Highlanders was still more adverse. By the feudal law the eldest son, when the succession opened, not only acquired the superiority over the rest of the family, but he also succeeded to the whole of the property, whilst the younger branches were obliged to push their fortune by following other pursuits. But in the Highlands the case was altogether different. By the law of gavel, the property of the clan was divided in certain proportions amongst all the male branches of the family, to the exclusion of females, who, by this extraordinary Salic anomaly, could no more succeed to the property than to the chiefship itself. The law of gavel in the Highlands, therefore, differed from the English custom of gavel-kind in being exclusively confined to the male branches of a family. In what proportions the property was divided, or whether these proportions varied according to circumstances, or the will of the chief, it is impossible to ascertain. But it would appear that the principal seat of the family, with the lands immediately surrounding it, always remained the property of the chief; and besides this, the latter retained a sort of superiority over the whole possessions of the clan, in virtue of which he received from each dependent branch a portion of the produce of the land as an acknowledgment of his chiefship, and also to enable him to support the dignity of his station by the exercise of a commensurate hospitality. Such was the law of gavel, which, though adverse to feudal principles, was adapted to the state of society amongst the Highlands, out of which indeed it originally sprang; because, where there were no other pursuits open to the younger branches of families except rearing flocks and herds during peace, and following the chief in war; and where it was the interest as well as the ambition of the latter to multiply the connexions of his family, and take every means to strengthen the power as well as to secure the obedience of his clan, the division of property, or the law of gavel, resulted as naturally from such an order of things, as that of hereditary succession to the patriarchal government and chiefship of the clan. Hence, the chief stood to the cadets of his family in a relation somewhat analogous to that in which the feudal sovereign stood to the barons who held their fiefs of the crown, and although there was no formal investiture, yet the tenure was in effect pretty nearly the same. In both cases the principle of the system was essentially military, though it apparently led to opposite results; and, in the Highlands, the law under consideration was so peculiarly adapted to the constitution of society, that it was only abandoned after a long struggle, and even at a comparatively recent period traces of its existence and operation may be observed amongst the people of that country.[1]

Similar misconceptions have prevailed re-

[1] Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii. ch. 7.

garding Highland marriage-customs. This was, perhaps, to be expected. In a country where a bastard son was often found in undisturbed possession of the chiefship or property of a clan, and where such bastard generally received the support of the clansmen against the claims of the feudal heir, it was natural to suppose that very loose notions of succession were entertained by the people; that legitimacy conferred no exclusive rights; and that the title founded on birth alone might be set aside in favour of one having no other claim than that of election. But this, although a plausible, would nevertheless be an erroneous supposition. The person here considered as a bastard, and described as such, was by no means viewed in the same light by the Highlanders, because, according to their law of marriage, which was originally very different from the feudal system in this matter, his claim to legitimacy was as undoubted as that of the feudal heir afterwards became. It is well known that the notions of the Highlanders were peculiarly strict in regard to matters of hereditary succession, and that no people on earth was less likely to sanction any flagrant deviation from what they believed to be the right and true line of descent. All their peculiar habits, feelings, and prejudices were in direct opposition to a practice, which, had it been really acted upon, must have introduced endless disorder and confusion; and hence the natural explanation of this apparent anomaly seems to be, what Mr Skene has stated, namely, that a person who was feudally a bastard might in their view be considered as legitimate, and therefore entitled to be supported in accordance with their strict ideas of hereditary right, and their habitual tenacity of whatever belonged to their ancient usages. Nor is this mere conjecture or hypothesis. A singular custom regarding marriage, retained till a late period amongst the Highlanders, and clearly indicating that their law of marriage originally differed in some essential points from that established under the feudal system, seems to afford a simple and natural explanation of the difficulty by which genealogists have been so much puzzled.

"This custom was termed *hand-fasting*, and consisted in a species of contract between two chiefs, by which it was agreed that the heir of one should live with the daughter of the other as her husband for twelve months and a day. If in that time the lady became a mother, or proved to be with child, the marriage became good in law, even although no priest had performed the marriage ceremony in due form; but should there not have occurred any appearance of issue, the contract was considered at an end, and each party was at liberty to marry or hand-fast with any other. It is manifest that the practice of so peculiar a species of marriage must have been in terms of the original law among the Highlanders, otherwise it would be difficult to conceive how such a custom could have originated; and it is in fact one which seems naturally to have arisen from the form of their society, which rendered it a matter of such vital importance to secure the lineal succession of their chiefs. It is perhaps not improbable that it was this peculiar custom which gave rise to the report handed down by the Roman and other historians, that the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain had their wives in common, or that it was the foundation of that law of Scotland by which natural children became legitimized by subsequent marriage; and as this custom remained in the Highlands until a very late period, the sanction of the ancient custom was sufficient to induce them to persist in regarding the offspring of such marriages as legitimate."[2]

It appears, indeed, that, as late as the sixteenth century, the issue of a hand-fast marriage claimed the earldom of Sutherland. The claimant, according to Sir Robert Gordon, described himself as one lawfully descended from his father, John, the third earl, because, as he alleged, "his mother was *hand-fasted* and fianced to his father;" and his claim was bought off (which shows that it was not considered as altogether incapable of being maintained) by Sir Adam Gordon, who had married the heiress of Earl John. Such, then, was the nature of the peculiar and temporary connexion, which gave rise to the apparent anomalies which we have been considering. It was a custom which had for its object, not to interrupt, but to preserve the lineal succession of

[2] Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. chap. 7, pp. 166, 167.

the chiefs, and to obviate the very evil of which it is conceived to afford a glaring example. But after the introduction of the feudal law, which, in this respect, was directly opposed to the ancient Highland law, the lineal and legitimate heir, according to Highland principles, came to be regarded as a bastard by the government, which accordingly considered him as thereby incapacitated for succeeding to the honours and property of his race; and hence originated many of those disputes concerning succession and chiefship, which embroiled families with one another as well as with the government, and were productive of incredible disorder, mischief, and bloodshed. No allowance was made for the ancient usages of the people, which were probably but ill understood; and the rights of rival claimants were decided according to the principles of a foreign system of law, which was long resisted, and never admitted except from necessity. It is to be observed, however, that the Highlanders themselves drew a broad distinction between bastard sons and the issue of the hand-fast unions above described. The former were rigorously excluded from every sort of succession, but the latter were considered as legitimate as the offspring of the most regularly solemnized marriage.

Having said thus much respecting the laws of succession and marriage, we proceed next to consider the gradation of ranks which appears to have existed amongst the Highlanders, whether in relation to the lands of which they were proprietors, or the clans of which they were members. And here it may be observed, that the classification of society in the Highlands seems to have borne a close resemblance to that which prevailed in Wales and in Ireland amongst cognate branches of the same general race. In the former country there were three different tenures of land, and nine degrees of rank. Of these tenures, the first was termed Maerdir, signifying a person who has jurisdiction, and included three ranks; the second was called Uchilordir, or property, and likewise consisted of three ranks; and the third, denominated Priodordir, or native, included that portion of the population whom we would now call tenants, divided into the degrees of yeomen, labourers, and serfs. A similar order of things appears to have prevailed in Ireland, where, in the classification of the people, we recognise the several degrees of Fuidir, Biadhtach, and Mogh. In the Highlands, the first tenure included the three degrees of Ard Righ, Righ, and Mormaor; the Tighern or Thane, the Armin and the Squire, were analogous to the three Welsh degrees included in the Uchilordir; and a class of persons, termed native men, were evidently the same in circumstances and condition with the Priodordir of Wales. These native men were obviously the tenants or farmers on the property, who made a peculiar acknowledgment, termed *calpe*, to the chief or head of their clan. For this we have the authority of Martin, who informs us that one of the duties "payable by all the tenants to their chiefs, though they did not live upon his lands," was called "calpich," and that "there was a standing law for it," denominated "calpich law." The other duty paid by the tenants was that of *herezeld*, as it was termed, which, along with calpe, was exigible if the tenant happened to occupy more than the eighth part of a davoch of land. That such was the peculiar acknowledgment of chiefship incumbent on the native men, or, in other words, the clan tribute payable by them in acknowledgment of the power and in support of the dignity of the chief, appears from the bonds of amity or *manrent*, in which we find them obliging themselves to pay "*calpis* as native men ought and should do to their chief."

But the native men of Highland properties must be carefully distinguished from the *cumerlach*, who, like the *kaeth* of the Welsh, were merely a species of serfs, or *adscripti glebæ*. The former could not be removed from the land at the will of their lord, but there was no restriction laid on their personal liberty; the latter might be removed at the pleasure of their lord, but their personal liberty was restrained, or rather abrogated. The native man was the tenant who cultivated the soil, and as such possessed a recognised estate in the land which he occupied. As long as he performed the requisite services he could not be removed, nor could a greater proportion of labour or produce be exacted from him than custom or usage had fixed. It appears, there-

fore, that these possessed their farms, or holdings, by a sort of hereditary right, which was not derived from their lord, and of which, springing as it did from immemorial usage, and the very constitution of clanship, it was not in his power to deprive them. The *cumerlach* were the cottars and actual labourers of the soil, who, possessing no legal rights either of station or property, were in reality absolute serfs. The changes of succession, however, occasionally produced important results, illustrative of the peculiarities above described. "When a Norman baron," says Mr Skene, "obtained by succession, or otherwise, a Highland property, the Gaelic *nativi* remained in actual possession of the soil under him, but at the same time paid their *calpes* to the natural chief of their clan, and followed him in war. When a Highland chief, however, acquired by the operation of the feudal succession, an additional property which had not been previously in the possession of his clan, he found it possessed by the *nativi* of another race. If these *nativi* belonged to another clan which still existed in independence, and if they chose to remain on the property, they did so at the risk of being placed in a perilous situation, should a feud arise between the two clans. But if they belonged to no other independent clan, and the stranger chief had acquired the whole possessions of their race, the custom seems to have been for them to give a bond of *manrent* to their new lord, by which they bound themselves to follow him as their chief, and make him the customary acknowledgment of the *calpe*. They thus became a dependent sept upon a clan of a different race, while they were not considered as forming a part of that clan."[3]

The gradation of ranks considered in reference to the clan or tribe may be briefly described. The highest dignitary was the *righ* or *king*, who in point of birth and station was originally on a footing of equality with the other chiefs, and only derived some additional dignity during his life from a sort of regal pre-eminence. "Among the ancient Celtæ the prince or king had nothing actually his own, but everything belonging to his followers was freely at his service;" of their own accord they gave their prince so many cattle, or a certain portion of grain. It seems probable that the Celtic chief held the public lands in trust for his people, and was on his succession invested with those possessions which he afterwards apportioned among his retainers. Those only, we are told by Cæsar, had lands, "magistrates and princes, and they give to their followers as they think proper, removing them at the year's end."[4] The Celtic nations, according to Dr Macpherson, limited the regal authority to very narrow bounds. The old monarchs of North Britain and Ireland were too weak either to control the pride and insolence of the great, or to restrain the licentiousness of the populace. Many of those princes, if we credit history, were dethroned, and some of them even put to death by their subjects, which is a demonstration that their power was not unlimited.

Next to the king was the *Mormaor*, who seems to have been identical with the *Tighern*[5] and the later *Thane*. As we have already indicated, the persons invested with this distinction were the patriarchal chiefs or heads of the great tribes into which the Highlanders were formerly divided. But when the line of the ancient mormaors gradually sank under the ascendant influence of the feudal system, the clans forming the great tribes became independent, and their leaders or chiefs were held to represent each the common ancestor or founder of his clan, and derived all their dignity and power from the belief in such representation. The chief possessed his office by right of blood alone, as that right was understood in the Highlands; neither election nor marriage could constitute any title to this distinction; it was, as we have already stated, purely hereditary, nor could it descend to any person except him who, according to the Highland rule of succession, was the nearest male heir to the dignity.

Next to the chief stood the *tanist* or person who, by the laws of tanistry, was entitled to succeed to the chiefship; he possessed this title during the lifetime of the chief, and, in

[3] Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 172, 173.

[4] Logan's *Scottish Gael*, i. 171.

[5] According to Dr Macphersor, *Tighern* is derived from two words, meaning "a man of land."

virtue of his apparent honours, was considered as a man of mark and consequence. "In the settlement of succession, the law of tanistry prevailed in Ireland from the earliest accounts of time. According to that law," says Sir James Ware, "the hereditary right of succession was not maintained among the princes or the rulers of countries; but the strongest, or he who had the most followers, very often the eldest and most worthy of the deceased king's blood and name, succeeded him. This person, by the common suffrage of the people, and in the lifetime of his predecessor, was appointed to succeed, and was called *Tanist*, that is to say, the second in dignity. Whoever received this dignity maintained himself and followers, partly out of certain lands set apart for that purpose, but chiefly out of tributary impositions, which he exacted in an arbitrary manner; impositions from which the lands of the church only, and those of persons vested with particular immunities, were exempted. The same custom was a fundamental law in Scotland for many ages. Upon the death of a king, the throne was not generally filled by his son, or daughter, failing of male issue, but by his brother, uncle, cousin-german, or near relation of the same blood. The personal merit of the successor, the regard paid to the memory of his immediate ancestors, or his address in gaining a majority of the leading men, frequently advanced him to the crown, notwithstanding the precautions taken by his predecessor."[6]

According to Mr E. W. Robertson,[7] the *Tanist*, or heir-apparent, appears to have been nominated at the same time as the monarch or chief, and in pursuance of what he considers a true Celtic principle, that of a "divided authority;" the office being immediately filled up in case of the premature death of the Tanist, the same rule being as applicable to the chieftain of the smallest territory as to the chosen leader of the nation. According to Dr Macpherson, it appears that at first the Tanist or successor to the monarchy, or chiefship, was elected, but at a very early period the office seems to have become hereditary, although not in the feudal sense of that term. Mr Skene has shown that the succession was strictly limited to heirs male, and that the great peculiarity of the Highland system was that brothers invariably were preferred to sons. This perhaps arose partly from an anxiety to avoid minorities "in a nation dependent upon a competent leader in war." This principle was frequently exemplified in the succession to the mormaordoms, and even to the kingly power itself; it formed one of the pleas put forward by Bruce in his competition for the crown with Baliol.

After the family of the chief came the *ceantighes*, or heads of the subordinate houses into which the clan was divided, the most powerful of whom was the *toisich*, or toshach, who was generally the oldest cadet. This was a natural consequence of the law of *gavel*, which, producing a constant subdivision of the chief's estate, until in actual extent of property he sometimes came to possess less than any of the other branches of the family, served in nearly the same proportion to aggrandise the latter, and hence that branch which had been longest separated from the original became relatively the most powerful. The *toshach*, military leader, or captain of the clan, certainly appears to have been at first elected to his office among the Celtic nations, as indeed were all the dignitaries who at a later period among the Highlanders succeeded to their positions according to fixed laws.[8] As war was the principal occupation of all the early Celtic nations, the office of *toshach*, or "war-king," as Mr Robertson calls him, was one of supreme importance, and gave the holder of it many opportunities of converting it into one of permanent kingship although the Celts carefully guarded against this by enforcing the principle of divided authority among their chiefs, and thus maintaining the "balance of power." The *toshach's* duties were strictly military, he having nothing to do with the internal affairs of the tribe or nation, these being regulated by a magistrate, judge, or *vergobreith*, elected annually, and invested with regal authority and the power of life and death. It would appear that the duties of *toshach* sometimes devolved on the *tanist*, though this appears to have seldom been the case among the Highlanders.[9] From a very early time the oldest cadet held the

[6] *Dissertation*, pp. 165–6.
[7] *Early Kings*
[8] Robertson's *Early Kings*, i. 24.
[9] Logan's *Gael*, i. 188.

highest rank in the clan, next to the chief; and when the clan took the field he occupied, as a matter of right, the principal post of honour. On the march he headed the van, and in battle took his station on the right; he was, in fact, the lieutenant-general of the chief, and when the latter was absent he commanded the whole clan.[1] Another function exercised by the oldest cadet was that of *maor*, or steward, the principal business of which officer was to collect the revenues of the chief; but, after the feudal customs were introduced, this duty devolved upon the baron-bailie, and the *maor* consequently discontinued his fiscal labours.

The peculiar position of the *toshach*, with the power and consequence attached to it, naturally pointed him out as the person to whom recourse would be had in circumstances of difficulty; and hence arose an apparent anomaly which has led to no little misconception and confusion. The difficulty, however, may easily be cleared by a short explanation. When, through misfortune or otherwise, the family of the chief had become so reduced that he could no longer afford to his clan the protection required, and which formed the correlative obligation on his part to that of fealty and obedience on theirs, then the clansmen followed the oldest cadet as the head of the most powerful sept or branch of the clan; and he thus enjoyed, sometimes for a considerable period, all the dignity, consequence, and privileges of a chief, without, of course, either possessing a right, *jure sanguinis*, to that station, or even acquiring the title of the office which he, *de facto*, exercised. He was merely a sort of patriarchal regent, who exercised the supreme power, and enjoyed prerogatives of royalty without the name. While the system of clanship remained in its original purity, no such regency, or interregnum, could ever take place. But, in process of time, many circumstances occurred to render it both expedient and necessary. In fact, clanship, in its ancient purity, could scarcely co-exist with the feudal system, which introduced changes so adverse to its true spirit; and hence, when the territory had passed, by descent, into the hands of a Lowland baron, or when, by some unsuccessful opposition to the government, the chief had brought ruin upon himself and his house, and was no longer in a condition to maintain his station and afford protection to his clan, the latter naturally placed themselves under the only head capable of occupying the position of their chief, and with authority sufficient to command or enforce obedience. In other words, they sought protection at the hands of the oldest cadet; and he, on his part, was known by the name, not of chief, which would have been considered a gross usurpation, but of *captain*, or leader of the clan. It is clear, therefore, that this dignity was one which owed its origin to circumstances, and formed no part of the original system, as has been generally but erroneously supposed. If an anomaly, it was one imposed by necessity, and the deviation was confined, as we have seen, within the narrowest possible limits. It was altogether unknown until a recent period in the history of the Highlands, and, when it did come into use, it was principally confined to three clans, namely, Clan Chattan, Clan Cameron, and Clan Ranald; an undoubted proof that it was not a regular but an exceptional dignity, that it was a temporary expedient, not part of a system; and that a captain differed as essentially from a chief as a regent differs from an hereditary sovereign. "It is evident," says Mr Skene, who has the merit of being the first to trace out this distinction clearly, "that a title, which was not universal among the Highlanders, must have arisen from peculiar circumstances connected with those clans in which it is first found; and when we examine the history of these clans, there can be little doubt that it was

[1] "*Toisich*," says Dr Macpherson, "was another title of honour which obtained among the Scots of the middle ages. Spelman imagined that this dignity was the same with that of Thane. But the Highlanders, among whose predecessors the word was once common, distinguished carefully in their language the *toisich* from the *tanistair* or the *tierna*. When they enumerate the different classes of their great men, agreeably to the language of former times, they make use of these three titles, in the same sentence, with a disjunctive particle between them." "In Gaelic," he adds, "*tus*, *tos*, and *tosich* signify the *beginning* or *first part* of anything, and sometimes the *front* of an army or battle." Hence perhaps the name *toisich*, implying the post of honour which the oldest cadet always occupied as his peculiar privilege and distinction. Mr Robertson, however, thinks *toshach* is derived from the same root as the Latin *dux*. (*Early Kings*, i. 26.)

simply a person who had, from various causes, become *de facto* head of the clan, while the person possessing the hereditary right to that dignity remained either in a subordinate situation, or else for the time disunited from the rest of the clan." [2]

Another title known among the ancient Highlanders was that of *ogtiern*, or *lesser tighern*, or Thane, and was applied either to the son of a *tighern*, or to those members of the clan whose kinship to the chief was beyond a certain degree. They appear to have to a large extent formed the class of *duinewassels*, or gentry of the clan, intermediate between the chief and the body of the clan, and known in later times as *tacksmen* or *goodmen*. "These, again, had a circle of relations, who considered them as their immediate leaders, and who in battle were placed under their immediate command. Over them in peace, these chieftains exercised a certain authority, but were themselves dependent on the chief, to whose service all the members of the clan were submissively devoted. As the *duinewassels* received their lands from the bounty of the chief, for the purpose of supporting their station in the tribe, so these lands were occasionally resumed or reduced to provide for those who were more immediately related to the laird; hence many of this class necessarily sank into commoners. This transition strengthened the feeling which was possessed by the very lowest of the community, that they were related to the chief, from whom they never forgot they originally sprang." [2] The duinewassels were all cadets of the house of the chief, and each had a pedigree of his own as long, and perchance as complicated as that of his chief. They were, as might be expected, the bravest portion of the clan; the first in the onset, and the last to quit the strife, even when the tide of battle pressed hardest against them. They cherished a high and chivalrous sense of honour, ever keenly alive to insult or reproach; and they were at all times ready to devote themselves to the service of their chief, when a wrong was to be avenged, an inroad repressed or punished, or glory reaped by deeds of daring in arms.

Another office which existed among the old Gaelic inhabitants of Scotland was that of *Brehon*, deemster, or judge, the representative of the *vergobreith* previously referred to. Among the continental Celts this office was elective, but among the Highlanders it appears to have been hereditary, and by no means held so important, latterly at least, as it was on the continent. As we referred to this office in the former part of this work, we shall say nothing farther of it in this place.

To this general view of the constitution of society in the Highlands, little remains to be added. The chief, as we have seen, was a sort of *regulus*, or petty prince, invested with an authority which was in its nature arbitrary, but which, in its practical exercise, seems generally to have been comparatively mild and paternal. He was subjected to no theoretical or constitutional limitations, yet, if ferocious in disposition, or weak in understanding, he was restrained or directed by the elders of the tribe, who were his standing counsellors, and without whose advice no measure of importance could be decided on. Inviolable custom supplied the deficiency of law. As his distinction and power consisted chiefly in the number of his followers, his pride as well as his ambition became a guarantee for the mildness of his sway; he had a direct and immediate interest to secure the attachment and devotion of his clan; and his condescension, while it raised the clansman in his own estimation, served also to draw closer the ties which bound the latter to his superior, without tempting him to transgress the limits of propriety. The Highlander was thus taught to respect himself in the homage which he paid to his chief. Instead of complaining of the difference of station and fortune, or considering prompt obedience as slavish degradation, he felt convinced that he was supporting

[2] Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. pp. 177, 178. That the captains of clans were originally the oldest cadets, is placed beyond all doubt by an instance which Mr Skene has mentioned in the part of his work here referred to. "The title of captain occurs but once in the family of the Macdonalds of Slate, and the single occurrence of this peculiar title is when the clan Houston was led by the uncle of their chief, then in minority. In 1545, we find Archibald Maconnill, captain of the clan Houston; and thus, on the only occasion when this clan followed as a chief a person who had not the right of blood to that station, he styles himself captain of the clan."

[3] Logan's *Gael*, i. 173.

his own honour in showing respect to the head of his family, and in yielding a ready compliance to his will. Hence it was that the Highlanders carried in their demeanour the politeness of courts without the vices by which these are too frequently dishonoured, and cherished in their bosoms a sense of honour without any of its follies or extravagances. This mutual interchange of condescension and respect served to elevate the tone of moral feeling amongst the people, and no doubt contributed to generate that principle of incorruptible fidelity of which there are on record so many striking and even affecting examples. The sentiment of honour, and the firmness sufficient to withstand temptation, may in general be expected in the higher classes of society; but the voluntary sacrifice of life and fortune is a species of self-devotion seldom displayed in any community, and never perhaps exemplified to the same extent in any country as in the Highlands of Scotland.[4] The punishment of treachery was a kind of conventional outlawry or banishment from society, a sort of *aquæ et ignis interdictio* even more terrible than the punishment inflicted under that denomination, during the prevalence of the Roman law. It was the judgment of all against one, the condemnation of society, not that of a tribunal; and the execution of the sentence was as complete as its ratification was universal. Persons thus intercommuned were for ever cut off from the society to which they belonged; they incurred civil death in its most appalling form, and their names descended with infamy to posterity. What higher proof could possibly be produced of the noble sentiments of honour and fidelity cherished by the people, than the simple fact that the breach of these was visited with such a fearful retribution?

On the other hand, when chiefs proved worthless or oppressive, they were occasionally deposed, and when they took a side which was disapproved by the clan, they were abandoned by their people. Of the former, there are several well authenticated examples, and General Stewart has mentioned a remarkable instance of the latter. "In the reign of King William, immediately after the Revolution, Lord Tullibardine, eldest son of the Marquis of Athole, collected a numerous body of Athole Highlanders, together with three hundred Frasers, under the command of Hugh, Lord Lovat, who had married a daughter of the Marquis. These men believed that they were destined to support the abdicated king, but were in reality assembled to serve the government of William. When in front of Blair Castle, their real destination was disclosed to them by Lord Tullibardine. Instantly they rushed from their ranks, ran to the adjoining stream of Banovy, and filling their bonnets with water, drank to the health of King James; then with colours flying and pipes playing, fifteen hundred of the men of Athole put themselves under the command of the Laird of Ballechin, and marched off to join Lord Dundee, whose chivalrous bravery and heroic exploits had excited their admiration more than those of any other warrior since the days of Montrose."

The number of Highland clans has been variously estimated, but it is probable that when they were in their most flourishing condition it amounted to about forty. Latterly, by including many undoubtedly Lowland houses, the number has been increased to about a hundred, the additions being made chiefly by tartan manufacturers. Mr Skene has found that the various purely Highland clans can be clearly classified and traced up as having belonged to one or other of the great mormaordoms into which the north of Scotland was at one time divided. In his history of the individual clans, however, this is not the classification which he adopts, but one in accordance with that which he finds in the manuscript genealogies. According to these, the people were originally divided into several great tribes, the clans forming each of these separate tribes being deduced from a common ancestor. A marked line of distinction may be drawn between the different tribes, in each of which indications may be traced serving more or less,

[4] "All who are acquainted with the events of the unhappy insurrection of 1745, must have heard of a gentleman of the name of M'Kenzie, who had so remarkable a resemblance to Prince Charles Stuart, as to give rise to the mistake to which he cheerfully sacrificed his life, continuing the heroic deception to the last, and exclaiming with his expiring breath, 'Villains, you have killed your Prince.'" (Stewart's *Sketches*, &c., vol. i. p. 59).

according to Mr Skene, to identify them with the ancient mormaorships or earldoms.

In the old genealogies each tribe is invariably traced to a common ancestor, from whom all the different branches or clans are supposed to have descended. Thus we have—1. *Descendants of Conn of the Hundred Battles*, including the Lords of the Isles, or Macdonalds, the Macdougals, the Macneills, the Maclachlans, the Macewens, the Maclaisrichs, and the Maceacherns; 2. *Descendants of Fearchar Fada Mac Feradaig*, comprehending the old mormaors of Moray, the Mackintoshes, the Macphersons, and the Macnauchtans; 3. *Descendants of Cormac Mac Oirbertaig*, namely, the old Earls of Ross, the Mackenzies, the Mathiesons, the Macgregors, the Mackinnons, the Macquarries, the Macnabs, and the Macduffies; 4. *Descendants of Fergus Leith Dearg*, the Macleods and the Campbells; and 5. *Descendants of Krycul*, the Macnicols.

Whatever may be the merits or defects of this distribution, it is convenient for the purpose of classification. It affords the means of referring the different clans to their respective tribes, and thus avoiding an arbitrary arrangement; and it is further in accordance with the general views which have already been submitted to the reader respecting the original constitution of clanship. We shall not, however, adhere strictly to Mr Skene's arrangement.

CHAPTER II.

The Gallgael, or Western Clans—Fiongall and Dubhgall—Lords of the Isles—Somerled—Suibne—Gillebride Mac Gille Adomnan—Somerled in the West—Defeat and death—His children—Dugall and his descendants—Ranald's three sons, Ruari, Donald, Dugall—Roderick—Ranald—The Clan Donald—Origin—Angus Og—His son John—His sons Godfrey and Donald—Donald marries Mary, sister of Earl of Ross—Battle of Harlaw—Policy of James I.—Alexander of the Isles—Donald Balloch—John of the Isles—Angus Og declares himself Lord of the Isles—Seizes Earl and Countess of Athole—Intrigues with England—Battle of Lagebread—Battle of Bloody Bay—Alexander of Lochalsh—Expedition of James IV.—Donald *Dubh*—Donald *Galda*—Donald Gorme—Donald *Dubh* reappears—Somerled's descendants fail—The various Island Clans—The Chiefship—Lord Macdonald and Macdonald of Clan Ranald—Donald Gorme Mor—Feuds with the Macleans and Macleods—Sir Donald, fourth Baronet—Sir Alexander's wife befriends Prince Charles—Sir James, eighth Baronet—Sir Alexander, ninth Baronet, created a peer of Ireland—Present Lord Macdonald—Macdonalds of Islay and Kintyre—Alexander of Islay's rebellions—Angus Macdonald—Feud with Macleans—Sir James imprisoned—His lands pass to the Campbells—Macdonalds of Keppoch, or Clanranald of Lochaber—Disputes with the Mackintoshes—The Macdonalds at Culloden—Clanranald Macdonalds of Garmoran and their offshoots—Battle of Kinloch-lochy or Blarnan-leine—Macdonalds of Benbecula, Boisdale, Kinlochmoidart, Glenaladale—Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum—Macdonalds of Glencoe—Macdonnells of Glengarry—Feud between the Glengarry Macdonalds and Mackenzie of Kintail—General Sir James Macdonnell—Colonel Alexander Ranaldson Macdonnell, last specimen of a Highland Chief—Families descended from the Macdonnells of Glengarry—Strength of the Macdonalds—Characteristic in the arms of the Coast-Gael.

The clans that come first in order in Mr Skene's classification are those whose progenitor is said by the genealogists to have been the fabulous Irish King Conn "of the hundred battles." They are mostly all located in the Western Islands and Highlands, and are said by Mr Skene to have been descended from the *Gallgael*, or Gaelic pirates or rovers, who are said to have been so called to distinguish them from the Norwegian and Danish *Fingall* and *Dugall*, or white and black strangers or rovers. Mr Skene advocates strongly the unmixed Gaelic descent of these clans, as indeed he does of almost all the other clans. He endeavours to maintain that the whole of these western clans are of purely Pictish descent, not being mixed with even that of the Dalriadic Scots. We are inclined, however, to agree with Mr Smibert in thinking that the founders of these clans were to a large extent of Irish extraction, though clearly distinguishable from the primitive or Dalriadic Scots, and that from the time of the Scottish conquest they formed intimate relationships with the Northern Picts. "From whatever race," to quote the judicious remarks of Mr Gregory, "whether Pictish or Scottish, the inhabitants of the Isles, in the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin, were derived, it is clear that the settlements and wars of the Scandinavians in the Hebrides, from the time of Harald Harfager to that of Olave the Red, a period of upwards of two centuries, must have produced a very considerable change in the population. As in all cases of conquest, this change must have been most perceptible in the higher ranks, owing to the natural tendency of invaders to secure their new possessions, where practicable, by matrimonial alliances with the natives. That in the Hebrides

a mixture of the Celtic and Scandinavian blood was thus effected at an early period seems highly probable, and by no means inconsistent with the ultimate prevalence of the Celtic language in the mixed race, as all history sufficiently demonstrates. These remarks regarding the population of the Isles apply equally to that of the adjacent mainland districts, which, being so accessible by numerous arms of the sea, could hardly be expected to preserve the blood of their inhabitants unmixed. The extent to which this mixture was carried is a more difficult question, and one which must be left in a great measure to conjecture; but, on the whole, the Celtic race appears to have predominated. It is of more importance to know which of the Scandinavian tribes it was that infused the greatest portion of northern blood into the population of the Isles. The Irish annalists divide the piratical bands, which, in the ninth and following centuries infested Ireland, into two great tribes, styled by these writers *Fiongall*, or white foreigners, and *Dubhgall*, or black foreigners. These are believed to represent, the former the Norwegians, the latter the Danes; and the distinction in the names given to them is supposed to have arisen from a diversity, either in their clothing or in the sails of their vessels. These tribes had generally separate leaders; but they were occasionally united under one king; and although both bent first on ravaging the Irish shores, and afterwards on seizing portions of the Irish territories, they frequently turned their arms against each other. The Gaelic title of *Righ Fhiongall*, or King of the Fiongall, so frequently applied to the Lords of the Isles, seems to prove that Olave the Red, from whom they were descended in the female line, was so styled, and that, consequently, his subjects in the Isles, in so far as they were not Celtic, were Fiongall or Norwegians. It has been remarked by one writer, whose opinion is entitled to weight,[5] that the names of places in the exterior Hebrides, or the Long Island, derived from the Scandinavian tongue, resemble the names of places in Orkney, Shetland, and Caithness. On the other hand, the corresponding names in the interior Hebrides are in a different dialect, resembling that of which the traces are to be found in the topography of Sutherland; and appear to have been imposed at a later period than the first mentioned names. The probability is, however, that the difference alluded to is not greater than might be expected in the language of two branches of the same race, after a certain interval; and that the Scandinavian population of the Hebrides was, therefore, derived from two successive Norwegian colonies. This view is further confirmed by the fact that the Hebrides, although long subject to Norway, do not appear to have ever formed part of the possessions of the Danes."[6]

As by far the most important, and at one time most extensive and powerful, of these western clans, is that of the Macdonalds, and as this, as well as many other clans, according to some authorities, can clearly trace their ancestry back to Somerled, the progenitor of the once powerful Lords of the Isles, it may not be out of place to give here a short summary of the history of these magnates.

The origin of Somerled, the undoubted founder of the noble race of the Island Lords, is, according to Mr Gregory, involved in considerable obscurity. Assuming that the clan governed by Somerled formed part of the great tribe of Gallgael, it follows that the independent kings of the latter must in all probability have been his ancestors, and should therefore be found in the old genealogies of his family. But this scarcely appears to be the case. The last king of the Gallgael was Suibne, the son of Kenneth, who died in the year 1034; and, according to the manuscript of 1450, an ancestor of Somerled, contemporary with this petty monarch, bore the same name, from which it may be presumed that the person referred to in the genealogy and the manuscript is one and the same individual. The latter, however, calls Suibne's father Nialgusa; and in the genealogy there is no mention whatever of a Kenneth. But from the old Scottish writers we learn that at this time there was a Kenneth, whom they call Thane of the Isles, and that one of the northern mormaors also bore the same name, although it is not very easy to say what

[5] Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 266.

[6] *Western Highlands*, p. 7.

precise claim either had to be considered as the father of Suibne. There is also a further discrepancy observable in the earlier part of the Macdonald genealogies, as compared with the manuscript; and besides, the latter, without making any mention of these supposed kings, deviates into the misty region of Irish heroic fable and romance. At this point, indeed, there is a complete divergence, if not contrariety, between the history as contained in the Irish Annals, and the genealogy developed in the manuscript; for, whilst the latter mentions the Gallgael under their leaders as far back as the year 856, the former connect Suibne, by a different genealogy, with the kings of Ireland. The fables of the Highland and Irish Sennachies now became connected with the genuine history. The real descent of the chiefs was obscured or perplexed by the Irish genealogies, and previously to the eleventh century neither these genealogies nor even that of the manuscript of 1450 can be considered as of any authority whatsoever. It seems somewhat rash, however, to conclude, as Mr Skene has done, that the Siol-Cuinn, or descendants of Conn, were of native origin. This exceeds the warrant of the premises, which merely carry the difficulty a few removes backwards into the obscurity of time, and there leave the question in greater darkness than ever.

From the death of Suibne till the accession of Gillebride Mac Gille Adomnan, the father of Somerled, nothing whatever is known of the history of the clan. The latter, having been expelled from his possessions by the Lochlans and the Fingalls, took refuge in Ireland, where he persuaded the descendants of Colla to espouse his quarrel and assist him in an attempt to recover his possessions. Accordingly, four or five hundred persons put themselves under his command, and at their head he returned to Alban, where he effected a landing; but the expedition, it would seem, proved unsuccessful. Somerled, the son of Gillebride, was, however, a man of a very different stamp. At first he lived retired, musing in solitude upon the ruined fortunes of his house. But when the time for action arrived, he boldly put himself at the head of the inhabitants of Morven; attacked the Norwegians, whom, after a considerable struggle, he expelled; made himself master of the whole of Morven, Lochaber, and northern Argyle; and not long afterwards added to his other possessions the southern districts of that country. In the year 1135, when David I. expelled the Norwegians from Man, Arran, and Bute, Somerled appears to have obtained a grant of those Islands from the king. But finding himself still unable to contend with the Norwegians of the Isles, whose power remained unbroken, he resolved to recover by policy what he despaired of acquiring by force of arms; and, with this view, he succeeded in obtaining (about 1140) the hand of Ragnhildis, the daughter of Olaf, surnamed the Red, who was then the Norwegian king of the Isles. This lady brought him three sons, namely, Dugall, Reginald, and Angus; and, by a previous marriage, he had one named Gillecallum.

The prosperous fortunes of Somerled at length inflamed his ambition. He had already attained to great power in the Highlands, and success inspired him with the desire of extending it. His grandsons having formerly claimed the earldom of Moray, their pretensions were now renewed, and this was followed by an attempt to put them in actual possession of their alleged inheritance. The attempt, however, failed. It had brought the *regulus* of Argyll into open rebellion against the king, and the war appears to have excited great alarm amongst the inhabitants of Scotland; but Somerled, having encountered a more vigorous opposition than he had anticipated, found it necessary to return to the Isles, where the tyrannical conduct of his brother-in-law, Godred, had irritated his vassals and thrown everything into confusion. His presence gave confidence to the party opposed to the tyrant, and Thorfinn, one of the most powerful of the Norwegian nobles, resolved to depose Godred, and place another prince on the throne of the Isles. Somerled readily entered into the views of Thorfinn, and it was arranged that Dugall, the eldest son of the former, should occupy the throne from which his maternal uncle was to be displaced. But the result of the projected deposition did not answer the expectations of either party. Dugall was committed to the care of Thorfinn, who undertook to conduct

him through the Isles, and compel the chiefs not only to acknowledge him as their sovereign, but also to give hostages for their fidelity and allegiance. The Lord of Skye, however, refused to comply with this demand, and, having fled to the Isle of Man, apprised Godred of the intended revolution. Somerled followed with eight galleys; and Godred having commanded his ships to be got ready, a bloody but indecisive battle ensued. It was fought on the night of the Epiphany; and as neither party prevailed, the rival chiefs next morning entered into a sort of compromise or convention, by which the sovereignty of the Isles was divided, and two distinct principalities established. By this treaty Somerled acquired all the islands lying to the southward of the promontory of Ardnamurchan, whilst those to the northward remained in the possession of Godred.

But no sooner had he made this acquisition than he became involved in hostilities with the government. Having joined the powerful party in Scotland, which had resolved to depose Malcolm IV., and place the boy of Egremont on the throne, he began to infest various parts of the coast, and for some time carried on a vexatious predatory warfare. The project, however, failed; and Malcolm, convinced that the existence of an independent chief was incompatible with the interests of his government and the maintenance of public tranquillity, required of Somerled to resign his lands into the hands of the sovereign, and to hold them in future as a vassal of the crown. Somerled, however, was little disposed to comply with this demand, although the king was now preparing to enforce it by means of a powerful army. Emboldened by his previous successes, he resolved to anticipate the attack, and having appeared in the Clyde with a considerable force, he landed at Renfrew, where being met by the royal army under the command of the High Steward of Scotland, a battle ensued which ended in his defeat and death (1164). This celebrated chief has been traditionally described as "a well-tempered man, in body shapely, of a fair piercing eye, of middle stature, and of quick discernment." He appears, indeed, to have been equally brave and sagacious, tempering courage with prudence, and, excepting in the last act of his life, distinguished for the happy talent, rare at any period, of profiting by circumstances, and making the most of success. In the battle of Renfrew his son Gillecallum perished by his side. Tradition says that Gillecallum left a son Somerled, who succeeded to his grandfather's possessions in the mainland, which he held for upwards of half a century after the latter's death. The existence of this second Somerled, however, seems very doubtful although Mr Gregory believes that, besides the three sons of his marriage with Olave the Red, Somerled had other sons, who seem to have shared with their brothers, according to the then prevalent custom of gavelkind, the mainland possessions held by the Lord of Argyle; whilst the sons descended of the House of Moray divided amongst them the South Isles ceded by Godred in 1156. Dugall, the eldest of these, got for his share, Mull, Coll, Tiree, and Jura; Reginald, the second son, obtained Isla and Kintyre; and Angus, the third son, Bute. Arran is supposed to have been divided between the two latter. The Chronicle of Man mentions a battle, in 1192, between Reginald and Angus, in which the latter obtained the victory. He was killed, in 1210, with his three sons, by the men of Skye, leaving no male issue. One of his sons, James, left a daughter and heiress, Jane, afterwards married to Alexander, son and heir of Walter, High Steward of Scotland, who, in her right, claimed the isle of Bute.

Dugall, the eldest son of his father by the second marriage, seems to have possessed not only a share of the Isles, but also the district of Lorn, which had been allotted as his share of the territories belonging to his ancestors. On his death, however, the Isles, instead of descending immediately to his children, were acquired by his brother Reginald, who in consequence assumed the title of King of the Isles; but, by the same law of succession, the death of Reginald restored to his nephews the inheritance of their father. Dugall left two sons, Dugall Scrag and Duncan, who appear in the northern Sagas, under the title of the Sudereyan Kings. They appear to have acknowledged, at least nominally, the authority of the Norwegian king of the Hebrides; but actually they maintained an almost entire in-

dependence. Haco, the king of Norway, therefore came to the determination of reducing them to obedience and subjection, a design in which he proved completely successful. In a night attack the Norwegians defeated the Sudereyans, and took Dugall prisoner.

Duncan was now the only member of his family who retained any power in the Sudereys; but nothing is known of his subsequent history except that he founded the priory of Ardchattan, in Lorn. He was succeeded by his son Ewen, who appears to have remained more faithful to the Norwegian kings than his predecessors had shown themselves; for, when solicited by Alexander II. to join him in an attempt he meditated to obtain possession of the Western Isles, Ewen resisted all the promises and entreaties of the king, and on this occasion preserved inviolate his allegiance to Haco. Alexander, it is well known, died in Kerreray (1249), when about to commence an attack upon the Isles, and was succeeded by his son Alexander III. When the latter had attained majority, he resolved to renew the attempt which his father had begun, and with this view excited the Earl of Ross, whose possessions extended along the mainland opposite to the Northern Isles, to commence hostilities against them. The earl willingly engaged in the enterprise, and having landed in Skye, ravaged the country, burned churches and villages, and put to death numbers of the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. Haco soon appeared with a Norwegian force, and was joined by most of the Highland chiefs. But Ewen having altered his views, excused himself from taking any part against the force sent by the Scottish king; and the unfortunate termination of Haco's expedition justified the prudence of this timely change. In the year 1263 the Norwegians were completely defeated by the Scots at the battle of Largs; and the Isles were, in consequence of this event, finally ceded to the kings of Scotland. This event, however, rather increased than diminished the power of Ewen, who profited by his seasonable defection from the Norwegians, and was favoured by the government to which that defection had been useful. But he died without any male issue to succeed him, leaving only two daughters, one of whom married the Norwegian king of Man, and the other, Alexander of the Isles, a descendant of Reginald.

The conquest and partition of Argyle by Alexander II., and the subsequent annexation of the Western Islands to the kingdom of Scotland, under the reign of his successor, annihilated the power of the race of Conn as an independent tribe; and, from the failure of the male descendants of Dugall in the person of Ewen, had the effect of dividing the clan into three distinct branches, the heads of which held their lands of the crown. These were the clan Ruari or Rory, the clan Donald, and the clan Dugall, so called from three sons of Ranald or Reginald, the son of Somerled by Ragnhildis, daughter of Olave.

Of this Ranald or Reginald, but little comparatively is known. According to the Highland custom of gavel, Somerled's property was divided amongst all his sons; and in this division the portion which fell to the share of Reginald appears to have consisted of the island of Islay, with Kintyre, and part of Lorn on the mainland. Contemporary with Reginald there was a Norwegian king of Man and the Isles, who, being called by the same name, is liable to be confounded with the head of the Siol Conn. Reginald, after the death of his brother Dugall, was designated as Lord, and sometimes even as King, of the Isles;[7] and he had likewise the title of Lord of Argyle and Kintyre, in which last capacity he granted certain lands to an abbey that had been founded by himself at Saddel in Kintyre. But these titles did not descend to his children. He was succeeded by his eldest son Roderick,[8] who, on the conquest of Argyle, agreed to hold his lands of Rory, or the crown, and afterwards was commonly styled

[7] "Both Dugall and Reginald were called Kings of the Isles at the same time that Reginald, the son of Godred the Black, was styled King of Man and the Isles; and in the next generation we find mention of these kings of the Isles of the race of Somerled existing at one time." The word *king* with the Norwegians therefore corresponds to Magnate.—Gregory, 17.

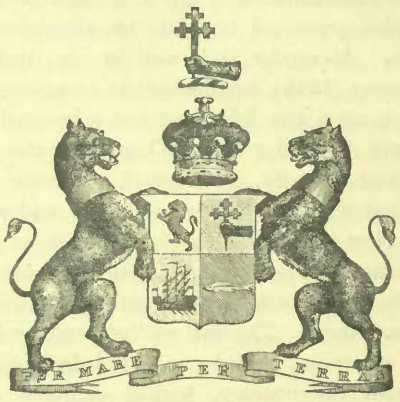
[8] "The seniority of Roderick, son of Reginald, has not been universally admitted, some authors making Donald the elder by birth. But the point is of little moment, seeing that the direct and legitimate line of Roderick, who, with his immediate progeny, held a large portion of the Isles, terminated in a female in the third generation, when the succession of the house of Somerled fell indisputably to the descendants of Donald, second grandson of Somerled, and head of the entire and potent clan of the Macdonalds."—Smibert, p. 20.

Lord of Kintyre. In this Roderick the blood of the Norwegian rovers seems to have revived in all its pristine purity. Preferring "the good old way, the simple plan" to more peaceful and honest pursuits, he became one of the most noted pirates of his day, and the annals of the period are filled with accounts of his predatory expeditions. But his sons, Dugall and Allan, had the grace not to follow the vocation of their father, for which they do not seem to have evinced any predilection. Dugall having given important aid to Haco in his expedition against the Western Isles, obtained in consequence a considerable increase of territory, and died without descendants. Allan succeeded to the possessions of this branch of the race of Conn, and, upon the annexation of the Isles to the crown of Scotland, transferred his allegiance to Alexander III., along with the other chiefs of the Hebrides.[9]

Allan left one son, Roderick, of whom almost nothing is known, except that he was not considered as legitimate by the feudal law, and in consequence was succeeded in his lordship of Garmoran by his daughter Christina. Yet the custom or law of the Highlands, according to which his legitimacy could 'moult no feather,' had still sufficient force amongst the people to induce the daughter to legalise her father's possession of the lands by a formal resignation and reconveyance; a circumstance which shows how deeply it had taken root in the habits and the opinions of the people. Roderick, however, incurred the penalty of forfeiture during the reign of Robert Bruce, "probably," as Mr Skene thinks, "from some connection with the Soulis conspiracy of 1320;" but his lands were restored to his son Ranald by David II. Ranald, however, did not long enjoy his extensive possessions. Holding of the Earl of Ross some lands in North Argyle, he unhappily became embroiled with that powerful chief, and a bitter feud, engendered by proximity, arose between them. In that age the spirit of hostility seldom remained long inactive. In 1346, David II. having summoned the barons of Scotland to meet him at Perth, Ranald, like the others, obeyed the call, and having made his appearance, attended by a considerable body of men, took up his quarters at the monastery of Elcho, a few miles distant from the Fair City. To the Earl of Ross, who was also with the army, this seemed a favourable opportunity for revenging himself on his enemy; and accordingly having surprised and entered the monastery in the middle of the night, he slew Ranald and seven of his followers. By the death of Ranald, the male descendants of Roderick became extinct; and John of the Isles, the chief of the Clan Donald, who had married Amy, the only sister of Ranald, now claimed the succession to that principality.

[9] In the list of the Barons who assembled at Scone in 1284 to declare Margaret, the Maid of Norway, heiress to the crown, he appears under the name of *Allangus filius Roderici*.

THE MACDONALDS OR CLAN DONALD.



BADGE.—Heath.

The Clan Donald derive their origin from a son of Reginald, who appears to have inherited South Kintyre, and the island of Islay; but little is known of their history until the annexation of the Isles to the crown in the year 1266. According to Highland tradition, Donald made a pilgrimage to Rome to do penance, and obtain absolution for the various enormities of his former life; and, on his return, evinced his gratitude and piety by making grants of land to the monastery of Saddel, and other religious houses in Scotland. He was succeeded by his son, Angus Mor, who, on the arrival of Haco with his fleet, immediately joined the Norwegian king, and assisted him during the whole of the expedition; yet, when a treaty of peace was afterwards concluded between the kings of Norway and Scotland, he does not appear to have suffered in consequence of the

part which he took in that enterprise. In the year 1284 he appeared at the convention, by which the Maid of Norway was declared heiress of the crown, and obtained as the price of his support on that occasion a grant of Ardnamurchan, a part of the earldom of Garmoran,[1] and the confirmation of his father's and grandfather's grants to the monastery of Saddel. Angus left two sons, Alexander and Angus Og (*i.e*, the younger). Alexander, by a marriage with one of the daughters of Ewen of Ergadia, acquired a considerable addition to his possessions; but having joined the Lord of Lorn in his opposition to the claims of Robert Bruce, he became involved in the ruin of that chief; and being obliged to surrender to the king, he was imprisoned in Dundonald Castle, where he died. His whole possessions were forfeited, and given to his brother, Angus Og, who, having attached himself to the party of Bruce, and remained faithful in the hour of adversity, now received the reward of his fidelity and devotion. Angus assisted in the attack upon Carrick, when the king recovered "his father's hall;" and he was present at Bannockburn, where, at the head of his clan, he formed the reserve, and did battle "stalwart and stout," on that never-to-be-forgotten day. Bruce, having at length reaped the reward of all his toils and dangers, and secured the independence of Scotland, was not unmindful of those who had participated in the struggle thus victoriously consummated. Accordingly, he bestowed upon Angus the lordship of Lochaber, which had belonged to the Comyns, together with the lands of Durrour and Glencoe, and the islands of Mull, Tyree, &c., which had formed part of the possessions of the family of Lorn. Prudence might have restrained the royal bounty. The family of the Isles were already too powerful for subjects; but the king, secure of the attachment and fidelity of Angus, contented himself with making the permission to erect a castle or fort at Tarbat in Kintyre, a condition of the grants which he had made. This distinguished chief died early in the fourteenth century, leaving two sons, John his successor, and John Og, the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Glencoe.

Angus, as we have already seen, had all his life been a steady friend to the crown, and had profited by his fidelity. But his son John does not seem to have inherited the loyalty along with the power, dignities, and possessions of his father. Having had some dispute with the Regent concerning certain lands which had been granted by Bruce, he joined the party of Edward Baliol and the English king; and, by a formal treaty concluded on the 12th of December 1335, and confirmed by Edward III. on the 5th October 1336, engaged to support the pretensions of the former, in consideration of a grant of the lands and islands claimed by the Earl of Moray, besides certain other advantages. But all the intrigues of Edward were baffled; Scotland was entirely freed from the dominion of the English; and, in the year 1341, David II. was recalled from France to assume the undisputed sovereignty of his native country. Upon his accession to the throne, David, anxious to attach to his party the most powerful of the Scottish barons, concluded a treaty with John of the Isles, who, in consequence, pledged himself to support his government. But a circumstance soon afterwards occurred which threw him once more into the interest of Baliol and the English party. In 1346, Ranald of the Isles having been slain at Perth by the Earl of Ross, as already mentioned, John, who had married his sister Amy, immediately laid claim to the succession. The government, however, unwilling to aggrandise a chief already too powerful, determined to oppose indirectly his pretensions, and evade the recognition of his claim. It is unnecessary to detail the pretexts employed, or the obstacles which were raised by the government. Their effect was to restore to the party of Baliol one of its most powerful adherents, and to enable John in the meanwhile to concentrate in his own person nearly all the possessions of his ancestor Somerled.

But ere long a most remarkable change took place in the character and position of the different parties or factions, which at that time divided Scotland. The king of Scotland now appeared in the extraordinary and unnatural character of a mere tool or partisan of Edward, and even seconded

[1] "The Lordship of Garmoran (also called Garbhchrioch) comprehends the districts of Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, and Knoydart."—Gregory, p. 27.

covertly the endeavours of the English king to overturn the independence of Scotland. Its effect was to throw into active opposition the party which had hitherto supported the throne and the cause of independence; and, on the other hand, to secure to the enemies of both the favour and countenance of the king. But as soon as by this interchange the English party became identified with the royal faction, John of the Isles abandoned it, and formed a connection with that party to which he had for many years been openly opposed. At the head of the national party was the Steward of Scotland, who, being desirous of strengthening himself by alliances with the more powerful barons, hailed the accession of John to his interests as an extraordinary piece of good fortune, and cemented their union by giving to the Lord of the Isles his own daughter in marriage. The real aim of this policy was not for a moment misunderstood; but any open manifestation of force was at first cautiously avoided. At length, in 1366, when the heavy burdens imposed upon the people to raise the ransom of the king had produced general discontent, and David's jealousy of the Steward had displayed itself by throwing into prison the acknowledged successor to the throne, the northern barons broke out into open rebellion, and refused either to pay the tax imposed, or to obey the king's summons to attend the parliament.

In this state matters remained for some time, when David applied to the Steward, as the only person capable of restoring peace to the country, and, at the same time, commissioned him to put down the rebellion. The latter, satisfied that his objects would be more effectually forwarded by steady opposition to the court than by avowedly taking part with the insurgents, accepted the commission, and employed every means in his power to reduce the refractory barons to obedience. His efforts, however, were only partially successful. The Earls of Mar and Ross, and other northern barons, whose object was now attained, at once laid down their arms; John of Lorn and Gillespie Campbell likewise gave in their submission; but the Lord of the Isles, secure in the distance and inaccessible nature of his territories, refused to yield, and, in fact, set the royal power at defiance. The course of events, however, soon enabled David to bring this refractory subject to terms. Edward, finding that France required his undivided attention, was not in a condition to prosecute his ambitious projects against Scotland; a peace was accordingly concluded between the rival countries; and David thus found himself at liberty to turn his whole force against the Isles. With this view he commanded the attendance of the Steward and other barons of the realm, and resolved to proceed in person against the rebels. But the Steward, perceiving that the continuance of the rebellion might prove fatal to his party, prevailed with his son-in-law to meet the king at Inverness, where an agreement was entered into, by which the Lord of the Isles not only engaged to submit to the royal authority, and pay his share of all public burdens, but further promised to put down all others who should attempt to resist either; and, besides his own oath, he gave hostages to the king for the fulfilment of this obligation. The accession of Robert Steward or Stewart to the throne of Scotland, which took place in 1371, shortly after this act of submission, brought the Lord of the Isles into close connection with the court; and during the whole of this reign he remained in as perfect tranquillity, and gave as loyal support to the government as his father Angus had done under that of King Robert Bruce.[2] In those barbarous and unsettled times, the government was not always in a condition to reduce its refractory vassals by force; and, from the frequent changes and revolutions to which it was exposed, joined to its general weakness, the penalty of forfeiture was but little dreaded. Its true policy, therefore, was to endeavour to bind to its interests, by the ties of friendship and alliance, those turbulent chiefs whom it was always difficult and often impossible to reduce to obedience by the means commonly employed for that purpose.

The advice which King Robert Bruce had left for the guidance of his successors, in regard to the Lords of the Isles, was certainly dictated

[2] The properties of Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, and Knoidart, on the mainland, and the isles of Uist, Barra, Rum, Egg, and Harris, were assigned and confirmed to him and his heirs by charter dated at Scone March 9, 1371–2.

by sound political wisdom. He foresaw the danger which would result to the crown were the extensive territories and consequent influence of these insular chiefs ever again to be concentrated in the person of one individual; and he earnestly recommended to those who should come after him never, under any circumstances, to permit or to sanction such aggrandisement. But, in the present instance, the claims of John were too great to be overlooked; and though Robert Stewart could scarcely have been insensible of the eventual danger which might result from disregarding the admonition of Bruce, yet he had not been more than a year on the throne when he granted to his son-in-law a feudal title to all those lands which had formerly belonged to Ranald the son of Roderick, and thus conferred on him a boon which had often been demanded in vain by his predecessors. King Robert, however, since he could not with propriety obstruct the accumulation of so much property in one house, attempted to sow the seeds of future discord by bringing about a division of the property amongst the different branches of the family. With this view he persuaded John, who had been twice married, not only to gavel the lands amongst his offspring, which was the usual practice of his family, but also to render the children of both marriages feudally independent of one another. Accordingly King Robert, in the third year of his reign, confirmed a charter granted by John to Reginald, the second son of the first marriage, by which the lands of Garmoran, forming the dowry of Reginald's mother, were to be held of John's heirs; that is, of the descendants of the eldest son of the first marriage, who would, of course, succeed to all his possessions that had not been feudally destined or devised to other parties. Nor was this all. A short time afterwards John resigned into the king's hands nearly the whole of the western portion of his territories, and received from Robert charters of these lands in favour of himself and the issue of his marriage with the king's daughter; so that the children of the second marriage were rendered feudally independent of those of the first, and the seeds of future discord and contention effectually sown between them. After this period little is known of the history of John, who is supposed to have died about the year 1380.

During the remainder of this king's reign, and the greater part of that of his successor, Robert III., no collision seems to have taken place between the insular chiefs and the general government; and hence little or nothing is known of their proceedings. But when the dissensions of the Scottish barons, occasioned by the marriage of the Duke of Rothesay, and the subsequent departure of the Earl of March to the English court, led to a renewal of the wars between the two countries, and the invasion of Scotland by an English army, the insular chiefs appear to have renewed their intercourse with England; being more swayed by considerations of interest or policy, than by the ties of relationship to the royal family of Scotland. At this time the clan was divided into two branches, the heads of which seemed to have possessed co-ordinate rank and authority. Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, ruled on the mainland, as lord of Garmoran and Lochaber; Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage, held a considerable territory of the crown, then known as the feudal lordship of the Isles; whilst the younger brothers, having received the provisions usually allotted by the law of gavel, held these as vassals either of Godfrey or of Donald. This temporary equipoise was, however, soon disturbed by the marriage of Donald with Mary, the sister of Alexander Earl of Ross, in consequence of which alliance he ultimately succeeded in obtaining possession of the earldom. Euphemia, only child of Alexander, Earl of Ross, entered a convent and became a nun, having previously committed the charge of the earldom to her grandfather, Albany. Donald, however, lost no time in preferring his claim to the succession in right of his wife, the consequences of which have already been narrated in detail.[3] Donald, with a considerable force, invaded Ross, and met with little or no resistance from the people till he reached Dingwall, where he was encountered by Angus Dhu Mackay, at the head of a considerable body of men from Sutherland, whom, after a fierce conflict, he completely defeated and made their leader

[3] For details, see vol. i., p. 69, *et seq.*

prisoner. Leaving the district of Ross, which now acknowledged his authority, he advanced at the head of his army, through Moray, and penetrated into Aberdeenshire. Here, however, a decisive check awaited him. On the 24th of July, 1411, he was met at the village of Harlaw by the Earl of Mar, at the head of an army inferior in numbers, but composed of better materials; and a battle ensued, upon the event of which seemed to depend the decision of the question, whether the Celtic or the Sassenach part of the population of Scotland were in future to possess the supremacy. The immediate issue of the conflict was doubtful, and, as is usual in such cases, both parties claimed the victory. But the superior numbers and irregular valour of the Highland followers of Donald had received a severe check from the steady discipline and more effective arms of the Lowland gentry; they had been too roughly handled to think of renewing the combat, for which their opponents seem to have been quite prepared; and, as in such circumstances a drawn battle was equivalent to a defeat, Donald was compelled, as the Americans say, "to advance backwards." The Duke of Albany, having obtained reinforcements, marched in person to Dingwall; but Donald, having no desire to try again the fate of arms, retired with his followers to the Isles, leaving Albany in possession of the whole of Ross, where he remained during the winter. Next summer the war was renewed, and carried on with various success, until at length the insular chief found it necessary to come to terms with the duke, and a treaty was concluded by which Donald agreed to abandon his claim to the earldom of Ross, and to become a vassal of the crown of Scotland.

The vigour of Albany restored peace to the kingdom, and the remainder of his regency was not disturbed by any hostile attempt upon the part of Donald of the Isles. But when the revenge of James I. had consummated the ruin of the family of Albany, Alexander, the son of Donald, succeeded, without any opposition, to the earldom of Ross, and thus realised one grand object of his father's ambition. At almost any other period the acquisition of such extensive territories would have given a decided and dangerous preponderance to the family of the Isles. The government of Scotland, however, was then in the hands of a man who, by his ability, energy, and courage, proved himself fully competent to control his turbulent nobles, and, if necessary, to destroy their power and influence. Distrustful, however, of his ability to reduce the northern barons to obedience by force of arms, he had recourse to stratagem; and having summoned them to attend a parliament at Inverness, whither he proceeded, attended by his principal nobility and a considerable body of troops, he there caused forty of them to be arrested as soon as they made their appearance. Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, his mother the Countess of Ross, and Alexander MacGodfrey, of Garmoran, were amongst the number of those arrested on this occasion. Along with several others, MacGodfrey was immediately executed, and his whole possessions forfeited to the crown, and the remainder were detained in captivity. By this bold stroke, James conceived that he had effectually subdued the Highland chiefs; and, under this impression, he soon afterwards liberated Alexander of the Isles. But he seems to have forgotten that "vows made in pain," or at least in durance, "are violent and void." The submission of the captive was merely feigned. As soon as he had recovered his liberty, the Lord of the Isles flew to arms, with what disastrous results to himself has already been told.[4] So vigorously did the king's officers follow up the victory, that the insular chief, finding concealment or escape equally impossible, was compelled to throw himself upon the royal clemency. He went to Edinburgh, and, on the occasion of a solemn festival celebrated in the chapel of Holyrood, on Easter Sunday 1429, the unfortunate chief, whose ancestors had treated with the crown on the footing of independent princes, appeared before the assembled court in his shirt and drawers, and implored on his knees, with a naked sword held by the point in his hand, the forgiveness of his offended monarch. Satisfied with this extraordinary act of humiliation, James granted the suppliant his life, and directed him to be forthwith imprisoned in Tantallon castle.

[4] See vol. i. p. 73.

The spirit of clanship could not brook such a mortal affront. The cry for vengeance was raised; the strength of the clan was mustered; and Alexander had scarcely been two years in captivity when the Isles once more broke out into open insurrection. Under the command of Donald Balloch, the cousin of Alexander and chief of clan Ranald, the Islanders burst into Lochaber, where, having encountered an army which had been stationed in that country for the purpose of overawing the Highlanders, they gained a complete victory. The king's troops were commanded by the Earls of Mar and Caithness, the latter of whom fell in the action, whilst the former saved with difficulty the remains of the discomfited force. Donald Balloch, however, did not follow up his victory, but having ravaged the adjacent districts, withdrew first to the Isles, and afterwards to Ireland. In this emergency James displayed his usual energy and activity. To repair the reverse sustained by his lieutenants, he proceeded in person to the North; his expedition was attended with complete success; and he soon received the submission of all the chiefs who had been engaged in the rebellion. Not long afterwards he was presented with what was believed to be the head of Donald Balloch; "but," says Mr Gregory, "as Donald Balloch certainly survived king James many years, it is obvious that the sending of the head to Edinburgh was a stratagem devised by the crafty islander, in order to check further pursuit." The king, being thus successful, listened to the voice of clemency. He restored to liberty the prisoner of Tantallon, granted him a free pardon for his various acts of rebellion, confirmed to him all his titles and possessions, and further conferred upon him the lordship of Lochaber, which, on its forfeiture, had been given to the Earl of Mar. The wisdom of this proceeding soon became apparent. Alexander could scarcely forget the humiliation he had undergone, and the imprisonment he had endured; and, in point of fact, he appears to have joined the Earls of Crawford and Douglas, who at that time headed the opposition to the court; but during the remainder of his life the peace of the country was not again disturbed by any rebellious proceedings on his part, and thus far the king reaped the reward of his clemency. Alexander died about 1447, leaving three sons, John, Hugh, and Celestine.

The opposition of Crawford, Douglas, and their associates had hitherto been chronic; but, on the death of Alexander, it broke out into active insurrection; and the new Lord of the Isles, as determined an opponent of the royal party as his father had been, seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven in Badenoch, at the same time declaring himself independent. In thus raising the standard of rebellion, John of the Isles was secretly supported by the Earl of Douglas, and openly by the barons, who were attached to his party. But a series of fatalities soon extinguished this insurrection. Douglas was murdered in Edinburgh Castle; Crawford was entirely defeated by Huntly; and John, by the rebellion of his son Angus, was doomed to experience, in his own territories, the same opposition which he had himself offered to the general government. Submission was, therefore, inevitable. Having for several years maintained a species of independence, he was compelled to resign his lands into the hands of the king, and to consent to hold them as a vassal of the crown. This, however, was but a trifling matter compared with the rebellion of his son, which, fomented probably by the court, proved eventually the ruin of the principality of the Isles, after it had existed so long in a state of partial independence. Various circumstances are stated as having given rise to this extraordinary contest, although in none of these, probably, is the true cause to be found. It appears, however, that Angus Og,[5] having been appointed his father's

[5] "The authority of Mr Skene is usually to be received as of no common weight, but the account given by him of this portion of the Macdonald annals does not consist with unquestionable facts. As such, the statements in the national collections of *Foedera* (Treaties), and the *Records of Parliament*, ought certainly to be regarded; and a preference must be given to their testimony over the counter-assertions of ancient private annalists. Some of the latter parties seem to assert that John II., who had no children by Elizabeth Livingston (daughter of Lord Livingston), had yet "a natural son begotten of Macduffie of Colonsay's daughter, and Angus Og, his legitimate son, by the Earl of Angus's daughter." No mention of this Angus' marriage occurs in any one public document relating to the Lords of the Isles, or to the Douglases, then Earls of Angus. On the other hand, the acknowledged wife of John of the

lieutenant and representative in all his possessions, took advantage of the station or office which was thus conferred on him, deprived his father of all authority, and got himself declared Lord of the Isles. How this was effected we know not; but scarcely had he attained the object of his ambition, when he resolved to take signal vengeance upon the Earl of Athole, an inveterate enemy of his house, and, at the same time, to declare himself altogether independent of the crown. With this view, having collected a numerous army, he suddenly appeared before the castle of Inverness, and having been admitted by the governor, who had no suspicion whatever of his design, immediately proclaimed himself king of the Isles. He then invaded the district of Athole; stormed and took Blair Castle; and having seized the earl and countess, carried them prisoners to Islay. The reason given by Mr Gregory for Angus's enmity against the Earl and Countess of Athole is, that the former having crossed over privately to Islay, carried off the infant son of Angus, called Donald *Dubh*, or the Black, and committed him to the care of Argyle, his maternal grandfather, who placed him in the Castle of Inchconnely, where he was detained for many years. Mr Gregory places this event after the Battle of Bloody Bay. On his return to the Isles with the booty he had obtained, the marauder was overtaken by a violent tempest, in which the greater part of his galleys foundered. Heaven seemed to declare against the spoiler, who had added sacrilege to rapine by plundering and attempting to burn the chapel of St Bridget in Athole. Stricken with remorse for the crime he had committed, he released the earl and countess, and then sought to expiate his guilt by doing penance on the spot where it had been incurred.

As a proof of the sincerity of his repentance, this Angus Og next engaged in treason upon a larger scale. At the instigation of this hopeful son, his father, whom he had already deprived of all authority, now entered into a compact with the king of England and the Earl of Douglas, the object of which was nothing less than the entire subjugation of Scotland, and its partition amongst the contracting parties. By this treaty, which is dated the 18th of February 1462, the Lord of the Isles agreed, on the payment of a stipulated sum, to become the sworn ally of the king of England, and to assist that monarch, with the whole body of his retainers, in the wars in Ireland and elsewhere; and it was further provided, that in the event of the entire subjugation of Scotland, the whole of that kingdom, to the north of the Firth of Forth, should be equally divided between Douglas, the Lord of the Isles, and Donald Balloch of Islay; whilst, on the other hand, Douglas was to be reinstated in possession of those lands between the Forth and the English borders, from which he had, at this time, been excluded. Conquest, partition, and spoliation, were thus the objects contemplated in this extraordinary compact. Yet no proceeding appears to have been taken, in consequence of the treaty, until the year 1473, when we find the Lord of the Isles again in arms against the government. He continued several years in open rebellion; but having received little or no support from the other parties to the league, he was declared a traitor in a parliament held at Edinburgh in 1475, his estates were also confiscated, and the Earls of Crawford and Athole were directed to march against him at the head of a considerable force. The meditated blow was, however, averted by the timely interposition of his father, the Earl of Ross. By a seasonable grant of the lands of Knapdale, he secured the influence of the Earl of Argyll, and through the mediation of that nobleman, received a remission of his past offences, was reinstated in his hereditary possessions, which he had resigned into the hands of the crown, and created a peer of parliament, by the title of the Lord of the Isles. The earldom of Ross, the lands of

Isles, Elizabeth Livingston, was certainly alive in 1475, at which date he, among other charges, is accused of making "his bastard son" a lieutenant to him in "insurrectionary convocations of the lieges;" and Angus could therefore come of no second marriage. He indubitably is the same party still more distinctly named in subsequent Parliamentary Records as "Angus of the Isles, *bastard son* to umquhile John of the Isles." The attribution of noble and legitimate birth to Angus took its origin, without doubt, in the circumstance of John's want of children by marriage having raised his natural son to a high degree of power in the clan, which the active character of Angus well fitted him to use as he willed."—Smibert's *Clans* pp. 23, 24.

Knapdale, and the sheriffships of Inverness and Nairn were, however, retained by the crown, apparently as the price of the remission granted to this doubly unfortunate man.

But Angus Og was no party to this arrangement. He continued to defy the power of the government; and when the Earl of Athole was sent to the north to reinstate the Earl of Ross in his remaininig possessions, he placed himself at the head of the clan, and prepared to give him battle. Athole was joined by the Mackenzies, Mackays, Frasers, and others; but being met by Angus at a place called Lagebread, he was defeated with great slaughter, and escaped with great difficulty from the field. The Earls of Crawford and Huntly were then sent against this desperate rebel, the one by sea and the other by land; but neither of them prevailed against the victorious insurgent. A third expedition, under the Earls of Argyll and Athole, accompanied by the father of the rebel and several families of the Isles, produced no result; and the two earls, who seem to have had little taste for an encounter with Angus, returned without effecting anything. John the father, however, proceeded onwards through the Sound of Mull, accompanied by the Macleans, Macleods, Macneills, and others, and having encountered Angus in a bay on the south side of the promontory of Ardnamurchan,[6] a desperate combat ensued, in which Angus was again victorious, and his unfortunate parent overthrown. By the battle of the Bloody Bay, as it is called in the traditions of the country, Angus obtained possession of the extensive territories of his clan, and, as "when treason prospers 'tis no longer treason," was recognised as its head. Angus, some time before 1490, when marching to attack Mackenzie of Kintail, was assassinated by an Irish harper.[7]

The rank of heir to the lordship of the Isles devolved on the nephew of John, Alexander of Lochalsh, son of his brother, Celestine. Placing himself at the head of the vassals of the Isles, he endeavoured, it is said, with John's consent, to recover possession of the earldom of Ross, and in 1491, at the head of a large body of western Highlanders, he advanced from Lochaber into Badenoch, where he was joined by the clan Chattan. They then marched to Inverness, where, after taking the royal castle, and placing a garrison in it, they proceeded to the north-east, and plundered the lands of Sir Alexander Urquhart, sheriff of Cromarty. They next hastened to Strathconnan, for the purpose of ravaging the lands of the Mackenzies. The latter, however, surprised and routed the invaders, and expelled them from Ross, their leader, Alexander of Lochalsh, being wounded, and as some say, taken prisoner. In consequence of this insurrection, at a meeting of the Estates in Edinburgh in May 1493, the title and possessions of the lord of the Isles were declared to be forfeited to the crown. In January following the aged John appeared in the presence of the king, and made a voluntary surrender of his lordship, after which he appears to have remained for some time in the king's household, in the receipt of a pension. He finally retired to the monastery of Paisley, where he died about 1498; and was interred, at his own request, in the tomb of his royal ancestor, Robert II.[8]

With the view of reducing the insular chiefs to subjection, and establishing the royal authority in the Islands, James IV., soon after the forfeiture in 1493, proceeded in person to the West Highlands, when Alexander of Lochalsh, the principal cause of the insurrection which had led to it, and John of Isla, grandson and representative of Donald Balloch, were among the first to make their submission. On this occasion they appear to have obtained royal charters of the lands they had previously held under the Lord of the Isles, and were both knighted. In the following year the king visited the Isles twice, and having seized and garrisoned the castle of Dunaverty in South Kintyre, Sir John of Isla, deeply resenting this proceeding, collected his followers, stormed the castle, and hung the governor from the wall, in the sight of the king and his fleet. With four of his sons, he was soon after apprehended at Isla, by MacIan of Ardnamurchan, and being conveyed to Edinburgh, they were there executed for high treason.

[6] Gregory (p. 52) says this combat was fought in a bay in the Isle of Mull, near Tobermory.

[7] See Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 54.

[8] Gregory, p. 581.

In 1495 King James assembled an army at Glasgow, and on the 18th May, he was at the castle of Mingarry in Ardnamurchan, when several of the Highland chiefs made their submission to him. In 1497 Sir Alexander of Lochalsh again rebelled, and invading the more fertile districts of Ross, was by the Mackenzies and Munroes, at a place called Drumchatt, again defeated and driven out of Ross. Proceeding southward among the Isles, he endeavoured to rouse the Islanders to arms in his behalf, but without success. He was surprised in the island of Oransay, by MacIan of Ardnamurchan, and put to death.

In 1501, Donald *Dubh*, whom the islanders regarded as their rightful lord, and who, from his infancy, had been detained in confinement in the castle of Inchconnell, escaped from prison, and appeared among his clansmen. They had always maintained that he was the lawful son of Angus of the Isles, by his wife the Lady Margaret Campbell, daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, but his legitimacy was denied by the government when the islanders combined to assert by arms his claims as their hereditary chief. His liberation he owed to the gallantry and fidelity of the men of Glencoe. Repairing to the isles of Lewis, he put himself under the protection of its lord, Torquil Macleod, who had married Katherine, another daughter of Argyll, and therefore sister of the lady whom the islanders believed to be his mother. A strong confederacy was formed in his favour, and about Christmas 1503 an irruption of the islanders and western clans, under Donald *Dubh*, was made into Badenoch, which was plundered and wasted with fire and sword. To put down this formidable rebellion, the array of the whole kingdom north of Forth and Clyde was called out; and the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Crawford, and Marischal, and Lord Lovat, with other powerful barons, were charged to lead this force against the islanders. But two years elapsed before the insurrection was finally quelled. In 1505 the Isles were again invaded from the south by the king in person, and from the north by Huntly, who took several prisoners, but none of them of any rank. In these various expeditions the fleet under the celebrated Sir Andrew Wood and Robert Barton was employed against the islanders, and at length the insurgents were dispersed. Carniburg, a strong fort on a small isolated rock, near the west coast of Mull, in which they had taken refuge, was reduced; the Macleans and the Macleods submitted to the king, and Donald *Dubh*, again made a prisoner, was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, where he remained for nearly forty years. After this the great power formerly enjoyed by the Lords of the Isles was transferred to the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, the former having the chief rule in the south isles and adjacent coasts, while the influence of the latter prevailed in the north isles and Highlands.

The children of Sir Alexander of Lochalsh, the nephew of John the fourth and last Lord of the Isles, had fallen into the hands of the king, and as they were all young, they appear to have been brought up in the royal household. Donald, the eldest son, called by the Highlanders, Donald *Galda*, or the foreigner, from his early residence in the Lowlands, was allowed to inherit his father's estates, and was frequently permitted to visit the Isles. He was with James IV. at the battle of Flodden, and appears to have been knighted under the royal banner on that disastrous field. Two months after, in November 1513, he raised another insurrection in the Isles, and being joined by the Macleods and Macleans, was proclaimed Lord of the Isles. The numbers of his adherents daily increased. But in the course of 1515, the Earl of Argyll prevailed upon the insurgents to submit to the regent. At this time Sir Donald appeared frequently before the council, relying on a safe-conduct, and his reconciliation to the regent (John, Duke of Albany) was apparently so cordial that on 24th September 1516, a summons was despatched to 'Monsieur de Ylis,' to join the royal army, then about to proceed to the borders. Ere long, however, he was again in open rebellion. Early in 1517 he razed the castle of Mingarry to the ground, and ravaged the whole district of Ardnamurchan with fire and sword. His chief leaders now deserted him, and some of them determined on delivering him up to the regent. He, however, effected his escape, but his two brothers were made prisoners by Maclean of Dowart and Macleod of Dunvegan, who hastened to make their sub-

mission to the government. In the following year, Sir Donald was enabled to revenge the murder of his father on the MacIans of Ardnamurchan, having defeated and put to death their chief and two of his sons, with a great number of his men. He was about to be forfeited for high treason, when his death, which took place a few weeks after his success against the MacIans, brought the rebellion, which had lasted for upwards of five years, to a sudden close. He was the last male of his family, and died without issue.

In 1539, Donald Gorme of Sleat claimed the lordship of the Isles, as lawful heir male of John, Earl of Ross. With a considerable force he passed over into Ross-shire, where, after ravaging the district of Kinlochewe, he proceeded to Kintail, with the intention of surprising the castle Eilandonan, at that time almost without a garrison. Exposing himself rashly under the wall, he received a wound in the foot from an arrow, which proved fatal.

In 1543, under the regency of the Earl of Arran, Donald *Dubh*, the grandson of John, last Lord of the Isles, again appeared upon the scene. Escaping from his long imprisonment, he was received with enthusiasm by the insular chiefs, and, with their assistance, he prepared to expel the Earls of Argyll and Huntly from their acquisitions in the Isles. At the head of 1800 men he invaded Argyll's territories, slew many of his vassals, and carried off a great quantity of cattle, with other plunder. At first he was supported by the Earl of Lennox, then attached to the English interest, and thus remained for a time in the undisputed possession of the Isles. Through the influence of Lennox, the islanders agreed to transfer their alliance from the Scottish to the English crown, and in June 1545 a proclamation was issued by the regent Arran and his privy council against 'Donald, alleging himself of the Isles, and other Highland men, his partakers.' On the 28th July of that year, a commission was granted by Donald, 'Lord of the Isles, and Earl of Ross,' with the advice and consent of his barons and council of the Isles, of whom seventeen are named, to two commissioners, for treating, under the directions of the Earl of Lennox, with the English king. On the 5th of August, the lord and barons of the Isles were at Knockfergus, in Ireland, with a force of 4000 men and 180 galleys, when they took the oath of allegiance to the king of England, at the command of Lennox, while 4000 men in arms were left to guard and defend the Isles in his absence. Donald's plenipotentiaries then proceeded to the English court with letters from him both to King Henry and his privy council; by one of which it appears that the Lord of the Isles had already received from the English monarch the sum of one thousand crowns, and the promise of an annual pension of two thousand. Soon after the Lord of the Isles returned with his forces to Scotland, but appears to have returned to Ireland again with Lennox. There he was attacked with fever, and died at Drogheda, on his way to Dublin. With him terminated the direct line of the Lords of the Isles.

All hopes of a descendant of Somerled again governing the Isles were now at an end; and from this period the race of Conn, unable to regain their former united power and consequence, were divided into various branches, the aggregate strength of which was rendered unavailing for the purpose of general aggrandisement, by the jealousy, disunion, and rivalry, which prevailed among themselves.

After the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles, and the failure of the successive attempts which were made to retrieve their fortunes, different clans occupied the extensive territories which had once acknowledged the sway of those insular princes. Of these some were clans, which, although dependent upon the Macdonalds, were not of the same origin as the race of Conn; and, with the exception of the Macleods, Macleans, and a few others, they strenuously opposed all the attempts which were made to effect the restoration of the family of the Isles, rightly calculating that the success of such opposition would tend to promote their own aggrandisement. Another class, again, were of the same origin as the family of the Isles; but having branched off from the principal stem before the succession of the elder branches reverted to the clan, in the person of John of the Isles, during the reign of David II., they now appeared as separate clans. Amongst these were the Macalisters, the MacIans, and some others. The Macalisters, who are traced to Alister, a son of

Angus Mor, inhabited the south of Knapdale and the north of Kintyre. After the forfeiture of the Isles they became independent; but being exposed to the encroachments of the Campbells, their principal possessions were ere long absorbed by different branches of that powerful clan. The MacIans of Ardnamurchan were descended from John, a son of Angus Mor, to whom his father conveyed the property which he had obtained from the crown. The Macdonalds of Glencoe are also MacIans, being descended from John Fraoch, a son of Angus Og, Lord of the Isles; and hence their history is in no degree different from that of the other branches of the Macdonalds. A third class consisted of the descendants of the different Lords of the Isles, who still professed to form one clan, although the subject of the representation of the race soon introduced great dissensions, and all adopted the generic name of Macdonald in preference to secondary or collateral patronymics.

We shall now endeavour to give a short account of the different branches of the Macdonalds, from the time of the annexation of the Lordship of the Isles to the crown in 1540.

Since the extinction of the direct line of the family of the Isles, in the middle of the 16th century, Macdonald of Sleat, now Lord Macdonald, has always been styled in Gaelic *Mac Dhonuill nan Eilean*, or Macdonald of the Isles.[9]

As the claim of Lord Macdonald, however, to this distinction has been keenly disputed, we shall here lay before the reader, as clearly as possible, the pretensions of the different claimants to the honour of the chiefship of the clan Donald, as these have been very fairly stated by Mr Skene.

That the family of Sleat are the undoubted representatives of John, Earl of Ross, and the last Lord of the Isles, appears to be admitted on all sides; but, on the other hand, if the descendants of Donald, from whom the clan received its name, or even of John of the Isles, who flourished in the reign of David II., are to be held as constituting one clan, then, according to the Highland principles of clanship, the *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood to the chiefship, rested in the male representative of John, whose own right was undoubted. By Amy, daughter of Roderick of the Isles, John had three sons,—John, Godfrey, and Ranald; but the last of these only left descendants; and it is from him that the Clan Ranald derive their origin. Again, by the daughter of Robert II. John had four sons—Donald, Lord of the Isles, the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Sleat; John Mor, from whom proceeded the Macconnells of Kintyre; Alister, the progenitor of Keppoch; and Angus, who does not appear to have left any descendants. That Amy, the daughter of Roderick, was John's legitimate wife, is proved, first, by a dispensation which the supreme Pontiff granted to John in the year 1337; and secondly, by a treaty concluded between John and David II. in 1369, when the hostages given to the king were a son of the second marriage, a grandson of the first, and a *natural* son. Besides, it is certain that the children of the first marriage were considered as John's feudal heirs; a circumstance which clearly establishes their legitimacy. It is true that Robert II., in pursuance of the policy he had adopted, persuaded John to make the children of these respective marriages feudally independent of each other, and that the effect of this was to divide the possessions of his powerful vassals into two distinct and independent lordships. These were, first, the lordship of Garmoran and Lochaber, which was held by the eldest son of the first marriage,—and secondly, that of the Isles, which passed to the eldest son of the second marriage; and matters appear to have remained in this state until 1427, when, as formerly mentioned, the Lord of Garmoran was beheaded, and his estates were forfeited to the crown. James I., however, reversing the policy which had been pursued by his predecessor, concentrated the possessions of the Macdonalds in the person of the Lord of the Isles, and thus sought to restore to him all the power and consequence which had originally belonged to his house; "but this arbitrary proceeding," says Mr Skene, "could not deprive the descendants of the first marriage of the feudal representation of the chiefs of the clan Donald, which now, on the failure of the issue of

[9] Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 61.

Godfrey in the person of his son Alexander, devolved on the feudal representative of Reginald, the youngest son of that marriage."

The clan Ranald are believed to have derived their origin from this Reginald or Ranald, who was a son of John of the Isles, by Amy MacRory, and obtained from his father the lordship of Garmoran, which he held as vassal of his brother Godfrey. That this lordship continued in possession of the clan appears evident from the Parliamentary Records, in which, under the date of 1587, mention is made of the clan Ranald of Knoydart, Moydart, and Glengarry. But considerable doubt has arisen, and there has been a good deal of controversy, as to the right of chiefship; whilst of the various families descended from Ranald each has put forward its claim to this distinction. On this knotty and ticklish point we shall content ourselves with stating the conclusions at which Mr Skene arrived 'after,' as he informs us, 'a rigid examination' of the whole subject in dispute. According to him, the present family of Clanranald have no valid title or pretension whatever, being descended from an illegitimate son of a second son of the old family of Moydart, who, in 1531, assumed the title of Captain of Clanranald; and, consequently, as long as the descendants of the eldest son of that family remain, they can have no claim by right of blood to the chiefship. He then proceeds to examine the question,—Who was the chief previous to this assumption of the captaincy of Clanranald? and, from a genealogical induction of particulars, he concludes that Donald, the progenitor of the family of Glengarry, was the eldest son of the Reginald or Ranald above-mentioned; that from John, the eldest son of Donald, proceeded the senior branch of this family, in which the chiefship was vested; that, in consequence of the grant of Garmoran to the Lord of the Isles, and other adverse circumstances, they became so much reduced that the oldest cadet obtained the actual chiefship, under the ordinary title of captain; and that, on the extinction of this branch in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the family of Glengarry descended from Alister, second son of Donald, became the legal representatives of Ranald, the common ancestor of the clan, and consequently possessed that *jus sanguinis* of which no usurpation could deprive them. Such are the results of Mr Skene's researches upon this subject. Latterly, the family of Glengarry have claimed not only the chiefship of clan Ranald, but likewise that of the whole clan Donald, as being the representative of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan; and it can scarcely be denied that the same evidence which makes good the one point must serve equally to establish the other. Nor does this appear to be any new pretension. When the services rendered by this family to the house of Stuart were rewarded by Charles II. with a peerage, the Glengarry of the time indicated his claim by assuming the title of Lord Macdonnell and Aros; and although, upon the failure of heirs male of his body, this title did not descend to his successors, yet his lands formed, in consequence, the barony of Macdonnell.

Donald Gorme, the claimant of the lordship of the Isles mentioned above as having been slain in 1539, left a grandson, a minor, known as Donald Macdonald Gormeson of Sleat. His title to the family estates was disputed by the Macleods of Harris. He ranged himself on the side of Queen Mary when the disputes about her marriage began in 1565. He died in 1585, and was succeeded by Donald Gorme Mor, fifth in descent from Hugh of Sleat. This Donald Gorme proved himself to be a man of superior abilities, and was favoured highly by James VI., to whom he did important service in maintaining the peace of the Isles. "From this period, it may be observed, the family were loyal to the crown, and firm supporters of the national constitution and laws; and it is also worthy of notice that nearly all the clans attached to the old Lords of the Isles, on the failure of the more direct line in the person of John, transferred their warmest affections to those royal Stuarts, whose throne they had before so often and so alarmingly shaken. This circumstance, as all men know, became strikingly apparent when misfortune fell heavily in turn on the Stuarts." [1]

Donald Gorme Mor, soon after succeeding his father, found himself involved in a deadly

[1] Smibert's *Clans*, p. 25.

feud with the Macleans of Dowart, which raged to such an extent as to lead to the interference of government, and to the passing in 1587 of an act of parliament, commonly called "The general Bond" or Band for maintaining good order both on the borders and in the Highlands and Isles. By this act, it was made imperative on all landlords, bailies, and chiefs of clans, to find sureties for the peaceable behaviour of those under them. The contentions, however, between the Macdonalds and the Macleans continued, and in 1589, with the view of putting an end to them, the king and council adopted the following plan. After remissions under the privy seal had been granted to Donald Gorme of Sleat, his kinsman, Macdonald of Islay, the principal in the feud, and Maclean of Dowart, for all crimes committed by them, they were induced to proceed to Edinburgh, under pretence of consulting with the king and council for the good rule of the country, but immediately on their arrival they were seized and imprisoned in the castle. In the summer of 1591, they were set at liberty, on paying each a fine to the king, that imposed on Sleat being £4,000, under the name of arrears of feu-duties and crown-rents in the Isles, and finding security for their future obedience and the performance of certain prescribed conditions. They also bound themselves to return to their confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, whenever they should be summoned, on twenty days' warning. In consequence of their not fulfilling the conditions imposed upon them, and their continuing in opposition to the government, their pardons were recalled, and the three island chiefs were cited before the privy council on the 14h July 1593, when, failing to appear, summonses of treason were executed against them and certain of their associates.

In 1601, the chief of Sleat again brought upon himself and his clan the interference of government by a feud with Macleod of Dunvegan, which led to much bloodshed and great misery and distress among their followers and their families. He had married a sister of Macleod; but, from jealousy or some other cause, he put her away, and refused at her brother's request to take her back. Having procured a divorce, he soon after married a sister of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail. Macleod immediately assembled his clan, and carried fire and sword through Macdonald's district of Trotternish. The latter, in revenge, invaded Harris, and laid waste that island, killing many of the inhabitants, and carrying off their cattle. "These spoliations and incursions were carried on with so much inveteracy, that both clans were brought to the brink of ruin; and many of the natives of the districts thus devastated were forced to sustain themselves by killing and eating their horses, dogs, and cats." The Macdonalds having invaded Macleod's lands in Skye, a battle took place on the mountain Benquillin between them and the Macleods, when the latter, under Alexander, the brother of their chief, were defeated with great loss, and their leader, with thirty of their clan, taken captive. A reconciliation was at length effected between them by the mediation of Macdonald of Islay, Maclean of Coll, and other friends; when the prisoners taken at Benquillin were released.[2]

In 1608, we find Donald Gorme of Sleat one of the Island chiefs who attended the court of Lord Ochiltree, the king's lieutenant, at Aros in Mull, when he was sent there for the settlement of order in the Isles, and who afterwards accepted his invitation to dinner on board the king's ship, called the Moon. When dinner was ended, Ochiltree told the astonished chiefs that they were his prisoners by the king's order; and weighing anchor he sailed direct to Ayr, whence he proceeded with his prisoners to Edinburgh and presented them before the privy council, by whose order they were placed in the castles of Dumbarton, Blackness, and Stirling. Petitions were immediately presented by the imprisoned chiefs to the council submitting themselves to the king's pleasure, and making many offers in order to procure their liberation. In the following year the bishop of the Isles was deputed as sole commissioner to visit and survey the Isles, and all the chiefs in prison were set at liberty, on finding security to a large amount, not only for their return to Edinburgh by a certain fixed day, but for their active concurrence, in the meantime,

[2] Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 297.

with the bishop in making the proposed survey. Donald Gorme of Sleat was one of the twelve chiefs and gentlemen of the Isles, who met the bishop at Iona, in July 1609, and submitted themselves to him, as the king's representative. At a court then held by the bishop, the nine celebrated statutes called the "Statutes of Icolmkill," for the improvement and order of the Isles, were enacted, with the consent of the assembled chiefs, and their bonds and oaths given for the obedience thereto of their clansmen.[3]

In 1616, after the suppression of the rebellion of the Clanranald in the South Isles, certain very stringent conditions were imposed by the privy council on the different Island chiefs. Among these were, that they were to take home-farms into their own hands, which they were to cultivate, "to the effect that they might be thereby exercised and eschew idleness," and that they were not to use in their houses more than a certain quantity of wine respectively. Donald Gorme of Sleat, having been prevented by sickness from attending the council with the other chiefs, ratified all their proceedings, and found the required sureties, by a bond dated in the month of August. He named Duntulm, a castle of his family in Trotternish, Skye, as his residence, when six household gentlemen, and an annual consumption of four tun of wine, were allowed to him; and he was once-a-year to exhibit to the council three of his principal kinsmen. He died the same year, without issue, and was succeeded by his nephew, Donald Gorme Macdonald of Sleat.

On July 14th 1625, after having concluded, in an amicable manner, all his disputes with the Macleods of Harris, and another controversy in which he was engaged with the captain of Clanranald, he was created a baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I., with a special clause of precedency placing him second of that order in Scotland. He adhered to the cause of that monarch, but died in 1643. He had married Janet, commonly called "fair Janet," second daughter of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, by whom he had several children. His eldest son, Sir James Macdonald, second baronet of Sleat, joined the Marquis of Montrose in 1645, and when Charles II. marched into England in 1651, he sent a number of his clan to his assistance. He died 8th December 1678.

Sir James' eldest son, Sir Donald Macdonald, third baronet of Sleat, died in 1695. His son, also named Sir Donald, fourth baronet, was one of those summoned by the Lord Advocate, on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, to appear at Edinburgh, under pain of a year's imprisonment and other penalties, to give bail for their allegiance to the government. Joining in the insurrection, his two brothers commanded the battalion of his clan, on the Pretender's side, at Sheriffmuir; and, being sent out with the Earl Marischal's horse to drive away a reconnoitring party, under the Duke of Argyll, from the heights, may be said to have commenced the battle. Sir Donald himself had joined the Earl of Seaforth at his camp at Alness with 700 Macdonalds. After the suppression of the rebellion, Sir Donald proceeded to the Isle of Skye with about 1000 men; but although he made no resistance, having no assurance of protection from the government in case of a surrender, he retired into one of the Uists, where he remained till he obtained a ship which carried him to France. He was forfeited for his share in the insurrection, but the forfeiture was soon removed. He died in 1718, leaving one son and four daughters.

His son, Sir Alexander Macdonald, seventh baronet, was one of the first persons asked by Prince Charles to join him, on his arrival off the Western Islands, in July 1745, but refused, as he had brought no foreign force with him. After the battle of Preston, the prince sent Mr Alexander Macleod, advocate, to the Isle of Skye, to endeavour to prevail upon Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod to join the insurgents; but instead of doing so, these and other well-affected chiefs enrolled each an independent company for the service of government, out of their respective clans. The Macdonalds of Skye served under Lord Loudon in Ross-shire.

After the battle of Culloden, when Prince Charles, in his wanderings, took refuge in Skye, with Flora Macdonald, they landed near Moy-

[3] Gregory s *Highlands*, p. 330.

dlistat, or Mugstot, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald, near the northern extremity of that island. Sir Alexander was at that time with the Duke of Cumberland at Fort Augustus, and as his wife, Lady Margaret Montgomerie, a daughter of the ninth Earl of Eglinton, was known to be a warm friend of the prince. Miss Macdonald proceeded to announce to her his arrival. Through Lady Margaret the prince was consigned to the care of Mr Macdonald of Kingsburgh, Sir Alexander's factor, at whose house he spent the night, and afterwards departed to the island of Rasay. Sir Alexander died in November 1746, leaving three sons.

His eldest son, Sir James, eighth baronet, styled "The Scottish Marcellus," was born in 1741. At his own earnest solicitation he was sent to Eton, on leaving which he set out on his travels, and was everywhere received by the learned with the distinction due to his unrivalled talents. At Rome, in particular, the most marked attention was paid to him by several of the cardinals. He died in that city on 26th July 1766, when only 25 years old. In extent of learning, and in genius, he resembled the admirable Crichton. On his death the title devolved on his next brother, Alexander, ninth baronet, who was created a peer of Ireland, July 17, 1776, as Baron Macdonald of Sleat, county Antrim. He married the eldest daughter of Godfrey Bosville, Esq. of Gunthwaite, Yorkshire, and had seven sons and three daughters. Diana, the eldest daughter, married in 1788 the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster. His lordship died Sept. 12, 1795.

His eldest son, Alexander Wentworth, second Lord Macdonald, died unmarried, June 9, 1824, when his brother, Godfrey, became third Lord Macdonald. He assumed the additional name of Bosville. He married Louise Maria, daughter of Farley Edsir, Esq.; issue, three sons and seven daughters. He died Oct. 13, 1832.

The eldest son, Godfrey William Wentworth, fourth Lord Macdonald, born in 1809, married in 1845, daughter of G. T. Wyndham, Esq. of Cromer Hall, Norfolk; issue, Somerled James Brudenell, born in 1849, two other sons and four daughters.

The Macdonalds of Isla and Kintyre, called the Clan Ian Vor, whose chiefs were usually styled lords of Dunyveg (from their castle in Isla) and the Glens, were descended from John Mor, second son of "the good John of Isla," and of Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of King Robert II. From his brother Donald, Lord of the Isles, he received large grants of land in Isla and Kintyre, and by his marriage with Marjory Bisset, heiress of the district of the Glens in Antrim, he acquired possessions in Ulster. He was murdered before 1427 by an individual named James Campbell, who is said to have received a commission from King James I. to apprehend him, but that he exceeded his powers by putting him to death. His eldest son was the famous Donald Balloch. From Ranald Bane, a younger brother of Donald Balloch, sprang the Clanranaldbane of Largie in Kintyre.

Donald Balloch's grandson, John, surnamed *Cathanach*, or warlike, was at the head of the clan Ian Vor, when the lordship of the Isles was finally forfeited by James IV. in 1493. In that year he was among the chiefs, formerly vassals of the Lord of the Isles, who made their submission to the king, when he proceeded in person to the West Highlands. On this occasion he and the other chiefs were knighted.

Alexander of Isla was with Sir Donald of Lochalsh when, in 1518, he proceeded against the father-in-law of the former, MacIan of Ardnamurchan, who was defeated and slain, with two of his sons, at a place called Craiganairgid, or the Silver Craig in Morvern. The death of Sir Donald soon after brought the rebellion to a close. In 1529 Alexander of Isla and his followers were again in insurrection, and being joined by the Macleans, they made descents upon Roseneath, Craignish, and other lands of the Campbells, which they ravaged with fire and sword. Alexander of Isla being considered the prime mover of the rebellion, the king resolved in 1531 to proceed against him in person, on which, hastening to Stirling, under a safeguard and protection, he submitted, and received a new grant, during the king's pleasure, of certain lands in the South Isles and Kintyre, and a remission to himself and his followers for all crimes committed by them during the late rebellion.

In 1543, on the second escape of Donald Dubh, grandson of John, last lord of the Isles, and the regent Arran's opposing the views of the English faction, James Macdonald of Isla, son and successor to Alexander, was the only insular chief who supported the regent. In the following year his lands of Kintyre were ravaged by the Earl of Lennox, the head of the English party.

After the death of Donald Dubh, the islanders chose for their leader James Macdonald of Isla, who married Lady Agnes Campbell, the Earl of Argyll's sister, and though the most powerful of the Island chiefs, he relinquished his pretensions to the lordship of the Isles, being the last that assumed that title.

A dispute between the Macleans and the clan Ian Vor, relative to the right of occupancy of certain crown lands in Isla, led to a long and bloody feud between these tribes, in which both suffered severely. In 1562 the matter was brought before the privy council, when it was decided that James Macdonald of Isla was really the crown tenant, and as Maclean refused to become his vassal, in 1565 the rival chiefs were compelled to find sureties, each to the amount of £10,000, that they would abstain from mutual hostilities.

James having been killed while helping to defend his family estates in Ulster, Ireland, his eldest son, Angus Macdonald, succeeded to Isla and Kintyre, and in his time the feud with the Macleans was renewed, details of which will be found in the former part of this work. In 1579, upon information of mutual hostilities committed by their followers, the king and council commanded Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart and Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg or Isla, to subscribe assurances of indemnity to each other, under the pain of treason, and the quarrel was, for the time, patched up by the marriage of Macdonald with Maclean's sister. In 1585, however, the feud came to a height, and after involving nearly the whole of the island clans on one side or the other, and causing its disastrous consequences to be felt throughout the whole extent of the Hebrides, by the mutual ravages of the contending parties, government interfered, and measures were at last adopted for reducing to obedience the turbulent chiefs, who had caused so much bloodshed and distress in the Isles.

James Macdonald, son of Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg, had remained in Edinburgh for four years as a hostage for his father, and early in 1596 he received a license to visit him, in the hope that he might be prevailed upon to submit to the laws, that the peace of the Isles might be secured. He sent his son, who was soon afterwards knighted, back to court to make known to the privy council, in his father's name and his own, that they would fulfil whatever conditions should be prescribed to them by his majesty. At this time Angus made over to his son all his estates, reserving only a proper maintenance for himself and his wife during their lives. When Sir William Stewart arrived at Kintyre, and held a court there, the chief of Isla and his followers hastened to make their personal submission to the king's representative, and early in the following year he went to Edinburgh, when he undertook to find security for the arrears of his crown rents, to remove his clan and dependers from Kintyre and the Rinns of Isla, and to deliver his castle of Dunyveg to any person sent by the king to receive it.

Angus Macdonald having failed to fulfil these conditions, his son, Sir James, was in 1598 sent to him from court, to induce him to comply with them. His resignation of his estates in favour of his son was not recognised by the privy council, as they had already been forfeited to the crown; but Sir James, on his arrival, took possession of them, and even attempted to burn his father and mother in their house of Askomull in Kintyre. Angus Macdonald, after having been taken prisoner, severely scorched, was carried to Smerbie in Kintyre, and confined there in irons for several months. Sir James, now in command of his clan, conducted himself with such violence, that in June 1598 a proclamation for another royal expedition to Kintyre was issued. He, however, contrived to procure from the king a letter approving of his proceedings in Kintyre, and particularly of his apprehension of his father; and the expedition, after being delayed for some time, was finally abandoned.

In August of the following year, with the view of being reconciled to government, Sir

James appeared in presence of the king's comptroller at Falkland, and made certain proposals for establishing the royal authority in Kintyre and Isla; but the influence of Argyll, who took the part of Angus Macdonald, Sir James's father, and the Campbells, having been used against their being carried into effect, the arrangement came to nothing, and Sir James and his clan were driven into irremediable opposition to the government, which ended in their ruin.

Sir James, finding that it was the object of Argyll to obtain for himself the king's lands in Kintyre, made an attempt in 1606 to escape from the castle of Edinburgh, where he was imprisoned; but being unsuccessful, was put in irons. In the following year a charter was granted to Argyll of the lands in North and South Kintyre, and in the Isle of Jura, which had been forfeited by Angus Macdonald, and thus did the legal right to the lands of Kintyre pass from a tribe which had held them for many hundred years.[4]

Angus Macdonald and his clan immediately took up arms, and his son, Sir James, after many fruitless applications to the privy council, to be set at liberty, and writing both to the king and the Duke of Lennox, made another attempt to escape from the castle of Edinburgh, but having hurt his ancle by leaping from the wall whilst encumbered with his fetters, he was retaken near the West Port of that city, and consigned to his former dungeon. Details of the subsequent transactions in this rebellion will be found in the former part of this work.[5]

After the fall of Argyll, who had turned Roman Catholic, and had also fled to Spain, where he is said to have entered into some very suspicious dealings with his former antagonist, Sir James Macdonald, who was living there in exile, the latter was, in 1620, with MacRanald of Keppoch, recalled from exile by King James. On their arrival in London, Sir James received a pension of 1000 merks sterling, while Keppoch got one of 200 merks. His majesty also wrote to the Scottish privy council in their favour, and granted them remissions for all their offences. Sir James, however, never again visited Scotland, and died at London in 1626, without issue. The clan Ian Vor from this period may be said to have been totally suppressed. Their lands were taken possession of by the Campbells, and the most valuable portion of the property of the ducal house of Argyll consists of what had formerly belonged to the Macdonalds of Isla and Kintyre.

The MACDONALDS of GARRAGACH and KEPPOCH, called the CLANRANALD of LOCHABER, were descended from Alexander, or Allaster Carrach, third son of John, Lord of the Isles, and Lady Margaret Stewart. He was forfeited for joining the insurrection of the Islanders, under Donald Balloch, in 1431, and the greater part of his lands were bestowed upon Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, which proved the cause of a fierce and lasting feud between the Mackintoshes and the Macdonalds. It was from Ranald, the fourth in descent from Allaster Carrach, that the tribe received the name of the Clanranald of Lochaber.

In 1498, the then chief of the tribe, Donald, elder brother of Allaster MacAngus, grandson of Allaster Carrach, was killed in a battle with Dougal Stewart, first of Appin. His son John, who succeeded him, having delivered up to Mackintosh, chief of the clan Chattan, as steward of Lochaber, one of the tribe who had committed some crime, and had fled to him for protection, rendered himself unpopular among his clan, and was deposed from the chiefship. His cousin and heir-male presumptive, Donald Glas MacAllaster, was elected chief in his place. During the reign of James IV., says Mr Gregory, this tribe continued to hold their lands in Lochaber, as occupants merely, and without a legal claim to the heritage.[6] In 1546 Ranald Macdonald Glas, who appears to have been the son of Donald Glas MacAllaster, and the captain of the clan Cameron, being present at the slaughter of Lord Lovat and the Frasers at the battle of Kinloch-lochy, and having also supported all the rebellions of the Earl of Lennox, concealed themselves in Lochaber, when the Earl of Huntly entered that district with a considerable force and laid it waste,

[4] Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, p. 312.
[5] Vol. i., chap. x.
[6] *Highlands and Isles*, p. 109.

taking many of the inhabitants prisoners. Having been apprehended by William Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, the two chiefs were delivered over to Huntly, who conveyed them to Perth, where they were detained in prison for some time. They were afterwards tried at Elgin for high treason, and being found guilty, were beheaded in 1547.

Allaster MacRanald of Keppoch and his eldest son assisted Sir James Macdonald in his escape from Edinburgh Castle in 1615, and was with him at the head of his clan during his subsequent rebellion. On its suppression, he fled towards Kintyre, and narrowly escaped being taken with the loss of his vessels and some of his men.

In the great civil war the Clanranald of Lochaber were very active on the king's side. Soon after the Restoration, Alexander Macdonald Glas, the young chief of Keppoch, and his brother were murdered by some of their own discontented followers. Coll Macdonald was the next chief. Previous to the Revolution of 1688, the feud between his clan and the Mackintoshes, regarding the lands he occupied, led to the last clan battle that was ever fought in the Highlands. The Mackintoshes having invaded Lochaber, were defeated on a height called Mulroy. So violent had been Keppoch's armed proceedings before this event that the government had issued a commission of fire and sword against him. After the defeat of the Mackintoshes, he advanced to Inverness, to wreak his vengeance on the inhabitants of that town for supporting the former against him, if they did not purchase his forbearance by paying a large sum as a fine. Dundee, however, anxious to secure the friendship of the people of Inverness, granted Keppoch his own bond in behalf of the town, obliging himself to see Keppoch paid 2000 dollars, as a compensation for the losses and injuries he alleged he had sustained from the Mackintoshes. Keppoch brought to the aid of Dundee 1000 Highlanders, and as Mackintosh refused to attend a friendly interview solicited by Dundee, Keppoch, at the desire of the latter, drove away his cattle. We are told that Dundee "used to call him Coll of the cowes, because he found them out when they were driven to the hills out of the way." He fought at the battle of Killiecrankie, and, on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, he joined the Earl of Mar, with whom he fought at Sheriffmuir. His son, Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, on the arrival of Prince Charles in Scotland in 1745, at once declared for him, and at a meeting of the chiefs to consult as to the course they should pursue, he gave it as his opinion that as the prince had risked his person, and generously thrown himself into the hands of his friends, they were bound, in duty at least, to raise men instantly for the protection of his person, whatever might be the consequences.

At the battle of Culloden, on the three Macdonald regiments giving way, Keppoch, seeing himself abandoned by his clan, advanced with his drawn sword in one hand and his pistol in the other, but was brought to the ground by a musket shot. Donald Roy Macdonald, a captain in Clanranald's regiment, followed him, and entreated him not to throw away his life, assuring him that his wound was not mortal, and that he might easily rejoin his regiment in the retreat, but Keppoch, after recommending him to take care of himself, received another shot, which killed him on the spot. There are still numerous cadets of this family in Lochaber, but the principal house, says Mr Gregory,[7] if not yet extinct, has lost all influence in that district. Latterly they changed their name to Macdonnell.

CLANRANALD.



BADGE.—Heath.

[7] *Highlands and Isles*, p. 415.

The Clanranald Macdonalds of Garmoran are descended from Ranald, younger son of John, first Lord of the Isles, by his first wife, Amy, heiress of the MacRorys or Macruaries of Garmoran. In 1373 he received a grant of the North Isles, Garmoran, and other lands, to be held of John, Lord of the Isles, and his heirs. His descendants comprehended the families of Moydart, Morar, Knoydart, and Glengarry, and came in time to form the most numerous tribe of the Clandonald. Alexander Macruari of Moydart, chief of the Clanranald, was one of the principal chiefs seized by James I. at Inverness in 1427, and soon after beheaded. The great-grandson of Ranald, named Allan Macruari, who became chief of the Clanranald in 1481, was one of the principal supporters of Angus, the young Lord of the Isles, at the battle of Bloody Bay, and he likewise followed Alexander of Lochalsh, nephew of the Lord of the Isles, in his invasion of Ross and Cromarty in 1491, when he received a large portion of the booty taken on the occasion.[8] In 1495, on the second expedition of James IV. to the Isles, Allan Macruari was one of the chiefs who made their submission.

During the whole of the 15th century the Clanranald had been engaged in feuds regarding the lands of Garmoran and Uist; first, with the Siol Gorrie, or race of Godfrey, eldest brother of Ranald, the founder of the tribe, and afterwards with the Macdonalds or Clan huistein of Sleat, and it was not till 1506, that they succeeded in acquiring a legal title to the disputed lands. John, eldest son of Hugh of Sleat, having no issue, made over all his estates to the Clanranald, including the lands occupied by them. Archibald, or Gillespock, Dubh, natural brother of John, having slain Donald Gallach and another of John's brothers, endeavoured to seize the lands of Sleat, but was expelled from the North Isles by Ranald Bane Allanson of Moydart, eldest son of the chief of Clanranald. The latter married Florence, daughter of MacIan of Ardnamurchan, and had four sons—1. Ranald Bane; 2. Alexander, who had three sons, John, Farquhar, and Angus, and a daughter; 3. Ranald Oig; and 4. Angus Reochson. Angus Reoch, the youngest son, had a son named Dowle or Coull, who had a son named Allan, whose son, Alexander, was the ancestor of the Macdonells of Morar.

In 1509 Allan Macruari was tried, convicted, and executed, in presence of the king at Blair-Athol, but for what crime is not known. His eldest son, Ranald Bane, obtained a charter of the lands of Moydart and Arisaig, Dec. 14, 1540, and died in 1541. He married a daughter of Lord Lovat, and had one son, Ranald Galda, or the stranger, from his being fostered by his mother's relations, the Frasers.

On the death of Ranald Bane, the fifth chief, the clan, who had resolved to defeat his son's right to succeed, in consequence of his relations, the Frasers, having joined the Earl of Huntly, lieutenant of the north, against the Macdonalds, chose the next heir to the estate as their chief. This was the young Ranald's cousin-german, John Moydartach, or John of Moydart, eldest son of Alexander Allanson, second son of Allan Macruari, and John was, accordingly, acknowledged by the clan captain of Clanranald. Lovat, apprised of the intentions of the clan against his grandchild, before their scheme was ripe for execution, marched to Castletirrim, and, by the assistance of the Frasers, placed Ranald Galda in possession of the lands. The Clanranald, assisted by the Macdonalds of Keppoch and the Clan Cameron, having laid waste and plundered the districts of Abertarf and Stratherrick, belonging to Lovat, and the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, the property of the Grants, the Earl of Huntly, the king's lieutenant in the north, to drive them back and put an end to their ravages, was obliged to raise a numerous force. He penetrated as far as Inverlochy in Lochaber, and then returned to his own territories. The battle of Kinloch-lochy, called Blar-nan-leine, "the field of shirts," followed, as related in the account of the clan Fraser. The Macdonalds being the victors, the result was that John Moydartach was maintained in possession of the chiefship and estates, and transmitted the same to his descendants. On the return of Huntly with an army, into Lochaber, John Moydartach fled to the Isles, where he remained for some time.

The Clanranald distinguished themselves

[8] Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, page 66.

under the Marquis of Montrose in the civil wars of the 17th century. At the battle of Killiecrankie, their chief, then only fourteen years of age, fought under Dundee, with 500 of his men. They were also at Sheriffmuir. In the rebellion of 1745, the Clanranald took an active part. Macdonald of Boisdale, the brother of the chief, then from age and infirmities unfit to be of any service, had an interview with Prince Charles, on his arrival off the island of Eriska, and positively refused to aid his enterprise. On the following day, however, young Clanranald, accompanied by his kinsmen, Alexander Macdonald of Glenaladale and Æneas Macdonald of Dalily, the author of a Journal and Memoirs of the Expedition, went on board the prince's vessel, and readily offered him his services. He afterwards joined him with 200 of his clan, and was with him throughout the rebellion.

At the battles of Preston and Falkirk, the Macdonalds were on the right, which they claimed as their due, but at Culloden the three Macdonald regiments of Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry, formed the left. It was probably their feeling of dissatisfaction at being placed on the left of the line that caused the Macdonald regiments, on observing that the right and centre had given way, to turn their backs and fly from the fatal field without striking a blow.

At Glenboisdale, whither Charles retreated, after the defeat at Culloden, he was joined by young Clanranald, and several other adherents, who endeavoured to persuade him from embarking for the Isles, but in vain. In the act of indemnity passed in June 1747, young Clanranald was one of those who were specially excepted from pardon.

The ancestor of the Macdonalds of Benbecula was Ranald, brother of Donald Macallan, who was captain of the Clanranald in the latter part of the reign of James VI. The Macdonalds of Boisdale are cadets of Benbecula, and those of Staffa of Boisdale. On the failure of Donald's descendants, the family of Benbecula succeeded to the barony of Castletirrim, and the captainship of the Clanranald, represented by Reginald George Macdonald of Clanranald.

From John, another brother of Donald Macallan, came the family of Kinlochmoidart, which terminated in an heiress. This lady married Colonel Robertson, who, in her right, assumed the name of Macdonald.

From John Oig, uncle of Donald Macallan, descended the Macdonalds of Glenaladale "The head of this family," says Mr Gregory, "John Macdonald of Glenaladale, being obliged to quit Scotland about 1772, in consequence of family misfortunes, sold his Scottish estates to his cousin (also a Macdonald), and emigrating to Prince Edward's Island, with about 200 followers, purchased a tract of 40,000 acres there, while the 200 Highlanders have increased to 3000."

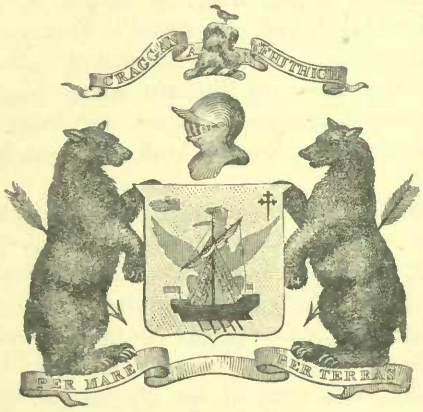
One of the attendants of Prince Charles, who, after Culloden, embarked with him for France, was Neil MacEachan Macdonald, a gentleman sprung from the branch of the Clanranald in Uist. He served in France as a lieutenant in the Scottish regiment of Ogilvie, and was father of Stephen James Joseph Macdonald, marshal of France, and Duke of Tarentum, born Nov. 17, 1765; died Sept. 24, 1840.

The Macdonalds of Glencoe are descended from John Og, surnamed *Fraoch*, natural son of Angus Og of Isla, and brother of John, first Lord of the Isles. He settled in Glencoe, which is a wild and gloomy vale in the district of Lorn, Argyleshire, as a vassal under his brother, and some of his descendants still possess lands there. This branch of the Macdonalds was known as the clan Ian Abrach, it is supposed from one of the family being fostered in Lochaber. After the Revolution, MacIan or Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe, was one of the chiefs who supported the cause of King James, having joined Dundee in Lochaber at the head of his clan, and a mournful interest attaches to the history of this tribe from the dreadful massacre, by which it was attempted to exterminate it in February 1692. The story has often been told, but as full details have been given in the former part of this work, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

The Macdonalds of Glencoe joined Prince Charles on the breaking out of the rebellion in 1745, and General Stewart, in his Sketches of the Highlanders, relates that when the

insurgent army lay at Kirkliston, near the seat of the Earl of Stair, grandson of Secretary Dalrymple, the prince, anxious to save his lordship's house and property, and to remove from his followers all excitement and revenge, proposed that the Glencoe-men should be marched to a distance, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had in the order for the massacre of the clan should rouse them to retaliate on his descendant. Indignant at being supposed capable of wreaking their vengeance on an innocent man, they declared their resolution of returning home, and it was not without much explanation and great persuasion that they were prevented from marching away the following morning.

MACDONNELL OF GLENGARRY.



BADGE.—Heath.

The GLENGARRY branch of the Macdonalds spell their name MACDONNELL. The word *Dhonuill*, whence the name Donald is derived, is said to signify "brown eye." The most proper way, says Mr Gregory, of spelling the name, according to the pronunciation, was that formerly employed by the Macdonalds of Dunvegan and the Glens, who used *Macdonnell*. Sir James Macdonald, however, the last of this family in the direct male line, signed *Makdonall*.[9]

The family of Glengarry are descended from Alister, second son of Donald, who was eldest son of Reginald or Ranald (progenitor also of the Clanranald), youngest son of John, lord of the Isles, by Amy, heiress of MacRory. Alexander Macdonnell, who was chief of Glengarry at the beginning of the 16th century, supported the claims of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh to the lordship of the Isles, and in November 1513 assisted him, with Chisholm of Comer, in expelling the garrison and seizing the Castle of Urquhart in Loch Ness. In 1527 the Earl of Argyll, lieutenant of the Isles, received from Alexander Macranald of Glengarry and North Morar, a bond of manrent or service; and in 1545 he was among the lords and barons of the Isles who, at Knockfergus in Ireland, took the oath of allegiance to the king of England, "at the command of the Earl of Lennox." He married Margaret, eldest daughter of Celestine, brother of John Earl of Ross, and one of the three sisters and coheiresses of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh. His son, Angus or Æneas Macdonnell of Glengarry, the representative, through his mother, of the house of Lochalsh, which had become extinct in the male line on the death of Sir Donald in 1518, married Janet, only daughter of Sir Hector Maclean of Dowart, and had a son, Donald Macdonnell of Glengarry, styled Donald Mac-Angus MacAlister.

In 1581 a serious feud broke out between the chief of Glengarry, who had inherited one half of the districts of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Lochbroom in Wester Ross, and Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, who was in possession of the other half. The Mackenzies, having made aggressions upon Glengarry's portion, the latter, to maintain his rights, took up his temporary residence in Lochcarron, and placed a small garrison in the castle of Strone in that district. With some of his followers he unfortunately fell into the hands of a party of the Mackenzies, and after being detained in captivity for a considerable time, only procured his release by yielding the castle of Lochcarron to the Mackenzies. The other prisoners, including several of his near kinsmen, were put to death. On complaining to the privy council, they caused Mackenzie of Kintail to be detained for a time at Edinburgh, and subsequently in the castle of Blackness. In 1602, Glengarry, from his ignorance of the laws, was, by the craft of the clan Kenzie, as Sir

[9] *Highlands and Isles*, p. 417, Note.

Robert Gordon says, "easalie intrapped within the compass thereof," on which they procured a warrant for citing him to appear before the justiciary court at Edinburgh. Glengarry, however, paid no attention to it, but went about revenging the slaughter of two of his kinsmen, whom the Mackenzies had killed after the summons had been issued. The consequence was that he and some of his followers were outlawed, and Kenneth Mackenzie, who was now lord of Kintail, procured a commission of fire and sword against Glengarry and his men, in virtue of which he invaded and wasted the district of North Morar, and carried off all the cattle. In retaliation the Macdonalds plundered the district of Applecross, and, on a subsequent occasion, they landed on the coast of Lochalsh, with the intention of burning and destroying all Mackenzie's lands, as far as Easter Ross, but their leader, Allaster MacGorrie, having been killed, they returned home. To revenge the death of his kinsman, Angus Macdonnell, the young chief of Glengarry, at the head of his followers, proceeded north to Lochcarron, where his tribe held the castle of Strone, now in ruins. After burning many of the houses in the district, and killing the inhabitants, he loaded his boats with the plunder, and prepared to return. In the absence of their chief, the Mackenzies, encouraged by the example of his lady, posted themselves at the narrow strait or kyle which separates Skye from the mainland, for the purpose of intercepting them. Night had fallen, however, before they made their appearance, and taking advantage of the darkness, some of the Mackenzies rowed out in two boats towards a large galley, on board of which was young Glengarry, which was then passing the kyle. This they suddenly attacked with a volley of musketry and arrows. Those on board in their alarm crowding to one side, the galley overset, and all on board were thrown into the water. Such of them as were able to reach the shore were immediately despatched by the Mackenzies, and among the slain was the young chief of Glengarry himself. The rest of the Macdonnells, on reaching Strathaird in Skye, left their boats, and proceeded on foot to Morar. Finding that the chief of the Mackenzies had not returned from Mull, a large party was sent to an island near which he must pass, which he did next day in Maclean's great galley, but he contrived to elude them, and was soon out of reach of pursuit. He subsequently laid siege to the castle of Strone, which surrendered to him, and was blown up.

In 1603, "the Clanranald of Glengarry, under Allan Macranald of Lundie, made an irruption into Brae Ross, and plundered the lands of Kilchrist, and others adjacent, belonging to the Mackenzies. This foray was signalized by the merciless burning of a whole congregation in the church of Kilchrist, while Glengarry's piper marched round the building, mocking the cries of the unfortunate inmates with the well-known pibroch, which has been known, ever since, under the name of Kilchrist, as the family tune of the Clanranald of Glengarry."[1] Eventually, Kenneth Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Kintail, succeeded in obtaining a crown charter to the disputed districts of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and others, dated in 1607.

Donald MacAngus of Glengarry died in 1603. By his wife, Margaret, daughter of Alexander Macdonald, Captain of Clanranald, he had, besides Angus above mentioned, two other sons, Alexander, who died soon after his father, and Donald Macdonnell of Scothouse.

Alexander, by his wife, Jean, daughter of Allan Cameron of Lochiel, had a son, Æneas Macdonnell of Glengarry, who was one of the first in 1644 to join the royalist army under Montrose, and never left that great commander, "for which," says Bishop Wishart, "he deserves a singular commendation for his bravery and steady loyalty to the king, and his peculiar attachment to Montrose."[2] Glengarry also adhered faithfully to the cause of Charles II., and was forfeited by Cromwell in 1651. As a reward for his faithful services he was at the Restoration created a peer by the title of Lord Macdonnell and Aross, by patent dated at Whitehall, 20th December 1660, the honours being limited to the heirs male of his body. This led him to claim not only the chiefship of Clanranald, but likewise that of the whole Clandonald, as

[1] *Gregory's Highlands*, pp. 301–303.
[2] *Memoirs*, p. 155.

being the representative of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan: and on 18th July 1672, the privy council issued an order, commanding him as chief to exhibit before the council several persons of the name of Macdonald, to find caution to keep the peace.

The three branches of the Clanranald engaged in all the attempts which were made for the restoration of the Stuarts. On 27th August 1715, Glengarry was one of the chiefs who attended the pretended grand hunting match at Braemar, appointed by the Earl of Mar, previous to the breaking out of the rebellion of that year. After the suppression of the rebellion, the chief of Glengarry made his submission to General Cadogan at Inverness. He died in 1724. By his wife, Lady Mary Mackenzie, daughter of the third Earl of Seaforth, he had a son, John Macdonnell, who succeeded him.

In 1745, six hundred of the Macdonnells of Glengarry joined Prince Charles, under the command of Macdonnell of Lochgarry, who afterwards escaped to France with the prince, and were at the battles of Preston, Falkirk, and Culloden. The chief himself seems not to have engaged in the rebellion. He was however arrested, and sent to London.

General Sir James Macdonnell, G.C.B., who distinguished himself when lieut.-col. in the guards, by the bravery with which he held the buildings of Hougomont, at the battle of Waterloo, was third son of Duncan Macdonnell, Esq. of Glengarry. He was born at the family seat, Inverness-shire, and died May 15, 1857.

Colonel Alexander Ranaldson Macdonnell of Glengarry, who, in January 1822, married Rebecca, second daughter of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, baronet, was the last genuine specimen of a Highland chief. His character in its more favourable features was drawn by Sir Walter Scott, in his romance of Waverley, as Fergus MacIvor. He always wore the dress and adhered to the style of living of his ancestors, and when away from home in any of the Highland towns, he was followed by a body of retainers, who were regularly posted as sentinels at his door. He revived the claims of his family to the chiefship of the Macdonalds, styling himself also of Clanranald. In January 1828 he perished in endeavouring to escape from a steamer which had gone ashore. As his estate was very much mortgaged and encumbered, his son was compelled to dispose of it, and to emigrate to Australia, with his family and clan. The estate was purchased by the Marquis of Huntly from the chief, and in 1840 it was sold to Lord Ward (Earl of Dudley, Feb. 13, 1860,) for £91,000. In 1860 his lordship sold it to Edward Ellice, Esq. of Glenquoich, for £120,000.

The principal families descended from the house of Glengarry, were the Macdonnells of Barrisdale, in Knoydart, Greenfield, and Lundie.

The strength of the Macdonalds has at all times been considerable. In 1427, the Macdonnells of Garmoran and Lochaber mustered 2000 men; in 1715, the whole clan furnished 2820; and in 1745, 2330. In a memorial drawn up by President Forbes of Culloden, and transmitted to the government soon after the insurrection in 1745, the force of every clan is detailed, according to the best information which the author of the report could procure at the time. This enumeration, which proceeds upon the supposition that the chieftain calculated on the military services of the youthful, the most hardy, and the bravest of his followers, omitting those who, from advanced age, tender years, or natural debility, were unable to carry arms, gives the following statement of the respective forces of the different branches of the Macdonalds: —

	Men.
Macdonald of Sleat, . . .	700
Macdonald of Clanranald, . .	700
Macdonell of Glengarry, . . .	500
Macdonell of Keppoch, . . .	300
Macdonald of Glencoe, . . .	130
In all, . .	2330

Next to the Campbells, therefore, who could muster about 5000 men, the Macdonalds were by far the most numerous and powerful clan in the Highlands of Scotland.

"The clans or septs," says Mr Smibert,[3] "sprung from the Macdonalds, or adhering to and incorporated with that family, though bearing subsidiary names, were very numerous.

[3] *Clans*, 29.

One point peculiarly marks the Gael of the coasts, as this great connection has already been called, and that is the device of a *Lymphad* or old-fashioned *Oared Galley*, assumed and borne in their arms. It indicates strongly a common origin and site. The Macdonalds, Maclachlans, Macdougals, Macneils, Macleans, and Campbells, as well as the Macphersons, Mackintoshes, and others, carry, and have always carried, such a galley in their armorial shields. Some families of Macdonald descent do not bear it; and indeed, at most, it simply proves a common coast origin, or an early location by the western lochs and lakes."

CHAPTER III.

The Macdougalls—Bruce's adventures with the Macdougalls of Lorn—The Brooch of Lorn—The Stewarts acquire Lorn—Macdougalls of Raray, Gallanach, and Scraba—Macalisters—Siol Gillevray—Macneills—Partly of Norse descent—Two branches of Barra and Gigha—Sea exploits of the former—Ruari the Turbulent's two families—Gigha Macneills—Macneills of Gullochallie, Carskeay, and Tirfergus—The chiefship—Macneills of Colonsay—Maclauchlans—Kindred to the Lamonds and MacEwens of Otter—Present representative—Castle Lachlan—Force of the clan—Cadets—MacEwens—Macdougall Campbells of Craignish—Policy of Argyll Campbells—Lamonds—Massacred by the Campbells—The laird of Lamond and MacGregor of Glenstrae.

MACDOUGALL.



BADGE.—Cypress; according to others, Bell Heath.

THE next clan that demands our notice is that of the Macdougalls, Macdugalls, Macdovals, Macdowalls, for in all these ways is the name spelled. The clan derives its descent from Dugall, who was the eldest son of Somerled, the common ancestor of the clan Donald; and it has hitherto been supposed, that Alexander de Ergadia, the undoubted ancestor of the clan Dugall, who first appears in the year 1284, was the son of Ewen de Ergadia, who figured so prominently at the period of the cession of the Isles. This opinion, however, Mr Skene conceives to be erroneous; first, because Ewen would seem to have died without leaving male issue; and, secondly, because it is contradicted by the manuscript of 1450, which states that the clan Dugall, as well as the clan Rory and the clan Donald, sprung not from Ewen, but from Ranald, the son of Somerled, through his son Dugall, from whom indeed they derived their name. Mr Smibert's remarks, however, on this point are deserving of attention. "It seems very evident," he says, "that they formed one of the primitive branches of the roving or stranger tribes of visitants to Scotland of the Irish, or at least Celtic race. Their mere name puts the fact almost beyond doubt. It also distinguishes them clearly from the Norsemen of the Western Isles, who were always styled *Fion-galls*, that is, Fair Strangers (Rovers, or Pirates). The common account of the origin of the Macdougalls is, that they sprung from a son or grandson of Somerled, of the name of Dougal. But though a single chieftain of that appellation may have flourished in the primitive periods of Gaelic story, it appears most probable, from many circumstances, that the clan derived their name from their descent and character generally. They were Dhu-Galls, 'black strangers.' The son or grandson of Somerled, who is said to have specially founded the Macdougall clan, lived in the 12th century. In the 13th, however, they were numerous and strong enough to oppose Bruce, and it is therefore out of the question to suppose that the descendant of Somerled could do more than consolidate or collect an already existing tribe, even if it is to be admitted as taking from him its name."[4]

The first appearance which this family makes in history is at the convention which was held in the year 1284. In the list of those who

[4] *Clans*, 44, 45.

attended on that occasion, we find the name of Alexander de Ergadia, whose presence was probably the consequence of his holding his lands by a crown charter; but from this period we lose sight of him entirely, until the reign of Robert Bruce, when the strenuous opposition offered by the Lord of Lorn and by his son John to the succession of that king, restored his name to history, in connection with that of Bruce. Alister having married the third daughter of the Red Comyn, whom Bruce slew in the Dominican church at Dumfries, became the mortal enemy of the king; and, upon more than one occasion, during the early part of his reign, succeeded in reducing him to the greatest straits.

Bruce, after his defeat at Methven, on the 19th of June 1306, withdrew to the mountainous parts of Breadalbane, and approached the borders of Argyleshire. His followers did not exceed three hundred men, who, disheartened by defeat, and exhausted by privation, were not in a condition to encounter a superior force. In this situation, however, he was attacked by Macdougall of Lorn, at the head of a thousand men, part of whom were Macnabs, who had joined the party of John Baliol; and, after a severe conflict, he was compelled to abandon the field. In the retreat from Dalree, where the battle had been fought, the king was hotly pursued, and especially by three of the clansmen of Lorn, probably personal attendants or *henchmen* of the Macdougalls, who appear to have resolved to slay the Bruce or die. These followed the retreating party, and when King Robert entered a narrow pass, threw themselves suddenly upon him. The king turning hastily round, cleft the skull of one with his battle-axe. "The second had grasped the stirrup, and Robert fixed and held him there by pressing down his foot, so that the captive was dragged along the ground as if chained to the horse. In the meantime, the third assailant had sprung from the hillside to the back of the horse, and sat behind the king. The latter turned half round and forced the Highlander forward to the front of the saddle, where 'he clave the head to the harns.' The second assailant was still hanging by the stirrup, and Robert now struck at him vigorously, and slew him at the first blow." Whether the story is true or not, and it is by no means improbable, it shows the reputation for gigantic strength which the doughty Bruce had in his day. It is said to have been in this contest that the king lost the magnificent brooch, since famous as the "brooch of Lorn." This highly-prized trophy was long preserved as a remarkable relic in the family of Macdougall of Dunolly, and after having been carried off during the siege of Dunolly Castle, the family residence, it was, about forty years ago, again restored to the family.[5] In his day of adversity the Macdougalls were the most persevering and dangerous of all King Robert's enemies.

But the time for retribution at length arrived. When Robert Bruce had firmly established himself on the throne of Scotland, one of the first objects to which he directed his attention, was to crush his old enemies the Macdougalls,[6] and to revenge the many injuries he had suffered at their hands. With this view, he marched into Argyleshire, determined to lay waste the country, and take possession of Lorn. On advancing, he found John of Lorn and his followers posted in a formidable defile between Ben Cruachan and Loch Awe, which it seemed impossible to force, and almost hopeless to turn. But having sent a party to ascend the mountain, gain the heights, and threaten the

[5] Mr Smibert (*Clans*, p. 46) thus describes this interesting relic:—"That ornament, as observed, is silver, and consists of a circular plate, about four inches in diameter, having a tongue like that of a common buckle on the under side. The upper side is magnificently ornamented. First, from the margin rises a neatly-formed rim, with hollows cut in the edge at certain distances, like the embrasures in an embattled wall. From a circle within this rim rise eight round tapering obelisks, about an inch and a quarter high, finely cut, and each studded at top with a river pearl. Within this circle of obelisks there is a second rim, also ornamented with carved work, and within which rises a neat circular case, occupying the whole centre of the brooch, and slightly overtopping the obelisks. The exterior of this case, instead of forming a plain circle, projects into eight semi-cylinders, which relieve it from all appearance of heaviness. The upper part is likewise carved very elegantly, and in the centre there is a large gem. This case may be taken off, and within there is a hollow, which might have contained any small articles upon which a particular value was set."

[6] In referring to this incident in the first part of this work (p. 63), the name "Stewart" (which had crept into the old edition) was allowed to remain instead of that of "Macdougall." The Stewarts did not possess Lorn till some years after.

enemy's rear, Bruce immediately attacked them in front, with the utmost fury. For a time the Macdougalls sustained the onset bravely; but at length, perceiving themselves in danger of being assailed in the rear, as well as the front, and thus completely isolated in the defile, they betook themselves to flight. Unable to escape from the mountain gorge, they were slaughtered without mercy, and by this reverse, their power was completely broken. Bruce then laid waste Argyleshire, besieged and took the castle of Dunstaffnage, and received the submission of Alister of Lorn, the father of John, who now fled to England. Alister was allowed to retain the district of Lorn: but the rest of his possessions were forfeited and given to Angus of Isla, who had all along remained faithful to the king's interests.

When John of Lorn arrived as a fugitive in England, King Edward was making preparations for that expedition, which terminated in the ever-memorable battle of Bannockburn. John was received with open arms, appointed to the command of the English fleet, and ordered to sail for Scotland, in order to co-operate with the land forces. But the total defeat and dispersion of the latter soon afterwards confirmed Bruce in possession of the throne; and being relieved from the apprehension of any further aggression on the part of the English kings he resolved to lose no time in driving the Lord of Lorn from the Isles, where he had made his appearance with the fleet under his command. Accordingly, on his return from Ireland, whither he had accompanied his brother Edward, he directed his course towards the Isles, and having arrived at Tarbet, is said to have caused his galleys to be dragged over the isthmus which connects Kintyre and Knapdale. This bold proceeding was crowned with success. The English fleet was surprised and dispersed; and its commander having been made prisoner, was sent to Dumbarton, and afterwards to Lochleven, where he was detained in confinement during the remainder of King Robert's reign.

In the early part of the reign of David II., John's son, John or Ewen, married a grand-daughter of Robert Bruce, and through her not only recovered the ancient possessions of his family, but even obtained a grant of the property of Glenlyon. These extensive territories, however, were not destined to remain long in the family. Ewen died without male issue; and his two daughters having married, the one John Stewart of Innermeath, and the other his brother Robert Stewart, an arrangement was entered into between these parties, in virtue of which the descendants of John Stewart acquired the whole of the Lorn possessions, with the exception of the castle of Dunolly and its dependencies, which remained to the other branch of the family; and thus terminated the power of this branch of the descendants of Somerled. The chieftainship of the clan now descended to the family of Dunolly, which continued to enjoy the small portion which remained to them of their ancient possessions until the year 1715, when the representative of the family incurred the penalty of forfeiture for his accession to the insurrection of that period; thus, by a singular contrast of circumstances, "losing the remains of his inheritanace to replace upon the throne the descendants of those princes, whose accession his ancestors had opposed at the expense of their feudal grandeur." The estate, however, was restored to the family in 1745, as a reward for their not having taken any part in the more formidable rebellion of that year. In President Forbes's Report on the strength of the clans, the force of the Macdougalls is estimated at 200 men.

The Macdougalls of Raray, represented by Macdougall of Ardencaple, were a branch of the house of Lorn. The principal cadets of the family of Donolly were those of Gallanach and Soraba. The Macdougalls still hold possessions in Galloway, where, however, they usually style themselves Macdowall.

Macalisters.

A clan at one time of considerable importance, claiming connection with the great clan Donald, is the Macalisters, or MacAlesters, formerly inhabiting the south of Knapdale, and the north of Kintyre in Argyleshire. They are traced to Alister or Alexander, a son of Angus Mor, of the clan Donald. Exposed to the encroachments of the Campbells, their principal possessions became, ere long, absorbed by different branches of that powerful clan. The

chief of this sept of the Macdonalds is Somerville MacAlester of Loup in Kintyre, and Kennox in Ayrshire. In 1805 Charles Somerville MacAlester, Esq. of Loup, assumed the name and arms of Somerville in addition to his own, in right of his wife, Janet Somerville, inheritrix of the entailed estate of Kennox, whom he had married in 1792.

From their descent from Alexander, eldest son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles and Kintyre in 1284, the grandson of Somerled, thane of Argyle, the MacAlesters claim to be the representatives, after MacDonell of Glengarry, of the ancient Lords of the Isles, as heirs male of Donald, grandson of Somerled.

After the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles in 1493, the MacAlesters became so numerous as to form a separate and independent clan. At that period their chief was named John or Ian Dubh, whose residence was at Ard Phadriuc or Ardpatrick in South Knapdale. One of the family, Charles MacAlester, is mentioned as steward of Kintyre in 1481.

Alexander MacAlester was one of those Highland chieftains who were held responsible, by the act "called the Black Band," passed in 1587, for the peaceable behaviour of their clansmen and the "broken men" who lived on their lands. He died when his son, Godfrey or Gorrie MacAlester, was yet under age.

In 1618 the laird of Loup was named one of the twenty barons and gentlemen of the shire of Argyle who were made responsible for the good rule of the earldom during Argyll's absence. He married Margaret, daughter of Colin Campbell of Kilberry, and though, as a vassal of the Marquis of Argyll, he took no part in the wars of the Marquis of Montrose, many of his clan fought on the side of the latter.

The principal cadet of the family of Loup was MacAlester of Tarbert. There is also MacAlister of Glenbarr, county of Argyle.

Siol Gillevray.

Under the head of the Siol or clan Gillevray, Mr Skene gives other three clans said by the genealogists to have been descended from the family of Somerled, and included by Mr Skene under the Gallgael. The three clans are those of the Macneills, the Maclauchlans, and the Macewens. According to the MS. of 1450, the Siol Gillevray are descended from a certain Gillebride, surnamed King of the Isles, who lived in the 12th century, and who derived his descent from a brother of Suibne, the ancestor of the Macdonalds, who was slain in the year 1034. Even Mr Skene, however, doubts the genealogy by which this Gillebride is derived from an ancestor of the Macdonalds in the beginning of the 11th century, but nevertheless, the traditionary affinity which is thus shown to have existed between these clans and the race of Somerled at so early a period, he thinks seems to countenance the notion that they had all originally sprung from the same stock. The original seat of this race appears to have been in Lochaber. On the conquest of Argyle by Alexander II., they were involved in the ruin which overtook all the adherents of Somerled; with the exception of the Macneills, who consented to hold their lands of the crown, and the Maclauchlans, who regained their former comsequence by means of marriage with an heiress of the Lamonds. After the breaking up of the clan, the other branches appear to have followed, as their chief, Macdougall Campbell of Craignish, the head of a family, which is descended from the kindred race of MacInnes of Ardgour.

MACNEILL.



Badge.—Sea Ware.

The Macneills consisted of two independent branches, the Macneills of Barra and the Macneills of Gigha, said to be descended from brothers. Their badge was the sea ware, but

they had different armorial bearings, and from this circumstance, joined to the fact that they were often opposed to each other in the clan fights of the period, and that the Christian names of the one, with the exception of Neill, were not used by the other, Mr Gregory thinks the tradition of their common descent erroneous. Part of their possessions were completely separated, and situated at a considerable distance from the rest.

The clan Neill were among the secondary vassal tribes of the lords of the Isles, and its heads appear to have been of Norse or Danish origin. Mr Smibert thinks this probable from the fact that the Macneills were lords of Castle Swen, plainly a Norse term. "The clan," he says,[7] "was in any case largely Gaelic, to a certainty. We speak of the fundamental line of the chiefs mainly, when we say that the Macneills appear to have at least shared the blood of the old Scandinavian inhabitants of the western islands. The names of those of the race first found in history are partly indicative of such a lineage. The isle of Barra and certain lands in Uist were chartered to a Macneill in 1427; and in 1472, a charter of the Macdonald family is witnessed by Hector *Mactorquil* Macneill, keeper of Castle Swen. The appellation 'Mac-Torquil,' half Gaelic, half Norse, speaks strongly in favour of the supposition that the two races were at this very time in the act of blending with one people. After all, we proceed not beyond the conclusion, that, by heirs male or heirs female, the founders of the house possessed a sprinkling of the blood of the ancient Norwegian occupants of the western isles and coasts, interfused with that of the native Gael of Albyn, and also of the Celtic visitants from Ireland. The proportion of Celtic blood, beyond doubt, is far the largest in the veins of the clan generally."

About the beginning of the 15th century, the Macneills were a considerable clan in Knapdale, Argyleshire. As this district was not then included in the sheriffdom of Argyle, it is probable that their ancestor had consented to hold his lands of the crown.

The first of the family on record is Nigellus Og, who obtained from Robert Bruce a charter of Barra and some lands in Kintyre. His great-grandson, Gilleonan Roderick Muchard Macneill, in 1427, received from Alexander, Lord of the Isles, a charter of that island. In the same charter were included the lands of Boisdale in South Uist, which lies about eight miles distant from Barra. With John Garve Maclean he disputed the possession of that island, and was killed by him in Coll. His grandson, Gilleonan, took part with John, the old Lord of the Isles, against his turbulent son, Angus, and fought on his side at the battle of Bloody Bay. He was chief of this sept or division of the Macneills in 1493, at the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles.

The Gigha Macneills are supposed to have sprung from Torquil Macneill, designated in his charter, "filius Nigelli," who, in the early part of the 15th century, received from the Lord of the Isles a charter of the lands of Gigha and Taynish, with the constabulary of Castle Sweyn, in Knapdale. He had two sons, Neill his heir, and Hector, ancestor of the family of Taynish. Malcolm Macneill of Gigha, the son of Neill, who is first mentioned in 1478, was chief of this sept of the Macneills in 1493. After that period the Gigha branch followed the banner of Macdonald of Isla and Kintyre, while the Barra Macneills ranged themselves under that of Maclean of Dowart.

In 1545 Gilliganan Macneill of Barra was one of the barons and council of the Isles who accompanied Donald Dubh, styling himself Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, to Ireland, to swear allegiance to the king of England. His elder son, Roderick or Ruari Macneill, was killed at the battle of Glenlivet, by a shot from a fieldpiece, on 3d Oct. 1594. He left three sons—Roderick, his heir, called Ruari the turbulent, John, and Murdo. During the memorable and most disastrous feud which happened between the Macleans and the Macdonalds at this period, the Barra Macneills and the Gigha branch of the same clan fought on different sides.

The Macneills of Barra were expert seamen, and did not scruple to act as pirates upon occasion. An English ship having been

[7] *Clans*, p. 84.

seized off the island of Barra by Ruari the turbulent, Queen Elizabeth complained of this act of piracy. The laird of Barra was in consequence summoned to appear at Edinburgh, to answer for his conduct, but he treated the summons with contempt. All the attempts made to apprehend him proving unsuccessful, Mackenzie, tutor of Kintail, undertook to effect his capture by a stratagem frequently put in practice against the island chiefs when suspecting no hostile design. Under the pretence of a friendly visit, he arrived at Macneill's castle of Chisamul (pronounced Kisimul), the ruins of which stand on an insulated rock in Castlebay, on the south-east end of Barra, and invited him and all his attendants on board his vessel. There they were well plied with liquor, until they were all overpowered with it. The chief's followers were then sent on shore, while he himself was carried a prisoner to Edinburgh. Being put upon his trial, he confessed his seizure of the English ship, but pleaded in excuse that he thought himself bound by his loyalty to avenge, by every means in his power, the fate of his majesty's mother, so cruelly put to death by the queen of England. This politic answer procured his pardon, but his estate was forfeited, and given to the tutor of Kintail. The latter restored it to its owner, on condition of his holding it of him, and paying him sixty merks Scots, as a yearly feu duty. It had previously been held of the crown. Some time thereafter Sir James Macdonald of Sleat married a daughter of the tutor of Kintail, who made over the superiority to his son-in-law, and it is now possessed by Lord Macdonald, the representative of the house of Sleat.

The old chief of Barra, Ruari the turbulent, had several sons by a lady of the family of Maclean, with whom, according to an ancient practice in the Highlands, he had *handfasted*,* instead of marrying her. He afterwards married a sister of the captain of the Clanranald, and by her also he had sons. To exclude the senior family from the succession, the captain of the Clanranald took the part of his nephews, whom he declared to be the only legitimate sons of the Barra chief. Having apprehended the eldest son of the first family for having been concerned in the piratical seizure of a ship of Bourdeaux, he conveyed him to Edinburgh for trial, but he died there soon after. His brothers-german, in revenge, assisted by Maclean of Dowart, seized Neill Macneill, the eldest son of the second family, and sent him to Edinburgh, to be tried as an actor in the piracy of the same Bourdeaux ship; and, thinking that their father was too partial to their half brothers, they also seized the old chief, and placed him in irons. Neill Macneill, called Weyislache, was found innocent, and liberated through the influence of his uncle. Barra's elder sons, on being charged to exhibit their father before the privy council, refused, on which they were proclaimed rebels, and commission was given to the captain of the Clanranald against them. In consequence of these proceedings, which occurred about 1613, Clanranald was enabled to secure the peaceable succession of his nephew to the estate of Barra, on the death of his father, which happened soon after.[8]

The island of Barra and the adjacent isles are still possessed by the descendant and representative of the family of Macneill. Their feudal castle of Chisamul has been already mentioned. It is a building of hexagonal form, strongly built, with a wall above thirty feet high, and anchorage for small vessels on every side of it. Martin, who visited Barra in 1703, in his *Description of the Western Islands*, says that the Highland Chroniclers or sennachies alleged that the then chief of Barra was the 34th lineal descendant from the first Macneill who had held it. He relates that the inhabitants of this and the other islands belonging to Macneill were in the custom of applying to him for wives and husbands, when he named the persons most suitable for them, and gave them a bottle of strong waters for the marriage feast.

The chief of the Macneills of Gigha, in the first half of the 16th century, was Neill Macneill, who was killed, with many gentlemen of his tribe, in 1530, in a feud with Allan Maclean of Torlusk, called *Ailen nan Sop*, brother of Maclean of Dowart. His only daughter, Annabella, made over the lands of Gigha to her natural brother, Neill. He sold Gigha to

* Vol. II. p. 124.

[8] *Gregory's Highlands and Isles*, p. 346.

James Macdonald of Isla in 1554, and died without legitimate issue in the latter part of the reign of Queen Mary.

On the extinction of the direct male line, Neill Macneill vic Eachan, who had obtained the lands of Taynish, became heir male of the family. His descendant, Hector Macneill of Taynish, purchased in 1590 the island of Gigha from John Campbell of Calder, who had acquired it from Macdonald of Isla, so that it again became the property of a Macneill. The estates of Gigha and Taynish were possessed by his descendants till 1780, when the former was sold to Macneill of Colonsay, a cadet of the family.

The representative of the male line of the Macneills of Taynish and Gigha, Roger Hamilton Macneill of Taynish, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Hamilton Price, Esq. of Raploch, Lanarkshire, with whom he got that estate, and assumed, in consequence, the name of Hamilton. His descendants are now designated of Raploch.

The principal cadets of the Gigha Macneills, besides the Taynish family, were those of Gallochallie, Carskeay, and Tirfergus. Torquil, a younger son of Lachlan Macneill Buy of Tirfergus, acquired the estate of Ugadale in Argyleshire, by marriage with the heiress of the Mackays in the end of the 17th century. The present proprietor spells his name Macneal. From Malcolm Beg Macneill, celebrated in Highland tradition for his extraordinary prowess and great strength, son of John Oig Macneill of Gallochallie, in the reign of James VI., sprung the Macneills of Arichonan. Malcolm's only son, Neill Oig, had two sons, John, who succeeded him, and Donald Macneill of Crerar, ancestor of the Macneills of Colonsay, now the possessors of Gigha. Many cadets of the Macneills of Gigha settled in the north of Ireland.

Both branches of the clan Neill laid claim to the chiefship. According to tradition, it has belonged, since the middle of the 16th century, to the house of Barra. Under the date of 1550, a letter appears in the register of the privy council, addressed to "Torkill Macneill, chief and principal of the clan and surname of Macnelis." Mr Skene conjectures this Torkill to have been the hereditary keeper of Castle Sweyn, and connected with neither branch of the Macneills. He is said, however, to have been the brother of Neill Macneill of Gigha, killed in 1530, as above mentioned, and to have, on his brother's death, obtained a grant of the non-entries of Gigha as representative of the family. If this be correct, according to the above designation, the chiefship was in the Gigha line. Torquil appears to have died without leaving any direct succession.

The first of the family of Colonsay, Donald Macneill of Crerar, in South Knapdale, exchanged that estate in 1700, with the Duke of Argyll, for the islands of Colonsay and Oronsay. The old possessors of these two islands, which are only separated by a narrow sound, dry at low water, were the Macduffies or Macphies. Donald's great-grandson, Archibald Macneill of Colonsay, sold that island to his cousin, John Macneill, who married Hester, daughter of Duncan Macneill of Dunmore, and had six sons. His eldest son, Alexander, younger of Colonsay, became the purchaser of Gigha. Two of his other sons, Duncan, Lord Colonsay, and Sir John Macneill, have distinguished themselves, the one as a lawyer and judge, and the other as a diplomatist.

MACLACHLAN.



BADGE.—Mountain Ash.

Maclachlan, or Maclauchlan, is the name of another clan classified by Skene as belonging to the great race of the Siol Conn, and in the MS., so much valued by this writer, of 1450, the Maclachlans are traced to Gilchrist, a grandson of that Auradan or Henry, from whom all

the clans of the Siol Gillevray are said to be descended. They possessed the barony of Strathlachlan in Cowal, and other extensive possessions in the parishes of Glassrie and Kilmartin, and on Loch Awe side, which were separated from the main seat of the family by Loch Fyne.

They were one of those Gaelic tribes who adopted the oared galley for their special device, as indicative of their connection, either by residence or descent, with the Isles. An ancester of the family, Lachlan Mor, who lived in the 13th century, is described in the Gaelic MS. of 1450, as "son of Patrick, son of Gilchrist, son of De dalan, called the clumsy, son of Anradan, from whom are descended also the clan Neill."

By tradition the Maclachlans are said to have come from Ireland, their original stock being the O'Loughlins of Meath.

According to the Irish genealogies, the clan Lachlan, the Lamonds, and the MacEwens of Otter, were kindred tribes, being descended from brothers who were sons of De dalan above referred to, and tradition relates that they took possession of the greater part of the district of Cowal, from Toward Point to Strachur at the same time; the Lamonds being separated from the MacEwens by the river of Kilfinan, and the MacEwens from the Maclachlans by the stream which separates the parishes of Kilfinan and Strath Lachlan. De dalan, the common ancestor of these families, is stated in ancient Irish genealogies to have been the grandson of Hugh Atlaman, the head of the great family of O'Neils, kings of Ireland.

About 1230, Gilchrist Maclachlan, who is mentioned in the manuscript of 1450 as chief of the family of Maclachlan at the time, is a witness to a charter of Kilfinan granted by Laumanus, ancestor of the Lamonds.

In 1292, Gilleskel Maclachlan got a charter of his lands in Ergadia from Baliol.

In a document preserved in the treasury of Her Majesty's Exchequer, entitled "Les petitions de terre demandees en Escoce," there is the following entry,—"Item Gillescop Macloghlan ad demandi la Baronie de Molbryde juvene, apelle Strath, que fu pris contre le foi de Roi." From this it appears that Gillespie Maclachlan was in possession of the lands still retained by the family, during the occupation of Scotland by Edward I. in 1296.[9]

In 1314, Archibald Maclachlan in Ergadia, granted to the Preaching Friars of Glasgow forty shillings to be paid yearly out of his lands of Kilbride, "juxta castrum meum quod dicitur Castellachlan." He died before 1322, and was succeeded by his brother Patrick. The latter married a daughter of James, Steward of Scotland, and had a son, Lachlan, who succeeded him. Lachlan's son, Donald, confirmed in 1456, the grant by his predecessor Archibald, to the Preaching Friars of Glasgow of forty shillings yearly out of the lands of Kilbride, with an additional annuity of six shillings and eightpence "from his lands of Kilbryde near Castellachlan."[1]

Lachlan, the 15th chief, dating from the time that written evidence can be adduced, was served heir to his father, 23d September 1719. He married a daughter of Stewart of Appin, and was killed at Culloden, fighting on the side of Prince Charles. The 18th chief, his great-grandson, Robert Maclachlan of Maclachlan, convener and one of the deputy-lieutenants of Argyleshire, married in 1823, Helen, daughter of William A. Carruthers of Dormont, Dumfries-shire, without issue. His brother, the next heir, George Maclachlan, Esq., has three sons and a daughter. The family seat, Castle Lachlan, built about 1790, near the old and ruinous tower, formerly the residence of the chiefs, is situated in the centre of the family estate, which is eleven miles in length, and, on an average, a mile and a half in breadth, and stretches in one continued line along the eastern side of Loch Fyne. The effective force of the clan previous to the rebellion of 1745, was estimated at 300 men. Their original seat, according to Mr Skene, appears to have been in Lochaber, where a very old branch of the family has from the earliest period been settled as native men of the Camerons.

In Argyleshire also are the families of Maclachlan of Craiginterve, Inchconnell, &c.,

[9] See *Sir Francis Palgrave's Scottish Documents*, vol. i. p. 319.

[1] *Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum de Glasgu. Maitland Club.*

and in Stirlingshire, of Auchintroig. The Maclachlans of Drumblane in Monteith were of the Lochaber branch.

MacEwens.

Upon a rocky promontory situated on the coast of Lochfyne, may still be discerned the vestige of a building, called in Gaelic Chaistel Mhic Eobhuin, or the castle of MacEwen. In the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Kilfinnan, quoted by Skene, this MacEwen is described as the chief of a clan, and proprietor of the northern division of the parish called Otter; and in the manuscript of 1450, which contains the genealogy of the *Clan Eoghan na Hoitreic*, or Clan Ewen of Otter, they are derived from Anradan, the common ancestor of the Maclauchlans and the Macneills. This family soon became extinct, and their property gave title to a branch of the Campbells, by whom it appears to have been subsequently acquired, though in what manner we have no means of ascertaining.

Siol Eachern.

Under the name of *Siol Eachern* are included by Mr Skene the Macdougall Campbells of Craignish, and the Lamonds of Lamond, both very old clans in Argyleshire, and supposed to have been originally of the same race.

Macdougall Campbells of Craignish.

"The policy of the Argyll family," says Mr Skene, "led them to employ every means for the acquisition of property, and the extension of the clan. One of the arts which they used for the latter purpose was to compel those clans which had become dependant upon them to adopt the name of Campbell; and this, when successful, was generally followed at an after period, by the assertion that that clan was descended from the house of Argyll. In general, the clans thus adopted into the race of Campbell, are sufficiently marked out by their being promoted only to the honour of their being an illegitimate branch; but the tradition of the country invariably distinguishes between the real Campbells, and those who were compelled to adopt their name." Of the policy in question, the Campbells of Craignish are said to have afforded a remarkable instance. According to the Argyll system, as here described, they are represented as the descendants of Dugall, an illegitimate son of a Campbell, who lived in the twelfth century. But the common belief amongst the people is, that their ancient name was MacEachern, and that they were of the same race with the Macdonalds; nor are there wanting circumstances which seem to give countenance to this tradition. Their arms are charged with the galley of the Isles, from the mast of which depends a shield exhibiting some of the distinctive bearings of the Campbells; and, what is even more to the purpose, the manuscript of 1450 contains a genealogy of the MacEacherns, in which they are derived from a certain Nicol MacMurdoch, who lived in the twelfth century. Besides, when the MacGillevrays and MacIans of Morvern and Ardgour were broken up and dispersed, many of their septs, although not resident on the property of the Craignish family, acknowledged its head as their chief. But as the MacGillevrays and the MacIans were two branches of the same clan, which had separated as early as the twelfth century; and as the MacEacherns appear to have been of the same race, Murdoch, the first of the clan, being contemporary with Murdoch the father of Gillebride, the ancestor of the Siol Gillevray; it may be concluded that the Siol Eachern and the MacIans were of the same clan; and this is further confirmed by the circumstance, that there was an old family of MacEacherns which occupied Kingerloch, bordering on Ardgour, the ancient property of the MacIans. That branch of the Siol Eachern which settled at Craignish, were called Clan Dugall Craignish, and obtained, it is said, the property known by this name from the brother of Campbell of Lochow, in the reign of David II.[2] The lands of Colin Campbell of Lochow having been forfeited in that reign, his brother, Gillespie Campbell, appears to have obtained a grant of them from the

[2] "Nisbet, that acute heraldist," says Smibert, "discovered an old seal of the family, on which the words are, as nearly as they can be made out, *S(igillum) Dugalli de Craignish*, showing that the Campbells of Craignish were simply of the Dhu-Gall race. The seal is very old, though noticed only by its use in 1500. It has the grand mark upon it of the bearings of all the Gael of the Western Coasts, namely, the Oared Galley."

crown; and it is not improbable that the clan Dugall Craignish acquired from the latter their right to the property of Craignish. After the restoration of the Lochow family, by the removal of the forfeiture, that of Craignish were obliged to hold their lands, not of the crown, but of the house of Argyll. Nevertheless, they continued for some time a considerable family, maintaining a sort of independence, until at length, yielding to the influence of that policy which has already been described, they merged, like most of the neighbouring clans, in that powerful race by whom they were surrounded.[3]

LAMOND.



BADGE.—Crab-Apple Tree.

It is an old and accredited tradition in the Highlands, that the Lamonds or Lamonts were the most ancient proprietors of Cowal, and that the Stewarts, Maclauchlans, and Campbells obtained possession of their property in that district by marriage with daughters of the family. At an early period a very small part only of Cowal was included in the sheriffdom of Upper Argyle, the remainder being comprehended in that of Perth. It may, therefore, be presumed that, on the conquest of Argyle by Alexander II., the lord of Lower Cowal had submitted to the king, and obtained a crown charter. But, in little more than half a century after that event, we find the High Steward in possession of Lower Cowal, and the Maclauchlans in possession of Strathlachlan. It appears, indeed, that, in 1242, Alexander the High Steward of Scotland, married Jean, the daughter of James, son of Angus MacRory, who is styled Lord of Bute; and, from the manuscript of 1450, we learn that, about the same period, Gilchrist Maclauchlan married the daughter of Lachlan MacRory; from which it is probable that this Roderic or Rory was the third individual who obtained a crown charter for Lower Cowal, and that by these intermarriages the property passed from his family into the hands of the Stewarts and the Machlauchlans. The coincidence of these facts, with the tradition above-mentioned, would seem also to indicate that Angus MacRory was the ancestor of the Lamonds.

After the marriage of the Steward with the heiress of Lamond, the next of that race of whom any mention is made is Duncan Mac Fercher, and "Laumanus," son of Malcolm, and grandson of the same Duncan, who appear to have granted to the monks of Paisley a charter of the lands of Kilmore, near Lochgilp, and also of the lands "which they and their predecessors held at Kilmun" (*quas nos et antecessores nostri apud Kilmun habuerunt*). In the same year, "Laumanus," the son of Malcolm, also granted a charter of the lands of Kilfinnan, which, in 1295, is confirmed by Malcolm, the son and heir of the late "Laumanus" (*domini quondam Laumanis*). But in an instrument, or deed, dated in 1466, between the monastery of Paisley and John Lamond of Lamond, regarding the lands of Kilfinan, it is expressly stated, that these lands had belonged to the ancestors of John Lamond; and hence, it is evident, that the "Laumanus," mentioned in the previous deed, must have been one of the number, if not indeed the chief and founder of the family. "From Laumanus," says Mr Skene, "the clan appear to have taken the name of Maclaman or Lamond, having previously to this time borne the name of Macerachar, and Clan Mhic Earachar."

The connection of this clan with that of Dugall Craignish, is indicated by the same circumstances which point out the connection of other branches of the tribe; for whilst the Craignish family preserved its power it was followed by a great portion of the Clan Mhic Earachar, although it possessed no feudal right

[3] Skene's *Highlanders*.

to their services. "There is one peculiarity connected with the Lamonds," says Mr Skene, "that although by no means a powerful clan, their genealogy can be proved by charters, at a time when most other Highland families are obliged to have recourse to tradition, and the genealogies of their ancient sennachies; but their antiquity could not protect the Lamonds from the encroachments of the Campbells, by whom they were soon reduced to as small a portion of their original possessions in Lower Cowal, as the other Argyleshire clans had been of theirs."[4] The Lamonds were a clan of the same description as the Maclauchlans, and, like the latter, they have, notwithstanding "the encroachments of the Campbells," still retained a portion of their ancient possessions. The chief of this family is Lamond of Lamond.

According to Nisbet, the clan Lamond were originally from Ireland, but whether they sprung from the Dalriadic colony, or from a still earlier race in Cowal, it is certain that they possessed, at a very early period, the superiority of the district. Their name continued to be the prevailing one till the middle of the 17th century. In June 1646, certain chiefs of the clan Campbell in the vicinity of Dunoon castle, determined upon obtaining the ascendency, took advantage of the feuds and disorders of the period, to wage a war of extermination against the Lamonds. The massacre of the latter by the Campbells, that year, formed one of the charges against the Marquis of Argyll in 1661, although he does not seem to have been any party to it.

An interesting tradition is recorded of one of the lairds of Lamond, who had unfortunately killed, in a sudden quarrel, the son of MacGregor of Glenstrae, taking refuge in the house of the latter, and claiming his protection, which was readily granted, he being ignorant that he was the slayer of his son. On being informed, MacGregor escorted him in safety to his own people. When the MacGregors were proscribed, and the aged chief of Glenstrae had become a wanderer, Lamond hastened to protect him and his family, and received them into his house.

[4] Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. part ii. chap. 4.

CHAPTER IV.

Robertsons or Clan Donnachie—Macfarlanes—Campbells of Argyll and offshoots—Royal Marriage—Campbells of Breadalbane—Macarthur Campbells of Strachur—Campbells of Cawdor, Aberuchill, Ardnamurchan, Auchinbreck, Ardkinglass, Barcaldine, Dunstaffnage, Monzie—The Macleods of Lewis and Harris—Macleods of Rasay.

ROBERTSON.



BADGE.—Fern or Brackens.

BESIDES the clans already noticed, there are other two which, according to Skene, are set down by the genealogists as having originally belonged to the Gallgael or Celts of the Western Isles; these are the Robertsons or clan Donnachie, and the Macfarlanes.

Tradition claims for the clan Donnachie a descent from the great sept of the Macdonalds, their remote ancestor being said to have been Duncan (hence the name *Donnachie*) the Fat, son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles, in the reign of William the Lion. Smibert thinks this is certainly the most feasible account of their origin. Skene, however, endeavours to trace their descent from Duncan, King of Scotland, eldest son of Malcolm III., their immediate ancestor, according to him, having been Conan, second son of Henry, fourth and last of the ancient Celtic Earls of Athole. This Conan, it is said, received from his father, in the reign of Alexander II., the lands of Generochy, afterwards called Strowan, in Gaelic *Struthan*—that is, streamy. Conan's great-grandson, Andrew, was styled of Athole, *de Atholia*, which was the uniform designation of

the family, indicative, Mr Skene thinks, of their descent from the ancient Earls of Athole. According to the same authority, it was from Andrew's son, Duncan, that the clan derived their distinctive appellation of the clan *Donnachie*, or children of Duncan. Duncan is said to have been twice married, and acquired by both marriages considerable territory in the district of Rannoch. By his first wife he had a son, Robert de Atholia.

As it is well known that Mr Skene's Celtic prejudices are very strong, and as his derivation of the Robertsons from Duncan, king of Scotland, is to a great extent conjectural, it is only fair to give the other side of the question, viz., the probability of their derivation from the Celts of the Western Isles. We shall take the liberty of quoting here Mr Smibert's judicious and acute remarks on this point. "There unquestionably exist doubts about the derivation of the Robertsons from the Macdonalds; but the fact of their acquiring large possessions at so early a period in Athole, seems to be decisive of their descent from some great and strong house among the Western Celts. And what house was more able so to endow its scions than that of Somerled, whose heads were the kings of the west of Scotland? The Somerled or Macdonald power, moreover, extended into Athole beyond all question; and, indeed, it may be said to have been almost the sole power which could so have planted there one of its offshoots, apart from the regal authority. Accordingly, though Duncan may not have been the son of Angus Mor (Macdonald), a natural son of the Lord of the Isles, as has been commonly averred, it by no means follows that the family were not of the Macdonald race. The proof may be difficult, but probability must be accepted in its stead. An opposite course has been too long followed on all sides. Why should men conceal from themselves the plain fact that the times under consideration were barbarous, and that their annals were necessarily left to us, not by the pen of the accurate historian, but by the dealers in song and tradition?"

Referring to the stress laid by Mr Skene upon the designation *de Atholia*, which was uniformly assumed by the Robertsons, Mr Smibert remarks,—"In the first place, the designation *De Atholia* can really be held to prove nothing, since, as in the case of *De Insulis*, such phrases often pointed to mere residence, and were especially used in reference to large districts. A gentleman 'of Athole' is not necessarily connected with the Duke; and, as we now use such phrases without any meaning of that kind, much more natural was the custom of old, when general localities alone were known generally. In the second place, are the Robertsons made more purely Gaelic, for such is partly the object in the view of Mr Skene, by being traced to the ancient Athole house? That the first lords of the line were Celts may be admitted; but heiresses again and again interrupted the male succession. While one wedded a certain Thomas of London, another found a mate in a person named David de Hastings. These strictly English names speak for themselves; and it was by the Hastings marriage, which took place shortly after the year 1200, that the first house of Athole was continued. It is clear, therefore, that the supposition of the descent of the Robertsons from the first lords of Athole leaves them still of largely mingled blood—Norman, Saxon, and Gaelic. Such is the result, even when the conjecture is admitted.

As a Lowland neighbourhood gave to the race of Robert, son of Duncan, the name of Robertson, so would it also intermingle their race and blood with those of the Low landers."[5]

It is from the grandson of Robert of Athole, also named Robert, that the clan Donnachie derive their name of Robertson. This Robert was noted for his predatory incursions into the Lowlands, and is historically known as the chief who arrested and delivered up to the vengeance of the government Robert Graham and the Master of Athole, two of the murderers of James I., for which he was rewarded with a crown charter, dated in 1451, erecting his whole lands into a free barony. He also received the honourable augmentation to his arms of a naked man manacled under the achievement, with the motto, *Virtutis gloria merces*. He was mortally wounded in the head near the village of Auchtergaven in a

[5] Smibert's *Clans*, pp. 77, 78.

conflict with Robert Forrester of Torwood, with whom he had a dispute regarding the lands of Little Dunkeld. Binding up his head with a white cloth, he rode to Perth, and obtained from the king a new grant of the lands of Strowan. On his return home, he died of his wounds. He had three sons, Alexander, Robert, and Patrick. Robert, the second son, was the ancestor of the Earls of Portmore, a title now extinct.

The eldest son, Alexander, was twice married, his sons becoming progenitors of various families of Robertsons. He died in, or shortly prior to, 1507, and was succeeded by his grandson, William. This chief had some dispute with the Earl of Athole concerning the marches of their estates, and was killed by a party of the earl's followers, in 1530. Taking advantage of a wadset or mortgage which he held over the lands of Strowan, the earl seized nearly the half of the family estate, which the Robertsons could never again recover. William's son, Robert, had two sons—William, who died without issue, and Donald, who succeeded him.

Donald's grandson, 11th laird of Strowan, died in 1636, leaving an infant son, Alexander, in whose minority the government of the clan devolved upon his uncle, Donald. Devoted to the cause of Charles I., the latter raised a regiment of his name and followers, and was with the Marquis of Montrose in all his battles. After the Restoration, the king settled a pension upon him.

His nephew, Alexander Robertson of Strowan, was twice married. By his second wife, Marion, daughter of General Baillie of Letham, he had two sons and one daughter, and died in 1688. Duncan, the second son by the second marriage, served in Russia, with distinction, under Peter the Great.

Alexander, the elder son of the second marriage, was the celebrated Jacobite chief and poet. Born about 1670, he was destined for the church, and sent to the university of St Andrews; but his father and brother by the first marriage dying within a few months of each other, he succeeded to the family estate and the chiefship in 1688. Soon after, he joined the Viscount Dundee, when he appeared in arms in the Highlands for the cause of King James; but though he does not appear to have been at Killiecrankie, and was still under age, he was, for his share in this rising, attainted by a decreet of parliament in absence in 1690, and his estates forfeited to the crown. He retired, in consequence, to the court of the exiled monarch at St Germains, where he lived for several years, and served one or two campaigns in the French army. In 1703, Queen Anne granted him a remission, when he returned to Scotland, and resided unmolested on his estates, but neglecting to get the remission passed the seals, the forfeiture of 1690 was never legally repealed. With about 500 of his clan he joined the Earl of Mar in 1715, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Sheriffmuir, but rescued. Soon after, however, he fell into the hands of a party of soldiers in the Highlands, and was ordered to be conducted to Edinburgh; but, with the assistance of his sister, he contrived to escape on the way, when he again took refuge in France. In 1723, the estate of Strowan was granted by the government to Margaret, the chief's sister, by a charter under the great seal, and in 1726 she disponed the same in trust for the behoof of her brother, substituting, in the event of his death without lawful heirs of his body, Duncan, son of Alexander Robertson of Drumachune, her father's cousin, and the next lawful heir male of the family. Margaret died unmarried in 1727. Her brother had returned to Scotland the previous year, and obtaining in 1731 a remission for his life, took possession of his estate. In 1745 he once more "marshalled his clan" in behalf of the Stuarts, but his age preventing him from personally taking any active part in the rebellion, his name was passed over in the list of proscriptions that followed. He died in his own house of Carie, in Rannoch, April 18, 1749, in his 81st year, without lawful issue, and in him ended the direct male line. A volume of his poems was published after his death. An edition was reprinted at Edinburgh in 1785, 12mo, containing also the "History and Martial Achievements of the Robertsons of Strowan." He is said to have formed the prototype of the Baron of Bradwardine in "Waverley."

The portion of the original estate of Strowan

which remained devolved upon Duncan Robertson of Drumachune, a property which his great-grandfather, Duncan *Mor* (who died in 1687), brother of Donald the tutor, had acquired from the Athole family. As, however, his name was not included in the last act of indemnity passed by the government, he was dispossessed of the estate in 1752, when he and his family retired to France. His son, Colonel Alexander Robertson, obtained a restitution of Strowan in 1784, and died, unmarried, in 1822. Duncan *Mor's* second son, Donald, had a son, called Robert *Bane*, whose grandson, Alexander Robertson, now succeeded to the estate.

The son of the latter, Major-general George Duncan Robertson of Strowan, C.B., passed upwards of thirty years in active service, and received the cross of the Imperial Austrian order of Leopold. He was succeeded by his son, George Duncan Robertson, born 26th July 1816, at one time an officer in the 42d Highlanders.

The force which the Robertsons could bring into the field was estimated at 800 in 1715, and 700 in 1745.

Of the branches of the family, the Robertsons of Lude, in Blair-Athole, are the oldest, being of contemporary antiquity to that of Strowan.

Patrick de Atholia, eldest son of the second marriage of Duncan de Atholia, received from his father, at his death, about 1358, the lands of Lude. He is mentioned in 1391, by Wyntoun (Book ii. p. 367) as one of the chieftains and leaders of the clan. He had, with a daughter, married to Donald, son of Farquhar, ancestor of the Farquharsons of Invercauld, two sons, Donald and Alexander. The latter, known by the name of *Rua* or Red, from the colour of his hair, acquired the estate of Straloch, for which he had a charter from James II. in 1451, and was ancestor of the Robertsons of Straloch, Perthshire. His descendants were called the Barons Rua. The last of the Barons *Rua*, or *Red*, was Alexander Robertson of Straloch, who died about the end of the last century, leaving an only son, John, who adopted the old family *soubriquet*, and called himself Reid (probably hoping to be recognised as the chief of the Reids). John Reid entered the army, where he rose to the rank of General, and died in 1803, leaving the reversion of his fortune (amounting to about £70,000) for the endowment of a chair of music, and other purposes, in the University of Edinburgh. This ancient family is represented by Sir Archibald Ava Campbell, Bart.

Donald, the elder son, succeeded his father. He resigned his lands of Lude into the king's hand on February 7, 1447, but died before he could receive his infeftment. He had two sons: John, who got the charter under the great seal, dated March 31, 1448, erecting the lands of Lude into a barony, proceeding on his father's resignation; and Donald, who got as his patrimony the lands of Strathgarry. This branch of Lude ended in an heiress, who married an illegitimate son of Stewart of Invermeath. About 1700, Strathgarry was sold to another family of the name of Stewart.

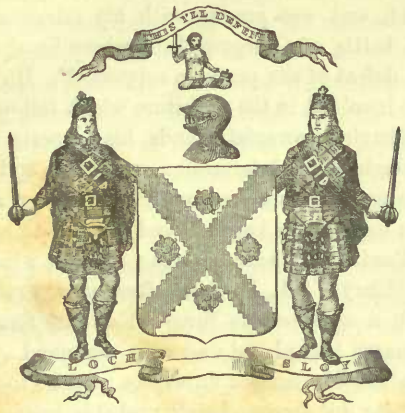
The Robertsons of Inshes, Inverness-shire, are descended from Duncan, second son of Duncan *de Atholia, dominus de Ranagh*, above mentioned.

The Robertsons of Kindeace descend from William Robertson, third son of John, ancestor of the Robertsons of the Inshes, by his wife, a daughter of Fearn of Pitcullen. He obtained from his father, in patrimony, several lands about Inverness, and having acquired great riches as a merchant, purchased, in 1615, the lands of Orkney, Nairnshire, and in 1639, those of Kindeace, Ross-shire; the latter becoming the chief title of the family.

The Robertsons of Kinlochmoidart, Inverness-shire, are descended from John Robertson of Muirton, Elginshire, second son of Alexander Robertson of Strowan, by his wife, Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Athole.

The fifth in succession, the Rev. William Robertson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was father of Principal Robertson, and of Mary, who married the Rev. James Syme, and had an only child, Eleonora, mother of Henry, Lord Brougham. The Principal had three sons and two daughters.

MACFARLANE.



BADGE.—Cloudberry bush.

Of the clan Macfarlane, Mr Skene gives the best account, and we shall therefore take the liberty of availing ourselves of his researches. According to him, with the exception of the clan Donnachie, the clan Parlan or Pharlan is the only one, the descent of which from the ancient earls of the district where their possessions were situated, may be established by the authority of a charter. It appears, indeed, that the ancestor of this clan was Gilchrist, the brother of Maldowen or Malduin, the third Earl of Lennox. This is proved by a charter of Maldowen, still extant, by which he gives to his brother Gilchrist a grant "de terris de superiori Arrochar de Luss;" and these lands, which continued in possession of the clan until the death of the last chief, have at all times constituted their principal inheritance.

But although the descent of the clan from the Earls of Lennox be thus established, the origin of their ancestors is by no means so easily settled. Of all the native earls of Scotland, those of this district alone have had a foreign origin assigned to them, though, apparently, without any sufficient reason. The first Earl of Lennox who appears on record is *Aluin comes de Levenox*, who lived in the early part of the 13th century; and there is some reason to believe that from this Aluin the later Earls of Lennox were descended. It is, no doubt, impossible to determine now who this Aluin really was; but, in the absence of direct authority, we gather from tradition that the heads of the family of Lennox, before being raised to the peerage, were hereditary seneschals of Strathearn, and bailies of the Abthanery of Dull, in Athole. Aluin was succeeded by a son of the same name, who is frequently mentioned in the chartularies of Lennox and Paisley, and who died before the year 1225. In Donald, the sixth earl, the male branch of the family became extinct. Margaret, the daughter of Donald, married Walter de Fassalane, the heir male of the family; but this alliance failed to accomplish the objects intended by it, or, in other words, to preserve the honours and power of the house of Lennox. Their son Duncan, the eighth earl, had no male issue; and his eldest daughter Isabella, having married Sir Murdoch Stuart, the eldest son of the Regent, he and his family became involved in the ruin which overwhelmed the unfortunate house of Albany. At the death of Isabella, in 1460, the earldom was claimed by three families; but that of Stewart of Darnley eventually overcame all opposition, and acquired the title and estates of Lennox. Their accession took place in the year 1488; upon which the clans that had been formerly united with the earls of the old stock separated themselves, and became independent.

Of these clans the principal was that of the Macfarlanes, the descendants, as has already been stated, of Gilchrist, a younger brother of Maldowen, Earl of Lennox. In the Lennox charters, several of which he appears to have subscribed as a witness, this Gilchrist is generally designated as *frater comitis*, or brother of the earl. His son Duncan also obtained a charter of his lands from the Earl of Lennox, and appears in the Ragman's roll under the title of "Duncan Macgilchrist de Levenaghes." From a grandson of this Duncan, who was called in Gaelic *Parlan*, or Bartholomew, the clan appears to have taken the surname of *Macfarlane;* indeed the connection of Parlan both with Duncan and with Gilchrist is clearly established by a charter granted to Malcolm Macfarlane, the son of Parlan, confirming to him the lands of Arrochar and others; and hence Malcolm may be considered as the real founder of the clan. He was succeeded by his son Duncan, who obtained from the Earl of Lennox a charter of the lands of Arrochar

as ample in its provisions as any that had been granted to his predecessors; and married a daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, as appears from a charter of confirmation granted in his favour by Duncan, Earl of Lennox. Not long after his death, however, the ancient line of the Earls of Lennox became extinct; and the Macfarlanes having claimed the earldom as heirs male, offered a strenuous opposition to the superior pretensions of the feudal heirs. Their resistance, however, proved alike unsuccessful and disastrous. The family of the chief perished in defence of what they believed to be their just rights; the clan also suffered severely, and of those who survived the struggle, the greater part took refuge in remote parts of the country. Their destruction, indeed, would have been inevitable, but for the opportune support given by a gentleman of the clan to the Darnley family. This was Andrew Macfarlane, who, having married the daughter of John Stewart, Lord Darnley and Earl of Lennox, to whom his assistance had been of great moment at a time of difficulty, saved the rest of the clan, and recovered the greater part of their hereditary possessions. The fortunate individual in question, however, though the good genius of the race, does not appear to have possessed any other title to the chiefship than what he derived from his position, and the circumstance of his being the only person in a condition to afford them protection; in fact, the clan refused him the title of chief, which they appear to have considered as incommunicable, except in the right line; and his son, Sir John Macfarlane, accordingly contented himself with assuming the secondary or subordinate designation of captain of the clan.

From this time, the Macfarlanes appear to have on all occasions supported the Earls of Lennox of the Stewart race, and to have also followed their banner in the field. For several generations, however, their history as a clan is almost an entire blank; indeed, they appear to have merged into mere retainers of the powerful family, under whose protection they enjoyed undisturbed possession of their hereditary domains. But in the sixteenth century Duncan Macfarlane of Macfarlane appears as a steady supporter of Matthew, Earl of Lennox. At the head of three hundred men of his own name, he joined Lennox and Glencairn in 1544, and was present with his followers at the battle of Glasgow-Muir, where he shared the defeat of the party he supported. He was also involved in the forfeiture which followed; but having powerful friends, his property was, through their intercession, restored, and he obtained a remission under the privy seal. The loss of this battle forced Lennox to retire to England; whence, having married a niece of Henry VIII., he soon afterwards returned with a considerable force which the English monarch had placed under his command. The chief of Macfarlane durst not venture to join Lennox in person, being probably restrained by the terror of another forfeiture; but, acting on the usual Scottish policy of that time, he sent his relative, Walter Macfarlane of Tarbet, with four hundred men, to reinforce his friend and patron; and this body, according to Holinshed, did most excellent service, acting at once as light troops and as guides to the main body. Duncan, however, did not always conduct himself with equal caution; for he is said to have fallen in the fatal battle of Pinkie, in 1547, on which occasion also a great number of his clan perished.

Andrew, the son of Duncan, as bold, active, and adventurous as his sire, engaged in the civil wars of the period, and, what is more remarkable, took a prominent part on the side of the Regent Murray; thus acting in opposition to almost all the other Highland chiefs, who were warmly attached to the cause of the queen. He was present at the battle of Langside with a body of his followers, and there "stood the Regent's part in great stead;" for, in the hottest of the fight, he came up with three hundred of his friends and countrymen, and falling fiercely on the flank of the queen's army, threw them into irretrievable disorder, and thus mainly contributed to decide the fortune of the day. The clan boast of having taken at this battle three of Queen Mary's standards, which, they say, were preserved for a long time in the family. Macfarlane's reward was not such as afforded any great cause for admiring the munificence of the Regent; but that his vanity at least might be conciliated, Murray bestowed upon him the crest of a

demi-savage *proper*, holding in his dexter hand a sheaf of arrows, and pointing with his sinister to an imperial crown, *or*, with the motto, *This I'll defend*. Of the son of this chief nothing is known; but his grandson, Walter Macfarlane, returning to the natural feelings of a Highlander, proved himself as sturdy a champion of the royal party as his grandfather had been an uncompromising opponent and enemy. During Cromwell's time, he was twice besieged in his own house, and his castle of Inveruglas was afterwards burned down by the English. But nothing could shake his fidelity to his party. Though his personal losses in adhering to the royal cause were of a much more substantial kind than his grandfather's reward in opposing it, yet his zeal was not cooled by adversity, nor his ardour abated by the vengeance which it drew down on his head.

Although a small clan, the Macfarlanes were as turbulent and predatory in their way as their neighbours the Macgregors. By the Act of the Estates of 1587 they were declared to be one of the clans for whom the chief was made responsible; by another act passed in 1594, they were denounced as being in the habit of committing theft, robbery, and oppression; and in July 1624 many of the clan were tried and convicted of theft and robbery. Some of them were punished, some pardoned; while others were removed to the highlands of Aberdeenshire, and to Strathaven in Banffshire, where they assumed the names of Stewart, M'Caudy, Greisock, M'James, and M'Innes.

Of one eminent member of the clan, the following notice is taken by Mr Skene in his work on the Highlands of Scotland. He says, "It is impossible to conclude this sketch of the history of the Macfarlanes without alluding to the eminent antiquary, Walter Macfarlane of that ilk, who is as celebrated among historians as the indefatigable collector of the ancient records of the country, as his ancestors had been among the other Highland chiefs for their prowess in the field. The family itself, however, is now nearly extinct, after having held their original lands for a period of six hundred years."

Of the lairds of Macfarlane there have been no fewer than twenty-three. The last of them went to North America in the early part of the 18th century. A branch of the family settled in Ireland in the reign of James VII., and the headship of the clan is claimed by its representative, Macfarlane of Hunstown House, in the county of Dublin. The descendants of the ancient chiefs cannot now be traced, and the lands once possessed by them have passed into other hands.

Under the head of Garmoran, Mr Skene, following the genealogists, includes two western clans, viz., those of Campbell and Macleod. We shall, however, depart from Mr Skene's order, and notice these two important clans here, while treating of the clans of the western coasts and isles. Mr Skene,[6] on very shadowy grounds, endeavours to make out that there must have been an ancient earldom of Garmoran, situated between north and south Argyle, and including, besides the districts of Knoydart, Morar, Arisaig, and Moydart (forming a late lordship of Garmoran), the districts of Glenelg, Ardnamurchan, and Morvern. He allows, however, that "at no period embraced by the records do we discover Garmoran as an efficient earldom." As to this, Mr E. W. Robertson[7] remarks that "the same objection may be raised against the earldom of Garmoran which is urged against the earldom of the Merns, the total silence of history respecting it."

ARGYLL CAMPBELL.



BADGE—Myrtle.

The name CAMPBELL is undoubtedly one of considerable antiquity, and the clan has long

[6] *Highlanders*, ii. 266.
[7] *Early Kings*, i. 75.

been one of the most numerous and powerful in the Highlands, although many families have adopted the name who have no connection with the Campbells proper by blood or descent. The Argyll family became latterly so powerful, that many smaller clans were absorbed in it voluntarily or compulsorily, and assumed in course of time its peculiar designation. The origin of the name, as well as of the founder of the family, remains still a matter of the greatest doubt. The attempt to deduce the family from the half-mythical King Arthur, of course, is mere trifling.

The name is by some stated to have been derived from a Norman knight, named de Campo Bello, who came to England with William the Conqueror. As respects the latter part of the statement, it is to be observed that in the list of all the knights who composed the army of the Conqueror on the occasion of his invasion of England, and which is known by the name of the Roll of Battle-Abbey, the name of Campo Bello is not to be found. But it does not follow, as recent writers have assumed, that a knight of that name may not have come over to England at a later period, either of his reign or that of his successors.

It has been alleged, in opposition to this account, that in the oldest form of writing the name, it is spelled Cambel or Kambel, and it is so found in many ancient documents; but these were written by parties not acquainted with the individuals whose name they record, as in the manuscript account of the battle of Halidon Hill, by an unknown English writer, preserved in the British Museum; in the Ragman's Roll, which was compiled by an English clerk, and in Wyntoun's Chronicle. There is no evidence, however, that at any period it was written by any of the family otherwise than as *Campbell*, notwithstanding the extraordinary diversity that occurs in the spelling of other names by their holders, as shown by Lord Lindsay in the account of his clan; and the invariable employment of the letter *p* by the Campbells themselves would be of itself a strong argument for the southern origin of the name, did there not exist, in the record of the parliament of Robert Bruce held in 1320, the name of the then head of the family, entered as Sir Nigel de Campo Bello.

The writers, however, who attempt to sustain the fabulous tales of the sennachies, assign a very different origin to the name. It is personal, say they, "like that of some others of the Highland clans, being composed of the words *cam*, bent or arched, and *beul*, mouth; this having been the most prominent feature of the great ancestor of the clan, Diarmid O'Dubin or O'Duin, a brave warrior celebrated in traditional story, who was contemporary with the heroes of Ossian. In the Gaelic language his descendants are called Siol Diarmid, the offspring or race of Diarmid."

Besides the manifest improbability of this origin on other grounds, two considerations may be adverted to, each of them conclusive:—

First, It is known to all who have examined ancient genealogies, that among the Celtic races personal distinctives never have become hereditary. Malcolm *Canmore*, Donald *Bane*, Rob *Roy*, or Evan *Dhu*, were, with many other names, distinctive of personal qualities, but none of them descended, or could do so, to the children of those who acquired them.

Secondly, It is no less clear that, until after what is called the Saxon Conquest had been completely effected, no hereditary surnames were in use among the Celts of Scotland, nor by the chiefs of Norwegian descent who governed in Argyll and the Isles. This circumstance is pointed out by Tytler in his remarks upon the early population of Scotland, in the second volume of the History of Scotland. The domestic slaves attached to the possessions of the church and of the barons have their genealogies engrossed in ancient charters of conveyances and confirmation copied by him. The names are all Celtic, but in no one instance does the son, even when bearing a second or distinctive name, follow that of his father.

Skene, who maintains the purely native origin of the Campbell, does so in the following remarks:—

"We have shown it to be invariably the case, that when a clan claims a foreign origin, and accounts for their possession of the chiefship and property of the clan by a marriage with the heiress of the old proprietors, they can be proved to be in reality a cadet of that older house who had usurped the chiefship,

while their claim to the chiefship is disputed by an acknowledged descendant of that older house. To this rule the Campbells are no exceptions, for while the tale upon which they found a Norman descent is exactly parallel to those of the other clans in the same situation, the most ancient manuscript genealogies deduce them in the male line from that very family of O'Duin, whose heiress they are said to have married, and the Macarthur Campbells, of Strachur, the acknowledged descendants of the older house, they have at all times disputed the chiefship with the Argyll family. Judging from analogy, we are compelled to admit that the Campbells of Strachur must formerly have been chiefs of the clan, and that the usual causes in such cases have operated to reduce the Strachur family, and to place that of Argyll in that situation, and this is confirmed by the early history of the clan."

We shall take the liberty of quoting here some ingenious speculations on the origin of the name and the founder of the clan, from the pen of a gentleman, a member of the clan, who, for several years, has devoted his leisure to the investigation of the subject, and has placed the results of his researches at our disposal. He declares that the name itself is the most inflexible name in Scotland. In all old documents, he says, in which it occurs, either written by a Campbell, or under his direction, it is spelled always Campbell, or Campo-Bello; and its southern origin he believes is past question. It has always seemed to him to have been the name of some Roman, who, after his countrymen retired from Britain, had settled among the Britons of Strath-Clyde. "I am not one," he continues, "of those who suppose that the fortunes of Campbell depended entirely on the patrimony of his wife. As a family who had been long in the country, the chief of the name (it is improbable that he was then the sole owner of that name, although his family is alone known to history), as a soldier, high in his sovereign's favour, was likely to have possessed lands in Argyle before his marriage took place. Men of mark were then necessary to keep these rather wild and outlandish districts in subjection, and only men high in royal favour were likely to have that trust,—a trust likely to be so well rewarded, that its holder would be an eligible match for the heiress of Paul In-Sporran.

"It is also quite likely that Eva O'Duin was a king's ward, and on that account her hand would be in the king's gift; and who so likely to receive it as a trusted knight, connected with the district, and one whose loyalty was unquestioned?

"Again, we put little stress on the Celtic origin of the name,—from the crooked mouth of the first chief, as if from *cam*, bent or crooked, and *beul*, mouth. No doubt this etymology is purely fanciful, and may have been invented by some one anxious to prove the purely Celtic origin of the family; but this seems really unnecessary, as a Celtic residence, Celtic alliances, and Celtic associations for nearly 800 years, is a Celtic antiquity in an almost unbroken line such as few families are able to boast of; indeed, no clan can boast of purer Celtic blood than the Campbells, and their present chief."

The conclusion which, we think, any unprejudiced reader must come to, is, that the question of the origin of the Campbells cannot, until further light be thrown upon it, be determined with certainty at the present day. It is possible that the story of the genealogists may be true; they declare that the predecessors of the Argyll[a] family, on the female side, were possessors of Lochow or Lochawe in Argyleshire, as early as 404 A.D. Of this, however, there is no proof worthy of the name. The first of the race who comes prominently into notice is one Archibald (also called Gillespie) Campbell, as likely as not, we think, to be a gentleman of Anglo-Norman lineage, who lived in the 11th century. He acquired the lordship of Lochow, or Lochawe, by marriage with Eva, daughter and heiress of Paul O'Duin, Lord of Lochow, denominated Paul Insporran, from his being the king's treasurer. Another Gillespic is the first of the house mentioned in authentic history, his name occurring as a witness of the charter of the lands of the burgh of Newburgh by Alexander III. in 1246.

[a] In March 1870, the present Duke, in answer to inquiries, wrote to the papers stating that he spells his name *Argyll*, because it has been spelled so by his ancestors for generations past.

Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, the real founder of the family, sixth in descent from the first Gillespic, distinguished himself by his warlike actions, and was knighted by King Alexander the Third in 1280. He added largely to his estates, and on account of his great prowess he obtained the surname of Mohr or More ("great"); from him the chief of the Argyll family is in Gaelic styled Mac Chaillan More.[9]

Sir Colin Campbell had a quarrel with a powerful neighbour of his, the Lord of Lorn, and after he had defeated him, pursuing the victory too eagerly, was slain (in 1294) at a place called the String of Cowal, where a great obelisk was erected over his grave. This is said to have occasioned bitter feuds betwixt the houses of Lochow and Lorn for a long period of years, which were put an end to by the marriage of the daughter of the Celtic proprietor of Lorn, with John Stewart of Innermeath about 1386. Sir Colin married a lady of the name of Sinclair, by whom he had five sons.

Sir Niel Campbell of Lochow, his eldest son, swore fealty to Edward the First, but afterwards joined Robert the Bruce, and fought by his side in almost every encounter, from the defeat at Methven to the victory at Bannockburn. King Robert rewarded his services by giving him his sister, the Lady Mary Bruce, in marriage, and conferring on him the lands forfeited by the Earl of Athole. His next brother Donald was the progenitor of the Campbells of Loudon. By his wife Sir Niel had three sons,—Sir Colin; John, created Earl of Athole, upon the forfeiture of David de Strathbogie, the eleventh earl; and Dugal.

Sir Colin, the eldest son, obtained a charter from his uncle, King Robert Bruce, of the lands of Lochow and Artornish, dated at Arbroath, 10th February 1316, in which he is designated *Colinus filius Nigelli Cambel, militis.* As a reward for assisting the Steward of Scotland in 1334 in the recovery of the castle of Dunoon, in Cowal, Sir Colin was made hereditary governor of the castle, and had the grant of certain lands for the support of his dignity. Sir Colin died about 1340. By his wife, a daughter of the house of Lennox, he had three sons and a daughter.

The eldest son, Sir Gillespic or Archibald, who added largely to the family possessions, was twice married, and had three sons, Duncan, Colin, and David, and a daughter, married to Duncan Macfarlane of Arrochar. Colin, the second son, was designed of Ardkinglass, and of his family, the Campbells of Ardentinny, Dunoon, Carrick, Skipnish, Blythswood, Shawfield, Rachan, Auchwillan, and Dergachie are branches.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, the eldest son, was one of the hostages in 1424, under the name of Duncan, Lord of Argyll, for the payment of the sum of forty thousand pounds (equivalent to four hundred thousand pounds of our money), for the expense of King James the First's maintenance during his long imprisonment in England, when Sir Duncan was found to be worth fifteen hundred merks a-year. He was the first of the family to assume the designation of Argyll. By King James he was appointed one of his privy council, and constituted his justiciary and lieutenant within the shire of Argyll. He became a lord of parliament in 1445, under the title of Lord Campbell. He died in 1453, and was buried at Kilmun. He married, first, Marjory or Mariota Stewart, daughter of Robert Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, by whom he had three sons,—Celestine, who died before him; Archibald, who also predeceased him, but left a son; and Colin, who was the first of Glenorchy, and ancestor of the Breadalbane family. Sir Duncan married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Stewart of Blackhall and Auchingown, natural son of Robert the Third, by whom also he had three sons, namely, Duncan, who, according to Crawford, was the ancestor of the house of Auchinbreck, of whom are the Campbells of Glencardel, Glensaddel, Kildurkland, Kilmorie, Wester Keams, Kilberry, and Dana; Niel, progenitor, according to Crawford, of the Campbells of Ellengreig and Ormadale; and Arthur or Archibald, ancestor of the Campbells of Ottar, now extinct. According to some authorities, the Campbells of Auchinbreck and their cadets, also Ellen-

[9] This, through the mis-spelling, intentional or unintentional, of Sir Walter Scott, is often popularly corrupted into Maccallum More, which, of course, is wrong, as the *great or big* ancestor's name was *Colin*, not *Callum*.

greig and Ormadale, descend from this the youngest son, and not from his brothers.

The first Lord Campbell was succeeded by his grandson Colin, the son of his second son Archibald. He acquired part of the lordship of Campbell in the parish of Dollar,[1] by marrying the eldest of the three daughters of John Stewart, third Lord of Lorn and Innermeath. He did not, as is generally stated, acquire by this marriage any part of the lordship of Lorn (which passed to Walter, brother of John, the fourth Lord Innermeath, and heir of entail), but obtained that lordship by exchanging the lands of Baldunning and Innerdunning, &c., in Perthshire, with the said Walter. In 1457 he was created Earl of Argyll. In 1470 he was created baron of Lorn, and in 1481 he received a grant of many lands in Knapdale, along with the keeping of Castle Sweyn, which had previously been held by the Lord of the Isles. He died in 1493.

By Isabel Stewart, his wife, eldest daughter of John, Lord of Lorn, the first Earl of Argyll had two sons and seven daughters. Archibald, his elder son, became second earl, and Thomas, the younger, was the ancestor of the Campbells of Lundie, in Forfarshire. Another daughter was married to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis.

Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, suceeeded his father in 1493. In 1499 he and others received a commission from the king to let on lease, for the term of three years, the entire lordship of the Isles as possessed by the last lord, both in the Isles and on the mainland, excepting only the island of Isla, and the lands of North and South Kintyre. He also received a commission of lieutenancy, with the fullest powers, over the lordship of the Isles; and, some months later, was appointed keeper of the castle of Tarbert, and bailie and governor of the king's lands in Knapdale. From this period the great power formerly enjoyed by the Earls of Ross, Lords of the Isles, was transferred to the Earls of Argyll and Huntly; the former having the chief rule in the south isles and adjacent coasts. At the fatal battle of Flodden, 9th September 1513, his lordship and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, commanded the right wing of the royal army, and with King James the Fourth, were both killed. By his wife, Lady Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, first Earl of Lennox, he had four sons and five daughters. His eldest son, Colin, was the third Earl of Argyll. Archibald, his second son, had a charter of the lands of Skipnish, and the keeping of the castle thereof, 13th August 1511. His family ended in an heir-female in the reign of Mary. Sir John Campbell, the third son, at first styled of Lorn, and afterwards of Calder, married Muriella, daughter and heiress of Sir John Calder of Calder, now Cawdor, near Nairn.

According to tradition, she was captured in childhood by Sir John Campbell and a party of the Campbells, while out with her nurse near Calder castle. Her uncles pursued and overtook the division of the Campbells to whose care she had been intrusted, and would have rescued her but for the presence of mind of Campbell of Inverliver, who, seeing their approach, inverted a large camp kettle as if to conceal her, and commanding his seven sons to defend it to the death, hurried on with his prize. The young men were all slain, and when the Calders lifted up the kettle, no Muriel was there. Meanwhile so much time had been gained that farther pursuit was useless. The nurse, just before the child was seized, bit off a joint of her little finger, in order to mark her identity—a precaution which seems to have been necessary, from Campbell of Auchinbreck's reply to ono who, in the midst of their congratulations on arriving safely in Argyll with their charge, asked what was to be done should the child die before she was marriageable? "She can never die," said he, "as long as a red-haired lassie can be found on either side of Lochawe!" It would appear that the heiress of the Calders had red hair.

Colin Campbell, the third Earl of Argyll, was, immediately after his accession to the earldom, appointed by the council to assemble an army and proceed against Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, and other Highland chieftains, who had broken out into insurrection,

[1] In 1489, by an act of the Scottish parliament, the name of Castle Gloom, its former designation, was changed to Castle Campbell. It continued to be the frequent and favourite residence of the family till 1644, when it was burnt down by the Macleans in the army of the Marquis of Montrose. The castle and lordship of Castle Campbell remained in the possession of the Argyll family till 1808, when it was sold.

and proclaimed Sir Donald of Lochalsh Lord of the Isles. Owing to the powerful influence of Argyll, the insurgents submitted to the regent, after strong measures had been adopted against them. In 1517 Sir Donald of Lochalsh again appeared in arms, but being deserted by his principal leaders, he effected his escape. Soon after, on his petition, he received a commission of lieutenancy over all the Isles and adjacent mainland.

For some years the Isles had continued at peace, and Argyll employed this interval in extending his influence among the chiefs, and in promoting the aggrandisement of his family and clan, being assisted thereto by his brothers, Sir John Campbell of Calder, so designed after his marriage with the heiress, and Archibald Campbell of Skipnish. The former was particularly active. In 1527 an event occurred, which forms the groundwork of Joanna Baillie's celebrated tragedy of "The Family Legend." It is thus related by Gregory :— "Lauchlan Cattanach Maclean of Dowart had married Lady Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, and, either from the circumstance of their union being unfruitful, or more probably owing to some domestic quarrels, he determined to get rid of his wife. Some accounts say that she had twice attempted her husband's life; but, whatever the cause may have been, Maclean, following the advice of two of his vassals, who exercised a considerable influence over him from the tie of fosterage, caused his lady to be exposed on a rock, which was only visible at low water, intending that she should be swept away by the return of the tide. This rock lies between the island of Lismore and the coast of Mull, and is still known by the name of the 'Lady's Rock.' From this perilous situation the intended victim was rescued by a boat accidentally passing, and conveyed to her brother's house. Her relations, although much exasperated against Maclean, smothered their resentment for a time, but only to break out afterwards with greater violence ; for the laird of Dowart being in Edinburgh, was surprised when in bed, and assassinated by Sir John Campbell of Calder, the lady's brother. The Macleans instantly took arms to revenge the death of their chief, and the Campbells were not slow in preparing to follow up the feud; but the government interfered, and, for the present, an appeal to arms was avoided."[2]

On the escape of the king, then in his seventeenth year, from the power of the Douglases, in May 1528, Argyll was one of the first to join his majesty at Stirling. Argyll afterwards received an ample confirmation of the hereditary sheriffship of Argyleshire and of the offices of justiciary of Scotland and master of the household, by which these offices became hereditary in his family. He had the commission of justice-general of Scotland renewed 25th October 1529. He died in 1530.

By his countess, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, third Earl of Huntly, the third Earl of Argyll had three sons and a daughter. His sons were, Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll; John, ancestor of the Campbells of Lochnell, of which house the Campbells of Balerno and Stonefield are cadets; and Alexander, dean of Moray.

Archibald, the fourth Earl of Argyll, was, on his accession to the title in 1530, appointed to all the offices held by the two preceding earls. A suspicion being entertained by some of the members of the privy council, which is said to have been shared in by the king himself, that many of the disturbances in the Isles were secretly fomented by the Argyll family, that they might obtain possession of the estates forfeited by the chiefs thus driven into rebellion, and an opportunity soon presenting itself, the king eagerly availed himself of it, to curb the increasing power of the Earl of Argyll in that remote portion of the kingdom. Alexander of Isla, being summoned to answer certain charges of Argyll, made his appearance at once, and gave in to the council a written statement, in which, among other things, he stated that the disturbed state of the Isles was mainly caused by the late Earl of Argyll and his brothers, Sir John Campbell of Calder, and Archibald Campbell of Skipnish. The king made such an examination into the complaints of the islanders as satisfied him that the family of Argyll had been acting more for their own benefit than for the welfare

[2] *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 128.

of the country, and the earl was summoned before his sovereign, to give an account of the duties and rental of the Isles received by him, the result of which was that James committed him to prison soon after his arrival at court. He was soon liberated, but James was so much displeased with his conduct that he deprived him of the offices he still held in the Isles, some of which were bestowed on Alexander of Isla, whom he had accused. After the death of James the Fifth he appears to have regained his authority over the Isles. He was the first of the Scotch nobles who embraced the principles of the Reformation, and employed as his domestic chaplain Mr John Douglas, a converted Carmelite friar, who preached publicly in his house. The Archbishop of St Andrews, in a letter to the earl, endeavoured to induce him to dismiss Douglas, and return to the Romish church, but in vain, and on his death-bed he recommended the support of the new doctrines, and the suppression of Popish superstitions, to his son. He died in August 1558. He was twice married. By his first wife, Lady Helen Hamilton, eldest daughter of James, first Earl of Arran, he had a son, Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll. His second wife was Lady Mary Graham, only daughter of William, third Earl of Menteith, by whom he had Colin, sixth earl, and two daughters.

Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll, was educated under the direction of Mr John Douglas, his father's domestic chaplain, and the first Protestant Archbishop of St Andrews, and distinguished himself as one of the most able among the Lords of the Congregation. In the transactions of their times the earl and his successors took prominent parts; but as these are matters of public history, and as so much the history of the Highlands, in which the Argylls took a prominent part, has been already given in the former part of this work, we shall confine our attention here to what belongs to the history of the family and clan.

The earl had married Jean, natural daughter of King James the Fifth by Elizabeth daughter of John, Lord Carmichael, but he does not seem to have lived on very happy terms with her, as we find that John Knox, at the request of Queen Mary, endeavoured, on more occasions than one, to reconcile them after some domestic quarrels.[3] Her majesty passed the summer of 1563 at the earl's house in Argyleshire, in the amusement of deer-hunting.

Argyll died on the 12th of September 1575, aged about 43. His countess, Queen Mary's half-sister, having died without issue, was buried in the royal vault in the abbey of Holyrood-house; and he married, a second time, Lady Johanna or Joneta Cunningham, second daughter of Alexander, fifth Earl of Glencairn, but as she also had no children, he was succeeded in his estates and title by his brother.

On the 28th of January 1581, with the king and many of the nobility, the sixth earl subscribed a second Confession of Faith. He died in October 1584, after a long illness. He married, first, Janet, eldest daughter of Henry, first Lord Methven, without issue; secondly, Lady Agnes Keith, eldest daughter of William, fourth Earl Marischal, widow of the Regent Moray, by whom he had two sons, Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll, and the Hon. Sir Colin Campbell of Lundie, created a baronet in 1627.

In 1594, although then only eighteen, the seventh Earl of Argyll was appointed king's lieutenant against the popish Earls of Huntly and Errol, who had raised a rebellion. In 1599, when measures were in progress for bringing the chiefs of the isles under subjection to the king, the Earl of Argyll and his kinsman, John Campbell of Calder, were accused of having secretly used their influence to prevent Sir James Macdonald of Dunyveg and his clan from being reconciled to the government. The frequent insurrections which occurred in the South Isles in the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century have also been imputed by Mr Gregory to Argyll and the Campbells, for their own purposes. The proceedings of these clans were so violent and illegal, that the king became highly incensed against the Clandonald, and finding, or supposing he had a right to dispose of their possessions both in Kintyre and Isla, he made a grant of them to the Earl of Argyll and the Campbells. This gave rise to a number of bloody conflicts between the Campbells and

[3] *Calderwood*, vol. ii. p. 215.

the Clandonald, in the years 1614, 1615, and 1616, which ended in the ruin of the latter, and for the details of which, and the intrigues and proceedings of the Earl of Argyll to possess himself of the lands of that clan, reference may be made to the part of the General History pertaining to this period.

In 1603, the Macgregors, who were already under the ban of the law, made an irruption into the Lennox, and after defeating the Colquhouns and their adherents at Glenfruin, with great slaughter, plundered and ravaged the whole district, and threatened to burn the town of Dumbarton. For some years previously, the charge of keeping this powerful and warlike tribe in order had been committed to the Earl of Argyll, as the king's lieutenant in the "bounds of the clan Gregor," and he was answerable for all their excesses. Instead of keeping them under due restraint, Argyll has been accused by various writers of having from the very first made use of his influence to stir them up to acts of violence and aggression against his own personal enemies, of whom the chief of the Colquhouns was one; and it is further said that he had all along meditated the destruction of both the Macgregors and the Colquhouns, by his crafty and perfidious policy. The only evidence on which these heavy charges rest is the dying declaration of Alister Macgregor of Glenstrae, the chief of the clan, to the effect that he was deceived by the Earl of Argyll's "falsete and inventiouns," and that he had been often incited by that nobleman to "weir and truble the laird of Luss," and others; but these charges ought to be received with some hesitation by the impartial historian. However this may be, the execution of the severe statutes which were passed against the Macgregors after the conflict at Glenfruin, was intrusted to the Earls of Argyll and Athole, and their chief, with some of his principal followers, was enticed by Argyll to surrender to him, on condition that they would be allowed to leave the country Argyll received them kindly, and assured them that though he was commanded by the king to apprehend them, he had little doubt he would be able to procure a pardon, and, in the meantime, he would send them to England under an escort, which would convey them off Scottish ground. It was Macgregor's intention, if taken to London, to procure if possible an interview with the king; but Argyll prevented this; yet, that he might fulfil his promise, he sent them under a strong guard beyond the Tweed at Berwick, and instantly compelled them to retrace their steps to Edinburgh, where they were executed 18th January 1604. How far there may have been deceit used in this matter,—whether, according to Birrel, Argyll "keipit ane Hielandman's promise; in respect he sent the gaird to convey him out of Scottis grund, but thai were not directit to pairt with him, but to fetch him bak agane;" or whether their return was by orders from the king, cannot at the present time be ascertained.

In 1617, after the suppression by him of the Clandonald, Argyll obtained from the king a grant of the whole of Kintyre. For some years Argyll had been secretly a Catholic. His first countess, to whom Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, inscribed his "Aurora" in 1604, having died, he had, in November 1610, married a second time, Anne, daughter of Sir William Cornwall of Brome, ancestor of the Marquis Cornwallis. This lady was a Catholic, and although the earl was a warm and zealous Protestant when he married her, she gradually drew him over to profess the same faith with herself. After the year 1615, as Gregory remarks, his personal history presents a striking instance of the mutability of human affairs. In that year, being deep in debt, he went to England; but as he was the only chief that could keep the Macdonalds in order, the Privy Council wrote to the king urging him to send him home; and in his expedition against the clan Donald he was accompanied by his son, Lord Lorn. In 1618, on pretence of going to the Spa for the benefit of his health, he received from the king permission to go abroad; and the news soon arrived that the earl, instead of going to the Spa, had gone to Spain; that he had there made open defection from the Protestant religion, and that he had entered into very suspicious dealings with the banished rebels, Sir James Macdonald and Alister MacRanald of Keppoch, who had taken refuge in that country. On the 16th of February he was openly declared rebel and traitor, at the market cross of

Edinburgh, and remained under this ban until the 22d of November 1621, when he was declared the king's free liege. Nevertheless, he did not venture to return to Britain till 1638, and died in London soon after, aged 62. From the time of his leaving Scotland, he never exercised any influence over his great estates; the fee of which had, indeed, been previously conveyed by him to his eldest son, Archibald, Lord Lorn, afterwards eighth Earl of Argyll. By his first wife he had, besides this son, four daughters. By his second wife, the earl had a son and a daughter, viz., James, Earl of Irvine, and Lady Mary, married to James, second Lord Rollo.

Archibald, eighth Earl and first Marquis of Argyll, after his father, went to Spain, as has been above said, managed the affairs of his family and clan. So full an account of the conspicuous part played by the first Marquis of Argyll, in the affairs of his time, has been already given in this work, that further detail here is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that in 1641 he was created Marquis, and was beheaded with the "Maiden," at the cross of Edinburgh, May 27, 1661; and whatever may be thought of his life, his death was heroic and Christian. By his wife, Lady Margaret Douglas, second daughter of William, second Earl of Morton, he had three daughters and two sons. The eldest son Archibald, became ninth Earl of Argyll, the second was Lord Niel Campbell, of Ardmaddie.

On the death of the eighth earl, his estates and title were of course forfeited, but Charles II., in 1663, sensible of the great services of Lord Lorn, and of the injustice with which he had been treated, restored to him the estates and the title of Earl of Argyll. The trivial excuse for the imprisoning and condemning him to death, has been already referred to, and an account has been given of the means whereby he was enabled to make his escape, by the assistance of his step-daughter, Lady Sophia Lindsay. Having taken part in Monmouth's rebellion, he was taken prisoner, and being carried to Edinburgh, was beheaded upon his former unjust sentence, June 30, 1685. Argyll was twice married; first to Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of James, fifth Earl of Moray; and secondly, to Lady Anna Mackenzie, second daughter of Colin, first Earl of Seaforth, widow of Alexander, first Earl of Balcarres. By the latter, he had no issue; but by the former he had four sons and three daughters. He was succeeded by his son Archibald, tenth Earl and first Duke of Argyll, who was an active promoter of the Revolution, and accompanied the Prince of Orange to England. He was one of the commissioners deputed from the Scots Parliament, to offer the crown of Scotland to the Prince, and to tender him the coronation oath. For this and other services, the family estates, which had been forfeited, were restored to him. He was appointed to several important public offices, and in 1696, was made colonel of the Scots horse-guards, afterwards raising a regiment of his own clan, which greatly distinguished itself in Flanders.

On the 21st of June 1701, he was created, by letters patent, Duke of Argyll, Marquis of Lorn and Kintyre, Earl of Campbell and Cowal, Viscount of Lochow and Glenila, Baron Inverary, Mull, Morvern, and Tiree. He died 28th September, 1703. Though undoubtedly a man of ability, he was too dissipated to be a great statesman. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Tollmash, by whom he had two sons, the elder being the celebrated Duke of Argyll and Greenwich.

John, second Duke of Argyll, and also Duke of Greenwich, a steady patriot and celebrated general, the eldest son of the preceding, was born October 10, 1678. On the death of his father in 1703, he became Duke of Argyll, and was soon after sworn of the privy council, made captain of the Scots horse-guards, and appointed one of the extraordinary lords of session. He was soon after sent down as high commissioner to the Scots parliament, where, being of great service in promoting the projected Union, for which he became very unpopular in Scotland, he was, on his return to London, created a peer of England by the titles of Baron of Chatham, and Earl of Greenwich.

In 1706 his Grace made a campaign in Flanders, under the Duke of Marlborough, and rendered important services at various sieges and battles on the continent, and on December 20, 1710, he was installed a knight of the Garter. On the accession of George I., he was

made groom of the stole, and was one of the nineteen members of the regency, nominated by his majesty. On the king's arrival in England, he was appointed general and commander-in-chief of the king's forces in Scotland.

At the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1715, his Grace, as commander-in-chief in Scotland, defeated the Earl of Mar's army at Sheriffmuir, and forced the Pretender to retire from the kingdom. In March 1716, after putting the army into winter quarters, he returned to London, but was in a few months, to the surprise of all, divested of all his employments. In the beginning of 1718 he was again restored to favour, created Duke of Greenwich, and made lord steward of the household. In 1737, when the affair of Captain Porteous came before parliament, his Grace exerted himself vigorously and eloquently in behalf of the city of Edinburgh. A bill having been brought in for punishing the Lord Provost of that city, for abolishing the city guard, and for depriving the corporation of several ancient privileges; and the Queen Regent having threatened, on that occasion, to convert Scotland into a hunting park, Argyll replied, that it was then time to go down and gather his beagles.

In April 1740, he delivered a speech with such warmth against the administration, that he was again deprived of all his offices. To these, however, on the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, he was soon restored, but not approving of the measures of the new ministry, he gave up all his posts, and never afterwards engaged in affairs of state. This amiable and most accomplished nobleman has been immortalised by Pope in the lines,

"Argyle, the state's whole thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the senate and the field."

He was twice married. By his first wife, Mary, daughter of John Brown, Esq. (and niece of Sir Charles Duncombe, Lord Mayor of London in 1708), he had no issue. By his second wife, Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton of Winnington, in Cheshire, one of the maids of honour to Queen Anne, he had five daughters. As the duke died without male issue, his English titles of Duke and Earl of Greenwich, and Baron of Chatham, became extinct, while his Scotch titles and patrimonial estate devolved on his brother. He died October 4, 1743; and a beautiful marble monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

Archibald, third Duke of Argyll, the brother of the preceding, was born at Ham, Surrey, in June 1682, and educated at the university of Glasgow. In 1705 he was constituted lord high treasurer of Scotland; in 1706 one of the commissioners for treating of the Union between Scotland and England; and 19th October of the same year, for his services in that matter, was created Viscount and Earl of Isla. In 1708 he was made an extraordinary lord of session, and after the Union, was chosen one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland. In 1710 he was appointed justice-general of Scotland, and the following year was called to the privy council. When the rebellion broke out in 1715, he took up arms for the defence of the house of Hanover. By his prudent conduct in the West Highlands, he prevented General Gordon, at the head of three thousand men, from penetrating into the country and raising levies. He afterwards joined his brother, the duke, at Stirling, and was wounded at the battle of Sheriffmuir. In 1725 he was appointed keeper of the privy seal, and in 1734 of the great seal, which office he enjoyed till his death. He excelled in conversation, and besides building a very magnificent seat at Inverary, he collected one of the most valuable private libraries in Great Britain. He died suddenly, while sitting in his chair at dinner, April 15, 1761. He married the daughter of Mr Whitfield, paymaster of marines, but had no issue by her grace.

The third Duke of Argyll was succeeded by his cousin, John, fourth duke, son of the Hon. John Campbell of Mamore, second son of Archibald, the ninth Earl of Argyll (who was beheaded in 1685), by Elizabeth, daughter of John, eighth Lord Elphinstone. The fourth duke was born about 1693. Before he succeeded to the honours of his family, he was an officer in the army, and saw some service in France and Holland. When the rebellion of 1745 broke out, he was appointed to the command of all the troops and garrisons in the west of Scotland, and arrived at Inverary, 21st December of that year, and, with his eldest son joined the Duke of Cumberland at

Perth, on the 9th of the following February. He died 9th November 1770, in the 77th year of his age. He married in 1720 the Hon. Mary Bellenden, third daughter of the second Lord Bellenden, and had four sons and a daughter.

John, fifth Duke of Argyll, born in 1723, eldest son of the fourth duke, was also in the army, and attained the rank of general in March 1778, and of field-marshal in 1796. He was created a British peer, in the lifetime of his father, as Baron Sundridge of Coomb-bank in Kent, 19th December 1766, with remainder to his heirs male, and failing them to his brothers, Frederick and William, and their heirs male successively. He was chosen the first president of the Highland Society of Scotland, to which society, in 1806, he made a munificent gift of one thousand pounds. as the beginning of a fund for educating young men of the West Highlands for the navy. He died 24th May 1806, in the 83d year of his age. He married in 1759, Elizabeth, widow of James, sixth Duke of Hamilton, the second of the three beautiful Miss Gunnings, daughters of John Gunning, Esq. of Castle Coote, county Roscommon, Ireland. By this lady the duke had three sons and two daughters.

George William, sixth Duke of Argyll, was born 22d September 1768. He married, 29th November 1810, Caroline Elizabeth, daughter of the fourth Earl of Jersey, but had no issue. His Grace died 22d October 1839.

His brother, John Douglas Edward Henry (Lord John Campbell of Ardincaple, M.P.) succeeded as seventh duke. He was born 21st December 1777, and was thrice married; first, in August 1802, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Campbell, Esq. of Fairfield, who died in 1818; secondly, 17th April, 1820, to Joan, daughter and heiress of John Glassel, Esq. of Long Niddry; and thirdly, in January 1831, to Anne Colquhoun, eldest daughter of John Cunningham, Esq. of Craigends. By his second wife he had two sons and a daughter, namely, John Henry, born in January 1821, died in May 1837; George Douglas, who succeeded as eighth duke; and Lady Emma Augusta, born in 1825. His Grace died 26th April 1847.

George John Douglas, the eighth duke, born in 1823, married in 1844, Lady Elizabeth Georgina (born in 1824), eldest daughter of the second Duke of Sutherland; issue, John Douglas Sutherland, Marquis of Lorn (M.P. for Argyleshire), born in 1845, and other children. His Grace has distinguished himself not only in politics, but in science; to geology, in particular, he has devoted much attention, and his writings prove him to be possessed of considerable literary ability. He is author of "An Essay on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland since the Reformation," "The Reign of Law," &c. He was made Chancellor of the University of St Andrews, 1851; Lord Privy Seal, 1853; Postmaster-general, 1855–8; Knight of the Thistle, 1856; again Lord Privy Seal, 1859; Secretary of State for India, 1868. The Duke of Argyll is hereditary master of the queen's household in Scotland, keeper of the castles of Dunoon, Dunstaffnage, and Carrick, and heritable sheriff of Argyleshire.

It has been foretold, says tradition, that all the glories of the Campbell line are to be renewed in the first chief who, in the hue of his locks, approaches to Ian Roy Cean (John Red Head, viz., the second duke). This prophecy some may be inclined to think, has been royally fulfilled in the recent marriage of the present duke's heir, the Marquis of Lorn, with the Princess Louise, daughter of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. This event took place on the 21st March 1871, amid the enthusiastic rejoicings of all Scotchmen, and especially Highlandmen, and with the approval of all the sensible portion of Her Majesty's subjects. Her Majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on the Marquis of Lorn, after the ceremony of the marriage, and invested him with the insignia of the Order of the Thistle.

There are a considerable number of important offshoots from the clan Campbell, the origin of some of which has been noticed above; it is necessary, however, to give a more particular account of the most powerful branch of this extensive clan, viz., the BREADALBANE CAMPBELLS.

BREADALBANE CAMPBELL.



BADGE.—Myrtle.

As we have already indicated, the ancestor of the Breadalbane family, and the first of the house of Glenurchy, was Sir Colin Campbell, the third son of Duncan, first Lord Campbell of Lochow.

In an old manuscript, preserved in Taymouth Castle, named "the Black Book of Taymouth" (printed by the Bannatyne Club, 1853), containing a genealogical account of the Glenurchy family, it is stated that "Duncan Campbell, commonly callit Duncan in Aa, knight of Lochow (lineallie descendit of a valiant man, surnamit Campbell, quha cam to Scotland in King Malcolm Kandmoir, his time, about the year of God 1067, of quhom came the house of Lochow), flourisched in King David Bruce his dayes. The foresaid Duncan in Aa had to wyffe Margarit Stewart, dochter to Duke Murdoch [a mistake evidently for Robert], on whom he begat twa sones, the elder callit Archibald, the other namit Colin, wha was first laird of Glenurchay." That estate was settled on him by his father. It had come into the Campbell family, in the reign of King David the Second, by the marriage of Margaret Glenurchy with John Campbell; and was at one time the property of the warlike clan MacGregor, who were gradually expelled from the territory by the rival clan Campbell.

In 1440 he built the castle of Kilchurn, on a projecting rocky elevation at the east end of Lochawe, under the shadow of the majestic Ben Cruachan, where—now a picturesque ruin,—

"grey and stern
Stands, like a spirit of the past, lone old Kilchurn."

According to tradition, Kilchurn (properly Coalchuirn) Castle was first erected by his lady, and not by himself, he being absent on a crusade at the time, and for seven years the principal portion of the rents of his lands are said to have been expended on its erection. Sir Colin died before June 10, 1478; as on that day the Lords' auditors gave a decreet in a civil suit against "Duncain Cambell, son and air of umquhile Sir Colin Cambell of Glenurquha, knight." He was interred in Argyleshire, and not, as Douglas says, at Finlarig at the north-west end of Lochtay, which afterwards became the burial-place of the family. His first wife had no issue. His second wife was Lady Margaret Stewart, the second of the three daughters and co-heiresses of John Lord Lorn, with whom he got a third of that lordship, still possessed by the family, and thenceforward quartered the galley of Lorn with his paternal achievement. His third wife was Margaret, daughter of Robert Robertson of Strowan, by whom he had a son and a daughter. Sir Colin's fourth wife was Margaret, daughter of Luke Stirling of Keir, by whom he had a son, John, ancestor of the Earls of Loudon, and a daughter, Mariot, married to William Stewart of Baldoran.

Sir Duncan Campbell, the eldest son, obtained the office of bailiary of the king's lands of Discher, Foyer, and Glenlyon, 3d September 1498, for which office, being a hereditary one, his descendant, the second Earl of Breadalbane, received, on the abolition of the heritable jurisdiction in Scotland, in 1747, the sum of one thousand pounds, in full of his claim for six thousand. Sir Duncan also got charters of the king's lands of the port of Lochtay, &c. 5th March 1492; also of the lands of Glenlyon, 7th September 1502; of Finlarig, 22d April 1503; and of other lands in Perthshire in May 1508 and September 1511. He fell at the battle of Flodden. He was twice married. He was succeeded by Sir Colin, the eldest son, who married Lady Marjory Stewart, sixth daughter of John, Earl of Athole, brother uterine

of King James the Second, and had three sons, viz., Sir Duncan, Sir John, and Sir Colin, who all succeeded to the estate. The last of them, Sir Colin, became laird of Glenurchy in 1550, and, according to the "Black Book of Taymouth," he "conquessit" (that is, acquired) "the superiority of M'Nabb, his haill landis." He was among the first to join the Reformation, and sat in the parliament of 1560, when the Protestant doctrines received the sanction of the law. In the "Black Book of Taymouth," he is represented to have been "ane great justiciar all his tyme, throch the quhilk he sustenit the deidly feid of the Clangregor ane lang space; and besides that, he causit execute to the death many notable lymarris, he behiddit the laird of Macgregor himself at Kandmoir, in presence of the Erle of Athol, the justice-clerk, and sundrie other nobilmen." In 1580 he built the castle of Balloch in Perthshire, one wing of which still continues attached to Taymouth Castle, the splendid mansion of the Earl of Breadalbane. He also built Edinample, another seat of the family. Sir Colin died in 1583. By his wife Catherine, second daughter of William, second Lord Ruthven, he had four sons and four daughters.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, his eldest son and successor, was, on the death of Colin, sixth Earl of Argyll, in 1584, nominated by that nobleman's will one of the six guardians of the young earl, then a minor. The disputes which arose among the guardians have been already referred to, as well as the assassination of the Earl of Moray and Campbell of Calder, and the plot to assassinate the young Earl of Argyll. Gregory expressly charges Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy with being the principal mover in the branch of the plot which led to the murder of Calder.

In 1617 Sir Duncan had the office of heritable keeper of the forest of Mamlorn, Bendaskerlie, &c., conferred upon him. He afterwards obtained from King Charles the First the sheriffship of Perthshire for life. He was created a baronet of Nova Scotia by patent, bearing date 30th May 1625. Although represented as an ambitious and grasping character, he is said to have been the first who attempted to civilise the people on his extensive estates. He not only set them the example of planting timber trees, fencing pieces of ground for gardens, and manuring their lands, but assisted and encouraged them in their labours. One of his regulations of police for the estate was "that no man shall in any public-house drink more than a chopin of ale with his neighbour's wife, in the absence of her husband, upon the penalty of ten pounds, and sitting twenty-four hours in the stocks, toties quoties." He died in June 1631. He was twice married; by his first wife, Lady Jean Stewart, second daughter of John, Earl of Athole, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters. Archibald Campbell of Monzie, the fifth son, was ancestor of the Campbells of Monzie, Lochlane, and Finnab, in Perthshire.

Sir Colin Campbell, the eldest son of Sir Duncan, born about 1577, succeeded as eighth laird of Glenurchy. Little is known of this Sir Colin save what is highly to his honour, namely, his patronage of George Jamesone, the celebrated portrait painter. Sir Colin married Lady Juliana Campbell, eldest daughter of Hugh, first Lord Loudon, but had no issue. He was succeeded by his brother, Sir Robert, at first styled of Glenfalloch, and afterwards of Glenurchy. Sir Robert married Isabel, daughter of Sir Lauchlan Mackintosh, of Torcastle, captain of the clan Chattan, and had eight sons and nine daughters. William, the sixth son, was ancestor of the Campbells of Glenfalloch, the representatives of whom have succeeded to the Scottish titles of Earl of Breadalbane, &c. Margaret, the eldest daughter, married to John Cameron of Lochiel, was the mother of Sir Ewen Cameron.

The eldest son, Sir John Campbell of Glenurchy, who succeeded, was twice married. His first wife was Lady Mary Graham, eldest daughter of William, Earl of Strathearn, Menteath, and Airth.

Sir John Campbell of Glenurchy, first Earl of Breadalbane, only son of this Sir John, was born about 1635. He gave great assistance to the forces collected in the Highlands for Charles the Second in 1653, under the command of General Middleton. He subsequently used his utmost endeavours with General Monk to declare for a free parliament, as

the most effectual way to bring about his Majesty's restoration. Being a principal creditor of George, sixth Earl of Caithness, whose debts are said to have exceeded a million of marks, that nobleman, on 8th October 1672, made a disposition of his whole estates, heritable jurisdictions, and titles of honour, after his death, in favour of Sir John Campbell of Glenurchy, the latter taking on himself the burden of his lordship's debts; and he was in consequence duly infefted in the lands and earldom of Caithness, 27th February 1673. The Earl of Caithness died in May 1676, when Sir John Campbell obtained a patent, creating him Earl of Caithness, dated at Whitehall, 28th June 1677. But George Sinclair of Keiss, the heir-male of the last earl, being found by parliament entitled to that dignity, Sir John Campbell obtained another patent, 13th August 1681, creating him instead Earl of Breadalbane and Holland, Viscount of Tay and Paintland, Lord Glenurchy, Benederaloch, Ormelie, and Weik, with the precedency of the former patent, and remainder to whichever of his sons by his first wife he might designate in writing, and ultimately to his heirs-male whatsoever. On the accession of James II., the Earl was sworn a privy councillor. At the Revolution, he adhered to the Prince of Orange; and after the battle of Killiecrankie, and the attempted reduction of the Highlands by the forces of the new government, he was empowered to enter into a negotiation with the Jacobite chiefs to induce them to submit to King William, full details of which, as well as of his share in the massacre of Glencoe, have been given in the former part of the work.

When the treaty of Union was under discussion, his Lordship kept aloof, and did not even attend parliament. At the general election of 1713, he was chosen one of the sixteen Scots representative peers, being then seventy-eight years old. At the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, he sent five hundred of his clan to join the standard of the Pretender; and he was one of the suspected persons, with his second son, Lord Glenurchy, summoned to appear at Edinburgh within a certain specified period, to give bail for their allegiance to the government, but no further notice was taken of his conduct. The Earl died in 1716, in his 81st year. He married first, 17th December 1657, Lady Mary Rich, third daughter of Henry, first Earl of Holland, who had been executed for his loyalty to Charles the First, 9th March 1649. By this lady he had two sons — Duncan, styled Lord Ormelie, who survived his father, but was passed over in the succession, and John, in his father's lifetime styled Lord Glenurchy, who became second Earl of Breadalbane. He married, secondly, 7th April 1678, Lady Mary Campbell, third daughter of Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, dowager of George, sixth Earl of Caithness.

John Campbell, Lord Glenurchy, the second son, born 19th November 1662, was by his father nominated to succeed him as second Earl of Breadalbane, in terms of the patent conferring the title. He died at Holyroodhouse, 23d February 1752, in his ninetieth year. He married, first, Lady Frances Cavendish, second of the five daughters of Henry, second Duke of Newcastle. She died, without issue, 4th February 1690, in her thirtieth year. He married, secondly, 23d May 1695, Henrietta, second daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, knight, sister of the first Earl of Jersey, and of Elizabeth, Countess of Orkney, the witty but plain-looking mistress of King William III. By his second wife he had a son, John, third earl, and two daughters.

John, third earl, born in 1696, was educated at the university of Oxford, and after holding many highly important public offices, died at Holyroodhouse, 26th January 1782, in his 86th year. He was twice married, and had three sons, who all predeceased him.

The male line of the first peer having thus become extinct, the clause in the patent in favour of heirs-general transferred the peerage, and the vast estates belonging to it, to his kinsman, John Campbell, born in 1762, eldest son of Colin Campbell of Carwhin, descended from Colin Campbell of Mochaster (who died in 1678), third son of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenurchy. The mother of the fourth Earl and first Marquis of Breadalbane was Elizabeth, daughter of Archibald Campbell of Stonefield, sheriff of Argyleshire, and sister of John Campbell, judicially styled Lord

Stonefield, a lord of session and justiciary. In 1784 he was elected one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland, and was rechosen at all the subsequent elections, until he was created a peer of the United Kingdom in November 1806, by the title of Baron Breadalbane of Taymouth, in the county of Perth, to himself and the heirs-male of his body. In 1831, at the coronation of William the Fourth, he was created a marquis of the United Kingdom, under the title of Marquis of Breadalbane and Earl of Ormelie. In public affairs he did not take a prominent or ostentatious part, his attention being chiefly devoted to the improvement of his extensive estates, great portions of which, being unfitted for cultivation, he laid out in plantations. In the magnificent improvements at Taymouth, his lordship displayed much taste; and the park has been frequently described as one of the most extensive and beautiful in the kingdom. He married, 2d September 1793, Mary Turner, eldest daughter and coheiress of David Gavin, Esq. of Langton, in the county of Berwick, and by her had two daughters and one son. The elder daughter, Lady Elizabeth Maitland Campbell, married in 1831, Sir John Pringle of Stitchell, baronet, and the younger, Lady Uary Campbell, became in 1819 the wife of Richard, Marquis of Chandos, who in 1839 became Duke of Buckingham. The marquis died, after a short illness, at Taymouth Castle, on 29th March 1834, aged seventy-two.

The marquis' only son, John Campbell, Earl of Ormelie, born at Dundee, 26th October 1796, succeeded, on the death of his father, to the titles and estates. He married, 23d November 1821, Eliza, eldest daughter of George Baillie, Esq. of Jerviswood, without issue. He died November 8th, 1862, when the marquisate, with its secondary titles, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, became extinct, and he was succeeded in the Scotch titles by a distant kinsman, John Alexander Gavin Campbell of Glenfalloch, Perthshire, born in 1824. The claim of the latter, however, was disputed by several candidates for the titles and rich estates. As we have already indicated, the title of Glenfalloch to the estates was descended from William, sixth son of Sir Robert Campbell, ninth laird and third baron of Glenurchy. He married, in 1850, Mary Theresa, daughter of J. Edwards, Esq., Dublin, and had issue two sons, Lord Glenurchy and the Honourable Ivan Campbell; and one daughter, Lady Eva. This the sixth earl died in London, March 20, 1871, and has been succeeded by his eldest son.

Of the MACARTHUR CAMPBELLS of STRACHUR, the old Statistical Account of the parish of Strachur says:—"This family is reckoned by some the most ancient of the name of Campbell. The late laird of Macfarlane, who with great genius and assiduity had studied the ancient history of the Highlands, was of this opinion. The patronymic name of this family was Macarthur (the son of Arthur), which Arthur, the antiquary above-mentioned maintains, was brother to Colin, the first of the Argyll family, and that the representatives of the two brothers continued for a long time to be known by the names of *Macarthur* and *Maccaellein*, before they took the surname of Campbell. Another account makes Arthur the first laird of Strachur, to have descended of the family of Argyll, at a later period, in which the present laird seems to acquiesce, by taking, with a mark of cadetcy, the arms and livery of the family of Argyll, after they had been quartered with those of Lorn. The laird of Strachur has been always accounted, according to the custom of the Highlands, chief of the clan Arthur or Macarthurs." We have already quoted Mr Skene's opinion as to the claims of the Macarthurs to the chiefship of the clan Campbell; we cannot think these claims have been sufficiently made out.

Macarthur adhered to the cause of Robert the Bruce, and received, as his reward, a considerable portion of the forfeited territory of MacDougall of Lorn, Bruce's great enemy. He obtained also the keeping of the castle of Dunstaffnage. After the marriage of Sir Neil Campbell with the king's sister, the power and possessions of the Campbell branch rapidly increased, and in the reign of David II. they appear to have first put forward their claims to the chieftainship, but were successfully resisted by Macarthur, who obtained a charter "Arthuro Campbell quod nulli subjicitur pro terris nisi regi."

In the reign of James I., the chief's name was John Macarthur, and so great was his following, that he could bring 1,000 men into the field. In 1427 that king, in a progress through the north, held a parliament at Inverness, to which he summoned all the Highland chiefs, and among others who then felt his vengeance, was John Macarthur, who was beheaded, and his whole lands forfeited. From that period the chieftainship, according to Skene, was lost to the Macarthurs ; the family subsequently obtained Strachur in Cowal, and portions of Glenfalloch and Glendochart in Perthshire. Many of the name of Macarthur are still found about Dunstaffnage, but they have long been merely tenants to the Campbells. The Macarthurs were hereditary pipers to the MacDonalds of the Isles, and the last of the race was piper to the Highland Society.

In the history of the main clan, we have noted the origin of most of the offshoots. It may, however, not be out of place to refer to them again explicitly.

The Campbells of Cawdor or Calder, now represented by the Earl of Cawdor, had their origin in the marriage in 1510, of Muriella heiress of the old Thanes of Cawdor, with Sir John Campbell, third son of the second Earl of Argyll. In the general account of the clan, we have already detailed the circumstances connected with the bringing about of this marriage.

The first of the Campbells of Aberuchill, in Perthshire, was Colin Campbell, second son of Sir John Campbell of Lawers, and uncle of the first Earl of Loudon. He got from the Crown a charter of the lands of Aberuchill, in 1596. His son, Sir James Campbell, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in the 17th century.

The Campbells of Ardnamurchan are descended from Sir Donald Campbell, natural son of Sir John Campbell of Calder, who, as already narrated, was assassinated in 1592. For services performed against the Macdonalds, he was in 1625 made heritable proprietor of the district of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, and was created a baronet in 1628.

The Auchinbreck family is descended from Sir Dugald Campbell of Auchinbreck, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628.

The Campbells of Ardkinglass were an old branch of the house of Argyll, Sir Colin Campbell, son and heir of James Campbell of Ardkinglass, descended from the Campbells of Lorn, by Mary, his wife, daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenurchy, was made a baronet in 1679. The family ended in an heiress, who married into the Livingstone family; and on the death of Sir Alexander Livingstone Campbell of Ardkinglass, in 1810, the title and estate descended to Colonel James Callander, afterwards Sir James Campbell, his cousin, son of Sir John Callander of Craigforth, Stirlingshire. At his death in 1832, without legitimate issue, the title became extinct.

The family of Barcaldine and Glenure, in Argyleshire, whose baronetcy was conferred in 1831, is descended from a younger son of Sir Duncan Campbell, ancestor of the Marquis of Breadalbane.

The Campbells of Dunstaffnage descend from Colin, first Earl of Argyll. The first baronet was Sir Donald, so created in 1836.

The ancient family of Campbell of Monzie, in Perthshire, descend, as above mentioned, from a third son of the family of Glenurchy.

We have already devoted so much space to the account of this important clan, that it is impossible to enter more minutely into the history of its various branches, and of the many eminent men whom it has produced. In the words of Smibert, "pages on pages might be expended on the minor branches of the Campbell house, and the list still be defective." The gentry of the Campbell name are decidedly the most numerous, on the whole, in Scotland, if the clan be not indeed the largest. But, as has been before observed, the great power of the chiefs called into their ranks, nominally, many other families besides the real Campbells. The lords of that line, in short, obtained so much of permanent power in the district of the *Dhu-Galls*, or Irish Celts, as to bring these largely under their sway, giving to them at the same time that general clan-designation, respecting the origin of which enough has already been said.

The force of the clan was, in 1427, 1000; in 1715, 4000; and in 1745, 5000.

Although each branch of the Campbells

has its own peculiar arms, still there runs through all a family likeness, the difference generally being very small. All the families of the Campbell name bear the oared galley in their arms, showing the connection by origin or intermarriage with the Western Gaels, the Island Kings. Breadalbane quarters with the Stewart of Lorn, having for supporters two stags, with the motto *Follow Me.*

MACLEOD.



BADGE.—Red Whortleberry.

The clan LEOD or MACLEOD is one of the most considerable clans of the Western Isles, and is divided into two branches independent of each other, the Macleods of Harris and the Macleods of Lewis.

To the progenitors of this clan, a Norwegian origin has commonly been assigned. They are also supposed to be of the same stock as the Campbells, according to a family history referred to by Mr Skene, which dates no farther back than the early part of the 16th century.

The genealogy claimed for them asserts that the ancestor of the chiefs of the clan, and he who gave it its clan name, was Loyd or Leod, eldest son of King Olave the Black, brother of Magnus, the last king of Man and the Isles. This Leod is said to have had two sons: Tormod, progenitor of the Macleods of Harris, hence called the Siol Tormod, or race of Tormod; and Torquil, of those of Lewis, called the Siol Torquil, or race of Torquil. Although, however, Mr Skene and others are of opinion that there is no authority whatever for such a descent, and "The Chronicle of Man" gives no countenance to it, we think the probabilities are in its favour, from the manifestly Norwegian names borne by the founders of the clan, namely, Tormod or Gorman and Torquil, and from their position in the Isles, from the very commencement of their known history. The clan itself, there can be no doubt, are mainly the descendants of the ancient Celtic inhabitants of the western isles.

Tormod's grandson, Malcolm, got a charter from David II., of two-thirds of Glenelg, on the mainland, a portion of the forfeited lands of the Bissets, in consideration for which he was to provide a galley of 36 oars, for the king's use whenever required. This is the earliest charter in possession of the Macleods. The same Malcolm obtained the lands in Skye which were long in possession of his descendants, by marriage with a daughter of MacArailt, said to have been one of the Norwegian nobles of the Isles. From the name, however, we would be inclined to take this MacArailt for a Celt. The sennachies sometimes made sad slips.

MACLEOD of HARRIS, originally designated "de Glenelg," that being the first and principal possession of the family, seems to have been the proper chief of the clan Leod. The island, or rather peninsula of Harris, which is adjacent to Lewis, belonged, at an early period, to the Macruaries of Garmoran and the North Isles, under whom the chief of the Siol Tormod appears to have possessed it. From this family, the superiority of the North Isles passed to the Macdonalds of Isla by marriage, and thus Harris came to form a part of the lordship of the Isles. In the isle of Skye the Siol Tormod possessed the districts of Dunvegan, Duirinish, Bracadale, Lyndale, Trotternish, and Minganish, being about two-thirds of the whole island. Their principal seat was Dunvegan, hence the chief was often styled of that place.

The first charter of the MACLEODS of LEWIS, or Siol Torquil, is also one by King David II. It contained a royal grant to Torquil Macleod of the barony of Assynt, on the north-western coast of Sutherlandshire. This barony, however, he is said to have obtained by marriage

with the heiress, whose name was Macnicol. It was held from the crown. In that charter he has no designation, hence it is thought that he had then no other property. The Lewis Macleods held that island as vassals of the Macdonalds of Isla from 1344, and soon came to rival the Harris branch of the Macleods in power and extent of territory, and even to dispute the chiefship with them. Their armorial bearings, however, were different, the family of Harris having a castle, while that of Lewis had a burning mount. The possessions of the Siol Torquil were very extensive, comprehending the isles of Lewis and Rasay, the district of Waterness in Skye, and those of Assynt, Cogeach, and Gairloch, on the mainland.

To return to the Harris branch. The grandson of the above-mentioned Malcolm, William Macleod, surnamed *Achlerach*, or the clerk, from being in his youth designed for the church, was one of the most daring chiefs of his time. Having incurred the resentment of his superior, the Lord of the Isles, that powerful chief invaded his territory with a large force, but was defeated at a place called Lochsligachan. He was, however, one of the principal supporters of the last Lord of the Isles in his disputes with his turbulent and rebellious son, Angus, and was killed, in 1481, at the battle of the Bloody Bay, where also the eldest son of Roderick Macleod of the Lewis was mortally wounded. The son of William of Harris, Alexander Macleod, called Allaster *Crottach*, or the Humpbacked, was the head of the Siol Tormod at the time of the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles in 1493, when Roderick, grandson of the above-named Roderick, was chief of the Siol Torquil. This Roderick's father, Torquil, the second son of the first Roderick, was the principal supporter of Donald Dubh, when he escaped from prison and raised the banner of insurrection in 1501, for the purpose of regaining the lordship of the Isles, for which he was forfeited. He maried Katherine, daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, the sister of Donald Dubh's mother. The forfeited estate of Lewis was restored in 1511 to Malcolm, Torquil's brother. Alexander the Humpback got a charter, under the great seal, of all his lands in the Isles, from James IV., dated 15th June, 1468, under the condition of keeping in readiness for the king's use one ship of 26 oars and two of 16. He had also a charter from James V. of the lands of Glenelg, dated 13th February, 1539.

With the Macdonalds of Sleat, the Harris Macleods had a feud regarding the lands and office of bailiary of Trotternish, in the isle of Skye, held by them under several crown charters. The feud was embittered by Macleod having also obtained a heritable grant of the lands of Sleat and North Uist; and the Siol Torquil, who had also some claim to the Trotternish bailiary and a portion of the lands, siding with the Macdonalds, the two leading branches of the Macleods came to be in opposition to each other. Under Donald Gruamach ("grim-looking") aided by the uterine brother of their chief, John MacTorquil Macleod, son of Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, forfeited in 1506, the Macdonalds succeeded in expelling Macleod of Harris or Dunvegan from Trotternish, as well as in preventing him from taking possession of Sleat and North Uist. The death of his uncle, Malcolm Macleod, and the minority of his son, enabled Torquil, with the assistance of Donald Gruamach, in his turn, to seize the whole barony of Lewis, which, with the leadership of the Siol Torquil, he held during his life. His daughter and heiress married Donald Gorme of Sleat, a claimant for the lordship of the Isles, and the son and successor of Donald Gruamach. An agreement was entered into between Donald Gorme and Ruari or Roderick Macleod, son of Malcolm, the last lawful possessor of the Lewis, whereby Roderick was allowed to enter into possession of that island, and in return Roderick became bound to assist in putting Donald Gorme in possession of Trotternish, against all the efforts of the chief of Harris or Dunvegan, who had again obtained possession of that district. In May 1539, accordingly, Trotternish was invaded and laid waste by Donald Gorme and his allies of the Siol Torquil; but the death soon after of Donald Gorme, by an arrow wound in his foot, under the walls of Mackenzie of Kintail's castle of Ellandonan, put an end to his rebellion and his pretensions together. When the powerful



THE PRINCESS LOUISE.

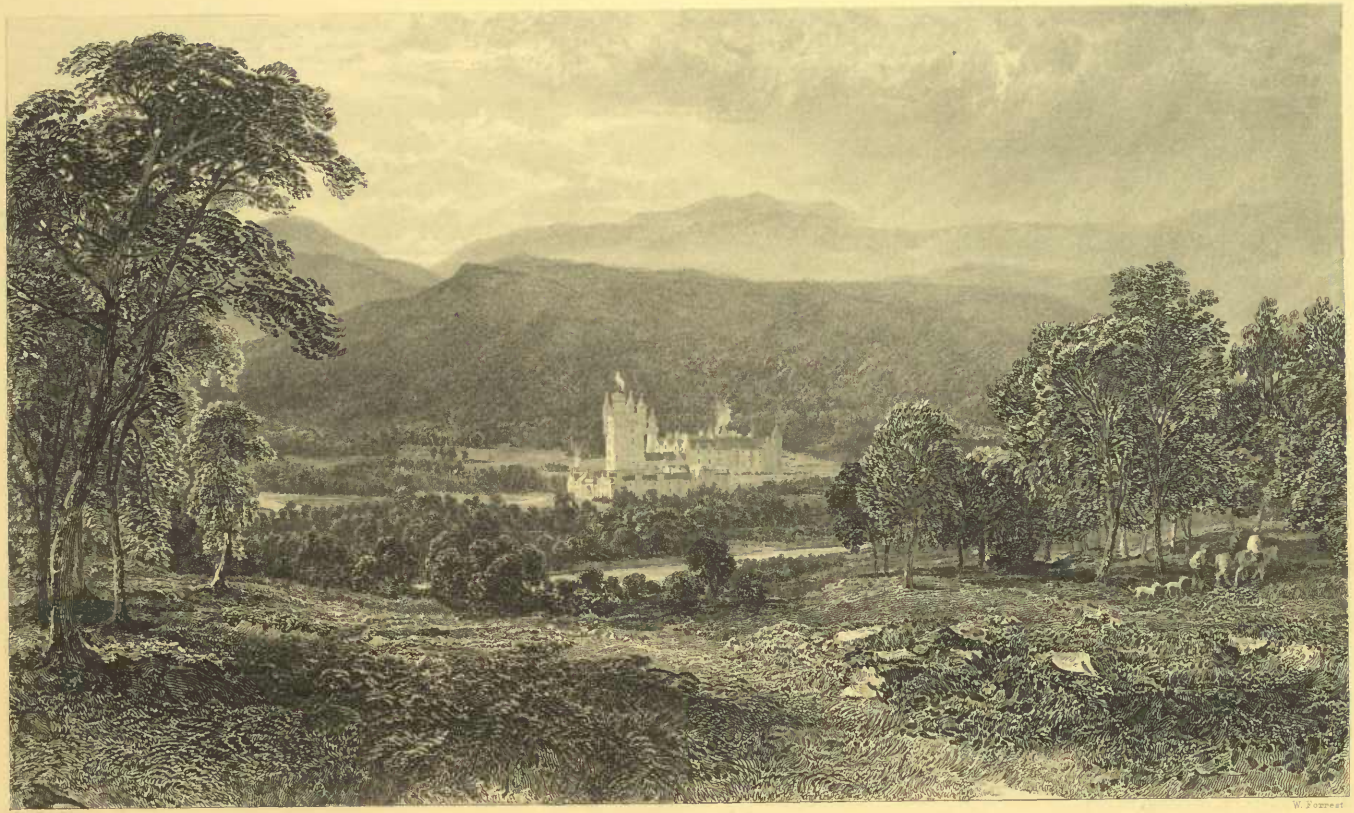
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THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

FROM PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOT & FRY.

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Sam. Bough. W. Forrest

BALMORAL.

THE HIGHLAND RESIDENCE OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

A. Fullarton & Co. London & Edinburgh.



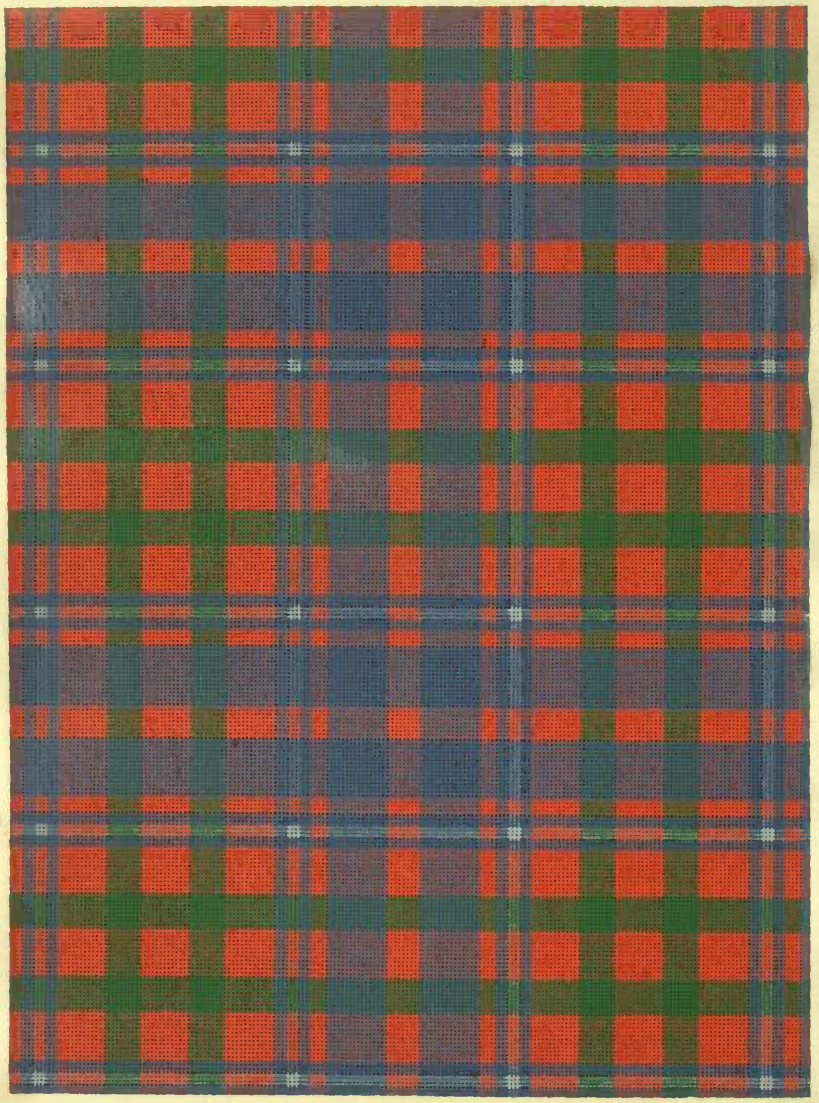
LORD CLYDE

PUBLISHED BY PERMISSION OF MESSRS. A. MUSGRAVE, PUBLISHERS, LONDON.

T. Fullarton & Co. Edinburgh & Glasgow.



ROSS.



CAMERON OF LOCHIEL.



FARQUHARSON.

fleet of James V. arrived at the isle of Lewis the following year, Roderick Macleod and his principal kinsmen met the king, and were made to accompany him in his farther progress through the Isles. On its reaching Skye, Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan was also constrained to embark in the royal fleet. With the other captive chiefs they were sent to Edinburgh, and only liberated on giving hostages for their obedience to the laws.

Alexander the Humpback, chief of the Harris Macleods, died at an advanced age in the reign of Queen Mary. He had three sons, William, Donald, and Tormod, who all succeeded to the estates and authority of their family. He had also two daughters, the elder of whom was thrice married, and every time to a Macdonald. Her first husband was James, second son of the fourth laird of Sleat. Her second was Allan MacIan, captain of the Clanranald; and her third husband was Macdonald of Keppoch. The younger daughter became the wife of Maclean of Lochbuy.

William Macleod of Harris had a danghter, Mary, who, on his death in 1554, became under a particular destination, his sole heiress in the estates of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg. His claim to the properties of Sleat, Trotternish, and North Uist, of which he was the nominal proprietor, but which were held by the Clandonald, was inherited by his next brother and successor, Donald. This state of things placed the latter in a very anomalous position, which may be explained in Mr Gregory's words:—"The Siol Tormod," he says,[4] " was now placed in a position, which, though quite intelligible on the principles of feudal law, was totally opposed to the Celtic customs that still prevailed, to a great extent, throughout the Highlands and Isles. A female and a minor was the legal proprietrix of the ancient possessions of the tribe, which, by her marriage, might be conveyed to another and a hostile family; whilst her uncle, the natural leader of the clan according to ancient custom, was left without any means to keep up the dignity of a chief, or to support the clan against its enemies. His claims on the estates possessed by the Clandonald were worse than nugatory, as they threatened to involve him in a feud with that powerful and warlike tribe, in case he should take any steps to enforce them. In these circumstances, Donald Macleod seized, apparently with the consent of his clan, the estates which legally belonged to his niece, the heiress; and thus, in practice, the feudal law was made to yield to ancient and inveterate custom. Donald did not enjoy these estates long, being murdered in Trotternish, by a relation of his own, John Oig Macleod, who, failing Tormod, the only remaining brother of Donald, would have become the heir male of the family. John Oig next plotted the distruction of Tormod, who was at the time a student in the university of Glasgow; but in this he was foiled by the interposition of the Earl of Argyll. He continued, notwithstanding, to retain possession of the estates of the heiress, and of the command of the clan, till his death in 1559." The heiress of Harris was one of Queen Mary's maids of honour, and the Earl of Argyll, having ultimately become her guardian, she was given by him in marriage to his kinsman, Duncan Campbell, younger of Auchinbreck. Through the previous efforts of the earl, Tormod Macleod, on receiving a legal title to Harris and the other estates, renounced in favour of Argyll all his claims to the lands of the Clandonald, and paid 1000 merks towards the dowry of his niece. He also gave his bond of service to Argyll for himself and his clan. Mary Macleod, in consequence, made a complete surrender to her uncle of her title to the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, and Argyll obtained for him a crown charter of these estates, dated 4th August, 1579. Tormod adhered firmly to the interest of Queen Mary, and died in 1584. He was succeeded by his eldest son, William, under whom the Harris Macleods assisted the Macleans in their feuds with the Macdonalds of Isla and Skye, while the Lewis Macleods supported the latter. On his death in 1590, his brother, Roderick, the Rory Mor of tradition, became chief of the Harris Macleods.

In December 1597, an act of the Estates had been passed, by which it was made imperative upon all the chieftains and land-

[4] *History of the Highlands and Isles*, p. 204.

lords in the Highlands and Isles, to produce their title-deeds before the lords of Exchequer on the 15th of the following May, under the pain of forfeiture. The heads of the two branches of the Macleods disregarded the act, and a gift of their estates was granted to a number of Fife gentlemen, for the purposes of colonisation. They first began with the Lewis, in which the experiment failed, as narrated in the General History. Roderick Macleod, on his part, exerted himself to get the forfeiture of his lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, removed, and ultimately succeeded, having obtained a remission from the king, dated 4th May, 1610. He was knighted by King James VI., by whom he was much esteemed, and had several friendly letters from his majesty; also, a particular license, dated 16th June, 1616, to go to London, to the court, at any time he pleased. By his wife, a daughter of Macdonald of Glengarry, he had, with six daughters, five sons, viz., John, his heir; Sir Roderick, progenitor of the Macleods of Talisker; Sir Norman of the Macleods of Bernera and Muiravonside; William of the Macleods of Hamer; and Donald of those of Grisernish.

The history of the Siol Torquil, or Lewis Macleods, as it approached its close, was most disastrous. Roderick, the chief of this branch in 1569, got involved in a deadly feud with the Mackenzies, which ended only with the destruction of his whole family. He had married a daughter of John Mackenzie of Kintail, and a son whom she bore, and who was named Torquil *Connanach*, from his residence among his mother's relations in Strathconnan, was disowned by him, on account of the alleged adultery of his mother with the breve or Celtic judge of the Lewis. She eloped with John MacGillechallum of Rasay, a cousin of Roderick, and was, in consequence, divorced. He took for his second wife, in 1541, Barbara Stewart, daughter of Andrew Lord Avondale, and by this lady had a son, likewise named Torquil, and surnamed *Oighre*, or the Heir, to distinguish him from the other Torquil. About 1566, the former, with 200 attendants, was drowned in a tempest, when sailing from Lewis to Skye, and Torquil Connanach immediately took up arms to vindicate what he conceived to be his rights. In his pretensions he was supported by the Mackenzies. Roderick was apprehended and detained four years a prisoner in the castle of Stornoway. The feud between the Macdonalds and Mackenzies was put an end to by the mediation of the Regent Moray. Before being released from his captivity, the old chief was brought before the Regent and his privy council, and compelled to resign his estate into the hands of the crown, taking a new destination of it to himself in liferent, and after his death to Torquil *Connanach*, as his son and heir apparent. On regaining his liberty, however, he revoked all that he had done when a prisoner, on the ground of coercion. This led to new commotions, and in 1576 both Roderick and Torquil were summoned to Edinburgh, and reconciled in presence of the privy council, when the latter was again acknowledged as heir apparent to the Lewis, and received as such the district of Cogeach and other lands. The old chief some time afterwards took for his third wife, a sister of Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, and had by her two sons, named Torquil Dubh and Tormod. Having again disinherited Torquil Connanach, that young chief once more took up arms, and was supported by two illegitimate sons of Roderick, named Tormod *Uigach* and Murdoch, while three others, Donald, Rory Oig, and Neill, joined with their father. He apprehended the old chief, Roderick Macleod, and killed a number of his men. All the charters and title deeds of the Lewis were carried off by Torquil, and handed over to the Mackenzies. The charge of the castle of Stornoway, with the chief, a prisoner in it, was committed to John Macleod, the son of Torquil Connanach, but he was attacked by Rory Oig and killed, when Roderick Macleod was released, and possessed the island in peace during the remainder of his life.

On his death he was succeeded by his son Torquil Dubh, who married a sister of Sir Roderick Macleod of Harris. Torquil Dubh, as we have narrated in the former part of the work, was by stratagem apprehended by the breve of Lewis, and carried to the country of the Mackenzies, into the presence of Lord Kintail, who ordered Torquil Dubh and his

companions to be beheaded. This took place in July 1597.

Torquil Dubh left three young sons, and their uncle Neill, a bastard brother of their father, took, in their behalf, the command of the isle of Lewis. Their cause was also supported by the Macleods of Harris and the Macleans. The dissensions in the Lewis, followed by the forfeiture of that island, in consequence of the non-production of the title-deeds, as required by the act of the Estates of 1597, already mentioned, afforded the king an opportunity of trying to carry into effect his abortive project of colonisation already referred to. The colonists were at last compelled to abandon their enterprise.

The title to the Lewis having been acquired by Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Kintail, he lost no time in taking possession of the island, expelling Neill Macleod, with his nephews, Malcolm, William, and Roderick, sons of Rory Oig, who, with about thirty others, took refuge on Berrisay, an insulated rock on the west coast of Lewis. Here they maintained themselves for nearly three years, but were at length driven from it by the Mackenzies. Neill surrendered to Roderick Macleod of Harris, who, on being charged, under pain of treason, to deliver him to the privy council at Edinburgh, gave him up, with his son Donald. Neill was brought to trial, convicted, and executed, and is said to have died "very Christianlie" in April 1613. Donald, his son, was banished from Scotland, and died in Holland. Roderick and William, two of the sons of Rory Oig, were seized by the tutor of Kintail, and executed. Malcolm, the other son, apprehended at the same time, made his escape, and continued to harass the Mackenzies for years. He was prominently engaged in Sir James Macdonald's rebellion in 1615, and afterwards went to Flanders, but in 1616 was once more in the Lewis, where he killed two gentlemen of the Mackenzies. He subsequently went to Spain, whence he returned with Sir James Macdonald in 1620. In 1622 and 1626, commissions of fire and sword were granted to Lord Kintail and his clan against "Malcolm MacRuari Macleod." Nothing more is known of him.

On the extinction of the main line of the Lewis, the representation of the family devolved on the Macleods of Rasay, afterwards referred to. The title of Lord Macleod was the second title of the Mackenzies, Earls of Cromarty.

At the battle of Worcester in 1651, the Macleods fought on the side of Charles II., and so great was the slaughter amongst them that it was agreed by the other clans that they should not engage in any other conflict until they had recovered their losses. The Harris estates were sequestrated by Cromwell, but the chief of the Macleods was at last, in May 1665, admitted into the protection of the Commonwealth by General Monk, on his finding security for his peaceable behaviour under the penalty of £6,000 sterling, and paying a fine of £2,500. Both his uncles, however, were expressly excepted.

At the Revolution, Macleod of Macleod, which became the designation of the laird of Harris, as chief of the clan, was favourable to the cause of James II. In 1715 the effective force of the Macleods was 1,000 men, and in 1745, 900. The chief, by the advice of President Forbes, did not join in the rebellion of the latter year, and so saved his estates, but many of his clansmen, burning with zeal for the cause of Prince Charles, fought in the ranks of the rebel army.

It has been mentioned that the bad treatment which a daughter of the chief of the Macleods experienced from her husband, the captain of the Clanranald, had caused them to take the first opportunity of inflicting a signal vengeance on the Macdonalds. The merciless act of Macleod, by which the entire population of an island was cut off at once, is described by Mr Skene,[5] and is shortly thus. Towards the close of the 16th century, a small number of Macleods accidentally landed on the island of Eigg, and were hospitably received by the inhabitants. Offering, however, some incivilities to the young women of the island, they were, by the male relatives of the latter, bound hand and foot, thrown into a boat, and sent adrift. Being met and rescued by a party of their own clansmen, they were brought to Dunvegan, the residence of their

[5] *Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 277.

chief, to whom they told their story. Instantly manning his galleys, Macleod hastened to Eigg. On descrying his approach, the islanders, with their wives and children, to the number of 200 persons, took refuge in a large cave, situated in a retired and secret place. Here for two days they remained undiscovered, but having unfortunately sent out a scout to see if the Macleods were gone, their retreat was detected, but they refused to surrender. A stream of water fell over the entrance to the cave, and partly concealed it. This Macleod caused to be turned from its course, and then ordered all the wood and other combustibles which could be found to be piled up around its mouth, and set fire to, when all within the cave were suffocated.

The Siol Tormod continued to possess Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg till near the close of the 18th century. The former and the latter estates have now passed into other hands. A considerable portion of Harris is the property of the Earl of Dunmore, and many of its inhabitants have emigrated to Cape Breton and Canada. The climate of the island is said to be favourable to longevity. Martin, in his account of the Western Isles, says he knew several in Harris of 90 years of age. One Lady Macleod, who passed the most of her time here, lived to 103, had then a comely head of hair and good teeth, and enjoyed a perfect understanding till the week she died. Her son, Sir Norman Macleod, died at 96, and his grandson, Donald Macleod of Bernera, at 91. Glenelg became the property first of Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg, and afterwards of Mr Baillie. From the family of Bernera, one of the principal branches of the Harris Macleods, sprung the Macleods of Luskinder, of which Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, a lord of session, was a cadet.

The first of the house of Rasay, the late proprietor of which is the representative of the Lewis branch of the Macleods, was Malcolm Garbh Macleod, the second son of Malcolm, eighth chief of the Lewis. In the reign of James V. he obtained from his father in patrimony the island of Rasay, which lies between Skye and the Ross-shire district of Applecross. In 1569 the whole of the Rasay family, except one infant, were barbarously massacred by one of their own kinsmen, under the following circumstances. John MacGhilliechallum Macleod of Rasay, called *Ian na Tuaidh*, or John with the axe, who had carried off Janet Mackenzie, the first wife of his chief, Roderick Macleod of the Lewis, married her, after her divorce, and had by her several sons and one daughter. The latter became the wife of Alexander Roy Mackenzie, a grandson of Hector or Eachen Roy, the first of the Mackenzies of Gairloch, a marriage which gave great offence to his clan, the Siol vic Gillechallum, as the latter had long been at feud with that particular branch of the Mackenzies. On Janet Mackenzie's death, he of the axe married a sister of a kinsman of his own, Ruari Macallan Macleod, who, from his venomous disposition, was surnamed *Nimhneach*. The latter, to obtain Rasay for his nephew, his sister's son, resolved to cut off both his brother-in-law and his sons by the first marriage. He accordingly invited them to a feast in the island of Isay in Skye, and after it was over he left the apartment. Then, causing them to be sent for one by one, he had each of them assassinated as they came out. He was, however, balked in his object, as Rasay became the property of Malcolm or Ghilliechallum Garbh Macallaster Macleod, then a child, belonging to the direct line of the Rasay branch, who was with his foster-father at the time.[6] Rasay no longer belongs to the Macleods, they having been compelled to part with their patrimony some years ago.

The Macleods of Assynt, one of whom betrayed the great Montrose in 1650, were also a branch of the Macleods of Lewis. That estate, towards the end of the 17th century, became the property of the Mackenzies, and the family is now represented by Macleod of Geanies. The Macleods of Cadboll are cadets of those of Assynt.

[6] *Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 211.

CHAPTER V.

Clan Chattan—Chiefship—Mackintoshes—Battle of North Inch—Macphersons—MacGillivrays—Shaws—Farquharsons—Macbeans—Macphails—Gows—MacQueens—Cattanachs.

THE CLAN CHATTAN.[7]

Of the clan Chattan little or nothing authentic is known previous to the last six hundred years. Their original home in Scotland, their parentage, even their name, have been disputed. One party brings them from Germany, and settles them in the district of Moray; another brings them from Ireland, and settles them in Lochaber; and a third makes them the original inhabitants of Sutherland and Caithness. With regard to their name there is still greater variety of opinion: the *Catti*, a Teutonic tribe; *Catav*, "the high side of the Ord of Caithness;" *Gillicattan Mor*, their alleged founder, said to have lived in the reign of Malcolm II., 1003-1033; *cat*, a weapon,—all have been advanced as the root name. We cannot pretend to decide on such a matter, which, in the entire absence of any record of the original clan, will no doubt ever remain one open to dispute; and therefore we refrain from entering at length into the reasons for and against these various derivations. Except the simple fact that such a clan existed, and occupied Lochaber for some time (how long cannot be said) before the 14th century, nothing further of it is known, although two elaborate genealogies of it are extant—one in the MS. of 1450 discovered by Mr Skene; the other (which, whatever its faults, is no doubt much more worthy of credence) compiled by Sir Æneas Macpherson in the 17th century.

Mr Skene, on the authority of the MS. of 1450, makes out that the clan was the most important of the tribes owning the sway of the native Earls or Maormors of Moray, and represents it as occupying the whole of Badenoch, the greater part of Lochaber, and the districts of Strathnairn and Strathdearn, holding their lands in chief of the crown. But it seems tolerably evident that the MS. of 1450 is by no means to be relied upon; Mr Skene himself says it is not trustworthy before A.D. 1000, and there is no good ground for supposing it to be entirely trustworthy 100 or even 200 years later. The two principal septs of this clan in later times, the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes, Mr Skene, on the authority of the MS., deduces from two brothers, Neachtan and Neill, sons of Gillicattan Mor, and on the assumption that this is correct, he proceeds to pronounce judgment on the rival claims of Macpherson of Cluny and Mackintosh of Mackintosh to the headship of clan Chattan.

Mr Skene, from "the investigations which he has made into the history of the tribes of Moray, as well as into the history and nature of Highland traditions," conceives it to be established by "historic authority," that the Macphersons are the lineal and feudal representatives of the ancient chiefs of the clan Chattan, and "that they possess that right by blood to the chiefship, of which no charters from the crown, and no usurpation, however successful and continued, can deprive them." It is not very easy to understand, however, by what particular process of reasoning Mr Skene has arrived at this conclusion. For supposing it were established "beyond all doubt," as he assumes it to be, by the manuscript of 1450, that the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes are descended from Neachtan and Neill, the two sons of Gillichattan-more, the founder of the race, it does not therefore follow that "the Mackintoshes were an usurping branch of the clan," and that "the Macphersons alone possessed the right of blood to that hereditary dignity." This is indeed taking for granted the very point to be proved, in fact the whole matter in dispute. Mr Skene affirms that the descent of the Macphersons from the ancient chiefs "is not denied," which is in reality saying nothing to the purpose; because the question is, not whether this pretended descent has or has not been denied, but whether it can now be established by satisfactory evidence. To make out a case in favour of the Macphersons, it is necessary to show—first, that the descendants of Neachtan formed the eldest

[7] For much of this account of the clan Chattan we are indebted to the kindness of A. Mackintosh Shaw, Esq. of London, who has revised the whole. His forthcoming history of the clan, we have reason to believe, will be the most valuable clan history yet published.

branch, and consequently were the chiefs of the clan; secondly, that the Macphersons *are* the lineal descendants and the feudal representatives of this same Neachtan, whom they claim as their ancestor; and, lastly, that the Mackintoshes are really descended from Neill, the second son of the founder of the race, and not from Macduff, Earl of Fife, as they themselves have always maintained. But we do not observe that any of these points has been formally proved by evidence, or that Mr Skene has deemed it necessary to fortify his assertions by arguments, and deductions from historical facts. His statement, indeed, amounts just to this—That the family of Macheth, the descendants of Head or Heth, the son of Neachtan, were "identical with the chiefs of clan Chattan;" and that the clan Vurich, or Macphersons, were descended from these chiefs. But, in the first place, the "identity" which is here contended for, and upon which the whole question hinges, is imagined rather than proved; it is a conjectural assumption rather than an inference deduced from a series of probabilities: and, secondly, the descent of the clan Vurich from the Macheths rests solely upon the authority of a Celtic genealogy (the manuscript of 1450) which, whatever weight may be given to it when supported by collateral evidence, is not alone sufficient authority to warrant anything beyond a mere conjectural inference. Hence, so far from granting to Mr Skene that the hereditary title of the Macphersons of Cluny to the chiefship of clan Chattan has been clearly established by him, we humbly conceive that he has left the question precisely where he found it. The title of that family may be the preferable one, but it yet remains to be shown that such is the case.

Tradition certainly makes the Macphersons of Cluny the male representatives of the chiefs of the old clan Chattan; but even if this is correct, it does not therefore follow that they have now, or have had for the last six hundred years, any right to be regarded as chiefs of the clan. The same authority, fortified by written evidence of a date only about fifty years later than Skene's MS., in a MS. history of the Mackintoshes, states that Angus, 6th chief of Mackintosh, married the daughter and only child of Dugall Dall, chief of clan Chattan, in the end of the 13th century, and with her obtained the lands occupied by the clan, with the station of leader, and that he was *received* as such by the clansmen. Similar instances of the abrogation of what is called the Highland law of succession are to be found in Highland history, and on this ground alone the title of the Mackintosh chiefs seems to be a good one. Then again we find them owned and followed as captains of clan Chattan even by the Macphersons themselves up to the 17th century; while in hundreds of charters, bonds and deeds of every description, given by kings, Lords of the Isles, neighbouring chiefs, and the septs of clan Chattan itself, is the title of captain of clan Chattan acceded to them—as early as the time of David II. Mr Skene, indeed, employs their usage of the term Captain to show that they had no right of blood to the headship—a right they have never claimed, although there is perhaps no reason why they should not claim such a right from Eva. By an argument deduced from the case of the Camerons—the weakness of which will at once be seen on a careful examination of his statements—he presumes that they were the oldest cadets of the clan, and had usurped the chiefship. No doubt the designation captain was used, as Mr Skene says, when the actual leader of a clan was a person who had no right by blood to that position, but it does not by any means follow that he is right in assuming that those who are called captains were *oldest cadets*. Hector, *bastard son* of Ferquhard Mackintosh, while at the head of his clan during the minority of the actual chief, his distant cousin, is in several deeds styled *captain* of clan Chattan, and he was certainly not oldest cadet of the house of Mackintosh.

It is not for us to offer any decided opinion respecting a matter where the pride and pretensions of rival families are concerned. It may therefore be sufficient to observe that, whilst the Macphersons rest their claims chiefly on tradition, the Mackintoshes have produced, and triumphantly appealed to charters and documents of every description, in support of their pretensions; and that it is not very easy to see how so great a mass of written evidence can be overcome by merely calling into court

Tradition to give testimony adverse to its credibility. The admitted fact of the Mackintosh family styling themselves captains of the clan does not seem to warrant any inference which can militate against their pretensions. On the contrary, the original assumption of this title obviously implies that no chief was in existence at the period when it was assumed; and its continuance, unchallenged and undisputed, affords strong presumptive proof in support of the account given by the Mackintoshes as to the original constitution of their title. The idea of usurpation appears to be altogether preposterous. The right alleged by the family of Mackintosh was not direct but collateral; it was founded on a marriage, and not derived by descent; and hence, probably, the origin of the secondary or subordinate title of captain which that family assumed. But can any one doubt that if a claim founded upon a preferable title had been asserted, the inferior pretension must have given way? Or is it in any degree probable that the latter would have been so fully recognised, if there had existed any lineal descendant of the ancient chiefs in a condition to prefer a claim founded upon the inherent and indefeasible right of blood?

Further, even allowing that the Macphersons are the lineal male representatives of the old clan Chattan chiefs, they can have no possible claim to the headship of the clan Chattan of later times, which was composed of others besides the descendants of the old clan. The Mackintoshes also repudiate any connection by blood with the old clan Chattan, except through the heiress of that clan who married their chief in 1291; and, indeed, such a thing was never thought of until Mr Skene started the idea; consequently the Macphersons can have no claim over them, or over the families which spring from them. The great body of the clan, the *historical* clan Chattan, have always owned and followed the chief of Mackintosh as their leader and captain—the term captain being simply employed to include the whole—and until the close of the 17th century no attempt was made to deprive the Mackintosh chiefs of this title.

Among many other titles given to the chief of the Mackintoshes within the last 700 years, are, according to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, those of *Captain of Clan Chattan, Chief of Clan Chattan*, and *Principal of Clan Chattan*. The following on this subject is from the pen of Lachlan Shaw, the historian of Moray, whose knowledge of the subject entitled him to speak with authority. It is printed in the account of *the Kilravock Family* issued by the Spalding Club. "Eve Catach, who married MacIntosh, was the heir-female (Clunie's ancestor being the heir-male), and had MacIntosh assumed her surname, he would (say the MacPhersons) have been chief of the Clanchatan, according to the custom of Scotland. But this is an empty distinction. For, if the right of chiftanry is, *jure sanguinis*, inherent in the heir-female, she conveys it, and cannot but convey it to her son, whatever surname he takes; *nam jura sanguinis non præscribunt.* And if it is not inherent in her, she cannot convey it to her son, although he assume her surname. Be this as it will, MacIntosh's predecessors were, for above 300 years, designed Captains of Clanchatan, in royal charters and commissions, in bonds, contracts, history, heraldrie, &c.; the occasion of which title was, that several tribes or clans (every clan retaining its own surname) united in the general designation of Clanchatan; and of this incorporated body, MacIntosh was the head leader or captain. These united tribes were MacIntosh, MacPherson, Davidson, Shaw, MacBean, MacGilivray, MacQueen, Smith, MacIntyre, MacPhail, &c. In those times of barbarity and violence, small and weak tribes found it necessary to unite with, or come under the patronage of more numerous and powerful clans. And as long as the tribes of Clanchatan remained united (which was till the family of Gordon, breaking with the family of MacIntosh, disunited them, and broke their coalition), they were able to defend themselves against any other clan."

In a MS., probably written by the same author, a copy of which now lies before us, a lengthened enquiry into the claims of the rival chiefs is concluded thus:—"In a word, if by the chief of the clan Chattan is meant the heir of the family, it cannot be doubted that Cluny is chief. If the heir whatsoever is meant, then unquestionably Mackintosh is chief; and who-

ever is chief, since the captaincy and command of the collective body of the clan Chattan was for above 300 years in the family of Mackintosh, I cannot see but, if such a privilege now remains, it is still in that family." In reference to this much-disputed point, we take the liberty of quoting a letter of the Rev. W. G. Shaw, of Forfar. He has given the result of his inquiries in several privately printed brochures, but it is hoped that ere long he will place at the disposal of all who take an interest in these subjects the large stores of information he must have accumulated on many matters connected with the Highlands. Writing to the editor of this book he says, on the subject of the chiefship of clan Chattan:—

"Skene accords too much to the Macphersons in one way, but not enough in another.

"(*Too much*)—He says that for 200 years the Mackintoshes headed the clan Chattan, but only as *captain*, not as chief. But during these 200 years we have bonds, &c., cropping up now and then in which the Macphersons are *only* designated as (*M.* or *N.*) *Macpherson of Cluny*. Their claim to *headship* seems to have been thoroughly in abeyance till the middle of the 17th century.

"(*Too little*)—For he says the Macphersons in their controversy (1672) before the Lyon King, pled *only* tradition, whereas they pled the *facts*.

"*De jure* the Macphersons were chiefs; *de facto*, they *never* were; and they only *claimed* to use the *title* when clanship began to be a thing of the past, in so far as *fighting* was concerned.

"The Macphersons seem to have been entitled to the chieftainship by right of birth, but *de facto* they never had it. The *might* of 'the *Macintosh*' had made his *right*, as is evidenced in half-a-hundred bonds of manrent, deeds of various kinds, to be found in the 'Thanes of Cawdor,' and the Spalding Club Miscellany—*passim*. He is always called Capitane or Captane of clan Quhattan, the spelling being scarcely ever twice the same."

Against *Mackintosh's* powerful claims supported by deeds, &c., the following statements are given from the *Macpherson MS.* in Mr W. G. Shaw's possession:—

I. In 1370, the head of the Macphersons disowned the head of the Mackintoshes at Invernahavon. Tradition says Macpherson withdrew from the field without fighting, *i. e.*, he mutinied on a point of precedence between him and Mackintosh.

II. Donald More Macpherson fought along with Marr at Harlaw, *against* Donald of the Isles with *Mackintosh* on his side, the two chiefs being then on different sides (1411).

III. Donald Oig Macpherson fought on the side of Huntly at the battle of Corrichie, and was killed; Mackintosh fought on the other side (1562).

IV. Andrew Macpherson of Cluny held the Castle of Ruthven, A.D. 1594, against Argyll, Mackintosh fighting on the side of Argyll.[8]

This tends to show that when the Macphersons joined with the Mackintoshes, it was (they alleged) *voluntarily*, and not on account of their being bound to follow Mackintosh as chief.

In a loose way, no doubt, Mackintosh may sometimes have been called *Chief of Clan Chattan*, but *Captain* is the title generally given in deeds of all kinds. He was chief of the Mackintoshes, as Cluny was chief of the Macphersons—by *right of blood;* but by agreement amongst the Shaws, Macgillivrays, Clarkes, (Clerach), Clan Dai, &c., renewed from time to time, Mackintosh was recognised as *Captain of Clan Chattan*.

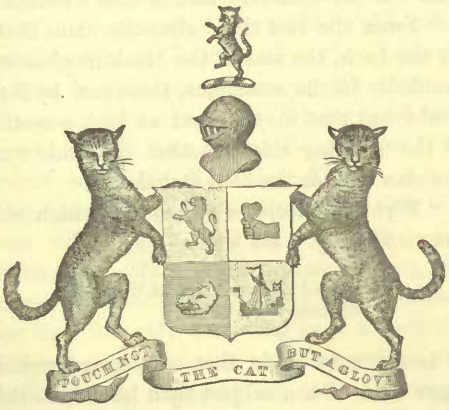
We cannot forbear adding as a fit moral to this part of the subject, the conclusion come to by the writer of the MS. already quoted:—"After what I have said upon this angry point, I cannot but be of opinion, that in our day, when the right of chieftanrie is so little regarded, when the power of the chiefs is so much abridged, when armed convocations of the lieges are discharged by law, and when a clan are not obliged to obey their chief unless he bears a royal commission,—when matters are so, 'tis my opinion that questions about chieftainrie and debates about precedency of that kind, are equally idle and unprofitable,

[8] Mr Mackintosh Shaw says that, in 1591, Huntly obtained a bond of manrent from Andrew Macpherson and his immediate family, the majority of the Macphersons remaining faithful to Mackintosh. Statements II. and III. are founded *only* on the Macpherson MS.

and that gentlemen should live in strict friendship as they are connected by blood, by affinity, or by the vicinity of their dwellings and the interest of their families."

The clan Chattan of history, according to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh of Drummond,[9] was composed of the following clans, who were either allied to the Mackintoshes and Macphersons by genealogy, or who, for their own protection or other reasons, had joined the confederacy:—The Mackintoshes, Macphersons, Macgillivrays, Shaws, Farquharsons, Macbeans, Macphails, clan Tarril, Gows (said to be descended from Henry the Smith, of North Inch fame), Clarks, Macqueens, Davidsons, Cattanachs, clan Ay, Nobles, Gillespies. "In addition to the above sixteen tribes, the Macleans of Dochgarroch or clan Tearleach, the Dallases of Cantray, and others, generally followed the captain of clan Chattan as his friends." Of some of these little or nothing is known except the name; but others, as the Mackintoshes, Macphersons, Shaws, Farquharsons, &c., have on the whole a complete and well-detailed history.

MACKINTOSH.



BADGE—According to some, Boxwood, others, Red Whortleberry.

According to the Mackintosh MS. Histories (the first of which was compiled about 1500, other two dated in the 16th century, all of which were embodied in a Latin MS. by Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara about 1680), the progenitor of the family was Shaw or Seach, a son of Macduff, Earl of Fife, who, for his assistance in quelling a rebellion among the inhabitants of Moray, was presented by King Malcolm IV. with the lands of Petty and Breachly and the forestry of Strathearn, being made also constable of the castle at Inverness. From the high position and power of his father, he was styled by the Gaelic-speaking population Mac-an-Toisich, *i.e.*, "son of the principal or foremost." *Tus*, *tos*, or *tosich*, is "the beginning or first part of anything," whence "foremost" or "principal." Mr Skene says the *tosich* was the oldest cadet of a clan, and that Mackintosh's ancestor was oldest cadet of clan Chattan. Professor Cosmo Innes says the *tosich* was the administrator of the crown lands, the head man of a little district, who became under the Saxon title of Thane hereditary tenant; and it is worthy of note that these functions were performed by the successor of the above mentioned Shaw, who, the family history says, "was made chamberlain of the king's revenues in those parts for life." It is scarcely likely, however, that the name Mackintosh arose either in this manner or in the manner stated by Mr Skene, as there would be many tosachs, and in every clan an oldest cadet. The name seems to imply some peculiar circumstances, and these are found in the son of the great Thane or Earl of Fife.

Little is known of the immediate successors of Shaw Macduff. They appear to have made their residence in the castle of Inverness, which they defended on several occasions against the marauding bands from the west. Some of them added considerably to the possessions of the family, which soon took firm root in the north. Towards the close of the 13th century, during the minority of Angus MacFerquhard, 6th chief, the Comyns seized the castle of Inverness, and the lands of Geddes and Rait belonging to the Mackintoshes, and these were not recovered for more than a century. It was this chief who in 1291–2 married Eva, the heiress of clan Chattan, and who acquired with her the lands occupied by that clan, together with the station of leader of her father's clansmen. He appears to have been a chief of great activity, and a staunch supporter of Robert Bruce, with whom he took

[9] *Antiquarian Notes*, p. 358.

part in the battle of Bannockburn. He is placed second in the list of chiefs given by General Stewart of Garth as present in this battle. In the time of his son William the sanguinary feud with the Camerons broke out, which continued up to the middle of the 17th century. The dispute arose concerning the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig, which Angus Mackintosh had acquired with Eva, and which in his absence had been occupied by the Camerons. William fought several battles for the recovery of these lands, to which in 1337 he acquired a charter from the Lord of the Isles, confirmed in 1357 by David II., but his efforts were unavailing to dislodge the Camerons. The feud was continued by his successor, Lauchlan, 8th chief, each side occasionally making raids into the other's country. In one of these is said to have occurred the well-known dispute as to precedency between two of the septs of clan Chattan, the Macphersons and the Davidsons. According to tradition, the Camerons had entered Badenoch, where Mackintosh was then residing, and had seized a large "spreagh." Mackintosh's force, which followed them, was composed chiefly of these two septs, the Macphersons, however, considerably exceeding the rest. A dispute arising between the respective leaders of the Macphersons and Davidsons as to who should lead the right wing, the chief of Mackintosh, as superior to both, was appealed to, and decided in favour of Davidson. Offended at this, the Macphersons, who, if all accounts are true, had undoubtedly the better right to the post of honour, withdrew from the field of battle, thus enabling the Camerons to secure a victory. When, however, they saw that their friends were defeated, the Macphersons are said to have returned to the field, and turned the victory of the Camerons into a defeat, killing their leader, Charles MacGillonie. The date of this affair, which took place at Invernahavon, is variously fixed at 1370 and 1384, and some writers make it the cause which led to the famous battle on the North Inch of Perth twenty-six years later.

As is well known, great controversies have raged as to the clans who took part in the Perth fight, and those writers just referred to decide the question by making the Macphersons and Davidsons the combatant clans.[1]

Wyntoun's words are—

"They three score ware clannys twa,
Clahynnhe Qwhewyl and Clachinyha,
Of thir twa kynnys war thay men,
Thretty again thretty then,
And thare thay had thair chiftanys twa,
Scha Farqwharis Sone wes ane of thay,
The tother Christy Johnesone."

On this the Rev. W. G. Shaw of Forfar remarks,—"One writer (Dr Macpherson) tries to make out that the clan Yha or Ha was the clan Shaw. Another makes them to be the clan Dhai or Davidsons. Another (with Skene) makes them Macphersons. As to the clan Quhele, Colonel Robertson (author of 'Historical Proofs of the Highlanders,') supposes that the clan Quhele was the clan Shaw, partly from the fact that in the Scots Act of Parliament of 1392 (vol. i. p. 217), whereby several clans were forfeited for their share in the raid of Angus [described in vol. i.], there is mention made of Slurach, or (as it is supposed it ought to have been written) Sheach[2] *et omnes clan Quhele.* Then others again suppose that the clan Quhele was the clan Mackintosh. Others that it was the clan Cameron, whilst the clan Yha was the Clan-na-Chait or clan Chattan.

"From the fact that, after the clan Battle on the Inch, the star of the Mackintoshes was decidedly in the ascendant, there can be little doubt but that they formed at least a section of the winning side, whether that side were the clan Yha or the clan Quhele.

"Wyntoun declines to say on which side the victory lay. He writes—

'Wha had the waur fare at the last,
I will nocht say.'

It is not very likely that subsequent writers knew more of the subject than he did, so that after all, we are left very much to the traditions of the families themselves for information. The Camerons, Davidsons, Mackintoshes, and Macphersons, all say that they took part in

[1] For details as to this celebrated combat, see vol. i. ch. v. The present remarks are supplementary to the former, and will serve to correct several inaccuracies.

[2] Every one acquainted with the subject, knows what havoc Lowland scribes have all along made of Gaelic names in legal and public documents.

the fray. The Shaws' tradition is, that their ancestor, being a relative of the Mackintoshes, took the place of the aged chief of that section of the clan, on the day of battle. The chroniclers *vary* as to the names of the clans, but they all *agree* as to the name of *one* of the leaders, viz., that it was Shaw. Tradition and history are agreed on this *one point*.

"One thing emerges clearly from the confusion as to the clans who fought, and as to which of the modern names of the contending clans was represented by the clans Yha and Quhele,—*one thing emerges*, a Shaw leading the victorious party, and a race of Shaws springing from him as their great—if not their first—founder, a race, who for ages afterwards, lived in the district and fought under the banner of the Laird of Mackintosh."[3]

As to the Davidsons, the tradition which vouches for the particulars of the fight at Invernahavon expressly says that the Davidsons were almost to a man cut off, and it is scarcely likely that they would, within so short a time, be able to muster sufficient men either seriously to disturb the peace of the country or to provide thirty champions. Mr Skene solves the question by making the Mackintoshes and Macphersons the combatant clans, and the cause of quarrel the right to the headship of clan Chattan. But the traditions of both families place them on the winning side, and there is no trace whatever of any dispute at this time, or previous to the 16th century, as to the chiefship. The most probable solution of this difficulty is, that the clans who fought at Perth were the clan Chattan (*i.e.*, Mackintoshes, Macphersons, and others) and the Camerons. Mr Skene, indeed, says that the only clans who have a tradition of their ancestors having been engaged are the Mackintoshes, Macphersons, and *Camerons*, though he endeavours to account for the presence of the last named clan by making them assist the Macphersons against the Mackintoshes.[4] The editor of the *Memoirs of Lochiel*, mentioning this tradition of the Camerons, as well as the opinion of Skene, says,—"It may be observed, that the side allotted to the Camerons (viz. the *unsuccessful* side) affords the strongest internal evidence of its correctness. Had the Camerons been described as victors it would have been very different."

The author of the recently discovered MS. account of the clan Chattan already referred to, says that by this conflict Cluny's right to lead the van was established; and in the meetings of clan Chattan he sat on Mackintosh's right hand, and when absent that seat was kept empty for him. Henry Wynde likewise associated with the clan Chattan, and his descendants assumed the name of Smith, and were commonly called Sliochd a Gow Chroim.

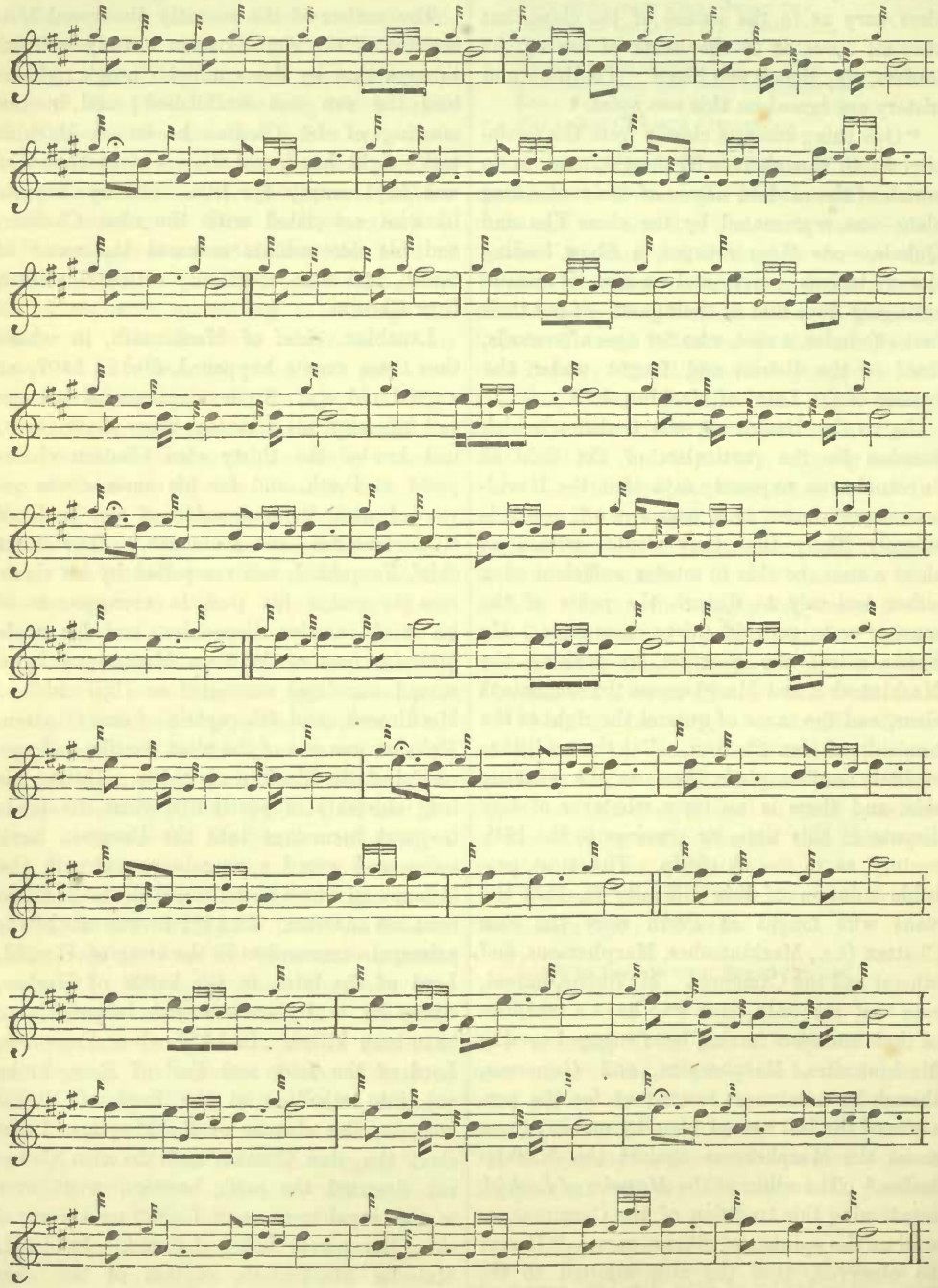
Lauchlan, chief of Mackintosh, in whose time these events happened, died in 1407, at a good old age. In consequence of his age and infirmity, his kinsman, Shaw Mackintosh, had headed the thirty clan Chattan champions at Perth, and for his success was rewarded with the possession of the lands of Rothiemurchus in Badenoch. The next chief, Ferquhard, was compelled by his clans men to resign his post in consequence of his mild, inactive disposition, and his uncle Malcolm (son of William Mac-Angus by a second marriage) succeeded as 10th chief of Mackintosh, and 5th captain of clan Chattan. Malcolm was one of the most warlike and successful of the Mackintosh chiefs. During his long chiefship of nearly fifty years, he made frequent incursions into the Cameron territories, and waged a sanguinary war with the Comyns, in which he recovered the lands taken from his ancestor. In 1411 he was one of the principal commanders in the army of Donald, Lord of the Isles, in the battle of Harlaw, where he is by some stated incorrectly to have been killed. In 1429, when Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, broke out into rebellion at the head of 10,000 men, on the advance of the king into Lochaber, the clan Chattan and the clan Cameron deserted the earl's banners, went over to the royal army, and fought on the royal side, the rebels being defeated. In 1431, Malcolm Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, received a grant of the lands of Alexander of Lochaber, uncle of the Earl of Ross, that chieftain having been forfeited

[3] The Mackintosh MS. of 1500 states that Lauchlan, the Mackintosh chief, gave Shaw a grant of Rothiemurchus "for his valour on the Inch that day."

[4] Vol. ii. pp. 175–178.

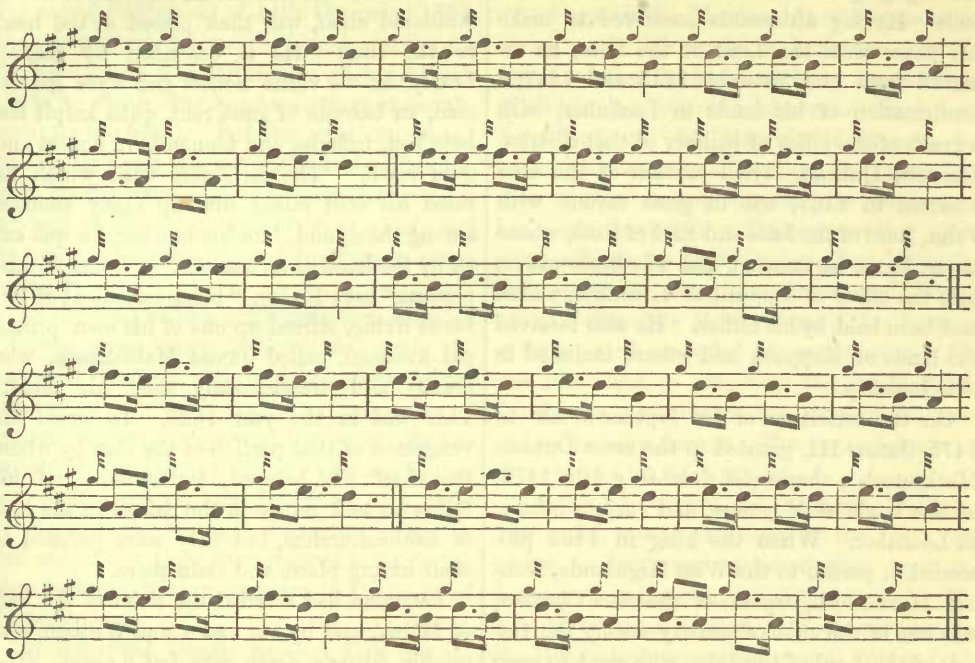
THE MACKINTOSH'S LAMENT.*

Arranged for the Bagpipes by PIPE-MAJOR A. M'LENNAN, *Highland Light Infantry Militia, Inverness.*
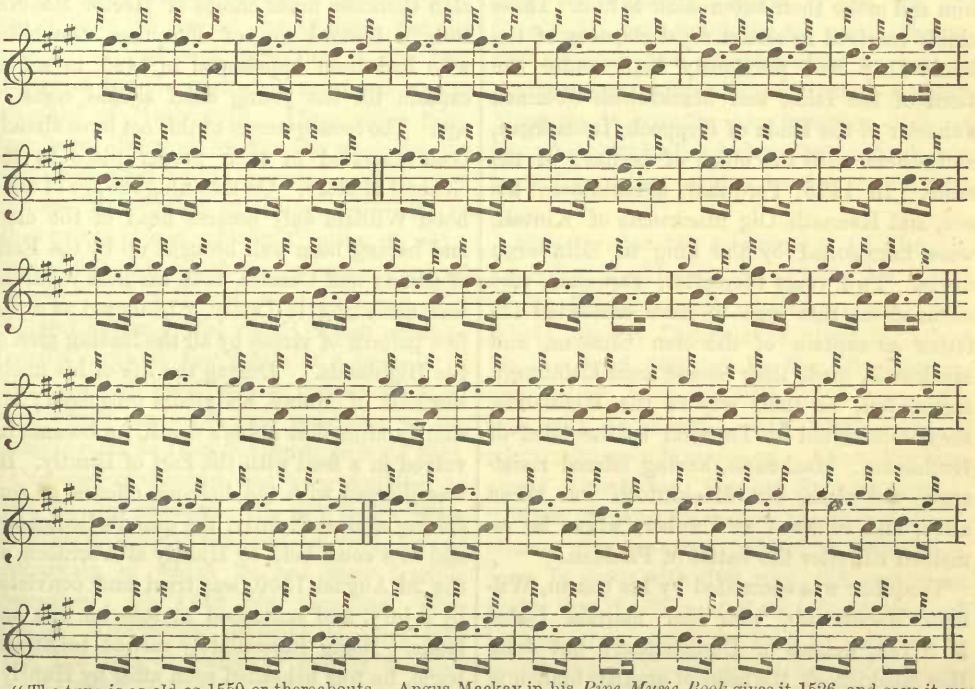


* THE MACKINTOSH'S LAMENT.—For the copy of the Mackintosh's Lament here given, the editor and publishers are indebted to the kindness of The Mackintosh. In a note which accompanied it that gentleman gives the following interesting particulars :—

VARIATION 1st.



DOUBLING OF VARIATION 1ST.



"The tune is as old as 1550 or thereabouts. Angus Mackay in his *Pipe Music Book* gives it 1526, and says it was composed on the death of Lauchlan, the 14th Laird; but we believe that it was composed by the famous family bard Macintyre, upon the death of William, who was murdered by the Countess of Huntly, in 1550. This bard had seen within the space of 40 years, four captains of the Clan Chattan meet with violent deaths, and his deep feelings found vent in the refrain,

"Mackintosh, the excellent
They have lifted;

They have laid thee
Low, they have laid thee."

These are the only words in existence which I can hear of.'

for engaging in the rebellion of Donald Balloch. Having afterwards contrived to make his peace with the Lord of the Isles, he received from him, between 1443 and 1447, a confirmation of his lands in Lochaber, with a grant of the office of bailiary of that district. His son, Duncan, styled captain of the clan Chattan in 1467, was in great favour with John, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, whose sister, Flora, he married, and who bestowed on him the office of steward of Lochaber, which had been held by his father. He also received the lands of Keppoch and others included in that lordship.

On the forfeiture of his brother-in-law in 1475, James III. granted to the same Duncan Mackintosh a charter, of date July 4th, 1476, of the lands of Moymore, and various others, in Lochaber. When the king in 1493 proceeded in person to the West Highlands, Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, was one of the chiefs, formerly among the vassals of the Lord of the Isles, who went to meet him and make their submission to him. These chiefs received in return royal charters of the lands they had previously held under the Lord of the Isles, and Mackintosh obtained a charter of the lands of Keppoch, Innerorgan, and others, with the office of bailiary of the same. In 1495, Farquhar Mackintosh, his son, and Kenneth Oig Mackenzie of Kintail, were imprisoned by the king in Edinburgh castle. Two years thereafter, Farquhar, who seems about this time to have succeeded his father as captain of the clan Chattan, and Mackenzie, made their escape from Edinburgh castle, but, on their way to the Highlands, they were seized at Torwood by the laird of Buchanan. Mackenzie, having offered resistance, was slain, but Mackintosh was taken alive, and confined at Dunbar, where he remained till after the battle of Flodden.

Farquhar was succeeded by his cousin, William Mackintosh, who had married Isabel M'Niven, heiress of Dunnachtan: but John Roy Mackintosh, the head of another branch of the family, attempted by force to get himself recognised as captain of the clan Chattan, and failing in his design, he assassinated his rival at Inverness in 1515. Being closely pursued, however, he was overtaken and slain at Glenesk. Lauchlan Mackintosh, the brother of the murdered chief, was then placed at the head of the clan. He is described by Bishop Lesley[5] as "a verrie honest and wyse gentleman, an barroun of gude rent, quha keipit hes hole ken, friendes and tennentis in honest and guid rewll." The strictness with which he ruled his clan raised him up many enemies among them, and, like his brother, he was cut off by the hand of an assassin. "Some wicked persons," says Lesley, "being impatient of virtuous living, stirred up one of his own principal kinsmen, called James Malcolmson, who cruelly and treacherously slew his chief." This was in the year 1526. To avoid the vengeance of that portion of the clan by whom the chief was beloved, Malcolmson and his followers took refuge in the island in the loch of Rothiemurchus, but they were pursued to their hiding place, and slain there.

Lauchlan had married the sister of the Earl of Moray, and by her had a son, William, who on his father's death was but a child. The clan therefore made choice of Hector Mackintosh, a bastard son of Farquhar, the chief who had been imprisoned in 1495, to act as captain till the young chief should come of age. The consequences of this act have already been narrated in their proper place in the General History. On attaining the age of manhood William duly became head of the clan, and having been well brought up by the Earls of Moray and Cassilis, both his near relatives, was, according to Lesley, "honoured as a perfect pattern of virtue by all the leading men of the Highlands." During the life of his uncle, the Earl of Moray, his affairs prospered; but shortly after that noble's death, he became involved in a feud with the Earl of Huntly. He was charged with the heinous offence of conspiring against Huntly, the queen's lieutenant, and at a court held by Huntly at Aberdeen, on the 2d August 1550, was tried and convicted by a jury, and sentenced to lose his life and lands. Being immediately carried to Strathbogie, he was beheaded soon after by Huntly's countess, the earl himself having given a pledge that his life should be spared. The story is told, though with grave errors, by Sir

[5] *History of Scotland*, p. 137.

Walter Scott, in his *Tales of a Grandfather*.[6] By Act of Parliament of 14th December 1557, the sentence was reversed as illegal, and the son of Mackintosh was restored to all his father's lands, to which Huntly added others as assythment for the blood. But this act of atonement on Huntly's part was not sufficient to efface the deep grudge owed him by the clan Chattan on account of the execution of their chief, and he was accordingly thwarted by them in many of his designs.

In the time of this earl's grandson, the clan Chattan again came into collision with the powerful Gordons, and for four years a deadly feud raged between them. In consequence of certain of Huntly's proceedings, especially the murder of the Earl of Moray, a strong faction was formed against him, Lauchlan, 16th chief of Mackintosh, taking a prominent part. A full account of these disturbances in 1624 has already been given in its place in the General History.

In this feud Huntly succeeded in detaching the Macphersons belonging to the Cluny branch from the rest of clan Chattan, but the majority of that sept, according to the MS. history of the Mackintoshes, remained true to the chief of Mackintosh. These allies, however, were deserted by Huntly when he became reconciled to Mackintosh, and in 1609 Andrew Macpherson of Cluny, with all the other principal men of clan Chattan, signed a bond of union, in which they all acknowledged the chief of Mackintosh as *captain and chief* of clan Chattan. The clan Chattan were in Argyll's army at the battle of Glenlivat in 1595, and with the Macleans formed the right wing, which made the best resistance to the Catholic earls, and was the last to quit the field.

Cameron of Lochiel had been forfeited in 1598 for not producing his title deeds, when Mackintosh claimed the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, of which he had kept forcible possession. In 1618 Sir Lauchlan, 17th chief of Mackintosh, prepared to carry into effect the acts of outlawry against Lochiel, who, on his part, put himself under the protection of the Marquis of Huntly, Mackintosh's mortal foe. In July of the same year Sir Lauchlan obtained a commission of fire and sword against the Macdonalds of Keppoch for laying waste his lands in Lochaber. As he conceived that he had a right to the services of all his clan, some of whom were tenants and dependents of the Marquis of Huntly, he ordered the latter to follow him, and compelled such of them as were refractory to accompany him into Lochaber. This proceeding gave great offence to Lord Gordon, Earl of Enzie, the marquis's son, who summoned Mackintosh before the Privy Council, for having, as he asserted, exceeded his commission. He was successful in obtaining the recall of Sir Lauchlan's commission, and obtaining a new one in his own favour. The consequences of this are told in vol. i. ch. x.

During the wars of the Covenant, William, 18th chief, was at the head of the clan, but owing to feebleness of constitution took no active part in the troubles of that period. He was, however, a decided loyalist, and among the Mackintosh papers are several letters, both from the unhappy Charles I. and his son Charles II., acknowledging his good affection and service. The Mackintoshes, as well as the Macphersons and Farquharsons, were with Montrose in considerable numbers, and, in fact, the great body of clan Chattan took part in nearly all that noble's battles and expeditions.

Shortly after the accession of Charles II., Lauchlan Mackintosh, to enforce his claims to the disputed lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig against Cameron of Lochiel, raised his clan, and, assisted by the Macphersons, marched to Lochaber with 1500 men. He was met by Lochiel with 1200 men, of whom 300 were Macgregors. About 300 were armed with bows. General Stewart says:— "When preparing to engage, the Earl of Breadalbane, who was nearly related to both chiefs, came in sight with 500 men, and sent them notice that if either of them refused to agree to the terms which he had to propose, he would throw his interest into the opposite scale. After some hesitation his offer of mediation was accepted, and the feud amicably and finally settled." This was in 1665, when the celebrated Sir Ewen Cameron was chief, and a satisfactory arrangement having been

[6] Vol. ii. p. 7.

made, the Camerons were at length left in undisputed possession of the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, which their various branches still enjoy.

In 1672 Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, having resolved to throw off all connexion with Mackintosh, made application to the Lyon office to have his arms matriculated as laird of Cluny Macpherson, and "the only and true representative of the ancient and honourable family of the clan Chattan." This request was granted; and, soon afterwards, when the Privy Council required the Highland chiefs to give security for the peaceable behaviour of their respective clans, Macpherson became bound for his clan under the designation of the lord of Cluny and chief of the Macphersons; as he could only hold himself responsible for that portion of the clan Chattan which bore his own name and were more particularly under his own control. As soon as Mackintosh was informed of this circumstance, he applied to the privy council and the Lyon office to have his own title declared, and that which had been granted to Macpherson recalled and cancelled. An inquiry was accordingly instituted, and both parties were ordered to produce evidence of their respective assertions, when the council ordered Mackintosh to give bond for those of his *clan*, his vassals, those descended of his family, his men, tenants, and servants, and all dwelling upon his ground; and enjoined Cluny to give bond for those of his name of Macpherson, descended of his family, and his men, tenants, and servants, "without prejudice always to the laird of Mackintosh." In consequence of this decision, the armorial bearings granted to Macpherson were recalled, and they were again matriculated as those of Macpherson of Cluny.

Between the Mackintoshes and the Macdonalds of Keppoch, a feud had long existed, originating in the claim of the former to the lands occupied by the latter, on the Braes of Lochaber. The Macdonalds had no other right to their lands than what was founded on prescriptive possession, whilst the Mackintoshes had a feudal title to the property, originally granted by the lords of the Isles, and, on their forfeiture, confirmed by the crown. After various acts of hostility on both sides, the feud was at length terminated by "the last considerable clan battle which was fought in the Highlands." To dispossess the Macdonalds by force, Mackintosh raised his clan, and, assisted by an independent company of soldiers, furnished by the government, marched towards Keppoch, but, on his arrival there, he found the place deserted. He was engaged in constructing a fort in Glenroy, to protect his rear, when he received intelligence that the Macdonalds, reinforced by their kinsmen of Glengarry and Glencoe, were posted in great force at Mulroy. He immediately marched against them, but was defeated and taken prisoner. At that critical moment, a large body of Macphersons appeared on the ground, hastening to the relief of the Mackintoshes, and Keppoch, to avoid another battle, was obliged to release his prisoner. It is highly to the honour of the Macphersons, that they came forward on the occasion so readily, to the assistance of the rival branch of the clan Chattan, and that so far from taking advantage of Mackintosh's misfortune, they escorted him safely to his own territories, and left him without exacting any conditions, or making any stipulations whatever as to the chiefship.[7] From this time forth, the Mackintoshes and the Macphersons continued separate and independent clans, although both were included under the general denomination of the clan Chattan.

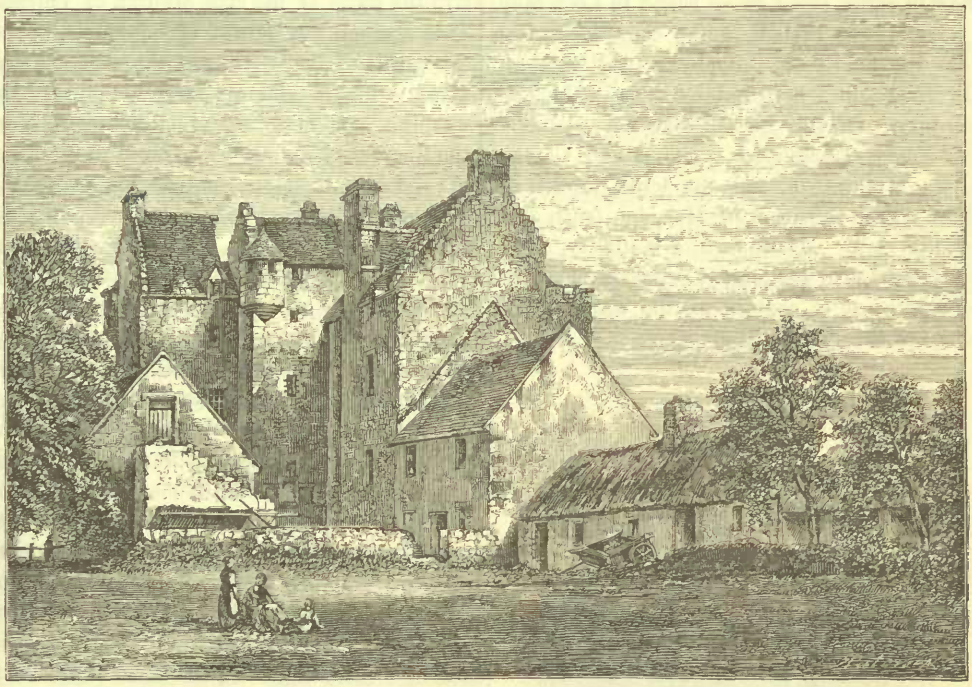
At the Revolution, the Mackintoshes adhered to the new government, and as the chief refused to attend the Viscount Dundee, on that nobleman soliciting a friendly interview with him, the latter employed his old opponent, Macdonald of Keppoch, to carry off his cattle. In the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, the Mackintoshes took a prominent part. Lauchlan, 20th chief, was actively engaged in the '15, and was at Preston on the Jacobite side. The exploits of Mackintosh of Borlum, in 1715, have been fully narrated in our account of the rebellion of that year.

Lauchlan died in 1731, without issue, when the male line of William, the 18th chief, became extinct. Lauchlan's successor, William Mackintosh, died in 1741. Angus, the brother of the latter, the next chief, married Anne,[8] daughter of Farquharson of Invercauld, a lady

7 Skene's *Highlanders*, ii. 188–9. 8 For portrait of Lady Anne Mackintosh, *v.* vol. i. p. 637.

who distinguished herself greatly in the rebellion of 1745. When her husband was appointed to one of the three new companies in Lord Loudon's Highlanders, raised in the beginning of that year, Lady Mackintosh traversed the country, and, in a very short time, enlisted 97 of the 100 men required for a captaincy. On the breaking out of the rebellion, she was equally energetic in favour of the Pretender, and, in the absence of Mackintosh, she raised two battalions of the clan for the prince, and placed them under the command of Colonel Macgillivray of Dun-maglass. In 1715 the Mackintoshes mustered 1,500 men under Old Borlum, but in 1745 scarcely one half of that number joined the forces of the Pretender. She conducted her followers in person to the rebel army at Inverness, and soon after her husband was taken prisoner by the insurgents, when the prince delivered him over to his lady, saying that "he could not be in better security, or more honourably treated."

At the battle of Culloden, the Mackintoshes were on the right of the Highland army, and in their eagerness to engage, they were the first



Dalcross Castle. From a photograph in the possession of The Mackintosh.

to attack the enemy's lines, losing their brave colonel and other officers in the impetuous charge. On the passing of the act for the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions of 1747, Mackintosh claimed £5000 as compensation for his hereditary office of steward of the lordship of Lochaber.

In 1812, Æneas, the 23d laird of Mackintosh, was created a baronet. On his death, without heirs male, Jan. 21, 1820, the baronetcy expired, and his cousin, Alexander whose immediate sires had settled in Canada, succeeded to the estate. Alexander dying without issue was succeeded by his brother Angus, at whose death in 1833 Alexander, his son became Mackintosh of Mackintosh, and died in 1861, his son, Alexander Æneas, now of Mackintosh, succeeded him as 27th chief of Mackintosh, and 22nd captain of clan Chattan.

The funerals of the chiefs of Mackintosh were always conducted with great ceremony and solemnity. When Lauchlan Mackintosh, the 19th chief, died, in the end of 1703, his body lay in state from 9th December that year, till 18th January 1704, in Dalcross Castle (which was built in 1620, and is a good

specimen of an old baronial Scotch mansion, and has been the residence of several chiefs), and 2000 of the clan Chattan attended his remains to the family vault at Petty. Kepoch was present with 220 of the Macdonalds. Across the coffins of the deceased chiefs are laid the sword of William, twenty-first of Mackintosh, and a highly finished claymore, presented by Charles I., before he came to the throne, to Sir Lauchlan Mackintosh, gentleman of the bedchamber.

The principal seat of The Mackintosh is Moy Hall, near Inverness. The original castle, now in ruins, stood on an island in Loch Moy.

The eldest branch of the clan Mackintosh was the family of Kellachy, a small estate in Inverness-shire, acquired by them in the 17th century. Of this branch was the celebrated Sir James Mackintosh. His father, Captain John Mackintosh, was the tenth in descent from Allan, third son of Malcolm, tenth chief of the clan. Mackintosh of Kellachy, as the eldest cadet of the family, invariably held the appointment of captain of the watch to the chief of the clan in all his wars.

MACPHERSON.



BADGE.—Boxwood.

The Macphersons, the other principal branch of the clan Chattan, are in Gaelic called the clan Vuirich or Muirich, from an ancestor of that name, who, in the Gaelic MS. of 1450, is said to have been the "son of Swen, son of Heth, son of Nachtan, son of Gillichattan, from whom came the clan Chattan." The word Gillichattan is supposed by some to mean a votary or servant of St Kattan, a Scottish saint, as Gillichrist (Gilchrist) means a servant of Christ.

The Macphersons claim unbroken descent from the ancient chiefs of the clan Chattan, and tradition is in favour of their being the lineal representatives of the chiefs of the clan. However, this point has been sufficiently discussed in the history of the Mackintoshes, where we have given much of the history of the Macphersons.

It was from Muirich, who is said to have been chief in 1153, that the Macphersons derive the name of the clan Muirich or Vuirich. This Muirich was parson of Kingussie, in the lower part of Badenoch, and the surname was given to his descendants from his office. He was the great-grandson of Gillichattan Mor, the founder of the clan, who lived in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and having married a daughter of the thane of Calder, had five sons. The eldest, Gillichattan, the third of the name, and chief of the clan in the reign of Alexander II., was father of Dougal Dall, the chief whose daughter Eva married Angus Mackintosh of Mackintosh. On Dougal Dall's death, as he had no sons, the representation of the family devolved on his cousin and heir-male, Kenneth, eldest son of Eoghen or Ewen Baan, second son of Muirich. Neill *Chrom*, so called from his stooping shoulders, Muirich's third son, was a great artificer in iron, and took the name of Smith from his trade. Farquhar Gilliriach, or the Swift, the fourth son, is said to have been the progenitor of the MacGillivrays, who followed the Mackintosh branch of the clan Chattan; and from David Dubh, or the Swarthy, the youngest of Muirich's sons, were descended the clan Dhai, or Davidsons of Invernahavon.[2]

One of the early chiefs is said to have received a commission to expel the Comyns from Badenoch, and on their forfeiture he obtained, for his services, a grant of lands. He was also allowed to add a hand holding a dagger to

[2] This is the genealogy given by Sir Æneas Macpherson. From another MS. genealogy of the Macphersons, and from the Mackintosh MS. history, we find that the son of Kenneth, the alleged *grandson* of Muirich, married a daughter of Ferquhard, ninth of Mackintosh, *cir.* 1410, so that it is probable Sir Æneas has placed Muirich and his family more than a century too early.

his armorial bearings. A MS. genealogy of the Macphersons makes Kenneth chief in 1386, when a battle took place at Invernahavon between the clan Chattan and the Camerons, details of which and of the quarrel between the Macphersons and the Davidsons will be found in the general history, and in the account of the Mackintoshes.

In 1609 the chief of the Macphersons signed a bond, along with all the other branches of that extensive tribe, acknowledging Mackintosh as captain and chief of the clan Chattan; but in all the contentions and feuds in which the Mackintoshes were subsequently involved with the Camerons and other Lochaber clans, they were obliged to accept of the Macphersons' aid as allies rather than vassals.

Andrew Macpherson of Cluny, who succeeded as chief in 1647, suffered much on account of his sincere attachment to the cause of Charles I. His son, Ewen, was also a staunch royalist. In 1665, under Andrew, the then chief, when Mackintosh went on an expedition against the Camerons, for the recovery of the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, he solicited the assistance of the Macphersons, when a notarial deed was executed, wherein Mackintosh declares that it was of their mere good will and pleasure that they did so; and on his part it is added, "I bind and oblige myself and friends and followers to assist and fortify and join, with the said Andrew, Lauchlan, and John Macpherson, all their lawful and necessary adoes, being thereunto required." The same Andrew, Lauchlan, and John, heads of the three great branches of the Macphersons, had on the 19th of the preceding November given a bond acknowledging Mackintosh as their chief. In 1672 Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, Andrew's brother, made application to the Lyon office to have his arms matriculated as laird of Cluny Macpherson, and "the only and true representative of the ancient and honourable family of the clan Chattan." This application was successful; but as soon as Mackintosh heard of it, he raised a process before the privy council to have it determined as to which of them had the right to the proper armorial bearings. After a protracted inquiry, the council issued an order for the two chiefs to give security for the peaceable behaviour of their respective clans, in the terms given in the account of Mackintosh. The same year Cluny entered into a contract of friendship with Æneas, Lord Macdonnell, and Aros, "for himself and takeing burden upon him for the haill name of Macpherson, and some others, *called Old Clan-chatten*, as cheefe and principall man thereof."

It is worthy of note that this same Duncan made an attempt, which was happily frustrated by his clansmen, to have his son-in-law, a son of Campbell of Cawdor, declared his successor.

On the death, without male issue, of Duncan Macpherson, in 1721 or 1722, the chiefship devolved on Lauchlan Macpherson of Nuid, the next male heir, being lineally descended from John, youngest brother of Andrew, the above-named chief. One of the descendants of this John of Nuid was James Macpherson, the resuscitator of the Ossianic poetry. Lauchlan married Jean, daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel. His eldest son, Ewen, was the chief at the time of the rebellion of 1745.



James Macpherson, Editor, &c. of the Ossianic Poetry.

In the previous rebellion of 1715, the Macphersons, under their then chief Duncan, had

taken a very active part on the side of the Pretender. On the arrival of Prince Charles in 1745, Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, who the same year had been appointed to a company in Lord Loudon's Highlanders, and had taken the oaths to government, threw up his commission, and, with 600 Macphersons, joined the rebel army after their victory at Prestonpans. The Macphersons were led to take an active part in the rebellion chiefly from a desire to revenge the fate of two of their clansmen, who were shot on account of the extraordinary mutiny of the Black Watch (now the 42d regiment) two years before, an account of which is given in the history of that Regiment.

Ewen Macpherson, the chief, at first hesitated to join the prince; and his wife, a daughter of Lord Lovat, although a staunch Jacobite, earnestly dissuaded him from breaking his oath to government, assuring him that nothing could end well that began with perjury. Her friends reproached her for interfering—and his clan urging him, Cluny unfortunately yielded.

At the battle of Falkirk, the Macphersons formed a portion of the first line. They were too late for the battle of Culloden, where their assistance might have turned the fortune of the day; they did not come up till after the retreat of Charles from that decisive field. In the subsequent devastations committed by the English army, Cluny's house was plundered and burnt to the ground. Every exertion was made by the government troops for his apprehension, but they never could lay their hands upon him. He escaped to France in 1755, and died at Dunkirk the following year.

Ewen's son, Duncan, was born in 1750, in a kiln for drying corn, in which his mother had taken refuge after the destruction of their house. During his minority, his uncle, Major John Macpherson of the 78th foot, acted as his guardian. He received back the estate which had been forfeited, and, entering the army, became lieutenant-colonel of the 3d foot guards. He married, 12th June 1798, Catherine, youngest daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Fassifern, baronet; and on his death, 1st August 1817, was succeeded by his eldest son, Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, the present chief.

In Cluny castle are preserved various relics of the rebellion of 1745; among the rest, the Prince's target and lace wrist ruffles, and an autograph letter from Charles, promising an ample reward to his devoted friend Cluny. There is also the black pipe chanter on which the prosperity of the house of Cluny is said to be dependent, and which all true members of the clan Vuirich firmly believe fell from heaven, in place of the one lost at the conflict on the North Inch of Perth.

The war-cry of the Macphersons was "Creag Dhu," the name of a rock in the neighbourhood of Cluny Castle. The chief is called in the Highlands "Mac Mhurich Chlanaidh," but everywhere else is better known as Cluny Macpherson.

Among the principal cadets of the Macpherson family were the Macphersons of Pitmean, Invereshie, Strathmassie, Breachachie, Essie, &c. The Invereshie branch were chiefs of a large tribe called the *Siol Gillies*, the founder of which was Gillies or Elias Macpherson, the first of Invereshie, a younger son of Ewen Baan or Bane (so called from his fair complexion) above mentioned. Sir Eneas Macpherson, tutor of Invereshie, advocate, who lived in the reigns of Charles II. and James VII., collected the materials for the history of the clan Macpherson, the MS. of which is still preserved in the family. He was appointed sheriff of Aberdeen in 1684.

George Macpherson of Invereshie married Grace, daughter of Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch, and his elder son, William, dying, unmarried, in 1812, was succeeded by his nephew George, who, on the death of his maternal granduncle, General James Grant of Ballindalloch, 13th April 1806, inherited that estate, and in consequence assumed the name of Grant in addition to his own. He was MP. for the county of Sutherland for seventeen years, and was created a baronet 25th July 1838. He thus became Sir George Macpherson-Grant of Invereshie, Inverness-shire, and Ballindalloch, Elginshire. On his death in November 1846, his son, Sir John, sometime secretary of legation at Lisbon, succeeded as second baronet. Sir John died Dec. 2, 1850. His eldest son, Sir George Macpherson-Grant of Invereshie and Ballindalloch, born Aug. 12,

1839, became the third baronet of this family. He married, July 3, 1861, Frances Elizabeth, younger daughter of the Rev. Roger Pocklington, Vicar of Walesby, Nottinghamshire.

We can refer only with the greatest brevity to some of the minor clans which were included under the great confederacy of the clan Chattan.

MACGILLIVRAY.

The Macgillivrays were one of the oldest and most important of the septs of clan Chattan, and from 1626, when their head, Ferquhard MacAllister, acquired a right to the lands of Dunmaglass, frequent mention of them is found in extant documents, registers, etc. Their ancestor placed himself and his posterity under the protection of the Mackintoshes in the time of Ferquhard, fifth chief of Mackintosh, and the clan have ever distinguished themselves by their prowess and bravery. One of them is mentioned as having been killed in a battle with the Camerons about the year 1330, but perhaps the best known of the heads of this clan was Alexander, fourth in descent from the Ferquhard who acquired Dunmaglass. This gentleman was selected by Lady Mackintosh to head her husband's clan on the side of Prince Charlie in the '45. He acquitted himself with the greatest credit, but lost his life, as did all his officers except three, in the battle of Culloden. In the brave but rash charge made by his battalion against the English line, he fell, shot through the heart, in the centre of Barrel's regiment. His body, after lying for some weeks in a pit where it had been thrown with others by the English soldiers, was taken up by his friends and buried across the threshold of the kirk of Petty. His brother William was also a warrior, and gained the rank of captain in the old 89th regiment, raised about 1758. One of the three officers of the Mackintosh battalion who escaped from Culloden was a kinsman of these two brothers,—Farquhar of Dalcrombie, whose grandson, Niel John M'Gillivray of Dunmaglass, is the present head of the clan.

The M'Gillivrays possessed at various times, besides Dunmaglass, the lands of Aberchallader, Letterchallen, Largs, Faillie, Dalcrombie, and Daviot. It was in connection with the succession to Faillie that Lord Ardmillan's well-known decision was given in 1860 respecting the legal *status* of a clan.

In a Gaelic lament for the slain at Culloden the MacGillivrays are spoken of as

> "'The warlike race,
> The gentle, vigorous, flourishing,
> Active, of great fame, beloved,
> The race that will not wither, and has descended
> Long from every side,
> Excellent MacGillivrays of the Doune.'

SHAW.[3]

The origin of the Shaws, at one time a most important clan of the Chattan confederation, has been already referred to in connection with the Mackintoshes. The tradition of the Mackintoshes and Shaws is "unvaried," says the Rev. W. G. Shaw of Forfar, that at least from and after 1396, a race of Shaws existed in Rothiemurchus, whose great progenitor was the Shaw Mor who commanded the section of the clan represented by the Mackintoshes on the Inch. The tradition of the Shaws is, that he was Shaw, the son of James, the son or descendant of Farquhar; the tradition of the Macintoshes —that he was Shaw-*mac*-Gilchrist-*mac*-Ian-*mac*-Angus-*mac*-Farquhar, — Farquhar being the ancestor according to *both* traditions, from whom he took the name (according to Wyntoun) of Sha Farquharis Son.[4] The tradition of a James Shaw who 'had bloody contests with the Comyns,' which tradition is fortified by that of the Comyns, may very likely refer to the James, who, according to the genealogies both of the Shaws and Mackintoshes, was the son of Shaw Mor.

Mr Shaw of Forfar, who is well entitled to speak with authority on the subject, maintains "that prior to 1396, the clan now represented

[3] The Shaw arms are the same as those of the Farquharsons following, except that the former have not the banner of Scotland in bend displayed in the second and third quarters.

[4] The date of part of the Mackintosh MS. is 1490. It states that Lauchlan the chief gave Shaw a grant of Rothiemurchus "for his valour on the Inch that day." It also states that the "Farquhar" above-mentioned was a man of great parts and remarkable fortitude, and that he fought with his clan at the battle of Largs in 1263. More than this, it states that Duncan, his uncle, was his TUTOR during his minority, and that Duncan and his posterity held Rothiemurches till 1396, when Malcolm, the last of his race, fell at the fight at Perth—after which the lands (as above stated) were given to Shaw Mor.

by the Mackintoshes, had been (as was common amongst the clans) sometimes designated as the clan Shaw, after the successive chiefs of that name, especially the first, and sometimes as the clan of the Mac-an-Toisheach, *i.e.*, of the Thane's son. Thus, from its first founder, the great clan of the Isles was originally called the clan Cuin, or race of Constantine. Afterwards, it was called the clan Colla, from his son Coll, and latterly the clan Donald, after one of his descendants of that name. So the Macleans are often called clan Gilleon after their founder and first chief; and the Macphersons, the clan Muirich, after one of the most distinguished in their line of chiefs. The Farquharsons are called clan Fhiunla, after their great ancestor, Finlay Mor. There is nothing more probable, therefore—I should say more certain—than that the race in after times known as Mackintoshes, should at first have been as frequently designated as Na Si'aich, 'The Shaws,' after the Christian *name* of their first chief, as Mackintoshes after his *appellative description* or designation. It is worthy of remark, that the race of Shaws is never spoken of in Gaelic as the 'clan Shaw,' but as 'Na Si'aich'—The Shaws, or as we would say Shawites. We never hear of Mac-Shaws—sons of Shaw, but of 'Na Si'aich—The Shaws.' Hence prior to 1396, when a Shaw so distinguished himself as to found a family, under the wing of his chief, the undivided race, so to speak, would sometimes be called 'Mackintoshes,' or followers of the Thane's sons, sometimes the clan Chattan, the generic name of the race, sometimes 'clan Dhugaill,' (Quehele) after Dougall-Dall, and sometimes 'Na Si'aich,' the Shaws or Shawites, after the numerous chiefs who bore the name of Shaw in the line of descent. Hence the claim of both Shaws and Mackintoshes to the occupancy of Rothiemurchus. After 1396, the term Na Si'aich was restricted, as all are agreed, to the clan developed out of the other, through the prowess of Shaw Mór."

Shaw "Mor" Mackintosh, who fought at Perth in 1396, was succeeded by his son James, who fell at Harlaw in 1411. Both Shaw and James had held Rothiemurchus only as tenants of the chief of Mackintosh, but James's son and successor, Alister "Ciar" (*i. e.*, brown), obtained from Duncan, 11th of Mackintosh, in 1463–4, his right of possession and tack. In the deed by which David Stuart, Bishop of Moray, superior of the lands, confirms this disposition of Duncan, and gives Alister the feu, Alister is called "Allister Kier *Mackintosh*." This deed is dated 24th September 1464. All the deeds in which Alister is mentioned call him Mackintosh, not Shaw, thus showing the descent of the Shaws from the Mackintoshes, and that they did not acquire their name of Shaw until after Alister's time.

Alister's grandson, Alan, in 1539, disponed his right to Rothiemurchus to Edom Gordon, reserving only his son's liferent. Alan's grandson of the same name was outlawed for the murder of his stepfather, some fifty years later, and compelled to leave the country. Numerous Shaws are, however, still to be found in the neighbourhood of Rothiemurchus, or who can trace their descent from Alister Kier.

Besides the Shaws of Rothiemurchus, the Shaws of Tordarroch in Strathnairn, descended from Adam, younger brother of Alister Kier, were a considerable family; but, like their cousins, they no longer occupy their original patrimony. Tordarroch was held in wadset of the chiefs of Mackintosh, and was given up to Sir Æneas Mackintosh in the end of last century by its holder at the time, Colonel Alexander Shaw, seventh in descent from Adam.

Angus MacBean vic Robert of Tordarroch signed the Bond of 1609 already mentioned. His great-grandsons, Robert and Æneas, took part during their father's life in the rebellion of 1715; both were taken prisoners at Preston, and were confined in Newgate, the elder brother dying during his imprisonment. The younger, Æneas, succeeded his father, and in consideration of his taking no part in the '45, was made a magistrate, and received commissions for his three sons, the second of whom, Æneas, rose to the rank of major-general in the army. Margaret, daughter of Æneas of Tordarroch, was wife of Farquhar Macgillivray of Dalcrombie, one of the three officers of the Mackintosh regiment who escaped from Culloden.

Æneas was succeeded by his eldest son, Colonel Alexander Shaw, lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Man under the crown. He gave up the wadset of Tordarroch to Sir Æneas Mackintosh, and died in 1811.

From the four younger sons of Alister Kier descended respectively the Shaws of DELL (the family of the historian of Moray, the Rev. Lachlan Shaw); of DALNIVERT, the representation of it devolved in the last century on a female, who married ——— Clark; the FARQUHARSONS, who in time acquired more importance than the Shaws; and the SHAWS OF HARRIS, who still retain a tradition of their ancestor, Iver MacAlister Ciar.

FARQUHARSON.



Badge—Red Whortleberry.

The immediate ancestor of the Farquharsons of Invercauld, the main branch, was Farquhar or Fearchard, a son of Alister "Keir" Mackintosh or Shaw of Rothiemurchus, grandson of Shaw Mor. Farquhar, who lived in the reign of James III., settled in the Braes of Mar, and was appointed baillie or hereditary chamberlain thereof. His sons were called Farquharson, the first of the name in Scotland. His eldest son, Donald, married a daughter of Duncan Stewart, commonly called Duncan Downa Dona, of the family of Mar, and obtained a considerable addition to his paternal inheritance, for faithful services rendered to the crown.

Donald's son and successor, Findla or Findlay, commonly called from his great size and strength, Findla Mhor, or great Findla, lived in the beginning of the sixteenth century. His descendants were called MacIanla or Mackinlay. Before his time the Farquharsons were called in the Gaelic, clan Erachar or Earachar, the Gaelic for Farquhar, and most of the branches of the family, especially those who settled in Athole, were called Mac-Earachar. Those of the descendants of Findla Mhor who settled in the Lowlands had their name of Mackinlay changed into Finlayson.[5]

Findla Mhor, by his first wife, a daughter of the Baron Reid of Kincardine Stewart, had four sons, the descendants of whom settled on the borders of the counties of Perth and Angus, south of Braemar, and some of them in the district of Athole.

His eldest son, William, who died in the reign of James VI., had four sons. The eldest, John, had an only son, Robert, who succeeded him. He died in the reign of Charles II.

Robert's son, Alexander Farquharson of Invercauld, married Isabella, daughter of William Mackintosh of that ilk, captain of the clan Chattan, and had three sons.

William, the eldest son, dying unmarried, was succeeded by the second son, John, who carried on the line of the family. Alexander, the third son, got the lands of Monaltrie, and married Anne, daughter of Francis Farquharson, Esq. of Finzean.

The above-mentioned John Farquharson of Invercauld, the ninth from Farquhar the founder of the family, was four times married. His children by his first two wives died young. By his third wife, Margaret, daughter of Lord James Murray, son of the first Marquis of Athole, he had two sons and two daughters. His elder daughter, Anne, married Eneas Mackintosh of that ilk, and was the celebrated Lady Mackintosh, who, in 1745, defeated the design of the Earl of Loudon to make prisoner Prince Charles at Moy castle. By his fourth wife, a daughter of Forbes of Waterton, he had a son and two daughters, and died in 1750.

His eldest son, James Farquharson of Invercauld, greatly improved his estates, both in appearance and product. He married Amelia, the widow of the eighth Lord Sinclair, and

[5] *Family MS.* quoted by Douglas in his *Baronage.*

daughter of Lord George Murray, lieutenant-general of Prince Charles's army, and had a large family, who all died except the youngest, a daughter, Catherine. On his death, in 1806, this lady succeeded to the estates. She married, 16th June 1798, Captain James Ross, R.N. (who took the name of Farquharson, and died in 1810), second son of Sir John Lockhart Ross of Balnagowan, Baronet, and by him had a son, James Farquharson, a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of Aberdeenshire, representative of the family.

There are several branches of this clan, of which we shall mention the Farquharsons of Whitehouse, who are descended from Donald Farquharson of Castleton of Braemar and Monaltrie, living in 1580, eldest son, by his second wife, of Findla Mhor, above mentioned.

Farquharson of Finzean is the heir male of the clan, and claims the chieftainship, the heir of line being Farquharson of Invercauld. His estate forms nearly the half of the parish of Birse, Aberdeenshire. The family, of which he is representative, came originally from Braemar, but they have held property in the parish for many generations. On the death of Archibald Farquharson, Esq. of Finzean, in 1841, that estate came into the possession of his uncle, John Farquharson, Esq., residing in London, who died in 1849, and was succeeded by his third cousin, Dr Francis Farquharson. This gentleman, before succeeding to Finzean, represented the family of Farquharson of Balfour, a small property in the same parish and county, sold by his grandfather.

The Farquharsons, according to Duncan Forbes "the only clan family in Aberdeenshire," and the estimated strength of which was 500 men, were among the most faithful adheernts of the house of Stuart, and throughout all the struggles in its behalf constantly acted up to their motto, "*Fide et Fortitudine.*" The old motto of the clan was, "We force nae friend, we fear nae foe." They fought under Montrose, and formed part of the Scottish army under Charles II. at Worcester in 1651. They also joined the forces under the Viscount of Dundee in 1689, and at the outbreak of the rebellion of 1715 they were the first to muster at the summons of the Earl of Mar.

In 1745, the Farquharsons joined Prince Charles, and formed two battalions, the one under the command of Farquharson of Monaltrie, and the other of Farquharson of Balmoral; but they did not accompany the Prince in his expedition into England. Farquharson of Invercauld was treated by government with considerable leniency for his share in the rebellion, but his kinsman, Farquharson of Balmoral, was specially excepted from mercy in the act of indemnity passed in June 1747.

The Macbeans, Macbanes, or Macbains, derive their name from the fair complexion of their progenitor, or, according to some, from their living in a high country, *beann* being the Gaelic name for a mountain, hence Ben Nevis, Ben Lomond, &c. The distinctive badge of the Macbeans, like that of the Macleods, was the red whortleberry. Of the Mackintosh clan they are considered an offshoot, although some of themselves believe that they are Camerons. It is true that a division of the MacBeans fought under Lochiel in 1745, but a number of them fought under Golice or Gillies MacBane, of the house of Kinchoil, in the Mackintosh battalion. This gigantic Highlander, who was six feet four and a-half inches in height, displayed remarkable prowess at the battle of Culloden.[6]

"In the time of William, first of the name, and sixth of Mackintosh, William Mhor, son to Bean-Mac Domhnuill-Mhor and his four sons, Paul, Gillies, William-Mhor, and Farquhar, after they had slain the Red Comyn's steward at Innerlochie, came, according to the history, to William Mackintosh, to Connage, where he then resided, and for themselves and their posterity, took protection of him and his. No tribe of Clan Chattan, the history relates, suffered so severely at Harlaw as Clan Vean."[7]

The Macphails are descended from one "Paul Macphail, goodsir to that Sir Andrew Macphail, parson of Croy, who wrote the history of the Mackintoshes. Paul lived in the time of Duncan, first of the name, and eleventh of Mackintosh, who died in 1496. The head of the tribe had his residence at Inverarnie, on the water of Nairn."[8]

[6] *See* vol. i. p. 666.
[7] Fraser-Mackintosh's *Antiquarian Notes*, p. 360.
[8] *Ibid.*

According to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, there is a tradition that the Gows are descended from Henry, the smith who fought at the North Inch battle, he having accompanied the remnant of the Mackintoshes, and settled in Strathnairn. Being bandy-legged, he was called "Gow Chrom." At any rate, this branch of clan Chattan has long been known as "Sliochd an Gow Chrom." *Gow* is a "smith," and thus a section of the multitudinous tribe of Smiths may claim connection with the great clan Chattan.

The head of the MACQUEENS was Macqueen of Corrybrough, Inverness-shire.[9] The founder of this tribe is said to have been Roderick Dhu Revan MacSweyn or Macqueen, who, about the beginning of the 15th century, received a grant of territory in the county of Inverness. He belonged to the family of the Lord of the Isles, and his descendants from him were called the clan Revan.

The Macqueens fought, under the standard of Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, at the battle of Harlaw in 1411. On 4th April 1609, Donald Macqueen of Corrybrough signed the bond of manrent, with the chiefs of the other tribes composing the clan Chattan, whereby they bound themselves to support Angus Mackintosh of that ilk as their captain and leader. At this period, we are told, the tribe of Macqueen comprehended twelve distinct families, all landowners in the counties of Inverness and Nairn.

In 1778, Lord Macdonald of Sleat, who had been created an Irish peer by that title two years before, having raised a Highland regiment, conferred a lieutenancy in it on a son of Donald Macqueen, then of Corrybrough, and in the letter, dated 26th January of that year, in which he intimated the appointment, he says, "It does me great honour to have the sons of chieftains in the regiment, and as the Macqueens have been invariably attached to our family, to whom we believe we owe our existence, I am proud of the nomination." Thus were the Macqueens acknowledged to have been of Macdonald origin, although they ranged themselves among the tribes of the clan Chattan. The present head of the Macqueens is John Fraser Macqueen, Q.C.

The CATTANACHS, for a long period few in number, are, according to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, perhaps better entitled to be held descendants of Gillichattan Mor than most of the clan.

The force of the clan Chattan was, in 1704, estimated at 1400; in 1715, 1020; and in 1745, 1700.

[9] The present head does not now hold the property.

CHAPTER VI.

Camerons—Macleans of Dowart, Lochbuy, Coll, Ardgour, Torloisk, Kinlochaline, Ardtornish, Drimnin, Tapul, Scallasdale, Muck, Borrera, Treshinish, Pennycross — Macnaughton — Mackenricks — Macknights—Macnayers—Macbraynes—Maceols—Siol O'Cain—Munroes—Macmillans.

CAMERON.



BADGE—Oak (or, according to others, Crowberry).

ANOTHER clan belonging to the district comprehended under the old Maormordom of Moray, is that of the Camerons or clan Chameron. According to John Major,[1] the clan Cameron and the clan Chattan had a common origin, and for a certain time followed one chief; but for this statement there appears to be no foundation. Allan, surnamed MacOchtry, or the son of Uchtred, is mentioned by tradition as the chief of the Camerons in the reign of Robert II.; and, according to the same authority, the clan Cameron and the clan Chattan were the two hostile tribes between whose champions, thirty against thirty, was

[1] Gregory's *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 75.

fought the celebrated combat at Perth, in the year 1396, before King Robert III. with his nobility and court. The Camerons, says a manuscript history of the clan, have an old tradition amongst them that they were originally descended from a younger son of the royal family of Denmark, who assisted at the restoration of Fergus II. in 404; and that their progenitor was called Cameron from his crooked nose, a name which was afterwards adopted by his descendants. "But it is more probable," adds the chronicler, "that they are the aborigines of the ancient Scots or Caledonians that first planted the country;" a statement which proves that the writer of the history understood neither the meaning of the language he employed, nor the subject in regard to which he pronounced an opinion.

As far back as can distinctly be traced, this tribe had its seat in Lochaber, and appears to have been first connected with the house of Isla in the reign of Robert Bruce, from whom, as formerly stated, Angus Og received a grant of Lochaber. Their more modern possessions of Lochiel and Locharkaig,[2] situated upon the western side of the Lochy, were originally granted by the Lord of the Isles to the founder of the clan Ranald, from whose descendants they passed to the Camerons. This clan originally consisted of three septs,—the Camerons or MacMartins of Letterfinlay, the Camerons or MacGillonies of Strone, and the Camerons or MacSorlies of Glennevis; and from the genealogy of one of these septs, which is to be found in the manuscript of 1450, it has been inferred that the Lochiel family belonged to the second, or Camerons of Strone, and that being thus the oldest cadets, they assumed the title of Captain of the clan Cameron.[3] Mr Skene conjectures that, after the victory at Perth, the MacMartins, or oldest branch, adhered to the successful party, whilst the great body of the clan, headed by the Lochiel family, declared themselves independent; and that in this way the latter were placed in that position which they have ever since retained. But however this may be, Donald Dhu, who was probably the grandson of Allan MacOchtry, headed the clan at the battle of Harlaw, in 1411, and afterwards united with the captain of the clan Chattan in supporting James I. when that king was employed in reducing to obedience Alexander, Lord of the Isles. Yet these rival clans, though agreed in this matter, continued to pursue their private quarrels without intermission; and the same year in which they deserted the Lord of the Isles, and joined the royal banner, viz. 1429, a desperate encounter took place, in which both suffered severely, more especially the Camerons. Donald Dhu, however, was present with the royal forces at the battle of Inverlochy, in the year 1431, where victory declared in favour of the Islanders, under Donald Balloch; and immediately afterwards his lands were ravaged by the victorious chief, in revenge for his desertion of the Lord of the Isles, and he was himself obliged to retire to Ireland, whilst the rest of the clan were glad to take refuge in the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains. It is probably from this Donald Dhu that the Camerons derived their patronymic appellation of MacDhonuill Duibh, otherwise MacConnel Duy, "son of Black Donald."

But their misfortunes did not terminate here. The Lord of the Isles, on his return from captivity, resolved to humble a clan which he conceived had so basely deserted him; and with this view, he bestowed the lands of the Camerons on John Garbh Maclean of Coll, who had remained faithful to him in every vicissitude of fortune. This grant, however, did not prove effectual. The clan Cameron, being the actual occupants of the soil, offered a sturdy resistance to the intruder; John Maclean, the second laird of Coll, who had held the estate for some time by force, was at length slain by them in Lochaber; and Allan, the son of Donald Dhu, having acknowledged himself a vassal of the Lord of Lochalsh, received in return a promise of support against all who pretended to dispute his right, and was thus enabled to acquire the estates of Locharkaig and Lochiel, from the latter of which his descendants have taken their territorial denomination. By a lady of the family of Keppoch, this Allan, who was surnamed MacCoilduy, had a son, named Ewen, who was captain of the clan

[2] A view of Locharkaig will be found at p. 709, vol. i.

[3] As to Mr Skene's theory of the captainship of clan, see the account of clan Chattan.

Cameron in 1493, and afterwards became a chief of mark and distinction. Allan, however, was the most renowned of all the chiefs of the Camerons, excepting, perhaps, his descendant Sir Ewen. He had the character of being one of the bravest leaders of his time, and he is stated to have made no less than thirty-five expeditions into the territories of his enemies. But his life was too adventurous to last long. In the thirty-second year of his age he was slain in one of the numerous conflicts with the Mackintoshes, and was succeeded by his son Ewen, who acquired almost the whole estates which had belonged to the chief of clan Ranald; and to the lands of Lochiel, Glenluy, and Locharkaig, added those of Glennevis, Mamore, and others in Lochaber. After the forfeiture of the last Lord of the Isles, he also obtained a feudal title to all his possessions, as well those which he had inherited from his father, as those which he had wrested from the neighbouring clans; and from this period the Camerons were enabled to assume that station among the Highland tribes which they have ever since maintained.

The Camerons having, as already stated, acquired nearly all the lands of the clan Ranald, Ewen Allanson, who was then at their head, supported John Moydertach, in his usurpation of the chiefship, and thus brought upon himself the resentment of the Earl of Huntly, who was at that time all-powerful in the north. Huntly, assisted by Fraser of Lovat, marched to dispossess the usurper by force, and when their object was effected they retired, each taking a different route. Profiting by this imprudence, the Camerons and Macdonalds pursued Lovat, against whom their vengeance was chiefly directed, and having overtaken him near Kinloch-lochy, they attacked and slew him, together with his son and about three hundred of his clan. Huntly, on learning the defeat and death of his ally, immediately returned to Lochaber, and with the assistance of William Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, seized Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, captain of the clan Cameron, and Ranald Macdonald Glas of Keppoch, whom he carried to the castle of Ruthven in Badenoch. Here they were detained for some time in prison; but being soon afterwards removed to Elgin, they were there tried for high treason, and being found guilty by a jury of landed gentlemen, were beheaded, whilst several of their followers, who had been apprehended along with them, were hanged. This event, which took place in the year 1546, appears to have had a salutary effect in disposing the turbulent Highlanders to submission, the decapitation of a chief being an act of energy for which they were by no means prepared.

The subsequent history of the clan Chameron, until we come to the time of Sir Ewen, the hero of the race, is only diversified by the feuds in which they were engaged with other clans, particularly the Mackintoshes, and by those incidents peculiar to the times and the state of society in the Highlands. Towards the end of Queen Mary's reign, a violent dispute having broken out amongst the clan themselves, the chief, Donald Dhu, patronymically styled Macdonald Mhic Ewen, was murdered by some of his own kinsmen; and, during the minority of his successor, the Mackintoshes, taking advantage of the dissensions which prevailed in the clan, invaded their territories, and forced the grand-uncles of the young chief, who ruled in his name, to conclude a treaty respecting the disputed lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig. But this arrangement being resented by the clan, proved ineffectual; no surrender was made of the lands in question; and the inheritance of the chief was preserved undiminished by the patriotic devotion of his clansmen. Early in 1621, Allan Cameron of Lochiel, and his son John, were outlawed for not appearing to give security for their future obedience, and a commission was issued to Lord Gordon against him and his clan; but this commission was not rigorously acted on, and served rather to protect Lochiel against the interference of Mackintosh and others, who were very much disposed to push matters to extremity against the clan Chameron. The following year, however, Lochiel was induced to submit his disputes with the family of Mackintosh to the decision of mutual friends; and by these arbitrators, the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig were adjudged to belong to Mackintosh, who, however, was ordained to pay

certain sums of money by way of compensation to Lochiel. But, as usually happens in similar cases, this decision satisfied neither party. Lochiel, however, pretended to acquiesce, but delayed the completion of the transaction in such a way that the dispute was not finally settled until the time of his grandson, the celebrated Sir Ewen Cameron. About the year 1664, the latter, having made a satisfactory arrangement of the long-standing feud with the Mackintoshes, was at length left in undisputed possession of the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig; and, with some trifling exceptions, the various branches of the Camerons still enjoy their ancient inheritances. The family of Lochiel, like many others, was constrained to hold its lands of the Marquis of Argyll and his successors.

Sir Ewen Cameron, commonly called Ewan Dhu of Lochiel, was a chief alike distinguished for his chivalrous character, his intrepid loyalty, his undaunted courage, and the ability as well as heroism with which he conducted himself in circumstances of uncommon difficulty and peril. This remarkable man was born in the year 1629, and educated at Inverary Castle, under the guardianship of his kinsman the Marquis of Argyll, who, having taken charge of him in his tenth year, endeavoured to instil into his mind the political principles of the Covenanters and the Puritans, and to induce the boy to attach himself to that party. But the spirit of the youthful chief was not attempered by nature to receive the impressions of a morose fanaticism. At the age of eighteen, he broke loose from Argyll, with the declared intention of joining the Marquis of Montrose, a hero more congenial to his own character. He was too late, however, to be of service to that brave but unfortunate leader, whose reverses had commenced before Cameron left Inverary. But though the royal cause seemed lost he was not disheartened, and having kept his men in arms, completely protected his estate from the incursions of Cromwell's troops. In the year 1652, he joined the Earl of Glencairn, who had raised the royal standard in the Highlands, and greatly distinguished himself in a series of encounters with General Lilburne, Colonel Morgan, and others. In a sharp skirmish which took place between Glencairn and Lilburne, at Braemar, Lochiel, intrusted with the defence of a pass, maintained it gallantly until the royal army had retired, when Lilburne, making a detour, attacked him in flank. Lochiel kept his ground for some time; until at last finding himself unable to repel the enemy, who now brought up an additional force against him, he retreated slowly up the hill showing a front to the assailants, who durst not continue to follow him, the ground being steep and covered with snow. This vigorous stand saved Glencairn's army, which was, at that time, in a disorganised state; owing principally to the conflicting pretensions of a number of independent chiefs and gentlemen, who, in their anxiety to command, forgot the duty of obedience. Lochiel, however, kept clear of these cabals, and stationing himself at the outposts, harassed the enemy with continual skirmishes, in which he was commonly successful. How his services were appreciated by Glencairn we learn from a letter of Charles II. to Lochiel, dated at Chantilly, the 3d of November, 1653, in which the exiled king says, "We are informed by the Earl of Glencairn with what courage, success, and affection to us, you have behaved yourself in this time of trial, when the honour and liberty of your country are at stake; and therefore we cannot but express our hearty sense of this your courage, and return you our thanks for the same." The letter concludes with an assurance that "we are ready, as soon as we are able, signally to reward your service, and to repair the losses you shall undergo for our service."

Acting in the same loyal spirit, Lochiel kept his men constantly on the alert, and ready to move wherever their service might be required. In 1654, he joined Glencairn with a strong body, to oppose Generals Monk and Morgan, who had marched into the Highlands. Lochiel being opposed to Morgan, a brave and enterprising officer, was often hard pressed, and sometimes nearly overpowered; but his courage and presence of mind, which never forsook him, enabled the intrepid chief to extricate himself from all difficulties. Monk tried several times to negotiate, and made the most favourable proposals to Lochiel on the part of Cromwell; but these were uniformly rejected with contempt. At length, finding it equally

impossible to subdue or to treat with him, Monk established a garrison at Inverlochy, raising a small fort, as a temporary defence against the musketry, swords, and arrows of the Highlanders. Details as to the tactics of Lochiel, as well as a portrait of the brave chief, will be found at p. 296 of vol. i.

General Middleton, who had been unsuccessful in a skirmish with General Morgan, invited Lochiel to come to his assistance. Upwards of 300 Camerons were immediately assembled, and he marched to join Middleton, who had retreated to Braemar. In this expedition, Lochiel had several encounters with Morgan; and, notwithstanding all the ability and enterprise of the latter, the judgment and promptitude with which the chief availed himself of the accidents of the ground, the activity of his men, and the consequent celerity of their movements, gave him a decided advantage in this *guerre de chicane.* With trifling loss to himself, he slew a considerable number of the enemy, who were often attacked both in flank and rear when they had no suspicion that an enemy was within many miles of them. An instance of this occurred at Lochgarry in August 1653, when Lochiel, in passing northwards, was joined by about sixty or seventy Athole-men, who went to accompany him through the hills. Anxious to revenge the defeat which his friends had, a short time previously, sustained upon the same spot, he planned and executed a surprise of two regiments of Cromwell's troops, which, on their way southward, had encamped upon the plain of Dalnaspidal; and although it would have been the height of folly to risk a mere handful of men, however brave, in close combat with so superior a force, yet he killed a number of the enemy, carried off several who had got entangled in the morass of Lochgarry, and completely effected the object of the enterprise.

But all his exertions proved unavailing. Middleton, being destitute of money and provisions, was at length obliged to submit, and the war was thus ended, excepting with Lochiel himself, who, firm in his allegiance, still held out, and continued to resist the encroachments of the garrison quartered in his neighbourhood. He surprised and cut off a foraging party, which, under the pretence of hunting, had set out to make a sweep of his cattle and goats; and he succeeded in making prisoners of a number of Scotch and English officers, with their attendants, who had been sent to survey the estates of several loyalists in Argyleshire, with the intention of building forts there to keep down the king's friends. This last affair was planned with great skill, and, like almost all his enterprises, proved completely successful. But the termination of his resistance was now approaching. He treated his prisoners with the greatest kindness, and this brought on an intimacy, which ultimately led to a proposal of negotiation. Lochiel was naturally enough very anxious for an honourable treaty. His country was impoverished and his people were nearly ruined; the cause which he had so long and bravely supported seemed desperate; and all prospect of relief or assistance had by this time completely vanished. Yet the gallant chief resisted several attempts to induce him to yield, protesting that, rather than disarm himself and his clan, abjure his king, and take the oaths to an usurper, he would live as an outlaw, without regard to the consequences. To this it was answered, that, if he only evinced an inclination to submit, no oath would be required, and that he should have his own terms. Accordingly, General Monk, then commander-in-chief in Scotland, drew up certain conditions which he sent to Lochiel, and which, with some slight alterations, the latter accepted and returned by one of the prisoners lately taken, whom he released upon parole. And proudly might he accept the terms offered to him. No oath was required of Lochiel to Cromwell, but his word of honour to live in peace. He and his clan were allowed to keep their arms as before the war broke out, they behaving peaceably. Reparation was to be made to Lochiel for the wood cut by the garrison of Inverlochy. A full indemnity was granted for all acts of depredation, and crimes committed by his men. Reparation was to be made to his tenants for all the losses they had sustained from the troops. All tithes, cess, and public burdens which had not been paid, were to be remitted. This was in June 1654.

Lochiel with his brave Camerons lived in peace till the Restoration, and during the two succeeding reigns he remained in tranquil

possession of his property. But in 1689, he joined the standard of King James, which had been raised by Viscount Dundee. General Mackay had, by orders of King William, offered him a title and a considerable sum of money, apparently on the condition of his remaining neutral. The offer, however, was rejected with disdain; and at the battle of Killiecrankie, Sir Ewen had a conspicuous share in the success of the day. Before the battle, he spoke to each of his men, individually, and took their promise that they would conquer or die. At the commencement of the action, when General Mackay's army raised a kind of shout, Lochiel exclaimed, "Gentlemen, the day is our own; I am the oldest commander in the army, and I have always observed something ominous or fatal in such a dull, heavy, feeble noise as that which the enemy has just made in their shout." These words spread like wildfire through the ranks of the Highlanders. Electrified by the prognostication of the veteran chief, they rushed like furies on the enemy, and in half an hour the battle was finished. But Viscount Dundee had fallen early in the fight, and Lochiel, disgusted with the incapacity of Colonel Cannon, who succeeded him, retired to Lochaber, leaving the command of his men to his eldest son.[4] This heroic and chivalrous chief survived till the year 1719, when he died at the age of ninety, leaving a name distinguished for bravery, honour, consistency, and disinterested devotion to the cause which he so long and ably supported.[5]

The character of Sir Ewen Cameron was worthily upheld by his grandson, the "gentle Lochiel," though with less auspicious fortune. The share which that gallant chief had in the ill-fated insurrection of 1745–1746 has already been fully told, and his conduct throughout was such as to gain him the esteem and admiration of all.[6] The estates of Lochiel were of course included in the numerous forfeitures which followed the suppression of the insurrection; however, Charles Cameron, son of the Lochiel of the '45, was allowed to return to Britain, and lent his influence to the raising of the Lochiel men for the service of government. His son, Donald, was restored to his estates under the general act of amnesty of 1784. The eldest son of the latter, also named Donald, born 25th September 1796, obtained a commission in the Guards in 1814, and fought at Waterloo. He retired from the army in 1832, and died 14th December 1858, leaving two sons and four daughters. His eldest son, Donald, succeeded as chief of the clan Cameron.

The family of CAMERON of FASSIFERN, in Argyleshire, possesses a baronetcy of the United Kingdom, conferred in 1817 on Ewen Cameron of Fassifern, the father of Colonel John Cameron, of the 92d Highlanders, slain at the battle of Quatre Bras,[7] 16th June 1815, while bravely leading on his men, for that officer's distinguished military services; at the same time, two Highlanders were added as supporters to his armorial bearings, and several heraldic distinctions indicating the particular services of Colonel Cameron. On the death of Sir Ewen in 1828, his second son, Sir Duncan, succeeded to the baronetcy.

MACLEAN.

The clan GILLEAN or the MACLEANS is another clan included by Mr. Skene under the head of Moray. The origin of the clan has been very much disputed; according to Buchanan and other authorities it is of Norman or Italian origin, descended from the Fitzgeralds of Ireland. "Speed and other English historians derive the genealogy of the Fitzgeralds from Seignior Giraldo, a principal officer under William the Conqueror." Their progenitor, however, according to Cel-

[4] Although Sir Ewen, with his clan, had joined Lord Dundee in the service of the abdicated king, yet his second son was a captain in the Scots Fusileers, and served with Mackay on the side of the government. As the general was observing the Highland army drawn up on the face of a hill to the westward of the great pass, he turned round to young Cameron, who stood near him, and pointing to his clansmen, said, "There is your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," replied Cameron, "what I would like; but I recommend it to you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like." And so indeed it happened.—Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. i. p. 66.

[5] For the foregoing account of the achievements of Sir Ewen Cameron we have been chiefly indebted to General Stewart's valuable work on the Highlanders and Highland Regiments.

[6] The portrait of the "gentle Lochiel" will be found at p. 519, vol. i.

[7] For details, see account of the 92d Regiment.

tic tradition, was one Gillean or Gill-eòin, a name signifying the young man, or the servant or follower of John, who lived so early as the beginning of the 5th century. He was called *Gillean-na-Tuaidhe, i.e.* Gillean with the axe, from the dexterous manner in which he wielded that weapon in battle, and his descendants bear a battle-axe in their crest. According to a history of the clan Maclean published in 1838 by "a Sennachie," the clan is traced up to Fergus I. of Scotland, and from him back to an Aonghus Turmhi Teamhrach, "an ancient monarch of Ireland." As to which of these accounts of the origin of the clan is correct, we shall not pretend to decide. The clan can have no reason to be ashamed of either.

MACLEAN.



BADGE—Blackberry Heath.

The Macleans have been located in Mull since the 14th century. According to Mr Skene, they appear originally to have belonged to Moray. He says,—"The two oldest genealogies of the Macleans, of which one is the production of the Beatons, who were hereditary sennachies of the family, concur in deriving the clan Gille-eon from the same race from whom the clans belonging to the great Moray tribe are brought by the MS. of 1450. Of this clan the oldest seat seems to have been the district of Lorn, as they first appear in subjection to the lords of Lorn; and their situation being thus between the Camerons and Macnachtans, who were undisputed branches of the Moray tribe, there can be little doubt that the Macleans belonged to that tribe also. As their oldest seat was thus in Argyle, while they are unquestionably a part of the tribe of Moray, we may infer that they were one of those clans transplanted from North Moray by Malcolm IV., and it is not unlikely that Glen Urquhart was their original residence, as that district is said to have been in the possession of the Macleans when the Bissets came in."

The first of the name on record, Gillean, lived in the reign of Alexander III. (1249–1286), and fought against the Norsemen at the battle of Largs. In the Ragman's Roll we find Gilliemore Macilean described as del Counte de Perth, among those who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. As the county of Perth at that period included Lorn, it is probable that he was the son of the above Gillean. In the reign of Robert the Bruce mention is made of three brothers, John, Nigel, and Dofuall, termed Macgillean or filii Gillean, who appear to have been sons of Gilliemore, for we find John afterwards designated Macgilliemore. The latter fought under Bruce at Bannockburn. A dispute having arisen with the Lord of Lorn, the brothers left him and took refuge in the Isles. Between them and the Mackinnons, upon whose lands they appear to have encroached, a bitter feud took place, which led to a most daring act on the part of the chief of the Macleans. When following, with the chief of the Mackinnons, the galley of the Lord of the Isles, he attacked the former and slew him, and immediately after, afraid of his vengeance, he seized the Macdonald himself, and carried him prisoner to Icolmkill, were Maclean detained him until he agreed to vow friendship to the Macleans, "upon certain stones where men were used to make solemn vows in those superstitious times," and granted them the lands in Mull which they have ever since possessed. John Gilliemore, surnamed Dhu from his dark complexion, appears to have settled in Mull about the year 1330. He died in the reign of Robert II., leaving two sons, Lachlan Lubanach, ancestor of the Macleans of Dowart, and Eachann or Hector Reganach, of the Macleans of Lochbuy.

Lachlan, the elder son, married in 1366, Margaret, daughter of John I., Lord of the Isles, by his wife, the princess Margaret Stewart.

and had a son Hector, which became a favourite name among the Macleans, as Kenneth was among the Mackenzies, Evan among the Camerons, and Hugh among the Mackays. Both Lachlan and his son, Hector, received extensive grants of land from John, the father-in-law of the former, and his successor, Donald. Altogether, their possession consisted of the isles of Mull, Tiree, and Coll, with Morvern on the mainland, Kingerloch and Ardgour; and the clan Gillean became one of the most important and powerful of the vassal tribes of the lords of the Isles.

Lachlan's son, Hector, called *Eachann Ruadh nan Cath*, that is, Red Hector of the Battles, commanded as lieutenant-general under his uncle, Donald, at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, when he and Sir Alexander Irving of Drum, seeking out each other by their armorial bearings, encountered hand to hand and slew each other; in commemoration of which circumstance, we are told, the Dowart and Drum families were long accustomed to exchange swords. Red Hector of the Battles married a daughter of the Earl of Douglas. His eldest son was taken prisoner at the battle of Harlaw, and detained in captivity a long time by the Earl of Mar. His brother, John, at the head of the Macleans, was in the expedition of Donald Balloch, cousin of the Lord of the Isles, in 1431, when the Islesmen ravaged Lochaber, and were encountered at Inverlochy, near Fortwilliam, by the royal forces under the Earls of Caithness and Mar, whom they defeated. In the dissensions which arose between John, the last Lord of the Isles, and his turbulent son, Angus, who, with the island chiefs descended from the original family, complained that his father had made improvident grants of lands to the Macleans and other tribes, Hector Maclean, chief of the clan, and great-grandson of Red Hector of the Battles, took part with the former, and commanded his fleet at the battle of Bloody Bay in 1480, where he was taken prisoner. This Hector was chief of his tribe at the date of the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles in 1493, when the clan Gillean, or ClanLean as it came to be called, was divided into four independent branches, viz., the Macleans of Dowart, the Macleans of Lochbuy, the Macleans of Coll, and the Macleans of Ardgour. Lachlan Maclean was chief of Dowart in 1502, and he and his kinsman, Maclean of Lochbuy, were among the leading men of the Western Isles, whom that energetic monarch, James IV., entered into correspondence with, for the purpose of breaking up the confederacy of the Islanders. Nevertheless, on the breaking out of the insurrection under Donald Dubh, in 1503, they were both implicated in it. Lachlan Maclean was forfeited with Cameron of Lochiel, while Maclean of Lochbuy and several others were summoned before the parliament, to answer for their treasonable support given to the rebels. In 1505 Maclean of Dowart abandoned the cause of Donald Dubh and submitted to the government; his example was followed by Maclean of Lochbuy and other chiefs; and this had the effect, soon after, of putting an end to the rebellion.

Lachlan Maclean of Dowart was killed at Flodden. His successor, of the same name, was one of the principal supporters of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh, when, in November 1513, he brought forward his claims to the lordship of the Isles. In 1523 a feud of a most implacable character broke out between the Macleans and the Campbells, arising out of an occurrence connected with the "lady's cock," mentioned in our account of the Campbells. In 1529, however, the Macleans joined the Clandonald of Isla against the Earl of Argyll, and ravaged with fire and sword the lands of Roseneath, Craignish, and others belonging to the Campbells, killing many of the inhabitants. The Campbells, on their part, retaliated by laying waste great portion of the isles of Mull and Tiree and the lands of Morvern, belonging to the Macleans. In May 1530, Maclean of Dowart and Alexander of Isla made their personal submission to the sovereign at Stirling, and, with the other rebel island chiefs who followed their example, were pardoned, upon giving security for their after obedience.

In 1545, Maclean of Dowart acted a very prominent part in the intrigues with England, in furtherance of the project of Henry VIII., to force the Scottish nation to consent to a marriage between Prince Edward and the young Queen Mary. He and Maclean of Lochbuy

were among the barons of the Isles who accompanied Donald Dubh to Ireland, and at the command of the Earl of Lennox, claiming to be regent of Scotland, swore allegiance to the king of England

The subsequent clan history consists chiefly of a record of feuds in which the Dowart Macleans were engaged with the Macleans of Coll, and the Macdonalds of Kintyre. The dispute with the former arose from Dowart, who was generally recognised as the head of the Clan-Lean, insisting on being followed as chief by Maclean of Coll, and the latter, who held his lands direct from the crown, declining to acknowledge him as such, on the ground that being a free baron, he owed no service but to his sovereign as his feudal superior. In consequence of this refusal, Dowart, in the year 1561, caused Coll's lands to be ravaged, and his tenants to be imprisoned. With some difficulty, and after the lapse of several years, Coll succeeded in bringing his case before the privy council, who ordered Dowart to make reparation to him for the injury done to his property and tenants, and likewise to refrain from molesting him in future. But on a renewal of the feud some years after, the Macleans of Coll were expelled from that island by the young laird of Dowart.

The quarrel between the Macleans and the Macdonalds of Isla and Kintyre was, at the outset, merely a dispute as to the right of occupancy of the crown lands called the Rhinns of Isla, but it soon involved these tribes in a long and bloody feud, and eventually led to the destruction nearly of them both. The Macleans, who were in possession, claimed to hold the lands in dispute as tenants of the crown, but the privy council decided that Macdonald of Isla was really the crown tenant. Lachlan Maclean of Dowart, called Lachlan Mor, was chief of the Macleans in 1578. Under him the feud with the Macdonalds assumed a most sanguinary and relentless character. Full details of this feud will be found in the former part of this work.

The mutual ravages committed by the hostile clans, in which the kindred and vassal tribes on both sides were involved, and the effects of which were felt throughout the whole of the Hebrides, attracted, in 1589, the serious attention of the king and council, and for the purpose of putting an end to them, the rival chiefs, with Macdonald of Sleat, on receiving remission, under the privy seal, for all the crimes committed by them, were induced to proceed to Edinburgh. On their arrival, they were committed prisoners to the castle, and, after some time, Maclean and Angus Macdonald were brought to trial, in spite of the remissions granted to them; one of the principal charges against them being their treasonable hiring of Spanish and English soldiers to fight in their private quarrels. Both chiefs submitted themselves to the king's mercy, and placed their lives and lands at his disposal. On payment each of a small fine they were allowed to return to the Isles, Macdonald of Sleat being released at the same time. Besides certain conditions being imposed upon them, they were taken bound to return to their confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, whenever they should be summoned, on twenty days' warning. Not fulfilling the conditions, they were, on 14th July 1593, cited to appear before the privy council, and as they disobeyed the summons, both Lachlan Mòr and Angus Macdonald were, in 1594, forfeited by parliament.

At the battle of Glenlivat, in that year, fought between the Catholic Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, on the one side, and the king's forces, under the Earl of Argyll, on the other, Lachlan Mòr, at the head of the Macleans, particularly distinguished himself. Argyll lost the battle, but, says Mr Gregory,[4] "the conduct of Lachlan Maclean of Dowart, who was one of Argyll's officers, in this action, would, if imitated by the other leaders, have converted the defeat into a victory."

In 1596 Lachlan Mòr repaired to court, and on making his submission to the king, the act of forfeiture was removed. He also received from the crown a lease of the Rhinns of Isla, so long in dispute between him and Macdonald of Dunyveg. While thus at the head of favour, however, his unjust and oppressive conduct to the family of the Macleans of Coll, whose castle and island he had seized some years before, on the death of Hector Maclean, proprietor thereof, was brought before the privy council by Lachlan Maclean, then of Coll, Hector's son,

[4] *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 259.

and the same year he was ordered to deliver up not only the castle of Coll, but all his own castles and strongholds, to the lieutenant of the Isles, on twenty-four hours' warning, also, to restore to Coll, within thirty days, all the lands of which he had deprived him, under a penalty of 10,000 merks. In 1598, Lachlan Mòr, with the view of expelling the Macdonalds from Isla, levied his vassals and proceeded to that island, and after an ineffectual attempt at an adjustment of their differences, was encountered, on 5th August, at the head of Lochgreinord, by Sir James Macdonald, son of Angus, at the head of his clan, when the Macleans were defeated, and their chief killed, with 80 of his principal men and 200 common soldiers. Lachlan Barrach Maclean, a son of Sir Lachlan, was dangerously wounded, but escaped.

Hector Maclean, the son and successor of Sir Lachlan, at the head of a numerous force, afterwards invaded Isla, and attacked and defeated the Macdonalds at a place called Bern Bige, and then ravaged the whole island. In the conditions imposed upon the chiefs for the pacification of the Isles in 1616, we find that Maclean of Dowart was not to use in his house more than four tun of wine, and Coll and Lochbuy one tun each.

Sir Lachlan Maclean of Morvern, a younger brother of Hector Maclean of Dowart, was in 1631 created a baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I., and on the death of his elder brother he succeeded to the estate of Dowart. In the civil wars the Macleans took arms under Montrose, and fought valiantly for the royal cause. At the battle of Inverlochy, 2d February 1645, Sir Lachlan commanded his clan. He engaged in the subsequent battles of the royalist general. Sir Hector Maclean, his son, with 800 of his followers, was at the battle of Inverkeithing, 20th July 1651, when the royalists were opposed to the troops of Oliver Cromwell. On this occasion an instance of devoted attachment to the chief was shown on the part of the Macleans. In the heat of the battle, Sir Hector was covered from the enemy's attacks by seven brothers of his clan, all whom successively sacrificed their lives in his defence. Each brother, as he fell, exclaimed, "*Fear eile air son Eachainn*," 'Another for Eachann,' or Hector, and a fresh one stepping in, answered, "*Bàs air son Eachainn*," 'Death for Eachann.' The former phrase, says General Stewart, has continued ever since to be a proverb or watchword, when a man encounters any sudden danger that requires instant succour. Sir Hector, however, was left among the slain, with about 500 of his followers.

The Dowart estates had become deeply involved in debt, and the Marquis of Argyll, by purchasing them up, had acquired a claim against the lands of Maclean, which ultimately led to the greater portion of them becoming the property of that accumulating family. In 1674, after the execution of the marquis, payment was insisted upon by his son, the earl. The tutor of Maclean, the chief, his nephew, being a minor, evaded the demand for a considerable time, and at length showed a disposition to resist it by force. Argyll had recourse to legal proceedings, and supported by a body of 2,000 Campbells, he crossed into Mull, where he took possession of the castle of Dowart, and placed a garrison in it. The Macleans, however, refused to pay their rents to the earl, and in consequence he prepared for a second invasion of Mull. To resist it, the Macdonalds came to the aid of the Macleans, but Argyll's ships were driven back by a storm, when he applied to government, and even went to London, to ask assistance from the king. Lord Macdonald and other friends of the Macleans followed him, and laid a statement of the dispute before Charles, who, in February 1676, remitted the matter to three lords of the Scottish privy council. No decision, however, was come to by them, and Argyll was allowed to take possession of the island of Mull without resistance in 1680. At the battle of Killiecrankie, Sir John Maclean, with his regiment, was placed on Dundee's right, and among the troops on his left was a battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean. The Macleans were amongst the Highlanders surprised and defeated at Cromdale in 1690. In the rebellion of 1715, the Macleans ranged themselves under the standard of the Earl of Mar, and were present at the battle of Sheriffmuir. For his share in the insurrection Sir John Maclean, the chief, was forfeited, but the estates were afterwards restored to the family. On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745.

Sir John's son, Sir Hector Maclean, the fifth baronet, was apprehended, with his servant, at Edinburgh, and conveyed to London. He was set at liberty in June 1747. At Culloden, however, 500 of his clan fought for Prince Charles, under Maclean of Drimnin, who was slain while leading them on. Sir Hector died, unmarried, at Paris, in 1750, when the title devolved upon his third cousin, the remainder being to heirs male whatsoever. This third cousin, Sir Allan Maclean, was great-grandson of Donald Maclean of Brolas, eldest son, by his second marriage, of Hector Maclean of Dowart, the father



Sir Allan Maclean. From the original painting in possession of John Maclean Mackenzie Grieves, Esq. of Hutton Hall, Berwickshire.

of the first baronet. Sir Allan married Anne, daughter of Hector Maclean of Coll, and had three daughters, the eldest of whom, Maria, became the wife of Maclean of Kinlochaline, and the second, Sibella, of Maclean of Inverscadell. In 1773, when Johnson and Boswell visited the Hebrides, Sir Allan was chief of the clan. He resided at that time on Inchkenneth, one of his smaller islands, in the district of Mull, where he entertained his visitors very hospitably. From the following anecdote told by Boswell, it would appear that the feeling of devotion to the chief had survived the abolition act of 1747. "The MacInnises are said to be a branch of the clan of Maclean. Sir Allan had been told that one of the name had refused to send him some rum, at which the knight was in great indignation. 'You rascal!' said he, 'don't you know that I can hang you, if I please? Refuse to send rum to me, you rascal! Don't you know that if I order you to go and cut a man's throat, you are to do it?' 'Yes, an't please your honour, and my own too, and hang myself too!' The poor fellow denied that he had refused to send the rum. His making these professions was not merely a pretence in presence of his chief, for, after he and I were out of Sir Allan's hearing, he told me, 'Had he sent his dog for the rum, I would have given it: I would cut my bones for him.' Sir Allan, by the way of upbraiding the fellow, said, 'I believe you are a *Campbell!*'"

Dying without male issue in 1783, Sir Allan was succeeded by his kinsman, Sir Hector, 7th baronet; on whose death, Nov. 2, 1818, his brother, Lieut.-general Sir Fitzroy Jefferies Grafton Maclean, became the 8th baronet. He died July 5, 1847, leaving two sons, Sir Charles Fitzroy Grafton Maclean of Morvern, and Donald Maclean, of the chancery bar. Sir Charles, 9th baronet, married a daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Jacob Marsham, uncle of the Earl of Romney, and has issue, a son, Fitzroy Donald, major 13th dragoons, and four daughters, one of whom, Louisa, became the wife of Hon. Ralph Pelham Neville, son of the Earl of Abergavenny.

The first of the Lochbuy branch of the Macleans was Hector Reganach, brother of Lachlan Lubanach above mentioned. He had a son named John, or Murchard, whose great-grandson, John Og Maclean of Lochbuy, received from King James IV. several charters of the lands and baronies which had been held by his progenitors. He was killed, with his two elder

sons, in a family feud with the Macleans of Dowart. His only surviving son, Murdoch, was obliged, in consequence of the same feud, to retire to Ireland, where he married a daughter of the Earl of Antrim. By the mediation of his father-in-law, his differences with Dowart were satisfactorily adjusted, and he returned to the isles, where he spent his latter years in peace. The house of Lochbuy has always maintained that of the two brothers, Lachlan Lubanach and Hector Reganach, the latter was the senior, and that, consequently, the chiefship of the Macleans is vested in its head; "but this," says Mr Gregory, "is a point on which there is no certain evidence." The whole clan, at different periods, have followed the head of both families to the field, and fought under their command. The Lochbuy family now spells its name Maclaine.

The Coll branch of the Macleans, like that of Dowart, descended from Lachlan Lubanach, said to have been grandfather of the fourth laird of Dowart and first laird of Coll, who were brothers. John Maclean, surnamed Garbh, son of Lachlan of Dowart, obtained the isle of Coll and the lands of Quinish in Mull from Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, and afterwards, on the forfeiture of Cameron, the lands of Lochiel. The latter grant engendered, as we have seen, a deadly feud between the Camerons and the Macleans. At one time the son and successor of John Garbh occupied Lochiel by force, but was killed in a conflict with the Camerons at Corpach, in the reign of James III. His infant son would also have been put to death, had the boy not been saved by the Macgillonies or Macalonichs, a tribe of Lochaber that generally followed the clan Cameron. This youth, subsequently known as John Abrach Maclean of Coll, was the representative of the family in 1493, and from him was adopted the patronymic appellation of Maclean Abrach, by which the lairds of Coll were ever after distinguished.

The tradition concerning this heir of Coll is thus related by Dr Johnson, in his *Tour to the Hebrides*:—"On the wall of old Coll Castle was, not long ago, a stone with an inscription, importing, 'That if any man of the clan of Macalonich shall appear before this castle, though he come at midnight with a man's head in his hand, he shall there find safety and protection against all but the king.' This is an old Highland treaty made upon a memorable occasion. Maclean, the son of John Garbh, had obtained, it is said, from James II., a grant of the lands of Lochiel. Forfeited estates were not in those days quietly resigned: Maclean, therefore, went with an armed force to seize his new possessions, and, I know not for what reason, took his wife with him. The Camerons rose in defence of their chief, and a battle was fought at the head of Lochness, near the place where Fort Augustus now stands, in which Lochiel obtained the victory, and Maclean, with his followers, was defeated and destroyed. The lady fell into the hands of the conquerors, and being pregnant, was placed in the custody of Macalonich, one of a tribe or family branched from Cameron, with orders, if she brought a boy, to destroy him, if a girl, to spare her. Macalonich's wife had a girl about the same time at which Lady M'Lean brought a boy; and Macalonich, with more generosity to his captive than fidelity to his trust, contrived that the children should be changed. Maclean in time recovered his original patrimony, and in gratitude to his friend, made his castle a place of refuge to any of the clan that should think himself in danger; and Maclean took upon himself and his posterity the care of educating the heir of Macalonich. The power of protection subsists no longer; but Maclean of Coll now educates the heir of Macalonich."

The account of the conversion of the simple islanders of Coll from Popery to Protestantism is curious. The laird had imbibed the principles of the Reformation, but found his people reluctant to abandon the religion of their fathers. To compel them to do so, he took his station one Sunday in the path which led to the Roman Catholic church, and as his clansmen approached he drove them back with his cane. They at once made their way to the Protestant place of worship, and from this persuasive mode of conversion his vassals ever after called it the religion of the gold-headed stick. Lachlan, the seventh proprietor of Coll, went over to Holland with some of his own men, in the reign of Charles II., and obtained the command of a company in General Mackay's regiment, in the service of the Prince of Orange. He

afterwards returned to Scotland, and was drowned in the water of Lochy, in Lochaber, in 1687.

Colonel Hugh Maclean, London, the last laird of Coll, of that name, was the 15th in regular descent from John Garbh, son of Lauchlan Lubanach.

The ARDGOUR branch of the Macleans, which held its lands directly from the Lord of the Isles, is descended from Donald, another son of Lachlan, third laird of Dowart. The estate of Ardgour, which is in Argyleshire, had previously belonged to a different tribe (the Macmasters), but it was conferred upon Donald, either by Alexander, Earl of Ross, or by his son and successor, John. In 1463, Ewen or Eugene, son of Donald, held the office of seneschal of the household to the latter earl; and in 1493, Lachlan Macewen Maclean was laird of Ardgour. Alexander Maclean, Esq., the present laird of Ardgour, is the 14th from father to son.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the Macleans of Lochbuy, Coll, and Ardgour, more fortunate than the Dowart branch of the clan, contrived to preserve their estates nearly entire, although compelled by the Marquis of Argyll to renounce their holdings *in capite* of the crown, and to become vassals of that nobleman. They continued zealous partizans of the Stuarts, in whose cause they suffered severely.

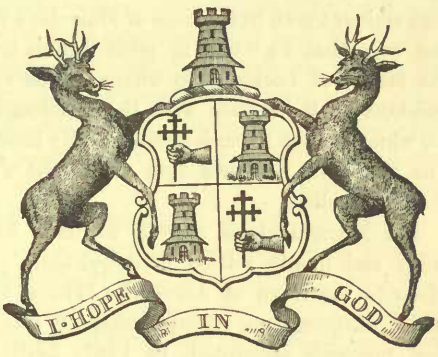
From Lachlan Og Maclean, a younger son of Lachlan Mòr of Dowart, sprung the family of TORLOISK in Mull.

Of the numerous flourishing cadets of the different branches, the principal were the Macleans of KINLOCHALINE, ARDTORNISH, and DRIMNIN, descended from the family of Dowart; of TAPUL and SCALLASDALE, in the island of Mull, from that of Lochbuy; of ISLE OF MUCK, from that of Coll; and of BORRERA, in North Uist and TRESHINISH, from that of Ardgour. The family of Borrera are represented by Donald Maclean, Esq., and General Archibald Maclean. From the Isle of Muck and Treshinish Macleans is descended A. C. Maclean, Esq. of Haremere Hall, Sussex.

The Macleans of PENNYCROSS, island of Mull, represented by Alexander Maclean, Esq., derives from John Dubh, the first Maclean of Morvern. General Allan Maclean of Pennycross, colonel of the 13th light dragoons, charged with them at Waterloo.

The force of the Macleans was at one time 800; in 1745 it was 500.

MACNAUGHTON.



BADGE—Heath.

Another clan, supposed by Mr Skene to have originally belonged to Moray, is the clan Nachtan or Macnaughton.

The MS. of 1450 deduces the descent of the heads of this clan from Nachtan Mor, who is supposed to have lived in the 10th century. The Gaelic name Neachtain is the same as the Pictish Nectan, celebrated in the *Pictish Chronicle* as one of the great Celtic divisions in Scotland, and the appellation is among the most ancient in the north of Ireland, the original seat of the Cruithen Picts. According to Buchanan of Auchmar,[1] the heads of this clan were for ages thanes of Loch Tay, and possessed all the country between the south side of Loch-Fyne and Lochawe, parts of which were Glenira, Glenshira, Glenfine, and other places, while their principal seat was Dunderraw on Loch-Fyne.

In the reign of Robert III., Maurice or Morice Macnaughton had a charter from Colin Campbell of Lochow of sundry lands in Over Lochow, but their first settlement in Argyleshire, in the central parts of which their lands latterly wholly lay, took place long before this. When Malcolm the Maiden attempted

[1] *History of the Origin of the Clans*, p. 84.

to civilise the ancient province of Moray, by introducing Norman and Saxon families, such as the Bissets, the Comyns, &c., in the place of the rude Celtic natives whom he had expatriated to the south, he gave lands in or near Strathtay or Strathspey, to Nachtan of Moray, for those he had held in that province. He had there a residence called Dunnachtan castle. Nesbit[2] describes this Nachtan as "an eminent man in the time of Malcolm IV.," and says that he "was in great esteem with the family of Lochawe, to whom he was very assistant in their wars with the Macdougals, for which he was rewarded with sundry lands." The family of Lochawe here mentioned were the Campbells.

The Macnaughtons appear to have been fairly and finally settled in Argyleshire previous to the reign of Alexander III., as Gilchrist Macnaughton, styled of that ilk, was by that monarch appointed, in 1287, heritable keeper of his castle and island of Frechelan (Fraoch Ellan) on Lochawe, on condition that he should be properly entertained when he should pass that way; whence a castle embattled was assumed as the crest of the family.

This Gilchrist was father or grandfather of Donald Macnaughton of that ilk, who, being nearly connected with the Macdougals of Lorn, joined that powerful chief with his clan against Robert the Bruce, and fought against the latter at the battle of Dalree in 1306, in consequence of which he lost a great part of his estates. In Abercromby's *Martial Achievements*,[3] it is related that the extraordinary courage shown by the king in having, in a narrow pass, slain with his own hand several of his pursuers, and amongst the rest three brothers, so greatly excited the admiration of the chief of the Macnaughtons that he became thenceforth one of his firmest adherents.[4]

His son and successor, Duncan Macnaughton of that ilk, was a steady and loyal subject to King David II., who, as a reward for his fidelity, conferred on his son, Alexander, lands in the island of Lewis, a portion of the forfeited possessions of John of the Isles, which the chiefs of the clan Naughton held for a time. The ruins of their castle of Macnaughton are still pointed out on that island.

Donald Macnaughton, a younger son of the family, was, in 1436, elected bishop of Dunkeld, in the reign of James I.

Alexander Macnaughton of that ilk, who lived in the beginning of the 16th century, was knighted by James IV., whom he accompanied to the disastrous field of Flodden, where he was slain, with nearly the whole chivalry of Scotland. His son, John, was succeeded by his second son, Malcolm Macnaughton of Glenshira, his eldest son having predeceased him. Malcolm died in the end of the reign of James VI., and was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander.

John, the second son of Malcolm, being of a handsome appearance, attracted the notice of King James VI., who appointed him one of his pages of honour, on his accession to the English crown. He became rich, and purchased lands in Kintyre. His elder brother, Alexander Macnaughton of that ilk, adhered firmly to the cause of Charles I., and in his service sustained many severe losses. At the Restoration, as some sort of compensation, he was knighted by Charles II., and, unlike many others, received from that monarch a liberal pension for life. Sir Alexander Macnaughton spent his later days in London, where he died. His son and successor, John Macnaughton of that ilk, succeeded to an estate greatly burdened with debt, but did not hesitate in his adherence to the fallen fortunes of the Stuarts. At the head of a considerable body of his own clan, he joined Viscount Dundee, and was with him at Killiecrankie. James VII. signed a deed in his favour, restoring to his family all its old lands and hereditary rights, but, as it never passed the seals in Scotland, it was of no value. His lands were taken from him, not by forfeiture, but "the estate," says Buchanan of Auchmar, "was evicted by creditors for sums noways equivalent to its value, and, there being no diligence used for relief thereof, it went out of the hands of the family." His son, Alexander, a captain in Queen Anne's guards, was killed in the expedition to Vigo in 1702. His brother, John, at the beginning of the last century was for many years collector of customs at Anstruther

[2] *Heraldry*, vol. i. p. 419.
[3] Vol. i. p. 577.
[4] See account of the Macdougals.

in Fife, and subsequently was appointed inspector-general in the same department. The direct male line of the Macnaughton chiefs became extinct at his death.

"The Mackenricks are ascribed to the Macnaughton line, as also families of Macknights (or Macneits), Macnayers, Macbraynes, and Maceols." The present head of the Macbraynes is John Burns Macbrayne, Esq. of Glenbranter, Cowel, Argyleshire, grandson of Donald Macbrayne, merchant in Glasgow, who was great-grandson, on the female side, of Alexander Macnaughton of that ilk, and heir of line of John Macnaughton, inspector-general of customs in Scotland. On this account the present representative of the Macbraynes is entitled to quarter his arms with those of the Macnaughtons.

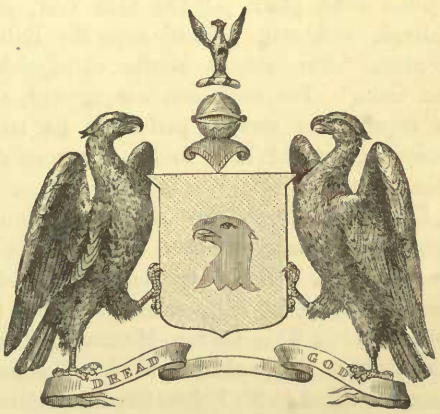
There are still in Athole families of the Macnaughton name, proving so far what has been stated repecting their early possession of lands in that district. Stewart of Garth makes most honourable mention of one of the sept, who was in the service of Menzies of Culdares in the year 1745. That gentleman had been "out" in 1715, and was pardoned. Grateful so far, he did not join Prince Charles, but sent a fine charger to him as he entered England. The servant, Macnaughton, who conveyed the present, was taken and tried at Carlisle. The errand on which he had come was clearly proved, and he was offered pardon and life if he would reveal the name of the sender of the horse. He asked with indignation if they supposed that he could be such a villain. They repeated the offer to him on the scaffold, but he died firm to his notion of fidelity. His life was nothing to that of his master, he said. The brother of this Macnaughton was known to Garth, and was one of the Gael who always carried a weapon about him to his dying day.[5]

Under the subordinate head of Siol O'Cain, other two clans are included in the Maormordom of Moray, viz., clan Roich or Munro, and clan Gillemhaol or Macmillan.

Munro.

The possessions of the clan Monro or Munro, situated on the north side of Cromarty Firth, were generally known in the Highlands by the name of Fearrann Donull or Donald's country, being so called, it is said, from the progenitor of the clan, Donald the son of O'Ceann, who lived in the time of Macbeth. The Munroes were vassals of the Earls of Ross, and may be regarded as a portion of the native Scottish Gael. According to Sir George Mackenzie, they came originally from the north of Ireland with the Macdonalds, on which great clan "they had constantly a depending." Their name he states to have been derived from "a mount on the river Roe," county Derry. Clan tradition, probably not more to be relied upon than tradition generally, holds that they formed a branch of the natives of Scotland who, about 357, being driven out by the Romans, and forced to take refuge in Ireland, were located for several centuries on the stream of the Roe, and among the adjacent mountains. In the time of Malcolm II., or beginning of the 11th century, the ancestors of the Munroes are said to have come over to Scotland to aid in expelling the Danes, under the above named Donald, son of O'Ceann, who, for his services, received the lands of East Dingwall in Rossshire. These lands, erected into a barony, were denominated Foulis, from Loch Foyle in Ireland, and the chief of the clan was designated of Foulis, his residence in the parish of Kiltearn, near the mountain called Ben Uaish or Ben Wyvis. So says tradition.

MUNRO OF FOULIS.



Badge—According to some, Eagle's Feathers, others, Common Club Moss.

[5] Smibert's *Clans*.

Another conjecture as to the origin of the name of Munro is that, from having acted as bailiffs or stewards to the Lords of the Isles in the earldom of Ross, they were called "Munrosses." Skene, as we have said, ranks the clan as members of a great family called the Siol O'Cain, and makes them out to be a branch of the clan Chattan, by ingeniously converting O'Cain into O'Cathan, and thus forming Chattan. Sir George Mackenzie says the name originally was Bunroe.

Hugh Munro, the first of the family authentically designated of Foulis, died in 1126. He seems to have been the grandson of Donald, the son of O'Ceann above mentioned. Robert, reckoned the second baron of Foulis, was actively engaged in the wars of David I. and Malcolm IV. Donald, heir of Robert, built the old tower of Foulis. His successor, Robert, married a daughter of the Earl of Sutherland. George, fifth baron of Foulis, obtained charters from Alexander II. Soon after the accession of Alexander III., an insurrection broke out against the Earl of Ross, the feudal superior of the Munroes, by the clans Ivor, Talvigh, and Laiwe, and other people of the province. The earl having apprehended their leader, and imprisoned him at Dingwall, the insurgents seized upon his second son at Balnagowan, and detained him as a hostage till their leader should be released. The Munroes and the Dingwalls immediately took up arms, and setting off in pursuit, overtook the insurgents at Bealligh-ne-Broig, between Ferrandonald and Loch-Broom, where a sanguinary conflict took place. "The clan Iver, clan Talvigh, and clan Laiwe," says Sir Robert Gordon, "wer almost uterlie extinguished and slain." The earl's son was rescued, and to requite the service performed he made various grants of land to the Munroes and Dingwalls.

Sir Robert Munro, the sixth of his house, fought in the army of Bruce at the battle of Bannockburn. His only son, George, fell there, leaving an heir, who succeeded his grandfather. This George Munro of Foulis was slain at Halidonhill in 1333. The same year, according to Sir Robert Gordon, although Shaw makes the date 1454, occurred the remarkable event which led to a feud between the Munroes and Mackintoshes, and of which an account is given under the former date in the General History.

Robert, the eighth baron of Foulis, married a niece of Eupheme, daughter of the Earl of Ross, and queen of Robert II. He was killed in an obscure skirmish in 1369, and was succeeded by his son, Hugh, ninth baron of Foulis, who joined Donald, second Lord of the Isles, when he claimed the earldom of Ross in right of his wife.

The forfeiture of the earldom of Ross in 1476, made the Munroes and other vassal families independent of any superior but the crown. In the charters which the family of Foulis obtained from the Scottish kings, at various times, they were declared to hold their lands on the singular tenure of furnishing a ball of snow at Midsummer if required, which the hollows in their mountain property could at all times supply; and it is said that when the Duke of Cumberland proceeded north against the Pretender in 1746, the Munroes actually sent him some snow to cool his wines. In one charter, the addendum was a pair of white gloves or three pennies.

Robert, the 14th baron, fell at the battle of Pinkie in 1547. Robert More Munro, the 15th chief, was a faithful friend of Mary, queen of Scots. Buchanan states, that when that unfortunate princess went to Inverness in 1562, "as soon as they heard of their sovereign's danger, a great number of the most eminent Scots poured in around her, especially the Frasers and Munroes, who were esteemed the most valiant of the clans inhabiting those countries." These two clans took for the Queen Inverness castle, which had refused her admission.

With the Mackenzies the Munroes were often at feud, and Andrew Munro of Milntown defended, for three years, the castle of the canonry of Ross, which he had received from the Regent Moray in 1569, against the clan Kenzie, at the expense of many lives on both sides. It was, however, afterwards delivered up to the Mackenzies under the act of pacification.

The chief, Robert More Munro, became a Protestant at an early period of the Scottish Reformation. He died in 1588. His son,

Robert, sixteenth baron of Foulis, died without issue in July 1589, and was succeeded by his brother, Hector Munro, seventeenth baron of Foulis. The latter died 14th November 1603.

Hector's eldest son, Robert Munro, eighteenth chief of Foulis, styled "the Black Baron," was the first of his house who engaged in the religious wars of Gustavus Adolphus, in the 17th century. In 1626 he went over with the Scottish corps of Sir Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, accompanied by six other officers of his name and near kindred. Doddridge says of him, that "the worthy Scottish gentleman was so struck with a regard to the common cause, in which he himself had no concern but what piety and virtue gave him, that he joined Gustavus with a great number of his friends who bore his own name. Many of them gained great reputation in this war, and that of Robert, their leader, was so eminent that he was made colonel of two regiments at the same time, the one of horse, the other of foot in that service." In 1629 the laird of Foulis raised a reinforcement of 700 men on his own lands, and at a later period joined Gustavus with them. The officers of Mackays and Munro's Highland regiments who served under Gustavus Adolphus, in addition to rich buttons, wore a gold chain round their necks, to secure the owner, in case of being wounded or taken prisoner, good treatment, or payment for future ransom. In the service of Gustavus, there were at one time not less than "three generals, eight colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, eleven majors, and above thirty captains, all of the name of Munro, besides a great number of subalterns."

The "Black Baron" died at Ulm, from a wound in his foot, in the year 1633, and leaving no male issue, he was succeeded by his brother, Hector Munro, nineteenth baron of Foulis, who had also distinguished himself in the German wars, and who, on his return to Britain, was created by Charles I. a baronet of Nova Scotia, 7th June 1634. He married Mary, daughter of Hugh Mackay of Farr, and dying in 1635, in Germany, was succeeded by his only son, Sir Hector, second baronet, who died, unmarried, in 1651, at the age of 17. The title and property devolved on his cousin, Robert Munro of Opisdale, grandson of George, third son of the fifteenth baron of Foulis.

During the civil wars at home, when Charles I. called to his aid some of the veteran officers who had served in Germany, this Colonel Robert Munro was one of them. He was employed chiefly in Ireland from 1641 to 1645, when he was surprised and taken prisoner personally by General Monk. He was subsequently lieutenant-general of the royalist troops in Scotland, when he fought a duel with the Earl of Glencairn. Afterwards he joined Charles II. in Holland. After the Revolution he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland.

Sir Robert Munro, third baronet of Foulis, died in 1688, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir John, fourth baronet, who, in the Scottish convention of estates, proved himself to be a firm supporter of the Revolution. He was such a strenuous advocate of Presbyterianism, that, being a man of large frame, he was usually called "the Presbyterian mortar-piece." In the Stuart persecutions, previous to his succession to the title, he had, for his adherence to the covenant, been both fined and imprisoned by the tyrannical government that then ruled in Scotland. He died in 1696. His son, Sir Robert, fifth baronet, though blind, was appointed by George I. high sheriff of Ross, by commission, under the great seal, dated 9th June 1725. He married Jean, daughter of John Forbes of Culloden, and died in 1729.

His eldest son, Sir Robert, twenty-seventh baron and sixth baronet of Foulis, a gallant military officer, was the companion in arms of Colonel Gardiner, and fell at the battle of Falkirk, 17th January 1746.

In May 1740, when the Independent companies were formed into the 43d Highland regiment (now the 42d Royal Highlanders), Sir Robert Munro was appointed lieutenant-colonel, John Earl of Crawford and Lindsay being its colonel. Among the captains were his next brother, George Munro of Culcairn, and John Munro, promoted to be lieutenant-colonel in 1745. The surgeon of the regiment was his youngest brother, Dr James Munro.[6]

[6] See the History of the 42d Regiment, in vol. ii.

The fate of Sir Robert's other brother, Captain George Munro of Culcairn, was peculiar. He was shot on the shores of Loch Arkaig among the wild rocks of Lochaber, on Sunday, 31st August 1746, by one of the rebels named Dugald Roy Cameron, or, as he is styled in tradition, Du Rhu. After the Rebellion, an order was issued to the Highlanders to deliver up their arms. Dugald, accordingly, sent his son to Fort-William with his arms to be delivered up. When proceeding down Loch Arkaig, the young man was met by an officer of the name of Grant, who was conducting a party of soldiers into Knoydart, and being immediately seized, was shot on the spot. His father swore to be revenged, and learning that the officer rode a white horse, he watched behind a rock for his return, on a height above Loch Arkaig. Captain Munro had unfortunately borrowed the white horse on which Grant rode, and he met the fate intended for Grant. Dugald Roy escaped, and afterwards became a soldier in the British service.

Sir Robert left a son, Sir Harry Munro, seventh baronet and twenty-fifth baron of Foulis, an eminent scholar and a M.P.

His son, Sir Hugh, eighth baronet, had an only daughter, Mary Seymour Munro, who died January 12, 1849. On his decease, May 2, 1848, his kinsman, Sir Charles, became ninth baronet and twenty-seventh baron of Foulis. He was eldest son of George Munro, Esq. of Culrain, Ross-shire (who died in 1845), and lineal male descendant of Lieut.-general Sir George Munro, next brother to the third baronet of this family. He married—1st, in 1817, Amelia, daughter of Frederick Browne, Esq., 14th dragoons; issue, five sons and two daughters; 2d, in 1853, Harriette, daughter of Robert Midgely, Esq. of Essington, Yorkshire. Charles, the eldest son, was born in 1824, married in 1847, with issue.

The military strength of the Munroes in 1715 was 400, and in 1745, 500 men. The clan slogan or battle cry was "Caisteal Foulis na theine"—Castle Foulis in flames.

Macmillan.

Of the origin and history of the Macmillans, little seems to be known. According to Buchanan of Auchmar, they are descended from the second son of Aurelan, seventh laird of Buchanan. According to Mr Skene, the earliest seat of the Macmillans appears to have been on both sides of Loch Arkaig, and he thinks this confirmatory of a clan tradition, that they are connected with the clan Chattan. The Macmillans were at one time dependent on the Lords of the Isles, but when Loch Arkaig came into possession of the Camerons, they became dependent on the latter. "Another branch of this clan," says Skene, "possessed the greater part of southern Knapdale, where their chief was known under the title of Macmillan of Knap; and although the family is now extinct, many records of their former power are to be found in that district." We take the liberty of quoting further from Mr Skene as to the history of the Macmillans.

"One of the towers of that fine ancient edifice, Castle Sweyn, bears the name of Macmillan's Tower, and there is a stone cross in the old churchyard of Kilmoray Knap, upwards of twelve feet high, richly sculptured, which has upon one side the representation of an Highland chief engaged in hunting the deer, having the following inscription in ancient Saxon characters underneath the figure:—'Hæc est crux Alexandri Macmillan.' Although the Macmillans were at a very early period in Knapdale, they probably obtained the greater part of their possessions there by marriage with the heiress of the chief of the Macneills, in the 16th century. Tradition asserts that these Knapdale Macmillans came originally from Lochtay-side, and that they formerly possessed Lawers, on the north side of that loch, from which they were driven by Chalmers of Lawers, in the reign of David II.

"As there is little reason to doubt the accuracy of the tradition, it would appear that this branch of the Macmillans had been removed by Malcolm IV. from North Moray, and placed in the crown lands of Strathtay. Macmillan is said to have had the charter of his lands in Knapdale engraved in the Gaelic language and character upon a rock at the extremity of his estate; and tradition reports that the last of the name, in order to prevent the prostitution of his wife, butchered her admirer, and was obliged in consequence to abscond. On the extinction of the family of the

chief, the next branch, Macmillan of Dunmore, assumed the title of Macmillan of Macmillan, but that family is now also extinct.

"Although the Macmillans appear at one time to have been a clan of considerable importance, yet as latterly they became mere dependants upon their more powerful neighbours, who possessed the superiority of their lands, and as their principal families are now extinct, no records of their history have come down to us, nor do we know what share they took in the various great events of Highland history. Their property, upon the extinction of the family of the chief, was contended for by the Campbells and Macneills, the latter of whom were a powerful clan in North Knapdale, but the contest was, by compromise, decided in favour of the former. It continued in the same family till the year 1775, when, after the death of the tenth possessor, the estate was purchased by Sir Archibald Campbell of Inverniel."

There have been a considerable number of Macmillans long settled in Galloway, and the tradition is that they are descendants of an offshoot from the northern Macmillans, that went south about the time the Knapdale branch migrated from Lochtay side. These Macmillans are famous in the annals of the Covenanters, and are mentioned by Wodrow as having acted a prominent part during the times of the religious persecution in Scotland. Indeed, we believe that formerly, if not indeed even unto this day, the modern representatives of the Covenanters in Galloway are as often called "Macmillanites" as "Cameronians."

CHAPTER VII.

Clan Anrias or Ross—Rose—Rose of Kilravock—Kenneth or Mackenzie—Mackenzie of Gerloch or Gairloch—Mackenzies of Tarbet and Royston—of Coul—Scatwell—Allangrange—Applecross—Ord—Gruinard—Hilton—Mathieson or Clan Mhathain—Siol Alpine—Macgregor—Dugald Ciar Mhor—Rob Roy—Grant—Grants of Pluscardine—Ballindalloch—Glenmoriston—Lynachoarn—Aviemore—Croskie—Dalvey—Monymusk—Kilgraston—Mackinnon—Macnab—Duffie Macfie—Macquarrie—MacAulay.

Under the head of the Maormordom of Ross, Mr Skene, following the genealogists, includes a considerable number of clans viz., the clan Anrias or Ross, clan Kenneth or Mackenzie, clan Mathan or Mathieson; and under the subordinate head of Siol Alpine, the clans Macgregor, Grant, Mackinnon, Macnab, Macphie, Macquarrie, and Macaulay. We shall speak of them in their order.

ROSS.



Badge—Juniper.

The clan Anrias or Ross—called in Gaelic *clan Roisch na Gille Andras*, or the offspring of the follower of St Andrew—by which can be meant only the chiefs or gentry of the clan, are descended from the Earls of Ross, and through them from the ancient Maormors of Ross. According to Mr Smibert, the mass of the clan Ross was swallowed up by and adopted the name of the more powerful Mackenzies. "The generality," he says, "had never at any time borne the name of Ross; the gentry of the sept only were so distinguished. Thus, the common people, who must naturally have intermingled freely with the real Mackenzies, would ere long retain only vague traditions of their own descent; and when the days of regular registration, and also of military enlistment, required and introduced the use of stated names, the great body of the true Ross tribe would, without doubt, be enrolled under the name of Mackenzie, the prevailing one of the district. In all likelihood, therefore, the old Rosses are yet numerous in Ross-shire."

The first known Earl of Ross was Malcolm, who lived in the reign of Malcolm the Maiden (1153–1165).

Ferquhard, the second earl, called *Fearchar Mac an t-Sagairt*, or son of the priest, at the head of the tribes of Moray, repulsed Donald MacWilliam, the son of Donald Bane, when, soon after the accession of Alexander II. in 1214, that restless chief made an inroad from Ireland into that province.

William, third Earl of Ross, was one of the Scots nobles who entered into an agreement, 8th March 1258, with Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, that the Scots and Welsh should only make peace with England by mutual consent.

William, fourth earl, was one of the witnesses to the treaty of Bruce with Haco, King of Norway, 28th October 1312. With his clan he was at the battle of Bannockburn, and he signed the memorable letter to the Pope in 1320, asserting the independence of Scotland. He had two sons, Hugh, his successor, and John, who with his wife, Margaret, second daughter of Alexander Comyn, fourth Earl of Buchan, got the half of her father's lands in Scotland. He had also a daughter, Isabel, who became the wife of Edward Bruce, Earl of Carrick and King of Ireland, brother of Robert the Bruce, 1st June 1317.

Hugh, the next Earl of Ross, fell, in 1333, at Halidonhill.

Hugh's successor, William, left no male heir. His eldest daughter, Euphemia, married Sir Walter Lesley of Lesley, Aberdeenshire, and had a son, Alexander, Earl of Ross, and a daughter, Margaret. Earl Alexander married a daughter of the Regent Albany, and his only child, Euphemia, Countess of Ross, becoming a nun, she resigned the earldom to her uncle John, Earl of Buchan, Albany's second son. Her aunt Margaret had married Donald, second Lord of the Isles, and that potent chief assumed in her right the title of Earl of Ross, and took possession of the earldom. This led to the battle of Harlaw in 1411.

On the death of the Earl of Buchan and Ross, at the battle of Verneuil in France in 1424, the earldom of Ross reverted to the crown. James I., on his return from his long captivity in England, restored it to the heiress of line, the mother of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, who, in 1420, had succeeded his father, Donald, above mentioned. In 1429 he summoned together his vassals, both of Ross and the Isles, and at the head of 10,000 men wasted the crown lands in the vicinity of Inverness, and burned the town itself to the ground. At the head of some troops, which he had promptly collected, the king hastened, by forced marches, to Lochaber, and surprised the earl. The mere display of the royal banner won over the clan Chattan and the clan Cameron from his support, and he himself, suddenly attacked and hotly pursued, was compelled to sue, but in vain, for peace. Driven to despair, he resolved to cast himself on the royal mercy, and on Easter Sunday, did so in the extraordinary manner narrated at p. 140 of this volume.

Alexander's son, John, the next Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, having joined the Earl of Douglas in his rebellion against James II., sent, in 1455, to the western coast of Scotland an expedition of 5000 men, under the command of his near kinsman, Donald Balloch, Lord of Islay. With this force he desolated the whole coast from Innerkip to Bute, the Cumbrays, and the island of Arran; but from the prudent precautions taken by the king to repel the invaders, the loss was not very considerable. The Earl of Ross afterwards made his submission, and was received into the royal favour. On the accession of James III., however, his rebellious disposition again showed itself. Edward IV. of England having entered into a negotiation with him to detach him from his allegiance, on the 19th October 1461, the Earl of Ross, Donald Balloch, and his son, John of Islay, held a council of their vassals and dependants at Astornish, at which it was agreed to send ambassadors to England to treat with Edward, for assistance to effect the entire conquest of Scotland. On the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles in 1476, the earldom of Ross became vested in the crown.

Hugh Ross of Rarichies, brother of the last Earl of Ross, obtained a charter of the lands of Balnagowan in 1374, and on him by clan law the chiefship devolved. In the beginning of the 18th century, Donald Ross of Balnagowan, the last of his race, sold that estate to the Hon. General Ross, the brother of the twelfth Lord Ross of Hawkhead, who, although bearing the same surname, was not in any way related to him.

In February 1778, Munro Ross of Pitcalnie presented a petition to the king, claiming the earldom of Ross, as male descendant of the above-named Hugh Ross of Rarichies. This petition was sent to the House of Lords, but no decision appears to have followed upon it.

According to Mr Skene, Ross of Pitcalnie is the representative of the ancient earls; but as this claim has been disputed, and as other authorities think the Balnagowan family has a stronger claim to the chiefship, we shall take the liberty of quoting what Mr Smibert says on behalf of the latter:—"Mr Skene labours, with a pertinacity to us almost incomprehensible, to destroy the pretensions of the house, to represent the old Earls of Ross. He attempts to make out, firstly, that Paul Mactyre (or Mactire), who headed for a time the clan Ross, was the true heir-male of the fifth Earl of Ross, the last of the first house; and that the Balnagowan family, therefore, had no claims at that early time. He quotes 'an ancient historian of Highland families' to prove the great power and possessions of Paul Mactyre, the passage, as cited, running thus:—'Paul Mactyre was a valiant man, and caused Caithness to pay him black-mail. It is reported that he got nyn score of cowes yearly out of Caithness for black-mail so long as he was able to travel.'

"Now, there are a few words omitted in this citation. The original document, now before us, begins thus: 'Paull M'Tyre, aforesaid, *grandchild to Leandris;*' that is, grandchild to Gilleanrias, the founder of the clan, and its name-giver. If he was the grandson of the founder of the sept, Paul Mactyre could certainly never have been the heir of the fifth Earl of Ross, unless he had lived to a most unconscionable age. It would seem as if Mr Skene here erred from the old cause—that is, from his not unnatural anxiety to enhance the value and authenticity of the MS. of 1450, which was his own discovery, and certainly was a document of great interest. That MS. speaks of Paul Mactyre as heading the clan at a comparatively late period. We greatly prefer the view of the case already given by us, which is, that Paul Mactyre was either kinsman or *quasi* tutor to one of the first Ross earls, or successfully usurped their place for a time.

"Besides, the ancient document quoted by Mr Skene to show the greatness of Paul Mactyre, mentions also the marriage of 'his doughter and heire' to Walter, laird of Balnagowne. If the document be good for one thing, it must be held good also for others. Such a marriage seems quite natural, supposing Mactyre to have been a near kinsman of the Rosses.

"Perhaps too much has been already said on this subject to please general readers; but one of our main objects is to give to clansmen all the rational information procurable on their several family histories."

"Among another class of Rosses or Roses," says the same authority, "noticed by Nisbet as bearing distinct arms, the principal family appears to be that of Rose of Kilravock," to which a number of landed houses trace their origin. According to a tradition at one period prevalent among the clan Donald, the first of the Kilravock family came from Ireland, with one of the Macdonalds, Lords of the Isles. There does not seem, however, to be any foundation for this, except, perhaps, that as vassals of the Earls of Ross, the clan Rose were connected for about half a century with the lordship of the Isles. Mr Hugh Rose, the genealogist of the Kilravock family, is of opinion that they were originally from England, and from their having three water bougets in their coat armour, like the English family of Roos, it has been conjectured that they were of the same stock. But these figures were carried by other families than those of the name of Rose or Roos. Four water bougets with a cross in the middle were the arms of the Counts D'Eu in Normandy, and of the ancient Earls of Essex in England of the surname of Bourchier. They were indicative of an ancestor of the respective families who bore them having been engaged in the crusades, and forced, in the deserts of Palestine, to fight for and carry water in the leathern vessels called bougets, budgets, or buckets, which were usually slung across the horse or camel's back. The badge of the Roses is Wild Rosemary.

The family of Rose of Kilravock appear to have been settled in the county of Nairn since the reign of David I.

MACKENZIE.



BADGE—Deer Grass.

The clan Kenneth or Mackenzie has long cherished a traditionary belief in its descent from the Norman family of Fitzgerald settled in Ireland. Its pretensions to such an origin are founded upon a fragment of the records of Icolmkill, and a charter of the lands of Kintail in Wester Ross, said to have been granted by Alexander III. to Colin Fitzgerald, their supposed progenitor. According to the Icolmkill fragment, a personage described as "Peregrinus et Hibernus nobilis ex familia Geraldinorum," that is, "a noble stranger and Hibernian, of the family of the Geraldines," being driven from Ireland, with a considerable number of followers, about 1261, was received graciously by the king, and remained thenceforward at the court. Having given powerful aid to the Scots at the battle of Largs two years afterwards, he was rewarded by a grant of Kintail, erected into a free barony by charter dated 9th January, 1266. No such document, however, as this pretended fragment of Icolmkill is known to be in existence, at least, as Mr Skene says, nobody has ever seen it, and as for King Alexander's charter, he declares[3] that "it bears the most palpable marks of having been a forgery of later date, and one by no means happy in the execution." Besides, the words "Colino Hiberno," contained in it, do not prove the said Colin to have been an Irishman, as Hiberni was at that period a common appellation of the Gael of Scotland.

[3] *Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 235.

The ancestor of the clan Kenzie was Gilleonog, or Colin the younger, a son of Gilleon na hair'de, that is, Colin of the Aird, progenitor of the Earls of Ross, and from the MS. of 1450 their Gaelic descent may be considered established. Colin of Kintail is said to have married a daughter of Walter, lord high steward of Scotland. He died in 1278, and his son, Kenneth, being, in 1304, succeeded by his son, also called Kenneth, with the addition of Mackenneth, the latter, softened into Mackenny or Mackenzie, became the name of the whole clan. Murdoch, or Murcha, the son of Kenneth, received from David II. a charter of the lands of Kintail as early as 1362. At the beginning of the 15th century, the clan Kenzie appears to have been both numerous and powerful, for its chief, Kenneth More, when arrested, in 1427, with his son-in-law, Angus of Moray, and Macmathan, by James I. in his parliament at Inverness, was said to be able to muster 2,000 men.

In 1463, Alexander Mackenzie of Kintail received Strathgarve and many other lands from John, Earl of Ross, the same who was forfeited in 1476. The Mackenzie chiefs were originally vassals of the Earls of Ross, but after their forfeiture, they became independent of any superior but the crown. They strenuously opposed the Macdonalds in every attempt which they made to regain possession of the earldom. Alexander was succeeded by his son, Kenneth, who had taken for his first wife Lady Margaret Macdonald, daughter of the forfeited earl, John, Lord of the Isles, and having, about 1480, divorced his wife, he brought upon himself the resentment of her family.

Kenneth Oig, his son by the divorced wife, was chief in 1493. Two years afterwards, he and Farquhar Mackintosh were imprisoned by James V. in the castle of Edinburgh. In 1497, Ross and Mackintosh made their escape, but on their way to the Highlands they were treacherously seized at the Torwood, by the laird of Buchanan. Kenneth Oig resisted and was slain, and his head presented to the king by Buchanan.

Kenneth Oig having no issue, was succeeded by his brother, John, whose mother, Agnes Fraser, was a daughter of Lord Lovat. She had other sons, from whom sprung numerous

branches of this wide-spread family. As he was very young, his kinsman, Hector Roy Mackenzie, progenitor of the house of Gairloch, assumed the command of the clan, as guardian of the young chief. "Under his rule," says Mr. Gregory,[4] "the clan Kenzie became involved in feuds with the Munroes and other clans; and Hector Roy himself became obnoxious to government, as a disturber of the public peace. His intentions towards the young Lord of Kintail were considered very dubious; and the apprehensions of the latter and his friends having been roused, Hector was compelled by law to yield up the estate and the command of the tribe to the proper heir." John, at the call of James IV., marched with his clan to the fatal field of Flodden, where he was taken prisoner by the English.

On King James the Fifth's expedition to the Isles in 1540, he was joined at Kintail by John, chief of the Mackenzies, who accompanied him throughout his voyage. He fought at the battle of Pinkie at the head of his clan in 1547. On his death in 1556, he was succeeded by his son, Kenneth, who, by a daughter of the Earl of Athole, had Colin and Roderick, the latter ancestor of the Mackenzies of Redcastle, Kincraig, Rosend, and other branches.

Colin, eleventh chief, son of Kenneth, fought on the side of Queen Mary at the battle of Langside. He was twice married. By his first wife, Barbara, a daughter of Grant of Grant, he had, with three daughters, four sons, namely, Kenneth, his successor; Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Tarbat, ancestor of the Earls of Cromarty; Colin, ancestor of the Mackenzies of Kennock and Pitlundie; and Alexander, of the Mackenzies of Kilcoy, and other families of the name. By a second wife, Mary, eldest daughter of Roderick Mackenzie of Davochmaluak, he had a son, Alexander, from whom the Mackenzies of Applecross, Coul, Delvin, Assint, and other families are sprung.

Kenneth, the eldest son, twelfth chief of the Mackenzies, soon after succeeding his father, was engaged in supporting the claims of Torquil Macleod, surnamed Connanach, the disinherited son of Macleod of Lewis, whose mother was the sister of John Mackenzie of Kintail, and whose daughter had married Roderick Mackenzie, Kenneth's brother. The barony of Lewis he conveyed by writings to the Mackenzie chief, who caused the usurper thereof and some of his followers to be beheaded in July 1597. In the following year he joined Macleod of Harris and Macdonald of Sleat in opposing the project of James VI. for the colonization of the Lewis, by some Lowland gentlemen, chiefly belonging to Fife.

In 1601, Neill Macleod deserted the cause of the colonists, and Mackenzie, who had detained in captivity for several years Tormod, the only surviving legitimate son of Ruari Macleod of the Lewis, set him at liberty, and sent him into that island to assist Neill in opposing the settlers. In 1602, the feud between the Mackenzies and the Glengarry Macdonalds, regarding their lands in Wester Ross, was renewed with great violence. Ultimately, after much bloodshed on both sides, an agreement was entered into, by which Glengarry renounced in favour of Mackenzie the castle of Strone, with the lands of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and others, so long the subject of dispute between them. A crown charter of these lands was granted to Kenneth Mackenzie in 1607. The territories of the clan Kenzie at this time were very extensive. "All the Highlands and Isles, from Ardnamurchan to Strathnaver, were either the Mackenzies' property, or under their vassalage, some few excepted," and all about them were bound to them "by very strict bonds of friendship." The same year, Kenneth Mackenzie obtained, through the influence of the lord-chancellor, a gift, under the great seal, of the Lewis to himself, in virtue of the resignation formerly made in his favour by Torquil Macleod; but on the complaint to the king of those of the colonists who survived, he was forced to resign it. He was created a peer, by the title of Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, by patent, dated 19th November 1609. On the abandonment of the scheme for colonising the Lewis, the remaining adventurers, Sir George Hay and Sir James Spens, were easily prevailed upon to sell their title to Lord Kintail, who likewise succeeded in obtaining from the king a grant of the share in the island forfeited by Lord Balmerino, another of the grantees. Having thus

[4] *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 111.

at length acquired a legal right to the Lewis, he procured from the government a commission of fire and sword against the Islanders, and landing there with a large force, he speedily reduced them to obedience, with the exception of Neil Macleod and a few others, his kinsmen and followers. The struggle for the Lewis between the Mackenzies and the Macleods continued some time longer; an account of it has been already given. The Mackenzies ultimately succeeded in obtaining possession of the island.

Lord Kintail died in March 1611. He had married, first, Anne, daughter of George Ross of Balnagowan, and had, with two daughters, two sons, Colin, second Lord Kintail, and first Earl of Seaforth, and the Hon. John Mackenzie of Lochslin. His second wife was Isabel, daughter of Sir Alexander Ogilvie of Powrie, by whom, with a daughter, Sybilla, Mrs Macleod of Macleod, he had four sons, viz., Alexander; George, second Earl of Seaforth; Thomas of Pluscardine; and Simon of Lochslin, whose eldest son was the celebrated Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, lord advocate in the reigns of Charles II. and James VII.



Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh. From a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Colin, second Lord Kintail, was created Earl of Seaforth, by patent dated at Theobald's, 3d December 1623, to him and his heirs male.

The great-grandson of the third Earl of Seaforth, and male heir of the family, was Colonel Thomas Frederick Humberston Mackenzie, who fell at Gheriah in India in 1783. His brother, Francis Humberston Mackenzie, obtained the Seaforth estates, and was created Baron Seaforth in the peerage of the United Kingdom in 1796. Dying without surviving male issue, his title became extinct, and his eldest daughter, the Hon. Mary Frederica Elizabeth, having taken for her second husband J. A. Stewart of Glaserton, a cadet of the house of Galloway, that gentleman assumed the name of Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth.

The clan Kenzie from small beginnings had increased in territory and influence till they became, next to the Campbells, the greatest clan in the West Highlands. They remained loyal to the Stuarts, but the forfeiture of the Earl of Seaforth in 1715, and of the Earl of Cromarty in 1745, weakened their power greatly. They are still, however, one of the most numerous tribes in the Highlands. In 1745 their effective strength was calculated at 2500. No fewer than seven families of the name possess baronetcies.

The armorial bearings of the Mackenzies are a stag's head and horns. It is said that they were assumed in consequence of Kenneth, the ancestor of the family, having rescued the king of Scotland from an infuriated stag, which he had wounded. "In gratitude for his assistance," says Stewart of Garth, "the king gave him a grant of the castle and lands of Castle Donnan, and thus laid the foundation of the family and clan Mackenneth or Mackenzie." From the stag's head in their arms the term "Caberfae" was applied to the chiefs.

The progenitor of the GERLOCH or GAIRLOCH branch of the Mackenzies was, as above shown, Hector, the elder of the two sons of Alexander, seventh chief, by his second wife, Margaret Macdowall, daughter of John, Lord of Lorn. He lived in the reigns of Kings James III. and IV., and was by the Highlanders called "Eachin Roy," or Red Hector, from the colour of his hair. To the assistance of the former of these monarchs, when the confederated

nobles collected in arms against him, he raised a considerable body of the clan Kenzie, and fought at their head at the battle of Sauchieburn. After the defeat of his party, he retreated to the north, and, taking possession of Redcastle, put a garrison in it. Thereafter he joined the Earl of Huntly, and from James IV. he obtained in 1494 a grant of the lands and barony of Gerloch, or Gairloch, in Ross-shire. These lands originally belonged to the Siol-Vic-Gilliechallum, or Macleods of Rasay, a branch of the family of Lewis; but Hector, by means of a mortgage or wadset, had acquired a small portion of them, and in 1508 he got Brachan, the lands of Moy, the royal forest of Glassiter, and other lands, united to them. In process of time, his successors came to possess the whole district, but not till after a long and bloody feud with the Siol-Vic-Gilliechallum, which lasted till 1611, when it was brought to a sudden close by a skirmish, in which Gilliechallum Oig, laird of Rasay, and Murdoch Mackenzie, a younger son of the laird of Gairloch, were slain. From that time the Mackenzies possessed Gairloch without interruption from the Macleods.

Kenneth Mackenzie, eighth Baron of Gairloch, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1700. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, and was succeeded, in 1704, by his son, Sir Alexander, second baronet. His eldest son, Sir Alexander, third baronet, married—first, Margaret, eldest daughter of Roderick Mackenzie of Redcastle, issue one son, Hector; second, Jean, only daughter of John Gorrie, Esq., commissary of Ross, issue two sons, John, a general officer, and Kenneth, an officer in India, and three daughters. He died 13th April 1770.

Sir Hector Mackenzie, his eldest son, fourth baronet of the Gairloch branch, died in April 1826. His son, Sir Francis Alexander, fifth baronet, born in 1798, died June 2, 1843. The eldest son of Sir Francis, Sir Kenneth Smith Mackenzie, sixth baronet, born 1832, married in 1860 the second daughter of Walter Frederick Campbell of Islay.

The first of the Mackenzies of Tarbet and Royston, in the county of Cromarty, was Sir Roderick Mackenzie, second son of Colin Mackenzie of Kintail. brother of the first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail. Having married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Torquil Macleod of the Lewes, he added the armorial bearings of the Macleods to his own. His son, John Mackenzie of Tarbet, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, 21st May 1628. He had four sons.

The eldest son, Sir George Mackenzie, second baronet, was the first Earl of Cromarty. His eldest son becoming a bankrupt, his estate of Cromarty was sold in 1741 to William Urquhart of Meldrum. He was succeeded by his brother, Sir Kenneth, fourth baronet, at whose death, without issue, in 1763, the baronetcy lay dormant until revived in favour of Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Tarbet, elder son of Robert Mackenzie, lieutenant-colonel in the East India Company's service, great-great-grandson of the first baronet. Colonel Mackenzie's father was Alexander Mackenzie of Ardlock, and his mother the daughter of Robert Sutherland, Esq. of Langwell, Caithness, twelfth in descent from William de Sutherland, fifth Earl of Sutherland, and the Princess Margaret Bruce, sister and heiress of David II. Sir Alexander, fifth baronet, was in the military service of the East India Company. On his death, April 28, 1843, his brother, Sir James Wemyss Mackenzie, became sixth baronet of Tarbet and Royston. He died November 24, 1858, and was succeeded by his son, Sir James John Randoll Mackenzie.

The first of the family of Coul, Ross-shire, was Alexander Mackenzie, brother of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, who, before his death, made him a present of his own sword, as a testimony of his particular esteem and affection. His son, Kenneth Mackenzie of Coul, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, October 16, 1673. His eldest son, Sir Alexander, second baronet, died in 1702. His son, Sir John Mackenzie, third baronet, for being concerned in the rebellion of 1715, was forfeited. He died without male issue, and the attainder not extending to collateral branches of the family, the title and estates devolved upon his brother, Sir Colin, fourth baronet, clerk to the pipe in the exchequer. He died in 1740.

The Mackenzies of Scatwell, Ross-shire, who also possess a baronetcy, are descended

from Sir Roderick Mackenzie, knight, of Tarbet and Cogeach, second son of Colin, eleventh feudal baron of Kintail, father of Sir John Mackenzie, ancestor of the Earls of Cromarty, and Kenneth Mackenzie of Scatwell, whose son, Kenneth, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, February 22, 1703. By his marriage with Lilias, daughter and heiress of Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, that branch of the Mackenzie family merged in that of Scatwell.

Other principal families of the name are Mackenzie of Allangrange, heir male of the Earls of Seaforth; of Applecross, also a branch of the house of Seaforth; of Ord, of Gruinard, and of Hilton, all in Ross-shire.

Mathieson.

The name Mathieson, or Clan *Mhathain*, is said to come from the Gaelic *Mathaineach*, heroes, or rather, from Mathan, pronounced Mahan, a bear. The MacMathans were settled in Lochalsh, a district of Wester Ross, from an early period. They are derived by ancient genealogies from the same stock as the Earls of Ross and are represented by the MS. of 1450 as a branch of the Mackenzies. Kenneth MacMathan, who was constable of the castle of Ellandonan, is mentioned both in the Norse account of the expedition of the king of Norway against Scotland in 1263, and in the Chamberlain's Rolls for that year, in connection with that expedition. He is said to have married a sister of the Earl of Ross. The chief of the clan was engaged in the rebellion of Donald, Lord of the Isles, in 1411, and was one of the chiefs arrested at Inverness by James I., in 1427, when he is said to have been able to muster 2000 men. The possessions of the Mathiesons, at one time very extensive, were greatly reduced, in the course of the 16th century, by feuds with their turbulent neighbours, the Macdonalds of Glengarry.

Of this clan Mr Skene says,—"Of the history of this clan we know nothing whatever. Although they are now extinct, they must at one time have been one of the most powerful clans in the north, for among the Highland chiefs seized by James I. at the parliament held at Inverness in 1427, Bower mentions Macmaken leader of two thousand men, and this circumstance affords a most striking instance of the rise and fall of different families; for, while the Mathison appears at that early period as the leader of two thousand men, the Mackenzie has the same number only, and we now see the clan of Mackenzie extending their numberless branches over a great part of the North, and possessing an extent of territory of which few families can exhibit a parallel, while the one powerful clan of the Mathisons has disappeared, and their name become nearly forgotten."

Siol Alpine.

Under the general denomination of Siol Alpine are included several clans situated at considerable distances from one another, but all of them supposed to have been descended from Kenneth Macalpine, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, and the ancestor of a long line of Scottish kings. The validity of this lofty pretension has, however, been disputed; and, in point of fact, it appears that the clans, composing the Siol Alpine, were never united under the authority of a common chief, but, on the contrary, were, from the earliest period, at variance amongst themselves; in consequence of which they sunk into insignificance, and became of little account or importance in a general estimate of the Highland tribes. The principal clan appears to have been that of the Macgregors, a race famous for their misfortunes as well as the unbroken spirit with which they maintained themselves linked and banded together in spite of the most severe laws executed with the greatest rigour against all who bore this proscribed name.

Macgregor.

The Macgregors are generally esteemed one of the purest of all the Celtic tribes, and there seems to be no doubt of their unmixed and direct descent from the ancient Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. They were once numerous in Balquhidder and Menteith, and also in Glenorchy, which appears to have been their original seat. An air of romance has been thrown around this particular clan from the exploits and adventures of the celebrated Rob Roy, and the cruel sufferings and pro-

scriptions to which they were, at different times, subjected by the government.

MACGREGOR.



BADGE—Pine.

Claiming a regal origin, their motto anciently was, "My race is royal." Griogar, said to have been the third son of Alpin, king of Scotland, who commenced his reign in 833, is mentioned as their remote ancestor, but it is impossible to trace their descent from any such personage, or from his eldest brother, Kenneth Macalpine, from whom they also claim to be sprung.

According to Buchanan of Auchmar, the clan Gregor were located in Glenorchy as early as the reign of Malcolm Canmore (1057–1093). As, however, they were in the reign of Alexander II. (1214–1249) vassals of the Earl of Ross, Skene thinks it probable that Glenorchy was given to them, when that monarch conferred a large extent of territory on that potent noble. Hugh of Glenorchy appears to have been the first of their chiefs who was so styled. Malcolm, the chief of the clan in the days of Bruce, fought bravely on the national side at the battle of Bannockburn. He accompanied Edward Bruce to Ireland, and being severely wounded at Dundalk, he was ever afterwards known as "the lame lord."

In the reign of David II., the Campbells managed to procure a legal title to the lands of Glenorchy; nevertheless, the Macgregors maintained, for a long time, the actual possession of them by the strong hand. They knew no other right than that of the sword, but, ultimately, that was found unavailing, and, at last, expelled from their own territory, they became an outlawed, lawless, and landless clan.

John Macgregor of Glenorchy, who died in 1390, is said to have had three sons: Patrick, his successor; John Dow, ancestor of the family of Glenstrae, who became the chief of the clan; and Gregor, ancestor of the Macgregors of Roro. Patrick's son, Malcolm, was compelled by the Campbells to sell the lands of Auchinrevach in Strathfillan, to Campbell of Glenorchy, who thus obtained the first footing in Breadalbane, which afterwards gave the title of earl to his family.

The principal families of the Macgregors, in process of time, except that of Glenstrae, who held that estate as vassals of the Earl of Argyll, found themselves reduced to the position of tenants on the lands of Campbell of Glenorchy and other powerful barons. It being the policy of the latter to get rid of them altogether, the unfortunate clan were driven, by a continuous system of oppression and annoyance, to acts of rapine and violence, which brought upon them the vengeance of the government. The clan had no other means of subsistence than the plunder of their neighbours' property, and as they naturally directed their attacks chiefly against those who had wrested from them their own lands, it became still more the interest of their oppressors to represent to the king that nothing could put a stop to their lawless conduct, "save the cutting off the tribe of Macgregor root and branch." In 1488, soon after the youthful James IV. had ascended the throne which the murder of his father had rendered vacant, an act was passed "for staunching of thiftreif and other enormities throw all the realme;" evidently designed against the Macgregors, for among the barons to whom power was given for enforcing it, were Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, Neil Stewart of Fortingall, and Ewin Campbell of Strachur. At this time the Macgregors were still a numerous clan. Besides those in Glenorchy, they were settled in great numbers in the districts of Breadalbane and Athol, and they all acknowledged Macgregor of Glenstrae, who bore the title of captain of the clan, as their chief.

With the view of reducing these branches, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy obtained, in 1492, the office of bailiary of the crown lands of Disher and Toyer, Glenlyon, and Glendochart, and in 1502 he procured a charter of the lands of Glenlyon. "From this period," says Mr Skene, "the history of the Macgregors consists of a mere list of acts of privy council, by which commissions are granted to pursue the clan with fire and sword, and of various atrocities which a state of desperation, the natural result of these measures, as well as a deep spirit of vengeance, against both the framers and executors of them, frequently led the clan to committ. These actions led to the enactment of still severer laws, and at length to the complete proscription of the clan."

But still the Macgregors were not subdued. Taking refuge in their mountain fastnesses, they set at defiance all the efforts made by their enemies for their entire extermination, and inflicted upon some of them a terrible vengeance. In 1589 they seized and murdered John Drummond of Drummond Ernoch, a forester of the royal forest of Glenartney, an act which forms the foundation of the incident detailed in Sir Walter Scott's "Legend of Montrose." The clan swore upon the head of the victim that they would avow and defend the deed in common. An outrage like this led at once to the most rigorous proceedings on the part of the crown. Fresh letters of fire and sword for three years were issued against the whole clan, and all persons were interdicted from harbouring or having any communication with them. Then followed the conflict at Glenfruin in 1603, when the Macgregors, under Alexander Macgregor of Glenstrae, their chief, defeated the Colquhouns, under the laird of Luss, and 140 of the latter were killed. Details of this celebrated clan battle have been already given in the former part of this work, and more will be found under the Colquhouns. Dugald Ciar Mohr, ancestor of Rob Roy, is said on this occasion to have exhibited extraordinary ferocity and courage.

In relation to the betrayal and melancholy end of the unfortunate chief, Alexander, Macgregor of Glenstrae, there is the following entry in the MS. diary of Robert Birrell: "The 2 of October (1603,) Allester M'Gregour Glainstre-tane be the laird of Arkynles, bot escapit againe; bot efter, taken be the Earle of Argyill the 4 of Januar; and brocht to Edinburghe the 9 of Januar 1604, with mae of 18 his friendis, M'Gregouris. He wes convoyit to Berwick be the gaird, conforme to the earlis promese; for he promesit to put him out of Scottis grund. Swa he keipit ane Hielandmanis promes; in respect he sent the gaird to convoy him out of Scottis grund: Bot thai wer not directit to pairt with him back agane! The 18 of Januar, at evine, he come agane to Edinburghe; and vpone the 20 day, he was hangit at the croce, and ij (eleven) of his freindis and name, upone ane gallous: Himselff, being chieff, he was hangit his awin hicht above the rest of his friendis." That Argyll had an interest in his death appears from a declaration, printed in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*,[5] which the chief made before his execution, wherein he says that the earl had enticed him to commit several slaughters and disorders, and had endeavoured to prevail upon him to commit "sundrie mair."

Among other severe measures passed against this doomed clan was one which deprived them of their very name. By an act of the privy council, dated 3d April 1603, all of the name of Macgregor were compelled, on pain of death, to adopt another surname, and all who had been engaged at the battle of Glenfruin, and other marauding expeditions detailed in the act, were prohibited, also under the pain of death, from carrying any weapon but a knife without a point to cut their victuals. They were also forbidden, under the same penalty of death, to meet in greater numbers than four at a time. The Earls of Argyll and Athole were charged with the execution of these enactments, and it has been shown how the former carried out the task assigned to him. With regard to the ill-fated chief so treacherously "done to death" by him, the following interesting tradition is related:—His son, while out hunting one day, met the young laird of Lamond travelling with a servant from Cowal towards Inverlochy. They dined together at a house on the Blackmount, between Tyndrum and King's House;

[5] Vol. ii. p. 435.

but having unfortunately quarrelled during the evening, dirks were drawn, and the young Macgregor was killed. Lamond instantly fled, and was closely pursued by some of the clan Gregor. Outstripping his foes, he reached the house of the chief of Glenstrae, whom he besought earnestly, without stating his crime, to afford him protection. "You are safe with me," said the chief, "whatever you may have done." On the pursuers arriving, they informed the unfortunate father of what had occurred, and demanded the murderer; but Macgregor refused to deliver him up, as he had passed his word to protect him. "Let none of you dare to injure the man," he exclaimed; "Macgregor has promised him safety, and, as I live, he shall be safe while with me." He afterwards, with a party of his clan, escorted the youth home; and, on bidding him farewell, said, "Lamond, you are now safe on your own land. I cannot, and I will not protect you farther! Keep away from my people; and may God forgive you for what you have done!" Shortly afterwards the name of Macgregor was proscribed, and the chief of Glenstrae became a wanderer without a name or a home. But the laird of Lamond, remembering that he owed his life to him, hastened to protect the old chief and his family, and not only received the fugitives into his house, but shielded them for a time from their enemies.

Logan states, that on the death of Alexander, the executed chief, without surviving lawful issue, the clan, then in a state of disorder, elected a chief, but the head of the collateral branch, deeming Gregor, the natural son of the late chief, better entitled to the honour, without ceremony dragged the chief-elect from his inaugural chair in the kirk of Strathfillan, and placed Gregor therein, in his stead.

The favourite names assumed by the clan while compelled to relinquish their own, were Campbell, Graham, Stewart, and Drummond. Their unity as a clan remained unbroken, and they even seemed to increase in numbers, notwithstanding all the oppressive proceedings directed against them. These did not cease with the reign of James VI., for under Charles I. all the enactments against them were renewed, and yet in 1644, when the Marquis of Montrose set up the king's standard in the Highlands, the clan Gregor, to the number of 1000 fighting men, joined him, under the command of Patrick Macgregor of Glenstrae, their chief. In reward for their loyalty, at the Restoration the various statutes against them were annulled, when the clan men were enabled to resume their own name. In the reign of William III., however, the penal enactments against them were renewed in their full force. The clan were again proscribed, and compelled once more to take other names.

According to Buchanan of Auchmar, the direct male line of the chiefs became extinct in the reign of the latter monarch, and the representation fell, by "a formal renunciation of the chiefship," into the branch of Glengyle.



Rob Roy. From an original painting in the possession of Herbert Buchanan, Esq., of Arden.

Of this branch was the celebrated Rob Roy, that is, Red Rob, who assumed the name of Campbell under the proscriptive act.

As we promised in the former part of the

work, we shall here give some account of this celebrated robber-chief. Born about 1660, he was the younger son of Donald Macgregor of Glengyle, a lieutenant-colonel in the service of King James VII., by his wife, the daughter of William Campbell of Glenfalloch, the third son of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy. Rob Roy himself married Helen-Mary, the daughter of Macgregor of Cromar. His own designation was that of Inversnaid, but he seems to have acquired a right to the property of Craig Royston, a domain of rock and forest lying on the east side of Loch Lomond. He became tutor to his nephew, the head of the Glengyle branch, then in his minority, who claimed the chiefship of the clan.

Like many other Highland gentlemen, Rob Roy was a trader in cattle or master drover, and in this capacity he had borrowed several sums of money from the Duke of Montrose, but becoming insolvent, he absconded. In June 1712 an advertisement appeared for his apprehension, and he was involved in prosecutions which nearly ruined him. Some messengers of the law who visited his house in his absence are said to have abused his wife in a most shameful manner, and she, being a high-spirited woman, incited her husband to acts of vengeance. At the same time, she gave vent to her feelings in a fine piece of pipe music, still well known by the name of "Rob Roy's Lament." As the duke had contrived to get possession of Rob's lands of Craig Royston, he was driven to become the "bold outlaw" which he is represented in song and story.

"Determined," says General Stewart of Garth, "that his grace should not enjoy his lands with impunity, he collected a band of about twenty followers, declared open war against him, and gave up his old course of regular droving, declaring that the estate of Montrose should in future supply him with cattle, and that he would make the duke rue the day he quarrelled with him. He kept his word; and for nearly thirty years—that is, till the day of his death—regularly levied contributions on the duke and his tenants, not by nightly depredations, but in broad day, and in a systematic manner; on an appointed time making a complete sweep of all the cattle of a district—always passing over those not belonging to the duke's estates, or the estates of his friends and adherents; and having previously given notice where he was to be on a certain day with his cattle, he was met there by people from all parts of the country, to whom he sold them publicly. These meetings, or trysts, as they were called, were held in different parts of the country; sometimes the cattle were driven south, but oftener to the north and west, where the influence of his friend the Duke of Argyll protected him. When the cattle were in this manner driven away, the tenants paid no rent, so that the duke was the ultimate sufferer. But he was made to suffer in every way. The rents of the lower farms were partly paid in grain and meal, which was generally lodged in a storehouse or granary, called a *girnal*, near the Loch of Monteath. When Macgregor wanted a supply of meal, he sent notice to a certain number of the duke's tenants to meet him at the girnal on a certain day, with their horses to carry home his meal. They met accordingly, when he ordered the horses to be loaded, and, giving a regular receipt to his grace's storekeeper for the quantity taken, he marched away, always entertaining the people very handsomely, and careful never to take the meal till it had been lodged in the duke's storehouse in payment of rent. When the money rents were paid, Macgregor frequently attended. On one occasion, when Mr Graham of Killearn, the factor, had collected the tenants to pay their rents, all Rob Roy's men happened to be absent, except Alexander Stewart, called 'the bailie.' With this single attendant he descended to Chapel Errock, where the factor and the tenants were assembled. He reached the house after it was dark, and, looking in at a window, saw Killearn, surrounded by a number of the tenants, with a bag full of money which he had received, and was in the act of depositing it in a press or cupboard, at the same time saying that he would cheerfully give all that he had in the bag for Rob Roy's head. This notification was not lost on the outside visitor, who instantly gave orders in a loud voice to place two men at each window, two at each corner, and four at each of two doors, thus appearing to have twenty men. Immediately the door opened, and he walked

in with his attendant close behind, each armed with a sword in his right hand and a pistol in his left hand, and with dirks and pistols slung in their belts. The company started up, but he desired them to sit down, as his business was only with Killearn, whom he ordered to hand down the bag and put it on the table. When this was done, he desired the money to be counted, and proper receipts to be drawn out, certifying that he received the money from the Duke of Montrose's agent, as the duke's property, the tenants having paid their rents, so that no after demand could be made on them on account of this transaction; and finding that some of the people had not obtained receipts, he desired the factor to grant them immediately, 'to show his grace,' said he, 'that it is from him I take the money, and not from these honest men who have paid him.' After the whole was concluded, he ordered supper, saying that, as he had got the purse, it was proper he should pay the bill; and after they had drunk heartily together for several hours, he called his bailie to produce his dirk, and lay it naked on the table. Killearn was then sworn that he would not move, nor direct any one else to move, from that spot for an hour after the departure of Macgregor, who thus cautioned him—'If you break your oath, you know what you are to expect in the next world, and in this,' pointing to his dirk. He then walked away, and was beyond pursuit before the hour expired."

At the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, in spite of the obligations which he owed to the indirect protection of the Duke of Argyll, Rob Roy's Jacobite partialities induced him to join the rebel forces under the Earl of Mar.

On this occasion none of the Clan Gregor, except the sept of Ciar Mohr, to which Rob Roy belonged, took up arms for the Chevalier, though they were joined by connexions of the family, and among others by Leckie of Croy-Leckie, a large landed proprietor in Dumbartonshire, who had married a daughter of Donald M'Gregor, by his wife the daughter of Campbell of Glenfalloch, and who was thus the brother-in-law of Rob Roy. "They were not," says Sir Walter Scott, "commanded by Rob Roy, but by his nephew already mentioned, Gregor Macgregor, otherwise called James Grahame of Glengyle, and still better remembered by the Gaelic epithet of *Ghlune Dhu, i.e.* Black Knee, from a black spot on one of his knees, which his Highland garb rendered visible. There can be no question, however, that being then very young, Glengyle must have acted on most occasions by the advice and direction of so experienced a leader as his uncle. The Macgregors assembled in numbers at that period, and began even to threaten the lowlands towards the lower extremity of Loch Lomond. They suddenly seized all the boats which were upon the lake, and, probably with a view to some enterprise of their own, drew them overland to Inversnaid, in order to intercept the progress of a large body of west country whigs who were in arms for the government, and moving in that direction. The whigs made an excursion for the recovery of the boats. Their forces consisted of volunteers from Paisley, Kilpatrick, and elsewhere, who, with the assistance of a body of seamen, were towed up the river Leven in long boats belonging to the ships of war then lying in the Clyde. At Luss, they were joined by the forces of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, and James Grant, his son-in-law, with their followers, attired in the Highland dress of the period, which is picturesquely described. The whole party crossed to Craig Royston, but the Macgregors did not offer combat. If we were to believe the account of the expedition given by the historian Rae, they leaped on shore at Craig Royston with the utmost intrepidity, no enemy appearing to oppose them, and by the noise of their drums, which they beat incessantly, and the discharge of their artillery and small arms, terrified the Macgregors, whom they appear never to have seen, out of their fastnesses, and caused them to fly in a panic to the general camp of the Highlanders at Strathfillan. The low-countrymen succeeded in getting possession of the boats, at a great expenditure of noise and courage, and little risk of danger.

"After this temporary removal from his old haunts, Rob Roy was sent by the Earl of Mar to Aberdeen, to raise, it is believed, a part of the clan Gregor, which is settled in that country. These men were of his own family (the race of the Ciar Mohr). They were the

descendants of about three hundred Macgregors whom the Earl of Moray, about the year 1624, transported from his estates in Monteith to oppose against his enemies the Mackintoshes, a race as hardy and restless as they were themselves. We have already stated that Rob Roy's conduct during the insurrection of 1715 was very equivocal. His person and followers were in the Highland army, but his heart seems to have been with the Duke of Argyll's. Yet the insurgents were constrained to trust to him as their only guide, when they marched from Perth towards Dunblane, with the view of crossing the Forth at what are called the Fords of Frew, and when they themselves said he could not be relied upon.

"This movement to the westward, on the part of the insurgents, brought on the battle of Sheriffmuir; indecisive, indeed, in its immediate results, but of which the Duke of Argyll reaped the whole advantage." We have already given an account of Rob Roy's vacillating behaviour at this battle. "One of the Macphersons, named Alexander, one of Rob's original profession, *videlicet* a drover, but a man of great strength and spirit, was so incensed at the inactivity of his temporary leader, that he threw off his plaid, drew his sword, and called out to his clansmen, 'Let us endure this no longer! if he will not lead you, I will.' Rob Roy replied, with great coolness, 'Were the question about driving Highland stots or kyloes, Sandie, I would yield to your superior skill; but as it respects the leading of men, I must be allowed to be the better judge.' 'Did the matter respect driving Glen-Eigas stots,' answered Macpherson, 'the question with Rob would not be, which was to be last, but which was to be foremost.' Incensed at this sarcasm, Macgregor drew his sword, and they would have fought upon the spot if their friends on both sides had not interfered.

"Notwithstanding the sort of neutrality which Rob Roy had continued to observe during the progress of the rebellion, he did not escape some of its penalties. He was included in the act of attainder, and the house in Breadalbane, which was his place of retreat, was burned by General Lord Cadogan, when, after the conclusion of the insurrection, he marched through the Highlands to disarm and punish the offending clans. But upon going to Inverary with about forty or fifty of his followers, Rob obtained favour, by an apparent surrender of their arms to Colonel Patrick Campbell of Finnah, who furnished them and their leader with protections under his hand. Being thus in a great measure secured from the resentment of government, Rob Roy established his residence at Craig Royston, near Loch Lomond, in the midst of his own kinsmen, and lost no time in resuming his private quarrel with the Duke of Montrose. For this purpose, he soon got on foot as many men, and well armed too, as he had yet commanded. He never stirred without a body guard of ten or twelve picked followers, and without much effort could increase them to fifty or sixty."[6]

For some years he continued to levy blackmail from those whose cattle and estates he protected, and although an English garrison was stationed at Inversnaid, near Aberfoyle, his activity, address, and courage continually saved him from falling into their hands. The year of his death is uncertain, but it is supposed to have been after 1738. He died at an advanced age in his bed, in his own house at Balquhidder. When he found death approaching, "he expressed," says Sir Walter Scott, "some contrition for particular parts of his life. His wife laughed at these scruples of conscience, and exhorted him to die like a man, as he had lived. In reply, he rebuked her for her violent passions, and the counsels she had given him. 'You have put strife,' he said, 'between me and the best men of the country, and now you would place enmity between me and my God.' There is a tradition noway inconsistent with the former, if the character of Rob Roy be justly considered, that, while on his deathbed, he learned that a person with whom he was at enmity, proposed to visit him. 'Raise me from my bed,' said the invalid, 'throw my plaid around me, and bring me my claymore, dirk, and pistols; it shall never be said that a foeman saw Rob Roy Macgregor defenceless and unarmed.' His foeman, conjectured to be one of the Maclarens, entered and paid his compliments, inquiring after the health of his formidable neighbour.

[6] Introduction to *Rob Roy*

Rob Roy maintained a cold haughty civility during their short conference, and as soon as he had left the house, 'Now,' he said, 'all is over; let the piper play *Ha til mi tulidh*' (we return no more), and he is said to have expired before the dirge was finished." The grave of Macgregor, in the churchyard of Balquhidder, is distinguished by a rude tombstone, over which a sword is carved.

Rob Roy had five sons—Coll, Ranald, James (called James Roy, after his father, and James Mohr, or big James, from his height), Duncan, and Robert, called Robin Oig, or Young Robin.

On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745, the clan Gregor adhered to the cause of the Pretender. A Macgregor regiment, 300 strong, was raised by Robert Macgregor of Glencairnock, who was generally considered chief of the clan, which joined the prince's army. The branch of *Ciar Mohr*, however, regarded William Macgregor Drummond of Bohaldie, then in France, as their head, and a separate corps formed by them, commanded by Glengyle, and James Roy Macgregor, united themselves to the levies of the titular Duke of Perth, James assuming the name of Drummond, the duke's family name, instead of that of Campbell. This corps was the relics of Rob Roy's band, and with only twelve men of it, James Roy, who seems to have held the rank of captain or major, succeeded in surprising and burning, for the second time, the fort at Inversnaid, constructed for the express purpose of keeping the country of the Macgregors in order.

At the battle of Prestonpans, the Duke of Perth's men and the Macgregors composed the centre. Armed only with scythes, this party cut off the legs of the horses, and severed, it is said, the bodies of their riders in twain. Captain James Roy, at the commencement of the battle, received five wounds, but recovered from them, and rejoined the prince's army with six companies. He was present at the battle of Culloden, and after that defeat the clan Gregor returned in a body to their own country, when they dispersed. James Roy was attainted for high treason, but from some letters of his, published in *Blackwood's Magazine* for December 1817, it appears that he had entered into some communication with the government, as he mentions having obtained a pass from the Lord Justice-clerk in 1747, which was a sufficient protection to him from the military.

On James Roy's arrival in France, he seems to have been in very poor circumstances, as he addressed a letter to Mr Edgar, secretary to the Chevalier de St George, dated Boulogne-sur-Mer, May 22, 1753, craving assistance "for the support of a man who has always shown the strongest attachment to his majesty's person and cause." To relieve his necessities, James ordered his banker at Paris to pay Macgregor 300 livres. James Roy, availing himself of a permission he had received to return to Britain, made a journey to London, and had an interview, according to his own statement, with Lord Holderness, secretary of state. The latter and the under secretary offered him, he says, a situation in the government service, which he rejected, as he avers his acceptance of it would have been a disgrace to his birth, and would have rendered him a scourge to his country. On this he was ordered instantly to quit England. On his return to France, an information was lodged against him by Macdonnell of Lochgarry, before the high bailie of Dunkirk, accusing him of being a spy. In consequence, he was obliged to quit that town and proceed to Paris, with only thirteen livres in his pocket. In his last letter to his acknowledged chief, Macgregor of Bohaldie, dated Paris, 25th September 1754, he describes himself as being in a state of extreme destitution, and expresses his anxiety to obtain some employment as a breaker and breeder of horses, or as a hunter or fowler, "till better cast up." In a postscript he asks his chief to lend him his bagpipes, "to play some melancholy tunes." He died about a week after writing this letter, it is supposed of absolute starvation.

It was not till 1784 that the oppressive acts against the Macgregors, which, however, for several years had fallen into desuetude, were rescinded by the British parliament, when they were allowed to resume their own name, and were restored to all the rights and privileges of British citizens. A deed was immediately entered into, subscribed by 826 persons of the name of Macgregor, recognising John Murray

of Lanrick, representative of the family of Glencarnock, as their chief, Murray being the name assumed, under the Proscriptive act, by John Macgregor, who was chief in 1715. Although he secretly favoured the rebellion of that year, the latter took no active part in it; but Robert, the next chief, mortgaged his estate, to support the cause of the Stuarts, and he commanded that portion of the clan who acknowledged him as their head in the rebellion of 1745. Altogether, with the Ciar Mohr branch, the Macgregors could then muster 700 fighting men. To induce Glencarnock's followers to lay down their arms, the Duke of Cumberland authorised Mr Gordon, at that time minister of Alva, in Strathspey, to treat with them, offering them the restoration of their name, and other favours, but the chief replied that they could not desert the cause. They chose rather to risk all, and die with the characters of honest men, than live in infamy, and disgrace their posterity.

After the battle of Culloden, the chief was long confined in Edinburgh castle, and on his death in 1758, he was succeeded by his brother Evan, who held a commission in the 41st regiment, and served with distinction in Germany. His son, John Murray of Lanrick, was the chief acknowledged by the clan, on the restoration of their rights in 1784. He was a general in the East India Company's service, and auditor-general in Bengal. Created a baronet of Great Britain 23d July 1795, he resumed in 1822 the original surname of the family, Macgregor, by royal license. He died the same year. The chiefship, however, was disputed by the Glengyle family, to which Rob Roy belonged.

Sir John Murray Macgregor's only son, Sir Evan John Macgregor, second baronet, was born in January 1785. He was a major-general in the army, K.C.B., and G.C.H., and governor-general of the Windward Isles. He died at his seat of government, 14th June 1841. By his wife, Lady Elizabeth Murray, daughter of John, fourth Duke of Athole, he had five sons and four daughters.

His eldest son, Sir John Athole Bannatyne Macgregor, third baronet, born 20th January 1810, was lieutenant-governor of the Virgin Islands, and died at Tortola, his seat of government, 11th May 1851. He had four sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Sir Malcolm Murray Macgregor, fourth baronet, was born 29th August 1834, and styled of Macgregor, county Perth.

GRANT.



BADGE—Pine (or, according to some, Cranberry Heath).

With regard to the clan GRANT, Mr Skene says,—"Nothing certain is known regarding the origin of the Grants. They have been said to be of Danish, English, French, Norman, and of Gaelic extraction; but each of these suppositions depends for support upon conjecture alone, and amidst so many conflicting opinions it is difficult to fix upon the most probable. It is maintained by the supporters of their Gaelic origin, that they are a branch of the Macgregors, and in this opinion they are certainly borne out by the ancient and unvarying tradition of the country; for their Norman origin, I have upon examination entirely failed in discovering any further reason than that their name may be derived from the French, grand or great, and that they occasionally use the Norman form of de Grant. The latter reason, however, is not of any force, for it is impossible to trace an instance of their using the form de Grant until the 15th century; on the contrary, the form is invariably Grant or le Grant, and on the very first appearance of the family it is 'dictus Grant.' It is certainly not a territorial name, for there was no ancient property of that name, and the peculiar form under which it invariably appears in the earlier generations, proves that the name

is derived from a personal epithet. It so happens, however, that there was no epithet so common among the Gael as that of Grant, as a perusal of the Irish annals will evince; and at the same time Ragman's Roll shows that the Highland epithets always appear among the Norman signatures with the Norman 'le' prefixed to them. The clan themselves unanimously assert their descent from Gregor Mor Macgregor, who lived in the 12th century; and this is supported by their using to this day the same badge of distinction. So strong is this belief in both the clans of Grant and Macgregor, that in the early part of the last century a meeting of the two was held in the Blair of Athole, to consider the policy of re-uniting them. Upon this point all agreed, and also that the common surname should be Macgregor, if the reversal of the attainder of that name could be got from government. If that could not be obtained it was agreed that either MacAlpine or Grant should be substituted. This assembly of the clan Alpine lasted for fourteen days, and was only rendered abortive by disputes as to the chieftainship of the combined clan. Here then is as strong an attestation of a tradition as it is possible to conceive, and when to this is added the utter absence of the name in the old Norman rolls, the only trustworthy mark of a Norman descent, we are warranted in placing the Grants among the Siol Alpine."

With Mr Smibert we are inclined to think that, come the clan designation whence it may, the great body of the Grants were Gael of the stock of Alpine, which, as he truly says, is after all the main point to be considered.[1]

The first of the name on record in Scotland is Gregory de Grant, who, in the reign of Alexander II. (1214 to 1249), was sheriff of the shire of Inverness, which then, and till 1583, comprehended Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, besides what is now Inverness-shire. By his marriage with Mary, daughter of Sir John Bisset of Lovat, he became possessed of the lands of Stratherrick, at that period a part of the province of Moray, and had two sons, namely, Sir Lawrence, his heir, and Robert, who appears to have succeeded his father as sheriff of Inverness.

The elder son, Sir Lawrence de Grant, with his brother Robert, witnessed an agreement, dated 9th Sept. 1258, between Archibald, bishop of Moray, and John Bisset of Lovat; Sir Lawrence is particularly mentioned as the friend and kinsman of the latter. Chalmers[2] states that he married Bigla, the heiress of Comyn of Glenchernach, and obtained his father-in-law's estates in Strathspey, and a connection with the most potent family in Scotland. Douglas, however, in his *Baronage*,[3] says that she was the wife of his elder son, John. He had two sons, Sir John and Rudolph. They supported the interest of Bruce against Baliol, and were taken prisoners in 1296, at the battle of Dunbar. After Baliol's surrender of his crown and kingdom to Edward, the English monarch, with his victorious army, marched north as far as Elgin. On his return to Berwick he received the submission of many of the Scottish barons, whose names were written upon four large rolls of parchment, so frequently referred to as the Ragman Roll. Most of them were dismissed on their swearing allegiance to him, among whom was Rudolph de Grant, but his brother, John de Grant, was carried to London. He was released the following year, on condition of serving King Edward in France, John Comyn of Badenoch being his surety on the occasion. Robert de Grant, who also swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296, is supposed to have been his uncle.

At the accession of Robert the Bruce in 1306, the Grants do not seem to have been very numerous in Scotland; but as the people of Strathspey, which from that period was known as "the country of the Grants," came to form a clan, with their name, they soon acquired the position and power of Highland chiefs.

[1] A MS., part of it evidently of ancient date, a copy of which was kindly lent to the editor by John Grant of Kilgraston, Esq., boldly sets out by declaring that the great progenitor of the Grants was the Scandinavian god Wodin, who "came out of Asia about the year 600" A.D. While a thread of genealogical truth seems to run through this MS., little reliance can be placed on the accuracy of its statements. It pushes dates, till about the 16th century, back more than 200 years, and contains many stories which are evidently traditionary or wholly fabulous. The latter part of it, however, written about the end of last century, may undoubtedly be relied upon as the work of a contemporary.

[2] *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 596. [3] P. 321.

Sir John had three sons—Sir John, who succeeded him; Sir Allan, progenitor of the clan Allan, a tribe of the Grants, of whom the Grants of Auchernick are the head; and Thomas, ancestor of some families of the name. Sir John's grandson, John de Grant, had a son; and a daughter, Agnes, married to Sir Richard Comyn, ancestor of the Cummings of Altyre. The son, Sir Robert de Grant, in 1385, when the king of France, then at war with Richard II., remitted to Scotland a subsidy of 40,000 French crowns, to induce the Scots to invade England, was one of the principal barons, about twenty in all, among whom the money was divided. He died in the succeeding reign.

At this point there is some confusion in the pedigree of the Grants. The family papers state that the male line was continued by the son of Sir Robert, named Malcolm, who soon after his father's death began to make a figure as chief of the clan. On the other hand, some writers maintain that Sir Robert had no son, but a daughter, Maud or Matilda, heiress of the estate, and lineal representative of the family of Grant, who about the year 1400 married Andrew Stewart, son of Sir John Stewart, commonly called the Black Stewart, sheriff of Bute, and son of King Robert II., and that this Andrew sunk the royal name, and assumed instead the name and arms of Grant. This marriage, however, though supported by the tradition of the country, is not acknowledged by the family or the clan, and the very existence of such an heiress is denied.

Malcolm de Grant, above mentioned, had a son, Duncan de Grant, the first designed of Freuchie, the family title for several generations. By his wife, Muriel, a daughter of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, he had, with a daughter, two sons, John and Patrick. The latter, by his elder son, John, was ancestor of the Grants of Ballindalloch, county of Elgin, of whom afterwards, and of those of Tomnavoulen, Tulloch, &c.; and by his younger son, Patrick, of the Grants of Dunlugas in Banffshire.

Duncan's elder son, John Grant of Freuchie, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford, ancestor of the Earls of Findlater, had, with a daughter, married to her cousin, Hector, son of the chief of Mackintosh, three sons—John, his heir; Peter or Patrick, said to be the ancestor of the tribe of Phadrig, or house of Tullochgorum; and Duncan, progenitor of the tribe called clan Donachie, or house of Gartenbeg. By the daughter of Baron Stewart of Kincardine, he had another son, also named John, ancestor of the Grants of Glenmoriston.

His eldest son, John, the tenth laird, called, from his poetical talents, the Bard, succeeded in 1508. He obtained four charters under the great seal, all dated 3d December 1509, of various lands, among which were Urquhart and Glenmoriston in Inverness-shire. He had three sons; John, the second son, was ancestor of the Grants of Shogglie, and of those of Corrimony in Urquhart.

The younger son, Patrick, was the progenitor of the Grants of Bonhard in Perthshire. John the Bard died in 1525.

His eldest son, James Grant of Freuchie, called, from his daring character, *Shemas nan Creach*, or James the Bold, was much employed, during the reign of King James V., in quelling insurrections in the northern counties. His lands in Urquhart were, in November 1513, plundered and laid waste by the adherents of the Lord of the Isles, and again in 1544 by the Clanranald, when his castle of Urquhart was taken possession of. This chief of the Grants was in such high favour with King James V. that he obtained from that monarch a charter, dated 1535, exempting him from the jurisdiction of all the courts of judicature, except the court of session, then newly instituted. He died in 1553. He had, with two daughters, two sons, John and Archibald; the latter the ancestor of the Grants of Cullen, Monymusk, &c.

His eldest son, John, usually called *Evan Baold*, or the Gentle, was a strenuous promoter of the Reformation, and was a member of that parliament which, in 1560, abolished Popery as the established religion in Scotland. He died in 1585, having been twice married—first, to Margaret Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Athole, by whom he had, with two daughters, two sons, Duncan and Patrick, the latter ancestor of the Grants of Rothiemurchus; and, secondly, to a daughter of Barclay of

Towie, by whom he had an only son, Archibald, ancestor of the Grants of Bellintomb, represented by the Grants of Monymusk.

Duncan, the elder son, predeceased his father in 1581, leaving four sons—John; Patrick, ancestor of the Grants of Easter Elchies, of which family was Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, a lord of session; Robert, progenitor of the Grants of Lurg; and James, of Ardnellie, ancestor of those of Moyness.

John, the eldest son, succeeded his grandfather in 1585, and was much employed in public affairs. A large body of his clan, at the battle of Glenlivet, was commanded by John Grant of Gartenbeg, to whose treachery, in having, in terms of a concerted plan, retreated with his men as soon as the action began, as well as to that of Campbell of Lochnell, Argyll owed his defeat in that engagement. This laird of Grant greatly extended and improved his paternal estates, and is said to have been offered by James VI., in 1610, a patent of honour, which he declined. From the Shaws he purchased the lands of Rothiemurchus, which he exchanged with his uncle Patrick for the lands of Muchrach. On his marriage with Lilias Murray, daughter of John, Earl of Athole, the nuptials were honoured with the presence of King James VI. and his queen. Besides a son and daughter by his wife, he had a natural son, Duncan, progenitor of the Grants of Cluny. He died in 1622.

His son, Sir John, by his extravagance and attendance at court, greatly reduced his estates, and when he was knighted he got the name of "Sir John Sell-the-land." He had eight sons and three daughters, and dying at Edinburgh in April 1637, was buried at the abbey church of Holyroodhouse.

His elder son, James, joined the Covenanters on the north of the Spey in 1638, and on 19th July 1644, was, by the Estates, appointed one of the committee for trying the malignants in the north. After the battle of Inverlochy, however, in the following year, he joined the standard of the Marquis of Montrose, then in arms for the king, and ever after remained faithful to the royal cause. In 1663, he went to Edinburgh, to see justice done to his kinsman, Allan Grant of Tulloch, in a criminal prosecution for manslaughter, in which he was successful; but he died in that city soon after his arrival there. A patent had been made out creating him Earl of Strathspey, and Lord Grant of Freuchie and Urquhart, but in consequence of his death it did not pass the seals. The patent itself is said to be preserved in the family archives. He had two sons, Ludovick and Patrick, the latter ancestor of the family of Wester Elchies in Speyside.

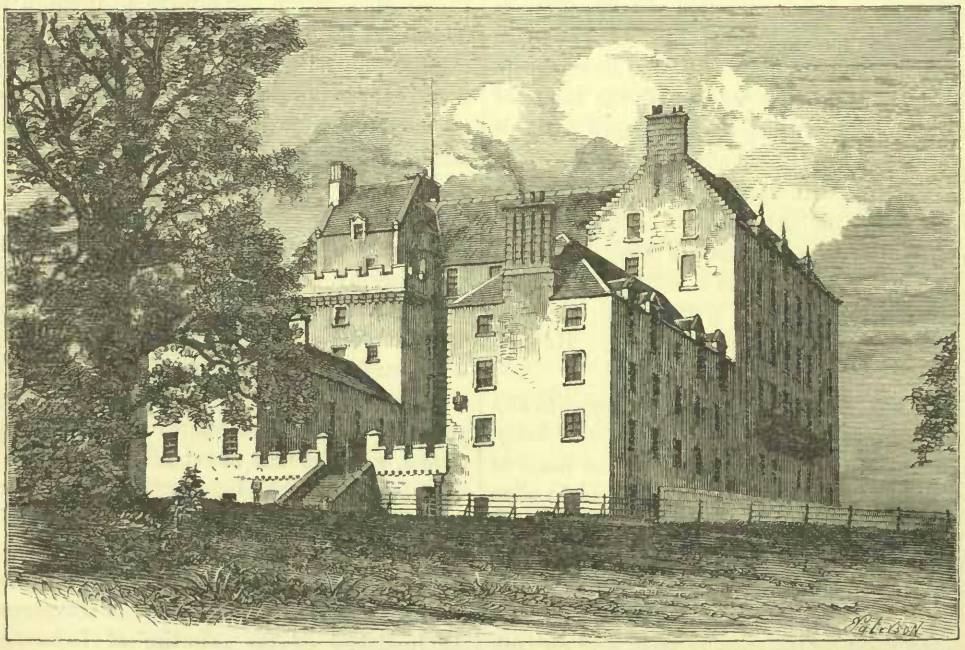
Ludovick, the eldest son, being a minor, was placed under the guardianship of his uncle, Colonel Patrick Grant, who faithfully discharged his trust, and so was enabled to remove some of the burdens on the encumbered family estates. Ludovick Grant of Grant and Freuchie took for his wife Janet, only child of Alexander Brodie of Lethen. By the favour of his father-in-law, the laird of Grant was enabled in 1685, to purchase the barony of Pluscardine, which was always to descend to the second son. By King William he was appointed colonel of a regiment of foot, and sheriff of Inverness. In 1700 he raised a regiment of his own clan, being the only commoner that did so, and kept his regiment in pay a whole year at his own expense. In compensation, three of his sons got commissions in the army, and his lands were erected into a barony. He died at Edinburgh in 1718, in his 66th year, and, like his father and grandfather, was buried in Holyrood abbey.

Alexander, his eldest son, after studying the civil law on the continent, entered the army, and soon obtained the command of a regiment of foot, with the rank of brigadier. When the rebellion broke out, being with his regiment in the south, he wrote to his brother, Captain George Grant, to raise the clan for the service of government, which he did, and a portion of them assisted at the reduction of Inverness. As justiciary of the counties of Inverness, Moray, and Banff, he was successful in suppressing the bands of outlaws and robbers which infested these counties in that unsettled time. He succeeded his father in 1718, but died at Leith the following year, aged 40. Though twice married, he had no children.

His brother, Sir James Grant of Pluscardine, was the next laird. In 1702, in his father's lifetime, he married Anne, only daughter of

Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, Baronet. By the marriage contract it was specially provided that he should assume the surname and arms of Colquhoun, and if he should at any time succeed to the estate of Grant, his second son should, with the name of Colquhoun, become proprietor of Luss. In 1704, Sir Humphrey obtained a new patent in favour of his son-in-law, James Grant, who on his death, in 1715, became in consequence Sir James Grant Colquhoun of Luss, Baronet. On succeeding, however, to the estate of Grant four years after, he dropped the name of Colquhoun, retaining the baronetcy, and the estate of Luss went to his second surviving son. He had five daughters, and as many sons, viz. Humphrey, who predeceased him in 1732; Ludovick; James, a major in the army, who succeeded to the estate and baronetcy of Luss, and took the name of Colquhoun; Francis, who died a general in the army; and Charles, a captain in the Royal Navy.

The second son, Ludovick, was admitted advocate in 1728; but on the death of his brother he relinquished his practice at the bar, and his father devolving on him the management of the estate, he represented him thereafter as chief of the clan. He was twice married—first, to a daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple of North Berwick, by whom he had a daughter, who died young; secondly, to Lady Margaret Ogilvie, eldest daughter of James Earl of Findlater and Seafield, in virtue of which marriage his grandson succeeded to the earldom of Seafield. By his second wife Sir Ludovick had one son, James, and eleven daughters, six of whom survived him. Penuel, the third of these, was the wife of Henry Mackenzie, Esq., author of the *Man of Feeling*. Sir Ludovick died at Castle Grant, 18th March 1773.



Castle Grant. From a photograph.

His only son, Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet, born in 1738, was distinguished for his patriotism and public spirit. On the declaration of war by France in 1793, he was among the first to raise a regiment of fencibles, called the Grant or Strathspey fencibles, of which he was appointed colonel. After a lingering illness, he died at Castle Grant on 18th February 1811. He had married, in 1763, Jean, only child of Alexander Duff, Esq. of Hatton, Aberdeenshire, and had by her three sons and three daughters. Sir Lewis Alexander Grant, the eldest son, in 1811 succeeded to the estates and earldom of Seafield, on the

death of his cousin, James Earl of Findlater and Seafield, and his brother, Francis William, became, in 1840, sixth earl. The younger children obtained in 1822 the rank and precedency of an earl's junior issue.

The Grants of BALLINDALLOCH, in the parish of Inveravon, Banffshire—commonly called the Craig-Achrochcan Grants—as already stated, descend from Patrick, twin brother of John, ninth laird of Freuchie. Patrick's grandson, John Grant, was killed by his kinsman, John Roy Grant of Carron, as afterwards mentioned, and his son, also John Grant, was father of another Patrick, whose son, John Roy Grant, by his extravagant living and unhappy differences with his lady, a daughter of Leslie of Balquhain, entirely ruined his estate, and was obliged to consent to placing it under the management and trust of three of his kinsmen, Brigadier Grant, Captain Grant of Elchies, and Walter Grant of Arndilly, which gave occasion to W. Elchies' verses of "What meant the man?"

General James Grant of Ballindalloch succeeded to the estate on the death of his nephew, Major William Grant, in 1770. He died at Ballindalloch, on 13th April 1806, at the age of 86. Having no children, he was succeeded by his maternal grand-nephew, George Macpherson, Esq. of Invereshie, who assumed in consequence the additional name of Grant, and was created a baronet in 1838.

The Grants of GLENMORISTON, in Inverness-shire, are sprung from John More Grant, natural son of John Grant, ninth laird of Freuchie. His son, John Roy Grant, acquired the lands of Carron from the Marquis of Huntly. In a dispute about the marches of their respective properties, he killed his kinsman, John Grant of Ballindalloch, in 1588, an event which led to a lasting feud between the families, of which, in the first part of the work we have given a detailed account. John Roy Grant had four sons—Patrick, who succeeded him in Carron; Robert of Nether Glen of Rothes; James *an Tuim*, or James of the hill; and Thomas.

The Glenmoriston branch of the Grants adhered faithfully to the Stuarts. Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston appeared in arms in Viscount Dundee's army at Killiecrankie. He was also at the skirmish at Cromdale against the government soon after, and at the battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715. His estate was, in consequence, forfeited, but through the interposition of the chief of the Grants, was bought back from the barons of the Exchequer. The laird of Glenmoriston in 1745 also took arms for the Pretender; but means were found to preserve the estate to the family. The families proceeding from this branch, besides that of Carron, which estate is near Elchies, on the river Spey, are those of LYNACHOARN, AVIEMORE, CROSKIE, &c.

The favourite song of "Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch" (the only one she was ever known to compose), was written by a Mrs Grant of Carron, whose maiden name was Grant, born, near Aberlour, about 1745. Mr Grant of Carron, whose wife she became about 1763, was her cousin. After his death she married, a second time, an Irish physician practising at Bath, of the name of Murray, and died in that city in 1814.

The Grants of DALVEY, who possess a baronetcy, are descended from Duncan, second son of John the Bard, tenth laird of Grant.

The Grants of MONYMUSK, who also possess a baronetcy (date of creation, December 7, 1705), are descended from Archibald Grant of Ballintomb, an estate conferred on him by charter, dated 8th March 1580. He was the younger son of John Grant of Freuchie, called *Evan Baold*, or the Gentle, by his second wife, Isobel Barclay. With three daughters, Archibald Grant had two sons. The younger son, James, was designed of Tombreak. Duncan of Ballintomb, the elder, had three sons—Archibald, his heir; Alexander, of Allachie; and William, of Arndillie. The eldest son, Archibald, had, with two daughters, two sons, the elder of whom, Archibald Grant, Esq. of Bellinton, had a son, Sir Francis, a lord of session, under the title of Lord Cullen, the first baronet of this family.

The Grants of KILGRASTON, in Perthshire, are lineally descended, through the line of the Grants of Glenlochy, from the ninth laird of Grant. Peter Grant, the last of the lairds of Glenlochy, which estate he sold, had two sons, John and Francis. The elder son, John, chief justice of Jamaica from 1783 to 1790, purchased the estates of Kilgraston and Pitcaith-

ley, lying contiguous to each other in Strathearn; and, dying in 1793, without issue, he was succeeded by his brother, Francis. This gentleman married Anne, eldest daughter of Robert Oliphant, Esq. of Rossie, postmaster-general of Scotland, and had five sons and two daughters. He died in 1819, and was succeeded by his son, John Grant, the present representative of the Kilgraston family. He married—first, 1820, Margaret, second daughter of the late Lord Gray; second, 1828, Lucy, third daughter of Thomas, late Earl of Elgin. Heir, his son, Charles Thomas Constantine, born, 1831, and married, 1856, Matilda, fifth daughter of William Hay, Esq. of Dunse Castle.

The badge of the clan Grant was the pine or cranberry heath, and their slogan or gathering cry, "Stand fast, Craigellachie!" the bold projecting rock of that name ("the rock of alarm") in the united parishes of Duthil and Rothiemurchus, being their hill of rendezvous. The Grants had a long-standing feud with the Gordons, and even among the different branches of themselves there were faction fights, as between the Ballindalloch and Carron Grants. The clan, with few exceptions, was noted for its loyalty, being generally, and the family of the chief invariably, found on the side of government. In Strathspey the name prevailed almost to the exclusion of every other, and to this day Grant is the predominant surname in the district, as alluded to by Sir Alexander Boswell, Baronet, in his lively verses—

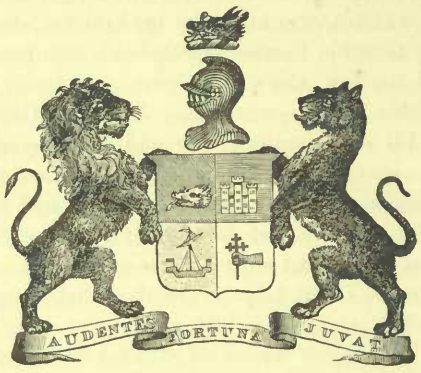
> "Come the Grants of Tullochgorum,
> Wi' their pipers gaun before 'em,
> Proud the mothers are that bore 'em.
>
> Next the Grants of Rothiemurchus,
> Every man his sword and durk has,
> Every man as proud 's a Turk is."

In 1715, the force of the clan was 800, and in 1745, 850.

Mackinnon.

The clan Fingon or the Mackinnons, another clan belonging to the Siol Alpine, are said to have sprung from Fingon, brother of Anrias or Andrew, an ancestor of the Macgregors. This Fingon or Finguin is mentioned in the MS. of 1450 as the founder of the clan Finguin, that is, the Mackinnons. Of the history of this clan, Mr Skene says, little is known. At an early period they became followers of the Lords of the Isles, and they appear to have been engaged in few transactions "by which their name is separately brought forward."

MACKINNON.



Badge—Pine.

Their seat was in the islands of Skye and Mull, and the first authentic notice of them is to be found in an indenture (printed in the Appendix to the second edition of Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*) between the Lords of the Isles and the Lord of Lorn. The latter stipulates, in surrendering to the Lord of the Isles the island of Mull and other lands, that the keeping of the castle of Kerneburg in the Treshinish Isles, is not to be given to any of the race of clan Finnon. "This," says Mr Gregory, "proves that the Mackinnons were then connected with Mull. They originally possessed the district of Griban in that island, but exchanged it for the district of Mishnish, being that part of Mull immediately to the north and west of Tobermory. They, likewise, possessed the lands of Strathairdle in Skye, from which the chiefs usually took their style. Lauchlan Macfingon, or Mackinnon, chief of his clan, witnessed a charter by Donald, Lord of the Isles, in 1409. The name of the chief in 1493 is uncertain; but Neil Mackinnon of Mishnish was at the head of the tribe in 1515."[1] Two years afterwards

[1] *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 80.

this Neil and several others, described as "kin, men, servants, and part-takers" of Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, were included in a remission which that chief obtained for their share in the rebellion of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh. In 1545 the chief's name was Ewen. He was one of the barons and council of the Isles who, in that year, swore allegiance to the king of England at Knockfergus in Ireland.

"In consequence," says Mr Skene, "of their connection with the Macdonalds, the Mackinnons have no history independent of that clan; and the internal state of these tribes during the government of the Lords of the Isles is so obscure that little can be learned regarding them, until the forfeiture of the last of these lords. During their dependence upon the Macdonalds there is but one event of any importance in which we find the Mackinnons taking a share, for it would appear that on the death of John of the Isles, in the fourteenth century, Mackinnon, with what object it is impossible now to ascertain, stirred up his second son, John Mor, to rebel against his eldest brother, apparently with a view to the chiefship, and his faction was joined by the Macleans and the Macleods. But Donald, his elder brother, was supported by so great a proportion of the tribe, that he drove John Mor and his party out of the Isles, and pursued him to Galloway, and from thence to Ireland. The rebellion being thus put down, John Mor threw himself upon his brother's mercy, and received his pardon, but Mackinnon was taken and hanged, as having been the instigator of the disturbance,"[2] This appears to have taken place after 1380, as John, Lord of the Isles, died that year. In the disturbances in the Isles, during the 16th century, Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon bore an active part.

As a proof of the common descent of the Mackinnons, the Macgregors and the Macnabs, although their territories were far distant from each other, two bonds of friendship exist, which are curious specimens of the manners of the times. The one dated 12th July 1606, was entered into between Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathairdle and Finlay Macnab of Bowaine, who, as its tenor runs, happened "to forgether togedder, with certain of the said Finlay's friends, in their rooms, in the laird of Glenurchy's country, and the said Lauchlan and Finlay, being come of ane house, and being of one surname and lineage, notwithstanding the said Lauchlan and Finlay this long time bygane oversaw their awn dueties, till udderis, in respect of the long distance betwixt their dwelling places," agreed, with the consent of their kin and friends, to give all assistance and service to each other. And are "content to subscribe to the same, *with their hands led to the pen.*" Mackinnon's signature is characteristic. It is "Lauchland, mise (i. e. myself) Mac Fingon." The other bond of manrent, dated at Kilmorie in 1671, was between Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathairdle and James Macgregor of Macgregor, and it is therein stated that "for the special love and amitie between these persons, and condescending that they are descended lawfully *fra twa breethren of auld descent,* wherefore and for certain onerous causes moving, we witt ye we to be bound and obleisit, likeas by the tenor hereof we faithfully bind and obleise us and our successors, our kin, friends, and followers, faithfully to serve ane anither in all causes with our men and servants, against all who live or die."

During the civil wars the Mackinnons joined the standard of the Marquis of Montrose, and formed part of his force at the battle of Inverlochy, Feb. 2, 1645. In 1650, Lauchlan Mackinnon, the chief, raised a regiment of his clan for the service of Charles II., and, at the battle of Worcester, in 1646, he was made a knight banneret. His son, Daniel Mohr, had two sons, John, whose great-grandson died in India, unmarried, in 1808, and Daniel, who emigrated to Antigua, and died in 1720. The latter's eldest son and heir, William Mackinnon of Antigua, an eminent member of the legislature of that island, died at Bath, in 1767. The son of the latter, William Mackinnon of Antigua and Binfield, Berkshire, died in 1809. The youngest of his four sons, Henry, major-general Mackinnon, a distinguished officer, was killed by the explosion of a magazine, while leading on the

[2] *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 259.

main storming party, at Ciudad Rodrigo, Feb. 29, 1812. The eldest son, William Mackinnon, died young, leaving, with two daughters, two sons, William Alexander Mackinnon, who succeeded his grandfather, and Daniel, colonel of the Coldstream Guards.

William Alexander Mackinnon of Mackinnon, M.P., the chief magistrate and deputy lieutenant for the counties of Middlesex, Hampshire, and Essex, born in 1789, succeeded in 1809. He married Emma, daughter of Joseph Palmer, Esq. of Rush House, county Dublin, with issue, three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, William Alexander, also M.P., born in 1813, married daughter of F. Willes, Esq.

Lauchlan Mackinnon of Letterfearn also claims to be the heir-male of the family. Although there are many gentlemen of the name still resident in Skye, there is no Mackinnon proprietor of lands now either in that island or in Mull.

The Mackinnons engaged in both rebellions in favour of the Stuarts. In 1715, 150 of them fought with the Macdonalds of Sleat at the battle of Sheriffmuir, for which the chief was forfeited, but received a pardon, 4th January 1727. In 1745, Mackinnon, though then old and infirm, joined Prince Charles with a battalion of his clan. President Forbes estimated their effective force at that period at 200 men. After the battle of Culloden, the prince, in his wanderings, took refuge in the country of the Mackinnons, when travelling in disguise through Skye, and was concealed by the chief in a cave, to which Lady Mackinnon brought him a refreshment of cold meat and wine.

Macnab.

The clan Anaba or Macnab has been said by some to have been a branch of the Macdonalds, but we have given above a bond of manrent which shows that they were allied to the Mackinnons and the Macgregors. "From their comparatively central position in the Highlands," says Smibert, "as well as other circumstances, it seems much more likely that they were of the primitive Albionic race, a shoot of the Siol Alpine." The chief has his residence at Kinnell, on the banks of the Dochart, and the family possessions, which originally were considerable, lay mainly on the western shores of Loch Tay. The founder of the Macnabs, like the founder of the Macphersons, is said to have belonged to the clerical profession, the name Mac-anab being said to mean in Gaelic, the son of the abbot. He is said to have been abbot of Glendochart.

MACNAB.



Badge—Common Heath.

The Macnabs were a considerable clan before the reign of Alexander III. When Robert the Bruce commenced his struggle for the crown, the baron of Macnab, with his clan, joined the Macdougalls of Lorn, and fought against Bruce at the battle of Dalree. Afterwards, when the cause of Bruce prevailed, the lands of the Macnabs were ravaged by his victorious troops, their houses burnt, and all their family writs destroyed. Of all their possessions only the barony of Bowain or Bovain, in Glendochart, remained to them, and of it, Gilbert Macnab of that ilk, from whom the line is usually deduced, as the first undoubted laird of Macnab, received from David II., on being reconciled to that monarch, a charter, under the great seal, to him and his heirs whomsoever, dated in 1336. He died in the reign of Robert II.

His son, Finlay Macnab, styled of Bovain, as well as "of that ilk," died in the reign of James I. He is said to have been a famous bard. According to tradition he composed one of the Gaelic poems which Macpherson attributed to Ossian. He was the father of Patrick Macnab of Bovain and of that ilk, whose son was named Finlay Macnab, after

nis grandfather. Indeed, Finlay appears to have been, at this time, a favourite name of the chief, as the next three lairds were so designated. Upon his father's resignation, he got a charter, under the great seal, in the reign of James III., of the lands of Ardchyle, and Wester Duinish, in the barony of Glendochart and county of Perth, dated January 1, 1486. He had also a charter from James IV., of the lands of Ewir and Leiragan, in the same barony, dated January 9, 1502. He died soon thereafter, leaving a son, Finlay Macnab, fifth laird of Macnab, who is witness in a charter, under the great seal, to Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, wherein he is designed "*Finlaus Macnab, dominus de eodem*," &c., Sept. 18, 1511. He died about the close of the reign of James V.

His son, Finlay Macnab of Bovain and of that ilk, sixth chief from Gilbert, alienated or mortgaged a great portion of his lands to Campbell of Glenorchy, ancestor of the Marquis of Breadalbane, as appears by a charter to "Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, his heirs and assignees whatever, according to the deed granted to him by Finlay Macnab of Bovain, 24th November 1552, of all and sundry the lands of Bovain and Ardchyle, &c., confirmed by a charter under the great seal from Mary, dated 27th June 1553." Glenorchy's right of superiority the Macnabs always refused to acknowledge.

His son, Finlay Macnab, the seventh laird, who lived in the reign of James VI., was the chief who entered into the bond of friendship and manrent with his cousin, Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathairdle, 12th July 1606. This chief carried on a deadly feud with the Neishes or M'Ilduys, a tribe which possessed the upper parts of Strathearn, and inhabited an island in the lower part of Loch Earn, called from them Neish Island. Many battles were fought between them, with various success. The last was at Glenboultachan, about two miles north of Loch Earn foot, in which the Macnabs were victorious, and the Neishes cut off almost to a man. A small remnant of them, however, still lived in the island referred to, the head of which was an old man, who subsisted by plundering the people in the neighbourhood. One Christmas, the chief of the Macnabs had sent his servant to Crieff for provisions, but, on his return, he was waylaid, and robbed of all his purchases. He went home, therefore, empty-handed, and told his tale to the laird. Macnab had twelve sons, all men of great strength, but one in particular exceedingly athletic, who was called for a bye-name, *Iain mion Mac an Appa*, or "Smooth John Macnab." In the evening, these men were gloomily meditating some signal revenge on their old enemies, when their father entered, and said in Gaelic, "The night is the night, if the lads were but lads!" Each man instantly started to his feet, and belted on his dirk, his claymore, and his pistols. Led by their brother John, they set out, taking a fishing-boat on their shoulders from Loch Tay, carrying it over the mountains and glens till they reached Loch Earn, where they launched it, and passed over to the island. All was silent in the habitation of Neish. Having all the boats at the island secured, they had gone to sleep without fear of surprise. Smooth John, with his foot dashed open the door of Neish's house; and the party, rushing in, attacked the unfortunate family, every one of whom was put to the sword, with the exception of one man and a boy, who concealed themselves under a bed. Carrying off the heads of the Neishes, and any plunder they could secure, the youths presented themselves to their father, while the piper struck up the pibroch of victory.

The next laird, "Smooth John," the son of this Finlay, made a distinguished figure in the reign of Charles I., and suffered many hardships on account of his attachment to the royal cause. He was killed at the battle of Worcester in 1651. During the commonwealth, his castle of Eilan Rowan was burned, his estates ravaged and sequestrated, and the family papers again lost. Taking advantage of the troubles of the times, his powerful neighbour, Campbell of Glenorchy, in the heart of whose possessions Macnab's lands were situated, on the pretence that he had sustained considerable losses from the clan Macnab, got possession of the estates in recompense thereof.

The chief of the Macnabs married a daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, and with one daughter,

had a son, Alexander Macnab, ninth laird, who was only four years old when his father was killed on Worcester battle-field. His mother and friends applied to General Monk for some relief from the family estates for herself and children. That general made a favourable report on the application, but it had no effect.

After the Restoration, application was made to the Scottish estates, by Lady Macnab and her son, for redress, and in 1661 they received a considerable portion of their lands, which the family enjoyed till the beginning of the present century, when they were sold.

By his wife, Elizabeth, a sister of Sir Alexander Menzies of Weem, Baronet, Alexander Macnab of that ilk had a son and heir, Robert Macnab, tenth laird, who married Anne Campbell, sister of the Earl of Breadalbane. Of several children only two survived, John, who succeeded his father, and Archibald. The elder son, John, held a commission in the Black Watch, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Prestonpans, and, with several others, confined in Doune Castle, under the charge of Macgregor of Glengyle, where he remained till after the battle of Culloden. The majority of the clan took the side of the house of Stuart, and were led by Allister Macnab of Inshewan and Archibald Macnab of Acharne.

John Macnab, the eleventh laird, married the only sister of Francis Buchanan. Esq. of Arnprior, and had a son, Francis, twelfth laird.

Francis, twelfth laird, died, unmarried, at Callander, Perthshire, May 25, 1816, in his 82d year. One of the most eccentric men of his time, many anecdotes are related of his curious sayings and doings.

We give the following as a specimen, for which we are indebted to Mr Smibert's excellent work on the clans :—

"Macnab had an intense antipathy to excisemen, whom he looked on as a race of intruders, commissioned to suck the blood of his country: he never gave them any better name than *vermin*. One day, early in the last war, he was marching to Stirling at the head of a corps of fencibles, of which he was commander. In those days the Highlanders were notorious for incurable smuggling propensities; and an excursion to the Lowlands, whatever might be its cause or import, was an opportunity by no means to be neglected. The Breadalbane men had accordingly contrived to stow a considerable quantity of the genuine 'peat reek' (whisky) into the baggage carts. All went well with the party for some time. On passing Alloa, however, the excisemen there having got a hint as to what the carts contained, hurried out by a shorter path to intercept them. In the meantime, Macnab, accompanied by a gillie, in the true feudal style, was proceeding slowly at the head of his men, not far in the rear of the baggage. Soon after leaving Alloa, one of the party in charge of the carts came running back and informed their chief that they had all been seized by a posse of excisemen. This intelligence at once roused the blood of Macnab. 'Did the lousy villains *dare* to obstruct the march of the Breadalbane Highlanders!' he exclaimed, inspired with the wrath of a thousand heroes; and away he rushed to the scene of contention. There, sure enough, he found a party of excisemen in possession of the carts. 'Who the devil are you?' demanded the angry chieftain. 'Gentlemen of the excise,' was the answer. 'Robbers! thieves! you mean; how dare you lay hands on His Majesty's stores? If you be gaugers, show me your commissions.' Unfortunately for the excisemen, they had not deemed it necessary in their haste to bring such documents with them. In vain they asserted their authority, and declared they were well known in the neighbourhood. 'Ay, just what I took ye for; a parcel of highway robbers and scoundrels. Come, my good fellows,' (addressing the soldiers in charge of the baggage, and extending his voice with the lungs of a stentor,) 'prime!—load!—' The excisemen did not wait the completion of the sentence; away they fled at top speed towards Alloa, no doubt glad they had not caused the waste of His Majesty's ammunition. 'Now, my lads,' said Macnab, 'proceed—your whisky's safe.'"

He was a man of gigantic height and strong originality of character, and cherished many of the manners and ideas of a Highland gentleman, having in particular a high notion of the dignity of the chieftainship. He left numerous illegitimate children.

The only portion of the property of the Macnabs remaining is the small islet of Innis-Buie, formed by the parting of the water of the Dochart just before it issues into Loch Tay, in which is the most ancient burial place of the family; and outside there are numerous gravestones of other members of the clan. The lands of the town of Callander chiefly belong to a descendant of this laird, not in marriage.

Archibald Macnab of Macnab, nephew of Francis, succeeded as thirteenth chief. The estates being considerably encumbered, he was obliged to sell his property for behoof of his creditors.

Many of the clan having emigrated to Canada about the beginning of the nineteenth century, and being very successful, 300 of those remaining in Scotland were induced about 1817 to try their fortunes in America, and in 1821, the chief himself, with some more of the clan, took their departure for Canada. He returned in 1853, and died at Lannion, Cotes du Nord, France, Aug. 12, 1860, aged 83. Subjoined is his portrait, from a daguerreotype, taken at Saratoga, United States of America, in 1848.



The last Laird of Macnab.

He left a widow, and one surviving daughter, Sophia Frances.

The next Macnabs by descent entitled to the chiefship are believed to be Sir Allan Napier Macnab, Bart., Canada; Dr Robert Macnab, 5th Fusileers; and Mr John Macnab, Glenmavis, Bathgate.

The lairds of Macnab, previous to the reign of Charles I., intermarried with the families of Lord Gray of Kilfauns, Gleneagles, Inchbraco, Robertson of Strowan, &c.

The chief cadets of the family were the Macnabs of Dundurn, Acharne, Newton, Cowie, and Inchewen.

Clan or Duffie Macfie.

The clan Duffie (in Gaelic, *clann Dhubhie* means "the coloured tribe") or Macphie (generally spelt Macfie) appear to have been the original inhabitants of the island of Colonsay, which they held till the middle of the 17th century, when they were dispossessed of it by the Macdonalds. They were probably a branch of the ancient Albionic race of Scotland, and their genealogy given in the MS. of 1450, according to Skene, evinces their connection by descent with the Macgregors and Mackinnons.

On the south side of the church of the monastery of St Augustine in Colonsay, according to Martin (writing in 1703), "lie the tombs of Macduffie, and of the cadets of his family; there is a ship under sail, and a two handed sword engraven on the principal tombstone, and this inscription: 'Hic jacet Malcolumbus Macduffie de Collonsay;' his coat of arms and colour-staff is fixed in a stone, through which a hole is made to hold it. About a quarter of a mile on the south side of the church there is a cairn, in which there is a stone cross fixed, called Macduffie's cross; for when any of the heads of this family were to be interred, their corpses were laid on this cross for some moments, in their way toward the church."

Donald Macduffie is witness to a charter by John, Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles, dated at the Earl's castle of Dingwall, 12th April 1463.[3] After the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493, the clan Duffie followed the Macdonalds of Isla. The name of

[3] *Register of the Great Seal*, lib. vi. No. 17

the Macduffie chief in 1531 was Murroch. In 1609 Donald Macfie in Colonsay was one of the twelve chiefs and gentlemen who met the bishop of the Isles, the king's representative, at Iona, when, with their consent, the nine celebrated "Statutes of Icolmkill" were enacted. In 1615, Malcolm Macfie of Colonsay joined Sir James Macdonald of Isla, after his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, and was one of the principal leaders in his subsequent rebellion. He and eighteen others were delivered up by Coll Macgillespick Macdonald, the celebrated Colkitto, to the Earl of Argyll, by whom he was brought before the privy council. He appears afterwards to have been slain by Colkitto, as by the Council Records for 1623 we learn that the latter was accused, with several of his followers, of being "art and pairt guilty of the felonie and cruell slaughter of umquhill Malcolm Macphie of Collonsay."

"From this period," says Skene, "their estate seems to have gone into the possession of the Macdonalds, and afterwards of the Macneills, by whom it is still held; while the clan gradually sunk until they were only to be found, as at present, forming a small part of the inhabitants of Colonsay."

A branch of the clan Duffie, after they had lost their inheritance, followed Cameron of Lochiel, and settled in Lochaber.

MACQUARRIE.



BADGE—Pine.

The clan QUARRIE or MACQUARRIE is another clan held by Mr Skene to belong to the ancient stock of Alpine, their possessions being the small island of Ulva, and a portion of Mull.

The Gaelic MS. of 1450 deduces their descent from Guarie or Godfrey, called by the Highland Sennachies, Gor or Gorbred, said to have been "a brother of Fingon, ancestor of the Mackinnons, and Anrias or Andrew, ancestor of the Macgregors." This is the belief of Mr Skene, who adds, "The history of the Macquarries resembles that of the Mackinnons in many respects; like them they had migrated far from the head-quarters of their race, they became dependent on the Lords of the Isles, and followed them as if they had become a branch of the clan."

Mr Smibert, however, thinks this origin highly improbable, and is inclined to believe that they constituted one branch of the Celto-Irish immigrants. "Their mere name," he says, "connects them strongly with Ireland—the tribe of the Macquarries, Macquires, Macguires (for the names are the same), being very numerous at this day in that island, and having indeed been so at all times." We do not think he makes out a very strong case in behalf of this origin.

According to a history of the family, by one of its members, in 1249 Cormac Mohr, then "chief of Ulva's Isle," joined Alexander II., with his followers and three galleys of sixteen oars each, in his expedition against the western islands, and after that monarch's death in the Island of Kerrera, was attacked by Haco of Norway, defeated and slain. His two sons, Allan and Gregor, were compelled to take refuge in Ireland, where the latter, surnamed Garbh or the rough, is said to have founded the powerful tribe of the MacGuires, the chief of which at one time possessed the title of Lord Inniskillen. Allan returned to Scotland, and his descendant, Hector Macquarrie of Ulva, chief in the time of Robert the Bruce, fought with his clan at Bannockburn.

The first chief of whom there is any notice in the public records was John Macquarrie of Ulva, who died in 1473.[4] His son, Dunslaff, was chief when the last Lord of the Isles was forfeited twenty years afterwards. After that event, the Macquarries, like the other vassal

[4] *Register of Great Seal*, 31, No. 159

tribes of the Macdonalds, became independent. In war, however, they followed the banner of their neighbour, Maclean of Dowart. With the latter, Dunslaff supported the claims of Donald Dubh to the Lordship of the Isles, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in 1504, "MacGorry of Ullowaa" was summoned, with some other chiefs, before the Estates of the kingdom, to answer for his share in Donald Dubh's rebellion.

His son, John Macquarrie of Ulva, was one of the thirteen chiefs who were denounced the same year for carrying on a traitorous correspondence with the king of England, with the view of transferring their allegiance to him.

Allan Macquarrie of Ulva was slain, with most of his followers, at the battle of Inverkeithing against the English parliamentary troops, 20th July 1651, when the Scots army was defeated, and a free passage opened to Cromwell to the whole north of Scotland.

According to tradition one of the chiefs of Ulva preserved his life and estate by the exercise of a timely hospitality under the following circumstances:—Maclean of Dowart had a natural son by a beautiful young woman of his own clan, and the boy having been born in a barn was named, from his birth-place, *Allan-a-Sop*, or Allan of the straw. The girl afterwards became the wife of Maclean of Torloisk, residing in Mull, but though he loved the mother he cared nothing for her boy, and when the latter came to see her, he was very unkind to him. One morning the lady saw from her window her son approaching and hastened to put a cake on the fire for his breakfast. Her husband noticed this, and snatching the cake hot from the girdle, thrust it into his stepson's hands, forcibly clasping them on the burning bread. The lad's hands were severely burnt, and in consequence he refrained from going again to Torloisk. As he grew up Allan became a mariner, and joined the Danish pirates who infested the western isles. From his courage he soon got the command of one galley, and subsequently of a flotilla, and made his name both feared and famous. Of him it may be said that—

"Sir Ralph the Rover sailed away,
He scoured the seas for many a day,
And now, grown rich with plunder'd store,
He steers his way for Scotland's shore."

The thought of his mother brought him back once more to the island of Mull, and one morning he anchored his galleys in front of the house of Torloisk. His mother had been long dead, but his stepfather hastened to the shore, and welcomed him with apparent kindness. The crafty old man had a feud with Macquarrie of Ulva, and thought this a favourable opportunity to execute his vengeance on that chief. With this object he suggested to Allan that it was time he should settle on land, and said that he could easily get possession of the island of Ulva, by only putting to death the laird, who was old and useless. Allan agreed to the proposal, and, setting sail next morning, appeared before Macquarrie's house. The chief of Ulva was greatly alarmed when he saw the pirate galleys, but he resolved to receive their commander hospitably, in the hope that good treatment would induce him to go away, without plundering his house or doing him any injury. He caused a splendid feast to be prepared, and welcomed Allan to Ulva with every appearance of sincerity. After feasting together the whole day, in the evening the pirate-chief, when about to retire to his ships, thanked the chief for his entertainment, remarking, at the same time, that it had cost him dear. "How so?" said Macquarrie, "when I bestowed this entertainment upon you in free good will." "It is true," said Allan, who, notwithstanding his being a pirate, seems to have been of a frank and generous disposition, "but it has disarranged all my plans, and quite altered the purpose for which I came hither, which was to put you to death, seize your castle and lands, and settle myself here in your stead." Macquarrie replied that he was sure such a suggestion was not his own, but must have originated with his stepfather, old Torloisk, who was his personal enemy. He then reminded him that he had made but an indifferent husband to his mother, and was a cruel stepfather to himself, adding, "Consider this matter better, Allan, and you will see that the estate and harbour of Torloisk lie as conveniently for you as those of Ulva, and if you must make a settlement by force, it is much better you

should do so at the expense of the old churl, who never showed you kindness, than of a friend like me who always loved and honoured you."

Allan-a-Sop, remembering his scorched fingers, straightway sailed back to Torloisk, and meeting his stepfather, who came eagerly expecting to hear of Macquarrie's death, thus accosted him: "You hoary old villain, you instigated me to murder a better man than yourself. Have you forgotten how you scorched my fingers twenty years ago with a burning cake? The day has come when that breakfast must be paid for." So saying, with one stroke of his battle-axe he cut down his stepfather, took possession of his castle and property, and established there that branch of the clan Maclean afterwards represented by Mr Clephane Maclean.

Hector, brother of Allan Macquarrie of Ulva, and second son of Donald the twelfth chief of the Macquarries, by his wife, a daughter of Lauchlan Oig Maclean, founder of the Macleans of Torloisk, obtained from his father the lands of Ormaig in Ulva, and was the first of the Macquarries of Ormaig. This family frequently intermarried with the Macleans, both of Lochbuy and Dowart. Lauchlan, Donald's third son, was ancestor of the Macquarries of Laggan, and John, the fourth son, of those of Ballighartan.

Lauchlan Macquarrie of Ulva, the sixteenth chief in regular succession, was compelled to dispose of his lands for behoof of his creditors, and in 1778, at the age of 63, he entered the army. He served in the American war, and died in 1818, at the age of 103, without male issue. He was the last chief of the Macquarries, and was the proprietor of Ulva when Dr Samuel Johnson and Mr Boswell visited that island in 1773.

A large portion of the ancient patrimonial property was repurchased by General Macquarrie, long governor of New South Wales, and from whom Macquarrie county, Macquarrie river, and Port Macquarrie in that colony, Macquarrie's harbour, and Macquarrie's island in the South Pacific, derive their name. He was the eldest cadet of his family, and was twice married, first, to Miss Baillie of Jerviswood, and secondly, to a daughter of Sir John Campbell of Airds, by whom he had an only son, Lauchlan, who died without issue.

MacAulay.

The last clan claimed by Mr Skene as belonging to the Siol Alpine is the minor one of MacAulay, or clan Aula. Many formerly held that the MacAulays derived their origin from the ancient earls of Lennox, and that their ancestor was Maurice, brother of Earl Maldouin and son of Aulay, whose name appears in the Ragman Roll as having sworn fealty to Edward I. in 1296. According to Skene, these Aulays were of the family of De Fasselan, who afterwards succeeded to the earldom.

The MacAulays consider themselves a sept of the clan Gregor, their chief being designed of Ardincaple from his residence in Dumbartonshire. That property was in their possession in the reign of Edward I. They early settled in the Lennox, and their names often occur in the Lennox chartulary, hence the very natural supposition that they sprung from that distinguished house. In a bond of manrent, or deed of clanship, entered into between MacGregor of Glenstrae and MacAulay of Ardincaple, of date 27th May 1591, the latter acknowledges his being a cadet of the former, and agrees to pay him the "calp," that is, a tribute of cattle given in acknowledgment of superiority. In 1694, in a similar bond given to Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, they again declared themselves MacGregors. "Their connection with the MacGregors," says Mr Skene, "led them to take some part in the feuds that unfortunate race were at all times engaged in, but the protection of the Earls of Lennox seems to have relieved the MacAulays from the consequences which fell so heavily on the MacGregors."

Mr Joseph Irving, in his *History of Dumbartonshire* (p. 418), states that the surname of the family was originally Ardincaple of that ilk, and seems inclined to believe in their descent from the Earl of Lennox. He says, "A Celtic derivation may be claimed for this family, founded on the agreement entered into between the chief of the clan Gregor and Ardincaple in 1591, where they describe themselves as originally descended from the same stock, 'M'Alpins of auld,' but the

theory most in harmony with the annals of the house (of Ardincaple of that ilk) fixes their descent from a younger son of the second Alwyn, Earl of Lennox." Alexander de Ardincaple who lived in the reign of James V., son of Aulay de Ardincaple, was the first to assume the name of MacAulay, as stated in the *Historical and Critical Remarks* on the Ragman Roll,[5] "to humour a patronymical designation, as being more agreeable to the head of a clan than the designation of Ardincaple of that ilk."

When the MacGregors fell under the ban of the law, Sir Aulay MacAulay, the then chief, became conspicuous by the energy with which he turned against them, probably to avert suspicion from himself, as a bond of caution was entered into on his account on Sept. 8, 1610. He died in Dec. 1617, and was succeeded by his cousin-german, Alexander.

Walter MacAulay, the son of Alexander, was twice sheriff of Dumbarton.

With Aulay MacAulay, his son and successor, commenced the decline of the family. He and his successors indulged in a system of extravagant living, which compelled them to dispose, piece by piece, of every acre of their once large possessions. Although attached to Episcopacy, he was by no means a partisan of James VII., for in 1689 he raised a company of fencibles in aid of William and Mary.

Aulay MacAulay, the twelfth and last chief of the MacAulays, having seen the patrimony of his house sold, and his castle roofless, died about 1767. Ardincaple had been purchased by John, fourth Duke of Argyll, and now belongs to the Argyll family.

About the beginning of the 18th century, a number of MacAulays settled in Caithness and Sutherland. Others went into Argyleshire, and some of the MacPheiderans of that county acknowledged their descent from the MacAulays.

A tribe of MacAulays were settled at Uig, Ross-shire, in the south-west of the island of Lewis, and many were the feuds which they had with the Morrisons, or clan *Alle Mhuire*, the tribe of the servant or disciple of Marg, who were located at Ness, at the north end of the same island. In the reign of James VI., one of the Lewis MacAulays, Donald Cam, so called from being blind of one eye, renowned for his great strength, distinguished himself on the patriotic side, in the troubles that took place, first with the Fife-shire colonies at Stornoway. Donald Cam Macaulay had a son, *Fear Bhreinis*, "The Man," or Tacksman "of Brenish," of whose feats of strength many songs and stories are told. His son, Aulay MacAulay, minister of Harris, had six sons and some daughters. Five of his sons were educated for the church, and one named Zachary he bred for the bar.

One of Aulay MacAulay's sons was the Rev. John Macaulay, A.M., was grandfather of the celebrated orator, statesman, and historian, Lord Macaulay. One of his sons entered the East India Company's military service, and attained the rank of general.

Another son, Aulay Macaulay, was known as a miscellaneous writer. In 1796 he was presented to the vicarage of Rothley, by Thomas Babington, Esq., M.P., who had married his sister Jane. He died February 24, 1819.

Zachary, a third son, was for some years a merchant at Sierra Leone. On his return to London, he became a prominent member of the Anti-slavery Society, and obtained a monument in Westminster Abbey. He married Miss Mills, daughter of a Bristol merchant, and had a son, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Lord Macaulay, author of "The History of England," "Lays of Ancient Rome," &c., and M.P. for the city of Edinburgh.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mackay, or Siol Mhorgan—Mackays of Clan-Abrach—Bighouse—Strathy—Melness—Kinloch—Mackays of Holland—Macnicol—Sutherland—Gunn—Maclaurin or Maclaren—Macrae—Buchanan—"The King of Kippen"—Buchanan of Auchmar—Colquhoun—Macgregors and Macfarlanes in Dumbartonshire—Forbes—Forbes of Tolquhoun—Craigievar—Pitsligo and Fettercairn—Culloden—Urquhart.

The most northern mainland county of Scotland is that of Caithness, and the principal clan inhabiting this district is the important

[5] *Nisbet*, vol. ii. App.

one of Mackay, or the siol Mhorgan. With regard to Caithness, Mr Skene says—"The district of Caithness was originally of much greater extent than the modern county of that name, as it included the whole of the extensive and mountainous district of Strathnaver. Towards the middle of the tenth century the Norwegian Jarl of Orkney obtained possession of this province, and with the exception of a few short intervals, it continued to form a part of his extensive territories for a period of nearly two hundred years. The district of Strathnaver, which formed the western portion of the ancient district of Caithness, differed very much in appearance from the rest of it, exhibiting indeed the most complete contrast which could well be conceived, for while the eastern division was in general low, destitute of mountains, and altogether of a Lowland character, Strathnaver possessed the characteristics of the rudest and most inaccessible of Highland countries; the consequence of this was, that while the population of Caithness proper became speedily and permanently Norse, that of Strathnaver must, from the nature of the country, have remained in a great measure Gaelic; and this distinction between the two districts is very strongly marked throughout the Norse Sagas, the eastern part being termed simply *Katenesi*, while Strathnaver, on the other hand, is always designated 'Dölum a Katenesi,' or the Glens of Caithness. That the population of Strathnaver remained Gaelic we have the distinct authority of the Sagas, for they inform us that the Dölum, or glens, were inhabited by the 'Gaddgedli,' a word plainly signifying some tribe of the Gael, as in the latter syllable we recognise the word Gaedil or Gael, which at all events shews that the population of that portion was not Norse.

Mackay.

"The oldest Gaelic clan which we find in possession of this part of the ancient district of Caithness is the clan Morgan or Mackay."

The accounts of the origin of the Mackays are various. In the MS. of 1450, there is no reference to it, although mention is made of the Mackays of Kintyre, who were called of Ugadale. These, however, were vassals of the Isles, and had no connection with the Mackays of Strathnaver. Pennant assigns to them a Celto-Irish descent, in the 12th century, after King William the Lion had defeated Harald, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, and taken possession of these districts. Mr Skene[6] supposes that they were descended from what he calls the aboriginal Gaelic inhabitants of Caithness. The Norse Sagas state that about the beginning of the twelfth century, "there lived in the Dölum of Katanesi (or Strathnaver) a man named Moddan, a noble and rich man," and that his sons were Magnus Orfi and Ottar, the Jarl in Thurso. The title of jarl was the same as the Gaelic maormor, and Mr Skene is of opinion that Moddan and his son Ottar were the Gaelic maormors of Caithness.

MACKAY.



Badge.—Bulrush.

Sir Robert Gordon, in his History of Sutherland (p. 302), from a similarity of badge and armorial bearings, accounts the clan Mackay a branch of the Forbeses, but this is by no means probable.

Mr Smibert is of opinion that the Mackays took their name from the old *Catti* of Caithness, and that the chiefs were of the Celto-Irish stock. This, however, is a very improbable supposition. Whatever may have been the origin of the chiefs, there is every reason to believe that the great body of the clan Mackay originally belonged to the early Celtic population of Scotland, although, from their

[6] *Highlands of Scotland*, p. 288.

proximity to the Norse immigrants, it is not at all improbable that latterly the two races became largely blended.

As we have already, in the first part of the work, had occasion to enter somewhat minutely into the early history of this important clan, it will be unnecessary to enter into lengthened detail in this place, although it will be scarcely possible to avoid some slight repetition. We must refer the reader for details to the earlier chapters of the general history.

Alexander, who is said to have been the first of the family, aided in driving the Danes from the north. His son, Walter, chamberlain to Adam, bishop of Caithness, married that prelate's daughter, and had a son, Martin, who received from his maternal grandfather certain church lands in Strathnaver, being the first of the family who obtained possessions there. Martin had a son, Magnus or Manus, who fought at Bannockburn under Bruce, and had two sons, Morgan and Farquhar. From Morgan the clan derived their Gaelic name of Clan-wic-Worgan, or Morgan, and from Farquhar were descended the Clan-wic-Farquhar in Strathnaver.

Donald, Morgan's son, married a daughter of Macneill of Gigha, who was named Iye, and had a son of the same name, in Gaelic Aodh, pronounced like Y or I.

Aodh had a son, another Donald, called Donald Macaodh, or Mackaoi, and it is from this son that the clan has acquired the patronymic of Mackay. He and his son were killed in the castle of Dingwall, by William, Earl of Sutherland, in 1395. The Mackays, however, were too weak to take revenge, and a reconciliation took place between Robert, the next earl, and Angus Mackay, the eldest of Donald's surviving sons, of whom there were other two, viz., Houcheon Dubh, and Neill. Angus, the eldest son, married a sister of Malcolm Macleod of the Lewis, and had by her two sons, Angus Dubh, that is, dark-complexioned, and Roderick Gald, that is, Lowland. On their father's death, their uncle, Houcheon Dubh, became their tutor, and entered upon the management of their lands.

In 1411, when Donald, Lord of the Isles, in prosecution of his claim to the earldom of Ross, burst into Sutherland, he was attacked at Dingwall, by Angus Dubh, or Black Angus Mackay. The latter, however, was defeated and taken prisoner, and his brother, Roriegald, and many of his men were slain. After a short confinement, Angus was released by the Lord of the Isles, who, desirous of cultivating the alliance of so powerful a chief, gave him his daughter, Elizabeth, in marriage, and with her bestowed upon him many lands by charter in 1415. He was called *Enneas-en-Imprissi*, or "Angus the Absolute," from his great power. At this time, we are told, Angus Dubh could bring into the field 4000 fighting men.

Angus Dubh, with his four sons, was arrested at Inverness by James I. After a short confinement, Angus was pardoned and released with three of them, the eldest, Neill Mackay, being kept as a hostage for his good behaviour. Being confined in the Bass at the mouth of the Firth of Forth, he was ever after called Neill Wasse (or Bass) Mackay.

In 1437, Neill Wasse Mackay was released from confinement in the Bass, and on assuming the chiefship, he bestowed on John Aberigh, for his attention to his father, the lands of Lochnaver, in fee simple, which were long possessed by his posterity, that particular branch of the Mackays, called the Sliochd-ean-Aberigh, or an-Abrach. Neill Wasse, soon after his accession, ravaged Caithness, but died the same year, leaving two sons, Angus, and John Roy Mackay, the latter founder of another branch, called the Sliochd-ean-Roy.

Angus Mackay, the elder son, assisted the Keiths in invading Caithness in 1464, when they defeated the inhabitants of that district in an engagement at Blaretannie. He was burnt to death in the church of Tarbet in 1475, by the men of Ross, whom he had often molested. With a daughter, married to Sutherland of Dilred, he had three sons, viz., John Reawigh, meaning yellowish red, the colour of his hair; Y-Roy Mackay; and Neill Naverigh Mackay.

To revenge his father's death, John Reawigh Mackay, the eldest son, raised a large force, and assisted by Robert Sutherland, uncle to the Earl of Sutherland, invaded Strathoikell, and laid waste the lands of the Rosses in that district. A battle took place, 11th July 1487,

at Aldy-Charrish, when the Rosses were defeated, and their chief, Alexander Ross of Balnagowan, and seventeen other principal men of that clan were slain. The victims returned home with a large booty.

It was by forays such as these that the great Highland chiefs, and even some of the Lowland nobles, contrived, in former times, to increase their stores and add to their possessions, and the Mackays about this time obtained a large accession to their lands by a circumstance narrated in the former part of this history, connected with Alexander Sutherland of Dilred, nephew of Y-Roy Mackay, the then chief.

In 1516, Y-Roy Mackay gave his bond of service to Adam Gordon of Aboyne, brother of the Earl of Huntly, who had become Earl of Sutherland, by marriage with Elizabeth, sister and heiress of the ninth earl, but died soon after. Donald, his youngest son, slain at Morinsh, was ancestor of a branch of the Mackays called the Sliochd-Donald-Mackay. John, the eldest son, had no sooner taken possession of his father's lands, than his uncle, Neill Naverigh Mackay and his two sons, assisted by a force furnished them by the Earl of Caithness, entered Strathnaver, and endeavoured unsuccessfully to dispossess him of his inheritance.

In 1517, in the absence of the Earl of Sutherland, who had wrested from John Mackay a portion of his lands, he and his brother Donald invaded Sutherland with a large force. But after several reverses, John Mackay submitted to the Earl of Sutherland in 1518, and granted him his bond of service. But such was his restless and turbulent disposition that he afterwards prevailed upon Alexander Sutherland, the bastard, who had married his sister and pretended a claim to the earldom, to raise the standard of insurrection against the earl. After this he again submitted to the earl, and a second time gave him his bond of service and manrent in 1522. He died in 1529, and was succeeded by his brother, Donald.

In 1539, Donald Mackay obtained restitution of the greater part of the family estates, which had been seized by the Sutherland Gordons, and in 1542 he was present in the engagement at Solway Moss. Soon after, he committed various ravages in Sutherland, but after a considerable time, became reconciled to the earl, to whom he again gave his bond of service and manrent on 8th April 1549. He died in 1550.

He was succeeded by his son, Y-Mackay, who, with the Earl of Caithness, was perpetually at strife with the powerful house of Sutherland, and so great was his power, and so extensive his spoliations, that in the first parliament of James VI. (Dec. 1567), the lords of the articles were required to report, "By what means might Mackay be dantoned." He died in 1571, full of remorse, it is said, for the wickedness of his life.

His son, Houcheon, or Hugh, succeeded him when only eleven years old. In 1587, he joined the Earl of Caithness, when attacked by the Earl of Sutherland, although the latter was his superior. He was excluded from the temporary truce agreed to by the two earls in March of that year, and in the following year they came to a resolution to attack him together. Having received secret notice of their intention from the Earl of Caithness, he made his submission to the Earl of Sutherland, and ever after remained faithful to him.

Of the army raised by the Earl of Sutherland in 1601, to oppose the threatened invasion of his territories by the Earl of Caithness, the advance guard was commanded by Patrick Gordon of Gartay and Donald Mackay of Scourie, and the right wing by Hugh Mackay. Hugh Mackay died at Tongue, 11th September 1614, in his 55th year. He was connected with both the rival houses by marriage; his first wife being Lady Elizabeth Sinclair, second daughter of George, fourth Earl of Caithness, and relict of Alexander Sutherland of Duffus; and his second, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, eleventh Earl of Sutherland. The former lady was drowned, and left a daughter. By the latter he had two sons, Sir Donald Mackay of Far, first Lord Reay, and John, who married in 1619, a daughter of James Sinclair of Murkle, by whom he had Hugh Mackay and other children. Sir Donald Mackay of Far, the elder son, was, by Charles I., created a peer of Scotland, by the title of Lord Reay, by patent, dated 20th June 1628, to him and his heirs male

whatever. From him the land of the Mackays in Sutherland acquired the name of "Lord Reay's Country," which it has ever since retained.

On the breaking out of the civil wars, Lord Reay, with the Earl of Sutherland and others, joined the Covenanters on the north of the river Spey. He afterwards took arms in defence of Charles I., and in 1643 arrived from Denmark, with ships and arms, and a large sum of money, for the service of the king. He was in Newcastle in 1644, when that town was stormed by the Scots, and being made prisoner, was conveyed to Edinburgh tolbooth. He obtained his release after the battle of Kilsyth in August 1645, and embarked at Thurso in July 1648 for Denmark, where he died in February 1649. He married, first, in 1610, Barbara, eldest daughter of Kenneth, Lord Kintail, and had by her Y-Mackay, who died in 1617; John, second Lord Reay, two other sons and two daughters. By a second wife, Rachel Winterfield or Harrison, he had two sons, the Hon. Robert Mackay Forbes and the Hon. Hugh Forbes. Of this marriage he procured a sentence of nullity, and then took to wife Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Thomson of Greenwich, but in 1637 was ordained to pay his second wife £2,000 sterling for part maintenance, and £3,000 sterling yearly during his non-adherence. By Elizabeth Thomson he had one daughter.

John, second Lord Reay, joined the royalists under the Earl of Glencairn in 1654, and was taken at Balveny and imprisoned. By his wife, a daughter of Donald Mackay of Scourie, he had three sons; 1. Donald, master of Reay, who predeceased his father, leaving by his wife Ann, daughter of Sir George Munro of Culcairn, a son, George, third Lord Reay; 2. The Hon. Brigadier-General Æneas Mackay, who married Margaretta, Countess of Puchlor; and 3. The Hon. Colin Mackay. Æneas, the second son, was colonel of the Mackay Dutch regiment. His family settled at the Hague, where they obtained considerable possessions, and formed alliances with several noble families. Their representative, Berthold Baron Mackay, died 26th December 1854, at his chateau of Ophemert, in Guelderland, aged eighty-one. He married the Baroness Van Renasse Van Wilp, and his eldest son, the Baron Æneas Mackay, at one time chamberlain to the king of Holland, became next heir to the peerage of Reay, after the present family.

George, third Lord Reay, F.R.S., took the oaths and his seat in parliament, 29th October 1700. In the rebellion of 1715, he raised his clan in support of the government. In 1719, when the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, with 300 Spaniards, landed in the Western Highlands, he did the same, and also in 1745. He died at Tongue, 21st March 1748. He was thrice married, and had by his first wife, one son, Donald, fourth Lord Reay.

Donald, fourth Lord Reay, succeeded his father in 1748, and died at Durness, 18th August 1761. He was twice married, and, with one daughter, the Hon. Mrs Edgar, had two sons, George, fifth Lord Reay, who died at Rosebank, near Edinburgh, 27th February 1768, and Hugh, sixth lord. The fifth Lord Reay was also twice married, but had issue only by his second wife, a son, who died young, and three daughters. Hugh, his half-brother, who succeeded him, was for some years in a state of mental imbecility. He died at Skerray, 26th January 1797, unmarried, when the title devolved on Eric Mackay, son of the Hon. George Mackay of Skibo, third son of the third Lord Reay. He died at Tongue, June 25, 1782. By his wife, Anne, third daughter of Hon. Eric Sutherland, only son of the attainted Lord Duffus, he had five sons and four daughters. His eldest son, George, died in 1790. Eric, the second son, became seventh Lord Reay. Alexander, the next, an officer in the army, succeeded as eighth Lord Reay. Donald Hugh, the fourth son, a vice-admiral, died March 26, 1850. Patrick, the youngest, died an infant.

Eric, seventh Lord Reay, was, in 1806, elected one of the representative Scots peers. He died, unmarried, July 8, 1847, and was succeeded, as eighth Lord Reay, by his brother, Alexander, barrack-master at Malta, born in 1775. He married in 1809, Marion, daughter of Colonel Goll, military secretary to Warren Hastings, and relict of David Ross, Esq. of Calcutta, eldest son of the Scottish judge,

Lord Ankerville; he had two sons and six daughters. He died in 1863, and was succeeded by his second son, Eric, who was born in 1813, George, the eldest son, having died in 1811.

The Mackays became very numerous in the northern counties, and the descent of their chiefs, in the male line, has continued unbroken from their first appearance in the north down to the present time. In the county of Sutherland, they multiplied greatly also, under other names, such as MacPhail, Polson, Bain, Nielson, &c. The names of Mackie and MacGhie are also said to be derived from Mackay. The old family of MacGhie of Balmaghie, which for about 600 years possessed estates in Galloway, used the same arms as the chief of the Mackays. They continued in possession of their lands till 1786. Balmaghie means Mackay town. The name MacCrie is supposed to be a corruption of MacGhie.

At the time of the rebellion of 1745, the effective force of the Mackays was estimated at 800 men by President Forbes. It is said that in the last Sutherland fencibles, raised in 1793 and disbanded in 1797, there were 33 John Mackays in one company alone. In 1794 the Reay fencibles, 800 strong, were raised in a few weeks, in "Lord Reay's country," the residence of the clan Mackay. The names of no fewer than 700 of them had the prefix *Mac*.

With regard to the term *Siol Mhorgan* applied to the clan Mackay, it is right to state that Mr Robert Mackay of Thurso, the family historian, denies that as a clan they were ever known by that designation, which rests, he says, only on the affirmation of Sir Robert Gordon, without any authority. He adds: "There are, indeed, to this day, persons of the surname Morgan and Morganach, who are understood to be of the Mackays, but that the whole clan, at any period, went under that designation, is incorrect; and those of them who did so, were always few and of but small account. The name seems to be of Welsh origin; but how it obtained among the Mackays it is impossible now to say."

Of the branches of the clan Mackay, the family of Scourie is the most celebrated. They were descended from Donald Mackay of Scourie and Eriboll, elder son of Y Mackay III., chief of the clan from 1550 to 1571, by his first wife, a daughter of Hugh Macleod of Assynt.

Donald Mackay, by his wife, Euphemia, daughter of Hugh Munro of Assynt in Ross, brother of the laird of Foulis, had three sons and four daughters. The sons were Hugh, Donald, and William. Hugh, the eldest, succeeded his father, and by the Scots Estates was appointed colonel of the Reay countrymen. He married a daughter of James Corbet of Rheims, by whom he had five sons, William, Hector, Hugh, the celebrated General Mackay,[7] commander of the government forces at the battle of Killiecrankie, James and Roderick. He had also three daughters, Barbara, married to John, Lord Reay; Elizabeth, to Hugh Munro of Eriboll, and Ann, to the Hon. Capt. William Mackay of Kinloch. William and Hector, the two eldest sons, both unmarried, met with untimely deaths. In February 1688, the Earl of Caithness, whose wife was younger than himself, having conceived some jealousy against William, caused him to be seized at Dunnet, while on his way to Orkney, with a party of 30 persons. He was conveyed to Thurso, where he was immured in a dungeon, and after long confinement was sent home in an open boat, and died the day after. In August of the same year, his brother, Hector, accompanied by a servant, having gone to Aberdeenshire, on his way to Edinburgh, was waylaid and murdered by William Sinclair of Dunbeath and John Sinclair of Murkle, and their two servants. A complaint was immediately raised before the justiciary, at the instance of John, Earl of Sutherland, and the relatives of the deceased, against the Earl of Caithness and the two Sinclairs for these crimes. A counter complaint was brought by Caithness against the pursuers, for several alleged crimes from 1649 downwards, but a compromise took place between the parties.

General Mackay's only son, Hugh, major of his father's regiment, died at Cambray, in 1708, aged about 28. He left two sons, Hugh and Gabriel, and a daughter. Hugh died at

[7] For portrait of General Hugh Mackay, *vide* vol. i. p. 361.

Breda, a lieutenant-general in the Dutch service, and colonel of the Mackay Dutch regiment, which took its name from his father. He had an only daughter, the wife of lieutenant-general Prevost, of the British service, who, on the death of his father-in-law, without male issue, obtained the king's license to bear the name and arms of Mackay of Scourie in addition to his own, which his descendants in Holland still bear. Gabriel, the younger son, lieutenant-colonel of the Mackay regiment, died without issue. James, the next brother of General Mackay, a lieutenant-colonel in his regiment, was killed at Killiecrankie, and Roderick, the youngest, died in the East Indies, both unmarried.

The eldest branch of the Mackays was that of the Clan-Abrach, descended from John Aberigh Mackay, second son of Angus Dubh, who received the lands of Auchness, Breachat, and others, from his brother, Neill Wasse. Of this family was Robert Mackay, writer, Thurso, historian of the clan Mackay. According to this gentleman, John Aberigh, the first of this branch, gave his name to the district of Strathnaver. In the Gaelic language, he says, the inhabitants of Strathnaver are called Naverigh, and that tribe the Sliochd-nan-Aberigh. John, their founder, some say, took his appellation of Aberigh from Lochaber, where he resided in his youth with some relatives, and from Strath-na-Aberich the transition is natural to Strath-n'-Averich. Neill Naverich, above mentioned, was so called from his having belonged to the Reay Country, that is, Strathnaver. The Clan-Abrach were the most numerous and powerful branch of the Mackays. They acted as wardens of their country, and never betrayed their trust.

The Bighouse branch were descendants of William Mackay of Far, younger half-brother of Donald Mackay of Scourie, by his second wife, Christian Sinclair, daughter of the laird of Dun.

The Strathy branch sprung from John Mackay of Dilred and Strathy, brother of the first Lord Reay, and son of Hugh Mackay of Far, by his wife, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, Earl of Sutherland.

The Melness branch came from the Hon. Colonel Æneas Mackay, second son of the first Lord Reay, by his first wife, the Hon. Barbara Mackenzie, daughter of Lord Kintail.

The Kinloch branch descended from the Hon. Captain William Mackay, and the Sandwood branch from the Hon. Charles Mackay, sons of the first Lord Reay by his last wife, Marjory Sinclair, daughter of Francis Sinclair of Stircoke.

The founder of the Holland branch of the Mackays, General Hugh Mackay, prior to 1680, when a colonel in the Dutch service, and having no prospect of leaving Holland, wrote for some of his near relatives to go over and settle in that country. Amongst those were his brother, James, and his nephews, Æneas and Robert, sons of the first Lord Reay. The former he took into his own regiment, in which, in a few years, he became lieutenant-colonel. The latter he sent to school at Utrecht for a short time, and afterwards obtained commissions for them in his own regiment. In the beginning of 1687, several British officers in the Dutch service were recalled to England by King James, and amongst others was Æneas Mackay, then a captain. On his arrival in London, the King made him some favourable propositions to enter his service, which he declined, and, in consequence, when he reached Scotland, he was ordered to be apprehended as a spy. He had been imprisoned nearly seven months in Edinburgh Castle, when the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, and he was liberated upon granting his personal bond to appear before the privy council when called upon, under a penalty of £500 sterling. The Dutch Mackays married among the nobility of Holland, and one of the families of that branch held the title of baron.

MACNICOL.

In a district mostly in Ross-shire, anciently known by the name of Ness, there was originally located a small and broken clan, known as the Macnicols. The only districts, according to Skene, which at all answers to the description of Ness, are those of Assynt, Edderachylis, and Duirness.

The Macnicols were descended from one Mackrycul (the letter r in the Gaelic being invariably pronounced like n), who, tradition

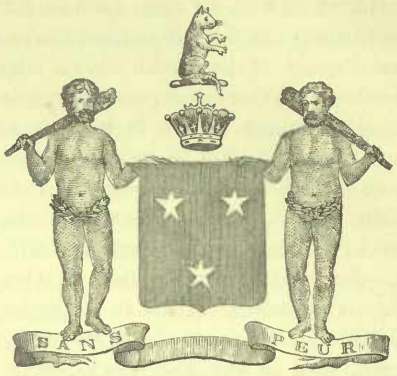
says, as a reward for having rescued from some Scandinavians a great quantity of cattle carried off from Sutherland, received from one of the ancient thanes of that province, the district of Assynt, then a forest belonging to them. This Mackrycul held that part of the coast of Cogeach, which is called Ullapool. In the MS. of 1450, the descent of the clan Nicail is traced in a direct line from a certain Gregall, plainly the Krycul here mentioned, who is supposed to have lived in the twelfth century. He is said to have been the ancestor, besides the Macnicols, of the Nicols and the Nicholsons. When Gregall lived, Sutherland was occupied by Gaelic tribes, and the Macnicols may therefore be considered of Gaelic origin.

About the beginning of the 14th century, the family of the chief ended in an heiress, who married Torquil Macleod, a younger son of Macleod of Lewis. Macleod obtained a crown charter of the district of Assynt and other lands in Wester Ross, which had been the property of the Macnicols. That sept subsequently removed to the Isle of Skye, and the residence of their head or chief was at Scoirebreac, on the margin of the loch near Portree.

Even after their removal to Skye the Macnicols seem to have retained their independence, for tradition relates that on one occasion when the head of this clan, called Macnicol Mor, was engaged in a warm discussion with Macleod of Rasay, carried on in the English language, the servant of the latter coming into the room, imagined they were quarrelling, and drawing his sword mortally wounded Macnicol. To prevent a feud between the two septs, a council of chieftains and elders was held to determine in what manner the Macnicols could be appeased, when, upon some old precedent, it was agreed that the meanest person in the clan Nicol should behead the laird of Rasay. The individual of least note among them was one Lomach, a maker of pannier baskets, and he accordingly cut off the head of the laird of Rasay.

In Argyleshire there were many Macnicols, but the clan may be said to have long been extinct.

SUTHERLAND.



BADGE—Broom (butcher s broom,.

The clan SUTHERLAND, which gets its name from being located in the district of that name, is regarded by Skene and others as almost purely Gaelic. The district of Sutherland, which was originally considerably smaller than the modern county of that name, got its name from the Orcadian Norsemen, because it lay south from Caithness, which, for a long time, was their only possession in the main land of Scotland.

According to Skene, the ancient Gaelic population of the district now known by the name of Sutherland were driven out or destroyed by the Norwegians when they took possession of the country, after its conquest by Thorfinn, the Norse Jarl of Orkney, in 1034, and were replaced by settlers from Moray and Ross. He says, "There are consequently no clans whatever descended from the Gaelic tribe which anciently inhabited the district of Sutherland, and the modern Gaelic population of part of that region is derived from two sources. In the first place, several of the tribes of the neighbouring district of Ross, at an early period, gradually spread themselves into the nearest and most mountainous parts of the country, and they consisted chiefly of the clan Anrias. Secondly, Hugh Freskin, a descendant of Freskin de Moravia, and whose family was a branch of the ancient Gaelic tribe of Moray, obtained from King William the territory of Sutherland, although it is impossible to discover the circumstances which occasioned the grant. He was of course

accompanied in this expedition by numbers of his followers, who increased in Sutherland to an extensive tribe; and Freskin became the founder of the noble family of Sutherland, who, under the title of Earls of Sutherland, have continued to enjoy possession of this district for so many generations."[8] We do not altogether agree with this intelligent author that the district in question was at any time entirely colonised by the Norsemen. There can be no doubt that a remnant of the old inhabitants remained, after the Norwegian conquest, and it is certain that the Gaelic population, reinforced as they were undoubtedly by incomers from the neighbouring districts and from Moray, ultimately regained the superiority in Sutherland. Many of them were unquestionably from the province of Moray, and these, like the rest of the inhabitants, adopted the name of Sutherland, from the appellation given by the Norwegians to the district.

The chief of the clan was called "the Great Cat," and the head of the house of Sutherland has long carried a black cat in his coat-of-arms. According to Sir George Mackenzie, the name of Cattu was formerly given to Sutherland and Caithness (originally Cattu-ness), on account of the great number of wild cats with which it was, at one period, infested.

The Earl of Sutherland was the chief of the clan, but on the accession to the earldom in 1766, of Countess Elizabeth, the infant daughter of the eighteenth earl, and afterwards Duchess of Sutherland, as the chiefship could not descend to a female, William Sutherland of Killipheder, who died in 1832, and enjoyed a small annuity from her grace, was accounted the eldest male descendant of the old earls. John Campbell Sutherland, Esq. of Fors, was afterwards considered the real chief.

The clan Sutherland could bring into the field 2,000 fighting men. In 1715 and 1745 they were among the loyal clans, and zealously supported the succession of the house of Hanover. Further details concerning this clan will be given in the History of the Highland Regiments.

The Earldom of Sutherland, the oldest extant in Britain, is said to have been granted by Alexander II., to William, Lord of Sutherland, about 1228, for assisting to quell a powerful northern savage of the name of Gillespie.[9] William was the son of Hugh Freskin, who acquired the district of Sutherland by the forfeiture of the Earl of Caithness for rebellion in 1197. Hugh was the grandson of Freskin the Fleming, who came into Scotland in the reign of David I., and obtained from that prince the lands of Strathbrock in Linlithgowshire, also, the lands of Duffus and others in Moray.[1] His son, William, was a constant attendant on King William the Lion, during his frequent expeditions into Moray, and assumed the name of William de Moravia. He died towards the end of the 12th century. His son, Hugh, got the district of Sutherland, as already mentioned. Hugh's son, "Willielmus dominus de Sutherlandia filius et hæres quondam Hugonis Freskin," is usually reckoned the first Earl of Sutherland, although Sir Robert Gordon, the family historian, puts it three generations farther back.

The date of the creation of the title is not known; but from an indenture executed in 1275, in which Gilbert, bishop of Caithness, makes a solemn composition of an affair that had been long in debate betwixt his predecessors in the see and the noble men, William of famous memory, and William, his son, Earls of Sutherland, it is clear that there existed an Earl of Sutherland betwixt 1222, the year of Gilbert's consecration as bishop, and 1245, the year of his death, and it is on the strength of this deed that the representative of the house claims the rank of premier earl of Scotland, with the date 1228.

Earl William died at Dunrobin[2] in 1248. His son, William, second earl, succeeded to the title in his infancy. He was one of the Scots nobles who attended the parliament of Alexander III. at Scone, 5th February 1284, when the succession to the crown of Scotland was settled, and he sat in the great convention at Bingham, 12th March 1290. He was one of the eighteen Highland chiefs who fought at the battle of Bannockburn, in 1314, on the side of Bruce, and he subscribed the

[8] *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 301.

[9] See p. 61, vol. i.

[1] See p. 60, vol. i.

[2] For view of old Dunrobin Castle, *vide* vol. i. p. 83.

famous letter of the Scots nobles to the Pope, 6th April 1320. He died in 1325, having enjoyed the title for the long period of 77 years.

His son, Kenneth, the third earl, fell at the battle of Halidon-hill in 1333, valiantly supporting the cause of David II. With a daughter, Eustach, he had two sons, William, fourth earl, and Nicholas, ancestor of the Lords Duffus.

William, fourth earl, married the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Robert I., by his second wife, Elizabeth de Burgo, and he made grants of land in the counties of Inverness and Aberdeen to powerful and influential persons, to win their support of his eldest son, John's claim to the succession to the crown. John was selected by his uncle, David II., as heir to the throne, in preference to the high-steward, who had married the Princess Marjory, but he died at Lincoln in England in 1361, while a hostage there for the payment of the king's ransom. His father, Earl William, was one of the commissioners to treat for the release of King David in 1351, also on 13th June 1354, and again in 1357. He was for some years detained in England as a hostage for David's observance of the treaty on his release from his long captivity. The earl did not obtain his full liberty till 20th March 1367. He died at Dunrobin in Sutherland in 1370. His son, William, fifth earl, was present at the surprise of Berwick by the Scots in November 1384.

With their neighbours, the Mackays, the clan Sutherland were often at feud, and in all their contests with them they generally came off victorious.[3]

John, seventh earl, resigned the earldom in favour of John, his son and heir, 22d February 1456, reserving to himself the liferent of it, and died in 1460. He had married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Baillie of Lamington, Lanarkshire, and by her had four sons and two daughters. The sons were—1. Alexander, who predeceased his father; 2. John, eighth Earl of Sutherland; 3. Nicholas; 4. Thomas Beg. The elder daughter, Lady Jane, married Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock, and was the mother of Gawin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen.

[3] Details of these feuds will be found in vol. i.

John, eighth earl, died in 1508. He had married Lady Margaret Macdonald, eldest daughter of Alexander, Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles, and by her, who was drowned crossing the ferry of Uness, he had two sons—John ninth earl, and Alexander, who died young, and a daughter, Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland.

The ninth earl died, without issue, in 1514, when the succession devolved upon his sister Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland in her own right. This lady had married Adam Gordon of Aboyne, second son of George, second Earl of Huntly, high-chancellor of Scotland, and in his wife's right, according to the custom of the age, he was styled Earl of Sutherland. The Earl of Sutherland, when far advanced in life, retired for the most part to Strathbogie and Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, to spend the remainder of his days among his friends, and intrusted the charge of the country to his eldest son, Alexander Gordon, master of Sutherland, a young man of great intrepidity and talent; and on the countess' resignation, a charter of the earldom was granted to him by King James V., on 1st December 1527. She died in 1535, and her husband in 1537. Their issue were—1. Alexander, master of Sutherland, who was infeft in the earldom in 1527, under the charter above mentioned, and died in 1529, leaving, by his wife, Lady Jane Stewart, eldest daughter of the second Earl of Athole, three sons—John, Alexander, and William, and two daughters; 2. John Gordon; 3. Adam Gordon, killed at the battle of Pinkie, 10th September 1547; 4. Gilbert Gordon of Gartay, who married Isobel Sinclair, daughter of the laird of Dunbeath.

Alexander's eldest son, John, born about 1525, succeeded his grandfather as eleventh earl. He was lieutenant of Moray in 1547 and 1548, and with George, Earl of Huntly, was selected to accompany the queen regent to France in September 1550.

On the charge of having engaged in the rebellion of the Earl of Huntly in 1562, the Earl of Sutherland was forfeited, 28th May 1563, when he retired to Flanders. He returned to Scotland in 1565, and his forfeiture was rescinded by act of parliament, 19th April 1567. He and his countess, who was then in

a state of pregnancy, were poisoned at Helmsdale Castle by Isobel Sinclair, the wife of the earl's uncle, Gilbert Gordon of Gartay, and the cousin of the Earl of Caithness, and died five days afterwards at Dunrobin Castle. This happened in July 1567, when the earl was in his 42d year.[4] Their only son, Alexander, master of Sutherland, then in his fifteenth year, fortunately escaped the same fate.

The eleventh earl, styled the good Earl John, was thrice married—1st, to Lady Elizabeth Campbell, only daughter of the third Earl of Argyll, relict of James, Earl of Moray, natural son of James IV.; 2dly, to Lady Helen Stewart, daughter of the third Earl of Lennox, relict of the fifth Earl of Errol; and 3dly, to Marion, eldest daughter of the fourth Lord Seton, relict of the fourth Earl of Menteith. This was the lady who was poisoned with him. He had issue by his second wife only—two sons and three daughters. John, the elder son, died an infant. Alexander, the younger, was the twelfth Earl of Sutherland.

Being under age when he succeeded to the earldom, the ward of this young nobleman was granted to his eldest sister, Lady Margaret Gordon, who committed it to the care of John, Earl of Athole. The latter sold the wardship to George, Earl of Caithness, the enemy of his house. Having by treachery got possession of the castle of Skibo, in which the young earl resided, he seized his person and carried him off to Caithness, where he forced him to marry his daughter, Lady Barbara Sinclair, a profligate woman of double his own age. When he attained his majority he divorced her. In 1569, he escaped from the Earl of Caithness, who had taken up his residence at Dunrobin Castle and formed a design upon his life.

In 1583 he obtained from the Earl of Huntly, the king's lieutenant in the north, a grant of the superiority of Strathnaver, and of the heritable sheriffship of Sutherland and Strathnaver, which last was granted in lieu of the lordship of Aboyne. This grant was confirmed by his majesty in a charter under the great seal, by which Sutherland and Strathnaver were disjoined and dismembered from the sheriffdom of Inverness. The earl died at Dunrobin, 6th December 1594, in his 43d year. Having divorced Lady Barbara Sinclair in 1573, he married, secondly, Lady Jean Gordon, third daughter of the fourth Earl of Huntly, high-chancellor of Scotland, who had been previously married to the Earl of Bothwell, but repudiated to enable that ambitious and profligate nobleman to marry Queen Mary. She subsequently married Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne, whom she also survived. To the Earl of Sutherland she had, with two daughters, four sons—1. John, thirteenth earl; 2. Hon. Sir Alexander Gordon; 3. Hon. Adam Gordon; 4. Hon. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, the historian of the family of Sutherland, created a baronet of Nova Scotia, being the first of that order, 28th May 1625.

John, thirteenth Earl of Sutherland, was born 20th July 1576. Many details concerning him will be found in the former part of this work. He died at Dornoch, 11th September 1615, aged 40. By his countess, Lady Anna Elphinston, he had, with two daughters, four sons, namely—1. Patrick, master of Sutherland, who died young; 2. John, fourteenth earl; 3. Hon. Adam Gordon, who entered the Swedish service, and was killed at the battle of Nordlingen, 27th August 1634, aged 22; 4. Hon. George Posthumus Gordon, born after his father's death, 9th February 1616, a lieutenant-colonel in the army.

John, fourteenth Earl of Sutherland, born 4th March 1609, was only six years old when he succeeded his father, and during his minority his uncle, Sir Robert Gordon, was tutor of Sutherland. In this capacity the latter was much engaged in securing the peace of the country, so often broken by the lawless proceedings of the Earl of Caithness. By Sir Robert's judicious management of the affairs of the house of Sutherland, his nephew, the earl, on attaining his majority, found the hostility of the enemy of his house, the Earl of Caithness, either neutralised, or rendered no longer dangerous. In 1637, the earl joined the supplicants against the service book, and on the breaking out of the civil war in the following year, espoused the liberal cause. In

[4] For the circumstances attending this unnatural murder, which the Earl of Caithness is said to have instigated, see vol. i. p. 90.

1641 he was appointed by parliament a privy councillor for life, and in 1644 he was sent north with a commission for disarming malignants, as the royalists were called. In 1645 he was one of the committee of estates. The same year he joined General Hurry, with his retainers at Inverness, just immediately before the battle of Auldearn. In 1650 he accompanied General David Leslie when he was sent by the parliament against the royalists in the north.

On the Marquis of Montrose's arrival in Caithness, the earl assembled all his countrymen to oppose his advance into Sutherland. Montrose, however, had secured the important pass of the Ord, and on his entering Sutherland, the earl, not conceiving himself strong enough to resist him, retired with about 300 men into Ross. In August of the same year, the earl set off to Edinburgh, with 1,000 men, to join the forces under General Leslie, collected to oppose Cromwell, but was too late for the battle of Dunbar, which was fought before his arrival. During the Protectorate of Cromwell the earl lived retired. He is commonly said to have died in 1663, but the portrait of John, who must be this earl, prefixed to Gordon's history of the family (Ed. 1813) has upon it "*Aetatis Suae* 60 : 1669." This would seem to prove that he was then alive.

His son, George, fifteenth earl, died 4th March 1703, aged 70, and was buried at Holyrood-house, where a monument was erected to his memory. The son of this nobleman, John, sixteenth earl, married, when Lord Strathnaver, Helen, second daughter of William, Lord Cochrane, sister of the Viscountess Dundee. He was one of the sixteen representatives of the Scots peerage chosen in the last Scots parliament in 1707, and subsequently three times re-elected. His services in quelling the rebellion were acknowledged by George I., who, in June 1716, invested him with the order of the Thistle, and in the following September settled a pension of £1,200 per annum upon him. He figured conspicuously both as a statesman and a soldier, and obtained leave to add to his armorial bearings the double "tressure circumflcur-de-lire," to indicate his descent from the royal family of Bruce. His lordship died at London, 27th June 1733.

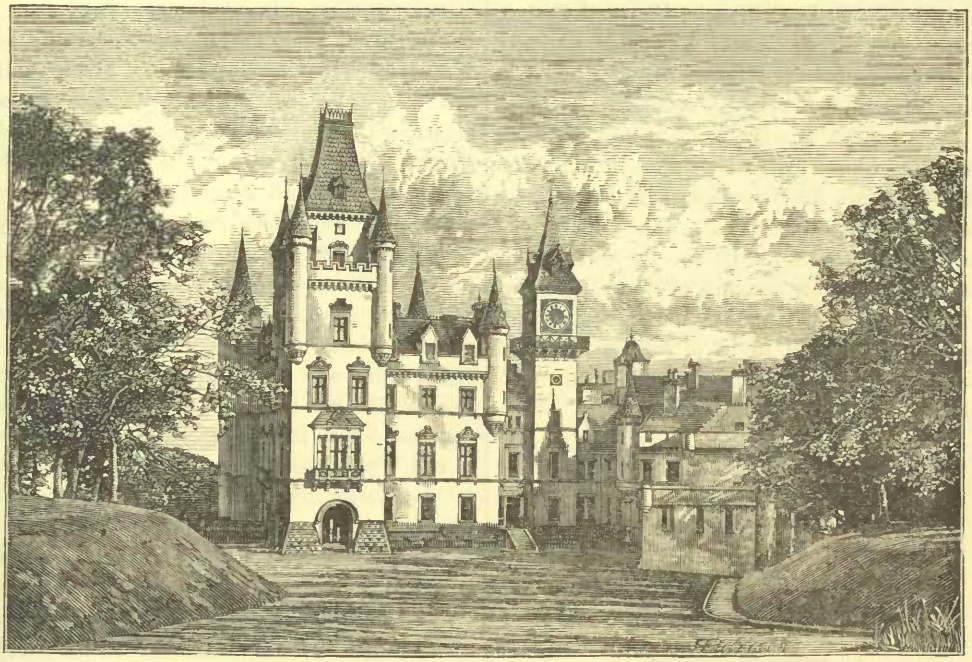
His son, William, Lord Strathnaver, predeceased his father 19th July 1720. He had five sons and two daughters. His two eldest sons died young. William, the third son, became seventeenth Earl of Sutherland. The elder daughter, the Hon. Helen Sutherland, was the wife of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. The younger, the Hon. Janet Sutherland, married George Sinclair, Esq. of Ulbster, and was the mother of the celebrated Sir John Sinclair, baronet.

William, seventeenth Earl of Sutherland, contributed greatly to the suppression of the rebellion in the north. Under the heritable jurisdictions' abolition act of 1747, he had £1,000 allowed him for the redeemable sheriffship of Sutherland. He died in France, December 7, 1750, aged 50. By his countess, Lady Elizabeth Wemyss, eldest daughter of the third Earl of Wemyss, he had, with a daughter, Lady Elizabeth, wife of her cousin, Hon. James Wemyss of Wemyss, a son, William.

The son, William, eighteenth Earl of Sutherland, born May 29, 1735, was an officer in the army, and in 1759, when an invasion was expected, he raised a battalion of infantry, of which he was constituted lieutenant-colonel. He was appointed aide-de-camp to the king, with the rank of colonel in the army, 20th April 1763. He was one of the sixteen representative Scots peers, and died at Bath, 16th June 1766, aged 31. He had married at Edinburgh, 14th April 1761, Mary, eldest daughter and coheiress of William Maxwell, Esq. of Preston, stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and had two daughters, Lady Catherine and Lady Elizabeth. The former, born 24th May 1764, died at Dunrobin Castle, 3d January 1766. The loss of their daughter so deeply affected the earl and countess that they went to Bath, in the hope that the amusements of that place would dispel their grief. There, however, the earl was seized with a fever, and the countess devoted herself so entirely to the care of her husband, sitting up with him for twenty-one days and nights without retiring to bed, that her health was affected, and she died 1st June the same year, sixteen days before his lordship. Their bodies were

brought to Scotland, and interred in Holyrood-house.

Their only surviving daughter, Elizabeth, born at Leven Lodge, near Edinburgh, 24th May 1765, succeeded as Countess of Sutherland, when little more than a year old. She was placed under the guardianship of John, Duke of Athole, Charles, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Sir Adam Fergusson of Kilkerran, and Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, baronets, and John Mackenzie, Esq. of Delvin. A sharp contest arose for the title, her right to the earldom being disputed on the ground that it could not legally descend to a female heir. Her opponents were Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun and Letterfourie, baronet, and George Sutherland, Esq. of Fors. Lord Hailes drew up a paper for her ladyship, entitled "Additional Case for Elizabeth, claiming the title and dignity of Countess of Sutherland," which evinced great ability, accuracy, and depth of research. The House of Lords decided in her



Dunrobin Castle, from a photograph by Collier and Park, Inverness.

(For view of Dunrobin Castle in 1700, *v.* vol. i. p. 83.)

favour, 21st March 1771. The countess, the nineteenth in succession to the earldom, married 4th September 1785, George Granville Leveson Gower, Viscount of Trentham, eldest son of Earl Gower, afterwards Marquis of Stafford, by his second wife, Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter of the first Duke of Bridgewater. His lordship succeeded to his father's titles, and became the second Marquis of Stafford. On 14th January 1833 he was created Duke of Sutherland, and died 19th July, the same year. The Duchess of Sutherland, countess in her own right, thenceforth styled Duchess-Countess of Sutherland, held the earldom during the long period of 72 years and seven months, and died in January 1839.

Her eldest son, George Granville, born in 1786, succeeded his father as second Duke of Sutherland, in 1833, and his mother in the Scottish titles, in 1839. He married in 1823, Lady Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana, third daughter of the sixth Earl of Carlisle; issue—four sons and seven daughters. His grace died Feb. 28, 1861, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George Granville William. The second duke's eldest daughter married in 1844, the Duke of Argyll; the second daughter married in 1843, Lord Blantyre; the third

daughter married in 1847, the Marquis of Kildare, eldest son of the Duke of Leinster.

George Granville William, third Duke of Sutherland, previously styled Marquis of Stafford and Lord Strathnaver, born Dec. 19, 1828, married in 1849, Anne, only child of John Hay Mackenzie, Esq. of Cromartie and Newhall, and niece of Sir William Gibson Craig, Bart.; issue — three sons and two daughters. Sons—1. George Granville, Earl Gower, born July 25, 1850, died July 5, 1858; 2. Cromartie, Marquis of Stafford, born 20th July 1851; 3. Lord Francis, Viscount Tarbet, born August 3, 1852. Daughters, Lady Florence and Lady Alexandra; for the latter the Princess of Wales was sponsor.

There are a number of clans not dignified by Mr Skene with separate notice, probably because he considers them subordinate branches of other clans. The principal of these, however, we shall shortly notice here, before giving an account of four important clans located in the Highlands, which are generally admitted to be of foreign origin, at least so far as their names and chiefs are concerned.

GUNN.



Badge—Juniper.

As we have given in minute detail the history of the somewhat turbulent clan Gunn in the first part of the work, our notice of it here will be brief.

The clan, a martial and hardy, though not a numerous race, originally belonged to Caithness, but in the sixteenth century they settled in Sutherland. Mr Smibert thinks they are perhaps among the very purest remnants of the Gael to be found about Sutherlandshire and the adjoining parts. "It is probable," he says, "that they belong to the same stock which produced the great body of the Sutherland population. But tradition gives the chieftains at least a Norse origin. They are said to have been descended from *Gun*, or *Gunn*, or *Guin*, second son of Olaus, or Olav, the Black, one of the Norwegian kings of Man and the Isles, who died 18th June 1237. One tradition gives them a settlement in Caithness more than a century earlier, deducing their descent from Gun, the second of three sons of Olaf, described as a man of great bravery, who, in 1100, dwelt in the Orcadian isle of Græmsay. The abovementioned *Gun* or *Guin* is said to have received from his grandfather on the mother's side, Farquhar, Earl of Ross, the possessions in Caithness which long formed the patrimony of his descendants: the earliest stronghold of the chief in that county being Halbury castle, or Easter Clythe, situated on a precipitous rock, overhanging the sea. From a subsequent chief who held the office of coroner, it was called *Crowner Gun's Castle*. It may be mentioned here that the name *Gun* is the same as the Welsh *Gwynn*, and the Manx *Gawne*. It was originally Gun, but is now spelled Gunn.

The clan Gunn continued to extend their possessions in Caithness till about the middle of the fifteenth century, when, in consequence of their deadly feuds with the Keiths, and other neighbouring clans, they found it necessary to remove into Sutherland, where they settled on the lands of Kildonan, under the protection of the Earls of Sutherland, from whom they had obtained them. Mixed up as they were with the clan feuds of Caithness and Sutherland, and at war with the Mackays as well as the Keiths, the history of the clan up to this time is full of incidents which have more the character of romance than reality. In one place Sir Robert Gordon, alluding to "the inveterat deidlie feud betuein the clan Gun and the Slaightean-Aberigh,"—a branch of the Mackays,—he says: "The long, the many, the horrible encounters which happened between these two trybes, with the bloodshed and infinit spoils

committed in every part of the diocy of Catteynes by them and their associats, are of so disordered and troublesome memorie," that he declines to give details.

Previous to their removal into Sutherland, George Gun, commonly called the *Chruner*, or Coroner, and by the Highlanders, *Fear N'm Braisteach-more*, from the great brooch which he wore as the badge of his office of coroner, was killed by the Keiths of Caithness, as formerly narrated.

The Crowner's eldest son, James, succeeded as chief, and he it was who, with his family and the greater portion of his clan, removed into Sutherland. The principal dwelling-house of the chiefs was, thereafter, Killernan, in the parish of Kildonan, until the house was accidentally destroyed by fire about 1690. From this chief, the patronymic of Mac-Sheumais, or MacKeamish, (that is, the son of James,) which then became the Gaelic sept-name of the chiefs, is derived. From one of the sons of the Crowner, named William, are descended the Wilsons of Caithness, (as from a subsequent chief of the same name, the Williamsons,) and from another, Henry, the Hendersons. Another son, Robert, who was killed with his father, was the progenitor of the Gun Robsons; and another son, John, also slain by the Keiths, of the Gun MacEans, or MacIans, that is Johnsons, of Caithness. The Gallies are also of this clan, a party of whom settling in Ross-shire being designated as coming from *Gall-'aobh*, the stranger's side.

William Gunn, the eighth MacKeamish, an officer in the army, was killed in battle in India, without leaving issue, when the chiefship devolved on Hector, great-grandson of George, second son of Alexander, the fifth MacKeamish, to whom he was served nearest male heir, on the 31st May 1803, and George Gunn, Esq. of Rhives, county of Sutherland, his only son, became, on his death, chief of the clan Gunn, and the tenth MacKeamish.

Maclaurin.

Maclaurin, more commonly spelled Maclaren, is the name of a small clan belonging to Perthshire, and called in Gaelic the *clann* Labhrin. The name is said to have been derived from the district of Lorn, in Argyleshire, the Gaelic orthography of which is Lubhrin. The Maclaurins bear the word *Dalriada*, as a motto above their coat of arms.

MACLAURIN OR MACLAREN.



Badge—Laurel.

From Argyleshire the tribe of Laurin moved into Perthshire, having, it is said, acquired from Kenneth Macalpin, after his conquest of the Picts in the 9th century, the districts of Balquhidder and Strathearn, and three brothers are mentioned as having got assigned to them in that territory the lands of Bruach, Auchleskin, and Stank. In the churchyard of Balquhidder, celebrated as containing the grave of Rob Roy, the burial places of their different families are marked off separately, so as to correspond with the situation which these estates bear to each other, a circumstance which so far favours the tradition regarding them.

When the earldom of Strathearn became vested in the crown in 1370, the Maclaurins were reduced from the condition of proprietors to that of "kyndly" or perpetual tenants, which they continued to be till 1508, when it was deemed expedient that this Celtic holding should be changed, and the lands set in feu, "for increase of policie and augmentation of the king's rental."

About 1497, some of the clan Laurin having carried off the cattle from the Braes of Lochaber, the Macdonalds followed the spoilers, and, overtaking them in Glenurchy, after a sharp fight, recovered the "lifting." The Maclaurins straightway sought the assistance of their kinsman, Dugal Stewart of Appin, who

at once joined them with his followers, and a conflict took place, when both Dugal and Macdonald of Keppoch, the chiefs of their respective clans, were among the slain. This Dugal was the first of the Stewarts of Appin. He was an illegitimate son of John Stewart, third Lord of Lorn, by a lady of the clan Laurin, and in 1469 when he attempted, by force of arms, to obtain possession of his father's lands, he was assisted by the Maclaurins, 130 of whom fell in a battle that took place at the foot of Bendoran, a mountain in Glenurchy.

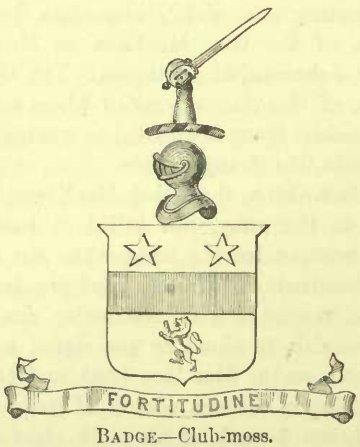
The clan Laurin were the strongest sept in Balquhidder, which was called "the country of the Maclaurins." Although there are few families of the name there now, so numerous were they at one period that none dared enter the church until the Maclaurins had taken their seats. This invidious right claimed by them often led to unseemly brawls and fights at the church door, and lives were sometimes lost in consequence. In 1532, Sir John Maclaurin, vicar of Balquhidder, was killed in one of these quarrels, and several of his kinsmen, implicated in the deed, were outlawed.

A deadly feud existed between the Maclaurins and their neighbours, the Macgregors of Rob Roy's tribe. In the 16th century, the latter slaughtered no fewer than eighteen householders of the Maclaurin name, with the whole of their families, and took possession of the farms which had belonged to them. The deed was not investigated till 1604, forty-six years afterwards, when it was thus described in their trial for the slaughter of the Colquhouns: "And siclyk, John M'Coull cheire, ffor airt and pairt of the crewall murthour and burning of auchtene houshalders of the clan Lawren, thair wyves and bairns, committit fourtie sax zeir syne, or thairby." The verdict was that he was "clene, innocent, and acquit of the said crymes."[5] The hill farm of Invernenty, on "The Braes of Balquhidder," was one of the farms thus forcibly occupied by the Macgregors, although the property of a Maclaurin family, and in the days of Rob Roy, two centuries afterwards, the aid of Stewart of Appin was called in to replace the Maclaurins in their own, which he did at the head of 200 of his men. All these farms, however, are now the property of the chief of clan Gregor, having been purchased about 1798 from the commissioners of the forfeited estates.

The Maclaurins were out in the rebellion of 1745. According to President Forbes, they were followers of the Murrays of Athole, but although some of them might have been so, the majority of the clan fought for the Pretender with the Stewarts of Appin under Stewart of Ardsheil.

The chiefship was claimed by the family to which belonged Colin Maclaurin, the eminent mathematician and philosopher, and his son, John Maclaurin, Lord Dreghorn. In the application given in for the latter to the Lyon Court, he proved his descent from a family which had long been in possession of the island of Tiree, one of the Argyleshire Hebrides.

MACRAE.



BADGE—Club-moss.

MACRAE (MACRA or MACRATH)[6] is the name of a Ross-shire clan at one time very numerous

[5] In reference to this, we extract the following from the *Scotsman*, Feb. 12, 1869:—"Within the last few days a handsome monument from the granite works of Messrs Macdonald, Field, & Co., Aberdeen, has been erected in the churchyard of Balquhidder, bearing the following inscription:—'In memoriam of the Clan Laurin, anciently the allodian inhabitants of Balquhidder and Strathearn, the chief of whom, in the decrepitude of old age, together with his aged and infirm adherents, their wives and children, the widows of their departed kindred—all were destroyed in the silent midnight hour by fire and sword, by the hands of a banditti of incendiarists from Glendochart, A.D. 1558. Erected by Daniel Maclaurin, Esq. of St John's Wood, London, author of a short history of his own clan, and for the use of his clansmen only.—October 1868.'"

[6] For the information here given, we are mainly indebted to the MS. above referred to.

on the shores of Kintail, but now widely scattered through Scotland and the colonies, more especially Canada. The oldest form of the name "M'Rath" signifies "son-of-good-luck." The clan is generally considered to be of pure Gaelic stock, although its earliest traditions point to an Irish origin. They are said to have come over with Colin Fitzgerald, the founder of the clan Mackenzie, of whose family they continued through their whole history the warm friends and adherents, so much so that they were jocularly called "Seaforth's shirt," and under his leadership they fought at the battle of Largs, in 1263. They settled first in the Aird of Lovat, but subsequently emigrated into Glenshiel, in the district of Kintail. At the battle of Auldearn, in May 1645, the Macraes fought under the "Caber-Fey," on the side of Montrose, where they lost a great number of men. The chief of the Macraes is Macrae of Inverinate, in Kintail, whose family since about the year 1520 held the honourable post of constables of Islandonan. A MS. genealogical account of the clans, written by the Rev. John Macrae, minister of Dingwall, who died in 1704, was formerly in possession of Lieut.-Col. Sir John Macrae of Ardintoul, and is now possessed by the present head of the Inverinate family, Colin Macrae, Esq., W.S., who has also a copy of a treaty of friendship between the Campbells of Craignish and the Macraes of Kintail, dated 1702. This history contains many interesting stories, descriptive of the great size, strength, and courage for which the clan was remarkable. One Duncan Mòr, a man of immense strength, contributed largely to the defeat of the Macdonalds at the battle of Park, in 1464, and it was said of him that, though engaged in many conflicts and always victorious, he never came off without a wound; and another Duncan, who lived in the beginning of the 18th century, was possessed of so great strength that he is said to have carried for some distance a stone of huge size, and laid it down on the farm of Auchnangart, where it is still to be seen. He was the author of several poetical pieces, and was killed with many of his clan at Sheriffmuir, in 1715, his two brothers falling at his side. His sword, long preserved in the Tower of London, was shown as "the great Highlander's sword."

Both males and females of the Macraes are said to have evinced a strong taste, not only for severe literary studies, but for the gentler arts of poetry and music. From the beginning of the 15th century, one of the Inverinate family always held the office of vicar of Kintail; and John, the first vicar, was much revered for his learning, which he acquired with the monks of Beauly. Farquhar Macrae, born 1580, who entered the church, is said to have been a great Latin scholar. It is told of this Farquhar, that on his first visit to the island of Lewes, he had to baptize the whole population under forty years of age, no minister being resident on the island.

We shall here give a short account of the Buchanans and Colquhouns, because, as Smibert says of the latter, they have ever been placed among the clans practically, although the neighbouring Lowlanders gave to them early Saxon names. It is probable that primitively they were both of Gaelic origin.

BUCHANAN.



BADGE—Bilberry or Oak.

The BUCHANANS belong to a numerous clan in Stirlingshire, and the country on the north side of Loch Lomond. The reputed founder of the clan was Anselan, son of O'Kyan, king of Ulster, in Ireland, who is said to have been compelled to leave his native country by the incursions of the Danes, and take refuge in Scotland. He landed, with some attendants, on the northern coast of Argyleshire, near the Lennox, about the year 1016, and having, according to the family tradition, in all such

cases made and provided, lent his assistance to King Malcolm the Second in repelling his old enemies the Danes, on two different occasions of their arrival in Scotland, he received from that king for his services a grant of land in the north of Scotland. The improbable character of this genealogy is manifested by its farther stating that the aforesaid Anselan married the heiress of the lands of Buchanan, a lady named Dennistoun; for the Dennistouns deriving their name from lands given to a family of the name of Danziel, who came into Scotland with Alan, the father of the founder of the Abbey of Paisley, and the first *dapifer*, seneschal, or steward of Scotland, no heiress of that name could have been in Scotland until long after the period here referred to. It is more probable that a portion of what afterwards became the estate of Buchanan formed a part of some royal grant as being connected with the estates of the Earls of Lennox, whom Skene and Napier have established to have been remotely connected with the royal family of the Canmore line, and to have been in the first instance administrators, on the part of the crown, of the lands which were afterwards bestowed upon them.

The name of Buchanan is territorial, and is now that of a parish in Stirlingshire, which was anciently called Inchcaileoch ("old woman's island"), from an island of that name in Loch Lomond, on which in earlier ages there was a nunnery, and latterly the parish church for a century after the Reformation. In 1621 a detached part of the parish of Luss, which comprehends the lands of the family of Buchanan, was included in this parish, when the chapel of Buchanan was used for the only place of worship, and gave the name to the whole parish.

Anselan (in the family genealogies styled the third of that name) the seventh laird of Buchanan, and the sixth in descent from the above-named Irish prince, but not unlikely to be the first of the name, which is Norman French, is dignified in the same records with the magniloquent appellation of seneschal or chamberlain to Malcolm the first Earl of Levenax (as Lennox was then called). In 1225, this Anselan obtained from the same earl a charter of a small island in Lochlomond called Clareinch—witnesses Dougal, Gilchrist, and Amalyn, the earl's three brothers—the name of which island afterwards became the rallying cry of the Buchanans. He had three sons, viz., Methlen, said by Buchanan of Auchmar to have been ancestor of the MacMillans; Colman, ancestor of the MacColmans; and his successor Gilbert.

His eldest son, Gilbert, or Gillebrid, appears to have borne the surname of Buchanan.

Sir Maurice Buchanan, grandson of Gilbert, and son of a chief of the same name, received from Donald, Earl of Lennox, a charter of the lands of Sallochy, with confirmation of the upper part of the carrucate of Buchanan. Sir Maurice also obtained a charter of confirmation of the lands of Buchanan from King David II. in the beginning of his reign.

Sir Maurice de Buchanan the second, above mentioned, married a daughter of Menteith of Rusky, and had a son, Walter de Buchanan, who had a charter of confirmation of some of his lands of Buchanan from Robert the Second, in which he is designed the king's "consanguineus," or cousin. His eldest son, John, married Janet, daughter and sole heiress of John Buchanan of Leny, fourth in descent from Allan already noticed. John, who died before his father, had three sons, viz., Sir Alexander, Walter, and John, who inherited the lands of Leny, and carried on that family.

Sir Alexander died unmarried, and the second son, Sir Walter, succeeded to the estate of Buchanan.

This Sir Walter de Buchanan married Isabel, daughter of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, by Isabel, countess of Lennox, in her own right. With a daughter, married to Gray of Foulis, ancestor of Lord Gray, he had three sons, viz., Patrick, his successor; Maurice, treasurer to the Princess Margaret, the daughter of King James I., and Dauphiness of France, with whom he left Scotland; and Thomas, founder of the Buchanans of Carbeth.

The eldest son, Patrick, acquired a part of Strathyre in 1455, and had a charter under the great seal of his estate of Buchanan, dated in 1460. He had two sons and a daughter, Anabella, married to her cousin, James Stewart of Baldorrans, grandson of Murdoch,

Duke of Albany. Their younger son, Thomas Buchanan, was, in 1482, founder of the house of Drumakill, whence, in the third generation, came the celebrated George Buchanan. Patrick's elder son, Walter Buchanan of that ilk, married a daughter of Lord Graham, and by her had two sons, Patrick and John, and two daughters, one of them married to the laird of Lamond, and the other to the laird of Ardkinglass.

John Buchanan, the younger son, succeeded by testament to Menzies of Arnprior, and was the facetious "King of Kippen," and faithful ally of James V. The way in which the laird of Arnprior got the name of "King of Kippen" is thus related by a tradition which Sir Walter Scott has introduced into his *Tales of a Grandfather*:—"When James the Fifth travelled in disguise, he used a name which was known only to some of his principal nobility and attendants. He was called the Goodman (the tenant, that is) of Ballengeich. Ballengeich is a steep pass which leads down behind the castle of Stirling. Once upon a time when the court was feasting in Stirling, the king sent for some venison from the neighbouring hills. The deer was killed and put on horses' backs to be transported to Stirling. Unluckily they had to pass the castle gates of Arnprior, belonging to a chief of the Buchanans, who chanced to have a considerable number of guests with him. It was late, and the company were rather short of victuals, though they had more than enough of liquor. The chief, seeing so much fat venison passing his very door, seized on it, and to the expostulations of the keepers, who told him it belonged to King James, he answered insolently, that if James was king in Scotland, he (Buchanan) was king in Kippen; being the name of the district in which Arnprior lay. On hearing what had happened, the king got on horseback, and rode instantly from Stirling to Buchanan's house, where he found a strong fierce-looking Highlander, with an axe on his shoulder, standing sentinel at the door. This grim warder refused the king admittance, saying that the laird of Arnprior was at dinner, and would not be disturbed. 'Yet go up to the company, my good friend,' said the king, 'and tell him that the Goodman of Ballengeich is come to feast with the King of Kippen.' The porter went grumbling into the house, and told his master that there was a fellow with a red beard at the gate, who called himself the Goodman of Ballengeich, who said he was come to dine with the King of Kippen. As soon as Buchanan heard these words, he knew that the king was come in person, and hastened down to kneel at James's feet, and to ask forgiveness for his insolent behaviour. But the king, who only meant to give him a fright, forgave him freely, and, going into the castle, feasted on his own venison which Buchanan had intercepted. Buchanan of Arnprior was ever afterwards called the King of Kippen."[7] He was killed at the battle of Pinkie in 1547.

The elder son, Patrick, who fell on Flodden field, during his father's lifetime, had married a daughter of the Earl of Argyll. She bore to him two sons and two daughters. The younger son, Walter, in 1519, conveyed to his son Walter the lands of Spittal, and was thus the founder of that house. On the 14th December of that year, he had a charter from his father of the temple-lands of Easter-Catter.

The elder son, George Buchanan of that ilk, succeeded his grandfather, and was sheriff of Dumbartonshire at the critical epoch of 1561. By Margaret, daughter of Edmonstone of Duntreath, he had a son, John, who died before his father, leaving a son. By a second lady, Janet, daughter of Cunninghame of Craigans, he had William, founder of the now extinct house of Auchmar.

John Buchanan, above mentioned as dying before his father, George Buchanan of that ilk, was twice married, first to the Lord Livingston's daughter, by whom he had one son, George, who succeeded his grandfather. The son, Sir George Buchanan, married Mary Graham, daughter of the Earl of Monteith, and had, with two daughters, a son, Sir John Buchanan of that ilk. Sir John married Anabella Erskine, daughter of Adam, commendator of Cambuskenneth, a son of the Master of Mar. He had a son, George, his successor, and a daughter married to Campbell of Ra hein.

Sir George Buchanan the son married Eliza-

[7] *History of Scotland.*

beth Preston, daughter of the laird of Craigmillar. Sir George was taken prisoner at Inverkeithing, in which state he died in the end of 1651, leaving, with three daughters, one son, John, the last laird of Buchanan, who was twice married, but had no male issue. By his second wife, Jean Pringle, daughter of Mr Andrew Pringle, a minister, he had a daughter Janet, married to Henry Buchanan of Leny. John, the last laird, died in December 1682. His estate was sold by his creditors, and purchased by the ancestor of the Duke of Montrose.

The barons or lairds of Buchanan built a castle in Stirlingshire, where the present Buchanan house stands, formerly called the Peel of Buchanan. Part of it exists, forming the charter-room. A more modern house was built by these chiefs, adjoining the east side. This mansion came into the possession of the first Duke of Montrose, who made several additions to it, as did also subsequent dukes, and it is now the chief seat of that ducal family in Scotland.

The principal line of the Buchanans becoming, as above shown, extinct in 1682, the representation of the family devolved on Buchanan of Auchmar. This line became, in its turn, extinct in 1816, and, in the absence of other competitors, the late Dr Francis Hamilton-Buchanan of Bardowie, Spittal, and Leny, as heir-male of Walter, first of the family of Spittal, established in 1826 his claims as chief of the clan.

The last lineal male descendant of the Buchanans of Leny was Henry Buchanan, about 1723, whose daughter and heiress, Catherine, married Thomas Buchanan of Spittal, an officer in the Dutch service, who took for his second wife, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of John Hamilton of Bardowie, the sole survivor of her family, and by her he had four sons and two daughters. Their eldest son John, born in 1758, succeeded to the estate of Bardowie, and assumed the additional name of Hamilton, but dying without male issue, was succeeded by his brother, the above named Dr Francis Hamilton-Buchanan.

There were at one time so many heritors of the name of Buchanan, that it is said the laird of Buchanan could, in a summer's day, call fifty heritors of his own surname to his house, upon any occasion, and all of them might with convenience return to their respective residences before night, the most distant of their homes not being above ten miles from Buchanan Castle.

COLQUHOUN.



Badge—Bearberry.

The territory of the Colquhouns is in Dumbartonshire, and the principal families of the name are Colquhoun of Colquhoun and Luss, the chief of the clan, a baronet of Scotland and Nova Scotia, created in 1704, and of Great Britain in 1786; Colquhoun of Killermont and Garscadden; Colquhoun of Ardenconnel; and Colquhoun of Glenmillan. There was likewise Colquhoun of Tilliquhoun, a baronet of Scotland and Nova Scotia (1625), but this family is extinct.

The origin of the name is territorial. One tradition deduces the descent of the first possessor from a younger son of the old Earls of Lennox, because of the similarity of their armorial bearings. It is certain that they were anciently vassals of that potent house.

The immediate ancestor of the family of Luss was Humphry de Kilpatrick, who, in the reign of Alexander II., not later than 1246, obtained from Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, a grant of the lands and barony of Colquhoun, in the parish of Old or West Kilpatrick, *pro servitio unius militis*, &c., and in consequence assumed the name of Colquhoun, instead of his own.

His grandson, Ingelram, third Colquhoun, lived in the reign of Alexander III.

His son, Humphry de Colquhoun, is witness in a charter of Malcolm, fifth Earl of Lennox, in favour of Sir John de Luss,[8] between the years 1292–1333. The following remarkable reference to the construction of a house *ad opus Culquhanorum*, by order of King Robert Bruce, is extracted from the *Compotum Constabularii de Cardross*, vol. i., in the accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, under date 30th July 1329, as quoted by Mr Tytler in the appendix to the second volume of his History of Scotland: "Item, in construccione cujusdam domus ad opus *Culquhanorum* Domini Regis ibidem, 10 solidi." Mr Tytler in a note says that *Culquhanorum* is "an obscure word, which occurs nowhere else—conjectured by a learned friend to be 'keepers of the dogs,' from the Gaelic root *Gillen-au-con*—abbreviated, *Gillecon*, Culquhoun."

Sir Robert de Colquhoun, supposed by Mr Fraser, the family historian, to be fifth in descent from the first Humphry, and son of a Humphry, the fourth of Colquhoun, in the reign of David Bruce, married in or previous to the year 1368 the daughter and sole heiress (known in the family tradition as "The Fair Maid of Luss,") of Godfry de Luss, lord of Luss, head or chief of an ancient family of that name, and the sixth in a direct male line from Malduin, dean of Lennox, who, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, received from Alwyn, second Earl of Lennox, a charter of the lands of Luss. The Luss territories lie in the mountainous but beautiful and picturesque district on the margin of Loch Lomond. Sir Robert was designed "dominus de Colquhoun and de Luss," in a charter dated in 1368; since which time the family have borne the designation of Colquhoun of Colquhoun and Luss. He is also witness in a charter of the lands of Auchmar by Walter of Faslane, Lord of Lennox, to Walter de Buchanan in 1373. He had four sons, namely —Sir Humphry, his heir; Robert, first of the family of Camstraddan, from whom several other families of the name of Colquhoun in Dumbartonshire are descended; Robert mentioned in the Camstraddan charter as "frater junior;" and Patrick, who is mentioned in a charter from his brother Sir Humphry to his other brother Robert.

The eldest son, Sir Humphry, sixth of Colquhoun, and eighth of Luss, is a witness in three charters by Duncan, Earl of Lennox, in the years 1393, 1394, and 1395. He died in 1406, and left three sons and two daughters. Patrick, his youngest son, was ancestor of the Colquhouns of Glennis, from whom the Colquhouns of Barrowfield, Piemont, and others were descended. The second son, John, succeeded his eldest brother. The eldest son, Sir Robert, died in 1408, and was succeeded by his brother. Sir John Colquhoun was appointed governor of the castle of Dumbarton, by King James I., for his fidelity to that king during his imprisonment in England. From his activity in punishing the depredations of the Highlanders, who often committed great outrages in the low country of Dumbartonshire, he rendered himself obnoxious to them, and a plot was formed for his destruction. He received a civil message from some of their chiefs, desiring a friendly conference, in order to accommodate all their differences. Suspecting no treachery, he went out to meet them but slightly attended, and was immediately attacked by a numerous body of Islanders, under two noted robber-chiefs, Lachlan Maclean and Murdoch Gibson, and slain in Inchmurren, on Loch Lomond, in 1439. By his wife, Jean, daughter of Robert, Lord Erskine, he had a son, Malcolm, a youth of great promise. He died before his father, leaving a son, John, who succeeded his grandfather in 1439. This Sir John Colquhoun was one of the most distinguished men of his age in Scotland, and highly esteemed by King James III., from whom he got a charter in 1457 of the lands of Luss, Colquhoun, and Garscube, in Dumbartonshire, and of the lands of Glyn and Sauchie, in Stirlingshire, incorporating the whole into a free barony, to be called the Barony of Luss; and in the following year he obtained from the king a charter erecting into a free forest the lands of Rossdhu and Glenmachome. From 1465 to 1469 he held the high office of comptroller of the Exchequer, and was subsequently appointed sheriff principal of Dumbartonshire. In 1645 he got a grant of the lands of Kilmardinny, and in 1473 and in 1474,

[8] Fraser's *Chiefs of Colquhoun.*

of Roseneath, Strone, &c. In 1474 he was appointed lord high chamberlain of Scotland, and immediately thereafter was nominated one of the ambassadors extraordinary to the Court of England, to negotiate a marriage between the Prince Royal of Scotland and the Princess Cicily, daughter of King Edward IV. By a royal charter dated 17th September 1477, he was constituted governor of the castle of Dumbarton for life. He was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Dumbarton Castle, probably in 1478. By his wife, daughter of Thomas, Lord Boyd, he had two sons and one daughter. His second son, Robert, was bred to the church, and was first rector of Kippen and Luss, and afterwards bishop of Argyle from 1473 to 1499. The daughter, Margaret, married Sir William Murray, seventh baron of Tullibardine (ancestor of the Dukes of Athole), and bore to him seventeen sons.

His eldest son, Sir Humphry Colquhoun, died in 1493, and was succeeded by his son, Sir John Colquhoun, who received the honour of knighthood from King James IV., and obtained a charter under the great seal of sundry lands and baronies in Dumbartonshire, dated 4th December 1506. On 11th July 1526 he and Patrick Colquhoun his son received a respite for assisting John, Earl of Lennox, in treasonably besieging, taking, and holding the castle of Dumbarton. He died before 16th August 1536. By his first wife, Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of John, Earl of Lennox, Sir John Colquhoun had four sons and four daughters; and by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of William Cunningham of Craigends, he had two sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Sir Humphry Colquhoun, married Lady Catherine Graham, daughter of William, first Earl of Montrose, and died in 1537. By her he had three sons and two daughters. His son James, designated of Garscube, ancestor of the Colquhouns of Garscube, Adam, and Patrick.[9] His eldest son, Sir John Colquhoun, married, first, Christian Erskine, daughter of Robert, Lord Erskine; and secondly, Agnes, daughter of the fourth Lord Boyd, ancestor of the Earls of Kilmarnock. He died in 1575.

[9] Fraser's *Chiefs of Colquhoun.*

His eldest son, Humphry, acquired the heritable coronership of the county of Dumbarton, from Robert Graham of Knockdollian, which was ratified and confirmed by a charter under the great seal in 1583.

In July 1592, some of the Macgregors and Macfarlanes came down upon the low country of Dumbartonshire, and committed vast ravages, especially upon the territory of the Colquhouns. At the head of his vassals, and accompanied by several of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, Sir Humphry Colquhoun attacked the invaders, and after a bloody conflict, which was only put an end to at nightfall, he was overpowered by his assailants, and forced to retreat. To quote from Mr Fraser's *Chiefs of the Colquhouns*—"He betook himself to the castle of Bannachra, a stronghold which had been erected by the Colquhouns at the foot of the north side of the hill of Bennibuie, in the parish of Luss. A party of the Macfarlanes and Macgregors pursued him, and laid siege to his castle. One of the servants who attended the knight was of the same surname as himself. He had been tampered with by the assailants of his master, and treacherously made him their victim. The servant, while conducting his master to his room up a winding stair of the castle, made him by preconcert a mark for the arrows of the clan who pursued him by throwing the glare of a paper torch upon his person when opposite a loophole. A winged arrow, darted from its string with a steady aim, pierced the unhappy knight to the heart, and he fell dead on the spot. The fatal loophole is still pointed out, but the stair, like its unfortunate lord, has crumbled into dust." Sir Humphry married, first, Lady Jean Cunningham, daughter of Alexander, fifth Earl of Glencairn, widow of the Earl of Argyll, by whom he had no children, and secondly, Jean, daughter of John, Lord Hamilton, by whom he had a daughter. Having no male issue, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Alexander.

In Sir Alexander's time occurred the raid of Glenfinlas, and the bloody clan conflict of Glenfruin, between the Colquhouns and Macgregors, in December 1602 and February 1603, regarding which the popular accounts are much at variance with the historical facts. The Col-

quhouns had taken part in the execution of the letters of fire and sword issued by the crown against the Macgregors some years before, and the feud between them had been greatly aggravated by various acts of violence and aggression on both sides.

In 1602, the Macgregors made a regular raid on the laird of Luss's lands in Glenfinlas, and carried off a number of sheep and cattle, as well as slew several of the tenants. Alexander Colquhoun, who had before complained to the privy council against the Earl of Argyll for not repressing the clan Gregor, but who had failed in obtaining any redress, now adopted a tragic method in order to excite the sympathy of the king. He appeared before his majesty at Stirling, accompanied by a number of females, the relatives of those who had been killed or wounded at Glenfinlas, each carrying the bloody shirt of her killed or wounded relative, to implore his majesty to avenge the wrongs done them. The ruse had the desired effect upon the king, who, from a sensitiveness of constitutional temperament, which made him shudder even at the sight of blood, was extremely susceptible to impressions from scenes of this description, and he immediately granted a commission of lieutenancy to the laird of Luss, investing him with power to repress similar crimes, and to apprehend the perpetrators.

"This commission granted to their enemy appears to have roused the lawless rage of the Macgregors, who rose in strong force to defy the laird of Luss; and Glenfruin, with its disasters and sanguinary defeat of the Colquhouns, and its ultimate terrible consequences to the victorous clan themselves, was the result."

In the beginning of the year 1603, Allaster Macgregor of Glenstrae, followed by four hundred men chiefly of his own clan, but including also some of the clans Cameron and Anverich, armed with "halberschois, powaixes, twa-handit swordis, bowis and arrowis, and with hagbutis and pistoletis," advanced into the territory of Luss. Colquhoun, acting under his royal commission, had raised a force which has been stated by some writers as having amounted to 300 horse and 500 foot. This is probably an exaggeration, but even if it is not, the disasters which befell them may be explained from the trap into which they fell, and from the nature of the ground on which they encountered the enemy. This divested them of all the advantages which they might have derived from superiority of numbers and from their horse.

On the 7th February 1603, the Macgregors were in Glenfruin "in two divisions," writes Mr Fraser—"One of them at the head of the glen, and the other in ambuscade near the farm of Strone, at a hollow or ravine called the Crate. The Colquhouns came into Glenfruin from the Luss side, which is opposite Strone—probably by Glen Luss and Glen Mackurn. Alexander Colquhoun pushed on his forces in order to get through the glen before encountering the Macgregors; but, aware of his approach, Allaster Macgregor also pushed forward one division of his forces and entered at the head of the glen in time to prevent his enemy from emerging from the upper end of the glen, whilst his brother, John Macgregor, with the division of his clan, which lay in ambuscade, by a detour, took the rear of the Colquhouns, which prevented their retreat down the glen without fighting their way through that section of the Macgregors who had got in their rear. The success of the stratagem by which the Colquhouns were thus placed between two fires seems to be the only way of accounting for the terrible slaughter of the Colquhouns and the much less loss of the Macgregors.

"The Colquhouns soon became unable to maintain their ground, and, falling into a moss at the farm of Auchingaich, they were thrown into disorder, and made a hasty and disorderly retreat, which proved even more disastrous than the conflict, for they had to force their way through the men led by John Macgregor, whilst they were pressed behind by Allaster, who, reuniting the two divisions of his army, continued the pursuit."

All who fell into the hands of the victors were at once put to death, and the chief of the Colquhouns barely escaped with his life after his horse had been killed under him. One hundred and forty of the Colquhouns were slaughtered, and many more were wounded, among whom were several women and children. When the pursuit ended, the work of spolia-

tion and devastation commenced. Large numbers of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats were carried off, and many of the houses and steadings of the tenantry were burned to the ground. Their triumph the Macgregors were not allowed long to enjoy. The government took instant and severe measures against them. A price was put upon the heads of seventy or eighty of them by name, and upon a number of their confederates of other clans:—"Before any judicial inquiry was made," says Mr Fraser, "on 3d April 1603, only two days before James VI. left Scotland for England to take possession of the English throne, an Act of Privy Council was passed, by which the name of Gregor or Macgregor was for ever abolished. All of this surname were commanded, under the penalty of death, to change it for another; and the same penalty was denounced against those who should give food or shelter to any of the clan. All who had been at the conflict of Glenfruin, and at the spoliation and burning of the lands of the Laird of Luss, were prohibited, under the penalty of death, from carrying any weapon except a pointless knife to eat their meat." Thirty-five of the clan Gregor were executed after trial between the 20th May 1603 and the 2d March 1604. Amongst these was Allaster Macgregor, who surrendered himself to the Earl of Argyll.

By his wife Helen, daughter of Sir George Buchanan of that ilk, Alexander had one son and five daughters. He died in 1617.

The eldest son, Sir John, in his father's lifetime, got a charter under the great seal of the ten pound land of Dunnerbuck, dated 20th February 1602, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia by patent dated the last day of August 1625. He married Lady Lillias Graham, daughter of the fourth Earl of Montrose, brother of the great Marquis, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. His two eldest sons succeeded to the baronetcy. From Alexander, the third son, the Colquhouns of Tillyquhoun were descended. He died in 1647.

Sir John, the second baronet of Luss, married Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Gideon Baillie of Lochend, in the county of Haddington, and had two sons, and seven daughters. He adhered firmly to the royal cause during all the time of the civil wars, on which account he suffered many hardships, and, in 1654, was by Cromwell fined two thousand pounds sterling. He was succeeded in 1676 by his younger son, Sir James—the elder having predeceased him—third baronet of Luss, who held the estates only four years, and being a minor, unmarried, left no issue. He was succeeded in 1680 by his uncle, Sir James, who married Penuel, daughter of William Cunningham of Balleichan, in Ireland. He had, with one daughter, two sons, Sir Humphry, fifth baronet, and James. The former was a member of the last Scottish Parliament, and strenuously opposed and voted against every article of the treaty of union. By his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Patrick Houston of that ilk, baronet, he had an only daughter, Anne Colquhoun, his sole heiress, who, in 1702, married James Grant of Pluscardine, second son of Ludovick Grant of Grant, immediate younger brother of Brigadier Alexander Grant, heir apparent of the said Ludovick.

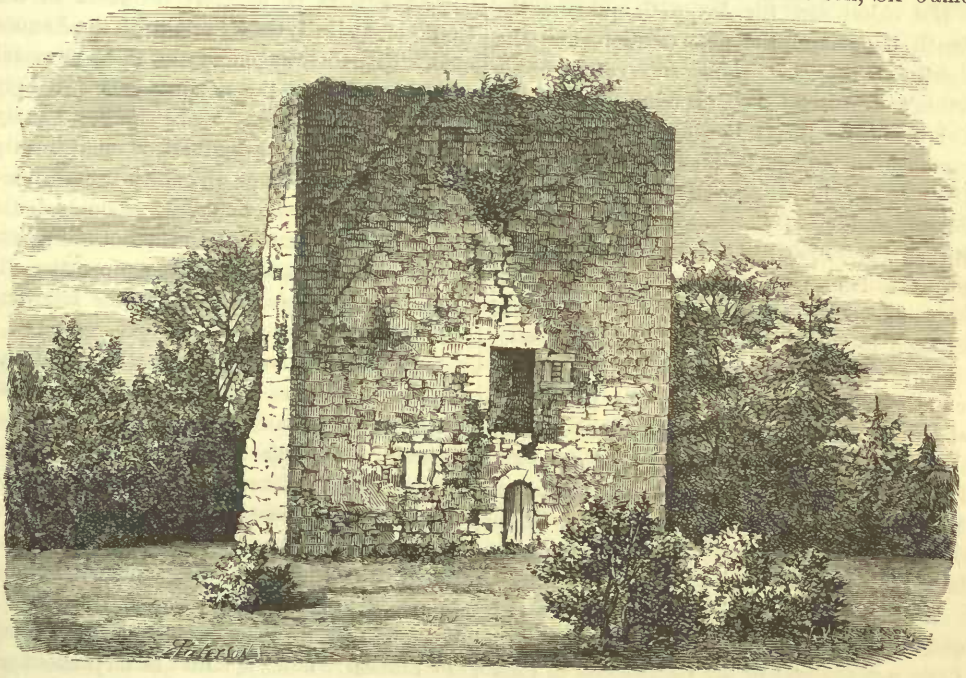
Having no male issue, Sir Humphry, with the design that his daughter and her husband should succeed him in his whole estate and honours, in 1704 resigned his baronetcy into the hands of her majesty Queen Anne, for a new patent to himself in liferent, and his son-in-law and his heirs therein named in fee, but with this express limitation that he and his heirs so succeeding to that estate and title should be obliged to bear the name and arms of Colquhoun of Luss, &c. It was also specially provided that the estates of Grant and Luss should not be conjoined.

Sir Humphry died in 1718, and was succeeded in his estate and honours by James Grant, his son-in-law, under the name and designation of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. He enjoyed that estate and title till the death of his elder brother, Brigadier Alexander Grant, in 1719, when, succeeding to the estate of Grant, he relinquished the name and title of Colquhoun of Luss, and resumed his own, retaining the baronetcy, it being by the last patent vested in his person. He died in 1747.

By the said Anne, his wife, he had a

numerous family. His eldest son, Humphry Colquhoun, subsequently Humphry Grant of Grant, died unmarried in 1732. The second son, Ludovick, became Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, baronet, while the fourth son James succeeded as Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, the third son having died in infancy. He is the amiable and very polite gentleman described by Smollett in his novel of Humphry Clinker, under the name of "Sir George Colquhoun, a colonel in the Dutch service." He married Lady Helen Sutherland, daughter of William Lord Strathnaver, son of the Earl of Sutherland, and by her he had three sons and five daughters. In 1777 he founded the town of Helensburgh on the frith of Clyde, and named it after his wife. To put an end to some disputes which had arisen with regard to the destination of the old patent of the Nova Scotia baronetcy, (John Colquhoun of Tillyquhoun, as the eldest cadet, having, on the death of his cousin-german, Sir Humphry Colquhoun, in 1718, assumed the title as heir male of his grandfather, the patentee), Sir James was, in 1786, created a baronet of Great Britain. His second youngest daughter, Margaret, married William Baillie, a lord of session, under the title of Lord Polkemmet, and was the mother of Sir William Baillie, baronet. Sir James died in November 1786.

His eldest son, Sir James Colquhoun, second baronet under the new patent, sheriff-depute of Dumbartonshire, was one of the principal clerks of session. By his wife, Mary, daughter and co-heir of James Falconer, Esq. of Monktown, he had seven sons and four daughters. He died in 1805. His eldest son, Sir James,



Old Rossdhu Castle, from the *Chiefs of the Colquhouns.*

third baronet, was for some time M.P. for Dumbartonshire. He married, on 13th June 1799, his cousin Janet, daughter of Sir John Sinclair, baronet, and had three sons and two daughters. Of this lady, who died October 21, 1846, and who was distinguished for her piety and benevolence, a memoir exists by the late Rev. James Hamilton, D.D., London.

"Some time after Sir James' succession," says Mr Fraser, to whose book on the Colquhouns we have been much indebted in this account, "significant testimony was given that the ancient feud between his family and that of the Macgregors, which had frequently led to such disastrous results to both, had given place to feelings of hearty goodwill and friendship.

On an invitation from Sir James and Lady Colquhoun, Sir John Murray Macgregor and Lady Macgregor came on a visit to Rossdhu. The two baronets visited Glenfruin. They were accompanied by Lady Colquhoun and Misses Helen and Catherine Colquhoun. After the battlefield had been carefully inspected by the descendants of the combatants, Sir J. M. Macgregor insisted on shaking hands with Sir James Colquhoun and the whole party on the spot where it was supposed that the battle had been hottest. On the occasion of the same visit to Rossdhu, the party ascended Ben Lomond, which dominates so grandly over Loch Lomond. On the summit of this lofty mountain, Sir John M. Macgregor danced a Highland reel with Miss Catherine Colquhoun, afterwards Mrs Millar of Earnoch. Sir John was then fully eighty years of age."

His eldest son, Sir James Colquhoun, the fourth baronet of the new creation, and the eighth of the old patent, succeeded on his father's death, 3d Feb. 1836; chief of the Colquhouns of Luss; Lord-lieutenant of Dumbartonshire, and M.P. for that county from 1837 to 1841. He married in June 1843, Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Abercromby of Birkenbog. She died 3d May 1844, leaving one son, James, born in 1844. He, as fifth baronet, succeeded his father, who was drowned in Loch Lomond, December 18, 1873.

The family mansion, Ross-dhu, is situated on a beautiful peninsula. To the possessions of the family of Colquhoun was added in 1852 the estate of Ardincaple, purchased from the Duchess Dowager of Argyll. According to Mr Fraser, the three baronets of Luss, before Sir James, purchased up no less than fourteen lairdships.

Robert, a younger son of Sir Robert Colquhoun of that ilk, who married the heiress of Luss, was the first of the Colquhouns of Camstrodden, which estate, with the lands of Achirgahan, he obtained by charter, dated 4th July 1395, from his brother Sir Humphry. Sir James Colquhoun, third baronet, purchased in 1826 that estate from the hereditary proprietor, and re-annexed it to the estate of Luss.

The Killermont line, originally of Garscadden, is a scion of the Camstrodden branch.

FORBES.



BADGE—Broom.

Although there is great doubt as to the Celtic or at least Gaelic origin of the FORBES clan, still, as it was one of the most powerful and influential of the northern clans, it may claim a notice here. "The Forbes Family and following," says Smibert, "ranked early among the strongest on the north-eastern coast of Scotland; and no one can reasonably doubt but that the ancient Pictish Gael of the region in question constituted a large proportion (if not of the Forbeses, at least) of the followers of the house."

The traditions regarding the origin of the surname of Forbes are varions; and some of them very fanciful. The principal of these, referred to by Sir Samuel Forbes in his "View of the diocese of Aberdeen" (MS. quoted by the Statistical Account of Scotland, art. Tullynessle and Forbes), states that this name was first assumed by one Ochonchar, from Ireland, who having slain a ferocious bear in that district, took the name of Forbear, now spelled and pronounced Forbes, in two syllables; although the English, in pronunciation, make it only one. In consequence of this feat the Forbeses carry in their arms three bears' heads. A variation of this story says that the actor in this daring exploit was desirous of exhibiting his courage to the young and beautiful heiress of the adjacent castle, whose name being Bess, he, on receiving her hand as his reward, assumed it

to commemorate his having killed the bear for "Bess." Another tradition states that the name of the founder of the family was originally Bois, a follower of an early Scottish king, and that on granting him certain lands for some extraordinary service, his majesty observed that they were "for Boice." The surname, however, is territorial, and said to be Celtic, from the Gaelic word Ferbash or Ferbasach, a bold man.

"On the whole," says Smibert, "the traditions of the family, as well as other authorities, countenance with unusual strength, the belief, that the heads of the Forbeses belonged really to the Irish branch, and were among those strangers of that race whom the Lowland kings planted in the north and north-east of Scotland to orerawe the remaining primary population of Gaelic Picts."

According to Skene, in his treatise *De Verborum Significatione*, Duncan Forbois got from King Alexander (but which of the three kings of that name is not mentioned) a charter of the lands and heritage of Forbois in Aberdeenshire, whence the surname. In the reign of King William the Lion, John de Forbes possessed the lands of that name. His son, Fergus de Forbes, had a charter of the same from Alexander, Earl of Buchan, about 1236. Next of this race are Duncan de Forbes, his son, 1262, and Alexander de Forbes, grandson, governor of Urquhart Castle in Moray, which he bravely defended for a long time, in 1304, against Edward I. of England; but on its surrender all within the castle were put to the sword, except the wife of the governor, who escaped to Ireland, and was there delivered of a posthumous son. This son, Sir Alexander de Forbes, the only one of his family remaining, came to Scotland in the reign of Robert the Bruce, and his patrimonial inheritance of Forbes having been bestowed upon others, he obtained a grant of other lands instead. He was killed at the battle of Duplin, in 1332, fighting valiantly on the side of King David, the son of Bruce. From his son, Sir John de Forbes, 1373, all the numerous families in Scotland who bear the name and their offshoots, trace their descent.[1]

[1] Low's *Scot. Heroes, App.*

Sir John's son, Sir Alexander de Forbes (curiously said to be posthumous like the above Alexander), acquired from Thomas, Earl of Mar, several lands in Aberdeenshire, the grant of which King Robert II. ratified by charter in the third year of his reign. By King Robert III. he was appointed justiciary of Aberdeen, and coroner of that county. He died in 1405. By his wife, a daughter of Kennedy of Dunure, he had four sons, namely—Sir Alexander, his successor, the first Lord Forbes; Sir William, ancestor of the Lords Pitsligo; Sir John, who obtained the thanedom of Formartine (which now gives the title of viscount to the Earl of Aberdeen) and the lands of Tolquhoun, by his marriage with Marjory, daughter and heiress of Sir Henry Preston of Formartine, knight (of the Dingwall family), and was ancestor of the Forbeses of Tolquhoun, Foveran, Watertoun, Culloden, and others of the name; and Alexander, founder of the family of Brux, and others.

Alexander, the elder son, was created a peer of parliament sometime after 1436. The precise date of creation is not known, but in a precept, directed by James II. to the lords of the exchequer, dated 12th July 1442, he is styled Lord Forbes. He died in 1448. By his wife, Lady Elizabeth (sometimes called Lady Mary) Douglas, only daughter of George, Earl of Angus, and grand-daughter of King Robert II., he had two sons and three daughters.

James, the elder son, second Lord Forbes, was knighted by King James III. He died soon after 1460. By his wife, Lady Egidia Keith, second daughter of the first Earl Marischal, he had three sons and a daughter, namely—William, third Lord Forbes; Duncan, of Corsindae, ancestor (by his second son) of the Forbeses of Monymusk; and Patrick, the first of the family of Corse, progenitor of the Forbeses, baronets, of Craigievar, and of the Irish Earls of Granard. The daughter, Egidia, became the wife of Malcolm Forbes of Tolquhoun.

William, third Lord Forbes, married Lady Christian Gordon, third daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Huntly, and had, with a daughter, three sons, Alexander, fourth lord; Arthur, fifth lord; and John, sixth lord.

Alexander, fourth lord, died, while yet young, before 16th May 1491.

Arthur, fifth Lord Forbes, succeeded his brother, and being under age at the time, he was placed as one of the king's wards, under the guardianship of John, Lord Glammis, whose daughter he had married, but he died soon after his accession to the title, without children.

His next brother, John, became sixth Lord Forbes, before 30th October 1496, at which date he is witness to a charter. The sixth lord died in 1547. He was thrice married, first, to Lady Catherine Stewart, second daughter of John, Earl of Athole, uterine brother of King James II., and by her he had a son John, who died young, and a daughter, Elizabeth, married to John Grant of Grant; secondly, to Christian, daughter of Sir John Lundin of that ilk, by whom he had two sons and four daughters; and, thirdly, to Elizabeth Barlow or Barclay, relict of the first Lord Elphinstone, killed at Flodden in 1513, by whom he had a son, Arthur Forbes of Putachie, and a daughter, Janet, who was also thrice married.

The elder son of the second marriage, John, the Master of Forbes above mentioned, is stated to have been a young man of great courage and good education, but of a bold and turbulent spirit. He was beheaded for treason, on the 17th of July 1537.

After the execution of the Master, the king (James V.) seems to have been anxious to compensate the family for his severity towards them, by admitting his next brother, William, into his favour. He restored to him his brother's honours and estates, and in 1539, appointed him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. This William succeeded his father in 1547, as seventh Lord Forbes, and died in 1593. He had married Elizabeth Keith, daughter and coheiress, with her sister, Margaret, Countess Marischal, of Sir William Keith of Inverugie, and had by her six sons and eight daughters. The sons were, John, eighth Lord Forbes; William, of Foderhouse; James, of Lethendy; Robert, prior of Monymusk; Arthur of Logie, called from his complexion, "Black Arthur;" and Abraham, of Blacktoun.

John, eighth Lord Forbes, was one of the five noblemen appointed by commission from the king, dated 25th July 1594, lieutenants of the northern counties, for the suppression of the rebellion of the popish Earls of Huntly and Errol. His lordship was served heir to his mother 13th November 1604, and died soon afterwards. He had married, while still Master of Forbes, Lady Margaret Gordon, eldest daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntly, and had, with a daughter named Jean, a son, John, who, being educated in the faith of his mother, entered a religious order on the continent, and died without succession. This lady Lord Forbes repudiated, and in consequence a sanguinary contest took place in 1572, in the parish of Clatt, Aberdeenshire, between the two rival clans of Forbes and Gordon. The latter, under the command of two of the earl's brothers, attacked the Forbeses, within a rude intrenchment which they had formed on the white hill of Tillyangus, in the south-western extremity of the parish, and after a severe contest the Gordons prevailed, having carried the intrenchment, and slain the Master's brother, "Black Arthur." The pursuit of the Forbeses was continued to the very gates of Druminner, the seat of their chief. A number of cairns are still pointed out where those slain on this occasion are said to have been buried. The eighth Lord Forbes took for his second wife, Janet, daughter of James Seton of Touch, and had, besides Arthur, ninth lord, another son, and a daughter.

Arthur, ninth lord, married on 1st February 1600, Jean, second daughter of Alexander, fourth Lord Elphinstone. He was succeeded by his only surviving son, Alexander, tenth Lord Forbes, who fought against the imperialists under the banner of the lion of the north, the renowned Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, in whose service he attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and won for himself a high military reputation. On his return home, he had a considerable command in the army sent from Scotland to suppress the Irish rebellion in 1643. He afterwards retired to Germany, where he spent the remainder of his days. He was twice married—first, to Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Forbes of Pitsligo, by whom he had,

besides several children, who died young, a son, William, eleventh Lord Forbes; and secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Forbes of Rires, in Fife, and by her had a large family.

William, eleventh Lord Forbes, died in 1691. He was thrice married, but had issue only by his first wife, Jean, a daughter of Sir John Campbell of Calder.

His eldest son, William, twelfth Lord Forbes, was a zealous supporter of the revolution. In 1689 he was sworn a privy councillor to King William. He died in July 1716. By his wife, Anne, daughter of James Brodie of Brodie, he had three sons and one daughter.

William, the eldest son, thirteenth Lord Forbes, married, in September 1720, Dorothy, daughter of William Dale, Esq. of Covent Garden, Westminster. He died at Edinburgh 26th June 1730. He had a son, Francis, fourteenth lord, who died in August 1734, in the thirteenth year of his age, and four daughters, one of whom, Jean, was married to James Dundas of Dundas, and another, the youngest, Elizabeth, married John Gregory, M.D., professor of the practice of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, and was the mother of the celebrated Dr James Gregory.

James, second son of the twelfth lord, succeeded his nephew, as fifteenth Lord Forbes, and died at Putachie, 20th February 1761, in the 73d year of his age. He married, first, Mary, daughter of the third Lord Pitsligo, widow of John Forbes of Monymusk, and grandmother of the celebrated Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, baronet, and had a son, James, sixteenth Lord Forbes, and three daughters; secondly, in July 1741, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Gordon of Park, baronet.

James, sixteenth lord, died at Edinburgh 29th July 1804, in the 80th year of his age. By his wife Catherine, only daughter of Sir Robert Innes, baronet, of Orton and Balvenie, he had four sons and two daughters.

James Ochoncar Forbes, seventeenth lord, the eldest son, born 7th March 1765, entered the army in 1781, as ensign in the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, in which he was an officer for twenty-six years, holding important positions, and doing good service for his country. He died 4th May 1843. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Walter Hunter of Polmood, Peeblesshire, and Crailing, Roxburghshire, he had six sons and four daughters. The estate of Polmood had been the subject of litigation for nearly fifty years in the Court of Session and House of Lords, but it was ultimately decided that an old man named Adam Hunter, who laid claim to it, had not established his pedigree. It consequently came into the possession of Lady Forbes. His lordship's eldest son, James, a lieutenant-colonel in the Coldstream guards, predeceased his father in 1835.

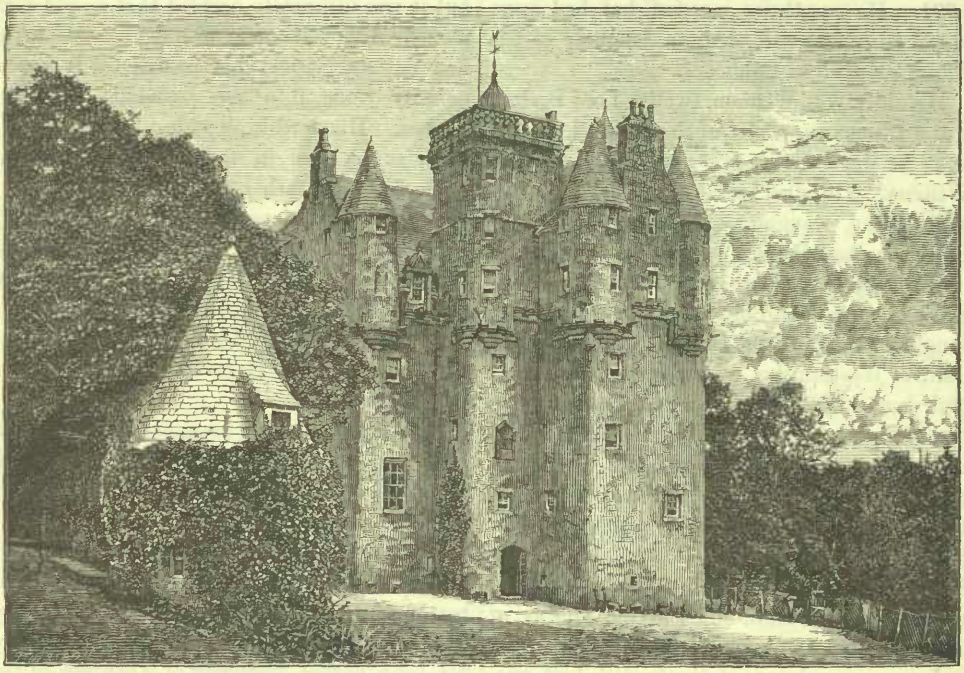
Walter, the second son, born 29th May 1798, became eighteenth Lord Forbes, on his father's death in 1843. He was twice married, and had in all eight sons and one daughter. He died in May 1868, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Horace Courtenay, born in 1829.

Lord Forbes is the premier baron of Scotland, being the first on the union roll. He is also a baronet of Nova Scotia, the date of creation being 1628.

The Forbeses of Tolquhoun, ancient cadets of this family, one of whom fell at the battle of Pinkie, 10th September 1547, are descended from Sir John Forbes, third son of Sir John Forbes, justiciary of Aberdeen in the reign of Robert III., are now represented by James Forbes Leith, Esq. of Whitehaugh, in the same county.

The Forbeses of Craigievar (also in Aberdeenshire), who possess a baronetcy, descend from the Hon. Patrick Forbes of Corse, armour-bearer to King James III., and third son, as already stated, of James, second Lord Forbes. The lands of Corse, which formed part of the barony of Coul and O'Nele or O'Neil, were in 1476 bestowed on this Patrick, for his services, by that monarch, and on 10th October 1482 he had a charter of confirmation under the great seal, of the barony of O'Neil, namely, the lands of Coule, Kincraigy, and le Corss. In 1510 his son and successor, David, called "Trail the Axe," had a charter of the lands of O'Nele, Cors, Kincraigy, le Mureton, with the mill and alehouse thereof (the lands of Coul being now disjoined therefrom), and uniting and incorporating them into a haill and free barony, "cum furca, fossa, pitt et gallous," &c., to be

called the barony of O'Neil in all time coming. He married Elizabeth, sister of Panter of Newmanswells, near Montrose, secretary of state to James IV., and had a son, Patrick of O'Neil Corse, infeft in 1554. Patrick's eldest son, William, infeft in January 1567, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton, had six sons and five daughters.



Craigievar Castle.

His eldest son, Patrick Forbes of Corse and O'Neil, was bishop of Aberdeen for seventeen years, and died in 1635. The bishop's male line failing with his grandchildren, the family estates devolved on the descendants of his next brother, William Forbes of Craigievar, the first of that branch.

His eldest son, William, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, 20th April 1630, with a grant of sixteen thousand acres in New Brunswick, erected into a free barony and regality, to be called New Craigievar.

Sir William's son, Sir John, second baronet, married Margaret, a daughter of Young of Auldbar, and had six sons and three daughters.

His grandson, Sir Arthur, fourth baronet, represented the county of Aberdeen in parliament from 1727 to 1747. Sir Arthur was the bosom friend of Sir Andrew Mitchell, British ambassador to Frederick the Great of Prussia, who left to Sir Arthur the bulk of his property, including his valuable library, and his estate of Thainston.

His son, Sir William, fifth baronet, born in 1753, by his wife, the Hon. Sarah Sempill, daughter of the twelfth Lord Sempill, had four sons and seven daughters.

His son, Sir Arthur, sixth baronet, was for some time an officer in the 7th hussars. He died unmarried in 1823, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir John, seventh baronet, born in 1785. He was a judge in the Hon. East India company's service, and married in September 1825, the Hon. Charlotte Elizabeth, daughter of the 17th Lord Forbes, and had two sons and six daughters. He died 16th February 1846.

The elder son, Sir William, born May 20, 1836, succeeded as eighth baronet. In 1858 he married the only daughter of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., of Newe and Edinglassie. He married, secondly, in November 1862, Frances

Emily, youngest daughter of the late Sir George Abercromby, Bart. of Birkenbog, and has issue several sons.

The family of Forbes of Pitsligo and Fettercairn, which possesses a baronetcy, is descended from Hon. Duncan Forbes of Corsindae, second son of the second Lord Forbes.

The family of Forbes of Newe and Edinglassie, which also possesses a baronetcy, is descended from William Forbes of Dauch and Newe, younger son of Sir John Forbes, knight, who obtained a charter of the barony of Pitsligo and Kinnaldie, 10th October 1476, and whose elder son, Sir John Forbes, was the progenitor of Alexander Forbes, created Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, 24th June 1633, a title attainted in the person of Alexander, fourth lord, for his participation in the rebellion of 1745. John Forbes of Bellabeg, the direct descendant of the said William of Dauch, was born at Bellabeg in September 1743. In early life he went to Bombay, and engaging in mercantile pursuits, became one of the most extensive and distinguished merchants in India. Having realised a large fortune he repurchased Newe, the estate of his ancestors, besides other lands in Strathdon, and the whole of his rental was laid out in improvements. He died 20th June 1821, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Charles Forbes, eldest son of the Rev. George Forbes of Lochell, by his wife, Katharine, only daughter of Gordon Stewart of Inveraurie. He was created a baronet, 4th November 1823. He sat in parliament for upwards of twenty years. In 1833 he was served nearest male heir in general to Alexander, third Lord Pitsligo, by a jury at Aberdeen, and the same year he obtained the authority of the Lord Lyon to use the Pitsligo arms and supporters. He died 20th November 1849, and was succeeded by his grandson, Sir Charles, second baronet, born 15th July 1832, on whose death, unmarried, 23d May 1852, the title devolved on his uncle, Sir Charles Forbes, third baronet, born at Bombay 21st September 1803, and educated at Harrow school.

The first of the Forbeses of Culloden,[2] Inverness-shire, was Duncan Forbes, great-grandfather of the celebrated Lord President Forbes, descended from the noble family of Forbes through that of Tolquhoun, and by the mother's side from that of Keith, Earl Marischal. He was M.P. and provost of Inverness, and purchased the estate of Culloden from the laird of Mackintosh in 1626. He died in 1654, aged 82.

Duncan Forbes, the first of Culloden, married Janet, eldest daughter of James Forbes of Corsindae, also descended from the noble family at the head of the clan, and had, with two daughters, three sons, namely, John, his heir, Captain James Forbes of Caithness, and Captain Duncan Forbes of Assynt.

John Forbes of Culloden, the eldest son, was also provost of Inverness. He was the friend and supporter of the Marquis of Argyll, and from his strong support of Presbyterian principles he suffered much in the reign of Charles II. and his brother James. About the year 1670, his landed estate was doubled by the purchase of the barony of Ferintosh and the estate of Bunchrew. As a compensation for the loss which the family had sustained during the revolution, his eldest son and successor, Duncan Forbes, third of Culloden, received from the Scots parliament the privilege of distilling into spirits the grain of the barony of Ferintosh, at a nominal composition of the duty, which remained the same, after the spirits distilled in other parts of the country were subjected to a comparatively heavy excise; hence Ferintosh became renowned for its whisky. The privilege was taken away in 1785. By his wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Innes, of Innes, in Morayshire, baronet, he had two sons, John, and Duncan, Lord President, and several daughters.

John, the fourth laird of Culloden, took an active part on the side of government on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, and, with the afterwards celebrated Lord Lovat, narrowly escaped being apprehended at Aberdeen by Lord Saltoun, in command of the Jacobite forces there. Both he and his brother Duncan were engaged in putting down the insurrection in Inverness-shire. In those convivial times he so much excelled most of his friends in the quantity of claret that he could

[2] See view of Culloden House, vol. i. p. 657.

drink, that he was distinguished by the name of Bumper John. Dying without issue in 1734, he was succeeded by his only brother, Duncan,[1] the celebrated Lord President, whose only child, John Forbes, the sixth of Culloden, showed, when young, says Mr Burton, "the convivial spirit of his race, without their energy and perseverance." He lived retired at Stradishall, in Suffolk, and by economy and judicious management succeeded in some measure in retrieving the losses which his father had sustained in the public service, and which, with the utmost ingratitude, the government, which his exertions and outlay had mainly helped to establish, refused to acknowledge or compensate. John Forbes died 26th September 1772. He was twice married—first to Jane, daughter of Sir Arthur Forbes of Craigievar, baronet, by whom he had two sons, Duncan, who died before him, and Arthur, his successor; and, secondly, Jane, daughter of Captain Forbes of Newe, without issue.

Arthur, seventh laird, died 26th May 1803, and was succeeded by his only son, Duncan George, who died 3d November 1827, when his eldest son, Arthur, born 25th January 1819, became the ninth laird of Culloden.

There are many other families of this name, but want of space forbids us entering into further details.

URQUHART.



BADGE—Wall-flower.

URQUHART, or URCHARD, is the name of a minor clan (*Urachdun*), originally settled in Cromarty (badge, the wallflower), a branch of the clan Forbes. Nisbet says,—"A brother of Ochonchar, who slew the bear, and was predecessor of the Lords Forbes, having in keeping the castle of Urquhart, took his surname from the place." This castle stood on the south side of Loch Ness, and was in ancient times a place of great strength and importance, as is apparent from its extensive and magnificent ruins. In that fabulous work, "The true pedigree and lineal descent of the most ancient and honourable family of Urquhart, since the creation of the world, by Sir Thomas Urquhart, Knight of Cromartie," the origin of the family and name is ascribed to *Ourohartos*, that is, "fortunate and well-beloved," the familiar name of Esormon, of whom the eccentric author describes himself as the 128th descendant. He traces his pedigree, in a direct line, even up to Adam and Eve, and somewhat inconsistently makes the word *Urquhart* have the same meaning as *Adam*, namely, *red earth.*

The family of Urquhart is one of great antiquity. In Hailes' *Annals*, it is mentioned that Edward I. of England, during the time of the competition for the Scottish crown, ordered a list of the sheriffs in Scotland to be made out. Among them appears the name of William Urquhart of Cromartie, heritable sheriff of the county. He married a daughter of Hugh, Earl of Ross, and his son Adam obtained charters of various lands. A descendant of his, Thomas Urquhart of Cromartie, who lived in the 16th century, is said to have been father of 11 daughters and 25 sons. Seven of the latter fell at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and from another descended the Urquharts of Newhall, Monteagle, Kinbeachie, and Braelangwell.

The eldest son, Alexander Urquhart of Cromartie, had a charter from James V. of the lands of Inch Rory and others, in the shires of Ross and Inverness, dated March 7, 1532. He had two sons. The younger son, John Urquhart, born in 1547, became tutor to his grand-nephew, Sir Thomas Urquhart, and was well known afterwards by the designation of the "Tutor of Cromartie." He died November 8, 1631, aged 84.

Sir Thomas, the family genealogist, is

[1] See portrait, vol. i. p. 679. Details concerning this true patriot and upright judge will be found in the account of the rebellion of 1745.

chiefly known as the translator of *Rabelais*. He appears to have at one period travelled much on the continent. He afterwards became a cavalier officer, and was knighted by Charles I. at Whitehall. After that monarch's decapitation, he accompanied Charles II. in his march into England, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester in 1651, when his estates were forfeited by Cromwell. He wrote several elaborate works, but the most creditable is his translation of *Rabelais*. Such, notwithstanding, was the universality of his attainments, that he deemed himself capable of enlightening the world on many things never "dreamed of in the philosophy" of ordinary mortals. "Had I not," he says, "been pluck'd away by the importunity of my creditors, I would have emitted to public view above five hundred several treatises on inventions, never hitherto thought upon by any." The time and place of his death are unknown. There is a tradition that he died of an inordinate fit of laughter, on hearing of the restoration of Charles II. The male line ended in Colonel James Urquhart, an officer of much distinction, who died in 1741. The representation of the family devolved on the Urquharts of Braelangwell, which was sold (with the exception of a small portion, which is strictly entailed) by Charles Gordon Urquhart, Esq., an officer in the Scots Greys. The Urquharts of Meldrum, Aberdeenshire, obtained that estate through the marriage, in 1610, of their ancestor, John Urquhart of Craigfintry, tutor of Cromarty, with Elizabeth Seton, heiress of Meldrum. The Urquharts of Craigston, and a few more families of the name, still possess estates in the north of Scotland; and persons of this surname are still numerous in the counties of Ross and Cromarty. In Ross-shire, Inverness-shire, and Morayshire, there are parishes of the name of Urquhart.

CHAPTER IX.

Stewart—Stewart of Lorn—Appin—Balquhidder—"Donald of the hammer"—Stewarts of Athole—Grandtully—Balcaskie—Drumin—Ardvoirlich—Steuart of Dalguise—Ballechin—Fraser—Fraser of Philorth—Lovat—Ballyfurth and Ford—Beaufort—Castle Fraser—American Frasers—Menzies—Castle Menzies—Pitfoddels—Chisholm—Cromlix or Cromleck—Murray—Athole—Tullibardine—Ochtertyre—Drummond—Bellyclone—Græme or Graham—Kincardine—Earl of Montrose—Gordon—Earl of Huntly—Duke of Gordon—"The Cock of the North"—Cumming—Ogilvy—Ferguson.

It now only remains for us to notice shortly several of those families, which, though generally admitted not to be of Celtic origin, yet have a claim, for various important reasons, to be classed among the Highland clans. Most of them have been so long established in the Highlands, they have risen to such power and played such an important part in Highland history, their followers are so numerous and so essentially Gaelic in their blood and manners, that any notice of the Highland clans would be incomplete without an account of these. We refer to the names of Stewart, Fraser, Menzies, Chisholm, and several others. To the uninitiated the three last have as genuine a Gaelic ring about them as any patronymic rejoicing in the unmistakable prefix "Mac."

STEWART.

It is not our intention here by any means to enter into the general history of the Stewarts—which would be quite beyond our province, even if we had space—but simply to give a short account of those branches of the family which were located in the Highlands, and to a certain extent were regarded as Highland clans. With regard to the origin of the Stewarts generally, we shall content ourselves with making use of Mr Fraser's excellent summary in the introduction to his "*Red Book of Grandtully*."

Walter, the son of Alan or Fitz-Alan, the founder of the royal family of the Stewarts, being the first of that family who established himself in Scotland, came from Shropshire, in England. Walter's elder brother, William, was progenitor of the family of Fitz-Alan, Earls of Arundel. Their father, a Norman, married, soon after the Norman Conquest, the daughter

of Warine, sheriff of Shropshire. He acquired the manor of Ostvestrie or Oswestry in Shropshire, on the Welsh border. On the death of Henry I. of England, in 1135, Walter and William strenuously supported the claims of the Empress Maud, thus raising themselves high in the favour of her uncle, David I., king of the Scots. When that king, in 1141, was obliged to retire to Scotland, Walter probably then accompanied him, encouraged, on the part of the Scottish monarch, by the most liberal promises, which were faithfully fulfilled; whilst his brother William remained in England, and was rewarded by Maud's son, Henry II. of England. From the munificence of King David I. Walter obtained large grants of land in Renfrewshire and in other places, together with the hereditary office *Senescallus Scociæ*, lord high-steward of Scotland, an office from which his grandson, Walter, took the name of Stewart, which the family ever afterwards retained. King Malcolm IV., continuing, after the example of his grandfather, King David, to extend the royal favour towards this English emigrant, confirmed and ratified to Walter and his heirs the hereditary office of high steward of Scotland, and the numerous lands which King David I. had granted. In the annals of the period, Walter is celebrated as the founder, probably about 1163, of the monastery of Paisley, in the barony of Renfrew. At or after the time of his establishing himself in Scotland, Walter was followed to that kingdom by many English families from Shropshire, who, settling in Renfrewshire, obtained lands there as vassals of the Stewarts. Walter married Eschina de Londonia, Lady of Moll, in Roxburghshire, by whom he had a son, Alan; and dying in 1177, he was succeeded in his estates and office as hereditary steward of Scotland by that son.

Having thus pointed out the true origin of the family of the Stewarts, our subject does not require us to trace the subsequent history of the main line.

Walter's son and successor, Alan, died in 1204, leaving a son, Walter, who was appointed by Alexander II. justiciary of Scotland, in addition to his hereditary office of high-steward. He died in 1246, leaving four sons and three daughters. Walter, the third son, was Earl of Menteith. The eldest son, Alexander, married Jean, daughter and heiress of James, lord of Bute, and, in her right, he seized both the Isle of Bute and that of Arran.

Alexander had two sons—James, his successor, and John, known as Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, who fell at the battle of Falkirk in 1298. Sir John Stewart had seven sons. 1. Sir Alexander, ancestor of the Stewarts, Earls of Angus; 2. Sir Alan of Dreghorn, of the Earls and Dukes of Lennox, of the name of Stewart; 3. Sir Walter, of the Earls of Galloway; 4. Sir James, of the Earls of Athole, Buchan, and Traquair, and the Lords of Lorn and Innermeath; 5. Sir John, killed at Halidonhill in 1333; 6. Sir Hugh, who fought in Ireland under Edward Bruce; 7. Sir Robert of Daldowie.

James, the elder son of Alexander, succeeded as fifth high-steward in 1283. On the death of Alexander III. in 1286, he was one of the six magnates of Scotland chosen to act as regents of the kingdom. He died in the service of Bruce, in 1309.

His son, Walter, the sixth high-steward, when only twenty-one years of age, commanded with Douglas the left wing of the Scots army at the battle of Bannockburn. King Robert bestowed his daughter, the Princess Marjory, in marriage upon him, and from them the royal house of Stuart and the present dynasty of Great Britain are descended.

His son, Robert, seventh lord-high-steward, had been declared heir presumptive to the throne in 1318, but the birth of a son to Bruce in 1326 interrupted his prospects for a time. From his grandfather he received large possessions of land in Kintyre. During the long and disastrous reign of David II. the steward acted a patriotic part in the defence of the kingdom. On the death of David, without issue, February 22d, 1371, the steward, who was at that time fifty-five years of age, succeeded to the crown as Robert II., being the first of the family of Stewart who ascended the throne of Scotland.

The direct male line of the elder branch of the Stewarts terminated with James V., and at the accession of James VI., whose descent on his father's side was through the Earl of Lennox, the head of the second branch, there

did not exist a male offset of the family which had sprung from an individual later than Robert II. Widely as some branches of the Stewarts have spread, and numerous as are the families of this name, there is not a lineal male representative of any of the crowned heads of the race, Henry, Cardinal Duke of York,[2] who died in 1807, having been the last.

The male representation or chiefship of the family is claimed by the Earl of Galloway; as also, by the Stewarts of Castlemilk.

LORN.



Badge—Oak or Thistle.

The first and principal seat of the Stewarts was in Renfrewshire, but branches of them penetrated into the Western Highlands and Perthshire, and acquiring territories there, became founders of distinct families of the name. Of these the principal were the Stewarts of Lorn, the Stewarts of Athole, and the Stewarts of Balquhidder, from one or other of which all the rest have been derived. How the Stewarts of Lorn acquired that district is told in our account of clan Macdougall. The Stewarts of Lorn were descended from a natural son of John Stewart, the last Lord of Lorn, who, with the assistance of the MacLarens, retained forcible possession of part of his father's estates.

From this family sprang the Stewarts of Appin, who, with the Athole branches, were considered in the Highlands as forming the clan Stewart. The badge of the original Stewarts was the oak, and of the royal Stuarts the thistle.

In the end of the fifteenth century, the Stewarts of Appin were vassals of the Earl of Argyll in his lordship of Lorn. In 1493 the chief was Dougal Stewart, the natural son of John Stewart, the last Lord of Lorn, and Isabella, eldest daughter of the first Earl of Argyll. The assassination of Campbell of Calder, guardian of the young Earl of Argyll, in February 1592, caused a feud between the Stewarts of Appin and the Campbells, the effects of which were long felt. During the civil wars, the Stewarts of Appin ranged themselves under the banners of Montrose, and at the battle of Inverlochy, 2d February 1645, rendered good service. They and the cause which they upheld were opposed by the Campbells, who possessed the north side of the same parish, a small rivulet called *Con Ruagh*, or red bog, being the dividing line of their lands.

The Stewarts of Appin, under their chief, Robert Stewart, engaged in the rebellion of 1715, when they brought 400 men into the field. They were also "out" in 1745, under Stewart of Ardshiel, 300 strong; some lands in Appin were forfeited then, but were afterwards restored. The principal family is extinct, and their estate has passed to others, chiefly to a family of the name of Downie. There are still, however, many branches of this tribe remaining in Appin. The chief cadets are the families of Ardshiel, Invernahyle, Auchnacrone, Fasnacloich, and Balachulish.

Between the Stewarts of Invernahyle and the Campbells of Dunstaffnage there existed a bitter feud, and about the beginning of the sixteenth century the former family were all cut off but one child, the infant son of Stewart of Invernahyle, by the chief of Dunstaffnage, called *Cailein Uaine*, "Green Colin." The boy's nurse fled with him to Ardnamurchan, where her husband, the blacksmith of the district, resided. The latter brought him up to his own trade, and at sixteen years of age he could wield two forehammers at once, one in each hand, on the anvil, which acquired for him the name of *Domhnull nan ord*, "Donald

[2] See his portrait, vol. i. p. 745.

of the hammers." Having made a two-edged sword for him, his foster-father, on presenting it, told him of his birth and lineage, and of the event which was the cause of his being brought to Ardnamurchan. Burning with a desire for vengeance, Donald set off with twelve of his companions, for each of whom, at a smithy at Corpach in Lochaber, he forged a two-edged sword. He then proceeded direct to Dunstaffnage, where he slew Green Colin and fifteen of his retainers. Having recovered his inheritance, he ever after proved himself "the unconquered foe of the Campbell." The chief of the Stewarts of Appin being, at the time, a minor, Donald of the hammers was appointed tutor of the clan. He commanded the Stewarts of Appin at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and on their return homewards from that disastrous field, in a famishing condition, they found in a house at the church of Port of Menteith, some fowls roasting for a marriage party. These they took from the spit, and greedily devoured. They then proceeded on their way. The Earl of Menteith, one of the marriage guests, on being apprised of the circumstance, pursued them, and came up with them at a place called Tobernareal. To a taunt from one of the earl's attendants, one of the Stewarts replied by an arrow through the heart. In the conflict that ensued, the earl fell by the ponderous arm of Donald of the hammers, and nearly all his followers were killed.[3]

The Stewarts of ATHOLE consist almost entirely of the descendants, by his five illegitimate sons, of Sir Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, called, from his ferocity, "The wolf of Badenoch," the fourth son of Robert II., by his first wife, Elizabeth More. One of his natural sons, Duncan Stewart, whose disposition was as ferocious as his father's, at the head of a vast number of wild Catherans, armed only with the sword and target, descended from the range of hills which divides the counties of Aberdeen and Forfar, and began to devastate the country and murder the inhabitants. Sir Walter Ogilvy, sheriff of Angus, Sir Patrick Gray, and Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, immediately collected a force to repel them, and a desperate conflict took place at Gasklune, near the water of Isla, in which the former were overpowered, and most of them slain.

James Stewart, another of the Wolf of Badenoch's natural sons, was the ancestor of the family of Stewart of Garth, from which proceed almost all the other Athole Stewarts. The Garth family became extinct in the direct line, by the death of General David Stewart, author of "Sketches of the Highlanders." The possessions of the Athole Stewarts lay mainly on the north side of Loch Tay.

The Balquhidder Stewarts derive their origin from illegitimate branches of the Albany family.

The Stewarts or Steuarts[4] of GRANDTULLY, Perthshire, are descended from James Stewart of Pierston and Warwickhill, Ayrshire, who fell at Halidon Hill in 1333, fourth son of Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, son of Alexander, fourth lord-high-steward of Scotland, who died in 1283.

James Stewart's son was Sir Robert Stewart of Shambothy and Innermeath, whose son, Sir John Stewart, was the first of the Stewarts of Lorn. The fourth son of the latter, Alexander Stewart, was ancestor of the Stewarts of Grandtully. "On the resignation of his father, Sir John (apparently the first Stewart of Grandtully), he received a charter from Archibald, Earl of Douglas, of the lands of Grandtully, Kyltilich, and Aberfeldy, 30th March 1414. He married Margaret, sister of John Hay (?) of Tulliebodie."[5]

Of this family was Thomas Stewart of BALCASKIE, Fifeshire, a lord of session, created a baronet of Nova Scotia, June 2, 1683. He was cousin, through his father, of John Stewart, thirteenth of Grandtully, who died without issue in 1720, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas's son, Sir George Stewart, who also died without issue. He was succeeded by his brother, Sir John Stewart, third baronet, an officer of rank in the army, who married, 1st, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir James Mackenzie of Royston, and had by her an only surviving son, Sir John, fourth baronet; 2dly,

[3] The History of Donald of the Hammers, written by Sir Walter Scott, will be found in the fifth edition of Captain Burt's Letters.

[4] The late Sir William Steuart spelled his name with the *u*, though we are not aware that any of his ancestors did.

[5] Fraser's *Red Book of Grandtully*.

Lady Jane Douglas, only daughter of James, Marquis of Douglas, and his son, by her, Archibald Stewart, after a protracted litigation, succeeded to the immense estates of his uncle, the last Duke of Douglas, and assuming that name, was created a peer of the United Kingdom, by the title of Baron Douglas. Sir John Stewart married, 3dly, Helen, a daughter of the fourth Lord Elibank, without issue. He died in 1764.

His son, Sir John, fourth baronet, died in 1797.

Sir John's eldest son, Sir George, fifth baronet, married Catherine, eldest daughter of John Drummond, Esq. of Logie Almond, and died in 1827, leaving five sons and two daughters.

The eldest son, Sir John, sixth baronet, died without issue, May 20, 1838.

His brother, Sir William Drummond Steuart, born December 26, 1795, succeeded as seventh baronet. He married in 1830, and had a son William George, captain 93d Highlanders, born in February 1831, and died October 1868. Sir William died April 28, 1871, and was succeeded by his youngest brother Archibald Douglas, born August 29, 1807.

The Stewarts of DRUMIN, Banffshire, now Belladrum, Inverness-shire, trace their descent from Sir Walter Stewart of Strathaven, knighted for his services at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, one of the illegitimate sons of the Wolf of Badenoch, and consequently of royal blood.

The Stewarts of ARDVOIRLICH, Perthshire, are descended from James Stewart, called James the Gross, fourth and only surviving son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, beheaded in 1425. On the ruin of his family he fled to Ireland, where, by a lady of the name of Macdonald, he had seven sons and one daughter. James II. created Andrew, the eldest son, Lord Avandale.

James, the third son, ancestor of the Stewarts of Ardvoirlich, married Annabel, daughter of Buchanan of that ilk.

His son, William Stewart, who succeeded him, married Mariota, daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, and had several children. From one of his younger sons, John, the family of Stewart of Glenbuckie, and from another, that of Stewart of Gartnaferaran, both in Perthshire, were descended.

His eldest son, Walter Stewart, succeeded his father, and married Euphemia, daughter of James Reddoch of Cultobraggan, comptroller of the household of James IV.

His son, Alexander Stewart of Ardvoirlich, married Margaret, daughter of Drummond of Drummond Erinoch, and had two sons, James, his successor, and John, ancestor of the Perthshire families of Stewart of Annat, Stewart of Ballachallan, and Stewart of Craigtoun.

The family of Steuart of DALGUISE, Perthshire, are descended from Sir John Stewart of Arntullie and Cardneys, also designed of Dowallie, the youngest natural son of King Robert II. of Scotland, by Marion or Mariota de Cardney, daughter of John de Cardney of that ilk, sister of Robert Cardney, bishop of Dunkeld from 1396 to 1436.

The Steuarts of BALLECHIN, in the same county, are descended from Sir John Stewart, an illegitimate son of King James II. of Scotland. Having purchased the lands of Sticks in Glenquaich from Patrick Cardney of that ilk, he got a charter of those lands from King James III., dated in December 1486. The family afterwards acquired the lands of Ballechin.

There are many other Stewart families throughout Scotland, but as we are concerned only with these which can be considered Highland, it would be beyond our province to notice any more. The spelling of this name seems very capricious: the royal spelling is Stuart, while most families spell it Stewart, and a few Steuart and Steuard. We have endeavoured always to give the spelling adhered to by the various families whom we have noticed.

FRASER.

The first of the surname of FRASER in Scotland was undoubtedly of Norman origin, and, it is not improbable, came over with William the Conqueror. The Chronicles of the Fraser family ascribe its origin to one Pierre Fraser, seigneur de Troile, who in the reign of Charlemagne, came to Scotland with the ambassadors from France to form a league with King Achaius; but this is, of course, fabulous. Their account of the

creation of their arms is equally incredible. According to their statement, in the reign of Charles the Simple of France, Julius de Berry, a nobleman of Bourbon, entertaining that monarch with a dish of fine strawberries was, for the same, knighted, the strawberry flowers, *fraises,* given him for his arms, and his name changed from de Berry to Fraiseur or Frizelle. They claim affinity with the family of the Duke de la Frezeliere, in France. The first of the name in Scotland is understood to have settled there in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, when surnames first began to be used, and although the Frasers afterwards became a powerful and numerous clan in Inverness-shire, their earliest settlements were in East Lothian and Tweeddale.

FRASER.

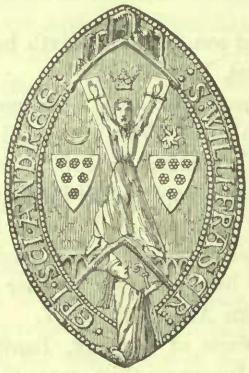


BADGE—Yew.

In the reign of David I., Sir Simon Fraser possessed half of the territory of Keith in East Lothian (from him called Keith Simon), and to the monks of Kelso he granted the church of Keith.

A member of the same family, Gilbert de Fraser, obtained the lands of North Hailes, also in East Lothian, as a vassal of the Earl of March and Dunbar, and is said to have been witness to a charter of Cospatrick to the monks of Coldstream, during the reign of Alexander I. He also possessed large estates in Tweeddale.

In the reign of Alexander II., the chief of the family was Bernard de Fraser, supposed to have been the grandson of the above-named Gilbert, by a third son, whose name is conjectured to have been Simon. Bernard was a frequent witness to the charters of Alexander II., and in 1234 was made sheriff of Stirling, an honour long hereditary in his family. By his talents he raised himself from being the vassal of a subject to be a tenant in chief to the king. He acquired the ancient territory of Oliver Castle, which he transmitted to his posterity. He was succeeded by his son Sir Gilbert Fraser, who was sheriff or vicecomes of Traquair during the reigns of Alexander II. and his successor. He had three sons: Simon, his heir; Andrew, sheriff of Stirling in 1291 and 1293; and William, chancellor of Scotland from 1274 to 1280, and bishop of St. Andrews from 1279 to his death in 1297.



Bishop Fraser's Seal. From Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ.*

Sir Simon Fraser, the eldest son, was a man of great influence and power. He possessed the lands of Oliver Castle, Niedpath Castle, and other lands in Tweeddale; and accompanied King Alexander II. in a pilgrimage to Iona, a short time previous to the death of that monarch. He was knighted by Alexander III., who, in the beginning of his reign, conferred on him the office of high sheriff of Tweeddale, which he held from 1263 to 1266. He died in 1291. He had an only son, Sir Simon Fraser, the renowned patriot, with whom may be said (in 1306) to have expired the direct male line of the south country Frasers, after having been the most considerable family in Peeblesshire during the Scoto-Saxon period of our history, from 1097 to 1306.

The male representation of the principal family of Fraser devolved, on the death of the

great Sir Simon, on the next collateral heir, his uncle, Sir Andrew, second son of Sir Gilbert Fraser, above mentioned. He is supposed to have died about 1308, surviving his renowned nephew, Sir Simon, only two years. He was, says the historian of the family,[8] "the first of the name of Fraser who established an interest for himself and his descendants in the northern parts of Scotland, and more especially in Inverness-shire, where they have ever since figured with such renown and distinction." He married a wealthy heiress in the county of Caithness, then and for many centuries thereafter comprehended within the sheriffdom of Inverness, and in right of his wife he



Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth, from Pinkerton's *Scotish Gallery*.

acquired a very large estate in the north of Scotland. He had four sons, namely—Simon, the immediate male ancestor of the Lords Lovat, and whose descendants and dependants (the clan Fraser), after the manner of the Celts, took the name of MacShimi, or sons of Simon; Sir Alexander, who obtained the estate of Touch, as the appanage of a younger son; and Andrew and James, slain with their brother, Simon, at the disastrous battle of Halidonhill, 22d July 1333.

[8] Anderson's *History of the Fraser Family*.

The ancient family of the Frasers of PHILORTH in Aberdeenshire, who have enjoyed since 1669 the title of Lord Saltoun, is immediately descended from William, son of an Alexander Fraser, who flourished during the early part of the fourteenth century, and inherited from his father the estates of Cowie and Durris in Kincardineshire.

The proper Highland clan Fraser was that headed by the Lovat branch in Inverness-shire, as mentioned above.

Unlike the Aberdeenshire or Salton Frasers, the LOVAT branch, the only branch of the Frasers that became Celtic, founded a tribe or clan, and all the natives of the purely Gaelic districts of the Aird and Stratherrick came to be called by their name. The Simpsons, "sons of Simon," are also considered to be descended from them, and the Tweedies of Tweeddale are supposed, on very plausible grounds, to have been originally Frasers. Logan's conjecture that the name of Fraser is a corruption of the Gaelic *Friosal*, from *frith*, a forest, and *siol*, a race, the th being silent (that is, the race of the forest), however pleasing to the clan as proving them an indigenous Gaelic tribe, may only be mentioned here as a mere fancy of his own.

Simon Fraser, the first of the Frasers of Lovat, fell at the battle of Halidon Hill, 19th July 1333. His son, Hugh Fraser of Lovat, had four sons; Alexander, who died unmarried; Hugh, created a lord of Parliament, under the title of Lord Fraser of Lovat; John, ancestor of the Frasers of Knock in Aryshire; and another son, ancestor of the Frasers of Foyers.

Hugh, first Lord Lovat, was one of the hostages for James I., on his return to Scotland in 1424, and in 1431 he was appointed high sheriff of the county of Inverness. His son, also named Hugh, second Lord Lovat, was father of Thomas, third lord; Alexander, ancestor of the Frasers of Fanaline, the Frasers of Leadclune, baronets, and other families of the name; and James, ancestor of the Frasers of BALLYFURTH and FORD, of whom Major-General Simon Fraser, late of Ford, is the lineal male descendant and representative.

Thomas, third lord, held the office of justiciary of the north in the reign of James IV., and died 21st October 1524. He had four

sons: Thomas, master of Lovat, killed at Flodden, 9th September 1513, unmarried; Hugh, fourth Lord Lovat; Alexander, fifth lord; and William Fraser of Struy, ancestor of several families of the name in Inverness-shire.

Hugh, fourth lord, the queen's justiciary in the north, resigned his whole estates into the hands of King James V., and obtained from his majesty a new charter, dated 26th March 1539, uniting and incorporating them into the barony of Lovat, to him and the heirs male of his body, failing whom to his nearest lawful heirs male, bearing the name and arms of Fraser, and failing them to his heirs whatsoever. With his eldest son Hugh, Master of Lovat, he was killed in an engagement with the Macdonalds of Clanranald at Lochlochy, Inverness-shire, 2d June 1544.[9] His brother, Alexander, fifth Lord Lovat, died in 1558. With one daughter, the latter had three sons: Hugh, sixth lord; Thomas, ancestor of the Frasers of Strichen, from whom Lord Lovat of Lovat is descended; and James of Ardochie.

Hugh, sixth Lord Lovat, had a son, Simon, seventh lord, who was twice married, and died 3d April 1633. By his first wife, Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, he had two sons,—Simon, Master of Lovat, who predeceased him, without issue, and Hugh, eighth Lord Lovat, who died 16th February 1646. By a second wife, Jean Stewart, daughter of Lord Doune, he had Sir Simon Fraser, ancestor of the Frasers of Inneralochy; Sir James Fraser of Brae, and one daughter. Hugh, eighth lord, had, with three daughters, three sons, namely,—Simon, Master of Lovat, and Hugh, who both predeceased their father, the one in 1640 and the other in 1643, and Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, eleventh Lord Lovat. The second son, Hugh, styled after his elder brother's death, Master of Lovat, left a son Hugh, ninth lord, who succeeded his grandfather in February 1646, and married in July 1659, when a boy of sixteen years of age at college, Anne, second daughter of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbet, baronet, sister of the first Earl of Cromarty, and by her had a son, Hugh, tenth lord, and three daughters.

[9] For an account of this fight, called *Blair-nan-leine*, or "Field of Shirts," so disastrous to the Frasers, see the former part of this work.

Hugh, tenth lord, succeeded his father in 1672, and died in 1696, when Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, third son of the eighth lord, became eleventh Lord Lovat, but did not take the title. The tenth lord married Lady Amelia Murray, only daughter of the first Marquis of Athole, and had four daughters. His eldest daughter, Amelia, assumed the title of Baroness Lovat, and married in 1702, Alexander Mackenzie, younger of Prestonhall, who assumed the name of Fraser of Fraserdale. His son, Hugh Fraser, on the death of his mother, adopted the title of Lord Lovat, which, however, by decree of the Court of Session, 3d July 1730, was declared to belong to Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat, as eldest lawful son of Thomas, Lord Fraser of Lovat, granduncle of the tenth lord. This judgment proceeded on the charter of 1539, and though pronounced by an incompetent court, was held to be right. To prevent an appeal, a compromise was made, by which Hugh Mackenzie ceded to Simon, Lord Lovat, for a valuable consideration, his pretensions to the honours, and his right to the estates, after his father's death.

Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, by right eleventh Lord Lovat, died at Dunvegan in Skye in May 1699. By his first wife, Sibylla, fourth daughter of John Macleod of Macleod, he had fourteen children, ten of whom died young. Simon, the eldest surviving son, was the celebrated Lord Lovat, beheaded in April 1747.

The clan Fraser formed part of the army of the Earl of Seaforth, when, in the beginning of 1645, that nobleman advanced to oppose the great Montrose, who designed to seize Inverness, previous to the battle of Inverlochy, in which the latter defeated the Campbells under the Marquis of Argyll in February of that year. After the arrival of King Charles II. in Scotland in 1650, the Frasers, to the amount of eight hundred men, joined the troops raised to oppose Cromwell, their chief's son, the Master of Lovat, being appointed one of the colonels of foot for Inverness and Ross. In the rebellion of 1715, under their last famous chief, Simon, Lord Lovat, they did good service to the government by taking possession of Inverness, which was then in the hands of the Jacobites. In 1719 also, at the

affair of Glenshiel, in which the Spaniards were defeated on the west coast of Inverness-shire, the Frasers fought resolutely on the side of government, and took possession of the castle of Brahan, the seat of the Earl of Seaforth. On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745, they did not at first take any part in the struggle, but after the battle of Prestonpans, on the 21st September, Lord Lovat "mustered his clan," and their first demonstration in favour of the Pretender was to make a midnight attack on the Castle of Culloden, but found it garrisoned and prepared for their reception. On the morning of the battle of Culloden, six hundred of the Frasers, under the command of the Master of Lovat, a fine young man of nineteen, effected a junction with the rebel army, and behaved during the action with characteristic valour.

Lord Lovat's eldest son, Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, afterwards entered the service of government, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-general in the army.

General Fraser was succeeded by his half-brother, Colonel Archibald Campbell Fraser of Lovat, appointed consul-general at Algiers in 1766, and chosen M.P. for Inverness-shire on the general's death in 1782. By his wife, Jane, sister of William Fraser, Esq. of Leadclune, F.R.S., created a baronet, 27th November 1806, he had five sons, all of whom he survived. On his death, in December 1815, the male descendants of Hugh, ninth Lord Lovat, became extinct, and the male representation of the family, as well as the right to its extensive entailed estates, devolved on the junior descendant of Alexander, fifth lord, Thomas Alexander Fraser, of Lovat and Strichen, who claimed the title of Lord Lovat in the peerage of Scotland, and in 1837 was created a peer of the United Kingdom, by that of Baron Lovat of Lovat.

The family of Fraser, of Castle Fraser, in Ross-shire, are descended, on the female side, from the Hon. Sir Simon Fraser, of Inverallochy, second son of Simon, eighth Lord Lovat, but on the male side their name is Mackenzie.

American Frasers.

We cannot close our account of the Frasers without briefly referring to the numerous members of the clan who inhabit British North America. Concerning these we have been obligingly furnished with many details by the Honourable John Fraser de Berry, of St Mark de Cournoyer, Chambly River, Vercheres Cy., District of Montreal, Member of the Legislative Council for Rougemont. The information furnished by this gentleman is very interesting, and we are sorry that the nature of this work, and the space at our disposal, permits us to give only the briefest summary.

It would seem that in the Dominion of Canada the ancient spirit of clanship is far from dead; indeed, it appears to be more intensely full of life there than it is on its native Highland mountains. From statistics furnished to us by our obliging informant, it would appear that in British North America there are bearing the old name of Fraser 12,000 persons, men, women, and children, some speaking English and some French, many Protestants and many Roman Catholics, but all, we believe, unflinchingly loyal to the British throne. Not one of these, according to the Honourable J. Fraser de Berry's report, is a day labourer, "earning daily wages," but all more or less well-to-do in the world, and filling respectable, and many of them responsible positions. Many are descendants of the officers and soldiers of the "Fraser Highlanders," who settled in British North America after the American war. "They are all strong well built men, hardy, industrious, and sober, having fine comfortable houses, where quietness reigns and plenty abounds."

Some years ago a movement was formed among these enthusiastic and loyal Frasers to organise themselves into a branch clan, to be called the "New Clan Fraser," partly for the purpose of reviving and keeping alive the old clan feeling, and partly for purposes of benevolence. At a meeting held in February 1868, at Quebec, this movement took definite shape, and "resolutions were unanimously passed defining the constitution of the clan, pointing out its object, appointing its dignitaries, determining their duties, and the time and manner of their election."

As "Chief of the Frasers of the whole of British North America," was elected the Honourable James Fraser de Ferraline, Mem-

ber of the Legislative Council for the Province of Nova Scotia, "a wealthy and influential merchant, born in 1802, on the Drummond estate in the braes of Stratherrick, Inverness-shire, Scotland; descended by his father from the Ferraline family of the Frasers, and by his mother from the Gorthlic Frasers. The true Fraser blood," we are assured, "runs very pure through the veins of the worthy chief."

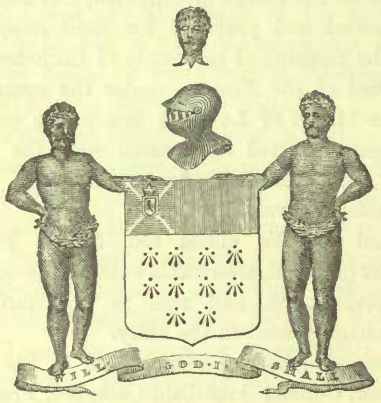
The great and undoubted success of this laudable movement is, we believe, mainly owing to the exertions of the Honourable J. Fraser de Berry, whose enthusiasm and loyalty to his descent and ancient kinship are worthy of the palmiest days of clanship in the olden time on its native Highland soil. Besides the "chief" above mentioned, 111 subordinate chieftains[1] of provinces and districts have been appointed, and we are sorry that, for the reasons already mentioned, it is impossible to give a full list of them. We can only say that the gentleman just mentioned was elected Chieftain of the Province of Quebec, and also acts as "Secretary to the New Clan Fraser." As a specimen of the unflinching thoroughness with which Mr Fraser de Berry performs his duties, and of the intense enthusiasm with which he is animated, we may state that he, founding on documents in his possession, has been able to trace his genealogy, and, therefore, the genealogy of the whole clan, as far back as the year 216 A.D.!

Altogether, we cannot but commend the main object of this organisation of the American Frasers, and think that members of other clans residing in our colonies would do well to follow their example. We believe that no member of the Fraser clan in British North America, who is really anxious to do well, need be in want of the means of success, for if he only make his position known to the authorities of the "New Clan," all needful assistance will be afforded him. Moreover, we understand, that any one of the name of Fraser, or allied to the clan, emigrating to the dominion from the old country, by applying to any member of the Colonial clan, will be put in the way of obtaining all assistance and information necessary to his comfortable settlement and success in his new home.

Indeed, this movement of the Frasers has so much to commend it, that their example has been followed by persons of other names, in the United States as well as in Canada, and similar clan confederations are in the way of being formed under names that are certainly not Highland.

[1] By mistake, these are in our report called "chiefs;" subordinate chiefs are correctly called "chieftains."

MENZIES



BADGE—Heath (a species named the Menzies heath).

From the armorial bearings of the Menzieses it has been conjectured that the first who settled in Scotland of this surname was a branch of the Anglo-Norman family of Meyners, by corruption Manners. But this supposition does not seem to be well-founded.

The family of Menzies obtained a footing in Athole at a very early period, as appears from a charter granted by Robert de Meyners in the reign of Alexander II. This Robert de Meyners, knight, on the accession of Alexander III. (1249) was appointed lord high chamberlain of Scotland. His son, Alexander de Meyners, possessed the lands of Weem and Aberfeldy in Athole, and Glendochart in Breadalbane, besides his original seat of Durrisdeer in Nithsdale, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, in the estates of Weem, Aberfeldy, and Durrisdeer, whilst his second son, Thomas, obtained the lands of Fortingal.

From the former of these is descended the family of Menzies of CASTLE MENZIES, but that of Menzies of Fortingal terminated in

an heiress, by whose marriage with James Stewart, a natural son of the Wolf of Badenoch, the property was transferred to the Stewarts.

In 1487, Sir Robert de Mengues, knight, obtained from the crown, in consequence of the destruction of his mansion-house by fire, a grant of the whole lands and estates erected into a free barony, under the title of the barony of Menzies. From this Sir Robert lineally descended Sir Alexander Menzies of Castle Menzies, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, 2d September 1665.

Sir Robert Menzies, the seventh baronet, who succeeded his father, 20th August 1844, is the 27th of the family in regular descent. The ancient designation of the family was Menzies of Weem, their common style in old writings. In 1423 "David Menzies of Weem (de Wimo)" was appointed governor of Orkney and Shetland, "under the most clement lord and lady, Eric and Philippa, king and queen of Denmark, Swedland, and Norway."

The Gaelic appellation of the clan is *Meinnarich*, a term, by way of distinction, also applied to the chief. Of the eighteen clans who fought under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, the Menzies was one.

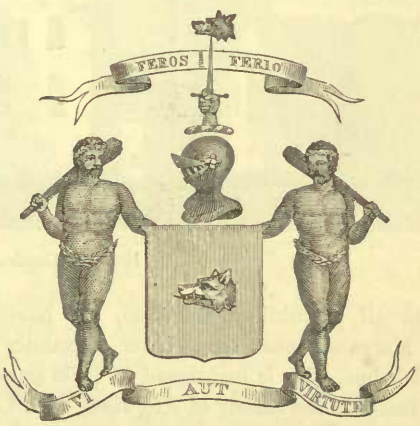
The "Menyesses" of Athole and Appin Dull are named in the parliamentary rolls of 1587, as among "the clans that have captains, chiefs, and chieftains." Castle Menzies, the principal modern seat of the chief, stands to the east of Loch Tay, in the parish and near to the church of Weem, in Perthshire. Weem Castle, the old mansion, is picturesquely situated under a rock, called Craig Uamh, hence its name. In 1502, it was burnt by Niel Stewart of Fortingal, in consequence of a dispute respecting the lands of Rannoch.

In 1644, when the Marquis of Montrose appeared in arms for Charles I., and had commenced his march from Athole towards Strathern, he sent forward a trumpeter, with a friendly notice to the Menzieses, that it was his intention to pass through their country. His messenger, unhappily, was maltreated, and, as some writers say, slain by them. They also harassed the rear of his army, which so exasperated Montrose, that he ordered his men to plunder and lay waste their lands and burn their houses.

During the rebellion of 1715, several gentlemen of the clan Menzies were taken prisoners at the battle of Dunblane. One of them, Menzies of Culdares, having been pardoned for his share in the rebellion, felt himself bound not to join in that of 1745. He sent, however, a valuable horse as a present to Prince Charles, but his servant who had it in charge, was seized and executed, nobly refusing to divulge his master's name, though offered his life if he would do so. In the latter rebellion, Menzies of Shian took out the clan, and held the rank of colonel, though the chief remained at home. The effective force of the clan in 1745 was 300.

The family of Menzies of PITFODDELS in Aberdeenshire, is now extinct. Gilbert Menzies of this family, carrying the royal standard at the last battle of Montrose, in 1650, repeatedly refused quarter, and fell rather than give up his charge. The last laird, John Menzies of Pitfoddels, never married, and devoted the greater part of his large estate to the endowment of a Roman Catholic College. He died in 1843.

CHISHOLM.

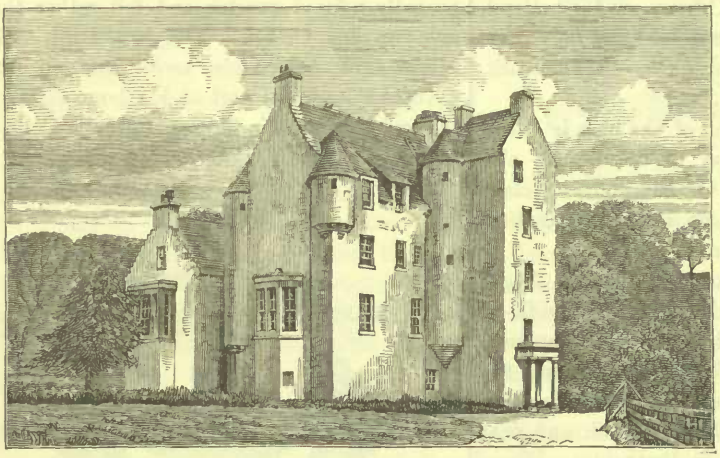


BADGE—Fern.

The modern clan CHISHOLM or Siosal, in Inverness-shire, though claiming to be of Celtic origin, are, it is probable, descended from one of the northern collaterals of the original family of Chisholme of Chisholme in Roxburghshire, which possessed lands there as early as the reign of Alexander III.

Few families have asserted their right to be

considered as a Gaelic clan with greater vehemence than the Chisholms, notwithstanding that there are perhaps few whose Lowland origin is less doubtful. Their early charters suffice to establish the real origin of the family with great clearness. The Highland possessions of the family consist of Comer, Strathglass, &c., in which is situated their castle of Erchless, and the manner in which they acquired these lands is proved by the fact, that there exists a confirmation of an indenture betwixt William de Fenton of Baky on the one part, and "*Margaret de la Ard domina de Erchless and Thomas de Chishelme her son and heir*" on the other part, dividing between them the lands of which they were heirs portioners, and among these lands is the barony of the Ard in Inverness-shire. This deed is dated at Kinrossy, 25th of April, 1403.



Erchless Castle.

In all probability, therefore, the husband of Margaret must have been Alexander de Chishelme, who is mentioned in 1368 as comportioner of the barony of Ard along with Lord Fenton.

The Chisholms came into prominence in the reign of David II., when Sir Robert de Chisholm married the daughter of Sir Robert Lauder of Quarrelwood, and ultimately succeeded him in the government of Urquhart Castle. In 1376 he occupied the important position of justiciar north of the Forth.

Wiland de Chesholm obtained a charter of the lands of Comer dated 9th April 1513. In 1587, the chiefs on whose lands resided "broken men," were called upon to give security for their peaceable behaviour, among whom appears "Cheisholme of Cummer." After the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, Erchless castle, the seat of the chief, was garrisoned for King James, and General Livingstone, the commander of the government forces, had considerable difficulty in dislodging the Highlanders. In 1715, Ruari, or Roderick MacIan, the chief, signed the address of a hundred and two chiefs and heads of houses to George the First, expressive of their attachment and loyalty, but no notice being taken of it, he engaged very actively in the rising under the Earl of Mar; and at the battle of Dunblane, the clan was headed by Chisholm of Crocfin, an aged veteran, for which the estates of the chief were forfeited and sold. In 1727, he procured, with several other chiefs, a pardon under the privy seal, and the lands were subsequently conveyed, by the then proprietor, to Roderick's eldest son, who entailed them on his heirs male. In 1745, this chief joined the standard of the Pretender with his clan, and Colin, his youngest son, was appointed colonel of the clan battalion. Lord President Forbes thus states the strength of the Chisholms at that period. "Chisholms —Their chief is Chisholm of Strathglass, in Gaelic called Chisallich. His lands are held crown, and he can bring out two hundred of the men."

Alexander Chisholm, chief of the clan, who succeeded in 1785, left an only child, Mary, married to James Gooden, Esq., London, and dying in 1793, the chiefship and estates, agreeably to the deed of entail, devolved on his youngest brother, William, who married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Duncan MacDonnell, Esq. of Glengarry, and left two sons and one

daughter. On his death in 1817 he was succeeded by the elder son, Alexander William, once member of parliament for Inverness-shire, who died, prematurely, in September 1838. He was succeeded by his brother, Duncan MacDonnell Chisholm, who died in London 14th September 1858, aged 47, when the estate devolved on James Sutherland Chisholm, the present Chisholm, son of Roderich, son of Archibald, eldest son of the above Alexander, who resides at Erchless Castle, Inverness-shire.

The common designation of the chief of the house is THE CHISHOLM, and whatever be its antiquity, it is a title which is very generally accorded to him, and, like the designation of "The O'Connor Don," has even been sanctioned by use in the senate. An old chief of the clan Chisholm once not very modestly said that there were but three persons in the world entitled to it—"the Pope, the King, and the Chisholm."

One of the chiefs of this clan having carried off a daughter of Lord Lovat, placed her on an islet in Loch Bruirach, where she was soon discovered by the Frazers, who had mustered for the rescue. A severe conflict ensued, during which the young lady was accidentally slain by her own brother. A plaintive Gaelic song records the sad calamity, and numerous tumuli mark the graves of those who fell.

The once great family of Chisholme of CROMLIX, sometimes written CROMLECK, in Perthshire, which for above a century held the hereditary bailie and justiciary-ship of the ecclesiastical lordship of Dunblane, and furnished three bishops to that see, but which is now extinct, was also descended from the border Chisholmes.

There are a number of families—for they can scarcely be called clans—living on the Highland borders, and who have at one time played an important part in Highland history, and some of whom at the present day are regarded as genuine Highland families. The Murrays of the Athole family descend from Sir John de Moravia, who died about 1225, and was contemporary with the above William de Moravia. His grandson Sir William de Moravia acquired the lands of Tullibardine, an estate in the lower part of Perthshire, with his wife Adda, daughter of Malise, Seneschal of Strathern, as appears by charters dated in 1282 and 1284. We shall conclude this account of the Highland clans by referring briefly to the family history of these houses.

STEWART-MURRAY (ATHOLE).



BADGE—Juniper.

The great family of Murray or Moray (occasionally in old deeds Murreff) is supposed to have descended from Freskine (or Friskin), a Fleming, who settled in Scotland in the reign of David I. (1122-1153), and acquired from that monarch the lands of Strathbroch in Linlithgowshire, and of Duffus in Moray.

Friskin's grandson, William de Moravia, married the daughter and heiress of David de Olifard, and was the ancestor of the Morays of Bothwell and Abercairny, represented by the latter till the death of the late Major William Moray Stirling in 1850, when the male line became extinct, and the property passed to his sister, the late Mrs Home Drummond of Blair Drummond.

His descendant, the 7th in possession, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, succeeded to the estates of his family in 1446. He was sheriff of Perthshire, and in 1458 one of the lords named for the administration of justice, who were of the king's daily council. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, great chamberlain of Scotland, by

whom he had a numerous issue. According to tradition, they had seventeen sons, from whom a great many families of the name of Murray are descended. In a curious document entitled "The Declaration of George Halley, in Ochterarder, concerning the Laird of Tullibardine's seventeen sons—1710," it is stated that they "lived all to be men, and that they waited all one day upon their father at Stirling, to attend the king, with each of them one servant, and their father two. This happening shortly after an Act was made by King James Fifth, discharging any person to travel with great numbers of attendants besides their own family, and having challenged the laird of Tullibardine for breaking the said Act, he answered he brought only his own sons, with their necessary attendants; with which the king was so well pleased that he gave them small lands in heritage."

The eldest of Tullibardine's seventeen sons, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, had, with other issue, William, his successor, and Sir Andrew Murray, ancestor of the Viscounts Stormont. His great-grandson, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, was a zealous promoter of the Reformation in Scotland. George Halley, in the curious document already quoted, says that "Sir William Murray of Tullibardine having broke Argyll's face with the hilt of his sword, in King James the Sixth's presence, was obliged to leave the kingdom. Afterwards, the king's mails and slaughter cows were not paid, neither could any subject to the realm be able to compel those who were bound to pay them; upon which the king cried out—'O, if I had Will Murray again, he would soon get my mails and slaughter cows;' to which one standing by replied—'That if his Majesty would not take Sir William Murray's life, he might return shortly.' The king answered, 'He would be loath to take his life, for he had not another subject like him!' Upon which promise Sir William Murray returned and got a commission from the king to go to the north, and lift up the mails and the cows, which he speedily did, to the great satisfaction of the king, so that immediately after he was made lord comptroller." This office he obtained in 1565.

His eldest son, Sir John Murray, the twelfth feudal baron of Tullibardine, was brought up with King James, who in 1592 constituted him his master of the household. On 10th July 1606 he was created Earl of Tullibardine. His lordship married Catherine, fourth daughter of David, second Lord Drummond, and died in 1609.

His eldest son, William, second Earl of Tullibardine, married Lady Dorothea Stewart, eldest daughter and heir of line of the fifth Earl of Athole of the Stewart family, who died in 1595 without male issue. He eventually, in 1625, petitioned King Charles the First for the earldom of Athole. The king received the petition graciously, and gave his royal word that it should be done. The earl accordingly surrendered the title of Earl of Tullibardine into the king's hands, 1st April 1626, to be conferred on his brother Sir Patrick Murray as a separate dignity, but before the patents could be issued, his lordship died the same year. His son John, however, obtained in February 1629 the title of Earl of Athole, and thus became the first earl of the Murray branch, and the earldom of Tullibardine was at the same time granted to Sir Patrick. This Earl of Athole was a zealous royalist, and joined the association formed by the Earl of Montrose for the king at Cumbernauld, in January 1641. He died in June 1642. His eldest son John, second Earl of Athole of the Murray family, also faithfully adhered to Charles the First, and was excepted by Cromwell out of his act of grace and indemnity, 12th April 1654, when he was only about nineteen years of age. At the Restoration, he was sworn a privy councillor, obtained a charter of the hereditary office of sheriff of Fife, and in 1663 was appointed justice-general of Scotland. In 1670 he was constituted captain of the king's guards, in 1672 keeper of the privy seal, and 14th January 1673, an extraordinary lord of session. In 1670 he succeeded to the earldom of Tullibardine on the death of James, fourth earl of the new creation, and was created Marquis of Athole in 1676. He increased the power of his family by his marriage with Lady Amelia Sophia Stanley, third daughter of the seventh Earl of Derby, beheaded for his loyalty 15th October 1651. Through her mother, Charlotte de la Tremouille, daughter of Claude de la Tremouille, Duke of Thouars and Prince of

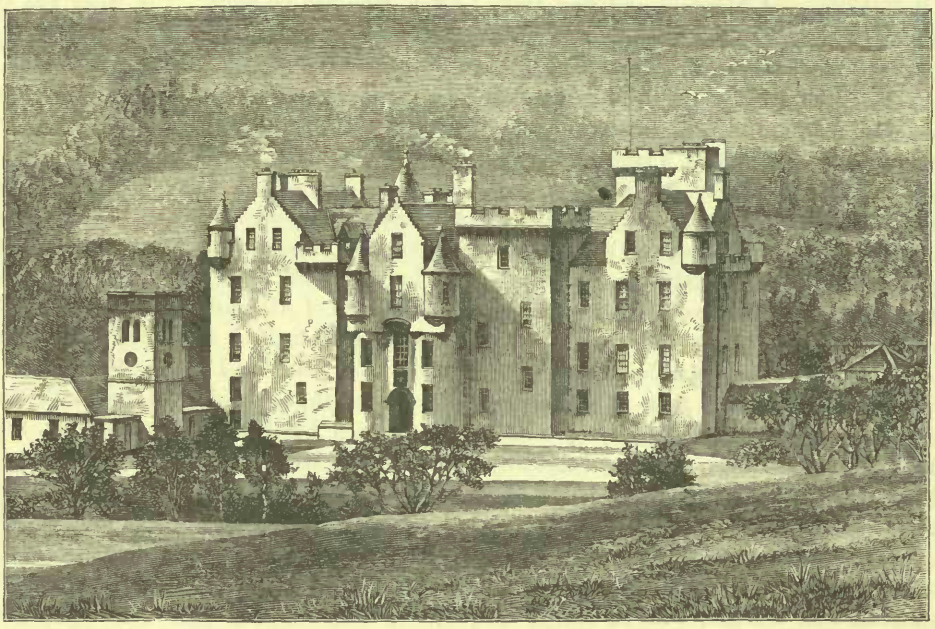
Palmont, she was related in blood to the Emperor of Germany, the kings of France and Spain, the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Savoy, and most of the principal families of Europe; and by her the family of Athole acquired the seignory of the Isle of Man, and also large property in that island.

John, the second Marquis and first Duke of Athole, then designated Lord Murray, was one of the commissioners for inquiring into the massacre of Glencoe in 1693. He was created a peer in his father's lifetime, by the title of Earl of Tullibardine, Viscount of Glenalmond, and Lord Murray, for life, by patent dated 27th July 1696, and in April 1703 he was appointed lord privy seal. On the 30th July of that year, immediately after his father's death, he was created Duke of Athole by Queen Anne, and invested with the order of the Thistle. His grace died 14th November 1724. He was twice married; first to Catherine, daughter of the Duke of Hamilton, by whom he had six sons and a daughter, and secondly to Mary, daughter of William Lord Ross, by whom he had three sons and a daughter. His eldest son John, Marquis of Tullibardine, was killed at the battle of Malplaquet in 1709. His second son William, who succeeded his brother, was the Marquis of Tullibardine who acted the prominent part in both the Scottish rebellions of last century. In 1745 he accompanied Prince Charles Edward to Scotland, and landed with him at Borodale 25th July. He was styled Duke of Athole by the Jacobites. After the battle of Culloden he fled to the westward, intending to embark for the Isle of Mull, but being unable, from the bad state of his health, to bear the fatigue of travelling under concealment, he surrendered, on the 27th April 1746, to Mr Buchanan of Drummakill, a Stirlingshire gentleman. Being conveyed to London he was committed to the Tower, where he died on the 9th July following.

James, the second Duke of Athole, was the third son of the first duke. He succeeded to the dukedom on the death of his father in November 1724, in the lifetime of his elder brother William, attainted by parliament. Being maternal great-grandson of James, seventh Earl of Derby, upon the death of the tenth earl of that line he claimed and was allowed the English barony of Strange, which had been conferred on Lord Derby by writ of summons in 1628. His grace was married, first to Jean, widow of James Lannoy of Hammersmith, and sister of Sir John Frederick, Bart., by whom he had a son and two daughters; secondly to Jane, daughter of John Drummond of Megginch, who had no issue. The latter was the heroine of Dr Austen's song of 'For lack of gold she's left me, O!' She was betrothed to that gentleman, a physician in Edinburgh, when the Duke of Athole saw her, and falling in love with her, made proposals of marriage, which were accepted; and, as Burns says, she jilted the doctor. Having survived her first husband, she married a second time, Lord Adam Gordon.

The son and the eldest daughter of the second Duke of Athole died young. Charlotte, his youngest daughter, succeeded on his death, which took place in 1764, to the barony of Strange and the sovereignty of the Isle of Man. She married her cousin, John Murray, Esq., eldest son of Lord George Murray, fifth son of the first duke, and the celebrated generalissimo of the forces of Prince Charles Edward in 1745. Though Lord George was attainted by parliament for his share in the rebellion, his son was allowed to succeed his uncle and father-in-law as third duke, and in 1765 he and his duchess disposed of their sovereignty of the Isle of Man to the British government for seventy thousand pounds, reserving, however, their landed interest in the island, with the patronage of the bishopric and other ecclesiastical benefices, on payment of the annual sum of one hundred and one pounds fifteen shillings and eleven pence, and rendering two falcons to the kings and queens of England upon the days of their coronation. His grace, who had seven sons and four daughters, died 5th November 1774, and was succeeded by his eldest son John, fourth duke, who in 1786 was created Earl Strange and Baron Murray of Stanley, in the peerage of the United Kingdom. He died in 1830. The fourth duke was succeeded by his eldest son John, who was for many years a recluse, and died single 14th September 1846. His next brother James, a major-general in the army, was created a peer of the United Kingdom, as baron Glenlyon of Glenlyon, in the county of Perth, 9th July 1821. He married

in May 1810, Emily, second daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, and by her he had two sons and two daughters. He died in 1837. His eldest son, George Augustus Frederick John, Lord Glenlyon, became, on the death of his uncle in 1846, sixth Duke of Athole. He died in 1864, and was succeeded by his only son, John James Hugh Henry, seventh Duke of Athole, who inherited the barony of Percy and several co-heirships on the death of his great uncle Algernon, fourth Duke of Northumberland in 1865. The family residence of the Duke of Athole is Blair Castle, Perthshire, a view of which, as restored in 1872, is here given.



Blair Castle.

The first baronet of the OCHTERTYRE family was William Moray of Ochtertyre, who was created a baron of Nova Scotia, with remainder to his heirs male, 7th June 1673. He was descended from Patrick Moray, the first styled of Ochtertyre, who died in 1476, a son of Sir David Murray of Tullibardine. The family continued to spell their name Moray till 1739, when the present orthography, Murray, was adopted by Sir William, third baronet.

DRUMMOND.

The name of DRUMMOND may be derived originally from the parish of Drymen, in what is now the western district of Stirlingshire. The Gaelic name is *Druiman*, signifying a ridge, or high ground.

An ancestor of the noble family of Perth thus fancifully interprets the origin of the name: *Drum* in Gaelic signifies a height, and *onde* a wave, the name being given to Maurice the Hungarian, to express how gallantly he had conducted through the swelling waves the ship in which Prince Edgar and his two sisters had embarked for Hungary, when they were driven out of their course on the Scottish coast. There are other conjectural derivations of the name, but the territorial definition above mentioned appears to be the most probable one.

The chief of the family at the epoch of their first appearing in written records was Malcolm Beg (or the Little), chamberlain on the estate of Levenax, and the fifth from the Hungarian Maurice, who married Ada, daughter of Malduin, third Earl of Lennox, by Beatrix, daughter of Walter, lord high steward of Scotland, and died before 1260.

Two of his grandsons are recorded as having sworn fealty to Edward the First.

The name of one of them, Gilbert de Dromund, "del County de Dunbretan," appears in Prynne's copy of the Ragman Roll. He was

Drummond of Balquapple in Perthshire, and had a son, Malcolm de Drummond, who also swore fealty to Edward in 1296, and was father of Bryce Drummond, killed in 1330 by the Monteiths.

DRUMMOND.



BADGE—Thyme (or mother of thyme).

The other, the elder brother of Gilbert, named Sir John de Dromund, married his relation, a daughter of Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith, and countess in her own right.

His eldest son, Sir Malcolm de Drummond, attached himself firmly to the cause of Bruce. King Robert, after the battle of Bannockburn, bestowed upon him certain lands in Perthshire. He married a daughter of Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, elder brother of Sir John Graham, and ancestor of the family of Montrose. He had a son, Sir Malcolm Drummond, who died about 1346. The latter had three sons, John, Maurice, and Walter. The two former married heiresses.

Maurice's lady was sole heiress of Concraig and of the stewardship of Strathearn, to both of which he succeeded.

The wife of John, the eldest son, was Mary, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir William de Montefex, with whom he got the lands of Auchterarder, Kincardine in Monteith, Cargill, and Stobhall in Perthshire He had four sons, Sir Malcolm, Sir John, William, and Dougal; and three daughters—Annabella, married, in 1357, John, Earl of Carrick, high steward of Scotland, afterwards King Robert the Third, and thus became Queen of Scotland, and the mother of David, Duke of Rothesay, starved to death in the palace of Falkland, in 1402, and of James the First, as well as of three daughters; Margaret, married to Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, Jean, to Stewart of Donally, and Mary, to Macdonald of the Isles.

About 1360, in consequence of a feud which had long subsisted between the Drummonds and the Menteiths of Rusky, the residence of the family seems to have been transferred from Drymen, in Stirlingshire, where they had chiefly lived for about two hundred years, to Stobhall, in Perthshire, which had some years before come into their possession by marriage.

Sir Malcolm Drummond, the eldest son, succeeded to the earldom of Mar in right of his wife, Lady Isabel Douglas, only daughter of William, first Earl of Douglas. His death was a violent one, having been seized by a band of ruffians and imprisoned till he died "of his hard captivity." This happened before 27th May 1403. Not long after his death, Alexander Stewart, a natural son of "the Wolf of Badenoch," a bandit and robber by profession, having cast his eyes on the lands of the earldom, stormed the countess' castle of Kildrummie; and, either by violence or persuasion, obtained her in marriage. As Sir Malcolm Drummond had died without issue, his brother, John, succeeded him.

John's eldest son, Sir Walter Drummond, was knighted by King James the Second, and died in 1455. He had three sons: Sir Malcolm his successor; John, dean of Dunblane; and Walter of Ledcrieff, ancestor of the Drummonds of BLAIR-DRUMMOND (now the HOME DRUMMONDS, Henry Home, the celebrated Lord Kames, having married Agatha, daughter of James Drummond of Blair-Drummond, and successor in the estate to her nephew in 1766); of Cairdrum; of Newton, and other families of the name.

The eldest son of the main stem, that is, the CARGILL and STOBHALL family, Sir Malcolm by name, had great possessions in the counties of Dumbarton, Perth, and Stirling, and died in 1470 By his wife Marion, daughter of Murray of Tullibardine, he had six sons. His eldest son, Sir John, was first Lord Drummond.

Sir John, the eldest son, was a personage of

considerable importance in the reigns of James the Third and Fourth, having been concerned in most of the public transactions of that period. He died in 1519.

By his wife, Lady Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of David, Duke of Montrose, the first Lord Drummond, had three sons, and six daughters, the eldest of whom, Margaret, was mistress to James the Fourth. Malcolm, the eldest son, predeceased his father. William, the second son, styled master of Drummond, suffered on the scaffold.

William had two sons, Walter and Andrew, ancestor of the Drummonds of Bellyclone. Walter died in 1518, before his grandfather. By Lady Elizabeth Graham, daughter of the first Earl of Montrose, he had a son, David, second Lord Drummond, who was served heir to his great-grandfather, John, first lord, 17th February 1520. Of his two sons, Patrick, the elder, was third Lord Drummond; James, the younger, created, 31st January 1609, Lord Maderty, was ancestor of the viscounts of Strathallan.

Patrick, third Lord Drummond, embraced the reformed religion, and spent some time in France. He died before 1600. He was twice married, and by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of David Lindsay of Edzell, eventually Earl of Crawford, he had two sons and five daughters.

The elder son, James, fourth Lord Drummond, passed a considerable portion of his youth in France, and after James the Sixth's accession to the English throne he attended the Earl of Nottingham on an embassy to the Spanish court. On his return he was created Earl of Perth, 4th March 1605. John, the younger son, succeeded his brother in 1611, as second Earl of Perth.

The Hon. John Drummond, second son of James, third Earl of Perth, was created in 1685 Viscount, and in 1686 Earl of Melfort; and his representative Captain George Drummond, duc de Melfort, and Count de Lussan in France, whose claim to the earldom of Perth in the Scottish peerage was established by the House of Lords, June 1853, is the chief of the clan Drummond, which, more than any other, signalised itself by its fidelity to the lost cause of the Stuarts.

GRAHAM.



Badge—Laurel spurge.

The surname Græme, or Graham, is said to be derived from the Gaelic word *grumach*, applied to a person of a stern countenance and manner. It may possibly, however, be connected with the British word *grym*, signifying strength, seen in *grime's dyke*, erroneously called Graham's dyke, the name popularly given to the wall of Antoninus, from an absurd fable of Fordun and Boece, that one *Greme*, traditionally said to have governed Scotland during the minority of the fabulous Eugene the Second, broke through the mighty rampart erected by the Romans between the rivers Forth and Clyde. It is unfortunate for this fiction that the first authenticated person who bore the name in North Britain was Sir William de Græme (the undoubted ancestor of the Dukes of Montrose and all "the gallant Grahams" in this country), who came to Scotland in the reign of David the First, from whom he received the lands of Abercorn and Dalkeith, and witnessed the charter of that monarch to the monks of the abbey of Holyrood in 1128. In Gaelic *grim* means war, battle. Anciently, the word Grimesdike was applied to trenches, roads, and boundaries, and was not confined to Scotland.

This Anglo-Norman knight, Sir William de Graham, had two sons, Peter and John, in whom the direct line was carried on. The elder, Peter de Graham, styled of Dalkeith and Abercorn, had also two sons, Henry and William. Henry the elder, witnessed some of the charters of King William the Lion. He was

succeeded by his son Henry, whose son, also named Henry, by marrying the daughter of Roger Avenel (who died in 1243), acquired the extensive estates of Avenel, in Eskdale. His grandson, Sir John de Graham of Dalkeith, had a son, John de Graham, who dying without issue, was the last of the elder line of the original stock of the Grahams.

The male line of the family was carried on by the younger son of Sir William de Graham first above mentioned, John de Graham, whose son, David de Graham, obtained from his cousin, Henry, the son of Peter de Graham, the lands of Clifton and Clifton Hall in Mid-Lothian, and from King William the Lion those of Charlton and Barrowfield, as well as the lordship of Kinnaber, all in Forfarshire. This was the first connection of the family with the district near Montrose, whence they subsequently derived their ducal title. His eldest son, also named Sir David de Graham, had, from Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, in the reign of King Alexander the Second, with other lands, those of Dundaff, in Stirlingshire. The son of Sir David de Graham last mentioned, also named Sir David de Graham, who appears to have held the office of sheriff of the county of Berwick, acquired from Malise, Earl of Strathearn, the lands of Kincardine, in Perthshire, which became one of the chief designations of the family. He died about 1270. By his wife, Annabella, daughter of Robert, Earl of Strathearn, he had three sons, namely, Sir Patrick, who succeeded him; the celebrated Sir John the Graham, the companion of Wallace; and Sir David, one of the nominees, his eldest brother being another, of Baliol, in his competition for the crown of Scotland, 1292. His eldest son, Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, fell in battle against the English at Dunbar, 28th April 1296. Another son, Sir David de Graham, a favourite name among the early Grahams, was also designed of Kincardine. From Robert the First, in consideration of his good and faithful services, he had several grants, and exchanged with that monarch his property of Cardross in Dumbartonshire for the lands of "Old Montrose" in Forfarshire. He died in 1327.

Sir William Graham of KINCARDINE, his great-grandson, was frequently employed in negociations with the English relative to the liberation of King James the First. He was twice married. By his first wife he had two sons, Alexander,—who predeceased him, leaving two sons,—and John. His second wife was the princess Mary Stewart, second daughter of King Robert the Second, widow of the Earl of Angus and of Sir James Kennedy of Dunure; after Sir William Graham's death she took for her fourth husband Sir William Edmonstone of Duntreath. By this lady he had five sons, namely, 1. Sir Robert Graham of Strathcarron, ancestor of the Grahams of Fintry, of Claverhouse, and of Duntrune. 2. Patrick Graham, consecrated bishop of Brechin, in 1463, and three years after translated to the see of St. Andrews. 3. William, ancestor of the Grahams of Garvoch in Perthshire, from a younger son of whom came the Grahams of Balgowan, the most celebrated of which family was the gallant Sir Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch, the hero of Barossa. 4. Henry, of whom nothing is known. 5. Walter, of Wallacetown, Dumbartonshire, ancestor of the Grahams of Knockdolian in Carrick, and their cadets.

Patrick Graham, of Kincardine, the son of Alexander, the eldest son, succeeded his grandfather, and was created a peer of parliament in 1451, under the title of Lord Graham. He died in 1465. His only son, William, second Lord Graham, married lady Anne Douglas, eldest daughter of the fourth Earl of Angus, and had two sons, William, third Lord Graham, and George, ancestor of the Grahams of Calendar.

William, third Lord Graham, sat in the first parliament of King James the Fourth, 1488; and on 3d March, 1504–5, he was created Earl of Montrose, a charter being granted to him of that date, of his hereditary lands of "Auld Montrose," which were then erected into a free barony and earldom to be called the barony and earldom of Montrose. It is from these lands, therefore, and not from the town of Montrose, that the family take their titles of earl and duke. He fell at the battle of Flodden, 9th September 1513. He was thrice married. By his first wife, Annabella, daughter of Lord Drummond, he had a son, second Earl of Montrose; by his

second wife, Janet, a daughter of Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, he had three daughters; and by his third wife, Christian Wavance of Segy, daughter of Thomas Wavance of Stevenston, and widow of the ninth Lord Halyburton of Dirleton, two sons, Patrick, ancestor of the Græmes of Inchbrakie, Perthshire; and Andrew, consecrated bishop of Dunblane in 1575, and the first protestant bishop of that see.

From the third son of the second Earl of Montrose came the Grahams of ORCHIL, and from the fourth son the Grahams of KILLEARN. From the second son of the third earl descended the Grahams of BRACO, who once possessed a baronetcy of Nova Scotia, conferred on the first of the family, 28th September 1625. From the third son of the same earl, the Grahams of SCOTTISTOUN derived their descent.

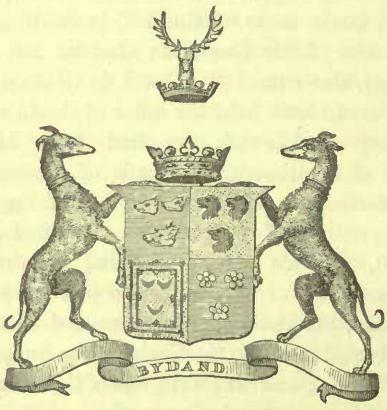
The Grahams of the borders are descended from Sir John Graham of KILBRYDE, called, from his bravery, Sir John "with the bright sword," second son of Malise, Earl first of Strathearn, and afterwards of Menteith, by his wife, the Lady Ann Vere, daughter of Henry, Earl of Oxford.

Sir John "with the bright sword" was also ancestor of the Grahams of Gartmore in Perthshire. Sir William Graham of Gartmore, created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1665, married Elizabeth, second daughter of John Graham, Lord Kilpont (son of the Earl of Airth), who was slain by one of his own vassals, James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, in the camp of the Marquis of Montrose, in 1644; and had a son, Sir John Graham, second baronet of Gartmore, declared insane in 1696. On his death, 12th July 1708, without issue, the baronetcy became extinct, and the representation of the family devolved upon his sister Mary, wife of James Hodge, Esq. of Gladsmuir, advocate. Their only daughter, Mary Hodge, married, in 1701, William, son of John Graham of Callingod, and had a son, William Graham, who assumed the title of Earl of Menteith.

The castle of Kilbryde, near Dunblane, built by Sir John "with the bright sword," in 1460, was possessed by his representatives, the Earls of Menteith, till 1640, when it was sold. The Menteith Grahams were called the Grahams "of the hens," from the following circumstances. An armed party of the Stewarts of Appin, headed by Donald Nan Ord,[2] called Donald of the Hammer, in their retreat from the disastrous field of Pinkie in 1547, in passing the lake of Menteith, stopped at a house of the Earl of Menteith, where a large feast, consisting principally of poultry, was prepared for a marriage party, and ate up all the provisions; but, being immediately pursued, they were overtaken in the gorge of a pass, near a rock called Craig-Vad, or the Wolf's cliff, where a bloody encounter took place. The earl and nearly the whole of his followers were killed, and Donald of the Hammer escaped, amidst the darkness of the night, with only a single attendant. From the cause of the fight the Highlanders gave the name of *Gramoch na Geric*, or "Grahams of the hens," to the Menteith branch ever after.

The clan Graham were principally confined to Menteith and Strathearn.

GORDON.



BADGE—Rock ivy.

THE GORDONS are an ancient and distinguished family, originally from Normandy, where their ancestors are said to have had large possessions. From the great antiquity of the race, many fabulous accounts have been given of the descent of the Gordons. Some derive them from a city of Macedonia, called Gordonia, whence they went to Gaul; others find their origin in Spain, Flanders, &c. Some writers suppose Bertrand de Gourdon who, in 1199, wounded Richard the Lion-heart mortally with

[2] See our Account of the Stewarts.

an arrow before the castle of Chalus in the Limoges, to have been the great ancestor of the Gordons, but there does not seem to be any other foundation for such a conjecture than that there was a manor in Normandy called Gourdon. It is probable that the first persons of the name in this island came over with William the Conqueror in 1066. According to Chalmers,[3] the founder of this great family came from England in the reign of David the First (1124–53), and obtained from that prince the lands of Gordon (anciently *Gordun*, or *Gordyn*, from, as Chalmers supposes, the Gaelic *Gordin*, "on the hill"). He left two sons, Richard, and Adam, who, though the younger son, had a portion of the territory of Gordon, with the lands of Fanys on the southern side of it.

The elder son, Richard de Gordon, granted, between 1150 and 1160, certain lands to the monks of Kelso, and died in 1200. His son, Sir Thomas de Gordon, confirmed by charter these donations, and *his* son and successor, also named Thomas, made additional grants to the same monks, as well as to the religious of Coldstream. He died in 1285, without male issue, and his only daughter, Alicia, marrying her cousin Adam de Gordon, the son of Adam, younger brother of Richard above mentioned, the two branches of the family thus became united.

His grandson, Sir Adam de Gordon, Lord of Gordon, one of the most eminent men of his time, was the progenitor of most of the great families of the name in Scotland. In reward of his faithful services, Bruce granted to him and his heirs the noble lordship of Strathbolgie (now Strathbogie), in Aberdeenshire, then in the Crown, by the forfeiture of David de Strathbogie, Earl of Athole, which grant was afterwards confirmed to his family by several charters under the great seal. Sir Adam fixed his residence there, and gave these lands and lordship the name of Huntly, from a village of that name in the western extremity of Gordon parish, in the Merse, the site of which is now said to be marked only by a solitary tree. From their northern domain, the family afterwards acquired the titles of Lord, Earl, and Marquis of Huntly, and the latter is now their chief title. Sir Adam was slain, fighting bravely in the vanguard of the Scotch army at the battle of Halidonhill, July 12, 1333. By Annabella, his wife, supposed to have been a daughter of David de Strathbolgie above mentioned, he had four sons and a daughter. The eldest son, Sir Alexander, succeeded him. The second son, William, was ancestor of the Viscounts of Kenmure.

Sir John Gordon, his great-grandson, got a new charter from King Robert the Second of the lands of Strathbogie, dated 13th June 1376. He was slain at the battle of Otterbourne in 1388. His son, Sir Adam, lord of Gordon, fell at the battle of Homildon, 14th September 1402. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Keith, great mareschal of Scotland, he had an only child, Elizabeth Gordon, who succeeded to the whole family estates, and having married Alexander Seton, second son of Sir William Seton of Seton, ancestor of the Earls of Winton, that gentleman was styled lord of Gordon and Huntly. He left two sons, the younger of whom became ancestor of the Setons of Meldrum.

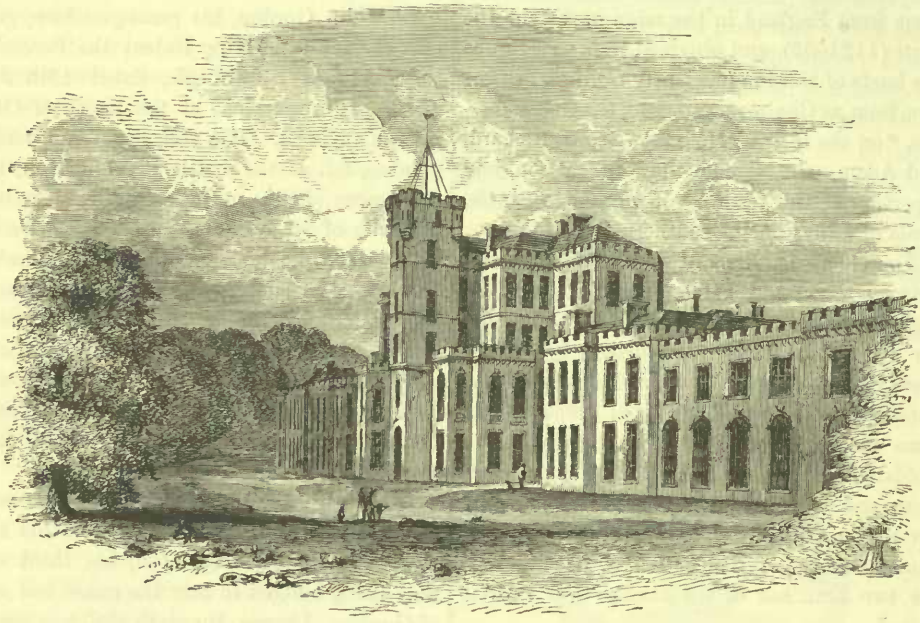
Alexander, the elder, was, in 1449, created Earl of Huntly, with limitation to his heirs male, by Elizabeth Crichton, his third wife, they being obliged to bear the name and arms of Gordon. George, the sixth earl, was created Marquis of Huntly, by King James, in 1599. George, the fourth marquis, was made Duke of Gordon in 1684. George, fifth duke, died without issue on 28th May 1836. At his death the title of Duke of Gordon became extinct, as well as that of Earl of Norwich in the British peerage, and the Marquisate of Huntly devolved on George Earl of Aboyne, descended from Charles, fourth son of George, second Marquis of Huntly, while the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, son of his eldest sister, succeeded to Gordon castle, Banffshire, and other estates in Aberdeenshire and Inverness-shire.

The clan GORDON was at one period one of the most powerful and numerous in the north Although the chiefs were not originally of Celtic origin, as already shown, they yet gave their name to the clan, the distinctive badge of which was the rock ivy. The clan feuds and battles were frequent, especially with the

[3] *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 387.

Mackintoshes, the Camerons, the Murrays, and the Forbeses. Their principal exploits have been noticed in the first volume.

The Duke of Gordon, who was the chief of the clan, was usually styled "The Cock of the North." His most ancient title was the "Gudeman of the Bog," from the Bog-of-Gight, a morass in the parish of Bellie, Banffshire, in the centre of which the former stronghold of this family was placed, and which forms the site of Gordon castle, considered the most magnificent edifice in the north of Scotland. The Marquis of Huntly is now the chief of the clan Gordon. Of the name of Gordon, there are many ancient families belonging to Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, and the north of Scotland.



Gordon Castle. From Nattes' *Scotia Depicta.*

CUMMING.



BADGE.—Cumin plant.

The family of CUMYN, COMYN, CUMIN, CUMMIN, or CUMMING, merit notice among the septs of the north of Scotland, from the prominent figure which they made there in early times. But almost all authors agree in representing them as having come from England, and having been of either Norman or Saxon descent originally. The time when they migrated northwards is also well marked in history. The event occurred in the reign of David I. That prince still claimed a large part of the north of England, and, besides, had engaged deeply in the contests betwixt King Stephen and the Empress Matilda, which agitated South Britain in the twelfth century. He was thus brought into frequent contact with the barons of Northumberland and the adjoining districts, some of whom were properly his vassals, and many of whose younger sons followed him permanently into Scotland. In this way were founded various northern families in the time of King

David, and among others, seemingly, the Cumyns. William Cumyn is the first of the name anthentically mentioned in the Scottish annals. He had been trained clerically by Gaufred, bishop of Durham, some time chancellor to Henry I.; and his abilities and experience appear to have recommended Cumyn to David of Scotland for the same high office in the north. He was nominated chancellor of Scotland in 1133; though we find him seizing on the bishopric of Durham in 1142, under countenance of a grant from the Empress Maude. But he soon after resigned it to the proper incumbent, reserving only certain of the episcopal estates for behoof of his nephew and heir, Richard.

Richard Cumyn, properly the founder of the line of the Scottish Cumyn, rose high in the service of William the Lion, and long acted as chief minister and justiciary of Scotland. During his life he held the lands of Northallerton and others, secured to him by his uncle in England; and he also obtained estates in Roxburghshire, the first property of the family in Scotland. That the Cumyns must have been of high importance in England is proved by, and in part explains, their sudden elevation in the north. Richard Cumyn even intermarried with the royal family of Scotland, wedding Hexilda, great-granddaughter of the "gracious" King Duncan of "Macbeth."[4]

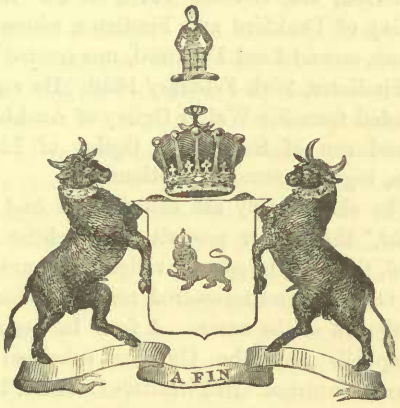
In the reign of Alexander III., as stated by Fordun, there were of the name in Scotland three Earls—Buchan, Menteith, and Athole, and one great feudal baron, Cumyn lord of Strathbogie, with thirty knights all possessing lands. The chief of the clan was lord of Badenoch and Lochaber, and other extensive districts in the Highlands. Upwards of sixty belted knights were bound to follow his banner with all their vassals, and he made treaties with princes as a prince himself. One such compact with Lewellyn of Wales is preserved in Rymer's Fœdera.

The Cummings, as the name is now spelled, are numerous in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray; but a considerable number, in consequence of being prevented, for some reason, from burying their relatives in the family burial-place, changed their names to Farquharson, as being descended from Ferquhard, second son of Alexander the fourth designed of Altyre, who lived in the middle of the fifteenth century. It is from them that the Farquharsons of Balthog, Haughton, and others in the county of Aberdeen derive their descent.

From Sir Robert Comyn, younger son of John lord of Badenoch, who died about 1274, are descended the Cummings of Altyre, Logie, Auchry (one of whom in 1760 founded the village of Cuminestown in Aberdeenshire), Relugas, &c.

[4] See Smibert's *Clans*.

OGILVY.



BADGE—Alkanet.

OGILVY is a surname derived from a barony in the parish of Glammis, Forfarshire, which, about 1163, was bestowed by William the Lion on Gilbert, ancestor of the noble family of Airlie, and, in consequence, he assumed the name of Ogilvy. He is said to have been the third son of Gillibrede, or Gilchrist, maormor of Angus. In the charters of the second and third Alexanders there are witnesses of the name of Ogilvy. Sir Patrick de Ogilvy adhered steadily to Robert the Bruce, who bestowed upon him the lands of Kettins in Forfarshire. The barony of Cortachy was acquired by the family in 1369–70. The "gracious gude Lord Ogilvy," as he is styled in the old ballad of the battle of Harlaw, in which battle the principal barons of Forfarshire fought on the side of the Earl of Mar, who commanded the royal army, was the son of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, slain in a clan battle with the Robertsons in 1394.

"Of the best amang them was
The gracious gude Lord Ogilvy,
The sheriff-principal of Angus,
Renownit for truth and equity—
For faith and magnanimity
He had few fellows in the field,
Yet fell by fatal destiny,
For he nae ways wad grant to yield."

His eldest son, George Ogilvy, was also slain.

Lord Ogilvy, the first title of Airlie family, was conferred by James IV., in 1491, on Sir John Ogilvy of Lintrathen.

James, seventh lord Oglivy, was created Earl of Airlie, in 1639.

The title of Lord Ogilvy of Deskford was conferred, 4th October 1616, on Sir Walter Ogilvy of Deskford and Findlater, whose son, James, second Lord Deskford, was created Earl of Findlater, 20th Feburary 1638. He was descended from Sir Walter Ogilvy of Auchleven, second son of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, high treasurer of Scotland.

The clan Ogilvy are called "the *Siol Gilchrist*," the race or posterity of Gilchrist. In 1526, the Mackintoshes invaded the country of the Ogilvies, and massacred no fewer than 24 gentlemen of the name. A feud between the Campbells and the Ogilvies subsisted for several centuries. In Pitcairn's Criminal Trials we find James Ogilvy complaining, on 21st October, 1591, that a body of Argyll's men had attacked him when residing peaceably in Glenisla, in Forfarshire, which anciently belonged to the Ogilvies, killed several of his people, ravaged the country, and compelled him and his lady to flee for their lives.

The Ogilvies had their revenge in 1645, for the burning of "the bonnie house of Airlie," and the other strongholds of the Ogilvies, when Castle Campbell, near Dollar, or the Castle of Gloom, its original name, was destroyed by them and the Macleans, and the territory of the Marquis of Argyll was overrun by the fierce and ruthless clan that followed Montrose, and carried fire and sword throughout the whole estates of the clan Campbell.

FERGUSON.

Badge—Little Sunflower.

Ferguson, or Fergusson, is the surname (son of Fergus) of a Highland sept (whose arms we have been unable to obtain), which had its seat on the borders of the counties of Perth and Forfar, immediately to the north of Dunkeld, and the distinctive badge of which was the little sunflower. In the Roll of 1587, they are named as among the septs of Mar and Athole, where their proper seat as a clan originally lay, having chiefs and captains of their own. In Galloway, the Craigdarroch Fergussons have flourished from an early date, and in Fife the Fergusons of Raith have long held a high position as landholders.

PART THIRD.

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Military character of the Highlands.

Hitherto the account of the military exploits of the Highlanders has been limited to their own clan feuds and to the exertions which, for a century, they made in behalf of the unfortunate Stuarts. We are now to notice their operations on a more extended field of action, by giving a condensed sketch of their services in the cause of the country; services which have acquired for them a reputation as deserved as it has been unsurpassed. From moral as well as from physical causes, the Highlanders were well fitted to attain this pre-eminence.

"In forming his military character, the Highlander was not more favoured by nature than by the social system under which he lived. Nursed in poverty, he acquired a hardihood which enabled him to sustain severe privations. As the simplicity of his life gave vigour to his body, so it fortified his mind. Possessing a frame and constitution thus hardened, he was taught to consider courage as the most honourable virtue, cowardice the most disgraceful failing; to venerate and obey his chief, and to devote himself for his native country and clan; and thus prepared to be a soldier, he was ready to follow wherever honour and duty called him. With such principles, and regarding any disgrace he might bring on his clan and district as the most cruel misfortune, the Highland private soldier had a peculiar motive to exertion. The common soldier of many other countries has scarcely any other stimulus to the performance of his duty than the fear of chastisement, or the habit of mechanical obedience to command, produced by the discipline in which he has been trained. With a Highland soldier it is otherwise. When in a national or district corps, he is surrounded by the companions of his youth and the rivals of his early achievements; he feels the impulse of emulation strengthened by the consciousness that every proof which he displays, either of bravery or cowardice, will find its way to his native home. He thus learns to appreciate the value of a good name; and it is thus, that in a Highland regiment, consisting of men from the same country, whose kindred and connexions are mutually known, every individual feels that his conduct is the subject of observation, and that, independently of his duty as a member of a systematic whole, he has to sustain a separate and individual reputation, which will be reflected on his family, and district or glen. Hence he requires no artificial excitements. He acts from motives within himself; his point is fixed, and his aim must terminate either in victory or death. The German soldier considers himself as a part of the military machine, and duly marked out in the orders of the day. He moves onward to his destination with a well-trained pace, and with as phlegmatic indifference to the result as a labourer who works for his daily hire. The courage of the French soldier is supported in the hour of trial by his high notions of the point of honour; but this display of spirit is not always steady. A Highland soldier faces his enemy, whether in front, rear, or flank; and if he has confidence in his commander, it may be predicted

with certainty that he will be victorious or die on the ground which he maintains. He goes into the field resolved not to disgrace his name. A striking characteristic of the Highlander is, that all his actions seem to flow from sentiment. His endurance of privation and fatigue,—his resistance of hostile opposition,—his solicitude for the good opinion of his superiors,—all originate in this source, whence also proceeds his obedience, which is always most *conspicuous when exhibited under kind treatment.* Hence arises the difference observable between the conduct of one regiment of Highlanders and that of another, and frequently even of the same regiment at different times, and under different management. A Highland regiment, to be orderly and well disciplined, ought to be commanded by men who are capable of appreciating their character, directing their passions and prejudices, and acquiring their entire confidence and affection. The officer to whom the command of Highlanders is intrusted must endeavour to acquire their confidence and good opinion. With this view, he must watch over the propriety of his own conduct. He must observe the strictest justice and fidelity in his promises to his men, conciliate them by an attention to their dispositions and prejudices, and, at the same time, by preserving a firm and steady authority, without which he will not be respected.

"Officers who are accustomed to command Highland soldiers find it easy to guide and control them when their full confidence has been obtained; but when distrust prevails severity ensues, with a consequent neglect of duty, and by a continuance of this unhappy misunderstanding, the men become stubborn, disobedient, and in the end mutinous. The spirit of a Highland soldier revolts at any unnecessary severity; though he may be led to the mouth of a cannon if properly directed, will rather die than be unfaithful to his trust. But if, instead of leading, his officers attempt to drive him, he may fail in the discharge of the most common duties."[1]

A learned and ingenious author,[2] who, though himself a Lowlander, had ample opportunity, while serving in many campaigns with Highland regiments, of becoming intimately acquainted with their character, thus writes of them:—

"The limbs of the Highlander are strong and sinewy, the frame hardy, and of great physical power, in proportion to size. He endures cold, hunger, and fatigue with patience; in other words, he has an elasticity or pride of mind which does not feel, or which refuses to complain of hardship. The air of the gentleman is ordinarily majestic; the air and gait of the gilly is not graceful. He walks with a bended knee, and does not walk with grace, but his movement has energy; and between walking and trotting, and by an interchange of pace, he performs long journeys with facility, particularly on broken and irregular ground, such as he has been accustomed to traverse in his native country.

"The Highlanders of Scotland, born and reared under the circumstances stated, marshalled for action by clans, according to ancient usage, led into action by chiefs who possess confidence from an opinion of knowledge, and love from the influence of blood, may be calculated upon as returning victorious, or dying in the grasp of the enemy.

"Scotch Highlanders have a courage devoted to honour; but they have an impetuosity which, if not well understood, and skilfully directed, is liable to error. The Scotch fight individually as if the cause were their own, not as if it were the cause of a commander only,—and they fight impassioned. Whether training and discipline may bring them in time to the apathy of German soldiers, further experience will determine; but the Highlanders are even now impetuous; and, if they fail to accomplish their object, they cannot be withdrawn from it like those who fight a battle by the job. The object stands in their own view; the eye is fixed upon it; they rush towards it, seize it, and proclaim victory with exultation.

"The Highlander, upon the whole, is a soldier of the first quality; but, as already said, he requires to see his object fully, and to come into contact with it in all its extent. He then feels the impression of his duty through a channel which he understands, and he acts consistently in consequence of the impression, that

[1] Stewart's *Sketches.*
[2] Jackson's *View of the Formation, &c., of Armies.* 1824.

is, in consequence of the impulse of his own internal sentiment, rather than the external impulse of the command of another; for it is often verified in experience that, where the enemy is before the Highlander and nearly in contact with him, the authority of the officer is in a measure null; the duty is notwithstanding done, and well done, by the impulses of natural instinct.

"Their conduct in the year 1745 proves very distinctly that they are neither a ferocious nor a cruel people. No troops ever, perhaps, traversed a country which might be deemed hostile leaving so few traces of outrage behind them as were left by the Highlanders in the year 1745. They are better known at the present time than they were then, and they are known to be eminent for honesty and fidelity, where confidence is given them. They possess exalted notions of honour, warm friendships, and much national pride."

Of the disinclination from peaceful employment, and propensity for war here spoken of, Dr Jackson elsewhere affords us a striking illustration. While passing through the Isle of Skye[3] in the autumn of 1783, he met a man of great age whose shoulder had, through a recent fall, been dislocated. This condition was speedily rectified by our traveller. "As there seemed to be something rather uncommon about the old man, I asked if he had lived all his life in the Highlands? No:—he said he made one of the FORTY-SECOND when they were first raised; then had gone with them to Germany; but when he had heard that his Prince was landed in the North, he purchased, or had made such interest that he procured his discharge; came home, and enlisted under his banner. He fought at Culloden, and was wounded. After everything was settled, he returned to his old regiment, and served with it till he received another wound that rendered him unfit for service. He now, he said, lived the best way he could, on his pension."

Dr Jackson also strongly advocates the desirability of forming national and district regiments, and of keeping them free from any foreign intermixture. Such a policy seems to be getting more and more into favour among modern military authorities; and we believe that at the present time it is seldom, and only with reluctance, that any but Scotchmen are admitted into Scotch, and especially into Highland regiments, at least this is the case with regard to privates. Indeed, it is well known that in our own country there is even now an attempt among those who manage such matters, to connect particular regiments with certain districts. Not only does such a plan tend to keep up the *morale* respectability and *esprit de corps* of each regiment, but is well calculated to keep up the numbers, by establishing a connection between the various regiments and the militia of the districts with which they are connected. Originally each Highland regiment was connected and raised from a well defined district, and military men who are conversant in such matters think that it would be advisable to restore these regiments to their old footing in this respect. On this subject, we again quote the shrewd remarks of Dr Jackson:—

"If military materials be thrown together promiscuously—that is, arranged by no other rule except that of size or quantity of matter, as it is admitted that the individual parts possess different propensities and different powers of action, it is plain that the instrument composed of these different and independent parts has a tendency to act differently; the parts are constrained to act on one object by stimulation or coercion only.

"Military excellence consists, as often hinted, in every part of the instrument acting with full force—acting from one principle and for one purpose; and hence it is evident that in a mixed fabric, composed of parts of unequal power and different temper, disunion is a consequence, if all act to the full extent of their

[3] "The Isle of Skye has, within the last forty years, furnished for the public service, twenty-one lieutenant-generals and major-generals; forty-five lieutenant-colonels; six hundred majors, captains, lieutenants, and subalterns; ten thousand foot soldiers; one hundred and twenty pipers; four governors of British colonies; one governor-general; one adjutant-general; one chief-baron of England; and one judge of the Supreme Court of Scotland. The generals may be classed thus:—eight Macdonalds, six Macleods, two Macallisters, two Macaskills, one Mackinnon, one Elder, and one Macqueen. The Isle of Skye is forty-five miles long, and about fifteen in mean breadth. Truly the inhabitants are a wonderous people. It may be mentioned that this island is the birth-place of Cuthullin, the celebrated hero mentioned in Ossian's Poems."—*Inverness Journal.*

power; or if disunion be not a consequence, the combined act must necessarily be shackled, and, as such, inferior, the strong being restrained from exertion for the sake of preserving union with the weak.

"The imperfection now stated necessarily attaches to regiments composed of different nations mixed promiscuously. It even attaches, in some degree, to regiments which are formed indiscriminately from the population of all the districts or counties of an extensive kingdom. This assumption, anticipated by reasoning, is confirmed by experience in the military history of semi-barbarous tribes, which are often observed, without the aid of tactic, as taught in modern schools, to stick together in danger and to achieve acts of heroism beyond the comprehension of those who have no knowledge of man but as part of a mechanical instrument of war. The fact has numerous proofs in the history of nations; but it has not a more decisive one than that which occurred in the late SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT in the revolutionary war of America. In the summer of the year 1779, a party of the Seventy-first Regiment, consisting of fifty-six men and five officers, was detached from a redoubt at Stoneferry, in South Carolina, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy, which was supposed to be advancing in force to attack the post. The instructions given to the officer who commanded went no further than to reconnoitre and retire upon the redoubt. The troops were new troops,—ardent as Highlanders usually are. They fell in with a strong column of the enemy (upwards of two thousand) within a short distance of the post; and, instead of retiring according to instruction, they thought proper to attack, with an instinctive view, it was supposed, to retard progress, and thereby to give time to those who were in the redoubt to make better preparations for defence. This they did; but they were themselves nearly destroyed. All the officers and non-commissioned officers were killed or wounded, and seven of the privates only remained on their legs at the end of the combat. The commanding officer fell, and, in falling, desired the few who still resisted to make the best of their way to the redoubt. They did not obey. The national sympathies were warm. National honour did not permit them to leave their officers in the field; and they actually persisted in covering their fallen comrades until a reinforcement arriving from head quarters, which was at some distance, induced the enemy to retire.

In the narratives which follow, we have confined ourselves strictly to those regiments which are at the present day officially recognised as Highland. Many existing regiments were originally raised in Highland districts, and formerly wore the Highland dress, which, as our readers will see, had ultimately to be changed into ordinary line regiments, from the difficulty of finding Highlanders willing to enlist; the history of such regiments we have followed only so long as they were recognised as Highland. In this way the existing strictly Highland regiments are reduced to nine—The Black Watch or 42nd, the 71st, 72nd, 74th, 78th, 79th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd.

42D ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

AM FREICEADAN DUBH— "THE BLACK WATCH."

I.

1729–1775.

Embodying the Black Watch—March for England—Mutiny—Fontenoy—Embarks for the French coast—Flanders—Battle of Lafeldt—Return of the regiment to Ireland—Number changed from the 43d to the 42d—Embarks for New York—Louisbourg—Ticonderoga—The West Indies—Ticonderoga and Crown Point—Surrender of Montreal—Martinique—Havannah—Bushy Run—Fort Pitt—Ireland—Return of the 42d to Scotland.



NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT.

Egypt.	Orthes.
(With the Sphinx.)	Toulouse.
Corunna.	Peninsula.
Fuentes d'Onor.	Waterloo.
Pyrenees.	Alma.
Nivelle.	Sevastopol.
Nive.	Lucknow.

The design of rendering such a valuable class of subjects available to the state by forming regular military corps out of it, seems not to have entered into the views of the government till about the year 1729, when six companies of Highlanders were raised, which, from forming distinct corps unconnected with each other, received the appellation of independent companies. Three of these companies consisted of 100 men each, and were therefore called large companies; Lord Lovat, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, and Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch, were appointed captains over them. The three smaller companies, which consisted of 75 each, were commanded by Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab, John Campbell of Carrick, and George Munro of Culcairn, under the commission of captain-lieutenants. To each of the six companies were attached two lieutenants and one ensign. To distinguish them from the regular troops, who, from having coats, waistcoats, and breeches of scarlet cloth, were called *Saighdearan Dearg*, or Red soldiers; the independent companies, who were attired in tartan consisting mostly of black, green, and blue, were designated *Am Freiceadan Dubh*, or Black Watch,—from the sombre appearance of their dress.

As the services of these companies were not required beyond their own territory, and as the intrants were not subjected to the humiliating provisions of the disarming act, no difficulty was found in forming them; and when completed, they presented the singular spectacle of a number of young men of respectable families serving as privates in the ranks. "Many of the men who composed these companies were of a higher station in society than that from which soldiers in general are raised; cadets of gentlemen's families, sons of gentlemen farmers, and tacksmen, either immediately or distantly descended from gentlemen's families,—men who felt themselves responsible for their conduct to high-minded and honourable families, as well as to a country for which they cherished a devoted affection. In addition to the advantages derived from their superior rank in life, they possessed, in an eminent degree, that of a commanding external deportment, special care being taken in selecting men of full height, well proportioned, and of handsome appearance."[4]

The duties assigned to these companies were to enforce the disarming act, to overawe the disaffected, and watch their motions, and to check depredations. For this purpose they were stationed in small detachments in different parts of the country, and generally throughout the district in which they were raised. Thus Fort Augustus and the neighbouring parts of Inverness-shire were occupied by the Frasers under Lord Lovat; Ballindalloch and the Grants were stationed in Strathspey and Badenoch; the Munros under Culcairn, in Ross and Sutherland; Lochnell's and Carrick's companies were stationed in Athole and Breadalbane, and Finab's in Lochaber, and the northern parts of Argyleshire among the disaffected Camerons, and Stewarts of Appin. All Highlanders of whatever clan were admitted indiscriminately into these companies as soldiers; but the officers were taken, almost exclusively, from the whig clans.

The independent companies continued to exist as such until the year 1739, when government resolved to raise four additional companies, and to form the whole into a regiment of the line. For this purpose, letters of service, dated 25th October 1739, were addressed to the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, who was appointed to the command of the regiment about to be formed, which was to consist of 1000 men. Although the commissions were dated as above, the regiment was not embodied till the month of May 1740, when it assembled

[4] Stewart's *Sketches*. In confirmation of this, General Stewart mentions the case of Mr Stewart of Bohallie, his grand-uncle by marriage, who was one of the gentlemen soldiers in Carrick's company. "This gentleman, a man of family and education, was five feet eleven inches in height, remarkable for his personal strength and activity, and one of the best swordsmen of his time in an age when good swordsmanship was common, and considered an indispensable and graceful accomplishment of a gentleman; and yet, with all these qualifications, he was only a centre man of the centre rank of his company."

on a field between Taybridge and Aberfeldy,[5] in Perthshire, under the number of the 43d regiment, afterwards changed to the 42d, but still bearing the name of the Black Watch. "The uniform was a scarlet jacket and waistcoat, with buff facings and white lace,—tartan[6] plaid of twelve yards plaited round the middle of the body, the upper part being fixed on the left shoulder ready to be thrown loose, and wrapped over both shoulders and firelock in rainy weather. At night the plaid served the purpose of a blanket, and was a sufficient covering for the Highlander. These were called belted plaids from being kept tight to the body by a belt, and were worn on guards, reviews, and on all occasions when the men were in full dress. On this belt hung the pistols and dirk when worn. In the barracks, and when not on duty, the little kilt or philibeg was worn, a blue bonnet with a border of white, red and green, arranged in small squares to resemble, as is said, the *fess cheque* in the arms of the different branches of the Stewart family, and a tuft of feathers, or sometimes, from economy or necessity, a small piece of black bear-skin. The arms were a musket, a bayonet, and a large basket-hilted broadsword. These were furnished by government. Such of the men as chose to supply themselves with pistols and dirks were allowed to carry them, and some had targets after the fashion of their country. The sword-belt was of black leather, and the cartouch-box was carried in front, supported by a narrow belt round the middle."[7]

The officers appointed to this regiment were:—

Colonel—John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, died in 1748.
Lieutenant-Colonel—Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, Bart., killed at Falkirk, 1746.
Major—George Grant, brother of the Laird of Grant, removed from the service by sentence of a court-martial, for allowing the rebels to get possession of the castle of Inverness in 1746.

Captains.

George Munro of Culcairn, brother of Sir Robert Munro, killed in 1746.[8]
Dugal Campbell of Craignish, retired in 1745.
John Campbell of Carrick, killed at Fontenoy.
Colin Campbell, junior, of Monzie, retired in 1743.
Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, Bart., retired in 1748.
Colin Campbell of Ballimore, retired.
John Munro, promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel in 1743, retired in 1749.
Captain-Lieutenant Duncan Macfarlane, retired in 1744.

Lieutenants.

Paul Macpherson.
Lewis Grant of Auchterblair.
John Maclean of Kingarloch. } Both removed from the regiment in consequence of having fought a duel in 1744.
John Mackenzie. }
Alexander Macdonald.
Malcolm Fraser, son of Culduthel, killed at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1747.
George Ramsay.
Francis Grant, son of the Laird of Grant, died Lieutenant-General in 1782.
John Macneil.

Ensigns.

Dugal Campbell, killed at Fontenoy.
Dugal Stewart.
John Menzies of Comrie.
Edward Carrick.
Gilbert Stewart of Kincraigie.
Gordon Graham of Draines.
Archd. Macnab, son of the Laird of Macnab, died Lieutenant-General, 1790.
Colin Campbell.
Dugal Stewart.
James Campbell of Glenfalloch, died of wounds at Fontenoy.

Chaplain—Hon. Gideon Murray.
Surgeon—James Munro, brother of Sir Robert Munro.[9]

Adjutant—Gilbert Stewart.
Quarter-Master—John Forbes.

In 1740 the Earl of Crawford was removed to the Life Guards, and Brigadier-General Lord Sempill was appointed Colonel of the Highlanders.

[5] Sir Robert Menzies, writing to the *Dundee Advertiser* in connection with the monument recently erected at Dunkeld to the Black Watch, says this is a mistake, although it is the account generally received, and that given by General David Stewart. Sir Robert says "the detailed companies of the Black Watch met at Weem, and that the whole regiment was first drawn up in the field at Boltachan, between Weem and Taybridge." It is strange, considering the inscription on the monument, that Sir Robert should have been asked to allow it to be erected in the field in question. After all, both statements may be essentially correct, and it is of no great consequence.

[6] While the companies acted independently, each commander assumed the tartan of his own clan. When embodied, no clan having a superior claim to offer a uniform plaid to the whole, and Lord Crawford, the colonel, being a lowlander, a new pattern was assumed, which has ever since been known as the 42d, or Black Watch tartan, being distinct from all others. Here we must acknowledge our indebtedness to a manuscript history of this regiment, kindly lent us by Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, whose "happy home," he says himself, the regiment was for 38 years. The volume contains much curious, valuable, and interesting information, on which we shall largely draw in our account of the 42d. Our obligations to Colonel Wheatley in connection with this history of the Highland regiments are very numerous; his willingness to lend us every assistance in his power deserves our warmest thanks.

[7] Stewart's *Sketches*.
[8] See p. 234 of this volume.
[9] See vol. i., p. 626.

After remaining nearly eighteen months in quarters near Taybridge,[1] the regiment was marched northward, in the winter of 1741–2 and the men remained in the stations assigned them till the spring of 1743, when they were ordered to repair to Perth. Having assembled there in March of that year, they were surprised on being informed that orders had been received to march the regiment for England, a step which they considered contrary to an alleged understanding when regimented, that the sphere of their services was not to extend beyond their native country. When the intention of employing them in foreign service came to be known, many of the warmest supporters of the government highly disapproved of the design, among whom was Lord President Forbes. In a letter to General Clayton, the successor of Marshal Wade, the chief commander in Scotland, his lordship thus expresses himself:—"When I first heard of the orders given to the Highland regiment to march southwards, it gave me no sort of concern, because I supposed the intention was only to see them; but as I have lately been assured that they are destined for foreign service, I cannot dissemble my uneasiness at a resolution, that may, in my apprehension, be attended with very bad consequences; nor can I prevail with myself not to communicate to you my thoughts on the subject, however late they may come; because if what I am to suggest has not been already under consideration, it's possible the resolution may be departed from." After noticing the consequences which might result from leaving the Highlands unprotected from the designs of the disaffected in the event of a war with France, he thus proceeds:—"Having thus stated to you the danger I dread, I must, in the next place, put you in mind, that the present system for securing the peace of the Highlands, which is the best I ever heard of, is by regular troops stationed from Inverness to Fort William, alongst the chain of lakes which in a manner divides the Highlands, to command the obedience of the inhabitants of both sides, and by a body of disciplined Highlanders wearing the dress and speaking the language of the country, to execute such orders as require expedition, and for which neither the dress nor the manner of the other troops are proper. The Highlanders, now regimented, were at first independent companies; and though their dress, language, and manners, qualified them for securing the low country against depredations; yet that was not the sole use of them: the same qualities fitted them for every expedition that required secrecy and despatch; they served for all purposes of hussars or light horse, in a country where mountains and bogs render cavalry useless, and if properly disposed over the Highlands, nothing that was commonly reported and believed by the Highlanders could be a secret to their commanders, because of their intimacy with the people and the sameness of the language."[2] Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the government persisted in its determination to send the regiment abroad; and to deceive the men, from whom their real destination was concealed, they were told that the object of their march to England was merely to gratify the curiosity of the king,[3] who was desirous of seeing a

[1] Taybridge and the Point of Lyon, a mile below Taymouth Castle, were their places of rendezvous for exercise.

[2] Culloden Papers, No. CCCXC.

[3] The king, having never seen a Highland soldier, expressed a desire to see one. Three privates, remarkable for their figure and good looks, were fixed upon and sent to London a short time before the regiment marched. These were Gregor M'Gregor, commonly called Gregor the Beautiful, John Campbell, son of Duncan Campbell of the family of Duneaves, Perthshire, and John Grant from Strathspey, of the family of Ballindalloch. Grant fell sick, and died at Aberfeldy. The others "were presented by their Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir Robert Munro, to the king, and performed the broadsword exercise, and that of the Lochaber axe, or lance, before his majesty, the Duke of Cumberland, Marshal Wade, and a number of general officers assembled for the purpose, in the Great Gallery at St James's. They displayed so much dexterity and skill in the management of their weapons, as to give perfect satisfaction to his majesty. Each got a gratuity of one guinea, which *they gave to the porter at the palace gate as they passed out.*"* They thought that the king had mistaken their character and condition in their own country. Such was, in general, the character of the men who originally composed the Black Watch. This feeling of self-estimation inspired a high spirit and sense of honour in the regiment, which continued to form its character and conduct long after the description of men who originally composed it was totally changed. These men afterwards rose to rank in the army. Mr Campbell got an ensigncy for his conduct at Fontenoy, and was captain-lieutenant of the regiment when he was killed at Ticonderoga, where he also distinguished himself. Mr M'Gregor was promoted in another regiment, and afterwards purchased the lands of Inverardine in

* *Westminster Journal.*

Highland regiment. Satisfied with this explanation, they proceeded on their march. The English people, who had been led to consider the Highlanders as savages, were struck with the warlike appearance of the regiment and the orderly deportment of the men, who received in the country and towns through which they passed the mostly friendly attentions.

Having reached the vicinity of London on the 29th and 30th of April, in two divisions, the regiment was reviewed on the 14th of May, on Finchley Common, by Marshal Wade. The arrival of the corps in the neighbourhood of the metropolis had attracted vast crowds of people to their quarters, anxious to behold men of whom they had heard the most extraordinary relations; but, mingled with these, were persons who frequented the quarters of the Highlanders from a very different motive. Their object was to sow the seeds of distrust and disaffection among the men, by circulating misrepresentations and falsehoods respecting the intentions of the government. These incendiaries gave out that a gross deception had been practised upon the regiment, in regard to the object of their journey, in proof of which they adduced the fact of his majesty's departure for Hanover, on the very day of the arrival of the last division, and that the real design of the government was to get rid of them altogether, as disaffected persons, and, with that view, that the regiment was to be transported for life to the American plantations. These insidious falsehoods had their intended effect upon the minds of the Highlanders, who took care, however, to conceal the indignation they felt at their supposed betrayers. All their thoughts were bent upon a return to their own country, and they concerted their measures for its accomplishment with a secrecy which escaped the observation of their officers, of whose integrity in the affair they do not, however, appear to have entertained any suspicion.

The mutiny which followed created a great sensation, and the circumstances which led to it formed, both in public and in private, the ordinary topic of discussion. The writer of a pamphlet, which was published immediately after the mutiny, and which contains the best view of the subject, and an intimate knowledge of the facts, thus describes the affair:—

"On their march through the northern counties of England, they were every where received with such hospitality, that they appeared in the highest spirits; and it was imagined that their attachment to home was so much abated, that they would feel no reluctance to the change. As they approached the metropolis, however, and were exposed to the taunts of the *true-bred English clowns*, they became more gloomy and sullen. Animated, even to the lowest private, with the feelings of gentlemen, they could ill brook the rudeness of boors —nor could they patiently submit to affronts in a country to which they had been called by invitation of their sovereign. A still deeper cause of discontent preyed upon their minds. A rumour had reached them on their march that they were to be embarked for the plantations. The fate of the marines, the invalids, and other regiments which had been sent to these colonies, seemed to mark out this service as at once the most perilous and the most degrading to which British soldiers could be exposed. With no enemy to encounter worthy of their courage, there was another consideration, which made it peculiarly odious to the Highlanders. By the act of parliament of the eleventh of George I., transportation to the colonies was denounced against the Highland rebels, &c. as the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on them except death, and, when they heard that they were to be sent there, the galling suspicion naturally arose in their minds, that '*after being used as rods to scourge their own countrymen, they were to be thrown into the fire!*' These apprehensions they kept secret even from their own officers, and the care with which they dissembled them is the best evidence of the deep impression which they had made. Amidst all their jealousies and fears, however, they looked forward with considerable expectation to the review, when they were to come under the immediate observation of his majesty, or some of the royal family. On the 14th of May they were reviewed by Marshal Wade, and many persons of distinction, who were highly de-

Breadalbane. He was grandfather of Sir Gregor M'Gregor, a commander in South America.—Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. i. p. 250.

lighted with the promptitude and alacrity with which they went through their military exercises, and gave a very favourable report of them, where it was likely to operate most to their advantage. From that moment, however, all their thoughts were bent on the means of returning to their own country; and on this wild and romantic march they accordingly set out a few days after. Under pretence of preparing for the review, they had been enabled to provide themselves, unsuspectedly, with some necessary articles, and, confiding in their capability of enduring privations and fatigue, they imagined that they should have great advantages over any troops that might be sent in pursuit of them. It was on the night between Tuesday and Wednesday (17th and 18th May) after the review that they assembled on a common near Highgate, and commenced their march to the north. They kept as nearly as possible between the two great roads, passing from wood to wood in such a manner that it was not well known which way they moved. Orders were issued by the lords-justices to the commanding officers of the forces stationed in the counties between them and Scotland, and an advertisement was published by the secretary at war, exhorting the civil officers to be vigilant in their endeavours to discover their route. It was not, however, till about eight o'clock on the evening of Thursday, 19th May, that any certain intelligence of them was obtained, and they had then proceeded as far as Northampton, and were supposed to be shaping their course towards Nottinghamshire. General Blakeney, who commanded at Northampton, immediately despatched Captain Ball, of General Wade's regiment of horse, an officer well acquainted with that part of the country, to search after them. They had now entered Lady Wood between Brig Stock and Dean Thorp, about four miles from Oundle, when they were discovered. Captain Ball was joined in the evening by the general himself, and about nine all the troops were drawn up in order, near the wood where the Highlanders lay. Seeing themselves in this situation, and unwilling to aggravate their offence by the crime of shedding the blood of his majesty's troops, they sent one of their guides to inform the general that he might, without fear, send an officer to treat of the terms on which they should be expected to surrender. Captain Ball was accordingly delegated, and, on coming to a conference, the captain demanded that they should instantly lay down their arms and surrender as prisoners at discretion. This they positively refused, declaring that they would rather be cut to pieces than submit, unless the general should send them a written promise, signed by his own hand, that their arms should not be taken from them, and that they should have a free pardon. Upon this the captain delivered the conditions proposed by General Blakeney, viz., that if they would peaceably lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners, the most favourable report should be made of them to the lords-justices; when they again protested that they would be cut in pieces rather than surrender, except on the conditions of retaining their arms, and receiving a free pardon. 'Hitherto,' exclaimed the captain, 'I have been your friend, and am still anxious to do all I can to save you; but, if you continue obstinate an hour longer, surrounded as you are by the king's forces, not a man of you shall be left alive; and, for my own part, I assure you that I shall give quarter to none.' He then demanded that two of their number should be ordered to conduct him out of the wood. Two brothers were accordingly ordered to accompany him. Finding that they were inclined to submit, he promised them both a free pardon, and, taking one of them along with him, he sent back the other to endeavour, by every means, to overcome the obstinacy of the rest. He soon returned with thirteen more. Having marched them to a short distance from the wood, the captain again sent one of them back to his comrades to inform them how many had submitted; and in a short time seventeen more followed the example. These were all marched away with their arms (the powder being blown out of their pans,) and when they came before the general they laid down their arms. On returning to the wood they found the whole body disposed to submit to the general's troops.

"While this was doing in the country," continues our author, "there was nothing but the flight of the Highlanders talked of in town. The wiser sort blamed it, but some of their

hot-headed countrymen were for comparing it to the retreat of the 10,000 Greeks through Persia; by which, for the honour of the ancient kingdom of Scotland, Corporal M'Pherson was erected into a Xenophon. But amongst these idle dreams, the most injurious were those that reflected on their officers, and by a strange kind of innuendo, would have fixed the crime of these people's desertion upon those who did their duty, and staid here.

"As to the rest of the regiment, they were ordered immediately to Kent, whither they marched very cheerfully, and were from thence transported to Flanders, and are by this time with the army, where I dare say it will quickly appear they were not afraid of fighting the French. In King William's war there was a Highland regiment that, to avoid going to Flanders, had formed a design of flying into the mountains. This was discovered before they could put it into execution; and General M'Kay, who then commanded in Scotland, caused them to be immediately surrounded and disarmed, and afterwards shipped them for Holland. When they came to the confederate army, they behaved very briskly upon all occasions; but as pick-thanks are never wanting in courts, some wise people were pleased to tell King William that the Highlanders drank King James's health,—a report which was probably very true. The king, whose good sense taught him to despise such dirty informations, asked General Talmash, who was near him, how they behaved in the field? 'As well as any troops in the army,' answered the general, like a soldier and a man of honour. 'Why then,' replied the king, 'if they fight for me, let them drink my father's health as often as they please.' On the road, and even after they entered to London, they kept up their spirits, and marched very cheerfully; nor did they show any marks of terror when they were brought into the Tower."

Though it was evident that the Highlanders were led to commit this rash act under a false impression, and that they were the unconscious dupes of designing men, yet the government thought it could not overlook such a gross breach of military discipline, and the deserters were accordingly tried before a general court-martial on the 8th of June. They were all found guilty, and condemned to be shot. Three only, however, suffered capitally. These were Corporals Malcolm and Samuel M'Pherson,[4] and Farquhar Shaw, a private. They were shot



Farquhar Shaw, of the Black Watch, in the uniform of the Regiment, 1743. From the picture in the possession of Lord John Murray, Colonel of the Regiment 1745, Major-General 1755.

upon the parade within the Tower, in presence of the other prisoners, who joined in their prayers with great earnestness. The unfortunate men met their death with composure, and acted with great propriety. Their bodies were put into three coffins by three of the prisoners, their clansmen and connexions, and were buried together in one grave at the place of execution.[5] From an ill-judged severity, one hundred of the deserters were equally divided between the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, and a similar number were distributed among the different corps in the Leeward islands, Jamaica and Georgia,—a circumstance

[4] Brother to General Kenneth M'Pherson of the East India Company's Service, who died in 1815. General Stewart says that Lord John Murray, who was afterwards colonel of the regiment, had portraits of the sufferers hung up in his dining-room; but for what reason is not known. They were remarkable for their great size and handsome figure.

[5] *St James's Chronicle*, 20th July 1743.

which, it is believed, impressed the Highlanders with an idea that the government had intended to deceive them.

Near the end of May the remainder of the regiment was sent to Flanders, where it joined the army under the command of Field-marshal the Earl of Stair. During the years 1743–44, they were quartered in different parts of that country, and by their quiet, orderly, and kind deportment, acquired the entire confidence of the people among whom they mixed. The regiment "was judged the most trust-worthy guard of property, insomuch that the people in Flanders choose to have them always for their protection. Seldom were any of them drunk, and they as rarely swore. And the elector-palatine wrote to his envoy in London, desiring him to thank the king of Great Britain for the excellent behaviour of the regiment while in his territories in 1743 and 1744, and for whose sake he adds, 'I will always pay a respect and regard to a Scotchman in future.'"[6]

Lord Sempill, who had succeeded the Earl of Crawford in the colonelcy of the regiment in 1740, being appointed in April 1745 to the 25th regiment, Lord John Murray, son of the Duke of Athole, succeeded him as colonel of the Highlanders. During the command of these officers, the regiment was designated by the titles of its successive commanders, as Lord Crawford's, Lord Sempill's, and Lord John Murray's Highlanders.

Baffled in his efforts to prevent the elevation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the imperial throne, the King of France resolved to humble the house of Austria by making a conquest of the Netherlands. With this view he assembled an immense army in Flanders under the command of the celebrated Marshal Saxe, and having with the dauphin joined the army in April 1745, he, on the 30th of that month, invested Tournay, then garrisoned by 8000 men, commanded by General Baron Dorth, who defended the place with vigour. The Duke of Cumberland, who arrived from England early in May, assumed the command of the allied army assembled at Soignies. It consisted of twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of British, five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverians, all under the immediate command of his royal highness; twenty-six battalions and forty squadrons of Dutch, commanded by the Prince of Waldeck; and eight squadrons of Austrians, under the command of Count Konigseg.

Though the allied army was greatly inferior in number to the enemy, yet as the French army was detached, the duke resolved to march to the relief of Tournay. Marshal Saxe, who soon became aware of the design of the allies, drew up his army in line of battle, on the right bank of the Scheldt, extending from the wood of Barri to Fontenoy, and thence to the village of St Antoine in sight of the British army.

The allied army advanced to Leuse, and on the 9th of May took up a position between the villages of Bougries and Maulbre, in sight of the French army. In the evening the duke, attended by Field-marshal Konigseg and the Prince of Waldeck, reconnoitred the position of Marshal Saxe. They were covered by the Highlanders, who kept up a sharp fire with French sharp-shooters who were concealed in the woods. After a general survey, the Earl of Crawford, who was left in command of the advance of the army, proceeded with the Highlanders and a party of hussars to examine the enemy's outposts more narrowly. In the course of the day a Highlander in advance observing that one of the sharp-shooters repeatedly fired at his post, placed his bonnet upon the top of a stick near the verge of a hollow road. This stratagem decoyed the Frenchman, and whilst he was intent on his object, the Highlander approaching cautiously to a point which afforded a sure aim, succeeded in bringing him to the ground.[7]

Having ascertained that a plain which lay between the positions of two armies was covered with some flying squadrons of the enemy, and that their outposts commanded some narrow defiles through which the allied forces had necessarily to march to the attack, the Duke of Cumberland resolved to scour the plain, and to dislodge the outposts, preparatory to advancing upon the besieging army. Accordingly at an early hour next morning, six battalions and twelve squadrons were ordered to

[6] Dr Doddridge's *Life of Colonel Gardiner.*

[7] Rolt's *Life of the Earl of Crawford.*

disperse the forces on the plain and clear the defiles, a service which they soon performed. Some Austrian hussars being hotly pressed on this occasion by the French light troops, a party of Highlanders was sent to support them, and the Frenchmen were quickly repulsed with loss. This was the first time the Highlanders stood the fire of the enemy in a regular body, and so well did they acquit themselves, that they were particularly noticed for their spirited conduct.

Resolving to attack the enemy next morning, the commander-in-chief of the allied army made the necessary dispositions. Opposite the space between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri, he formed the British and Hanoverian infantry in two lines, and posted their cavalry in the rear. Near the left of the Hanoverians he drew up the Dutch, whose left was towards St Antoine. The French in their turn completed their batteries, and made the most formidable preparations to receive the allies. At two o'clock in the morning of the 11th of May, the Duke of Cumberland began his march, and drew up his army in front of the enemy. The engagement began about four by the guards and the Highlanders attacking a redoubt, advanced on the right of the wood near Vezon, occupied by 600 men, in the vicinity of which place the dauphin was posted. Though the enemy were entrenched breast-high they were forced out by the guards with bayonets, and by the Highlanders with sword, pistol, and dirk, the latter killing a considerable number of them.

The allies continuing steadfastly to advance, Marshal Saxe, who had, during three attacks, lost some of his bravest men, began to think of a retreat; but being extremely unwilling to abandon his position, he resolved to make a last effort to retrieve the fortune of the day by attacking his assailants with all his forces. Being far advanced in a dropsy, the marshal had been carried about the whole day in a litter. This he now quitted, and mounting his horse, he rode over the field giving the necessary orders, whilst two men supported him on each side. He brought forward the household troops of the King of France: he posted his best cavalry on the flanks, and the king's body guards, with the flower of the infantry in the centre. Having brought up all his field-pieces, he, under cover of their fire and that of the batteries, made a combined charge of cavalry and infantry on the allied army, the greater part of which had, by this time, formed into line by advancing beyond the confined ground. The allies, unable to withstand the impetuosity of this attack, gave way, and were driven back across the ravine, carrying along with them the Highlanders, who had been ordered up from the attack of the village, and two other regiments ordered from the reserve to support the line. After rallying for a short time beyond the ravine, the whole army retreated by order of the duke, the Highlanders and Howard's regiment (the 19th) under the command of Lord Crawford, covering the rear. The retreat, which was commenced about three o'clock in the afternoon, was effected in excellent order. When it was over his lordship pulled off his hat, and returning thanks to the covering party, said "that they had acquired as much honour in covering so great a retreat, as if they had gained a battle."[8] The carnage on both sides was great. The allies lost, in killed and wounded, about 7000 men, including a number of officers. The loss of the French is supposed to have equalled that of the allies. The Highlanders lost Captain John Campbell of Carrick,[9] whose head was carried off by a cannon-ball early in the action;[1] Ensign Lachlan Campbell, son of Craignish, and 30 men; Captain Robert Campbell of Finab; Ensigns Ronald Campbell, nephew of Craignish, and James Campbell, son of Glenfalloch; 2 sergeants, and 86 rank and file wounded.

Before the engagement, the part which the Highlanders would act formed a subject of general speculation. Those who knew them had no misgivings; but there were other persons,

[8] Rolt's *Life of the Earl of Crawford.*

[9] "Captain John Campbell of Carrick was one of the most accomplished gentleman of his day. Possessing very agreeable manners and bravery, tempered by gaiety, he was regarded by the people as one of those who retained the chivalrous spirit of their ancestors. A poet, a soldier, and a gentleman, no less gallant among the ladies than he was brave among men; he was the object of general admiration; and the last generation of Highlanders among whom he was best known, took great pleasure in cherishing his memory, and repeating anecdotes concerning him. He married a sister of General Campbell of Mamore, afterwards Duke of Argyll."—Stewart's *Sketches.*

[1] Culloden Papers, p. 200.

high in rank, who looked upon the support of such men with an unfavourable eye. So strong was this impression "in some high quarters, that, on the rapid charge made by the Highlanders, when pushing forward sword in hand nearly at full speed, and advancing so far, it was suggested that they inclined to change sides and join the enemy, who had already three brigades of Scotch and Irish engaged, which performed very important services on that day."[2] All anxiety, however, was soon put an end to by the decided way in which they sustained the national honour.

Captain John Munro of the 43d regiment, in a letter to Lord-president Forbes, thus describes the battle:—"A little after four in the morning, the 30th of April, our cannon began to play, and the French batteries, with triple our weight of metal and numbers too, answered us; about five the infantry was in march; we (the Highlanders) were in the centre of the right brigade; but by six we were ordered to cross the field, (I mean our regiment, for the rest of our brigades did not march to attack,) a little village on the left of the whole, called Fontenoy. As we passed the field the French batteries played upon our front, and right and left flanks, but to no purpose, for their batteries being upon rising ground their balls flew over us and hurt the second line. We were to support the Dutch, who, in their usual way, were very dilatory. We got within musket-shot of their batteries, when we received three full fires of their batteries and small arms, which killed us forty men and one ensign. Here we were obliged to skulk behind houses and hedges for about an hour and a half, waiting for the Dutch, who, when they came up, behaved but so and so. Our regiment being in some disorder, I wanted to draw them up in rear of the Dutch, which their general would scarce allow of; but at last I did it, and marched them again to the front. In half an hour after the Dutch gave way, and Sir Robert Munro thought proper we should retire; for we had then the whole batteries from the enemy's ground playing upon us, and three thousand foot ready to fall upon us. We retired; but before we had marched thirty yards, we had orders to return to the attack, which we did; and in about ten minutes after had orders to march directly with all expedition, to assist the Hanoverians, who had got by this time well advanced upon the batteries upon the left. They behaved most gallantly and bravely; and had the Dutch taken example from them, we had supped at Tournay. The British behaved well; we (the Highlanders) were told by his royal highness that we did our duty well. . . . . By two of the clock we all retreated; and we were ordered to cover the retreat, as the only regiment that could be kept to their duty, and in this affair we lost sixty more; but the duke made so friendly and favourable a speech to us, that if we had been ordered to attack their lines afresh, I dare say our poor fellows would have done it."[3]

The Highlanders on this occasion were commanded by Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, their lieutenant-colonel, in whom, besides great military experience, were united all the best qualities of the soldier. Aware of the importance of allowing his men to follow their accustomed tactics, he obtained leave of the Duke of Cumberland to allow them to fight in their own way. He accordingly "ordered the whole regiment to clap to the ground on receiving the

[2] Stewart's *Sketches.*

[3] Culloden Papers, No. CCXLIII. "On this occasion the Duke of Cumberland was so much struck with the conduct of the Highlanders, and concurred so cordially in the esteem which they had secured to themselves both from friends and foes, that, wishing to show a mark of his approbation, he desired it to be intimated to them, that he would be happy to grant the men any favour which they chose to ask, and which he could concede, as a testimony of the good opinion he had formed of them. The reply was worthy of so handsome an offer. After expressing acknowledgments for the condescension of the commander-in-chief, the men assured him that no favour he could bestow would gratify them so much as a pardon for one of their comrades, a soldier of the regiment, who had been tried by a court-martial for allowing a prisoner to escape, and was under sentence of a heavy corporal punishment, which, if inflicted, would bring disgrace on them all, and on their families and country. This favour, of course, was instantly granted. The nature of this request, the feeling which suggested it, and, in short, the general qualities of the corps, struck the Duke with the more force, as, at the time, he had not been in Scotland, and had no means of knowing the character of its inhabitants, unless, indeed, he had formed his opinion from the common ribaldry of the times, when it was the fashion to consider the Highlander 'as a fierce and savage depredator, speaking a barbarous language, and inhabiting a barren and gloomy region, which fear and prudence forbade all strangers to enter.'"—Stewart's *Sketches*, i. p. 274–5.

French fire; and instantly after its discharge they sprang up, and coming close to the enemy, poured in their shot upon them to the certain destruction of multitudes, and drove them precipitately through their lines; then retreating, drew up again, and attacked them a second time after the same manner. These attacks they repeated several times the same day, to the surprise of the whole army. Sir Robert was everywhere with his regiment, notwithstanding his great corpulency, and when in the trenches he was hauled out by the legs and arms by his own men; and it is observed that when he commanded the whole regiment to clap to the ground, he himself alone, with the colours behind him, stood upright, receiving the whole fire of the enemy; and this because, (as he said,) though he could easily lie down, his great bulk would not suffer him to rise so quickly. His preservation that day was the surprise and astonishment not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action." [4]

The gallantry thus displayed by Sir Robert and his regiment was the theme of universal admiration in Britain, and the French themselves could not withhold their meed of praise. "The British behaved well," says a French writer, "and could be exceeded in ardour by none but our officers, who animated the troops by their example, *when the Highland furies rushed in upon us with more violence than ever did a sea driven by a tempest.* I cannot say much of the other auxiliaries, some of whom looked as if they had no great concern in the matter which way it went. In short, we gained the victory; but may I never see such another!" [5] Some idea may be formed of the havoc made by the Highlanders from the fact of one of them having killed nine Frenchmen with his broadsword, and he was only prevented from increasing the number by his arm being shot off. [6]

[4] *Life of Colonel Gardiner.*

[5] Account published at Paris, 26th May 1745.

[6] *The Conduct of the Officers at Fontenoy Considered.* Lond. 1745. — "Such was the battle of Fontenoy, and such were the facts from which a very favourable opinion was formed of the military qualifications of the Black Watch, as it was still called in Scotland. At this period there was not a soldier in the regiment born south of the Grampians."—Stewart's *Sketches*, i. 278.

In consequence of the rebellion in Scotland, eleven of the British regiments were ordered home in October 1745, among which was the 43d. The Highlanders arrived in the Thames on the 4th of November, and whilst the other regiments were sent to Scotland under General Hawley to assist in quelling the insurrection, the 43d was marched to the coast of Kent, and joined the division of the army assembled there to repel an expected invasion. When it is considered that more than three hundred of the soldiers in the 43d had fathers and brothers engaged in the rebellion, the prudence and humanity of keeping them aloof from a contest between duty and affection, are evident. Three new companies, which had been added to the regiment in the early part of the year 1745, were, however, employed in Scotland against the rebels before joining the regiment. These companies were raised chiefly in the districts of Athole, Breadalbane, and Braemar, and the command of them was given to the laird of Mackintosh, Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre, and Campbell of Inveraw, who had recruited them. The subalterns were James Farquharson, the younger of Invercauld; John Campbell, the younger of Glenlyon, and Dugald Campbell; and Ensign Allan Grant, son of Glenmoriston; John Campbell, son of Glenfalloch; and Allan Campbell, son of Barcaldine. General Stewart observes that the privates of these companies, though of the best character, did not occupy that rank in society for which so many individuals of the independent companies had been distinguished. One of these companies, as has been elsewhere observed, was at the battle of Prestonpans. The services of the other two companies were confined to the Highlands during the rebellion, and after its suppression they were employed along with detachments of the English army in the barbarous task of burning the houses, and laying waste the lands of the rebels,—a service which must have been very revolting to their feelings.

Having projected the conquest of Quebec, the government fitted out an expedition at Portsmouth, the land forces of which consisted of about 8000 men, including Lord John Murray's Highlanders, as the 43d regiment was now called. The armament having been delayed from various causes until the season

was too far advanced for crossing the Atlantic, it was resolved to employ it in surprising the Port l'Orient, then the repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East India Company. While this new expedition was in preparation, the Highland regiment was increased to 1100 men, by draughts from the three companies in Scotland.

The expedition sailed from Portsmouth on the 15th of September, 1746, under the command of Rear-Admiral Lestock, and on the 20th the troops were landed, without much opposition, in Quimperly bay, ten miles from Port l'Orient. As General St Clair soon perceived that he could not carry the place, he abandoned the siege, and retiring to the sea-coast, re-embarked his troops.

Some of these forces returned to England; the rest landed in Ireland. The Highlanders arrived at Cork on the 4th of November, whence they marched to Limerick, where they remained till February 1747, when they returned to Cork, where they embarked to join a new expedition for Flanders. This force, which consisted chiefly of the troops that had been recalled in 1745, sailed from Leith roads in the beginning of April 1747. Lord Loudon's Highlanders and a detachment from the three additional companies of Lord John Murray's Highlanders also joined this force; and such was the eagerness of the latter for this service, that when informed that only a part of them was to join the army, they all claimed permission to embark, in consequence of which demand it was found necessary to settle the question of preference by drawing lots.[7]

To relieve Hulst, which was closely besieged by Count Lowendahl, a detachment, consisting of Lord John Murray's Highlanders, the first battalion of the Royals and Bragg's regiment, was ordered to Flushing, under the command of Major-general Fuller. They landed at Stapledyke on the 1st of May. The Dutch governor of Hulst, General St Roque, ordered the Royals to join the Dutch camp at St Bergue, and directed the Highlanders and Bragg's regiment to halt within four miles of Hulst. On the 5th of May the besiegers began an assault, and drove the outguards and picquets back into the garrison, and would have carried the place, had not the Royals maintained their post with the greatest bravery till relieved by the Highland regiment, when the French were compelled to retire. The Highlanders had only five privates killed and a few wounded on this occasion. The French continuing the siege, St Roque surrendered the place, although he was aware that an additional reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. The British troops then embarked for South Beveland. Three hundred of the Highland regiment, who were the last to embark, were attacked by a body of French troops. "They behaved with so much bravery that they beat off three or four times their number, killing many, and making some prisoners, with only the loss of four or five of their own number."[8]

A few days after the battle of Lafeldt, July 2d, in which the Highlanders are not particularly mentioned, Count Lowendahl laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom with a force of 25,000 men. This place, from the strength of its fortifications, the favourite work of the celebrated Coehorn, having never been stormed, was deemed impregnable. The garrison consisted of 3000 men, including Lord Loudon's Highlanders. Though Lord John Murray's Highlanders remained in South Beveland, his lordship, with Captain Fraser of Culduthel, Captain Campbell of Craignish, and several other officers of his regiment, joined the besieged. After about two months' siege, this important fortress was taken by storm, on account of the too great confidence of Constrom the governor, who never anticipated an assault. On obtaining possession of the ramparts, the French attempted to enter the town, but were attacked with such impetuosity by two battalions of the Scottish troops in the pay of the States-General, that they were driven from street to street, until fresh reinforcements arriving, the Scotch were compelled to retreat in their turn; yet they disputed every inch of ground, and fought till two-thirds of them were killed on the spot. The remainder then abandoned the town, carrying the old governor along with them.

The different bodies of the allied army

[7] *Caledonian Mercury*, March 1747.

[8] *Hague Gazette.*

assembled in the neighbourhood of Raremond in March 1748, but, with the exception of the capture of Maestricht, no military event of any importance took place in the Netherlands; and preliminaries of peace having been signed, the Highlanders returned to England in December, and were afterwards sent to Ireland. The three additional companies had assembled at Prestonpans in March 1748, for the purpose of embarking for Flanders; but the orders to ship were countermanded, and in the course of that year these companies were reduced.

In 1749, in consequence of the reduction of the 42d regiment (Oglethorpe's), the number of the Black Watch was changed from the 43d to the 42d, the number it has ever since retained.

During eight years—from 1749 to 1756—that the Highlanders were stationed in Ireland, the utmost cordiality subsisted between them and the inhabitants of the different districts where they were quartered; a circumstance the more remarkable, when it is considered that the military were generally embroiled in quarrels with the natives. So lasting and favourable an impression did they make, that upon the return of the regiment from America, after an absence of eleven years, applications were made from the towns and districts where they had been formerly quartered, to get them again stationed among them. Although, as General Stewart observes, the similarity of language, and the general belief in a common origin, might have had some influence with both parties, yet nothing but the most exemplary good conduct on the part of the Highlanders could have overcome the natural repugnance of a people who, at that time, justly regarded the British soldiery as ready instruments of oppression.

In consequence of the mutual encroachments made by the French and English on their respective territories in North America, both parties prepared for war; and as the British ministry determined to make their chief efforts against the enemy in that quarter, they resolved to send two bodies of troops thither. The first division, of which the Highlanders formed a part, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir James Abercromby, set sail in March 1756, and landed at New York in June following. In the month last mentioned, 700 recruits, who had been raised by recruiting parties sent from the regiment previous to its departure from Ireland, embarked at Greenock for America. When the Highlanders landed, they attracted much notice, particularly on the part of the Indians, who, on the march of the regiment to Albany, flocked from all quarters to see strangers, whom, from the similarity of their dress, they considered to be of the same extraction as themselves, and whom they therefore regarded as brothers.

Before the departure of the 42d, several changes and promotions had taken place. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyll, who had commanded the regiment during the six years they were quartered in Ireland, having been promoted to the command of the 54th, was succeeded by Major Grant, who was so popular with the men, that, on the vacancy occurring, they subscribed a sum of money among themselves to purchase the lieutenant-colonelcy for him; but the money was not required, the promotion at that time being without purchase. Captain Duncan Campbell of Inveraw was appointed major; Thomas Graham of Duchray, James Abercromby, son of General Abercromby of Glassa, the commander of the expedition, and John Campbell of Strachur, were made captains; Lieutenant John Campbell, captain-lieutenant; Ensigns Kenneth Tolme, James Grant, John Graham, brother of Duchray, Hugh M'Pherson, Alexander Turnbull of Stracathro, and Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, were raised to the rank of lieutenants. From the half-pay list were taken Lieutenants Alexander Mackintosh, James Gray, William Baillie, Hugh Arnot, William Sutherland, John Small, and Archibald Campbell; the ensigns were James Campbell, Archibald Lamont, Duncan Campbell, George MacLagan Patrick Balneaves, son of Edradour, Patrick Stewart, son of Bonskeid, Norman MacLeod, George Campbell, and Donald Campbell.[9]

The regiment had been now sixteen years embodied, and although its original members had by this time almost disappeared, "their habits and character were well sustained by their successors, to whom they were left, as it

[9] Stewart's *Sketches*.

were, in charge. This expectation has been fulfilled through a long course of years and events. The first supply of recruits after the original formation was, in many instances, inferior to their predecessors in personal appearance, as well as in private station and family connexions; but they lost nothing of that firm step, erect air, and freedom from awkward restraint, the consequence of a spirit of independence and self-respect, which distinguished their predecessors."[1]

The second division of the expedition, under the Earl of Loudon, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the army in North America, soon joined the forces under General Abercromby; but, owing to various causes, they did not take the field till the summer of the following year.[2] Pursuant to an attack on Louisburg, Lord Loudon embarked in the month of June 1757 for Halifax with the forces under his command, amounting to 5300 men. At Halifax his forces were increased to 10,500 men, by the addition of five regiments lately arrived from England, including Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders.

When on the eve of his departure from Halifax, Lord Loudon received information that the Brest fleet had arrived in the harbour of Louisburg. The resolution to abandon the enterprise, however, was not taken till it clearly appeared from letters which were taken in a packet bound from Louisburg to France, that the force was too great to be encountered. Leaving the remainder of the troops at Halifax, Lord Loudon returned to New York, taking along with him the Highlanders and four other regiments.

By the addition of three new companies and the junction of 700 recruits, the regiment was now augmented to upwards of 1300 men, all Highlanders, for at that period none else were admitted into the regiment. To the three additional companies the following officers were appointed; James Murray, son of Lord George Murray, James Stewart of Urrard, and Thomas Stirling, son of Sir Henry Stirling of Ardoch, to be captains; Simon Blair, David Barklay, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Mackay, Alexander Menzies, and David Mills, to be lieutenants; Duncan Stewart, George Rattray, and Alexander Farquharson, to be ensigns; and the Reverend James Stewart to be assistant chaplain.

The Earl of Loudon having been recalled, the command of the army devolved on General Abercromby. Determined to wipe off the disgrace of former campaigns, the ministry, who had just come into power, fitted out a great naval armament and a military force of 32,000 men, which were placed under commanders who enjoyed the confidence of the country. The command of the fleet was given to Admiral Boscawen, and Brigadier-generals Wolfe, Townsend, and Murray, were added to the military staff. Three expeditions were planned in 1758; one against Louisburg; another against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and a third against Fort du Quesne.

General Abercromby, the commander-in-chief, took charge of the expedition against Ticonderoga, with a force of 15,390 men, of whom 6337 were regulars (including Lord John Murray's Highlanders), and 9024 provincials, besides a train of artillery.

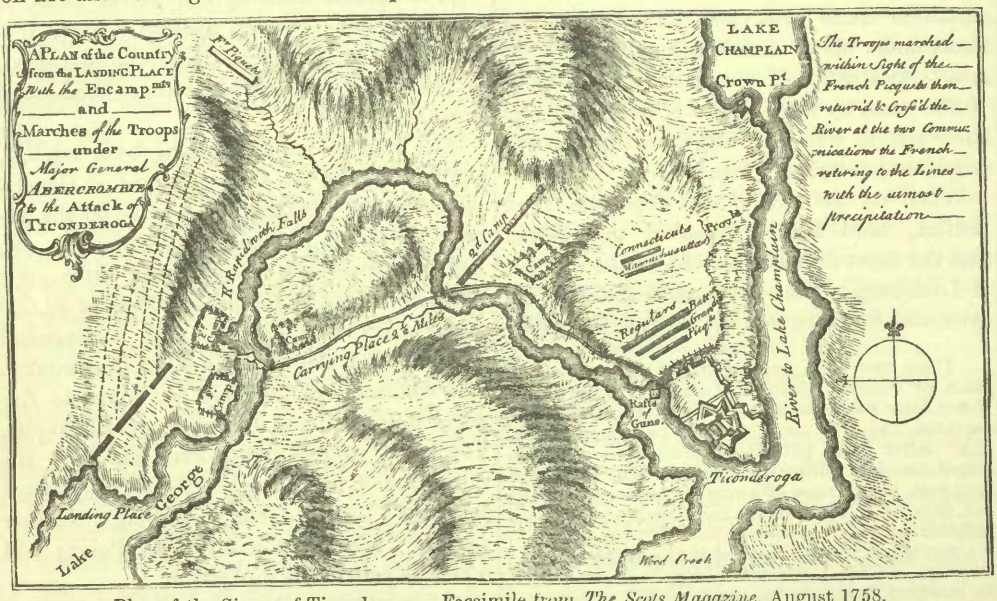
Fort Ticonderoga stands on a tongue of land between Lake Champlain and Lake George, and is surrounded on three sides by water; part of the fourth side is protected by a morass; the remaining part was strongly fortified with high entrenchments, supported and flanked by three batteries, and the whole front of that

[1] There were few courts-martial; and, for many years, no instance occurred of corporal punishment. If a soldier was brought to the halberts, he became degraded, and little more good was to be expected of him. After being publicly disgraced, he could no longer associate with his comrades; and, in several instances, the privates of a company have, from their pay, subscribed to procure the discharge of an obnoxious individual.

Great regularity was observed in the duties of public worship. In the regimental orders, hours were fixed for morning prayers by the chaplain; and on Sundays, for Divine service, morning and evening. The greatest respect was observed towards the ministers of religion. When Dr Ferguson was chaplain of the corps, he held an equal, if not, in some respects, a greater, influence over the minds of the men than the commanding officer. The succeeding chaplain, Mr Maclaggan, preserved the same authority; and, while the soldiers looked up with reverence to these excellent men, the most beneficial effects were produced on their minds and conduct by the religious and moral duties which their chaplains inculcated.

[2] "During the whole of 1756 the regiment remained in Albany inactive. During the winter and spring of 1757, they were drilled and disciplined for bush-fighting and sharp-shooting, a species of warfare for which they were well fitted, being in general good marksmen, and expert in the management of their arms."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

part which was accessible was intersected by deep traverses, and blocked up with felled trees, with their branches turned outwards and their points first sharpened and then hardened by fire, forming altogether a most formidable defence.[3] On the 4th of July 1758 the commander-in-chief embarked his troops on Lake George, on board 900 batteaux and 135 whale-boats, with provisions, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the landing, which was effected next day without opposition. The troops were then formed into two parallel columns, and in this order marched towards the enemy's advanced post, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breast-work of logs. The enemy abandoned this defence without a shot, after setting the breast-work on fire and burning their tents and implements. The troops continued their march in the same order, but the route lying through a wood, and the guides being imperfectly acquainted with the country, the columns were broken by coming in contact with each other. The right column, at the head of which was Lord Howe, fell in with a detachment of the enemy who had also lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a smart skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss. Lord Howe unfortunately fell in the beginning of this action. He was much regretted, being "a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observance of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address."[4]



Plan of the Sieges of Ticonderoga. Facsimile from *The Scots Magazine*, August 1758.

Perceiving that his men were greatly fatigued, General Abercromby ordered them to march back to their landing-place, which they reached about eight o'clock in the morning. Having taken possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned, General Abercromby advanced towards the place next morning. It was garrisoned by 5000 men, of whom 2800 were French troops of the line, who were stationed behind the traverses and felled trees in front of the fort. Receiving information from some prisoners that General Levi, with a force of 3000 men, was marching to the defence of Ticonderoga, the English commander resolved to anticipate him by striking, if possible, a decisive blow before a junction could be effected. He therefore sent an engineer across

[3] Stewart's *Sketches*.

[4] Smollett's *History of England*.

the river on the opposite side of the fort to reconnoitre the enemy's entrenchments, who reported that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a prospect of success. Preparations for the attack were therefore instantly made. The whole army being put in motion, the picquets, followed by the grenadiers, the battalions and reserve, which last consisted of the Highlanders and the 55th regiment, advanced with great alacrity towards the entrenchments, which they found to be much more formidable than they expected. The breast-work, which was regularly fortified, was eight feet high, and the ground before it was covered with an *abbatis* or *chevaux-de-frize*, projecting in such a manner as to render the entrenchment almost inaccessible. Undismayed by these discouraging obstacles, the British troops marched up to the assault in the face of a destructive fire, and maintained their ground without flinching. Impatient in the rear, the Highlanders broke from the reserve, and, pushing forward to the front, endeavoured to cut their way through the trees with their broadswords. After a long and deadly struggle, the assailants penetrated the exterior defences and advanced to the breast-work; but being unprovided with scaling ladders, they attempted to gain the breast-work, partly by mounting on each other's shoulders, and partly by fixing their feet in the holes which they made with their swords and bayonets in the face of the work. No sooner, however, did a man reach the top, than he was thrown down by the troops behind the entrenchments. Captain John Campbell,[5] with a few men, at length forced their way over the breast-work, but they were immediately despatched with the bayonet. After a desperate struggle, which lasted about four hours under such discouraging circumstances, General Abercromby seeing no possible chance of success, gave orders for a retreat. It was with difficulty, however, that the troops could be prevailed upon to retire, and it was not till the third order that the Highlanders were induced to retreat, after more than one-half of the men and twenty-five officers had been either killed or desperately wounded. No attempt was made to molest them in their retreat, and the whole retired in good order, carrying along with them the whole of the wounded, amounting to 65 officers and 1178 non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Twenty-three officers and 567 rank and file were killed.

The loss sustained by the 42d was as follows, viz.:—8 officers, 9 sergeants, and 297 men killed; and 17 officers, 10 sergeants, and 306 soldiers wounded. The officers killed were Major Duncan Campbell of Inveraw, Captain John Campbell, Lieutenants George Farquarson, Hugh MacPherson, William Baillie, and John Sutherland; Ensigns Patrick Stewart, brother of Bonskeid, and George Rattray. The wounded were Captains Gordon Graham, Thomas Graham of Duchray, John Campbell of Strachur, James Stewart of Urrard, James Murray (afterwards General); Lieutenants James Grant, Robert Gray, John Campbell, William Grant, John Graham, brother of Duchray, Alexander Campbell, Alexander Mackintosh, Archibald Campbell, David Miller, Patrick Balneaves; and Ensigns John Smith and Peter Grant.[6]

The intrepid conduct of the Highlanders on this occasion was made the topic of universal panegyric in Great Britain, and the public prints teemed with honourable testimonies to their bravery. If anything could add to the gratification they received from the approbation of their country, nothing was better calculated to enhance it than the handsome way in which their services were appreciated by their companions in arms. "With a mixture of esteem, grief, and envy (says an officer of the 55th), I consider the great loss and immortal glory acquired by the Scots Highlanders in the late bloody affair. Impatient for orders, they rushed forward to the entrenchments, which many of them actually mounted. They appeared like lions breaking from their chains. Their intrepidity was rather animated than damped by seeing their comrades fall on every side. I have only to say of them, that they seemed more anxious to revenge the

[5] This officer, who was son of Duncan Campbell, of the family of Duneaves, in Perthshire, along with Gregor MacGregor, commonly called Gregor the Beautiful, grandfather of Sir Gregor MacGregor, were the two who were presented to George II. in the year 1743, when privates in the Black Watch.

[6] Stewart's *Sketches*.

cause of their deceased friends, than careful to avoid the same fate. By their assistance, we expect soon to give a good account of the enemy and of ourselves. There is much harmony and friendship between us."[7] The following extract of a letter from Lieutenant William Grant, an officer of the regiment, seems to contain no exaggerated detail:—"The attack began a little past one in the afternoon, and about two the fire became general on both sides, which was exceedingly heavy, and without any intermission, insomuch that the oldest soldier present never saw so furious and incessant a fire. The affair at Fontenoy was nothing to it: I saw both. We laboured under insurmountable difficulties. The enemy's breast-work was about nine or ten feet high, upon the top of which they had plenty of wall-pieces fixed, and which was well lined in the inside with small arms. But the difficult access to their lines was what gave them a fatal advantage over us. They took care to cut down monstrous large oak trees which covered all the ground from the foot of their breast-work about the distance of a cannon-shot every way in their front. This not only broke our ranks, and made it impossible for us to keep our order, but put it entirely out of our power to advance till we cut our way through. I have seen men behave with courage and resolution before now, but so much determined bravery can hardly be equalled in any part of the history of ancient Rome. Even those that were mortally wounded cried aloud to their companions, not to mind or lose a thought upon them, but to follow their officers, and to mind the honour of their country. Nay, their ardour was such, that it was difficult to bring them off. They paid dearly for their intrepidity. The remains of the regiment had the honour to cover the retreat of the army, and brought off the wounded as we did at Fontenoy. When shall we have so fine a regiment again? I hope we shall be allowed to recruit."[8] Lieutenant Grant's wish had been anticipated, as letters of service had been issued, before the affair of Ticonderoga was known in England, for raising a second battalion. Moreover, previous to the arrival of the news of the affair at Ticonderoga, his majesty George II. had issued a warrant conferring upon the regiment the title of Royal, so that after this it was known as the 42d Royal Highland Regiment.

So successful were the officers in recruiting, that within three months seven companies, each 120 men strong, which, with the three additional companies raised the preceding year, were to form the second battalion, were raised in three months, and embodied at Perth in October 1758.[9] The officers appointed to

[7] *St James's Chronicle.*

[8] "It has been observed, that the modern Highland corps display less of that chivalrous spirit which marked the earlier corps from the mountains. If there be any good ground for this observation, it may probably be attributed to this, that these corps do not consist wholly of native Highlanders. If strangers are introduced among them, even admitting them to be the best of soldiers, still they are not Highlanders. The charm is broken,—the conduct of such a corps must be divided, and cannot be called purely national. The motive which made the Highlanders, when united, fight for the honour of their name, their clan, and district, is by this mixture lost. Officers, also, who are strangers to their language, their habits, and peculiar modes of thinking, cannot be expected to understand their character, their feelings, and their prejudices, which, under judicious management, have so frequently stimulated to honourable conduct, although they have sometimes served to excite the ridicule of those who knew not the dispositions and cast of character on which they were founded. But if Highland soldiers are judiciously commanded in quarters, treated with kindness and confidence by their officers, and led into action with spirit, it cannot on any good grounds be alleged that there is any deficiency of that firmness and courage which formerly distinguished them, although it may be readily allowed that much of the romance of the character is lowered. The change of manners in their native country will sufficiently account for this.

In my time many old soldiers still retained their original manners, exhibiting much freedom and ease in their communications with the officers. I joined the regiment in 1789, a very young soldier. Colonel Graham, the commanding officer, gave me a steady old soldier, named William Fraser, as my servant,—perhaps as my adviser and director. I know not that he had received any instructions on that point, but Colonel Graham himself could not have been more frequent and attentive in his remonstrances, and cautious with regard to my conduct and duty, than my old soldier was, when he thought he had cause to disapprove. These admonitions he always gave me in Gaelic, calling me by my Christian name, with an allusion to the colour of my hair, which was fair, or *bane*, never prefixing *Mr* or *Ensign*, except when he spoke in English. However contrary to the common rules, and however it might surprise those unaccustomed to the manners of the people, to hear a soldier or a servant calling his master simply by his name, my honest old monitor was one of the most respectful, as he was one of the most faithful, of servants."—Stewart's *Sketches*, p. 302.

[9] General Stewart says that two officers, anxious to obtain commissions, enlisted eighteen Irishmen at Glasgow, contrary to the peremptory orders of Lord John Murray, that none but Highlanders should be taken. Several of the men were O'Donnels, O'Lachlans, O'Briens, &c. To cover this deception the O was

these seven additional companies were Francis MacLean, Alexander Sinclair, John Stewart of Stenton, William Murray, son of Lintrose, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Reid, and Robert Arbuthnot, to be captains; Alexander MacLean, George Grant, George Sinclair, Gordon Clunes, Adam Stewart, John Robertson, son of Lude, John Grant, James Fraser, George Leslie, John Campbell, Alexander Stewart, Duncan Richardson, and Robert Robertson, to be lieutenants; and Patrick Sinclair, John Mackintosh, James MacDuff, Thomas Fletcher, Alexander Donaldson, William MacLean, and William Brown, to be ensigns.

Government having resolved to employ the seven new companies in an expedition against Martinique and Guadaloupe, 200 of the 840 men, embodied at Perth, were immediately embarked at Greenock for the West Indies, under the convoy of the Ludlow Castle, for the purpose of joining the armament lying in Carlisle bay, destined for that service. The whole land force employed in this expedition amounted to 5560 men, under the command of Major-generals Hopson and Barrington, and of Brigadier-generals Armiger, Haldane, Trapaud, and Clavering. They sailed from Barbadoes on the 13th of January 1759, for Martinique, which they descried next morning; and on the following day the British squadron entered the great bay of Port Royal. About this time the other division of the seven newly raised companies joined the expedition. On the 16th, three ships of the line attacked Fort Negro, the guns of which they soon silenced. A detachment of marines and sailors landing in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and, entering through the embrasures with fixed bayonets, took possession of the fort, which had been abandoned by the enemy. The whole French troops retired to Port Royal, leaving the beach open, so that the British forces landed next morning at Cas de Navire without opposition. No enemy being in sight, the grenadiers, the 4th or king's regiment, and the Highlanders, moved forward about ten o'clock to reconnoitre; but they had not proceeded far when they fell in with parties of the enemy, who retired on their approach. When within a short distance of Morne Tortueson, an eminence that overlooked the town and citadel of Port Royal, and the most important post in the island, the advanced party halted till the rest of the army came up. The advancing and retiring parties had kept up an irregular fire when in motion, and they still continued to skirmish. It was observed on this occasion, "that although debarred the use of arms in their own country, the Highlanders showed themselves good marksmen, and had not forgot how to handle their arms." The inhabitants of Martinique were in the greatest alarm, and some of the principal among them were about sending deputies to the British commander to treat for a surrender, but General Hopson relieved them from their anxiety by re-embarking his troops in the evening. The chief reason for abandoning the enterprise was the alleged impracticability of getting up the heavy cannon. The British had one officer killed and two wounded, one of whom was Lieutenant Leslie of the Royal Highlanders. Sixty privates were killed and wounded.

In a political point of view, the possession of Martinique was an object of greater importance than Guadaloupe, as it afforded, from its spacious harbour, a secure retreat to the enemy's fleets. By taking possession of St Pierre, the whole island might have been speedily reduced; and the British commanders proceeded to that part of the island with that view; but alarmed lest they might sustain considerable loss by its capture, which might thus cripple their future operations, they absurdly relinquished their design, and proceeded to Guadaloupe. On the expedition reaching the western division of the island, it was resolved to make a general attack by sea upon the citadel, the town, and the batteries by which it was defended. Accordingly, on the 20th of January, such a fire was opened upon the place that about ten o'clock at night it was in a general conflagration.

The troops landed at five o'clock in the evening of the following day without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. The Chevalier D'Etreil, the governor of the

changed to Mac, and the Milesians passed muster as true Macdonnels, Maclachlans, and Macbriars, without being questioned.

island, taking shelter among the mountains, yielded the honour of continuing the contest to a lady of masculine courage named Ducharmey. Arming her slaves, whom she headed in person, she made several bold attempts upon an advanced post on a hill near the town, occupied by Major (afterwards General) Melville, opposite to which she threw up some entrenchments. Annoyed by the incessant attacks of this amazon, Major Melville attacked her entrenchments, which he carried, after an obstinate resistance. Madame Ducharmey escaped with difficulty, but some of her female companions in arms were taken prisoners. Ten of her people were killed and many wounded. Of the British detachment, 12 were slain and 30 wounded, including two subaltern officers, one of whom, Lieutenant MacLean of the Highlanders, lost an arm.

Finding it impracticable to carry on a campaign among the mountains of Basseterre, the general resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern division of the island, called Grandeterre, which was more accessible. Accordingly, on the 10th of February, a detachment of Highlanders and marines was landed in that part of the island in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis, after a severe cannonading which lasted six hours. The assailants, sword in hand, drove the enemy from their entrenchments, and, taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours.

General Hopson died on the 27th. He was succeeded by General Barrington, who resolved to complete the reduction of the island with vigour. Leaving, therefore, one regiment and a detachment of artillery under Colonel Debrisay in Basseterre, the general re-embarked the rest of the army and proceeded to Grandeterre, where he carried on a series of successful operations by means of detachments. One of these consisting of 600 men, under Colonel Crump, carried the towns of St Anne and St Francis with little loss, notwithstanding the fire from the entrenchments. The only officer who fell was Ensign MacLean of the Highlanders. Another detachment of 300 men took the town of Gosier by storm, and drove the garrison into the woods. The next operation of the general was an attempt to surprise the three towns of Petit Bourg, St Mary's, and Gouyave, on the Capesterre side, the execution of which was committed to Colonels Crump and Clavering; but owing to the extreme darkness of the night, and the incapacity of the negro guides, the attempt was rendered abortive. Resolved to carry these towns, the general directed the same commanders to land their forces in a bay near the town of Arnonville. No opposition was made to their landing by the enemy, who retreated behind a strong entrenchment they had thrown up behind the river Licorn. With the exception of two narrow passes which they had fortified with a redoubt and entrenchments mounted with cannon, which were defended by a large body of militia, the access to the river was rendered inaccessible by a morass covered with mangroves; yet, in spite of these difficulties, the British commanders resolved to hazard an assault. Accordingly, under cover of a fire from the entrenchments from their field-pieces and howitzers, the regiment of Duroure and the Highlanders moved forward, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity as they advanced. Observing the enemy beginning to abandon the first entrenchment on the left, "the Highlanders drew their swords, and, supported by a part of the other regiment, rushed forward with their characteristic impetuosity, and followed the enemy into the redoubt, of which they took possession."[1]

Several other actions of minor importance afterwards took place, in which the enemy were uniformly worsted; and seeing resistance hopeless, they capitulated on the 1st of May, after an arduous struggle of nearly three months. The only Highland officer killed in this expedition was Ensign MacLean. Lieutenants MacLean, Leslie, Sinclair, and Robertson, were wounded; and Major Anstruther and Captain Arbuthnot died of the fever. Of the Royal Highlanders, 106 privates were killed, wounded, or died of disease.[2]

[1] *Letters from Guadaloupe.*

[2] "By private accounts, it appears that the French had formed the most frightful and absurd notions of the *Sauvages d'Ecosse*. They believed that they would neither take nor give quarter, and that they were so nimble, that, as no man could catch them, so nobody could escape them; that no man had a chance against their broadsword; and that, with a ferocity natural to savages, they made no prisoners, and spared neither man, woman, nor child: and as they were always in the front of every action in which they were engaged, it is probable that these notions had no small influence on

After the reduction of Guadaloupe, the services of the second battalion of Royal Highlanders were transferred to North America, where they arrived early in July, and after reaching the head quarters of the British army, were combined with the first battalion. About this time a series of combined operations had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. Whilst Major-general Wolfe, who had given proofs of great military talents at the siege of Louisburg, was to proceed up the St Lawerence and besiege Quebec, General Amherst, who had succeeded General Abercromby as commander-in-chief, was to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, after which he was to cross Lake Champlain and effect a junction with General Wolfe before Quebec. Brigadier-general Prideaux was to proceed against the French fort near the falls of the Niagara, the most important post of all French America. The army under General Amherst, which was the first put in motion, assembled at Fort Edward on the 19th of June. It included the 42d and Montgomery's Highlanders, and when afterwards joined by the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders, it amounted to 14,500 men. Preceded by the first battalion of the last named regiment and the light infantry, the main body of the army moved forward on the 21st, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga. The enemy seemed at first resolved to defend that important fortress; but perceiving the formidable preparations made by the English general for a siege, they abandoned the fort, after having in part dismantled the fortifications, and retired to Crown Point.

On taking possession of this important post, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York, General Amherst proceeded to repair the fortifications; and, while these were going on, he directed batteaux and other vessels to be prepared, to enable him to obtain the command of the lakes. Meanwhile the enemy, who seems to have had no intention of hazarding an action, evacuated Crown Point, and retired to Isle aux Noix, on the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. Detaching a body of rangers to take possession of the place the general embarked the rest of the army and landed at the fort on the 4th of August, where he encamped. The general then ordered up the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders from Oswego, with the exception of 150 men under Captain James Stewart, who were left to guard that post. Having by great exertions acquired a naval superiority on Lake Champlain, the general embarked his army in furtherance of his original plan of descending the St Lawrence, and co-operating with General Wolfe in the reduction of Quebec; but in consequence of contrary winds, the tempestuous state of the weather, and the early setting in of winter, he was compelled to abandon further prosecution of active operations in the mean time. He then returned to Crown Point to winter. A detailed account of the important enterprise against Quebec will be found in the history of Fraser's Highlanders.

After the fall of the fort of Niagara, which was taken by Prideaux's division, and the conquest of Quebec, Montreal was the only place of strength which remained in possession of the French in Canada. General Murray was ordered to proceed up the St Lawrence to attack Montreal, and General Amherst, as soon as the season permitted, made arrangements to join him. After his preparations were completed, he ordered Colonel Haviland, with a detachment of troops, to take possession of the Isle aux Noix, and thence to proceed to the banks of the St Lawrence by the nearest route. To facilitate the passage of the armed vessels to La Galette, Colonel Haldimand with the grenadiers, light infantry, and a battalion of the Royal Highlanders, took post at the bottom of the lake. Embarking the whole of his army on the 10th of August, he proceeded towards the mouth of the St Lawrence, and, after a dangerous navigation, in the course of which several boats were upset and about eighty men drowned, landed six miles above Montreal on the 6th of September. General Murray appeared before Montreal on the even-

the nerves of the militia, and perhaps regulars of Guadaloupe." It was always believed by the enemy that the Highlanders amounted to several thousands. This erroneous enumeration of a corps only eight hundred strong, was said to proceed from the frequency of their attacks and annoyance of the outposts of the enemy, who "saw men in the same garb who attacked them yesterday from one direction, again appear to-day to advance from another, and in this manner ever harassing their advanced position, so as to allow them no rest."—*Letters from Guadaloupe.*

ing of the same day, and the detachments under Colonel Haviland came down the following day on the south side of the river. Thus beset by three armies, who, by a singular combination, had united almost at the same instant of time, after traversing a great extent of unknown country, Monsieur Vandreuil, the governor, seeing resistance hopeless, surrendered upon favourable terms. Thus ended a series of successful operations, which secured Canada to the Crown of Great Britain.[3]

The Royal Highlanders remained in North America until the close of the year 1761, when they were embarked along with ten other regiments, among whom was Montgomery's Highlanders, for Barbadoes, there to join an armament against Martinique and the Havannah. The land forces consisted altogether of eighteen regiments, under the command of Major-general Monckton. The naval part of the expedition, which was commanded by Rear-admiral Rodney, consisted of eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates, bomb-vessels, and fire-ships.

The fleet anchored in St Ann's Bay, Martinique, on the 8th of January 1762, when the bulk of the army immediately landed. A detachment, under Brigadiers Grant (Ballindalloch) and Haviland, made a descent without opposition in the bay of Ance Darlet. Re-embarking his troops, General Monckton landed his whole army on the 16th near Cas de Navire, under Morne Tortueson and Morne Garnier. As these two eminences commanded the town and citadel of Fort Royal, and were their chief defence, great care had been taken to improve by art their natural strength, which, from the very deep ravines which protected them, was great. The general having resolved to attack Morne Tortueson first, he ordered a body of troops and 800 marines to advance on the right along the sea-side towards the town, for the purpose of attacking two redoubts near the beach; and to support this movement, he at the same time directed some flat-bottomed boats, each carrying a gun, and manned with sailors, to follow close along the shore. A corps of light infantry was to get round the enemy's left, whilst, under cover of the fire of some batteries which had been raised on the opposite ridges by the perseverance of some sailors from the fleet, the attack on the centre was to be made by the grenadiers and Highlanders, supported by the main body of the army. After an arduous contest, the enemy were driven from the Morne Tortueson; but a more difficult operation still remained to be performed. This was to gain possession of the other eminence, from which, owing to its greater height, the enemy annoyed the British troops. Preparations were made for carrying this post; but before they were completed, the enemy descended from the hill, and attacked the advanced posts of the British. This attempt was fatal to the assailants, who were instantly repulsed. "When they began to retire, the Highlanders, drawing their swords, rushed forward like furies, and being supported by the grenadiers under Colonel Grant (Ballindalloch), and a party of Lord Rollo's brigade, the hills were mounted, and the batteries seized, and numbers of the enemy, unable to escape from the rapidity of the attack, were taken."[4] The militia dispersed themselves over the country, but the regulars retired into the town, which surrendered on the 7th of February. The whole island immediately submitted, and in terms of the capitulation all the Windward Islands were delivered up to the British.

In this enterprise the Royal Highlanders had 2 officers, viz., Captain William Cockburn and Lieutenant David Barclay, 1 sergeant, and 12 rank and file killed: Major John Reid, Captains James Murray and Thomas Stirling; Lieutenants Alexander Mackintosh, David Milne, Patrick Balneaves, Alexander Turnbull, John Robertson, William Brown, and George Leslie; 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 72 rank and file, were wounded.

The Royal and Montgomery's Highlanders were employed the following year in the important conquest of the Havannah, under Lieutenant-general the Earl of Albemarle, in which they sustained very little loss. That of

[3] An Indian sachem, astonished at the success of the British arms, remarked that "the English, formerly women, are now men, and are thick all over the country as trees in the woods. They have taken Niagara, Cataraque, Ticonderoga, Louisburg, and now lately Quebec, and they will soon eat the remainder of the French in Canada, or drive them out of the country."

[4] *Westminster Journal.*

the two battalions of the 42d consisted only of 2 drummers and 6 privates killed, and 4 privates wounded; but they lost by disease Major Macneil, Captain Robert Menzies (brother of Sir John Menzies), and A. Macdonald; Lieutenants Farquharson, Grant, Lapsley, Cunnison, Hill, and Blair, and 2 drummers and 71 rank and file.

Shortly after the surrender of the Havannah, all the available forces in Cuba were removed from the island. The first battalion of the 42d and Montgomery's regiment embarked for New York, which they reached in the end of October. Before leaving Cuba all the men of the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders fit for service were drafted into the first. The remainder with the officers returned to Scotland, where they were reduced the following year. The junior officers were placed on half pay.

The Royal Highlanders were stationed in Albany till the summer of 1763, when they were sent to the relief of Fort Pitt, then besieged by the Indians. The management of this enterprise was intrusted to Colonel Bouquet of the 60th regiment, who, in addition to the 42d, had under his command a detachment of his own regiment and another of Montgomery's Highlanders, amounting in all to 956 men. This body reached Bushy Run about the end of July. When about to enter a narrow pass beyond the Run, the advanced guards were suddenly attacked by the Indians, who had planned an ambuscade. The light infantry of the 42d regiment moved forward to the support of the advanced guard, and driving the Indians from the ambuscade, pursued them a considerable distance. The Indians returned and took possession of some neighbouring heights. They were again compelled to retire; but they soon re-appeared on another position, and continuing to increase in numbers, they succeeded in surrounding the detachment, which they attacked on every side. Night put an end to the combat; but it was renewed next morning with increased vigour by the Indians, who kept up an incessant fire. They, however, avoided coming to close action, and the troops could not venture to pursue them far, as they were encumbered with a convoy of provisions, and were afraid to leave their wounded, lest they might fall into the hands of the enemy. Recourse was, therefore, had to stratagem to bring the Indians to closer action. Feigning a retreat, Colonel Bouquet ordered two companies which were in advance to retire, and fall within a square which had been formed, which, as if preparing to cover a retreat, opened its files. The stratagem succeeded. Assuring themselves of victory, the Indians rushed forward with great impetuosity, and whilst they were vigorously charged in front, two companies, moving suddenly round a hill which concealed their approach, attacked them in flank. The assailants, in great consternation, turned their backs and fled, and Colonel Bouquet was allowed to proceed to Fort Pitt without further molestation. In this affair, the loss sustained by the Royal Highlanders was as follows: — Lieutenants John Graham and James Mackintosh, 1 sergeant, and 26 rank and file, killed; and Captain John Graham of Duchray, Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, 2 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 30 rank and file, wounded.

After passing the winter in Fort Pitt, eight companies of the Royal Highlanders were sent on a new enterprise, in the summer of 1764, under Colonel Bouquet, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. The object of this expedition was to repress the attacks of the Indians on the back-settlers. After a harassing warfare among the woods, the Indians sued for peace, which was granted, and the detachment under Brigadier-general Bouquet returned to Fort Pitt in the month of January, after an absence of six months. Notwithstanding the labours of a march of many hundred miles among dense forests, during which they experienced the extremes of heat and cold, the Highlanders did not lose a single man from fatigue or exhaustion.[5]

[5] It was in 1766 that William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, uttered in Parliament his famous eulogy on the Highland regiments:—"I sought for merit wherever it could be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it, and found it, in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men; men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the State, in the war before last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every quarter of the world."

The regiment passed the following year in Pennsylvania. Being ordered home, permission was given to such of the men as were desirous of remaining in America to volunteer into other regiments, and the result was, that a considerable number availed themselves of the offer. The regiment, reduced almost to a skeleton, embarked at Philadelphia for Ireland in the month of July 1767. The following extract from the *Virginia Gazette* of the 30th of that month shows the estimation in which the Highlanders were held by the Americans:—"Last Sunday evening the Royal Highland regiment embarked for Ireland, which regiment, since its arrival in America, has been distinguished for having undergone most amazing fatigues, made long and frequent marches through an inhospitable country, bearing excessive heat and severe cold with alacrity and cheerfulness, frequently encamping in deep snow, such as those that inhabit the interior parts of this province do not see, and which only those who inhabit the northern parts of Europe can have any idea of, continually exposed in camp, and on their marches, to the alarms of a savage enemy, who, in all their attempts, were forced to fly. . . . In a particular manner, the freemen of this and the neighbouring provinces have most sincerely to thank them for that resolution and bravery with which they, under Colonel Bouquet, and a small number of Royal Americans, defeated the enemy, and insured to us peace and security from a savage foe; and, along with our blessings for these benefits, they have our thanks for that decorum in behaviour which they maintained during their stay in this city, giving an example that the most amiable behaviour in civil life is no way inconsistent with the character of the good soldier; and for their loyalty, fidelity, and orderly behaviour, they have every wish of the people for health, honour, and a pleasant voyage."

The loss sustained by the regiment during the seven years it was employed in North America and the West Indies was as follows:—

	KILLED.
In Officers,	13
Sergeants,	12
Rank and File,	382
Total,	407

	WOUNDED.
In Officers,	33
Sergeants,	22
Rank and File,	508
Total,	563
Grand Total,	970

With the exception of the unfortunate affair at Ticonderoga, the loss sustained by the 42d in the field during this war was comparatively smaller than that of any other corps. The moderate loss the Highlanders suffered was accounted for by several officers who served in the corps, from the celerity of their attack and the use of the broadsword, which the enemy could never withstand. "This likewise," says General Stewart, "was the opinion of an old gentleman, one of the original soldiers of the Black Watch, in the ranks of which, although a gentleman by birth and education, he served till the peace of 1748. He informed me that although it was believed at home that the regiment had been nearly destroyed at Fontenoy, the thing was quite the reverse; and that it was the subject of general observation in the army that their loss should have been so small, considering how actively they were engaged in different parts of the field. 'On one occasion,' said the respectable veteran, who was animated with the subject, 'a brigade of Dutch were ordered to attack a rising ground, on which were posted the troops called the King of France's Own Guards. The Highlanders were to support them. The Dutch conducted their march and attack as if they did not know the road, halting and firing, and halting every twenty paces. The Highlanders, losing all patience with this kind of fighting, which gave the enemy such time and opportunity to fire at their leisure, dashed forward, passed the Dutch, and the first ranks giving their firelocks to the rear rank, they drew their swords, and soon drove the French from their ground. When the attack was concluded, it was found that of the Highlanders not above a dozen men were killed and wounded, while the Dutch, who had not come up at all, lost more than five times that number.'"

On the arrival of the regiment at Cork, recruiting parties were sent to the Highlands, and so eager were the youths there to enter the corps, that in May following the regiment was

fully completed.[6] When the battle of Fontenoy was fought, there was not a soldier in the regiment born south of the Grampians, and at this period they were all, except two, born north of the Tay.[7]

At the period of their arrival in Ireland the

[6] To allure the young Highlanders to enlist into other regiments, recruiting parties assumed the dress of the Royal Highlanders, thus deceiving the recruits into the belief that they were entering the 42d. When the regiment lay in Dublin, a party of Highland recruits, destined for the 38th regiment, arrived there; but on representing the deception which had been practised upon them, they were, after a full inquiry, discharged by Lord Townshend, the lord lieutenant. They, however, immediately re-enlisted into the 42d regiment.—*Stewart.*

[7] At this time, the words of "the Garb of Old Gaul" were composed. Major Reid set them to music of his own composition, which has ever since been the regimental march. Peace and country quarters affording leisure to the officers, several of them indulged their taste for poetry and music. Major Reid was one of the most accomplished flute-players of the age. He died in 1806, a general in the army, and colonel of the 88th or Connaught Rangers. He left the sum of £52,000 to the University of Edinburgh, where he was educated, to establish a Professorship of Music in the College, with a salary of not less than £300 per annum, and to hold an annual concert on the anniversary of his birth-day, the 13th of February; the performance to commence with several pieces of his own composition, for the purpose of showing the style of music in his early years, and towards the middle of the last century. Among the first of these pieces is the Garb of Old Gaul. [See account of Clan Robertson.] The statement in Stewart's *Sketches*, that this song was originally written in Gaelic by a soldier of the 42d, is incorrect. Dr David Laing says, in Wood's *Songs of Scotland*, edited by G. F. Graham, that it was originally written in English by Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Erskine, Bart., second son of Sir John Erskine of Alva, who commanded the Scots Greys in 1762. It has been attributed to Sir Henry Erskine of Torry, but it was not written by him. Its earliest appearance (in English) was in *The Lark*, 1765. An indifferent translation into Gaelic, by Morrison, was published in Gillies' *Gaelic Poetry*, 1786. This is the first Gaelic version. A much better translation into Gaelic is by Captain M'Intyre, and appeared in *Am Filidh*, a Gaelic Song Book, edited by James Munro, 12mo, Edin. 1840.

We give here the original song, with the Gaelic version of Captain M'Intyre:—

IN THE GARB OF OLD GAUL.

In the garb of old Gaul, with the fire of old Rome,
From the heath-covered mountains of Scotia we come;
Where the Romans endeavoured our country to gain,
But our ancestors fought, and they fought not in vain.

Such our love of liberty, our country, and our laws,
That, like our ancestors of old, we stand by freedom's cause;
We'll bravely fight, like heroes bright, for honour and applause,
And defy the French, with all their arts, to alter our laws.

No effeminate customs our sinews unbrace,
No luxurious tables enervate our race;
Our loud-sounding pipe bears the true martial strain,
So do we the old Scottish valour retain.

As a storm in the ocean when Boreas blows,
So are we enraged when we rush on our foes:
We sons of the mountains, tremendous as rocks,
Dash the force of our foes with our thundering strokes.

We're tall as the oak on the mount of the vale,
Are swift as the roe which the hound doth assail,
As the full moon in autumn our shields do appear,
Minerva would dread to encounter our spear.

Quebec and Cape Breton, the pride of old France,
In their troops fondly boasted till we did advance;
But when our claymores they saw us produce,
Their courage did fail, and they sued for a truce.

In our realm may the fury of faction long cease,
May our councils be wise and our commerce increase,
And in Scotia's cold climate may each of us find,
That our friends still prove true and our beauties prove kind.

Then we'll defend our liberty, our country, and our laws,
And teach our late posterity to fight in freedom's cause,
That they like our ancestors bold, for honour and applause,
May defy the French, with all their arts, to alter our laws.

EIDEADH NAN GAEL.

Ann an éideadh nan Gàel,
Le tein'-àrdain na Ròimh',
'S ann o fhraoch-bheannaibh Alba
A dh' fhalbh sinn a chum gleòis,
Tìr a stribhich na Ròimhich
Le foirneart thoirt uainn,
Ach ar sinnsearra chòmhraig,
'S mar sheòid thug iad buaidh!

Le sòghalas no féisdeachas
Ar féithean las cha-n fhàs;
Cha toir ròic no ruidht oirnn strìocadh
Chum's gu'n díobair sinn ar càil;
'S i a' phìob a's àirde nual
A bhios g' ar gluasad gu blàr;—
Sin an ceòl a chumas suas annainn
Cruadal nan Gàel.

'S co-chruaidh sinn ris na daragan
Tha thall-ud anns a' ghleann;
Is co-luath sinn ris an eilid
Air nach beir ach an cù seang;
Mar a' ghealach làn as t-fhogar
Nochdar aghaidh ar cuid sgiath,
'S roimh 'r lannan guineach geur
Air Minérbha bi'dh fiamh!

Mar a shéideas a' ghaoth tuath
Air a' chuan a's gairge toirm,
'S ann mar sin a ni sinn brùchdadh
Air ar naimhde 'nùll gu borb;
Mar chreaga trom a' tùirling orr'
Thig ur-shiol nam beannta,
G' an caitheamh as le 'n tréuntas,
'S le géiread an lann.

Mar so, ar Lagh 's ar Righeachd
Gu'n dìonar leinn gu bràth;—
Agus cath air taobh na saorsa
Gu'm faoghluim sinn d' ar n-àl;
Gus an díong iad fòs an seanairean
'Am fearalas 's 'an càil,
'S gus an cuir iad cìs gun tainng
Air an Fhraing 's air an Spàinn.

uniform of the regiment had a very sombre appearance. "The jackets were of a dull rusty-coloured red, and no part of the accoutrements was of a light colour. Economy was strictly observed in the article of clothing. The old jacket, after being worn a year, was converted into a waistcoat, and the plaid, at the end of two years, was reduced to the philibeg. The hose supplied were of so bad a quality that the men advanced an additional sum to the government price, in order to supply themselves with a better sort. Instead of feathers for their bonnets, they were allowed only a piece of black bear-skin; but the men supplied themselves with ostrich feathers in the modern fashion,[8] and spared no expense in fitting up their bonnets handsomely. The sword-belts were of black leather, two inches and a half in breadth; and a small cartouch-box, fitted only for thirty-two rounds of cartridges, was worn in front above the purse, and fixed round the loins with a thick belt, in which hung the bayonet. In these heavy colours and dark-blue facings the regiment had a far less splendid appearance at a short distance than English regiments with white breeches and belts; but on a closer view the line was imposing and warlike. The men possessed what an ingenious author calls 'the attractive beauties of a soldier; sun burnt complexions, a hardy weather-beaten visage, with a penetrating eye, and firm expressive countenance, sinewy and elastic limbs, traces of muscles strongly impressed, indicating capacity of action, and marking experience of service.'[9] The personal appearance of the men has, no doubt, varied according as attention was paid to a proper selection of recruits. The appointments have also been different. The first alteration in this respect was made in the year 1769, when the regiment removed to Dublin. At this period the men received white cloth waistcoats, and the colonel supplied them with white goat-skin and buff leather purses, which were deemed an improvement on the vests of red cloth, and the purses made of badgers' skin.

"The officers also improved their dress, by having their jackets embroidered. During the war, however, they wore only a narrow edging of gold-lace round the borders of the facings, and very often no lace at all, epaulettes and all glittering ornaments being laid aside, to render them less conspicuous to the Indians, who always aimed particularly at the officers. During their stay in Ireland the dress of the men underwent very little alteration. The officers had only one suit of embroidery; this fashion being found too expensive was given up, and gold-lace substituted in its stead. Upon ordinary occasions they wore light hangers, using the basket-hilted broadsword only in full dress. They also carried fusils. The sergeants were furnished with carbines instead of the Lochaber axe or halbert, which they formerly carried. The soldiers were provided with new arms when on Dublin duty in 1774. The sergeants had silver-lace on their coats, which they furnished, however, at their own expense."[1]

The regiment remained in Ireland after its return from North America about eight years, in the course of which it was occasionally occupied in different parts of that country in aid of the civil power,—a service in which, from their conciliatory disposition, they were found very useful. While in Ireland, a new company was added, as was the case with all the other regiments on the Irish establishment. Captain James Macpherson, Lieutenant Campbell, and Ensign John Grant, were in consequence appointed to the 42d.

In 1775 the regiment embarked at Donaghadee, and landed at Port Patrick, after an absence from Scotland of thirty-two years. Impelled by characteristic attachment to the country of their birth, many of the old soldiers leaped on shore with enthusiasm, and kissed the earth, which they held up in handfuls. From Port Patrick the regiment marched to Glasgow.

The conduct of the regiment and its mode of discipline while in Ireland is depicted by an intelligent officer who served in it at

[8] "Officers and non-commissioned officers always wore a small plume of feathers, after the fashion of their country; but it was not till the period of which I am now writing that the soldiers used so many feathers as they do at present."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

[9] Jackson's *European Armies*.

[1] Stewart's *Sketches*. The use of silver lace was not discontinued until 1830.

that time, and for many years both before and after that period, in a communication to General Stewart. He describes the regiment as still possessing the character which it had acquired in Germany and America, although there were not more than eighty of the men remaining who had served in America, and only a few individuals of those who had served in Germany previously to the year 1748. Their attachment to their native dress, and their peculiarity of language, habits, and manners contributed to preserve them a race of men separate from others of the same profession, and to give to their system of regimental discipline a distinctive and peculiar character. Their messes were managed by the non-commissioned officers, or old soldiers, who had charge of the barrack-room; and these messes were always so arranged that in each room the men were in friendship or intimacy with each other, or belonged to the same glen or district, or were connected by some similar tie. By these means every barrack-room was like a family establishment. After the weekly allowances for breakfast, dinner, and small necessaries had been provided, the surplus pay was deposited in a stock purse, each member of the mess drawing for it in his turn. The stock thus acquired was soon found worth preserving, and instead of hoarding, they lent it out to the inhabitants, who seemed greatly surprised at seeing a soldier save money. Their accounts with their officers were settled once in three months, and, with the exception of a few careless spendthrifts, all the men purchased their own necessaries, with which they were always abundantly provided. At every settlement of accounts they enjoyed themselves very heartily, but with a strict observance of propriety and good humour; and as the members of each mess considered themselves in a manner answerable for one another's conduct, they animadverted on any impropriety with such severity as to render the interference of further authority unnecessary.

Shortly after the arrival of the regiment in Glasgow two companies were added, and the establishment of the whole regiment augmented to 100 rank and file each company. The battalion, when complete, amounted to 1075 men, including sergeants and drummers. Little inducement was required to fill the ranks, as men were always to be found ready to join a corps in such high estimation. At this time the bounty was a guinea and a crown. It was afterwards increased to three guineas; but this advance had little effect in the north where the *esprit de corps* had greater influence than gold.

Hitherto the officers had been entirely Highland and Scotch; but the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, contrary to the remonstrances of Lord John Murray, who saw the advantage of officering the regiment with natives of Scotland, prevailed with the government to admit two English officers into the regiment. His excellency even went so far as to get two lieutenants' commissions in favour of Scotchmen cancelled, although they had been gazetted.

In consequence of hostilities with America, the regiment was ordered to embark for that country. Before its departure the recruits were taught the use of the firelock, and, from the shortness of the time allowed, were drilled even by candle-light. New arms and accoutrements were supplied to the men by the government, and the colonel furnished them with broadswords and pistols, iron-stocked, at his own expense. The regiment was reviewed on the 10th of April 1776 by General Sir Adolphus Oughton, and being reported quite complete and unexceptionable, embarked on the 14th at Greenock, along with Fraser's Highlanders.[2]

II.

1776-1795.

The 42d goes to America—Battle of Brooklyn, 1776—Broadswords and pistols laid aside—Skirmish near New York—White Plains—Capture of Fort Washington and Fort Lee—Skirmish at Trenton—Defeat of Mawhood's detachment—Pisquatua—Chesapeak—Battle of Brandywine—Skirmish at Monmouth—New Plymouth—Portsmouth—Verplanks and Stony Point, 1779—Mutiny of a detachment at Leith—Charlestown—Paulus Hook—Desertion, 1783—Halifax—Cape Breton—Return of the regiment to England—Proceeds to Flanders—The "red heckle"—England—Coast of France—Ostend—Nimeguen—Gilderwalsen—Return of the regiment to England.

In conjunction with Fraser's Highlanders, the 42d embarked at Greenock on the 14th of

[2] Of the number of privates, 931 were Highlanders, 74 Lowland Scotch, 5 English (in the band), 1 Welsh, and 2 Irish.

April 1776, to join an expedition under General Howe against the American revolutionists. The transports separated in a gale of wind, but they all reached their destination in Staten Island, where the main body of the army had assembled.[1] A grenadier battalion was immediately formed under the command of the Hon. Major (afterwards General) Sir Charles Stewart, the staff appointments to which, out of respect to the 42d, were taken by the commander-in-chief from that regiment. A light infantry corps was also formed, to the command of which Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave was appointed. The flank companies of the 42d were attached to these battalions. "The Highland grenadiers were remarkable for strength and height, and considered equal to any company in the army: the light infantry were quite the reverse in point of personal appearance, as the commanding officer would not allow a choice of men for them. The battalion companies were formed into two temporary battalions, the command of one being given to Major William Murray (Lintrose), and that of the other to Major William Grant (Rothiemurchus), with an adjutant quarter-master in each battalion; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Stirling. These grenadiers were placed in the reserve with the grenadiers of the army, under the command of Earl Cornwallis. To these were added the 33d, his lordship's own regiment."[2]

The whole of the British force under the command of Sir William Howe, including 13,000 Hessians and Waldeckers, amounted to 30,000 men. The campaign opened by a landing on Long Island on the 22d of August 1776. The whole army encamped in front of the villages of Gravesend and Utrecht. The American army, under General Putnam, was encamped at Brooklyn, a few miles distant. A range of woody hills, which intersected the country from east to west, divided the two armies.

The British general having resolved to attack the enemy in three divisions, the right wing, under General Clinton, seized, on the 26th of August, at night-fall, a pass on the heights, about three miles from Bedford. The main body then passed through, and descended to the level country which lay between the hills and General Putnam's lines. Whilst this movement was going on, Major-general Grant (Ballindalloch) with his brigade (the 4th), supported by the Royal Highlanders from the reserve, was directed to march from the left along the coast to the Narrows, and attack the enemy in that quarter. The right wing having reached Bedford at nine o'clock next morning, attacked the left of the American army, which, after a short resistance, retired to their lines in great confusion, pursued by the British troops, Colonel Stuart leading with his battalion of Highland grenadiers. The Hessians, who had remained at Flat Bush, on hearing the fire at Bedford, advanced, and, attacking the centre of the American army, drove them, after a short engagement, through the woods, and captured three pieces of cannon. General Grant had previously attacked the right of the enemy, and a cannonade had been kept up near the Narrows on both sides, till the Americans heard the firing at Bedford, when they retreated in disorder. Notwithstanding these advantages, neither General Howe nor General Grant ventured to follow them up by pursuing the enemy, and attacking them in their lines, although they could have made no effectual resistance. The enemy lost 2000 men, killed, drowned, and taken prisoners.

[1] The Oxford transport, with a company of the 42d on board, was captured by an American privateer. The military officers and ship's crew were taken on board the privateer, and a crew and guard sent to the transport, with directions to make the first friendly port. A few days afterwards the soldiers overpowered the Americans; and with the assistance of the carpenter, who had been left on board, navigated the vessel into the Chesapeak, and casting anchor at Jamestown, which had been evacuated by Lord Dunmore and the British, she was taken possession of, and the men marched as prisoners to Williamsburgh in Virginia, where every exertion was made, and every inducement held out, to prevail with them to break their allegiance, and join the American cause. When it was found that the offers of military promotion were rejected, they were told that they would have grants of fertile land to settle in freedom and happiness, and that they would all be lairds themselves, and have no rents to pay. These latter inducements also failed. "These trust-worthy men declared they would neither take nor possess any land, but what they had deserved by supporting their king, whose health they could not be restrained from drinking, although in the middle of enemies; and when all failed, they were sent in small separate parties to the back-settlements."—They were exchanged in 1778, and joined the regiment.—Stewart's *Sketches*, i. 368.

[2] Stewart's *Sketches*.

The British had 5 officers, and 56 non-commissioned officers and privates killed; and 12 officers and 245 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant Crammond and 9 rank and file of the 42d.

About this time the broadswords and pistols which the men received in Glasgow were ordered to be laid aside. The pistols being considered unnecessary, except in the field, were not intended, like the swords, to be worn by the men in quarters. The reason for discontinuing the broadswords was that they retarded the men by getting entangled in the brushwood. "Admitting that the objection was well-founded, so far as regarded the swords, it certainly could not apply to the pistols. In a close woody country, where troops are liable to sudden attacks and surprises by a hidden enemy, such a weapon is peculiarly useful. It is, therefore, difficult to discover a good reason for laying them aside. I have been told by several old officers and soldiers, who bore a part in these attacks, that an enemy who stood for many hours the fire of musketry, invariably gave way when an advance was made sword in hand. They were never restored, and the regiment has had neither swords nor pistols since."[3]

The army encamped in front of the enemy's lines in the evening of the 27th of August, and next day broke ground opposite their left redoubt. General Washington had crossed over from New York during the action at Brooklyn, and seeing resistance hopeless, resolved to retreat. With surprising skill he transported 9000 men, with guns, ammunition, and stores, in the course of one night, over to New York; and such was the secrecy with which this movement was effected, that the British army knew nothing of it till next morning, when the last of the rear-guard were seen in their boats crossing the broad ferry and out of danger.

Active operations were not resumed till the 15th of September, when the reserve, including the Royal Highlanders, crossed over to New York, and, after some opposition, took possession of the heights above the town. The Highlanders and Hessians fell in with and captured a body of New England men and Virginians. Next day the light infantry were sent out to dislodge a party of the enemy from a wood opposite the British left. A smart action ensued, and, the enemy pushing forward reinforcements, the Highlanders were sent to support the light infantry. The Americans were then driven back to their entrenchments; but they renewed the attack with an increased force, and were again repulsed with considerable loss. The British had 14 men killed, and 5 officers and 70 men wounded. The 42d had 1 sergeant and 5 privates killed; and Captains Duncan Macpherson and John Mackintosh, and Ensign Alexander Mackenzie (who died of his wounds), and 1 piper, 2 drummers, and 47 privates wounded.

General Howe, in expectation of an attack, threw up entrenchments; but General Washington having no such intention, made a general movement, and took up a strong position on the heights in the rear of the White Plains. To induce the enemy to quit their ground, General Howe resolved to make a movement, and accordingly embarked his army on the 12th of October in flat-bottomed boats, and passing through the intricate narrow called Hell Gate, disembarked the same evening at Frogsneck, near West Chester. In consequence of the bridge which connected the latter place with the mainland having been broken down by the enemy, the general reembarked his troops next day, and landed at Pell's Point, at the mouth of Hudson's river. On the 14th he reached the White Plains in front of the enemy's position. As a preliminary to a general engagement, General Howe attacked a post on a rising ground occupied by 4000 of the enemy, which he carried; but General Washington declining battle, the British general gave up the attempt, and proceeded against Fort Washington, the possession of which was necessary in order to open the communication between New York and the continent, to the eastward and northward of Hudson's river. The fort, the garrison of which consisted of 3000 men, was protected by strong grounds covered with lines and works. The Hessians, under General Knyphausen, supported by the whole of the

[3] Stewart's *Sketches*.

reserve, under Major-General Earl Percy, with the exception of the 42d, who were to make a feint on the east side of the fort, were to make the principal attack. The Royal Highlanders embarked in boats on the 16th of November, before day-break, and landed in a small creek at the foot of the rock, in the face of a smart fire. The Highlanders had now discharged the duty assigned them, but determined to have a full share in the honour of the day, they resolved upon an assault, and assisted by each other, and by the brushwood and shrubs which grew out of the crevices of the rocks, scrambled up the precipice. On gaining the summit, they rushed forward, and attacked the enemy with such rapidity, that upwards of 200, unable to escape, threw down their arms; whilst the Highlanders, following up their advantage, penetrated across the table of the hill, and met Lord Percy's brigade as they were coming up on the opposite side. On seeing the Hessians approach in another direction, the enemy surrendered at discretion. In this affair the Royal Highlanders had 1 sergeant and 10 privates killed; and Lieutenants Patrick Graham (Inchbrakie), Norman Macleod,[4] and Alexander Grant, and 4 sergeants and 66 rank and file wounded.

To secure the entire command of the North river, and to open an easy entrance into the Jerseys, Fort Lee was next reduced, in which service the Royal Highlanders were employed. The enemy, pursued by the detachment which captured that post, retired successively to Newbridge, Elizabeth Town, Newark, and Brunswick. On the 17th of November General Howe entered Prince Town with the main body of the army, an hour after it was evacuated by General Washington. Winter having now set in, General Howe put his army into winter quarters. The advanced posts, which extended from Trenton to Mount-holly, were occupied by the Hessians and the Royal Highlanders, who were the only British regiments in front.

If, instead of suspending active operations, General Howe had continued occasionally to beat up the quarters of the Americans whilst dispirited by their late reverses, it is thought that he would have reduced them to the last extremity. General Washington availed himself of the inactivity of the British commander, and by making partial attacks on the advanced posts, he not only improved the discipline of his army, but, in consequence of the success which sometimes attended these attacks, revived the drooping spirits of his men. On the 22d of January 1777, he surprised and completely defeated the detachment of Hessians stationed at Trenton; in consequence of which reverse, the Royal Highlanders, who formed the left of the line of defence at Mount-holly, fell back on the light infantry at Prince Town.

During the remainder of the season the Royal Highlanders were stationed in the village of Pisquatua, on the line of communication between New York and Brunswick by Amboy. The duty was severe, from the rigour of the season and the want of accommodation. The houses in the village not being sufficient to contain one-half of the men, the officers and soldiers were intermixed in barns and sheds, and they always slept in their body-clothes, as the enemy were constantly sending down nocturnal parties to fire at the sentinels and picquets. The Americans, however, always kept at a respectful distance, and did not make any regular attack on the post till the 10th of May 1777, on which day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a body of 2000 men, under the command of Maxwell and Stephens, American generals, attempted to surprise the Highlanders. Advancing with great secrecy, and being completely covered by the rugged nature of the country, their approach was not perceived till they had gained a small level piece of ground in front of the picquets, when they rushed forward, and attacked them with such promptitude, that the picquets had hardly time to seize their arms. At this time the

[4] "This hill was so perpendicular, that the ball which wounded Lieutenant Macleod, entering the posterior part of his neck, ran down on the middle of his ribs, and lodged in the lower part of his back.

"One of the pipers, who began to play when he reached the point of a rock on the summit of the hill, was immediately shot, and tumbled from one piece of rock to another till he reached the bottom.

"Major Murray, being a large corpulent man, could not attempt this steep ascent without assistance. The soldiers, eager to get to the point of their duty, scrambled up, forgetting the situation of Major Murray, when he, in a melancholy supplicating tone, cried, 'Oh soldiers, will you leave me!' A party leaped down instantly, and brought him up, supporting him from one ledge of the rocks to another till they got him to the top."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

soldiers were either all differently employed, or taking the rest they could not obtain at night; but the picquets, by disputing every inch of ground, gave time to the soldiers to assemble, who drove the enemy back with great precipitation, leaving behind them upwards of 200 men in killed and wounded. On this occasion the 42d had 3 sergeants and 9 privates killed; and Captain Duncan Macpherson, Lieutenant William Stewart, 3 sergeants, and 35 privates wounded.[5]

The British troops again took the field about the middle of June, when General Howe attempted to draw Washington from his station at Middle Brook; but the American commander knew too well the value of such a strong position to abandon it. Not judging it prudent to attack it, the British general resolved to change the seat of war. Pursuant to this resolution, he embarked 36 battalions of British and Hessians, including the flank battalions of the grenadiers and light infantry, and sailed for the Chesapeak. Before the embarkation the Royal Highlanders received an accession of 170 recruits from Scotland.

The army landed at Elk Ferry on the 24th of August, after a tedious voyage. It was not till the 3d of September that they began their march for Philadelphia. The delay enabled Washington to cross the country, and to take an advantageous position at Red Clay Creek, whence he pushed forward detachments to harass the British troops on their march. General Howe did not reach the Brandy Wine River till the middle of September, in consequence of the difficulties he met with in traversing a country covered with wood and full of defiles. On reaching that river, he found that the enemy had taken up a strong position beyond it, with the view of opposing the further advance of the royal army. The Americans had secured all the fording places, and in expectation that the British would attempt to cross at Chad's Ford, they had erected batteries and thrown up entrenchments at that place to command the passage. Making a circuit of some miles, Lord Cornwallis crossed Jeffrey's Ford with one division of the army without opposition, and turning down the river fell in with the American general, Sullivan, who had been detached by Washington to oppose him. An action took place, and the Americans were driven from all their posts through the woods towards the main army. Meanwhile General Knyphausen, with his division, made demonstrations for crossing the river at Chad's Ford, and as soon as he knew from the firing of cannon that Lord Cornwallis's movement had succeeded, he passed the river, and carried the batteries and entrenchments of the enemy. A general rout ensued, and Washington, with the corps he was able to keep together, fled with his baggage and cannon to Chester. The British had 50 officers killed and wounded in the battle of Brandywine, and 438 rank and file, including non-commissioned officers. The flank companies of the 42d, being the only ones engaged, had 6 privates killed, and 1 sergeant and 15 privates wounded.

On the 25th, the army marched to German Town, and the following morning the grenadiers took peaceable possession of Philadelphia. The 42d took part in the operations, by which the British commander endeavoured to bring the enemy to a general engagement at White Marsh, and was afterwards quartered at Philadelphia.[6]

[5] "On this occasion Sergeant Macgregor, whose company was immediately in the rear of the picquet, rushed forward to their support with a few men who happened to have their arms in their hands, when the enemy commenced the attack. Being severely wounded, he was left insensible on the ground. When the picquet was overpowered, and the few survivors forced to retire, Macgregor, who had that day put on a new jacket with silver-lace, having, besides, large silver buckles in his shoes, and a watch, attracted the notice of an American soldier, who deemed him a good prize. The retreat of his friends not allowing him time to strip the sergeant on the spot, he thought the shortest way was to take him on his back to a more convenient distance. By this time Macgregor began to recover; and, perceiving whither the man was carrying him, drew his dirk, and grasping him by the throat, swore that he would run him through the breast if he did not turn back and carry him to the camp. The American finding this argument irresistible, complied with the request, and meeting Lord Cornwallis (who had come up to the support of the regiment when he heard the firing), and Colonel Stirling, was thanked for his care of the sergeant; but he honestly told them that he only conveyed him thither to save his own life. Lord Cornwallis gave him liberty to go whithersoever he chose. His lordship procured for the sergeant a situation under government at Leith, which he enjoyed many years."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

[6] From Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* we learn that a Mrs Gordon opened a boarding-house in Front Street, which was much frequented by British officers during the American Revolution war, and at times was nearly filled with officers of the 42d and Royal

The next enterprise in which the Royal Highlanders were engaged, was under Major-General Charles Grey, who embarked with the grenadiers, the light infantry brigade, and the 42d regiment, for the purpose of destroying a number of privateers, with their prizes, at New Plymouth. The troops landed on the banks of the Acushnet river on the 5th of September, and having destroyed seventy vessels, with all the stores, cargoes, wharfs, and buildings, along the whole extent of the river, the whole were re-embarked the following day, and returned to New York.

Matters remained quiescent till the 25th of February 1779, when Colonel Stirling, with a detachment consisting of the light infantry of the Guards and the 42d regiment, was ordered to attack a post at Elizabeth Town, which was



British Barracks, Philadelphia. From Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia.*

taken without opposition. In April following, the Highland regiment was employed in an expedition to the Chesapeak, to destroy the stores and merchandise at Portsmouth in Virginia. They were again employed with the Guards and a corps of Hessians in another expedition under General Mathews, which sailed on the 30th, under the convoy of Sir George Collier, in the *Reasonable* and several ships of war. This expedition reached its destination on the 10th of May, when the troops landed on the glebe on the western bank of Elizabeth. They returned to New York after fulfilling the object of the expedition.

The campaign of 1779 was begun by the

Irish. "The British Barracks," we learn from Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, "were built in the Northern Liberties soon after the defeat of Braddock's army, and arose from the necessity, as it was alleged, of making better permanent provision for troops deemed necessary to be among us for future protection. Many of the people had so petitioned the king, not being then so sensitive of the presence of 'standing armies' as their descendants have since become. The parade and 'pomp of war' which their erection produced in the former peaceful city of Penn, gave it an attraction to the town's people, and being located far out of town, it was deemed a pleasant walk to the country and fields, to go out and see the long ranges of houses, the long lines of kilted and bonneted Highlanders, and to hear 'the spirit stirring fife and soul-inspiring drum!' The ground plot of the barracks extended from Second to Third Street, and from St Tamany Street to Green Street, having the officer's quarters, a large three-storey brick building, on Third Street, the same now standing as a Northern Liberty Town Hall. The parade ground fronted upon Second Street, shut in by an ornamental palisade fence on the line of that street. After the war of Independence they were torn down, and the lots sold for the benefit of the public. It was from the location of those buildings that the whole region thereabout was familiarly called Campingtown. In 1758 I notice the first public mention of 'the new barracks in Campingtown,' the *Gazettes* stating the arrival there of 'Colonel Montgomery's Highlanders,' and some arrangement by the City Council to provide them their bedding, &c. In the year 1764 the barracks were made a scene of great interest to all the citizens; there the Indians, who fled from the threats of the murderous Paxtang boys, sought their refuge under the protection of the Highlanders, while the approach of the latter was expected, the citizens ran there with their arms to defend them and to throw up entrenchments."

capture, on the part of the British, of Verplanks and Stony Point. A garrison of 600 men, among whom were two companies of Fraser's Highlanders, took possession of this last post; but owing to the too great confidence of the commander, it was surprised and re-captured. Flushed with this success, the American general, Wayne, made an immediate attack upon Verplanks, which was garrisoned by the 33d regiment; but receiving accounts of the advance of Colonel Stirling with the light infantry of the 42d, he retreated from Verplanks and abandoned Stony Point, of which Colonel Stirling took possession. This officer being shortly thereafter appointed aid-de-camp to the king, and a brigadier-general, the command of the 42d regiment devolved on Major Charles Graham.

About this time a circumstance occurred which tended greatly to deteriorate, for several years, the hitherto irreproachable character of the Royal Highland regiment. By order of the inspector-general at Chatham, a body of 150 recruits, raised principally from the refuse of the population of London and Dublin, was embarked for the regiment in the autumn of this year. Of such dissipated habits had these men been, that 16 died on the voyage, and 75 were sent to the hospital as soon as they disembarked.[7] The infusion of such immoral ingredients could not have failed to taint the whole mass, and General Stirling made a strong representation to the commander-in-chief to avert such a calamity from the regiment, by removing the recruits to another corps. They were, in consequence, drafted into the 26th, in exchange for the same number of Scotchmen; but the introduction of these men into the regiment dissolved the charm which, for nearly forty years, had preserved the Highlanders from contamination. During that long period there were few courts-martial, and, for many years, no instance of corporal punishment occurred. So nice were their notions of honour, that, "if a soldier was brought to the halberts, be became degraded, and little more good was to be expected of him. After being publicly disgraced, he could no longer associate with his comrades; and, in several instances, the privates of a company have, from their pay, subscribed to procure the discharge of an obnoxious individual." But "punishments being found indispensable for the men newly introduced, and others becoming more habituated to the sight, much of the sense of honour was necessarily lost.[8]

An illustration of the strong national feeling with which the corps was regarded by the Highlanders, and of the expediency of keeping it unmixed, occurred in April of the same year, when two strong detachments of recruits belonging to the 42d and 71st regiments arrived at Leith from Stirling Castle, for the purpose of embarking to join their respective regiments in North America. Being told that they were to be turned over to the 80th and 82d, the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments, the men remonstrated, and declared openly and firmly that they were determined to serve only in the corps for which they were enlisted. After some negotiation, troops were sent to Leith with orders to convey the refractory Highlanders as prisoners to Edinburgh Castle, if they persisted in their determination. As they still refused to forego their resolution, attempts were made to enforce the orders; but the Highlanders refused to submit, and flying to arms, a desperate conflict ensued, in which Captain Mansfield of the South Fencible regiment and 9 men were killed, and 31 soldiers wounded. Being at last overpowered, the mutineers were carried to the castle.

In the month of May following, three of these prisoners, Charles Williamson and Archibald Macivor, soldiers of the 42d regiment, and Robert Budge, soldier of the 71st, were brought before a court-martial, "charged with having been guilty of a mutiny at Leith, upon Tuesday the 20th of April last past, and of having instigated others to be guilty of the same, in which mutiny several of his majesty's subjects were killed, and many wounded."

Their reasons for resisting the orders to embark are thus stated in their defence:—"The prisoners, Archibald Macivor and Charles Williamson, enlisted as soldiers in the 42d,

[7] "In the year 1776 (says General Stewart) the three battalions of the 42d and of Fraser's Highlanders embarked 3248 soldiers; after a stormy passage of more than three months, none died; they had only a few sick, and these not dangerously."

[8] Stewart's *Sketches*.

being an old Highland regiment, wearing the Highland dress. Their native language was Gaelic,—the one being a native of the northern parts of Argyleshire, and the other of the western parts of Inverness-shire, where the language of the country is Gaelic only. They have never used any other language, and are so ignorant of the English tongue that they cannot avail themselves of it for any purpose of life. They have always been accustomed to the Highland habit, so far as never to have worn breeches, a thing so inconvenient, and even so impossible for a native Highlander to do, that, when the Highland dress was prohibited by act of parliament, though the philibeg was one of the forbidden parts of the dress, yet it was necessary to connive at the use of it, provided only that it was made of a stuff of one colour and not of tartan, as is well known to all acquainted with the Highlands, particularly with the more mountainous parts of the country. These circumstance made it more necessary for them to serve in a Highland regiment only, as they neither could have understood the language, nor have used their arms, or marched in the dress of any other regiment."

The other prisoner, Budge, stated that he was a native of the upper parts of Caithness, and being ignorant of the English language, and accustomed to wear the Highland garb, he enlisted to serve in Fraser's Highlanders, and in no other regiment. In continuation, the three prisoners stated, that, "when they arrived at Leith, they were informed by their officer, Captain Innes, who had conducted them, that they were now to consider the officers of the 82d, or Duke of Hamilton's regiment, a regiment wearing the Lowland dress and speaking the tongue, as their officers; but how this happened they were not informed. No order from the commander-in-chief for their being drafted was read or explained to them, but they were told that they must immediately join the Hamilton and Edinburgh regiments. A great number of the detachment represented, without any disorder or mutinous behaviour, that they were altogether unfit for service in any other corps than Highland ones, particularly that they were incapable of wearing breeches as a part of their dress. At the same time, they declared their willingness to be regularly transferred to any other Highland regiment, or to continue to serve in those regiments into which they had been regularly enlisted. But no regard was paid to these remonstrances, which, if they had had an opportunity, they would have laid before the commander-in-chief. But an order for an immediate embarkation prevented this. The idea that naturally suggested itself to them was, that they should insist on serving in the same regiment in which they had been enlisted, and not to go abroad as part of the Duke of Hamilton's regiment till such time as these difficulties were removed. They accordingly drew up under arms on the shore of Leith, each respective corps by itself. The prisoners were informed that the orders issued were to take them prisoners to the castle: had these orders been explained to them, they would have submitted, and, with proper humility, have laid their case before those that could have given them redress. But, unfortunately, the sergeant who undertook to explain to them in Gaelic, represented that they were immediately to go on board as part of the Hamilton regiment, but which they do with great deference say, that they did not at the time conceive they could lawfully have done." After the defence was read, "Captain Innes of the 71st regiment showed an attestation to the court, which he said was in the uniform style of the attestations for that regiment; and it expressly bore, that the persons thereby attested were to serve in the 71st regiment, commanded by General Simon Fraser of Lovat, and that they were to serve for three years only, or during the continuance of the present war."

Having been found guilty, the prisoners were sentenced to be shot. The king gave them a free pardon, "in full confidence that they would endeavour, by a prompt obedience and orderly behaviour, to atone for this atrocious offence." These men, along with the rest of the detachment, joined the second battalion of the 42d. The prisoners justified the confidence of his majesty by steadiness and good conduct in the regiment.

With the intention of pushing the war with vigour, the new commander-in-chief resolved to attack Charlestown, the capital of South

Carolina. Leaving General Knyphausen in command, he embarked part of his army, and after a boisterous and protracted voyage of nearly seven weeks, during which some of his transports were lost or taken, he landed at John's Island, 30 miles from Charlestown, on the 11th of February 1780. Owing to various impediments, he did not reach Charlestown till the end of March. After a siege of six weeks the place surrendered. The loss of the British did not exceed 300 men. Lieutenant Macleod of the 42d, and 9 privates, were killed; and Lieutenant Alexander Grant of the same regiment, son of Colonel Grant of Moy, was wounded by a six-pound ball, which struck him on the back in a slanting direction, near the right shoulder, and carried away the entire scapula with several other bones. The surgeons considered his case as utterly hopeless, but to their surprise they found him alive next morning, and free from fever and all bad symptoms. He recovered completely, and served many years in perfect good health. 14 privates were wounded.

The Royal Highlanders, with the Grenadiers and Hessians, re-embarked on the 4th of June for New York, and, after several movements in the province, went into winter quarters. Here they received an accession of 100 recruits from Scotland. The regiment was not again employed in any active service during the remainder of the war.

Whilst the war lasted, the Americans held out every allurement to the British soldiers to induce them to desert their ranks and join the cause of American independence. Many were, in consequence, seduced from their allegiance; but during five campaigns, and until the unfortunate draft of men from the 26th regiment, not one man from the 42d deserted its ranks. About the close of the war the regiment was stationed at Paulus Hook, an advanced post from New York leading to the Jerseys, and here, for the first time, several of the men deserted to the enemy. One of these deserters, by name Anderson, was afterwards taken, tried by a court-martial, and shot.

After the peace the establishment of the regiment was reduced to 8 companies of 50 men each. The officers of the ninth and tenth companies were not put on half-pay, but kept as supernumeraries to fill up vacancies as they occurred in the regiment. Many of the men having been discharged at their own request, their places were supplied by drafts from Fraser's and Macdonald's Highlanders, and from the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments, some of the men in these corps having preferred rather to remain in America than return home with their regiments.

During the American revolutionary war the loss of the Royal Highlanders was as follows:—

	KILLED.
In Officers,	2
Sergeants,	9
Rank and File, including Drummers,	72
Total,	83
	WOUNDED.
In Officers,	12
Sergeants,	18
Rank and File, including Drummers,	256
Total,	286
Grand Total,	369

In October 1783, the regiment was sent to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where it remained till the year 1786, when six companies were removed to the island of Cape Breton, the remaining two companies being detached to the island of St John. Next year two companies were added to the regiment, in consequence of preparations for war with Holland. Captains William Johnstone and Robert Christie succeeded to these companies. Lieutenant Robert Macdonald, brother of Macdonald of Sanda, from the half-pay of Fraser's regiment, and Ensign James Rose, were appointed lieutenants; and Ensign David Stewart (afterwards major-general, and author of the *Sketches,*) and James Stewart, nephew of the Earl of Moray, ensigns.

On the 1st of January 1785, new colours were presented to the regiment by Major-General John Campbell, commanding the Forces in Nova Scotia, who made an eloquent address on that occasion:—

"Forty-second, Royal Highlanders,—With particular pleasure I address you on this occasion, and congratulate you on the service you have done your country, and the honour you have procured yourselves, by protecting your old colours, and defending them from

your enemies in different engagements during the late unnatural rebellion.

"From those ragged, but honourable, remains, you are now to transfer your allegiance and fidelity to these new National and Regimental Standards of Honour, now consecrated and solemnly dedicated to the service of our King and Country. These Colours are committed to your immediate care and protection; and I trust you will, on all occasions, defend them from your enemies, with honour to yourselves, and service to your country,—with that distinguished and noble bravery which has always characterised the ROYAL HIGHLANDERS in the field of battle.

"With what pleasure, with what peculiar satisfaction,—nay, with what pride, would I enumerate the different memorable actions where the regiment distinguished itself. To particularise the whole would exceed the bounds of this address: let me therefore beg your indulgence while I take notice only of a few of them."

He then in glowing language alluded to the numerous engagements in which the regiment had distinguished itself, from Fontenoy to Pisquata, and concluded by urging upon the men ever to try to sustain the high character of the regiment, and never to forget they were citizens of a great country, and Christians as well as soldiers.

About this time the regiment had to regret the loss of its colonel, Lord John Murray, who died on the 1st of June 1787, after commanding the corps forty-one years. He was the steady friend of the officers and men. Major-General Sir Hector Monro succeeded him in the command.[9]

[9] "On the 1st of June this year, Lord John Murray died, in the forty-second year of his command of the regiment, and was succeeded by Major-General Sir Hector Munro. It is said that Lord Eglinton was much disappointed on that occasion. He had formed an attachment to the Highland soldiers, when he commanded his Highland regiment in the seven years' war; and, owing to Lord J. Murray's great age, had long looked to the command of the Royal Highlanders. In Lord North's administration, and likewise in Mr Pitt's, he had, in some measure, secured the succession; but the king had previously, and without the knowledge of his ministers, assented to an application from Sir H. Munro. Lord Eglinton was appointed to the Scots Greys on the first vacancy. Till Lord John Murray was disabled by age, he was the friend and supporter of every deserving officer and soldier in the regiment. The public journals during the German or seven years' war give many instances. I shall notice one. When the disabled soldiers came home from Ticonderoga in 1758, to pass the Board at Chelsea, it is stated, "that the morning they were to appear before the Board, he was in London, and dressed himself in the full Highland uniform, and, putting himself at the head of all those who could walk, he marched to Chelsea, and explained their case in such a manner to the Commissioners, that all obtained the pension. He gave them five guineas to drink the king's health, and their friends, with the regiment, and two guineas to each of those who had wives, and he got the whole a free passage to Perth, with an offer to such as chose to settle on his estate, to give them a house and garden."—*Westminster Journal.*

The regiment embarked for England in August 1789, and landed in Portsmouth in October, after an absence of fourteen years. They wintered in Tynemouth barracks, where they received a reinforcement of 245 young recruits. At this time a small alteration was made in the military appointments of the men. Instead of the black leather belts for the bayonet, white buff belts were substituted. The epaulettes of the officers, formerly very small, were then enlarged.[1]

The regiment was removed to Glasgow in the month of May 1790, where they were received with great cordiality by the inhabitants. From an ill-judged hospitality on the part of the citizens, who compelled some of the soldiers to drink copiously of ardent spirits, the discipline of the regiment was relaxed; but its removal to Edinburgh Castle in the month of November cured the evil.

Warlike preparations having been made in 1790, in expectation of a rupture with Spain, orders were received to augment the regiment; but, from recent occurrences in the Highlands, the regiment was not successful in recruiting. Several independent companies were raised, one of which, a fine body of young Highlanders, recruited by the Marquis of Huntly (afterwards Duke of Gordon), joined the regiment along with his lordship, who had exchanged with Captain Alexander Grant.

The regiment was reviewed in June 1791, by Lord Adam Gordon, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, and was marched to the north in October following. The head quarters were at Fort George; one company was stationed at Dundee, another at Montrose, two at Aberdeen, and one at Banff. The regiment assembled at Fort George in the

[1] Stewart's *Sketches.*

spring of 1792, and after having been marched south to Stirling, and reviewed by the Hon. Lieutenant-General Leslie, returned to their former cantonments along the coast. The men had however scarcely returned to their quarters, when they were ordered to proceed by forced marches into Ross-shire, to quell some tumults among the tenantry who had been cruelly ejected from their farms. Fortunately, however, there was no occasion for the exercise of such an unpleasant duty, as the poor people separated and concealed themselves on hearing of the approach of the military. After a series of marches and countermarches, the regiment returned to its former cantonments.

In consequence of the war with France, the whole regiment was ordered south, and, preparatory to their march, assembled at Montrose in April 1793. An attempt to increase the establishment by recruiting proved unsuccessful, the result, in some degree, of the depopulating system which had lately been commenced in Ross-shire, and which soured the kindly dispositions of the Highlanders. The corps at this time scarcely exceeded 400 men, and to make up for deficiencies in recruiting, two independent companies, raised by Captains David Hunter of Burnside, and Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan, were ordered to join the regiment.

On the 8th of May, the regiment embarked at Musselburgh for Hull, the inhabitants of which received the Highlanders most kindly, and were so well pleased with their good conduct that, after they embarked for Flanders, the town sent each man a present of a pair of shoes, a flannel shirt, and worsted socks. The regiment joined the army under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, then encamped in the neighbourhood of Menin, on the 3d of October.

The first enterprise in which the Highlanders were engaged was in conjunction with the light companies of the 19th, 27th, and 57th regiments, in the month of October, when they marched to the relief of Nieuport, then garrisoned by the 53d regiment, and a small battalion of Hessians. On the appearance of this reinforcement, the besiegers retired. The Highlanders had 1 sergeant and 1 private killed, and 2 privates wounded. After this the regiment was re-embarked for England, along with the three others just mentioned, to join an expedition then preparing against the French colonies in the West Indies; but on arriving at Portsmouth, the 42d was ordered to join another expedition then fitting out against the coast of France, under the command of the Earl of Moira. Colonel Graham, who had held the command of the regiment since the year 1791, being at this time appointed to the command of a brigade, the command devolved on Major George Dalrymple.

The expedition sailed on the 30th of November; but although it reached the coast of France to the eastward of Cape la Hogue, no landing took place. The expedition, after stopping some time at Guernsey, returned to Portsmouth in the beginning of January 1794. The troops remained in England till the 18th of June, when they were re-embarked for Flanders, under the command of the Earl of Moira. They landed at Ostend on the 26th. At this time the allied armies, in consequence of the advance of a large French army and the partial defection of Prussia, were placed in a very critical situation, particularly the small division under the Duke of York encamped at Malines. A junction with the duke became a primary object with Lord Moira, who accordingly resolved to abandon Ostend. He embarked all the stores and the garrison, and whilst the embarkation was proceeding, the troops were ordered under arms on the sand hills in the neighbourhood in light marching order. The officers left all their luggage behind, except what they carried on their backs. In the evening of the 28th the troops moved forward, and halting ten miles beyond the town, proceeded at midnight towards Ostaker, and reached Alost on the 3d of July. Whilst these troops remained here, about 400 of the enemy's cavalry entered the town, and being mistaken for Hessians, passed unmolested to the market-place. One of them made an attempt to cut down a Highlander named Macdonald, who was passing through the market-place with a basket on his head. The dragoon having wounded the man severely in the hand which held the basket, the enraged mountaineer drew his bayonet with the other hand and attacked the horseman, who fled. Macdonald thereupon continued his course,

venting his regret as he went along that he had not a broadsword to cut down the intruder. On being recognised, the enemy were driven out by some dragoons and picquets.

After a fatiguing march in presence of a superior force under General Vandamme, the reinforcement joined the Duke of York on the 9th of July. A succession of petty skirmishes occurred until the 20th, when Lord Moira resigned the command. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Ralph Abercromby, to whom the command of the third brigade, or reserve, in which were the Highlanders, was assigned. The army crossed the Waal at Nimeguen on the 8th of October. Several smart affairs took place between the advanced posts of the two armies till the 20th, when the enemy attacked the whole of the British advanced posts. They were repulsed, but the 77th regiment sustained a severe loss in officers and men. By incessant attacks, however, the enemy established themselves in front of Nimeguen, and began to erect batteries preparatory to a siege; but on the 4th of November they were driven from their works, after an obstinate resistance. The enemy still persevering with great energy to push their preparations for a siege, it was found necessary to evacuate the town.

This evacuation took place on the 7th of November, and the army was cantoned along the banks of the river. They suffered greatly from the severity of the weather, and so intense was the frost, that the enemy crossed the Waal on the ice. They took post at Thuyl; but although the place was surrounded with entrenchments, and the approach flanked by batteries placed on the isle of Bommell, they were forced from all their posts, and obliged to repass the Waal, by a body of 8000 British, among whom was the third brigade. The loss of the British was trifling. The enemy again crossed the Waal on the 4th of January 1795, and retook Thuyl, from which it was now found impossible to dislodge them. In an attack which they made on the forces under General David Dundas at Gildermaslen, they were repulsed with the loss of 200 men, whilst that of the British was only about one-fourth of that number. The 42d had 1 private killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lamond and 7 privates wounded.

Compelled by the severity of the weather, and the increasing numbers of the French, to retreat, the British troops retired behind the Leck, after the division under Lord Cathcart had repulsed an attack made by the enemy on the 8th.

Disease, the result of a want of necessaries and proper clothing, had greatly diminished the ranks of the British; and the men, whose robustness of constitution had hitherto enabled them to withstand the rigours of one of the severest winters ever remembered, at last sank under the accumulated hardships which beset them. Such was the state of the British army when General Pichegru, crossing the Waal in great force, made a general attack on the 14th of January along the whole line, from Arnheim to Amerougen. After a continued resistance till morning, the British began the disastrous retreat to Deventer, the miseries of which have only been exceeded by the sufferings of the French in their disastrous retreat from Moscow.[2] The inhumanity of the Dutch boors, who uniformly shut their doors against the unfortunate sufferers, will ever remain a disgrace on the Dutch nation. The hospitable conduct of the inhabitants of Bremen, where the remains of this luckless army arrived in the beginning of April, formed a noble contrast to that of the selfish and unfeeling Dutch.

In no former campaign was the superiority of the Highlanders over their companions in arms, in enduring privations and fatigues, more conspicuous than in this; for whilst some of the newly-raised regiments lost more than 300 men by disease alone, the 42d, which had 300 young recruits in its ranks, lost only 25, including those killed in battle, from the time of their disembarkation at Ostend till their embarkation at Bremen, on the 14th of April.

The Royal Highlanders having landed at Harwich were marched to Chelmsford, and encamped in June 1795 in the neighbourhood of Danbury. In September the regiment was augmented to 1000 men, by drafts from the Strathspey and Perthshire Highlanders, and the regiments of Colonel Duncan Cameron and Colonel Simon Fraser, which had been raised the preceding year, and were now broken

[2] Stewart's *Sketches.*

up. "Although these drafts," says General Stewart, "furnished many good and serviceable men, they were, in many respects, very inferior to former recruits. This difference of character was more particularly marked in their habits and manners in quarters, than in their conduct in the field, which was always unexceptionable. Having been embodied for upwards of eighteen months, and having been subject to a greater mixture of character than was usual in Highland battalions, these corps had lost much of their original manners, and of that strict attention to religious and moral duties which distinguished the Highland youths on quitting their native glens, and which, when in corps unmixed with men of different characters, they always retained. This intermixture produced a sensible change in the moral conduct and character of the regiment."

Since 1795 the soldiers of the 42d have worn a red feather or "heckle" in their bonnets, being in this respect distinguished from all the other Highland regiments. The following is the story of the "glorious old red heckle," as told by Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, who, we believe, had his information directly from those who took part in the exploit on account of which the Black Watch is entitled to wear the plume.

In December 1794, when the Forty-Second were quartered at Thuyl, as above mentioned, they received orders for the night of the 31st to march upon Bommell, distant some miles on the opposite side of the river Waal, which they reached by four o'clock on the morning of 1st January 1795. Here they were joined by a number of other regiments, and lay on their arms until daybreak, when they attacked the French army, and drove them across the river on the ice. The British held their position on the banks of the river until the evening of the 3d, when (the French having been reinforced) a partial retreat took place early on the morning of the 4th. The British retired upon the village of Guildermalson, where the 42d, with a number of other regiments, halted, and formed up to cover the retreat through the village. The French cavalry, however, cut through the retreating picquets, and made their way up to the regiments stationed at the village, where they were met and repulsed, and a number of them taken prisoners.[3] Two field-pieces were placed in front of the village to protect the retreat of the picquets; but instead of resisting the charge of cavalry, they (the picquets) retreated to the rear of the village, leaving their guns in possession of the French, who commenced dragging them off. An A.D.C. (Major Rose) ordered Major Dalrymple, commanding the 42d, to charge with his regiment, and retake the guns; which was immediately done, with the loss of 1 man killed and 3 wounded. The guns were thus rescued and dragged in by the 42d, the horses having been disabled and the harness cut.

There was little or no notice taken of this affair at the time, as all was bustle; but after their arrival in England, it was rumoured that the 42d were to get some distinctive badge for their conduct in retaking the guns on the 4th of January; but the nature of the honour was kept a profound secret. On the 4th of June 1795, as the regiment, then quartered at Royston, Cambridgeshire, was out on parade to fire three rounds in honour of his Majesty's birthday, the men were surprised and delighted when a large box was brought on to the field, and a red feather distributed to each soldier. This distinctive ornament has ever since adorned the otherwise funereal headdress of the old Black Watch.

In 1822, from a mistaken direction in a book of dress for the guidance of the army, some of the other Highland regiments concluded that they also had a right to wear "a red vulture feather." The 42d, however, remonstrated, and their representations at headquarters called forth the following memorandum:—

"*For Officers commanding Highland Regiments.*

"Horse Guards, 20*th Aug.* 1822.

"The red vulture feather prescribed by the recent regulations for Highland regiments is intended to be used exclusively by the Forty-Second Regiment: other Highland corps will be allowed to continue to wear the same description of feather that may have been hitherto in use.

"H. Torrens, Adjutant-General."

[3] One of these, a trumpeter, was brought to England by the 42d, and given over to the York Rangers, at the formation of that corps.

III

1795—1811.

Expedition to the West Indies—England, Gibraltar, Minorca, 1798—Expedition to Egypt, 1800—Battle of the 13th March 1801—Battle of the 21st—Death of Sir Ralph Abercromby—Capture of Rosetta—Surrender of Grand Cairo and of Alexandria—England—Misunderstanding between the 42d and the Highland Society of London—The regiment reviewed by George III.—Return of the 42d to Scotland—Embarks at Leith for Weeley in Essex—Second battalion—Gibraltar—Portugal—Spain—Retreat to Corunna—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore — England, 1809 — Walcheren — Scotland, 1810—England, 1811.

GOVERNMENT having determined to reduce the French and Dutch possessions in the West Indies, a large armament was fitted out under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby. The land forces consisted of 460 cavalry and 16,479 infantry. The Royal Highlanders formed part of this expedition. Another expedition, destined also for the West Indies, consisting of 2600 cavalry and 5680 foot, assembled at Cork during the embarkation of the first. Great care was taken to furnish the troops with everything necessary for the voyage, and particular attention was paid to their clothing. To protect them from the damps and chills of midnight, they were supplied with flannel, and various changes were made in their clothing to guard them against the effects of the yellow fever. Among other changes, the plaid kilt and bonnet of the Highlanders were laid aside, and their place supplied by Russian duck pantaloons and a round hat; but experience showed that the Highland dress was better suited to a campaign in the West Indies during the rainy season, than the articles which superseded it.

The embarkation was completed by the 27th of October 1795; but in consequence of damage sustained by some of the ships in a hurricane, and the loss of others, the expedition did not sail till the 11th of November. On that day the fleet, amounting to 328 sail, got under weigh with a favourable breeze. Owing to accidents which befell two of the ships, the fleet did not clear the channel till the 13th of December; but it had scarcely got out when a violent storm arose, which continued almost without intermission for several weeks. The greater part of the fleet was scattered, and many of the ships took refuge in different ports in England. Admiral Crichton struggled with such of the ships as remained with him till the end of January, but was at last obliged, from the disabled state of some of the ships, to return to Portsmouth, where he arrived on the 29th of that month with about 50 sail. Seventy-eight of the ships which kept the sea proceeded on their voyage, and reached Barbadoes in a straggling manner. Had the troops been sent off in detachments as they embarked, these misfortunes would have been avoided.

After the partial return of the expedition, the destination of some of the returned regiments was changed. Five companies of the Highlanders were in a few weeks embarked for Gibraltar, under the commanded of Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson. The other five companies reached Barbadoes on the 9th of February in the *Middlesex* East Indiaman, one of the straggling ships which had proceeded on the voyage. The expedition again put to sea on the 14th of February, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 14th of March. By the great care of Sir Ralph Abercromby, in ordering the transports to be properly ventilated on their arrival, and by enforcing cleanliness and exercise among the troops, few deaths occurred; and of the five Highland companies, none died, and only 4 men with trifling complaints were left on board when the troops disembarked at St Lucia in April. The troops from Cork, though favoured with better weather, were less fortunate in their voyage, several officers and a great many men having died.

The first enterprise was against the Dutch colonies of Demerara and Berbice, which surrendered to a part of the Cork division under Major-General White on the 22d of April. On the same day the expedition sailed from Barbadoes, and appeared off St Lucia on the 26th, it being considered imprudent to attempt Guadaloupe with a force which had been so much diminished.

The troops landed in four divisions at Longueville Bay, Pigeon Island, Chock Bay, and Ance la Raze. The Highlanders, under the command of Brigadier-General John Moore, landed in a small bay close under Pigeon

Island. The army moved forward on the 27th to close in upon Morne Fortunée, the principal post in the island. To enable them to invest this place, it became necessary to obtain possession of Morne Chabot, a strong and commanding position overlooking the principal approach. Detachments under the command of Brigadier-Generals Moore and the Hon. John Hope, were accordingly ordered to attack this post on two different points. General Moore advanced at midnight, and General Hope followed an hour after by a less circuitous route; but falling in with the enemy sooner than he expected, General Moore carried the Morne, after a short but obstinate resistance, before General Hope came up. Next day General Moore took possession of Morne Duchassaux. By the advance of Major-General Morshead from Ance la Raze, Morne Fortunée was completely invested, but not until several officers and about 50 of the grenadiers, who formed the advanced post under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, had been killed and wounded.

To dispossess the enemy of the batteries they had erected on the Cul de Sac, Major-General Morshead's division was ordered to advance against two batteries on the left; whilst Major-General Hope, with the five companies of the Highlanders, the light infantry of the 57th regiment, and a detachment of Malcolm's Rangers, supported by the 55th regiment, was to attack the battery of Secke, close to the works of Morne Fortunée. The light infantry and the rangers quickly drove the enemy from the battery; but they were obliged to retire from the battery in their turn under the cover of the Highlanders, in consequence of the other divisions under Brigadier-General Perryn and Colonel Riddle having been obstructed in their advance. In this affair Colonel Malcolm, a brave officer, was killed, and Lieutenant J. J. Fraser of the 42d, and a few men, wounded. The other divisions suffered severely.

So great were the difficulties which presented themselves from the steep and rugged nature of the ground, that the first battery was not ready to open till the 14th of May. In an attempt which the 31st regiment made upon a fortified ridge called the Vizie, on the evening of the 17th, they were repulsed with great loss; but the grenadiers, who had pushed forward to support them, compelled the enemy to retire. For six days a constant fire was kept up between the batteries and the fort. Having ineffectually attempted to drive back the 27th regiment from a lodgment they had formed within 500 yards of the garrison, the enemy applied for and obtained a suspension of hostilities. This was soon followed by a capitulation and the surrender of the whole island. The garrison marched out on the 29th, and became prisoners of war. The loss of the British was 2 field officers, 3 captains, 5 subalterns, and 184 non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed; and 4 field officers, 12 captains, 15 subalterns, and 523 non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded and missing.

As an instance of the influence of the mind on bodily health, and of the effect of mental activity in preventing disease, General Stewart adduces this expedition as a striking illustration:—"During the operations which, from the nature of the country, were extremely harassing, the troops continued remarkably healthy; but immediately after the cessation of hostilities they began to droop. The five companies of Highlanders, who landed 508 men, sent few to the hospital until the third day subsequent to the surrender; but after this event, so sudden was the change in their health, that upwards of 60 men were laid up within the space of seven days. This change may be, in part, ascribed to the sudden transition from incessant activity to repose, but its principal cause must have been the relaxation of the mental and physical energies, after the motives which stimulated them had subsided."

The next enterprise was against St Vincent, where the expedition, consisting of the Buffs, the 14th, 34th, 42d, 53d, 54th, 59th, and 63d regiments, and the 2d West Indian Regiment, landed on the 8th of June. The enemy had erected four redoubts on a high ridge, called the Vizie, on which they had taken up a position. The arrangements for an attack having been completed on the 10th, the troops were drawn up in two divisions under Major-Generals Hunter and William Morshed, at a short distance from the ridge. Another division formed on the opposite side

of the hill. The attack was commenced by a fire from some field-pieces on the redoubts, which was kept up for some hours, apparently with little effect. As a feint, the Highlanders and some of the Rangers in the meantime moved forward to the bottom of a woody steep which terminated the ridge, on the top of which stood one of the redoubts, the first in the range. Pushing their way up the steep, the 42d turned the feint into a real assault, and, with the assistance of the Buffs, by whom they were supported, drove the enemy successively from the first three redoubts in less than half an hour. Some of the Highlanders had pushed close under the last and principal redoubt, but the general, seeing that he had the enemy in his power, and wishing to spare the lives of his troops, recalled the Highlanders, and offered the enemy terms of capitulation, which were accepted. The conditions, *inter alia*, were, that the enemy should embark as prisoners of war; but several hundreds of them broke the capitulation by escaping into the woods the following night. The total loss of the British on this occasion was 181 in killed and wounded. The Highlanders had 1 sergeant and 12 rank and file killed; and 1 officer (Lieutenant Simon Fraser), 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 29 rank and file wounded.[1]

In order to subjugate the island, the troops were divided and sent to different stations, and military posts were established in the neighbourhood of the country possessed by the Caribs and brigands. Favoured by the natural strength of the country, the enemy carried on a petty warfare with the troops among the woods till the month of September, when they surrendered. The French, including the brigands, were sent prisoners to England, and the Indians or Caribs, amounting to upwards of 5000, were transported to Ratan, an island in the gulf of Mexico.[2]

[1] General Stewart says that in the assault on the redoubts, when proceeding from the second to the third, he found a lad of seventeen years of age whom he had enlisted in August preceding, with his foot on the body of a French soldier, and his bayonet thrust through from ear to ear, attempting to twist off his head. Lieutenant Stewart touched him on the shoulder, and desired him to let the body alone. "Oh, the brigand," said he, "I must take off his head." When told that the man was already dead, and that he had better go and take the head off a living Frenchman, he answered, "You are very right, Sir; I did not think of that;" and immediately ran forward to the front of the attack. Yet such is the power of example, that this young man, so bold, turned pale and trembled, when, a few days after he had enlisted, he saw one of his companions covered with blood from a cut he had received in the head and face in some horseplay with his comrades.

[2] In one of the skirmishes in the woods between a party of the 42d and the enemy, Lieutenant-Colonel Graham (afterwards a lieutenant-general and governor of Stirling Castle) was wounded, and lay senseless on the ground. "His recovery from his wound," says General Stewart, "was attended by some uncommon circumstances. The people believing him dead, rather dragged than carried him over the rough channel of the river, till they reached the sea-beach. Observing here that he was still alive, they put him in a blanket and proceeded in search of a surgeon. After travelling in this manner four miles, I met them, and directed the soldiers to carry him to a military post, occupied by a party of the 42d under my command. All the surgeons were out in the woods with the wounded soldiers, and none could be found. Colonel Graham was still insensible. A ball had entered his side, and passing through, had come out under his breast. Another, or perhaps the same ball, had shattered two of his fingers. No assistance could be got but that of a soldier's wife, who had been long in the service, and was in the habit of attending sick and wounded soldiers. She washed his wounds, and bound them up in such a manner, that when a surgeon came and saw the way in which the operation had been performed, he said he could not have done it better, and would not unbind the dressing The colonel soon afterwards opened his eyes, and though unable to speak for many hours, seemed sensible of what was passing around him. In this state he lay nearly three weeks, when he was carried to Kingston, and thence conveyed to England. He was still in a most exhausted state,—the wound in his side discharging matter from both orifices. He went to Edinburgh, with little hopes of recovery; but on the evening of the illumination for the victory of Camperdoun, the smoke of so many candles and flambeaux having affected his breathing, he coughed with great violence; and, in the exertion, threw up a piece of cloth, carried in and left by the ball in its passage through his body. From that day he recovered as by a charm.

"The soldier's wife," continues the General, "who was so useful to him in his extremity, was of a character rather uncommon. She had been long a follower of the camp, and had acquired some of its manners. While she was so good and useful a nurse in quarters, she was bold and fearless in the field. When the arrangements were made previously to the attack on the Vizie on the 10th of June, I directed that her husband, who was in my company, should remain behind to take charge of the men's knapsacks, which they had thrown off to be light for the advance up the hill, as I did not wish to expose him to danger on account of his wife and family. He obeyed his orders, and remained with his charge; but his wife, believing, perhaps, that she was not included in these injunctions, pushed forward to the assult. When the enemy had been driven from the third redoubt, I was standing giving some directions to the men, and preparing to push on to the fourth and last redoubt, when I found myself tapped on the shoulder, and turning round, I saw my Amazonian friend standing with her clothes tucked up to her knees, and seizing my hand, 'Well done, my Highland lad,' she exclaimed, 'see how the brigands scamper like so many deer!'—'Come,' added she, 'let us drive them from yonder hill!' On inquiry, I found that she had been in the hottest fire, cheering

In September, Sir Ralph Abercromby returned to England, when the temporary command of the army devolved upon Major-General Charles Graham, who was promoted this year from the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 42d to the colonelcy of the 5th West India Regiment. He was succeeded in the lieutenant-colonelcy by Major James Stewart. The commander-in-chief returned from England in February 1797, and immediately collected a force for an attack on Trinidad, which surrendered without opposition. He, thereafter, assembled a body of troops, consisting of the 26th light dragoons dismounted, the 14th, 42d, 53d, and some other corps, at St Christopher's, for an attack on Porto Rico, whither they proceeded on the 15th of April, and anchored off Congregus's Point on the 17th. The enemy made a slight opposition to the landing, but retired when the troops disembarked. As the inhabitants of Porto Rico, who had been represented as favourable, did not show any disposition to surrender, and as the Moro or castle was too strong to be attacked with such an inconsiderable force, which was insufficient to blockade more than one of its sides, the commander-in-chief resolved to give up the attempt, and accordingly re-embarked his troops on the 30th of April. This was the last enterprise against the enemy in that quarter during the rest of the war. The Highlanders were sent to Martinique, where they embarked for England, free from sickness, after having the casualties of the two preceding years more than supplied by volunteers from the 79th Highlanders, then stationed in Martinique. The Royal Highlanders landed at Portsmouth on the 30th of July in good health, and were marched to Hillsea barracks. After remaining a few weeks there, the five companies embarked for Gibraltar, where they joined the five other companies, whose destination had been changed by their return to port after the sailing of the expedition to the West Indies. The regiment was now 1100 men strong.

The next service in which the Royal Highlanders were engaged was on an expedition against the island of Minorca, under the command of Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Charles Stewart, in the month of November 1798. The British troops having invested Cittadella, the principal fortress in the island, on the 14th of November, the Spanish commander, who had concentrated his forces in that garrison, surrendered on the following day. The Spanish general, whose force greatly exceeded that of the invaders, was deceived as to their numbers, which, from the artful mode in which they were dispersed over the adjoining eminences, he believed to amount to at least 10,000 men.

The possession of Minorca was of considerable importance, as it was made the rendezvous of a large force about to be employed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in support of our allies, in the year 1800. The command of this army was given to Sir Ralph Abercromby, who arrived on the 22d of June 1799, accompanied by Major-Generals Hutchinson and Moore. A part of the army was embarked for the relief of Genoa, then closely besieged by the French, and a detachment was also sent to Colonel Thomas Graham of Balgowan, who blockaded the garrison of La Vallette in the island of Malta.

Genoa having surrendered before the reinforcement arrived, the troops returned to Minorca, and were afterwards embarked for Gibraltar, where they arrived on the 14th of September, when accounts were received of the surrender of Malta, after a blockade of nearly two years. Early in October the armament sailed for Cadiz, to take possession of the city, and the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Carraccas, and was joined by the army under Sir James Pulteney from Ferrol; but when the Highlanders and part of the reserve were about landing in the boats, a gun from Cadiz announced the approach of a flag of truce. The town was suffering dreadfully from the ravages of the pestilence, and the object of the communication was to implore the British commander to desist from the attack. Sir Ralph Abercromby, with his characteristic humanity, could not withstand the appeal, and accordingly suspended the attack. The fleet got under weigh the following morning for the bay of Tetuan, on the

and animating the men; and when the action was over, she was as active as any of the surgeons in assisting the wounded."

coast of Barbary, and after being tossed about in a violent gale, during which it was obliged to take refuge under the lee of Cape Spartell, the fleet returned to Gibraltar.

Government having determined to make an attempt to drive the French out of Egypt, despatched orders to the commander-in-chief to proceed to Malta, where, on their arrival, the troops were informed of their destination. Tired of confinement on board the transports, they were all greatly elevated on receiving this intelligence, and looked forward to a contest on the plains of Egypt with the hitherto victorious legions of France, with the feelings of men anxious to support the honour of their country. The whole of the British land forces amounted to 13,234 men and 630 artillery, but the efficient force was only 12,334. The French force amounted to 32,000 men, besides several thousand native auxiliaries.

The fleet sailed in two divisions for Marmorice, a bay on the coast of Greece, on the 20th and 21st of December, in the year 1800. The Turks were to have a reinforcement of men and horses at that place. The first division arrived on the 28th of December, and the second on the 1st of January following. Having received the Turkish supplies, which were in every respect deficient, the fleet again got under weigh on the 23d of February, and on the morning of Sunday the 1st of March the low and sandy coast of Egypt was descried. The fleet came to anchor in the evening of 1st March 1801 in Aboukir bay, on the spot where the battle of the Nile had been fought nearly three years before. After the fleet had anchored, a violent gale sprung up, which continued without intermission till the evening of the 7th, when it moderated.

As a disembarkation could not be attempted during the continuance of the gale, the French had ample time to prepare themselves, and to throw every obstacle which they could devise in the way of a landing. No situation could be more embarrassing than that of Sir Ralph Abercromby on the present occasion; but his strength of mind carried him through every difficulty. He had to force a landing in an unknown country, in the face of an enemy more than double his numbers, and nearly three times as numerous as they were previously believed to be—an enemy, moreover, in full possession of the country, occupying all its fortified positions, having a numerous and well-appointed cavalry, inured to the climate, and a powerful artillery,—an enemy who knew every point where a landing could, with any prospect of success, be attempted, and who had taken advantage of the unavoidable delay, already mentioned, to erect batteries and bring guns and ammunition to the point where they expected the attempt would be made. In short, the general had to encounter embarrassments and bear up under difficulties which would have paralysed the mind of a man less firm and less confident of the devotion and bravery of his troops. These disadvantages, however, served only to strengthen his resolution. He knew that his army was determined to conquer, or to perish with him; and, aware of the high hopes which the country had placed in both, he resolved to proceed in the face of obstacles which some would have deemed insurmountable.[3]

The first division destined to effect a landing consisted of the flank companies of the 40th, and Welsh Fusileers on the right, the 28th, 42d, and 58th, in the centre, the brigade of Guards, Corsican Rangers, and a part of the 1st brigade, consisting of the Royals and 54th, on the left,—amounting altogether to 5230 men. As there was not a sufficiency of boats, all this force did not land at once; and one company of Highlanders, and detachments of other regiments, did not get on shore till the return of the boats. The troops fixed upon to lead the way got into the boats at two o'clock on the morning of the 8th of March, and formed in the rear of the *Mondovi*, Captain John Stewart, which was anchored out of reach of shot from the shore. By an admirable arrangement, each boat was placed in such a manner, that, when the landing was effected, every brigade, every regiment, and even every company, found itself in the proper station assigned to it. As such an arrangement required time to complete it, it was eight o'clock before the boats were ready to move forward. Expectation was wound up to the highest pitch, when, at nine o'clock, a signal

[3] Stewart's *Sketches*.

was given, and all the boats, with a simultaneous movement, sprung forward, under the command of the Hon. Captain Alexander Cochrane. Although the rowers strained every nerve, such was the regularity of their pace, that no boat got a-head of the rest.

At first the enemy did not believe that the British would attempt a landing in the face of their lines and defences; but when the boats had come within range of their batteries, they began to perceive their mistake, and then opened a heavy fire from their batteries in front, and from the castle of Aboukir in flank. To the showers of grape and shells, the enemy added a fire of musketry from 2500 men, on the near approach of the boats to the shore. In a short time the boats on the right, containing the 23d, 28th, 42d, and 58th regiments, with the flank companies of the 40th, got under the elevated position of the enemy's batteries, so as to be sheltered from their fire, and meeting with no opposition from the enemy, who did not descend to the beach, these troops disembarked and formed in line on the sea shore. Lest an irregular fire might have created confusion in the ranks, no orders were given to load, but the men were directed to rush up the face of the hill and charge the enemy.

When the word was given to advance, the soldiers sprung up the ascent, but their progress was retarded by the loose dry sand which so deeply covered the ascent, that the soldiers fell back half a pace every step they advanced. When about half way to the summit, they came in sight of the enemy, who poured down upon them a destructive volley of musketry. Redoubling their exertions, they gained the height before the enemy could reload their pieces; and, though exhausted with fatigue, and almost breathless, they drove the enemy from their position at the point of the bayonet. A squadron of cavalry then advanced and attacked the Highlanders, but they were instantly repulsed, with the loss of their commander. A scattered fire was kept up for some time by a party of the enemy from behind a second line of small sand-hills, but they fled in confusion on the advance of the troops. The Guards and first brigade having landed on ground nearly on a level with the water, were immediately attacked,—the first by cavalry, and the 54th by a body of infantry, who advanced with fixed bayonets. The assailants were repulsed.[4]

In this brilliant affair the British had 4 officers, 4 sergeants, and 94 rank and file killed, among whom were 31 Highlanders; 26 officers, 34 sergeants, 5 drummers, and 450 rank and file wounded; among whom were, of the Highlanders, Lieutenant-Colonel James Stewart, Captain Charles Macquarrie, Lieutenants Alexander Campbell, John Dick, Frederick Campbell, Stewart Campbell, Charles Campbell, Ensign Wilson, 7 sergeants, 4 drummers, and 140 rank and file.[5]

The venerable commander-in-chief, anxious to be at the head of his troops, immediately left the admiral's ship, and on reaching the shore, leaped from the boat with the vigour of youth. Taking his station on a little sand-hill, he received the congratulations of the officers by whom he was surrounded, on the ability and firmness with which he had conducted

[4] When the boats were about to start, two young French field officers, who were prisoners on board the *Minotaur*, Captain Louis, went up to the rigging "to witness, as they said, the last sight of their English friends. But when they saw the troops land, ascend the hill, and force the defenders at the top to fly, the love of their country and the honour of their arms overcame their new friendship: they burst into tears, and with a passionate exclamation of grief and surprise ran down below, and did not again appear on deck during the day."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

[5] "The great waste of ammunition," says General Stewart, "and the comparatively little execution of musketry, unless directed by a steady hand, was exemplified on this occasion. Although the sea was as smooth as glass, with nothing to interrupt the aim of those who fired,—although the line of musketry was so numerous, that the soldiers compared the fall of the bullets on the water to boys throwing handfuls of pebbles into a mill-pond,—and although the spray raised by the cannon-shot and shells, when they struck the water, wet the soldiers in the boats,—yet, of the whole landing force, very few were hurt; and of the 42d one man only was killed, and Colonel James Stewart and a few soldiers wounded. The noise and foam raised by the shells and large and small shot, compared with the little effect thereby produced, afford evidence of the saving of lives by the invention of gunpowder; while the fire, noise, and force, with which the bullets flew, gave a greater sense of danger than in reality had any existence. That eight hundred and fifty men (one company of the Highlanders did not land in the first boats) should force a passage through such a shower of balls and bomb-shells, and only one man killed and five wounded, is certainly a striking fact." Four-fifths of the loss of the Highlanders was sustained before they reached the top of the hill. General Stewart, who then commanded a company in the 42d, says that eleven of his men fell by the volley they received when mounting the ascent.

the enterprise. The general, on his part, expressed his gratitude to them for "an intrepidity scarcely to be paralleled," and which had enabled them to overcome every difficulty.

The remainder of the army landed in the course of the evening, but three days elapsed before the provisions and stores were disembarked. Menou, the French commander, availed himself of this interval to collect more troops and strengthen his position; so that on moving forward on the evening of the 12th, the British found him strongly posted among sand-hills, and palm and date trees, about three miles east of Alexandria, with a force of upwards of 5000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and 30 pieces of artillery.

Early on the morning of the 13th, the troops moved forward to the attack in three columns of regiments. At the head of the first column was the 90th or Perthshire regiment; the 92d or Gordon Highlanders formed the advance of the second; and the reserve marching in column covered the movements of the first line, to which it ran parallel. When the army had cleared the date trees, the enemy, leaving the heights, moved down with great boldness on the 92d, which had just formed in line. They opened a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, which the 92d quickly returned; and although repeatedly attacked by the French line, supported by a powerful artillery, they maintained their ground singly till the whole line came up. Whilst the 92d was sustaining these attacks from the infantry, the French cavalry attempted to charge the 90th regiment down a declivity with great impetuosity. The regiment stood waiting their approach with cool intrepidity, and after allowing the cavalry to come within fifty yards of them, they poured in upon them a well-directed volley, which so completely broke the charge that only a few of the cavalry reached the regiment, and the greater part of these were instantly bayoneted; the rest fled to their left, and retreated in confusion. Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was always in front, had his horse shot under him, and was rescued by the 90th regiment when nearly surrounded by the enemy's cavalry.

After forming in line, the two divisions moved forward — the reserve remaining in column to cover the right flank. The enemy retreated to their lines in front of Alexandria, followed by the British army. After reconnoitring their works, the British commander, conceiving the difficulties of an attack insuperable, retired, and took up a position about a league from Alexandria. The British suffered severely on this occasion. The Royal Highlanders, who were only exposed to distant shot, had only 3 rank and file killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, Captain Archibald Argyll Campbell, Lieutenant Simon Fraser, 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 23 rank and file wounded.

In the position now occupied by the British general, he had the sea on his right flank, and the Lake Maadie on his left. On the right the reserve was placed as an advanced post; the 58th possessed an extensive ruin, supposed to have been the palace of the Ptolemies. On the outside of the ruin, a few paces onward and close on the left, was a redoubt, occupied by the 28th regiment. The 23d, the flank companies of the 40th, the 42d, and the Corsican Rangers, were posted 500 yards towards the rear, ready to support the two corps in front. To the left of this redoubt a sandy plain extended about 300 yards, and then sloped into a valley. Here, a little retired towards the rear, stood the cavalry of the reserve; and still farther to the left, on a rising ground beyond the valley, the Guards were posted, with a redoubt thrown up on their right, a battery on their left, and a small ditch or enbankment in front, which connected both. To the left of the Guards, in echelon, were posted the Royals, 54th (two battalions), and the 92d; then the 8th or Kings, 18th or Royal Irish, 90th, and 13th. To the left of the line, and facing the lake at right angles, were drawn up the 27th or Enniskillen, 79th or Cameron Highlanders and 50th regiment. On the left of the second line were posted the 30th, 89th, 44th, Dillon's, De Roll's, and Stuart's regiments; the dismounted cavalry of the 12th and 26th dragoons completed the second line to the right. The whole was flanked on the right by four cutters, stationed close to the shore. Such was the disposition of the army from the 14th till the evening of the 20th, during which time the whole was kept in constant employment, either in performing military duties, strengthening

the position—which had few natural advantages—by the erection of batteries, or in bringing forward cannon, stores, and provisions. Along the whole extent of the line were arranged two 24 pounders, thirty-two field-pieces, and one 24 pounder in the redoubt occupied by the 28th.

The enemy occupied a parallel position on a ridge of hills extending from the sea beyond the left of the British line, having the town of Alexandria, Fort Caffarell, and Pharos, in the rear. General Lanusse was on the left of Menou's army with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry commanded by General Roise. General Regnier was on the right with two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry, and the centre was occupied by five demi-brigades. The advanced guard, which consisted of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry, was commanded by General D'Estain.

Meanwhile, the fort of Aboukir was blockaded by the Queen's regiment, and, after a slight resistance, surrendered to Lord Dalhousie on the 18th. To replace the Gordon Highlanders, who had been much reduced by previous sickness, and by the action of the 13th, the Queen's regiment was ordered up on the evening of the 20th. The same evening the British general received accounts that General Menou had arrived at Alexandria with a large reinforcement from Cairo, and was preparing to attack him.

Anticipating this attack, the British army was under arms at an early hour in the morning of the 21st of March, and at three o'clock every man was at his post. For half an hour no movement took place on either side, till the report of a musket, followed by that of some cannon, was heard on the left of the line. Upon this signal the enemy immediately advanced, and took possession of a small picquet, occupied by part of Stuart's regiment; but they were instantly driven back. For a time silence again prevailed, but it was a stillness which portended a deadly struggle. As soon as he heard the firing, General Moore, who happened to be the general officer on duty during the night, had galloped off to the left; but an idea having struck him as he proceeded, that this was a false attack, he turned back, and had hardly returned to his brigade when a loud huzza, succeeded by a roar of musketry, showed that he was not mistaken. The morning was unusually dark, cloudy, and close. The enemy advanced in silence until they approached the picquets, when they gave a shout and pushed forward. At this moment Major Sinclair, as directed by Major-General Oakes, advanced with the left wing of the 42d, and took post on the open ground lately occupied by the 28th regiment, which was now ordered within the redoubt. Whilst the left wing of the Highlanders was thus drawn up, with its right supported by the redoubt, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart was directed to remain with the right wing 200 yards in the rear, but exactly parallel to the left wing. The Welsh Fusileers and the flank companies of the 40th moved forward, at the same time, to support the 58th, stationed in the ruin. This regiment had drawn up in the chasms of the ruined walls, which were in some parts from ten to twenty feet high, under cover of some loose stones which the soldiers had raised for their defence, and which, though sufficiently open for the fire of musketry, formed a perfect protection against the entrance of cavalry or infantry. The attack on the ruin, the redoubt, and the left wing of the Highlanders, was made at the same moment, and with the greatest impetuosity; but the fire of the regiments stationed there, and of the left wing of the 42d, under Major Stirling, quickly checked the ardour of the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonels Paget of the 28th, and Houston of the 58th, after allowing the enemy to come quite close, directed their regiments to open a fire, which was so well-directed and effective, that the enemy were obliged to retire precipitately to a hollow in their rear.[6]

During this contest in front, a column of the enemy, which bore the name of the "Invincibles," preceded by a six-pounder, came silently along the hollow interval from which the cavalry picquet had retired, and passed between the left of the 42d and the right of the Guards. Though it was still so dark that an object could not be properly

[6] Stewart's *Sketches*.

distinguished at the distance of two yards, yet, with such precision did this column calculate its distance and line of march, that on coming in line with the left wing of the Highlanders, it wheeled to its left, and marched in between the right and left wings of the regiment, which were drawn up in parallel lines. As soon as the enemy were discovered passing between the two lines, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart instantly charged them with the right wing to his proper front, whilst the rear-rank of Major Stirling's force, facing to the right about, charged to the rear. Being thus placed between two fires, the enemy rushed forward with an intention of entering the ruin, which they supposed was unoccupied. As they passed the rear of the redoubt the 28th faced about and fired upon them. Continuing their course, they reached the ruin, through the openings of which they rushed, followed by the Highlanders, when the 58th and 48th, facing about as the 28th had done, also fired upon them. The survivors (about 200), unable to withstand this combined attack, threw down their arms and surrendered. Generals Moore and Oakes were both wounded in the ruin, but were still able to continue in the exercise of their duty. The former, on the surrender of the "Invincibles," left the ruin, and hurried to the left of the redoubt, where part of the left wing of the 42d was busily engaged with the enemy after the rear rank had followed the latter into the ruins. At this time the enemy were seen advancing in great force on the left of the redoubt, apparently with an intention of making another attempt to turn it. On perceiving their approach, General Moore immediately ordered the Highlanders out of the ruins, and directed them to form line in battalion on the flat on which Major Stirling had originally formed, with their right supported by the redoubt. By thus extending their line they were enabled to present a greater front to the enemy; but, in consequence of the rapid advance of the latter, it was found necessary to check their progress even before the battalion had completely formed in line. Orders were therefore given to drive the enemy back, which were instantly performed with complete success.

Encouraged by the commander-in-chief, who called out from his station, "My brave Highlanders, remember your country, remember your forefathers!" they pursued the enemy along the plain; but they had not proceeded far, when General Moore, whose eye was keen, perceived through the increasing clearness of the atmosphere, fresh columns of the enemy drawn up on the plain beyond with three squadrons of cavalry, as if ready to charge through the intervals of their retreating infantry. As no time was to be lost, the general ordered the regiment to retire from their advanced position, and re-form on the left of the redoubt. This order, although repeated by Colonel Stewart, was only partially heard in consequence of the noise of the firing; and the result was, that whilst the companies who heard it retired on the redoubt, the rest hesitated to follow. The enemy observing the intervals between these companies, resolved to avail themselves of the circumstance, and advanced in great force. Broken as the line was by the separation of the companies, it seemed almost impossible to resist with effect an impetuous charge of cavalry; yet every man stood firm. Many of the enemy were killed in the advance. The companies, who stood in compact bodies, drove back all who charged them, with great loss. Part of the cavalry passed through the intervals, and wheeling to their left, as the "Invincibles" had done early in the morning, were received by the 28th, who, facing to their rear, poured on them a destructive fire, which killed many of them. It is extraordinary that in this onset only 13 Highlanders were wounded by the sabre,—a circumstance to be ascribed to the firmness with which they stood, first endeavouring to bring down the horse, before the rider came within sword-length, and then despatching him with the bayonet, before he had time to recover his legs from the fall of the horse.[7]

[7] Concerning this episode in the fight, and the capture of the standard of the "Invincibles" by one of the 42d, we shall here give the substance of the narrative of Andrew Dowie, one of the regiment who was present and saw the whole affair. We take it from Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley's Memoranda, and we think our readers may rely upon it as being a fair statement of the circumstances. It was written in 1845, in a letter to Sergeant-Major Drysdale of the 42d, who went through the whole of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny campaigns without being one day absent, and who died at Uphall, near Edidburgh.

Enraged at the disaster which had befallen the *elite* of his cavalry, General Menou ordered forward a column of infantry, supported by cavalry, to make a second attempt on the position; but this body was repulsed at all points by the Highlanders. Another body of cavalry now dashed forward as the former had done, and met with a similar reception, numbers falling, and others passing through to the rear, where they were again overpowered by the 28th. It was impossible for the Highlanders to withstand much longer such repeated attacks, particularly as they were reduced to the necessity of fighting every man on his own ground, and unless supported they must soon have been destroyed. The fortunate arrival of the brigade of Brigadier-General Stuart, which advanced from the second line, and formed on the left of the Highlanders, probably saved them from destruction. At this time the enemy were advancing in great force, both in cavalry and infantry, apparently determined to overwhelm the handful of men who had hitherto baffled all their efforts. Though surprised to find a fresh and more numerous body of troops opposed to them, they nevertheless ventured to charge, but were again driven back with great precipitation.

It was now eight o'clock in the morning; but nothing decisive had been effected on either side. About this time the British had spent the whole of their ammunition; and not being able to procure an immediate supply, owing to the distance of the ordnance-stores, their fire ceased,—a circumstance which surprised the enemy, who, ignorant of the cause, ascribed the cessation to design. Meanwhile, the French kept up a heavy and constant cannonade from their great guns, and a straggling fire from their sharp-shooters in the hollows, and behind some sand-hills in front of the redoubt and ruins. The army suffered greatly from the fire of the enemy, particularly the Highlanders, and the right of General Stuart's brigade, who were exposed to its full effect, being posted on a level piece of ground over which the cannon-shot rolled after striking the ground, and carried off a file of men at every successive rebound. Yet notwithstanding this havoc no man moved from his position except to close up the gap made by the shot, when his right or left hand man was struck down.

At this stage of the battle the proceeedings of the centre may be shortly detailed. The enemy pushed forward a heavy column of infantry, before the dawn of day, towards the position occupied by the Guards. After allowing them to approach very close to his front, General Ludlow ordered his fire to be opened, and his orders were executed with such effect, that the enemy retired with precipitation. Foiled in this attempt, they next endeavoured to turn the left of the position; but they were received and driven back with such spirit by the Royals and the right wing of the 54th, that they desisted from all further attempts to carry it. They, however, kept up an irregular fire from their cannon and sharp-shooters, which did some execution. As General Regnier, who commanded the right of the French line, did not advance, the left of the British was never engaged. He made up for this forbearance by keeping up a heavy cannonade, which did considerable injury.

Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment —on the 4th July 1865:—While Dowie was inside of the ruin above mentioned, he observed an officer with a stand of colours, surrounded by a group of some 30 men. He ran and told Major Stirling of this, who advanced towards the French officer, grasped the colours, carried them off, and handed them to Sergeant Sinclair of the 42d Grenadiers, telling him to take them to the rear of the left wing, and display them. The major then ordered all out of the fort to support the left wing, which was closely engaged. Meantime, some of the enemy seeing Sinclair with the colours, made after and attacked him. He defended himself to the utmost till he got a sabre-cut on the back of the neck, when he fell with the colours among the killed and wounded. Shortly afterwards the German regiment, commanded by Sir John Stewart, came from the rear line to the support of the 42d, and in passing through the killed and wounded, one Anthony Lutz picked up the colours, stripped them off the staff, wound them round his body, and in the afternoon took them to Sir Ralph's son, and it was reported received some money for them. In 1802 this German regiment (97th or Queen's Own) arrived at Winchester, where this Anthony Lutz, in a quarrel with one of his comrades, stabbed him with a knife, was tried by civil law, and sentence of death passed upon him. His officers, to save his life, petitioned the proper authorities, stating that it was he who took the "Invincible Colours." Generals Moore and Oakes (who had commanded the brigade containing the 42d), then in London, wrote to Lieut.-Col. Dickson, who was with the regiment in Edinburgh Castle, and a court of inquiry was held on the matter, the result of the examination being in substance what has just been narrated. Sergeant Sinclair was promoted to ensign in 1803; was captain in the 81st from 1813 to 1816, when he retired on half-pay, and died in 1831.

Emboldened by the temporary cessation of the British fire on the right, the French sharpshooters came close to the redoubt; but they were thwarted in their designs by the opportune arrival of ammunition. A fire was immediately opened from the redoubt, which made them retreat with expedition. The whole line followed, and by ten o'clock the enemy had resumed their original position in front of Alexandria. After this, the enemy despairing of success, gave up all idea of renewing the attack, and the loss of the commander-in-chief, among other considerations, made the British desist from any attempt to force the enemy to engage again.

Sir Ralph Abercomby, who had taken his station in front early in the day between the right of the Highlanders and the left of the redoubt, having detached the whole of his staff, was left alone. In this situation two of



Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt. From Kay's *Edinburgh Portraits.*

the enemy's dragoons dashed forward, and drawing up on each side, attempted to lead him away prisoner. In a struggle which ensued, he received a blow on the breast; but with the vigour and strength of arm for which he was distinguished, he seized the sabre of one of his assailants, and forced it out of his hand. A corporal (Barker) of the 42d coming up to his support at this instant, for lack of other ammunition, charged his piece with powder and his ramrod, shot one of the dragoons, and the other retired. The general afterwards dismounted from his horse though with difficulty; but no person knew that he was wounded, till some of the staff who joined him observed the blood trickling down his thigh. A musket-ball had entered his groin, and lodged deep in the hip-joint. Notwithstanding the acute pain which a wound in such a place must have occasioned, he had, during the interval between the time he had been wounded and the last charge of cavalry,

walked with a firm and steady step along the one of the Highlanders and General Stuart's brigade, to the position of the Guards in the centre of the line, where, from its elevated position, he had a full view of the whole field of battle, and from which place he gave his orders as if nothing had happened to him. In his anxiety about the result of the battle, he seemed to forget that he had been hurt; but after victory had declared in favour of the British army, he became alive to the danger of his situation, and in a state of exhaustion, lay down on a little sand-hill near the battery.

In this situation he was surrounded by the generals and a number of officers. The soldiers were to be seen crowding round this melancholy group at a respectful distance, pouring out blessings on his head, and prayers for his recovery. His wound was now examined, and a large incision was made to extract the ball; but it could not be found. After this operation he was put upon a litter, and carried on board the *Foudroyant*, Lord Keith's ship, where he died on the morning of the 28th of March. "As his life was honourable, so his death was glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the memory of a grateful posterity."[8]

The loss of the British, of whom scarcely 6000 were actually engaged, was not so great as might have been expected. Besides the commander-in-chief, there were killed 10 officers, 9 sergeants, and 224 rank and file; and 60 officers, 48 sergeants, 3 drummers, and 1082 rank and file, were wounded. Of the Royal Highlanders, Brevet-Major Robert Bisset, Lieutenants Colin Campbell, Robert Anderson, Alexander Stewart, Alexander Donaldson, and Archibald M'Nicol, and 48 rank and file, were killed; and Major James Stirling, Captain David Stewart, Lieutenant Hamilton Rose, J. Millford Sutherland, A. M. Cuningham, Frederick Campbell, Maxwell Grant, Ensign William Mackenzie, 6 sergeants, and 247 rank and file wounded. As the 42d was more exposed than any of the other regiments engaged, and sustained the brunt of the battle, their loss was nearly three times the aggregate amount of the loss of all the other regiments of the reserve. The total loss of the French was about 4000 men.

General Hutchinson, on whom the command of the British army now devolved, remained in the position before Alexandria for some time, during which a detachment under Colonel Spencer took possession of Rosetta. Having strengthened his position between Alexandria and Aboukir, General Hutchinson transferred his headquarters to Rosetta, with a view to proceed against Rhamanieh, an important post, commanding the passage of the Nile, and preserving the communication between Alexandria and Cairo. The general left his camp on the 5th of May to attack Rhamanieh; but although defended by 4000 infantry, 800 cavalry, and 32 pieces of cannon, the place was evacuated by the enemy on his approach.

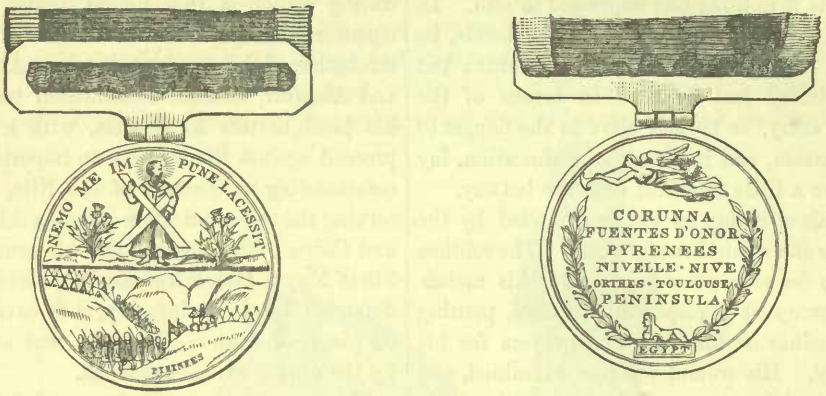
The commander-in-chief proceeded to Cairo, and took up a position four miles from that city on the 16th of June. Belliard, the French general, had made up his mind to capitulate whenever he could do so with honour; and accordingly, on the 22d of June, when the British had nearly completed their approaches, he offered to surrender, on condition of his army being sent to France with their arms, baggage, and effects.

Nothing now remained to render the conquest of Egypt complete but the reduction of Alexandria. Returning from Cairo, General Hutchinson proceeded to invest that city. Whilst General Coote, with nearly half the army, approached to the westward of the town, the general himself advanced from the eastward. General Menou, anxious for the honour of the French arms, at first disputed the advances made towards his lines; but finding himself surrounded on two sides by an army of 14,500 men, by the sea on the north, and cut off from the country on the south by a lake which had been formed by breaking down the dike between the Nile and Alexandria, he applied for, and obtained, on the evening of the 26th of August, an armistice of three days. On the 2d of September the capitulation was signed, the terms agreed upon being much the same with those granted to General Belliard.

After the French were embarked, immediate arrangements were made for settling in

[8] General Hutchinson's *Official Despatches*.

quarters the troops that were to remain in the country, and to embark those destined for other stations. Among these last were the three Highland regiments. The 42d landed at Southampton, and marched to Winchester. With the exception of those who were affected with ophthalmia, all the men were healthy. At Winchester, however, the men caught a contagious fever, of which Captain Lamont and several privates died.



Medal of 42d Royal Highland Regiment (see page 404). From the collection of Surgeon-Major Fleming, late 4th Dragoon Guards.

"At this period," says General Stewart, "a circumstance occurred which caused some conversation on the French standard taken at Alexandria. The Highland Society of London, much gratified with the accounts given of the conduct of their countrymen in Egypt, resolved to bestow on them some mark of their esteem and approbation. The Society being composed of men of the first rank and character in Scotland, and including several of the royal family as members, it was considered that such an act would be honourable to the corps and agreeable to all. It was proposed to commence with the 42d as the oldest of the Highland regiments, and with the others in succession, as their service offered an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. Fifteen hundred pounds were immediately subscribed for this purpose. Medals were struck with a head of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and some emblematical figures on the obverse. A superb piece of plate was likewise ordered. While these were in preparation, the Society held a meeting, when Sir John Sinclair, with the warmth of a clansman, mentioned his namesake, Sergeant Sinclair, as having taken or having got possession of the French standard, which had been brought home. Sir John being at that time ignorant of the circumstances, made no mention of the loss of the ensign which the sergeant had gotten in charge. This called forth the claim of Lutz,[9] already referred to, accompanied with some strong remarks by Cobbett, the editor of the work in which the claim appeared. The Society then asked an explanation from the officers of the 42d. To this very proper request a reply was given by the officers who were then present with the regiment. The majority of these happened to be young men, who expressed, in warm terms, their



Medal to the Officers of the 42d Royal Highlanders for services in Egypt. From the same collection.

[9] See note, pp. 370, 71.

surprise that the Society should imagine them capable of countenancing any statement implying that they had laid claim to a trophy to which they had no right. This misapprehension of the Society's meaning brought on a correspondence, which ended in an interruption of farther communication for many years."[1]

In May 1802 the regiment marched to Ashford, where they were reviewed by George III., who expressed himself satisfied with its appearance; but although the men had a martial air, they had a diminutive look, and were by no means equal to their predecessors, either in bodily appearance or in complexion.

Shortly after this review the regiment was ordered to Edinburgh. During their march to the north the men were everywhere received with kindness; and, on approaching the northern metropolis, thousands of its inhabitants met them at a distance from the city, and, welcoming them with acclamations, accompanied them to the castle. They remained in their new quarters, giving way too freely to the temptations to which they were exposed, by the hospitality of the inhabitants, till the spring of 1803, when, in consequence of the interruption of peace, they were embarked at Leith for the camp then forming at Weeley, in Essex. The regiment at this time did not exceed 400 men, in consequence chiefly of the discharge of 475 men the preceding year. While in Edinburgh (December 1, 1803) new colours, bearing the distinctions granted for its services in Egypt, were formally presented to the regiment.

As a means at once of providing for the internal defence of the kingdom, and recruiting the regular army, an act was passed to raise a body of men by ballot, to be called "The Army of Reserve." Their services were to be confined to Great Britain and Ireland, with liberty to volunteer into the regular army, on a certain bounty. In the first instance, the men thus raised in Scotland were formed into second battalions to regiments of the line. The quota raised in the counties of Perth, Elgin, Nairn, Cromarty, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Argyle, and Bute, which was to form the second battalion of the 42d, amounted to 1343 men. These embarked in November at Fort George, to join the first battalion in Weeley barracks, about which time upwards of 500 had volunteered into the regular army. In April of this year Captain David Stewart, Garth, was appointed major, and Lieutenants Robert Henry Dick and Charles M'Lean, captains to the second battalion of the 78th regiment. In September following, Colonel Dickson was appointed brigadier-general; and Lieutenant-Colonels James Stewart and Alexander Stewart having retired, they were succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonels Stirling and Lord Blantyre. Captains M'Quarrie and James Grant became majors; Lieutenants Stewart Campbell, Donald Williamson, John M'Diarmid, John Dick, and James Walker, captains; and Captain Lord Saltoun was promoted to the Foot Guards.

In consequence of the removal of a part of the garrison of Gibraltar, the first battalion of the 42d, and the second battalion of the 78th, or Seaforth Highlanders, were marched to Plymouth, where they embarked early in October for Gibraltar, which they reached in November. Nothing worthy of notice occurred during their stay in Gibraltar. Since their former visit, the moral habits of the 42d had improved, and they did not fall into those excesses in drinking in which they had previously indulged. The mortality consequently was not so great as before—31 only out of 850 men having died during the three years they remained at this station.

In 1806 Sir Hector Munro, the colonel of the regiment, died, and was succeeded by Major-General the Marquis of Huntly, afterwards Duke of Gordon.

After the battle of Vimiera, which was fought on the 21st of August 1808, the British army was joined by the 42d from Gibraltar, then 624 men strong,[2] and by the Gordon and Cameron Highlanders from England. Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had gained the battle, was superseded the same day by two senior generals, Sir Harry Burrard and Sir John Moore, who were, strange to tell, again superseded by General

[1] Further details concerning this unfortunate misunderstanding will be given when we come to speak of the presentation of the vase in 1817.

[2] Of these 231 were Lowlanders, 7 English, and 3 Irish.

Sir Hew Dalrymple the following morning. Generals Burrard and Dalrymple having been recalled in consequence of the convention of Cintra, the command of the army devolved on Sir John Moore, who, on the 6th of October, received an order to march into Spain. Having made no previous preparations for marching, the advance of the army from Lisbon was retarded; and as he could obtain little assistance from the Portuguese Government, and no correct information of the state of the country, or of the proper route he ought to take, he was obliged to act almost entirely upon conjecture. Conceiving it impossible to convey artillery by the road through the mountains, he resolved to divide his army, and to march into Spain by different routes.

One of these divisions, consisting of the brigade of artillery and four regiments of infantry, of which the 42d was one, under the Hon. Lieutenant General Hope, marched upon Madrid and Espinar; another, under General Paget, moved by Elvas and Alcantara; a third by Coimbra and Almeida, under General Beresford; and a fourth, under General Mackenzie Fraser, by Abrantes and Almeida. These divisions, amounting together to 18,000 infantry and 900 cavalry, were to form a junction at Salamanca. General Moore reached Salamanca on the 13th of November, without seeing a single Spanish soldier. Whilst on the march, Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird arrived off Corunna with a body of troops from England, for the purpose of forming a junction with General Moore; but his troops were kept on board from the 13th to the 31st of October, and, when allowed to disembark, no exertions were made by the Spaniards to forward his march.

Whilst waiting the junction of General Baird and the division of General Hope, which, from its circuitous route, was the last of the four in reaching Salamanca, General Moore received intelligence of the defeat and total dispersion of General Blake's army on the 10th of November, at Espenora de los Monteros, as well as of a similar fate which subsequently befell the army of General Castanos at Tudela. No Spanish army now remained in the field except the corps under the Marquis of Romana, but acting independently, it tended rather to obstruct than forward the plans of the British commander.

It was now the 1st of December. General Baird had reached Astorga, and General Hope's division was still four day's march from Salamanca. Beset by accumulated difficulties, and threatened with an army already amounting to 100,000 men, and about to be increased by additional reinforcements, General Moore resolved on a retreat, though such a measure was opposed to the opinion of many officers of rank. Whilst he himself was to fall back upon Lisbon, he ordered Sir David Baird to retire to Corunna, and embark for the Tagus. He afterwards countermanded the order for retreat, on receiving some favourable accounts from the interior, but having soon ascertained that these were not to be relied on, he resumed his original intention of retiring. Instead of proceeding, however, towards Lisbon, he determined to retreat to the north of Spain, with the view of joining General Baird. This junction he effected at Toro, on the 21st of December. Their united forces amounted to 26,311 infantry, and 2450 cavalry, besides artillery.

The general resolved to attack Marshal Soult at Saldanha; but, after making his dispositions, he gave up his determination, in consequence of information that Soult had received considerable reinforcements; that Buonaparte had marched from Madrid with 40,000 infantry and cavalry; and that Marshals Junot, Mortier, and Leferbe, with their different divisions, were also on their march towards the north of Spain. The retreat was begun on the 24th of December, on which day the advance guard of Buonaparte's division passed through Tordesillas.

When ordered again to retreat, the greatest disappointment was manifested by the troops, who, enraged at the apathy shown by the people, gratified their feelings of revenge by acts of insubordination and plunder hitherto unheard of in a British army. To such an extent did they carry their ravages, that they obtained the name of "malditos ladrones," or cursed robbers, from the unfortunate inhabitants. The following extract of general orders, issued at Benevente, on the 27th of December, shows how acutely the gallant Moore felt the

disgrace which the conduct of his British troops brought on the British name:—"The Commander of the Forces has observed, with concern, the extreme bad conduct of the troops, at a moment when they are about to come into contact with the enemy, and when the greatest regularity and the best conduct are most requisite. The misbehaviour of the troops in the column which marched from Valdaras to this place, exceeds what he could have believed of British soldiers. It is disgraceful to the officers, as it strongly marks their negligence and inattention. The Commander of the Forces refers to the general orders of the 15th of October and the 11th of November. He desires that they may be again read at the head of every company in the army. He can add nothing but his determination to execute them to the fullest extent. He can feel no mercy towards officers who neglect, in times like these, essential duties, or towards soldiers who injure the country they are sent to protect. It is impossible for the General to explain to his army his motive for the movements he directs. When it is proper to fight a battle he will do it, and he will choose the time and place he thinks most fit. In the mean time, he begs the officers and soldiers of the army to attend diligently to discharge their part, and leave to him and to the general officers the decision of measures which belong to them alone."

It is quite unnecessary, in a work of this nature, to give the details of this memorable retreat. Suffice it to say, that after a series of brilliant and successful encounters with the enemy, and after enduring the most extraordinary privations, the British army arrived in the neighbourhood of Corunna on the 11th of January 1809. Had the transports been at Corunna, the troops might have embarked without molestation, as the French general did not push forward with vigour from Lago; but, as they had to wait the arrival of transports from Vigo, the enemy had full time to come up. The inhabitants showed the greatest kindness to the troops, and, in conjunction with them, exerted themselves with much assiduity to put the town in a proper state of defence.

On the land side Corunna is surrounded by a double range of hills, a higher and a lower. As the outward or higher range was too extensive, the British were formed on the inner or lower range. The French on their arrival took post on the higher range.

Several of the transports having arrived on the 14th, the sick, the cavalry, and part of the artillery were embarked. Next day was spent in skirmishing, with little loss on either side; but on the 16th, affairs assumed a more serious aspect. After mid-day, the enemy were seen getting under arms. The British drew up immediately in line of battle. General Hope's division occupied the left. It consisted of Major-General Hill's brigade of the Queen's, 14th, 32d; and Colonel Crawford's brigade of the 36th, 71st, and 92d or Gordon Highlanders. On the right of the line was the division of General Baird, consisting of Lord William Bentinck's brigade of the 4th, 42d or Royal Highlanders, and 50th regiment; and Major-General Manningham's brigade of the third battalion of the Royals, 26th or Cameronians, and second battalion of the 81st; and Major-General Ward with the first and second battalions of the Foot Guards. The other battalions of Guards were in reserve, in rear of Lord William Bentinck's brigade. The Rifle corps formed a chain across a valley on the right of Sir David Baird, communicating with Lieutenant-General Fraser's division, which was drawn up in the rear at a short distance from Corunna. This division was composed of the 6th, 9th, 23d or Welsh Fusileers, and second battalion of the 43d, under Major-General Beresford; and the 36th, 79th or Cameron Highlanders, and 82d, under Brigadier-General Fane. General Paget's brigade of reserve formed in rear of the left. It consisted of the 20th, 28th, 52d, 91st, and Rifle corps. The whole force under arms amounted to nearly 16,000 men.

The battle was begun by the enemy, who, after a discharge of artillery, advanced upon the British in four columns. Two of these moved towards General Baird's wing, a third advanced upon the centre, and a fourth against the left. The enemy kept a fifth column as a reserve in the rear. On the approach of the French the British advanced to meet them. The 50th regiment, under Majors Napier and Stanhope, two young officers who had been

trained up under the general's own eye, passing over an enclosure in front, charged and drove the enemy out of the village of Elvina, with great loss. General Moore, who was at the post occupied by Lord William Bentinck's brigade, directing every movement, on observing the brave conduct of the regiment, exclaimed, "Well done the 50th—well done my majors!" Then proceeding to the 42d, he cried out, "Highlanders, remember Egypt." They thereupon rushed forward, accompanied by the general, and drove back the enemy in all directions. He now ordered up a battalion of the Guards to the left flank of the Highlanders. The light company, conceiving, as their ammunition was spent, that the Guards were to relieve them, began to fall back; but Sir John discovering their mistake, said to them, "My brave 42d, join your comrades,—ammunition is coming,—you have your bayonets." This was enough.

Sir David Baird about this time was forced to leave the field, in consequence of his arm being shattered by a musket ball, and immediately thereafter a cannon ball struck Sir John Moore in the left shoulder and beat him to the ground. "He raised himself and sat up with an unaltered countenance, looking intensely at the Highlanders, who were warmly engaged. Captain Hardinge threw himself from his horse and took him by the hand; then observing his anxiety, he told him the 42d were advancing, upon which his countenance immediately brightened up."

After the general and Sir David Baird had been carried off the field, the command of the army devolved upon Lieutenant-General Hope, who, at the close of the battle, addressed a letter to Sir David, from which the following is an extract:—"The first effort of the enemy was met by the commander of the forces and by yourself, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Lord William Bentinck. The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest. I lament to say, that, after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able disposition, fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismayed, but, by the most determined bravery, not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged. The enemy finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement which was made by Major-General Paget with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack defeated this intention. The major-general having pushed forward the 95th (Rifle corps) and the first battalion of the 52d regiment, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Fraser's division (calculated to give still farther security to the right of the line), induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter. They were, however, more forcibly directed towards the centre, when they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of that under my orders. Upon the left the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our picquets, which, however, in general maintained their ground. Finding, however, his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with a considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the second battalion of the 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls. Before five in the evening, we had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground, in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action; whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing ceased."

The loss of the British was 800 men killed and wounded. The 42d had 1 sergeant and 36 rank and file killed; and 6 officers, viz., Captains Duncan Campbell, John Fraser, and Maxwell Grant, and Lieutenants Alexander Anderson, William Middleton, and Thomas MacInnes, 1 sergeant, and 104 rank and file wounded. The enemy lost upwards of 3000 men,—a remarkable disproportion, when it is considered that the British troops fought under many disadvantages.

In general orders issued on the 18th of January, Lieutenant-General Hope congratulated the army on the victory, and added,—"On no occasion has the undaunted valour of British troops been more manifest. At the termination of a severe and harassing march, rendered necessary by the superiority which the enemy had acquired, and which had materially impaired the efficiency of the troops, many disadvantages were to be encountered.

"These have all been surmounted by the conduct of the troops themselves; and the enemy has been taught, that whatever advantages of position or numbers he may employ, there is inherent, in British officers and soldiers, a bravery that knows not how to yield,—that no circumstances can appal,—and that will ensure victory when it is to be obtained by the exertion of any human means.

"The lieutenant-general has the greatest satisfaction in distinguishing such meritorious services as came within his observation, or have been brought to his knowledge.

"His acknowledgments are in a peculiar manner due to Lieutenant-General Lord William Bentinck, and *the brigade under his command, consisting of the Fourth,* FORTY-SECOND, *and Fiftieth Regiments, which sustained the weight of the attack.*"

Though the victory was gained, General Hope did not consider it advisable, under existing circumstances, to risk another battle, and therefore issued orders for the immediate embarkation of the army. By the great exertions of the naval officers and seamen, the whole, with the exception of the rear guard, were on board before the morning; and the rear guard, with the sick and wounded, were all embarked the following day.

General Moore did not long survive the action. When he fell he was removed, with the assistance of a soldier of the 42d, a few yards behind the shelter of a wall. He was afterwards carried to the rear in a blanket by six soldiers of the 42d and Guards. When borne off the field his aid-de-camp, Captain Hardinge, observing the resolution and composure of his features, expressed his hopes that the wound was not mortal, and that he would still be spared to the army. Turning his head round, and looking steadfastly at the wound for a few seconds, the dying commander said, "No, Hardinge; I feel that to be impossible." A sergeant of the 42d and two spare files, in case of accident, were ordered to conduct their brave general to Corunna. Whilst being carried along slowly, he made the soldiers turn frequently round, that he might view the field of battle and listen to the firing. As the sound grew fainter, an indication that the enemy were retiring, his countenance evinced the satisfaction he felt. In a few hours he was numbered with the dead.

Thus died, in the prime of life, one of the most accomplished and bravest soldiers that ever adorned the British army. From his youth he embraced the profession with the sentiments and feelings of a soldier. He felt that a perfect knowledge and an exact performance of the humble but important duties of a subaltern officer are the best foundation for subsequent military fame. In the school of regimental duty, he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession, so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others. In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any point as a preferable subject for praise. The life of Sir John Moore was spent among his troops. During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post

of honour; and, by his undaunted spirit and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory.[3]

General Moore had been often heard to express a wish that he might die in battle like a soldier; and, like a soldier, he was interred in his full uniform in a bastion in the garrison of Corunna.[4]

When the embarkation of the army was completed it sailed for England. One division, in which the 42d was, landed at Portsmouth; another disembarked at Plymouth.

The regiment was now brigaded at Shorncliffe with the rifle corps, under the command of Major-General Sir Thomas Graham. As the second battalion, which had been in Ireland since 1805, was about to embark for Portugal, they could obtain no draughts from it to supply the casualties which they had suffered in the late retreat and loss at Corunna, but these were speedily made up otherwise.

The 42d was next employed in the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, and returned to Dover in September 1809, having only 204 men fit for duty out of 758, who, about six weeks before, had left the shores of England. The regiment marched to Canterbury on the 11th of September, where it remained till July 1810, when it was removed to Scotland, and quartered in Musselburgh. The men had recovered very slowly from the Walcheren fever, and many of them still suffered under its influence. During their stay at Musselburgh, the men unfortunately indulged themselves to excess in the use of ardent spirits, a practice which would have destroyed their health, had not a change of duty put an end to this baneful practice.

[3] General Orders, Horse Guards, 1st February 1809.

[4] "It was not without cause that the Highland soldiers shed tears for the sufferings of the kind and partial friend whom they were now about to lose. He always reposed the most entire confidence in them; placing them in the post of danger and honour, and wherever it was expected that the greatest firmness and courage would be required; gazing at them with earnestness in his last moments, and in this extremity taking pleasure in their successful advance; gratified at being carried by them, and talking familiarly to them when he had only a few hours to live; and, like a perfect soldier, as he was, dying with his sword by his side. Speaking to me, on one occasion, of the character of the Highland soldiers, "I consider," said he, "the Highlanders, under proper management, and under an officer who understands and values their character, and works on it, among the best of our military materials. Under such an officer, they will conquer or die on the spot, while their action, their hardihood, and abstinence, enable them to bear up against a severity of fatigue under which larger, and apparently stronger, men would sink. But it is the principles of integrity and moral correctness that I admire most in Highland soldiers, and this was the trait that first caught my attention. It is this that makes them trustworthy, and makes their courage sure, and not that kind of flash in the pan, which would scale a bastion to-day, and to-morrow be alarmed at the fire of a picquet. You Highland officers may sleep sound at night, and rise in the morning with the assurance that, with your men, your professional character and honour are safe, unless *you yourselves destroy the willing and excellent material entrusted to your direction.*" Such was the opinion particularly addressed to me, as a kind of farewell advice in 1805, when my regiment left his brigade to embark for the Mediterranean. It was accompanied by many excellent observations on the character of the Highland soldier, and the duties of Highland officers, especially what regards their management of, and behaviour towards their soldiers, and the necessity of paying attention to their feelings. The correctness of his views on this important subject I have seen fully confirmed by many years' experience."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

IV.

1811—1816.

Return of the 42d to England—Embarks a second time for Portugal in 1812—Consolidation of the first and second battalions—Spain—Battle of Salamanca—Madrid—Siege of Burgos—Retreat into Portugal—Campaign of 1813—Battle of Vittoria—Siege of St Sebastian—Pyrenees—Succession of battles—Fall of St Sebastian—Allied army enters France—Crosses the Nivelle—Passage of the Nive—Series of actions—Bayonne—Battles of Orthès and Ayre—Bordeaux—Tarbes—Battle of Toulouse—Peace of 1814—War of 1815—Quatre Bras—Waterloo—Return of the 42d to Scotland—Edinburgh.

In August 1811 the regiment sailed for England, and after remaining some time in Lewes barracks, embarked in April of the following year for Portugal. The ardour for recruiting had now ceased, and the consequence was that the regiment obtained few recruits while in Scotland. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre, the commander of the second battalion, had experienced the growing indifference of the Highlanders for the army, having been obliged, before his departure for Portugal, to enlist 150 men from the Irish militia. The first battalion joined the army, under Lord Wellington, after the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and meeting with the second battalion, they were both consolidated.

"The second battalion had continued with the allied army in Portugal, and was engaged in the operations by which the English commander endeavoured to retard the advance of the superior numbers of the enemy, under Marshal Massena, who boasted he would drive the British into the sea, and plant the eagles of France on the towers of Lisbon. As the French army advanced in full confidence of success, suddenly the rocks of Busaco were seen bristling with bayonets and streaming with British colours. The Royal Highlanders were in position on the mountains when that formidable post was attacked by the enemy on the 27th of September, and when the valour of the British troops repulsed the furious onsets of the French veterans, who were driven back with severe loss. The loss of the Forty-Second was limited to 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 3 rank and file wounded. Major Robert Henry Dick received a medal for this battle.

"Being unable to force the position, the French commander turned it by a flank movement; and the allied army fell back to the lines of Torres Vedras, where a series of works of vast extent, connected with ranges of rocks and mountains, covered the approach to Lisbon, and formed a barrier to the progress of the enemy, which could not be overcome. The Forty-Second were posted in the lines.

"The French commander, despairing to accomplish his threat against the English, fell back to Santarem.

"For three months the opposing armies confronted each other a few stages from Lisbon; the enemy's numbers became seriously reduced by sickness, and other causes, his resources were exhausted, and during the night of the 5th of March 1811 he commenced his retreat towards the frontiers. The British moved forward in pursuit, and in numerous encounters with the enemy's rearguard gained signal advantages.

"The French army crossed the confines of Portugal; the British took up a position near the frontiers, and blockaded Almeida. The French advanced to relieve the blockaded fortress; and on the 3d of May they attacked the post of Fuentes d'Onor. The Royal Highlanders had 2 soldiers killed on this occasion; Captain M'Donald, 1 sergeant, and 5 rank and file wounded. On the 5th of May the enemy made another attack on the British position, but was repulsed. On this occasion the Forty-Second, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre, were charged by a body of French cavalry, which they defeated with signal gallantry. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre received a gold medal; and the word 'Fuentes d'Onor,' displayed, by royal authority, on the regimental colour, commemorates the steady valour of the second battalion on this occasion. Its loss was 1 sergeant and 1 private soldier killed; 1 sergeant and 22 rank and file wounded. Major R. H. Dick received a medal for the battle of Fuentes d'Onor, where he commanded a flank battalion.

"In the subsequent operations of this campaign, the second battalion took an active part; but was not brought into close contact with the enemy."[1]

On the consolidation of the two battalions, the officers and staff of the second were ordered to England, leaving the first upwards of 1160 rank and file fit for service. These were placed in the division under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham. The allied army now amounted to 58,000 men, being larger than any single division of the enemy, whose whole force exceeded 160,000 men.

After a successful attack on Almarez by a division of the army under General Hill, Lord Wellington moved forward and occupied Salamanca, which the French evacuated on his approach, leaving 800 men behind to garrison the fort, and retain possession of two redoubts formed from the walls and ruins of some convents and colleges. After a gallant defence of some days, the fort and redoubts surrendered on the 27th of June 1812.

Whilst the siege was proceeding, Marshal Marmont manœuvred in the neighbourhood, but not being yet prepared for a general action, he retired across the Douro, and took up a position on the 22d from La Seca to Pollos. By the accession of a reinforcement from the Asturias, and another from the army of the centre, the marshal's force was increased to nearly 60,000 men. Judging himself now able to cope with the allied army, he resolved either

[1] Cannon's *Historical Record of the 42d.*

to bring Lord Wellington to action, or force him to retire towards Portugal, by threatening his communication with that country. By combining with Marshal Soult from the south, he expected to be able to intercept his retreat and cut him off. Marmont did not, however, venture to recross the Douro, but commenced a series of masterly manœuvres, with the view of ensnaring his adversary. Alluding to this display of tactics, the *Moniteur* remarked that "there were seen those grand French military combinations which command victory, and decide the fate of empires; that noble audacity which no reverse can shake, and which commands events." These movements were met with corresponding skill on the part of the British general, who baffled all the designs of his skilful opponent. Several accidental encounters took place in the various changes of positions, in which both sides suffered considerably.

Tired of these evolutions, Lord Wellington crossed the Guarena on the night of the 19th of July, and on the morning of the 20th drew up his army in order of battle on the plains of Valise; but Marmont declined the challenge, and crossing the river, encamped with his left at Babila Fuentes, and his right at Villameda. This manœuvre was met by a corresponding movement on the part of the allies, who marched to their right in columns along the plain, in a direction parallel to the enemy, who were on the heights of Cabeca Vilhosa. In this and the other movements of the British, the sagacity of the commander-in-chief appeared so strange to a plain Highlander, who had paid particular attention to them, that he swore Lord Wellington must be gifted with the second sight, as he saw and was prepared to meet Marmont's intended changes of position before he commenced his movements.

The allied army were now on the same ground they had occupied near Salamanca when reducing the forts the preceding month; but in consequence of the enemy crossing the Tormes at Alba de Tormes, and appearing to threaten Ciudad Rodrigo, Lord Wellington made a corresponding movement, and on the 21st of July halted his army on the heights on the left bank. During the night the enemy possessed themselves of the village of Calvarasa de Ariba, and the heights of Nuestra Senora de la Pena. In the course of this night Lord Wellington received intelligence that General Clausel had reached Pollos with a large body of cavalry, and would certainly join Marmont on the 23d or 24th.

The morning of the 22d, a day memorable in the annals of the Peninsular war, was ushered in with a violent tempest, and a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning. The operations of the day commenced soon after seven o'clock, when the outposts of both armies attempted to get possession of two hills, Los Arapiles, on the right of the allies. The enemy, by his numerical superiority, succeeded in possessing himself of the most distant of these hills, and thus greatly strengthened his position. With his accustomed skill, Marmont manœuvred until two o'clock, when imagining that he had succeeded in drawing the allies into a snare, he opened a general fire from his artillery along his whole line, and threw out numerous bodies of sharpshooters, both in front and flank, as a feint to cover an attempt he meditated to turn the position of the British. This *ruse* was thrown away on Lord Wellington, who, acting on the defensive only, to become, in his turn the assailant with the more effect, and perceiving at once the grand error of his antagonist in extending his line to the left, without stregthening his centre, which had now no second line to support it, made immediate preparations for a general attack; and with his characteristic determination of purpose, took advantage of that unfortunate moment, which, as the French commander observed, "destroyed the result of six weeks of wise combinations of methodical movements, the issue of which had hitherto appeared certain, and which everything appeared to presage to us that we should enjoy the fruit of."[2]

The arrangements were these. Major-General Pakenham, with the third division, was ordered to turn the left of the enemy, whilst he was to be attacked in front by the divisions of Generals Leith, Cole, Bradford, and Cotton, —those of Generals Clinton, Hope, and Don Carlos de Espana, acting as a reserve. The divisions under Generals Alexander Campbell

[2] Marmont's *Despatch.*

and Alten were to form the left of the line. Whilst this formation was in progress, the enemy did not alter his previous position, but made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of the village of Arapiles, held by a detachment of the guards.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, the attack commenced. General Pakenham, supported by the Portuguese cavalry, and some squadrons of the 14th Dragoons under Colonel Harvey, carried all their respective points of attack. The divisions in the centre were equally successful, driving the enemy from one height to another. They, however, received a momentary check from a body of troops from the heights of Arapiles. A most obstinate struggle took place at this post. Having descended from the heights which they occupied, the British dashed across the intervening valley and ascended a hill, on which they found the enemy most advantageously posted, formed in solid squares, the front ranks kneeling, and supported by twenty pieces of cannon. On the approach of the British, the enemy opened a fire from their cannon and musketry, but this, instead of retarding, seemed to accelerate the progress of the assailants. Gaining the brow of the hill, they instantly charged, and drove the enemy before them; a body of them attempting to rally, were thrown into utter confusion by a second charge with the bayonet. A general rout now took place, and night alone saved the French army from utter annihilation.

There fell into the hands of the victors 7000 prisoners and 11 pieces of cannon, but the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was not ascertained. General Marmont himself was wounded, and many of his officers were killed or disabled. The loss of the allies was 624 killed, and about 4000 wounded.

Among other important results to which this victory led, not the least was the appointment of Lord Wellington as generalissimo of the Spanish armies, by which he was enabled to direct and control the operations of the whole Spanish forces, which had hitherto acted as independent corps.

The allied army pushed forward to Madrid, and, after various movements and skirmishes, entered that city on the 12th of August amid the acclamations of the inhabitants. Learning that General Clausel, who had succeeded Marshal Marmont in the command, had organised an army, and threatened some of the British positions on the Douro, Lord Wellington left Madrid on the 1st of September, and marching northward, entered Valladolid on the 7th, the enemy retiring as he advanced. Being joined by Castanos, the Spanish general, with an army of 12,000 foot, he took up a position close to Burgos, in which the enemy had left a garrison of 2500 men. The castle was in ruins, but the strong thick wall of the ancient keep was equal to the best casemates, and it was strengthened by a horn-work which had been erected on Mount St Michael. A church had also been converted into a fort, and the whole enclosed within three lines, so connected that each could defend the other. Preliminary to an attack on the castle, the possession of the horn-work was necessary. Accordingly, on the evening of the 19th of September, the light infantry of General Stirling's brigade having driven in the out-posts, took possession of the out-works close to the mount. When dark it was attacked by the same troops, supported by the 42d, and carried by assault.

On the 29th an unsuccessful attempt was made to spring a mine under the enemy's works, but on the 4th of October another mine was exploded with better effect. The second battalion of the 24th regiment established themselves within the exterior line of the castle, but were soon obliged to retire. The enemy made two vigorous sorties on the 8th, drove back the covering parties, and damaged the works of the besiegers, who sustained considerable loss. A third mine was exploded on the 13th, when the troops attempted an assault, but without success. The last attack, a most desperate one, was made on the 19th, but with as little success; two days after which, Lord Wellington, on the 21st, to the great disappointment of the besiegers, ordered the siege, which had lasted thirty days, to be raised, in consequence of the expected advance of a French army of 80,000 men. The loss sustained by the 42d in this siege was 3 officers, 2 sergeants, and 44 rank and file killed and 6 officers, 11 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 230 rank and file wounded. The officers

killed; were Lieutenants R. Ferguson and P. Milne, and Ensign David Cullen; those wounded were Captains Donald Williamson (who died of his wounds), Archibald Menzies, and George Davidson, Lieutenants Hugh Angus Fraser, James Stewart, and Robert Mackinnon.[3]

Whilst Lord Wellington was besieging Burgos, the enemy had been concentrating their forces, and on the 20th of October his lordship received intelligence of the advance of the French army. Joseph Buonaparte, newly raised by his brother to the throne of Spain, was, with one division, to cut off Lord Wellington's communication with General Hill's division between Aranjuez and Toledo, and another, commanded by General Souham, was to raise the seize of Burgos. After the abandonment of the siege, on the 21st of October, the allied army retired after night-fall, unperceived by General Souham, who followed with a superior force, but did not overtake them till the evening of the twenty-third.

During the retrograde movement, the troops suffered greatly from the inclemency of the weather, from bad roads, but still more from the want of a regular supply of provisions; and the same irregularities and disorganisation prevailed among them as in the retreat to Corunna.

The allied army retired upon Salamanca, and afterwards to Frenada and Corea, on the frontier of Portugal, where they took up their winter quarters. The enemy apparently unable to advance, unwilling to retire, and renouncing the hope of victory, followed the example thus set. Subsequent events proved that this opinion, expressed at the time was correct, "for every movement of the enemy after the campaign of 1812 was retrograde, every battle a defeat."

Having obtained a reinforcement of troops and abundant military supplies from England, Lord Wellington opened the campaign of 1813 by moving on Salamanca, of which, for the third time, the British troops took possession on the 24th of May. The division of Sir R. Hill was stationed between Tormes and the Douro, and the left wing, under Sir Thomas Graham, took post at Miranda de Douro. The enemy, who gave way as the allies advanced, evacuated Valladolid on the 4th of June, and General Hill having, on the 12th attacked and defeated a division of the French army under General Reille, the enemy hastened their retreat, and blew up the works of the castle of Burgos, on which they had expended much labour the preceding year.

The enemy fell back on Vittoria, followed by Lord Wellington, who drew up his army on the river Bayas, separated by some high grounds from Vittoria. His men were in the highest spirits, and the cheerfulness and alacrity with which they performed this long march, more than 250 miles, formed a favourable contrast with their conduct when retreating the previous year. The French army, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, made a stand near Vittoria, for the purpose of defending the passage of the river Zadorra, having that town on their right, the centre on a height, commanding the valley of that stream, and the left resting on the heights between Arunez and Puebla de Arlanzon. The hostle armies were about 70,000 men each.

On the morning of the 21st of June, the allied army moved forward in three columns to take possession of the heights in the front of Vittoria. The right wing was commanded by General Hill, the centre by General Cole, and the left wing by General Graham. The operations of the day commenced by General Hill attacking and carrying the heights of Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested. They made a violent attempt to regain possession, but they were driven back at all points, and pursued across the Zadorra. Sir Rowland Hill passing over the bridge of La Puebla, attacked and carried the village of Sabijana de Alava, of which he kept possession, notwithstanding repeated attempts of the enemy to regain it. The fourth and light divisions now crossed the Zadorra at different points, while almost at the same instant of time, the column under Lord Dalhousie reached Mendoza; and the third, under Sir T. Picton, followed by the seventh division, crossed a bridge higher up. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the right of the enemy's centre on the heights, whilst General

[3] The loss of the 79th will be found stated in the memoirs of that regiment.





JOHN, EARL OF CRAWFORD.
25th Oct. 1738.—1740.
First Colonel.



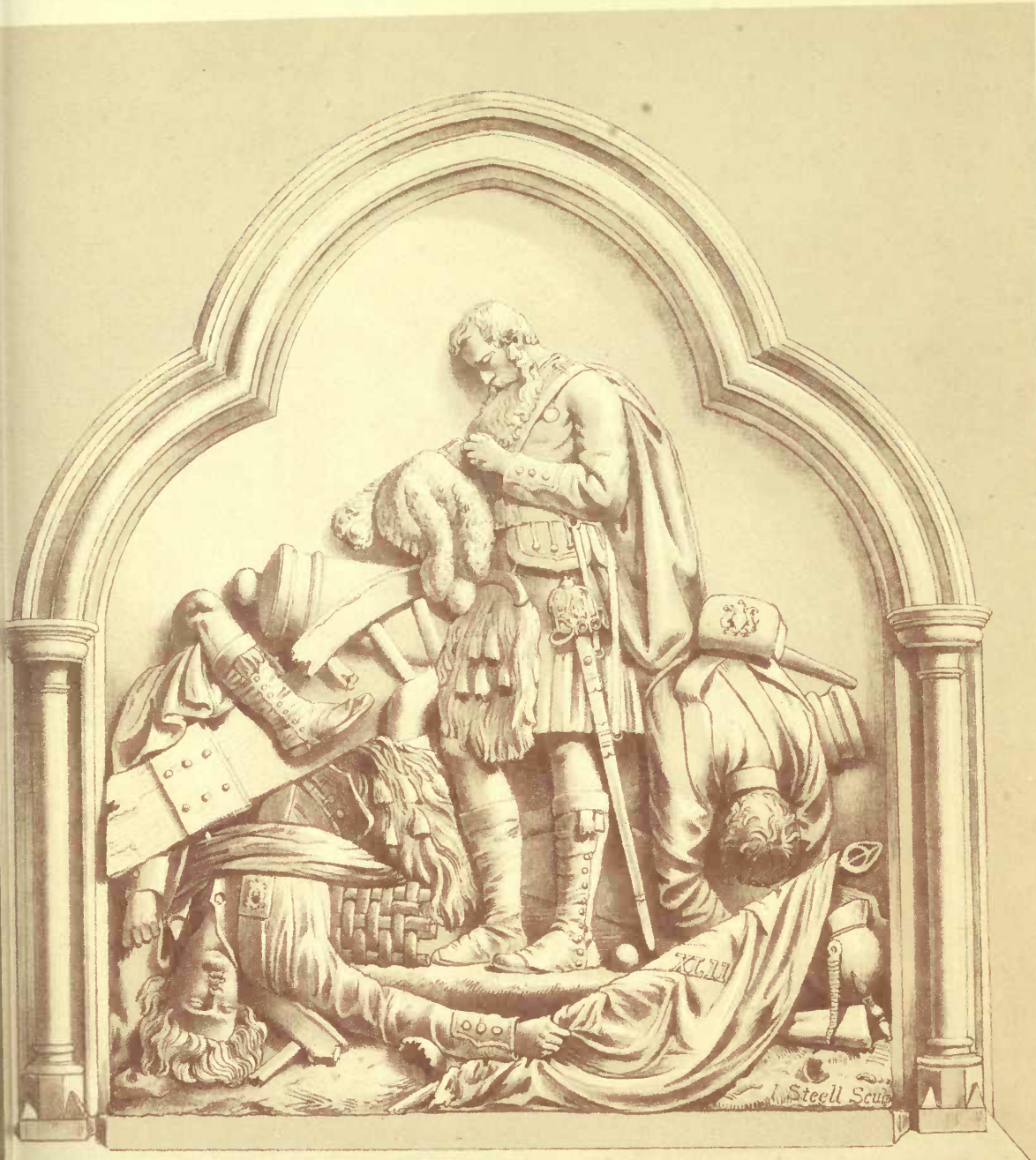
SIR GEORGE MURRAY, G.C.B. G.C.H.
6th Sept. 1825.—28th Dec. 1846.
Also Col. of 77th Regt. 24th Feb. 1837.—6th Sept. 1846.



SIR JOHN MACDONALD, K.C.B.
15th Jan. 1844. Hon. Col. of the Regt. 28th March, 1846.



SIR DUNCAN A. CAMERON, K.C.B.
9th Sept. 1852.—



FONTENDY
FLANDERS
TICONDEROGA
MARTINIQUE
GAUDELOUPE
HAVANNAH
EGYPT
CORUNNA
FUENTES D' ONOR
PYRENEES

IN MEMORY OF
THE OFFICERS, NON COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND PRIVATE SOLDIERS
OF THE 42ND ROYAL HIGHLANDERS THE BLACK WATCH WHO FELL IN WAR
FROM THE CREATION OF THE REGIMENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE INDIAN MUTINY 1859
THE 10 INDEPENDENT COMPANIES OF THE FREACADAN OUBH, OR BLACK WATCH WERE FORMED INTO A REGIMENT ON THE
25TH OCTOBER 1739 AND THE FIRST MUSTER TOOK PLACE IN MAY 1740 IN A FIELD BETWEEN TAYBRIDGE AND ABERFELDY

HERE 'MONG THE HILLS THAT NURSED EACH HARDY GAEL, OUR VOTIVE MARBLE TELLS THE SOLDIER'S TALE,
ART'S MAGIC POWER EACH PERISHED FRIEND RECALLS, AND HEROES HAUNT THESE OLD CATHEDRAL WALLS.

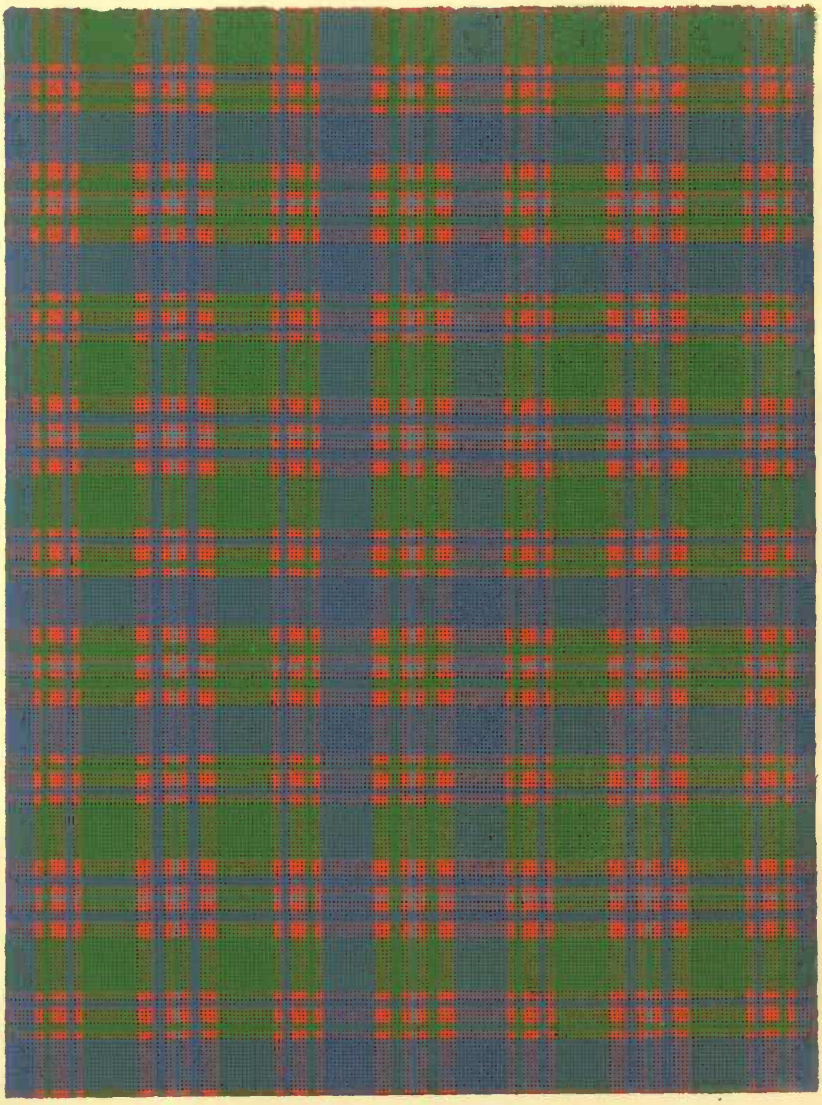
ERECTED BY OFFICERS OF THE CORPS 1872.

NIVELLE
NIVE
ORTHES
TOULOUSE
PENINSULA
WATERLOO
ALMA
SEVASTOPOL
LUCKNOW

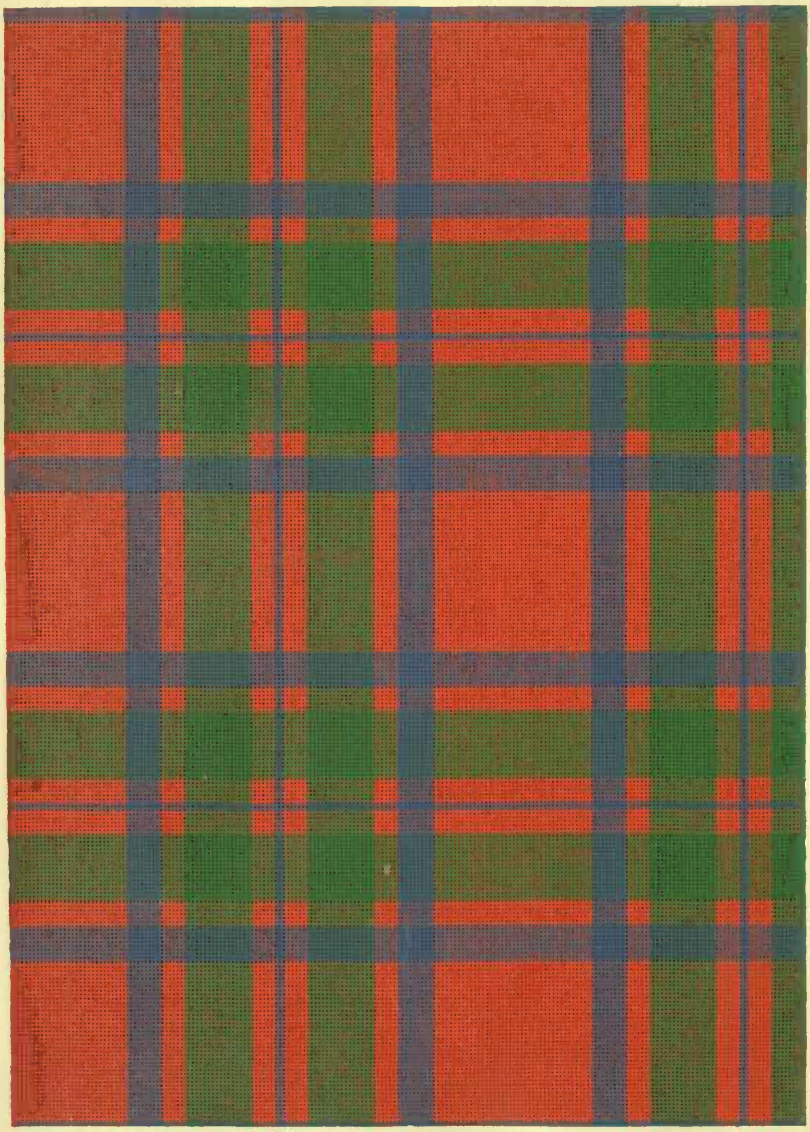
MONUMENT IN DUNKELD CATHEDRAL.



A Fullarton & Co. London & Edinburgh.



MACINTYRE.



MACKINTOSH.



MACLEOD AND MACKENZIE, 71ST AND 78TH

Hill pushed forward from Alava to attack the left. The enemy dreading the consequences of an attack on his centre, which he had weakened to strengthen his posts on the heights, abandoned his position, and commenced a rapid retreat to Vittoria.

Whilst these combined movements of the right and centre were in progress, the left wing, under Sir Thomas Graham, drove the enemy's right from the hills above Abechuco and Gamarra. To preserve their communication with Bayonne, which was nearly cut off by this movement, the enemy had occupied the villages of Gamarra, Mayor, and Menor, near which the great road touches the banks of the Zadorra. They were, however, driven from these positions by a Spanish division under Colonel Longa, and another of Portuguese under General Pack, supported by General Anson's cavalry brigade and the fifth division of infantry under General Oswald. General Graham, at the same time, attacked and obtained possession of the village of Abechuco.

Thus cut off from retreat by the great road to France, the enemy, as soon as the centre of the allies had penetrated to Vittoria, retreated with great precipitation towards Pampluna, the only other road left open, and on which they had no fortified positions to cover their retrograde movement. The enemy left behind them all their stores and baggage, and out of 152 pieces of cannon, they carried off only one howitzer. General Hill, with his division, continued to pursue the panic-stricken French from one position to another till the 7th of July, when he took post on the summit of the pass of Maya, beyond the Pyrenees, "those lofty heights which," as Marshal Soult lamented, in a proclamation he issued, "enabled him proudly to survey our fertile valleys."

With the exception of Pampluna and St Sebastian, the whole of this part of the north of Spain was now cleared of the enemy. To reduce these places was the next object. It was resolved to blockade the former and lay siege to the latter, which last-mentioned service was intrusted to General Graham. This was a most arduous task, as St Sebastian was, in point of strength, next to Gibraltar.

After an unsuccessful assault, however, the attention of the commander-in-chief being directed to the movements of Marshal Soult, who was advancing with a large army, the siege of St Sebastian was suspended for a time.

At this time the allied army occupied a range of mountain passes between the valley of Roncesvalles, celebrated as the field of Charlemagne's defeat, and St Sebastian, but as the distance between these stations was sixty miles, it was found impossible so to guard all these passes as to prevent the entrance of an army. The passes occupied by the allies were defended by the following troops:—Major General Byng's brigade and a division of Spanish infantry held the valley of Roncesvalles, to support which General Cole's division was posted at Piscarret, with General Picton's in reserve at Olaque; the valley of Bastan and the pass of Maya was occupied by Sir Rowland Hill, with Lieutenant-general William Stewart's and Silviera's Portuguese divisions, and the Spanish corps under the Conde de Amaran; the Portuguese brigade of Brigadier-general Archibald Campbell was detached to Los Alduidos; the heights of St Barbara, the town of Pera, and the Puerto de Echelar, were protected by Lord Dalhousie and Baron Alten's light division, Brigadier-general Pack's being in reserve at Estevan. The communication between Lord Dalhousie and General Graham was kept up by General Longa's Spanish division; and the Conde de Abisbal blockaded Pamplona.

Such were the positions of the allied army when Marshal Soult, who had been lately appointed to the command of a numerous French army, recently collected, having formed a plan of operations for a general attack on the allied army, advanced on the 25th of July at the head of a division of 36,000 men against Roncesvalles, whilst General Count d'Erlon, with another division of 13,000 men, moved towards the pass of Maya. Pressed by this overwhelming force, General Byng was obliged, though supported by part of Sir Lowry Cole's division, to descend from the heights that commanded the pass, in order to preserve his communication, in which situation he was attacked by Soult and driven back to the top of the mountain, whilst the troops on the ridge of Arola, part of Cole's division, were forced to retire with considerable loss, and to take up

a position in the rear. General Cole was again obliged to retire, and fell back on Lizoain. Next day General Picton moved forward to support General Cole, but both were obliged to retire in consequence of Soult's advance.

Meanwhile Count d'Erlon forced the battalions occupying the narrow ridges near the pass of Maya to give way; but these being quickly supported by Brigadier-general Barnes's brigade, a series of spirited actions ensued, and the advance of the enemy was arrested. General Hill hearing of the retrograde movement from Roncesvalles, retired behind the Irurita, and took up a strong position. On the 27th Sir Thomas Picton resumed his retreat. The troops were greatly dejected at this temporary reverse; but the arrival of Lord Wellington, who had been with the army before St Sebastian, revived their drooping spirits. Immediately on his arrival he directed the troops in reserve to move forward to support the division opposed to the enemy; formed General Picton's division on a ridge on the left bank of the Argua, and General Cole's on the high grounds between that river and the Lanz. To support the positions in front, General Hill was posted behind the Lizasso; but, on the arrival of General Pakenham on the 28th, he took post on the left of General Cole, facing the village of Sourarom; but before the British divisions had fully occupied the ground, they were vigorously attacked by the enemy from the village. The enemy were, however, driven back with great loss.

Soult next brought forward a strong column, and advancing up the hill against the centre of the allies, on the left of General Cole's line, obtained possession of that post, but he was almost immediately driven back at the point of the bayonet by the Fusiliers. The French renewed the attack, but were again quickly repulsed. About the same time another attack was made on the right of the centre, where a Spanish brigade, supported by the 40th, was posted. The Spaniards gave way, the 40th not only keeping their ground, but driving the enemy down the hill with great loss.

The enemy pushing forward in separate bodies with great vigour, the battle now became general along the whole front of the heights occupied by the fourth division, but they were repulsed at all points, except one occupied by a Portuguese battalion, which was overpowered and obliged to give way. The occupation of this post by the enemy exposed the flank of Major-General Ross's brigade, immediately on the right, to a destructive fire, which forced him to retire. The enemy were, however, soon dispossessed of this post by Colonel John Maclean, who, advancing with the 27th and 48th regiments, charged and drove them from it, and immediately afterwards attacked and charged another body of the enemy who were advancing from the left. The enemy persevered in his attacks several times, but was as often repulsed, principally by the bayonet. Several regiments charged four different times.

After various successful attacks, the enemy, on the 30th, to use the words of Lord Wellington, "abandoned a position which is one of the strongest and most difficult of access that I have yet seen occupied by troops." The enemy were now pursued beyond Olaque, in the vicinity of which General Hill, who had been engaged the whole day, had repulsed all the attacks of Count d'Erlon.

The enemy endeavoured to rally in their retreat, but were driven from one position to another till the 2d of August, when the allies had regained all the posts they had occupied on the 25th of July, when Soult made his first attack. As the 92d or Gordon Highlanders was the Highland regiment which had the good fortune to be engaged in these brilliant attacks, in which they particularly distinguished themselves, the account of these operations might have been deferred till we come to give an account of the services of that excellent regiment; but as the omission of these details in this place would have broken the continuity of the narrative, it was deemed proper to insert them here.

After this second expulsion of the French beyond the Pyrenees, the siege of St Sebastian was resumed with redoubled energy. A continued fire was kept up from eighty pieces of cannon, which the enemy withstood with surprising courage and perseverance. At length a practicable breach was made, and on the morning of the 31st of August the troops

advanced to the assault. The breach was extensive, but there was only one point at which it was possible to enter, and this could only be done by single files. All the inside of the wall to the height of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of twenty feet. The troops made the most persevering exertions to force the breach, and everything that bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried by the men, who were brought forward in succession from the trenches; but each time, on attaining the summit, all who attempted to remain were destroyed by a heavy fire from the entrenched ruins within, so that "no man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge."[4] The moment was critical; but General Graham, with great presence of mind, directed his artillery to play against the curtain, so as to pass a few feet over the heads of the troops in the breach. The fire was directed with admirable precision, and the troops advanced with perfect confidence. They struggled unremittingly for two hours to force the breach, and, taking advantage of some confusion occasioned by an explosion of ammunition within the ramparts, they redoubled their efforts, and by assisting each other got over the walls and ruins. After struggling about an hour among their works, the French retreated with great loss to the castle, leaving the town, which was now reduced to a heap of ruins, in the possession of the assailants. This success was dearly purchased,—the loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, being upwards of 2000 men. Soult made an attempt to raise the siege, by crossing the Bidassoa on the very day the assault was made with a force of nearly 40,000 men; but he was obliged, after repeated attacks, to repass the river.

Having determined to carry the war into France, Lord Wellington crossed the Bidassoa at low water, near its mouth, on the 7th of October. After a series of successful operations, the allied army was established in the French territories; but as Pampluna still held out, the commander-in-chief delayed his advance for a time. Pampluna surrendered on the 31st of October, after a blockade of four months. Lord Wellington having now the whole allied force, amounting to upwards of 85,000 men, at his disposal, resolved to commence operations.

Since the battle of the Pyrenees, the French had occupied a position with their right towards the sea, at a short distance from St Jean de Luz, their centre on a village in Sare, and on the heights behind it, with their left resting on a stony height in the rear of Ainhoe. This position, strong by nature, had been rendered still stronger by art. The attack on the French lines was to be made in columns of divisions. In consequence of heavy falls of snow and rain, Lord Wellington was obliged to defer his attack till the 10th of November, on the morning of which day the allies moved forward against the enemy.

The attack was begun by General Cole's division, which attacked and carried the principal redoubt in front of Sare with such rapidity, that several of the enemy were taken in it before it could be evacuated. Another redoubt on the left was carried in the same rapid manner by Lord Dalhousie's division, commanded in his absence by Colonel Le Cor. General Cole's division thereupon took possession of the village. General Alten having carried La Petite Rhune, the whole centre divisions united, and made a joint attack on the enemy's principal position behind the village. Sir Thomas Picton's division (now commanded in his absence by General Colville), and that of Le Cor, carried the redoubt on the left of the enemy's centre. The light division advancing from La Petite Rhune, attacked the works in their front, supported by the 52d regiment, which, crossing with great rapidity a narrow neck of land, was here exposed to the fire of two flanking batteries, rushed up the hill with such impetuosity, that the enemy grew alarmed, and fled with precipitation.

Meanwhile the right, under General Hill, attacked the heights of Ainhoe. The attack was led by General Clinton's division, which, marching on the left of five redoubts, forded the Nivelle, the banks of which were steep and difficult, and attacked the troops in front of the works. These were immediately driven back with loss, and General Hamilton joining in the attack on the other redoubt, the enemy hastily retired. The brigade of General Stewart's division, under General Pringle, drove in the

[4] General Graham's Despatches.

enemy's picquets in front of Ainhoe, whilst General Byng's brigade attacked and drove the enemy from the entrenchments, and from a redoubt farther to the left.

The enemy at length seeing further resistance hopeless, abandoned all their positions and works in front of St Jean de Luz and retired upon Bidart, after destroying all the bridges on the Lower Nivelle. In these successful and complicated movements, the allies had 21 officers and 244 soldiers killed, and 120 officers and 1657 soldiers wounded. Of the 42d regiment, Captain Mungo Macpherson and Lieutenant Kenneth Macdougall were wounded, one private only killed, and 2 sergeants and 23 rank and file wounded. The French lost 31 pieces of cannon, 1300 prisoners, and had a proportional number killed and wounded.

In consequence of the heavy rains and the destruction of the bridges, the allies were prevented from pursuing the enemy, who retired to an entrenched camp near Bayonne. The allied troops were cantoned between the Nivelle and the sea, and made preparations for dislodging the French from their new position; but the incessant rains, which continued till December, put an entire stop to all active movements. Having thrown bridges over the Nive in the beginning of December, Lord Wellington commenced operations on the 9th for the passage of that river. As the position of the enemy was considered too strong to be attacked in front, the commander-in-chief determined to make a movement to the right, and by thus threatening Soult's rear, he hoped to induce him to abandon his position. Accordingly the allied army crossed the Nive at different points on the 9th. General Hope met with little opposition, and General Hill, who crossed by the ford of Cambo, was scarcely opposed. In danger of being intercepted by General Clinton's division, which had crossed at Ustariz, the enemy retired in great haste, and assembled in considerable numbers at Villefranche, but they were driven from this post by the light infantay and two Portuguese regiments, under Colonels Douglas and Browne. General Hill next day took up a position with his division, with his left on Villefranche and his right on the Adour, in consequence of which he cut off the communication between Bayonne and St Jean Pied de Port. In this situation the French troops stationed at the latter place were forced to retire on St Palais.

Leaving a force to keep General Hill in check, Marshal Soult left his entrenched camp on the morning of the 10th, and making an impetuous attack on the light division of General Hope's wing, drove back his out-posts. Then establishing himself on a ridge between the corps of Baron Alten and Major-General Andrew Hay's fifth division, he turned upon the latter, and attacked it with a determined bravery which it was almost impossible to withstand; but after an arduous struggle the enemy were repulsed by Brigadier-general Robinson's brigade of the fifth division, and Brigadier-general Archibald Campbell's Portuguese brigade. The enemy, no way discouraged by these repulses, renewed the attack about three o'clock, but with the same want of success.

During the night, Soult made dispositions for attacking the light division at Arcangues; but Sir John Hope perceiving his intention, moved towards the threatened point. Anticipated in this movement, the experienced Marshal again changed his dispositions to the left, but General Hope, equally on the alert, met him also in that direction. With the exception of some partial skirmishing between the out posts, no occurrence of any importance took place on the following day; but on the 12th the enemy renewed the attack on the left without success.

Thus foiled in all his attempts, Soult resolved to change entirely his plan of operations, and accordingly, during the night of the 12th, he drew his army through Bayonne, and on the morning of the 13th attempted to force his way between the centre and right of the British position, at the head of 30,000 men. Advancing with great vigour and celerity, he might have succeeded, had not General Hill, with his usual promptitude and decision, ordered his troops on the flanks to support the centre. The enemy, after a violent struggle, were repulsed with great loss, and retired with such precipitation that they were out of reach before the arrival of the sixth division, which had been ordered up to support General Hill.

Whilst this contest was going on, General

Byng's brigade, supported by the Portuguese brigade under General Buchan, carried an important height, from which the enemy made several attempts to dislodge them, but being unsuccessful at all points, they at length retired to their entrenchments, whither they were followed by General Hill, who took up a parallel position. At the passage of the Nive the 42d had Captain George Stewart and Lieutenant James Stewart killed, and 11 rank and file wounded.

The inclemency of the weather, and a succession of heavy rains which had swelled the rivers and destroyed the roads, rendering farther movements impracticable for a time, Marshal Soult availed himself of the interruption thus given to the progress of the allied army to strengthen his position. The weather becoming favourable about the middle of February 1814, Lord Wellington began a series of movements with the view of inducing Soult to withdraw from his strong position, or, should be decline, to cut off his communication with France, by marching the allied army into the heart of that country. By these movements the British general obtained the command of the Adour, which obliged Soult, who obtained his supplies down that river from the interior, to withdraw from Bayonne in the direction of Daxe. He left, however, a strong garrison in the place.

Leaving General Hope to blockade Bayonne, Lord Wellington made a general movement with the right and centre of the army on the 24th of February. Next day they marched forward to dislodge the enemy from a position they had taken up on the Gave de Pau at Orthés. Between the extreme points of this position ran a chain of heights receding in a line, bending inwards, the centre of which was so retired as to be protected by the guns of both wings. On his left, Soult was supported in this strong position by the town and the river; his right rested on a commanding height in rear of the village of St Bois; whilst the centre, accommodating itself to the incurvation of the heights, described a horizontal reversed segment of a circle protected by the strong position of both wings.

In a short time every point was carried, but the enemy retired in a very orderly manner, firing by echelons of divisions, each covering the other as they retreated. Observing General Hill, who had just crossed the river, advancing upon their left flank, on the road from Orthés to St Sever, the enemy became at once apprehensive that they would be intercepted, and, instead of continuing their masterly retreat, they ran off at full speed, followed by their pursuers. The latter continued the chase for nearly three miles at a full trot, and the French at length breaking their lines, threw away their arms, and fled in all directions. The pursuit was continued however as far as Sault de Navailles, on reaching which the remains even of an army were no longer to be seen. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 8000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the allies in killed and wounded amounted to about 1600. Of the 42d, Lieutenant John Innes was the only officer killed, besides 1 sergeant, and 3 rank and file. Major William Cowell, Captain James Walker, Lieutenants Duncan Stewart and James Brander, 5 sergeants, and 85 rank and file were wounded.

The French army, lately so formidable, was now broken and dispersed, and many of the soldiers, dispirited by their reverses, returned to their homes; others, for the first time, abandoned their standards, and went over to the allies. Soult, however, undismayed by these difficulties, collected the remains of that part of his army which still remained faithful, and exerted all his energies to arrest the progress of the victors, but his efforts were unavailing; and after sustaining a defeat at Ayre, where he attempted to cover the removal of considerable magazines, he retreated to Tarbes. All the western part of Gascony being thus left exposed to the operations of the allied army, Lord Wellington detached Marshal Beresford and Lord Dalhousie, with three divisions, to Bordeaux, which they entered amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

Having obtained reinforcements from Spain and England, Lord Wellington, after leaving 4000 men at Bordeaux under Lord Dalhousie, again put his army in motion. Soult attempted to make a stand at Vicq with two divisions, but he was driven from this position by General Picton with the third division, and forced to

retire beyond Tarbes. With the apparent intention of disputing the farther advance of the allies, the Marshal concentrated his whole force at this point, but he was dislodged from this position by a series of combined movements. It was now discovered that the enemy were drawn up on two hills running parallel to those from which their advance had been driven, and it was farther ascertained that this commanding position could not be gained by an advance in front without a great sacrifice of men, reinforced as it had been by the troops driven from the heights in front. It was therefore determined to attack it on flank, but, before the necessary arrangements could be completed, night came on, and Soult taking advantage of the darkness, moved off towards Toulouse, whither he was followed next morning by the allies, who reached the banks of the Garonne on the 27th of March.

This river was much swollen by recent rains and the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees. There being only one bridge at Toulouse, and that being in possession of the enemy, it became necessary to procure pontoons to enable the army to pass. Whilst the necessary preparations were going on for this purpose, Marshal Soult made the most extraordinary exertions to put himself in a proper posture of defence. He was not even yet without hopes of success, and although it is generally believed that he was now aware of the abdication of Buonaparte, an event which, he must have known, would put an immediate end to the war, he was unwilling to let slip the only opportunity he now had of wiping off the disgrace of his recent defeats.

The city of Toulouse is defended by an ancient wall, flanked with towers. On three sides it is surrounded by the great canal of Languedoc and by the Garonne, and on the fourth side it is flanked by a range of hills close to the canal, over which pass all the roads on that side the town. On the summit of the nearest of these hills the French had erected a chain of five redoubts, between which and the defences of the town they formed entrenchments and lines of connection. These defences consisted of extensive field-works, and of some of the ancient buildings in the suburbs well fortified. At the foot of the height, and along one-half its length, ran the small river Ers, the bridges of which had all been destroyed; on the top of the height was an elevated and elongated plain in a state of cultivation, and towards the end next the town there stood a farm-house and offices. Some trenches had been cut around this house, and three redoubts raised on its front and left. Such was the field selected by Soult to redeem, if possible, by a last effort, his fallen reputation, and to vindicate the tarnished honour of the French arms.

Pontoons having been procured, part of the allied army crossed the Garonne on the 4th of April; but the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees, owing to a few days of hot weather, swelled the river so much that it became necessary to remove the pontoons, and it was not till the 8th that they could be replaced. On that day the whole army crossed the river, except General Hill's division, which remained opposite the town in front of the great bridge, to keep the enemy in check on that side. From the insulated nature of the town, no mode of attack was left to Lord Wellington but to attempt the works in front.

Accordingly, on the 10th of April, he made the following dispositions:—The Spaniards under Don Manuel Freyre were to attack the redoubts fronting the town; General Picton and the light division were to keep the enemy in check on the great road to Paris, but not to attack; and Marshal Beresford, with General Clinton and the sixth division, was to attack the centre of the entrenchments, whilst General Cole with the fourth marched against the right. The part taken by the 42d in this struggle is so well and fully described by Mr Malcolm, formerly of the 42d, in his *Reminiscence of a Campaign in* 1814, that we shall quote his description here:—

"Early on Sunday morning, the 10th of April, our tents were struck, and we moved with the other regiments of the sixth division towards the neighbourhood of Toulouse, until ordered to halt on a level ground, from whence we had a distinct view of the enemy's position on the ridge of hills already mentioned. At the same time we saw Lord Wellington, accompanied by his staff, riding back from the front at a hard trot. Some of the men called

out, 'There goes Wellington, my lads; we shall have some hot work presently.'

"At that moment Major General Pack, who commanded our brigade, came up, and calling its officers and non-commiss oned officers round him, addressed them to the following effect:—'We are this day to attack the enemy; your business will be to take possession of those fortified heights, which you see towards the front. I have only to warn you to be prepared to form close column in case of a charge of cavalry; to restrain the impetuosity of the men; and to prevent them from wasting their ammunition.' The drums then beat to arms, and we received orders to move towards the enemy's position.

"Our division (the sixth) approached the foot of the ridge of heights on the enemy's right and moved in a direction parallel to them, until we reached the point of attack. We advanced under a heavy cannonade, and arrived in front of a redoubt, which protected the right of the enemy's position, where we were formed in two lines,—the first, consisting of some Portuguese regiments,—and the reserve, of the Highland Brigade.

"Darkening the whole hill, flanked by clouds of cavalry, and covered by the fire of their redoubt, the enemy came down upon us like a torrent. Their generals and field-officers riding in front, and waving their hats amidst shouts of the multitude, resembling the roar of an ocean. Our Highlanders, as if actuated by one instinctive impulse, took off their bonnets, and waving them in the air, returned their greeting with three cheers.

"A deathlike silence ensued for some moments, and we could observe a visible pause in the advance of the enemy At that moment the light company of the Forty-second Regiment, by a well-directed fire, brought down some of the French officers of distinction, as they rode in front of their respective corps. The enemy immediately fired a volley into our lines, and advanced upon us amidst a deafening roar of musketry and artillery. Our troops answered their fire only once, and unappalled by their furious onset, advanced up the hill, and met them at the charge. Upon reaching the summit of the ridge of heights, the redoubt, which had covered their advance, fell into our possession; but they still retained four others, with their connecting lines of intrenchments, upon the level of the same heights on which we were now established, and into which they had retired.

"Meantime, our troops were drawn up along a road, which passed over the hill, and which having a high bank at each side, protected us in some measure from the general fire of their last line of redoubts. Here our brigade remained until Marshal Beresford's Artillery, which, in consequence of the badness of the roads, had been left in the village of Mont Blanc, could be brought up, and until the Spaniards under General Don Manuel Freyre, who, in proceeding along the left of the Ers, had been repulsed, could be reformed, and brought back to the attack. Marshal Beresford's artillery having arrived, and the Spanish troops being once more brought forward, Major-General Pack rode up in front of our brigade, and made the following announcement:—'I have just now been with General Clinton, and he has been pleased to grant my request, that in the charge which we are now to make upon the enemy's redoubts, the Forty-second regiment shall have the honour of leading on the attack; the Forty-second will advance.'

"We immediately began to form for the charge upon the redoubts, which were about two or three hundred yards distant, and to which we had to pass over some ploughed fields. The grenadiers of the Forty-second regiment followed by the other companies, led the way, and began to ascend from the road; but no sooner were the feathers of their bonnets seen rising over the embankment, than such a tremendous fire was opened from the redoubts and intrenchments, as in a very short time would have annihilated them. The right wing, therefore, hastily formed into line, and without waiting for the left, which was ascending by companies from the road, rushed upon the batteries, which vomited forth a most furious and terrific storm of fire, grape-shot, and musketry.

"The redoubts were erected along the side of a road, and defended by broad ditches filled with water. Just before our troops reached the obstruction, however, the enemy deserted them

and fled in all directions, leaving their last line of strongholds in our possession; but they still possessed two fortified houses close by, from which they kept up a galling and destructive fire. Out of about 500 men, which the Forty-second brought into action, scarcely 90 reached the fatal redoubt from which the enemy had fled.

"Our colonel was a brave man, but there are moments when a well-timed manœuvre is of more advantage than courage. The regiment stood on the road with its front exactly to the enemy, and if the left wing had been ordered forward, it could have sprung up the bank in line and dashed forward on the enemy at once. Instead of this, the colonel faced the right wing to its right, counter-marched in rear of the left, and when the leading rank cleared the left flank it was made to file up the bank, and as soon as it made its appearance the shot, shell, and musketry poured in with deadly destruction; and in this exposed position we had to make a second countermarch on purpose to bring our front to the enemy. These movements consumed much time, and by this unnecessary exposure exasperated the men to madness. The word '*Forward—double-quick!*' dispelled the gloom, and forward we drove, in the face of apparent destruction. The field had been lately rough ploughed or under fallow, and when a man fell he tripped the one behind, thus the ranks were opening as we approached the point whence all this hostile vengeance proceeded; but the rush forward had received an impulse from desperation, 'the spring of the men's patience had been strained until ready to snap, and when left to the freedom of its own extension, ceased not to act until the point to which it was directed was attained.' In a minute every obstacle was surmounted; the enemy fled as we leaped over the trenches and mounds like a pack of noisy hounds in pursuit, frightening them more by our wild hurrahs than actually hurting them by ball or bayonet.

"Two officers (Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Young) and about 60 of inferior rank were all that now remained without a wound of the right wing of the regiment that entered the field in the morning. The flag was hanging in tatters, and stained with the blood of those who had fallen over it. The standard, cut in two, had been successively placed in the hands of three officers, who fell as we advanced; it was now borne by a sergeant, while the few remaining soldiers who rallied around it, defiled with mire, sweat, smoke, and blood, stood ready to oppose with the bayonet the advancing column, the front files of which were pouring in destructive showers of musketry among our confused ranks. To have disputed the post with such overwhelming numbers, would have been hazarding the loss of our colours, and could serve no general interest to our army, as we stood between the front of our advancing support and the enemy; we were therefore ordered to retire. The greater number passed through the cottage, now filled with wounded and dying, and leaped from the door that was over the road into the trench of the redoubt among the killed and wounded.

"We were now between two fires of musketry, the enemy to our left and rear, the 79th and left wing of our own regiment in our front. Fortunately the intermediate space did not exceed a hundred paces, and our safe retreat depended upon the speed with which we could perform it. We rushed along like a crowd of boys pursuing the bounding ball to its distant limit, and in an instant plunged into a trench that had been cut across the road: the balls were whistling amongst us and over us; while those in front were struggling to get out, those behind were holding them fast for assistance, and we became firmly wedged together, until a horse without a rider came plunging down on the heads and bayonets of those in his way; they on whom he fell were drowned or smothered, and the gap thus made gave way for the rest to get out.

"The right wing of the regiment, thus broken down and in disorder, was rallied by Captain Campbell (afterwards brevet lieutenant-colonel) and the adjutant (Lieutenant Young) on a narrow road, the steep banks of which served as a cover from the showers of grape that swept over our heads.

"As soon as the smoke began to clear away, the enemy made a last attempt to retake their redoubts, and for this purpose advanced in great force: they were a second time repulsed with

great loss, and their whole army was driven into Toulouse."[5]

Finding the city, which was now within reach of the guns of the allies, quite untenable, Soult evacuated it the same evening, and was allowed to retire without molestation. Even had he been able to have withstood a siege, he must have soon surrendered for want of the provisions necessary for the support of a population of 60,000 inhabitants, and of his own army, which was now reduced by the casualties of war and recent desertions to 30,000 men.

The loss of the 42d in the battle of Toulouse, was 4 officers, 3 sergeants, and 47 rank and file killed; and 21 officers, 14 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 231 rank and file wounded. The names of the officers killed were Captain John Swanson, Lieutenant William Gordon, Ensigns John Latta and Donald Maccrummen; the wounded were Lieutenant-colonel Robert Macara, Captains James Walker, John Henderson (who died of his wounds), Alexander Mackenzie, and Lieutenants Donald Mackenzie, Thomas Munro, Hugh Angus Fraser, James Robertson, R. A. Mackinnon, Roger Stewart Robert Gordon, Charles Maclaren, Alexander Strange, Donald Farquharson (who died of his wounds), James Watson, William Urquhart; Ensigns Thomas Macniven, Colin Walker, James Geddes, John Malcolm, and Mungo Macpherson.

The allies entered Toulouse on the morning after the battle, and were received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who, doubtless, considered themselves extremely fortunate in being relieved from the presence of the French army, whose retention of the city a few hours longer would have exposed it to all the horrors of a bombardment. By a singular coincidence, official accounts reached Toulouse in the course of the day of the abdication of Buonaparte, and the restoration of Louis XVIII.; but it is said that these despatches had been kept back on the road.

At this time the clothing of the army at large, but the Highland brigade in particular, was in a very tattered state. The clothing of the 91st regiment had been two years in wear; the men were thus under the necessity of repairing their old garments in the best manner they could: some had the elbows of the coats mended with gray cloth, others had the one-half of the sleeves of a different colour from the body; and their trousers were in as bad a condition as their coats.

The 42d, which was the only corps in the brigade that wore the *kilt*, was beginning to lose it by degrees; men falling sick and left in the rear frequently got the kilt made into trousers, and on joining the regiment again no plaid could be furnished to supply the loss; thus a great want of uniformity prevailed; but this was of minor importance when compared to the want of shoes. As the march continued daily, no time was to be found to repair them, until completely worn out; this left a number to march with bare feet. These men being occasionally permitted to straggle out of the ranks to select the soft part of the roads or fields adjoining, others who had not the same reason to offer for this indulgence followed the example, until each regiment marched regardless of rank, and sometimes mixed with other corps in front and rear.[6]

In consequence of the cessation of hostilities, the British troops removed without delay to their appointed destinations, and the three Highland regiments were embarked for Ireland,

[5] In a conversation between General Hill and Major-General Stewart (Garth), a few days after the battle, the former, alluding to the attempt of the enemy to take the redoubt, said to General Stewart, "I saw your old friends the Highlanders in a most perilous situation; and had I not known their firmness I should have trembled for the result. As it was, they could not have resisted the force brought against them if they had not been so instantaneously supported." Being asked by General Stewart what was the amount at which he calculated the strength of the enemy's column of attack, he replied, "Not less than 6000 men." In passing soon afterwards through Languedoc, Stewart stopped to view a brigade of French infantry exercising. The French commanding officer rode up to him, and invited him, with great politeness, to accompany him through the ranks. Talking of the recent battles, the French general concluded his observations thus,—"Well, we are quite satisfied if the English army think we fought bravely, and did our duty well." General Stewart mentioning the Highland corps, "Ah!" said the Frenchman, "these are brave soldiers. If they had good officers, I should not like to meet them unless I was well supported. I put them to the proof on that day." Being asked in what manner, he answered "that he led the division which attempted to retake the redoubt;" and on a further question as to the strength of the column, he replied, "More than 6000 men." As General Hill was more than two miles from the field of action, the accuracy of his calculation is remarkable.

[6] Anton's *Military Life*, p. 120.

where they remained till May 1815, when they were shipped for Flanders, on the return of Buonaparte from Elba. In Ireland the 1st battalion was joined by the effective men of the 2d, which had been disbanded at Aberdeen in October 1814.

The intelligence of Buonaparte's advance reached Brussels on the evening of the 15th of June, when orders were immediately issued by the Duke of Wellington for the assembling of the troops. The men of the 42d and 92d regiments had become great favourites in Brussels, and were on such terms of friendly intercourse with the inhabitants in whose houses they were quartered, that it was no uncommon thing to see a Highland soldier taking care of the children, and even keeping the shop of his host,—an instance of confidence perhaps unexampled. These two regiments were the first to muster.[7] "They assembled with the utmost alacrity to the sound of the well-known pibroch, *Come to me and I will give you flesh*,[8]—an invitation to the wolf and the raven, for which the next day did, in fact, spread an ample banquet at the expense of our brave countrymen, as well as of their enemies. . . . About four o'clock in the morning of the 16th of June, the 42d and 92d Highland regiments marched through the Place Royal and the Parc. One could not but admire their fine appearance; their firm, collected, steady, military demeanour, as they went rejoicing to battle, with their bagpipes playing before them, and the beams of the rising sun shining upon their glittering arms. Before that sun had set in the night, how many of that gallant band were laid low! . . . The kind and generous inhabitants assembled in crowds to witness the departure of their gallant friends, and as the Highlanders marched onward with a steady and collected air, the people breathed many a fervent expression for their safety."

The important part taken in the action of Quatre Bras by the Black Watch could not be told better than in the simple words of one who was present, and did his own share of the work, Sergeant Anton[9] of the 42d:—

"On the morning of the 16th June, before the sun rose over the dark forest of Soignes, our brigade, consisting of the 1st, 44th, and 92d regiments, stood in column, Sir Denis Pack at its head, waiting impatiently for the 42d, the commanding-officer of which was chidden severely by Sir Denis for being so dilatory. We took our place in the column, and the whole marched off to the strains of martial music, and amidst the shouts of the surrounding multitude. As we entered the forest of Soignes, our stream of ranks following ranks, in successive sections, moved on in silent but speedy course, like some river confined between two equal banks.

"The forest is of immense extent, and we continued to move on under its welcome shade until we came to a small hamlet, or auberge, imbosomed in the wood to the right of the road. Here we turned to our left, halted, and were in the act of lighting fires, on purpose to set about cooking. We were flattering ourselves that we were to rest there until next day, for whatever reports had reached the ears of our commanders, no alarm had yet rung on ours. Some were stretched under the shade to rest; others sat in groups draining the cup, and we always loved a large one, and it was now almost emptied of three days' allowance[1] of spirits, a greater quantity than was usually served at once to us on a campaign; others were busily occupied in bringing water and preparing the camp-kettles, for we were of the opinion, as I have already said, that we were to halt there for the day. But, "hark! a gun!" one exclaims; every ear is set to catch the sound, and every mouth seems half opened, as if to supersede the faithless ear that doubts of hearing. Again another and another feebly floats through the forest. Every ear now catches the sound, and every man grasps his musket. No pensive looks are seen; our generals' weather-beaten, war-worn countenances are all well known to the old soldiers, and no throb of fear palpitates in a single breast; all are again ready in column, and again we tread the wood-lined road.

"The distant report of the guns becomes more

[7] Cannon's *Historical Records of the 42d*, p. 141.

[8] For music of this see end of the history of this regiment.

[9] Anton's *Military Life*, p. 188.

[1] One English pint. There were four days' allowance of bread, and three days' of beef and spirits, issued before leaving Brussels for each man.

loud, and our march is urged on with greater speed. We pass through Waterloo, and leave behind the bright fields of Wellington's fame, —our army's future glory and England's pride. Quatre Bras appears in view; the frightened peasantry come running breathless and panting along the way. We move off to the left of the road, behind a gently rising eminence; form column of companies, regardless of the growing crop, and ascend the rising ground: a beautiful plain appears in view, surrounded with belts of wood, and the main road from Brussels runs through it. We now descend to the plain by an echelon movement towards our right, halted on the road (from which we had lately diverged to the left), formed in line, fronting a bank on the right side, whilst the other regiments took up their position to right and left, as directed by our general. A luxuriant crop of grain hid from our view the contending skirmishers beyond, and presented a considerable obstacle to our advance. We were in the act of lying down by the side of the road, in our usual careless manner, as we were wont when enjoying a rest on the line of march, some throwing back their heads on their knapsacks, intending to take a sleep, when General Pack came galloping up, and chid the colonel for not having the bayonets fixed. This roused our attention, and the bayonets were instantly on the pieces.

"Our pieces were loaded, and perhaps never did a regiment in the field seem so short taken. We had the name of a *crack* corps, but certainly it was not then in that state of discipline which it could justly boast of a few years afterwards. Yet notwithstanding this disadvantage, none could be animated with a fitter feeling for the work before us than prevailed at that moment.

"We were all ready and in line,—"*Forward!*" was the word of command, and forward we hastened, though we saw no enemy in front. The stalks of the rye, like the reeds that grow on the margin of some swamp, opposed our advance; the tops were up to our bonnets, and we strode and groped our way through as fast as we could. By the time we reached a field of clover on the other side, we were very much straggled; however, we united in line as fast as time and our speedy advance would permit. The Belgic skirmishers retired through our ranks, and in an instant we were on their victorious pursuers. Our sudden appearance seemed to paralyse their advance. The singular appearance of our dress, combined no doubt with our sudden debut, tended to stagger their resolution: we were on them, our pieces were loaded, and our bayonets glittered, impatient to drink their blood. Those who had so proudly driven the Belgians before them, turned now to fly, whilst our loud cheers made the fields echo to our wild hurrahs. France fled or fell before us, and we thought the field our own. We had not yet lost a man, for the victors seldom lose many, except in protracted hard-contested struggles: with one's face to the enemy, he may shun the deadly thrust or stroke; it is the retreating soldier that destruction pursues.

"We drove on so fast that we almost appeared like a mob following the rout of some defeated faction. Marshal Ney, who commanded the enemy, observed our wild unguarded zeal, and ordered a regiment of lancers to bear down upon us. We saw their approach at a distance, as they issued from a wood, and took them for Brunswickers coming to cut up the flying infantry; and as cavalry on all occasions have the advantage of retreating foot, on a fair field, we were halted in order to let them take their way: they were approaching our right flank, from which our skirmishers were extended, and we were far from being in a formation fit to repel an attack, if intended, or to afford regular support to our friends if requiring our aid. I think we stood with too much confidence, gazing towards them as if they had been our friends, anticipating the gallant charge they would make on the flying foe, and we were making no preparative movement to receive them as enemies, further than the reloading of the muskets, until a German orderly dragoon galloped up, exclaiming, "Franchee! Franchee!" and, wheeling about, galloped off. We instantly formed a rallying square; no time for particularity; every man's piece was loaded, and our enemies approached at full charge; the feet of their horses seemed to tear up the ground. Our skirmishers having been impressed with the same opinion, that these were Brunswick cavalry, fell beneath

their lances, and few escaped death or wounds; our brave colonel fell at this time, pierced through the chin until the point of the lance reached the brain. Captain (now major) Menzies fell, covered with wounds, and a momentary conflict took place over him; he was a powerful man, and, hand to hand, more than a match for six ordinary men. The grenadiers, whom he commanded, pressed round to save or avenge him, but fell beneath the enemy's lances.

"Of all descriptions of cavalry, certainly the lancers seem the most formidable to infantry, as the lance can be projected with considerable precision, and with deadly effect, without bringing the horse to the point of the bayonet; and it was only by the rapid and well-directed fire of musketry that these formidable assailants were repulsed.



Colonel (afterwards Sir) R. H. Dick. From Miniature (painted about four years after Waterloo) in possession of William Dick, Esq. of Tullymet.

"Colonel Dick assumed the command on the fall of Sir Robert Macara, and was severely wounded. Brevet-major Davidson succeeded, and was mortally wounded; to him succeeded Brevet-major Campbell. Thus, in a few minutes we had been placed under four different commanding-officers.

"An attempt was now made to form us in line; for we stood mixed in one irregular mass,—grenadier, light, and battalion companies,—a noisy group; such is the inevitable consequence of a rapid succession of commanders. Our covering sergeants were called out on purpose that each company might form on the right of its sergeants; an excellent plan had it been adopted, but a cry arose that another charge of cavalry was approaching, and this plan was abandoned. We now formed a line on the left of the grenadiers, while the cavalry that had been announced were cutting through the ranks of the 69th regiment. Meantime the other regiments, to our right and left, suffered no less than we; the superiority of the enemy in cavalry afforded him a decided advantage on the open plain, for our British cavalry and artillery had not yet reached the field. We were at this time about two furlongs past the farm of Quatre Bras, as I suppose, and a line of French infantry was about the same distance from us in front, and we had commenced firing at that line, when we were ordered to form square to oppose cavalry. General Pack was at our head, and Major Campbell commanded the regiment. We formed square in an instant, in the centre were several wounded French soldiers witnessing our formation round them; they doubtless considered themselves devoted to certain death among us seeming barbarians; but they had no occasion to speak ill of us afterwards; for as they were already incapable of injuring us, we moved about them regardful of their wounds and suffering.

"Our last file had got into square, and into its proper place, so far as unequalised companies could form a square, when the cuirassiers dashed full on two of its faces: their heavy horses and steel armour seemed sufficient to bury us under them, had they been pushed forward on our bayonets.

"A moment's pause ensued; it was the pause of death. General Pack was on the right angle of the front face of the square, and he lifted his hat towards the French officer as he was wont to do when returning a salute. I suppose our assailants construed our forbearance as an indication of surrendering: a false idea; not a blow had been struck nor a musket levelled; but when the general raised his hat, it served as a signal, though not a preconcerted one, but entirely accidental; for we were doubtful whether our officer commanding was protracting the order, waiting for the general's command, as he was present. Be this as it may, a most destructive fire was opened; riders, cased in heavy armour, fell tumbling from their horses; the horses reared, plunged, and fell on the dismounted riders; steel helmets and cuirasses rung against unsheathed sabres, as they fell to the ground; shrieks and groans of men, the neighing of horses, and the discharge of musketry, rent the air, as men and horses mixed together in one heap of indiscriminate slaughter. Those who were able to fly, fled towards a wood on our right, whence they had issued to the attack, and which seemed to afford an extensive cover to an immense reserve not yet brought into action.

"Once more clear of those formidable and daring assailants, we formed line, examined our ammunition boxes, and found them getting empty. Our officer commanding pointed towards the pouches of our dead and dying comrades, and from them a sufficient supply was obtained.

"We lay down behind the gentle rise of a trodden down field of grain, and enjoyed a few minutes' rest to our wearied limbs; but not in safety from the flying messengers of death, the whistling music of which was far from lulling us to sleep.

"Afternoon was now far spent, and we were resting in line, without having equalized the companies, for this would have been extremely dangerous in so exposed a position; for the field afforded no cover, and we were in advance of the other regiments. The enemy were at no great distance, and, I may add, firing very actively upon us.

"Our position being, as I have already observed, without any cover from the fire of the enemy, we were commanded to retire to the rear of the farm, where we took up our bivouac on the field for the night.

"Six privates fell into the enemy's hands; among these was a little lad (Smith Fyfe) about five feet high. The French general, on seeing this diminutive looking lad, is said to have lifted him up by the collar or breech and exclaimed to the soldiers who were near him, "Behold the sample of the men of whom you seem afraid!" This lad returned a few days afterwards, dressed in the clothing of a French grenadier, and was saluted by the name of Napoleon, which he retained until he was discharged.

"The night passed off in silence: no fires were lit; every man lay down in rear of his arms, and silence was enjoined for the night. Round us lay the dying and the dead, the latter not yet interred, and many of the former, wishing to breathe their last where they fell, slept to death with their heads on the same pillow on which those who had to toil through the future fortunes of the field reposed."

The principal loss sustained by the Highlanders was at the first onset; yet it was by no means so severe as might have been expected. Lieutenant-colonel Sir Robert Macara, Lieutenant Robert Gordon, and Ensign William Gerrard, 2 sergeants, and 40 rank and file were killed. Including officers, there were 243 wounded.

In the battle of Waterloo, in which the regiment was partially engaged, the 42d had only 5 men killed and 45 wounded. In these last are included the following officers, viz.: Captain Mungo Macpherson, Lieutenants John Orr, George Gunn Munro, Hugh Angus Fraser, and James Brander, and Quarter-master Donald Mackintosh. "They fought like heroes, and like heroes they fell—an honour to their country. On many a Highland hill, and through many a Lowland valley, long will the deeds of these brave men be fondly remembered, and their fate deeply deplored. Never did a finer body of men take the field, never did men march to battle that were destined to perform such services to their country, and to obtain such immortal renown."

The Duke of Wellington in his public despatches concerning Quatre Bras and Water-

loo paid a high compliment to the 42d. "Among other regiments, I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 79th, and 92d, and the battalion of Hanoverians."

The word "Waterloo," borne on the colours of the regiment, by royal authority, commemorates the gallantry displayed by the regiment on this occasion; a medal was conferred on each officer and soldier; and the privilege of reckoning two years' service, towards additional pay and pension on discharge, was also granted to the men. It may not be uninteresting to give here a list of the officers of the regiment who were present at the battle of Quatre Bras and Waterloo It will be seen that while only 3 were killed, few escaped without a wound.

OFFICERS AT WATERLOO—1815.

Lieut.-Col. Sir Robert Macara,	Killed.
Major Robert Henry Dick,	Wounded.
Capt. Archibald Menzies,	Wounded.
,, George Davidson,	Died of Wounds.
,, John Campbell.	
,, Mungo Macpherson,	Wounded.
,, Donald M'Donald,	Wounded.
,, Daniel M'Intosh,	Wounded.
,, Robert Boyle,	Wounded.
Lieut. Donald Chisholm,	Wounded.
,, Duncan Stewart,	Wounded.
,, Donald M'Kenzie,	Wounded.
,, James Young, Adjutant,	Wounded.
,, Hugh A. Fraser,	Wounded.
,, John Malcolm,	Wounded.
,, Alexander Dunbar,	Wounded.
,, James Brander,	Wounded.
,, Roger Stewart,	
,, Robert Gordon,	Killed.
,, James Robertson,	
,, Kenneth M'Dougal,	
,, Donald M'Kay,	
,, Alexander Innes,[2]	
,, John Grant,	
,, John Orr,[2]	Wounded.
,, George Gunn Munro,	Wounded.
,, William Fraser,	Wounded.
Ensign George Gerard,	Killed.
,, Andrew L. Fraser,	
,, Alexander Brown,	Wounded.
,, Alexander Cumming,	
Adjutant James Young, Lieut.,	Wounded.
Quarter-Master Don. M'Intosh,	Wounded.
Surgeon Swinton Macleod,	
Assistant Surgeon Donald M'Pherson,	
Assistant Surgeon John Stewart,	

It has been observed, as a remarkable circumstance in the history of the Royal Highlanders, that on every occasion when they fired a shot at an enemy (except at Ticonderoga, where success was almost impossible), they were successful to such an extent at least, that whatever the general issue of the battle might be, that part of the enemy opposed to them never stood their ground, unless the Highlanders were by insurmountable obstacles prevented from closing upon them. Fontenoy even does not form an exception; for although the allies were defeated, the Highlanders carried the points assigned them, and then, as at Ticonderoga, they were the last to leave the field.[3]

As the battle of Waterloo terminates a period of active service and hard fighting in the case of the 42d, as well as of other regiments, and as it had a rest of many years during the long peace, we shall here give a summary of the number of men that entered the regiment, from its formation down to the battle of Waterloo, and the number of those who were killed, wounded, died of sickness, or were discharged during that period.

The grand total of men embodied in the Black Watch and 42d or Royal Highland regiment, from its origin at Tay Bridge in April 1740, to 24th June 1815, exclusive of the second battalion of 1780[4] and that of 1803,[5] was . . .		8792
Of these there were killed, during that period, exclusive of 35 officers, . .	816	
Wounded during the same period, exclusive of 133 officers, ...	2413	
Died by sickness, wounds, and various casualties, including those who were discharged and those who volunteered into other regiments, when the 42d left America in 1767, up to 25th June 1793, . .	2275	
Died by sickness, wounds, and various casualties, from 25th June 1793 to 24th June 1815, ...	1135[6]	
Discharged during same period, . .	1485	
Unaccounted for during same period, having been left sick in an enemy's country, prisoners, &c.	138	
		8262
Number remaining in the first battalion on 24th June 1815,		530

When it is considered that out of seventy-five year's service, forty-five were spent in active warfare, the trifling loss of the regiment

[2] These are the only officers of the regiment now (1873) alive who served in the Peninsula and at Waterloo; the former being now Captain Innes, and a military knight of Windsor, and the latter, Captain Orr, residing in Edinburgh.

[3] Stewart's *Sketches*.

[4] There were no exchange of men and officers between this and the first battalion.

[5] The number of men who died in this battalion from December 1803, to 24th October 1814, was 322. The number discharged and transferred to the first battalion and to other regiments, from 1803 till the reduction in 1814, was 965 men.

[6] The deaths by sickness in the second battalion are not included. This battalion sustained very little loss in war.

by the enemy will appear extraordinary; and the smallness of that loss can only be accounted for by the determined bravery and firmness of the men, it being now the opinion of military men that troops, who act vigorously, suffer less than those who are slow and cautious in their operations.

After spending several months in the vicinity of Paris, the regiment marched to Calais and embarked for England, arriving at Ramsgate, December 19th 1815. The regiment proceeded by Deal and Dover to Hythe, where it lay two weeks, when it marched to Chelmsford.

After staying two weeks in Chelmsford Barracks, the regiment proceeded northwards to Scotland by easy stages, and was everywhere received with overwhelming enthusiasm and lavish hospitality. At Cambridge, for example, Sergeant Anton, in his *Military Life*, tells us, the bells welcomed the Royal Highlanders with joy; every table smoked with savoury viands for their entertainment, and every cellar contributed a liberal supply of its best October for their refreshment. The same thing occurred at Huntingdon and other towns, and at several places the men received a donation equal to two day's pay. And so it was at every town through which the regiment had to pass; the men were feted and petted as if they had saved their country from destruction.

As they approached Edinburgh, the whole population seemed to have poured to welcome them to its arms. Preceded by a guard of cavalry, with its band of music, they entered the city amidst the loud cheering and congratulatory acclamations of friends; while over their heads, "from a thousand windows, waved as many banners, plaided scarfs, or other symbols of courtly greetings."[7] At Edinburgh they were entertained in a manner that would have made the men of any regiment but a "crack" one completely lose their heads; but the self-possessed Royal Highlanders, while heartily enjoying the many good things provided for them, and grateful for their hearty welcome, seem never to have forgotten the high reputation they had to maintain.[8]

[7] Anton's *Military Life*, p. 247.

[8] The following is an extract from the account published at the time; "Tuesday, the first division of the 42d regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Henry Dick (who succeeded to the command of the regiment, on the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Macara, killed at Quatre Bras), marched into the Castle. Major-General Hope, commander of the district, and Colonel David Stewart of Garth, accompanied the Lieutenant-Colonel at the head of the regiment. Not only the streets of the city were crowded beyond all former precedent with spectators, but the windows, and even the house-tops, were occupied. The road from Musselburgh, a distance of six miles, was filled with relations and friends; and so great was the crowd, that it was after four o'clock before they arrived at the Castle Hill, although they passed through Portobello about two o'clock. It was almost impossible for these gallant men to get through the people, particularly in the city. All the bells were rung, and they were everywhere received with the loudest acclamations."

After this, for many years, the Royal Highlanders had a rest from active service.

V.

1816—1854.

The Highland Society's Vase—Ireland—The Whiteboys — Critical Service — Anecdotes — Old Manœuvres—Bad Management—The Dublin Medal —Gibraltar—Innovations—Regimental Library—Malta—Ionian Islands—Lieutenant-Colonel Middleton's Farewell Order—Scotland—Ireland—Malta—Corfu—Death of Major-General Sir R. H. Dick—Bermuda—Halifax—Home.

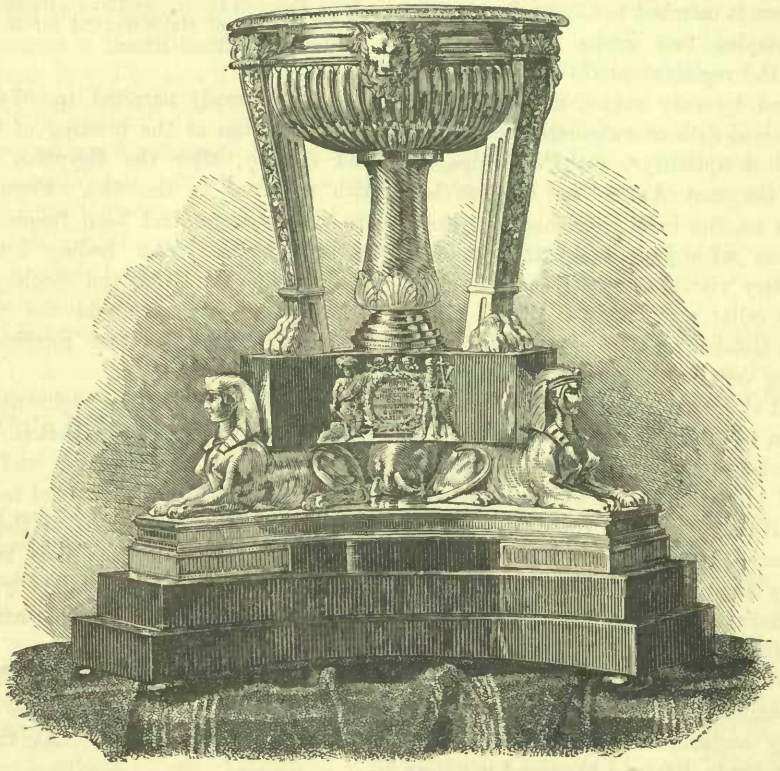
We have already narrated (p. 374, vol. ii.) the proceedings at the meeting of the Highland Society, after the Egyptian campaign, with reference to the 42d. From 1811 to 1817, endeavours had been frequently made to establish a better feeling between the officers and the Highland Society, but in vain: the *Egyptians* would not yield, and in the meantime the vase remained at the makers.

After the return of the regiment from the Waterloo Campaign in 1816, H.R.H. The Duke of York became the mediator, and arranged that the vase should be accepted on the 21st March 1817, the anniversary of the battle of Alexandria. By this time only two of the officers who had served in Egypt were in the regiment, therefore the amicable arrangement was more easily arrived at.

It was at Armagh barracks, on Wednesday the 18th of June 1817, that the vase was presented to the regiment. At the time 4

companies were detached to Newry, and several other detachments were absent from Armagh; therefore not more than about 3 companies were present at the ceremony. The parade was in review order, in side arms, and a square of two deep was formed. On a table in the centre was the vase, covered, and several small kegs of Highland whisky, brought over from Scotland for the express purpose. A portion of the correspondence with the Highland Society was read by the Adjutant: Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Henry Dick addressed the regiment: the casks of whisky were broached, and the cup filled. The Colonel drank to the officers and men, the staff officers followed, and afterwards the captains and officers drank to the health of their respective companies, and the cup, held by both hands, and kept well replenished, went three times down the ranks. All was happiness and hilarity, not only on the parade, but for the remainder of the day.

Thus was introduced to the regiment the



Vase presented to 42d Royal Highlanders by the Highland Society of London.

beautiful vase, which, for elegance and design, is hardly to be surpassed.

Of the officers and men present on the occasion, perhaps Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley is the only one now alive (1874). Of the officers in the regiment at the time, the last of them, Captain Donald M'Donald, died at Musselburgh, on the 24th September 1865, aged 82.

The day of "the Cup" was long remembered amongst the men, and it was always enthusiastically spoken of as to the quality and quantity of the whisky. The vase has lately (1869) been renovated, and placed on an ebony stand, which has given additional grandeur to its elegance.

The regiment left Glasgow in April of this year, and proceeded to Ireland, landing at Donaghadee, marching thence to Armagh, and detaching parties to all the adjacent towns. The regiment remained in Ireland till 1825, moving about from place to place, and occasionally taking part in the duties to which the troops were liable, on account of the disturbed

state of the country. Many of these duties were far from pleasant, yet the 42d discharged them in such a manner as to gain the respect and goodwill of the natives among whom they sojourned.

In June 1818, the regiment marched to Dundalk; and in May 1819, to Dublin, where it remained upwards of twelve months, receiving highly commendatory notices in orders, from Major-General White, Major-General Bulwer, and Major-General Sir Colquhoun Grant.

On the 29th of January 1820, the colonelcy of the regiment was conferred on Lieutenant-General John Earl of Hopetoun, G.C.B., from the 92d Highlanders, in succession to General the Marquis of Huntly.

From Dublin the regiment marched, in August, to Kilkenny and Clonmel, and while at these stations its appearance and discipline were commended in orders by Major-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, and Major-General Egerton.

The regiment marched, in October 1821, to Rathkeale, and took part in the harassing duties to which the troops in the county of Limerick were exposed during the disturbed state of the country, and its conduct procured the unqualified approbation of the general officers under whom it served.

In July 1822, the regiment marched to Limerick, and the orders issued after the usual half-yearly inspections, by Major-General Sir John Lambert, and Major-General Sir John Elley, were highly commendatory.

From Limerick the regiment proceeded to Buttevant, in July 1823, and afterwards occupied many detached stations in the county of Cork, where it preserved its high reputation for correct discipline, and for general efficiency, which procured for it the encomiums of the inspecting generals.

On the death of General the Earl of Hopetoun, G.C.B., the colonelcy was conferred on Major-General Sir George Murray, G.C.B., G.C.H. (see portrait in steel plate of Colonels of 42d), from the 72d, or the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders, by commission, dated the 6th of September 1823.

The following details, for which we are indebted to Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, will give the reader a vivid idea of the state of Ireland at this time, as well as of the critical nature of the duties which the 42d had to perform :—

The 42d, which was quartered at Rathkeale, were joined in these duties by the 79th and 93d; the former quartered at Limerick, and the latter at Ennis, County Clare. All three regiments were highly and deservedly popular with the inhabitants.

Detachments were posted all over the country in every village or hamlet, where a house could be hired to hold from 12 to 30 men. But little could be done towards putting the Whiteboys down, as the only offence against the law was being caught in arms. But as soon as the Parliament met, the "Insurrection Act" was hurried through both houses, and became law Feb. 28, 1822. By the Act transportation for seven years was the punishment inflicted on any one found out of his dwelling-place any time between one hour after sunset and sunrise in a proclaimed district. It was harrassing duty patrolling over the country, sometimes all night, calling the rolls,* and apprehending such as had been found absent on former occasions. The law was carried out by what was called a "Bench of Magistrates," two or more, with a Sergeant-at-Law as president. All field officers and captains were magistrates, and seven years' transportation was the only sentence the bench could give; the prisoner had either to be let off with an admonition or transported. When the prisoner was brought in, evidence was simply taken that he was found out of his dwelling-place at an unlawful hour, or that he was absent from his habitation on such a night when the roll was called. The local magistrates knew the character he bore, a few minutes consultation was held, when sentence was given, and an escort being already at the court-house door, the prisoner was handcuffed and put on a cart. The words were given "with cartridge prime and load, quick march," and off to the Cove of Cork, where a ship was at anchor to receive them. This summary procedure soon put an end to the nightly depredations. The convicted were at once sent off to Botany Bay, now Sydney. Here is one instance.

Every road leading out of Rathkeale had a

* That is, calling over the list of inmates affixed to the inside of the door of every house and cabin to know if any were absent.

guard or outpost to prevent a surprise, and near to the Askeaton-road guard lived a character known as "the red haired man," a noted Whiteboy (so named from wearing shirts over their clothes when on their nocturnal excursions), who had taken care of himself from the passing of the Insurrection Act, although still a leader and director of their doings. His house was close to the guard, and there were special orders to watch him, and at uncertain hours to visit the house, to find him absent, if possible. On an evening in June, the sentry called to the sergeant of the guard that "the red haired man," half an hour back, had gone into a house where he was still." The sergeant walked about, the retreat beat, and watch in hand, he kept his look-out; one hour after sunset "the red haired man" came out without his hat, and laughing heartily: he was taken prisoner, and next day was on his way to the Cove of Cork!!

Pages could be filled with anecdotes connected with the doings of the several portions of the regiment in their various quarters. One more, to show the natural inborn Irish inclination for fighting.—The major commanding at Shannagolden, while standing on the street on a fair-day, was thus accosted by a tall, gaunt, wiry man, of some 60 years of age. "Good morning to your honour." "Good morning, Mr Sullivan." "I've a favour to ask of you, Major." "Well, Mr Sullivan, what can I do for you?" "Well, your honour knows that I've been a loyal man, that during them disturbed times I always advised the boys to give up the foolish night-work; that I've caused a great many arms to be given up to yourself, Major." Mr Sullivan's detail of his services and his appreciation of them being much too long to go over, it ended in:—"It's a long time, Major, since the boys have had a fight, and all that I want is, that yourself and your men will just keep out of sight, and remain at this end of the town, till me and my boys go up to the fair, and stretch a few of the Whichgeralds." (Fitzgeralds, the opposite faction.) "Oh, then, Major, we'll not be long about it, just to stretch a dozen or two of them Whichgeralds, and then I'll engage we'll go home quietly." Much to Mr Sullivan's disappointment, the Major replied that he could not allow the peace to be broken, and grievously crest-fallen, Mr S. went to report the failure of his request to the fine set of young Sullivans who were in sight, waiting the issue of the singular application, and ready to be let loose on the Fitzgeralds. A Mr V——, a local magistrate, who was standing with the Major, said that it would tend much to break up the combination of Whiteboyism to let the factions fight among themselves, and that he could not do better than to wink at the Sullivans having a turn with their opponents; but the Major would not entertain the idea of having, possibly, half-a-dozen murders to think of.

In 1821, on the day the head-quarter division marched out of the city of Limerick, en route from Kilkenny to Rathkeale, a man dropped out of the ranks without leave, parting with some friends of the 79th, then quartered in Limerick, when the rear guard came up; poor David Hill was found senseless on the road, with a deep cut on the back of his head, and his musket gone. On reaching Rathkeale, he was tried by a Court Martial held in a square, formed there and then, before the regiment was dismissed. He was sentenced to 300 lashes, and to pay for his musket. It was what would rightly now be considered an unnecessarily cruel individual suffering, though the most stringent discipline was required, as the regiment was virtually in an enemy's country.

About three months afterwards an officer of the 79th was out snipe shooting, near to the scene of poor Hill's misfortune. A countryman entered into conversation with the officer, watched his opportunity, knocked him over, and was off with the gun. Two of the 3d light dragoons on dispatch duty, from Rathkeale for Limerick, saw it; one of them leaped wall after wall, and apprehended the culprit. A special commission was at the time sitting in Limerick, by which he was tried next day, and hanged a day or two after. On the scaffold he confessed that it was he who had knocked over the Highlander (Hill), and told the priest where the gun was hid. When it was recovered it was found cut down to make it a "handy gun." It was given over to Hill.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, who was with the 42d at this time, was himself an ear-witness

to the following :—About ten minutes after he and his comrade reached their billets at Rathkeale, the man of the house came in from his work, evidently not aware of the soldiers' presence. From the kitchen and stable, one apartment, there was overheard the following catechism between the father and a child about four years old :—"Well Dan, have you been a good boy all day?" "Yes, father." "Come to my knee, Dan ; now tell me, what will you do to the peeler, Dan?" "I'll shoot him, father, I will." "You'll shoot him, will you?" "Yes, father, when I'm big like brother Phill." "Ah, you're a fine fellow, Dan; there's a penny for you to buy bread." Comment is unnecessary.[1]

In September 1823 the 42d, along with the other regiments in the Munster district, was taught the "Torrance" system of drill, which this year superseded the cumbrous old "Dundas." This system effected an entire change in the drill, particularly in the field movements and the platoon exercise. Before this the wheeling or counter-marching of a column was unknown. He was a rash commanding officer who attempted an echelon movement in quick time, and it was not to be presumed upon before a general officer. The marching past in slow time was such a curiosity, that it is worthy of record. At every angle, the command "Halt, left wheel, halt, dress, march," was given, and such work it was again to step off in time with the preceding company; about one in twenty could do it. Altogether, a drill book of "Dundas's 18 manœuvres" would be a curious study for the present day ; and that corps was to be admired whose Colonel could put them through "the 18 manœuvres." At present the whole could be done in 20 minutes, and as to skirmishing it was almost unknown, except in rifle and light infantry corps.

Long marches were common in those days. The following account of a long march while in Ireland, illustrates well the sad want of system at this time in connection with the army, and the little attention paid to the men's welfare.

In the month of May 1819, the regiment was ordered from Dundalk to Dublin. The detachment (of one subaltern and twenty men) at Cootehill, in County Cavan, was ordered, when relieved, to march to Ardee, and thence to Drogheda, to join a division under a field officer for Dublin. The relieving party of the 3d Buffs did not arrive until after mid-day on the 21st of May, when the detachment of the 42d marched by Shercock under the belief that they would halt at Kingscourt for the night, 18 miles from Cootehill. But, alas! they marched on amidst pelting rain, and reached Ardee between 11 and 12 o'clock at night, 13 miles from Kingscourt, with the pipe-clay so thoroughly washed from their belts (cross in those days), that they were quite brown. The question will naturally arise, why did they not stop at Kingscourt? even that distance being a long day's march. There was a reason. The end of the month was the 24th day at this time, and from some neglect or mistake the officer was short of money to keep the men all night at Kingscourt. But 42d soldiers made no complaints, on any occasion, in those days. With the consolatory saying, "what we march to-day we will not have to march to-morrow," the march was, with few exceptions, made cheerfully, although every man carried his full kit.

At this period there was a lamentable want of organisation and good management in many particulars. For instance, there was a garrison field day every Thursday (in Dublin 1819–20), and the guards who went on at ten o'clock the previous day had nothing sent to them in the way of food from the scanty dinner of Wednesday, till they reached their barracks about seven or eight the following evening.

Pay-sergeants were always consulted in all matters of interior economy, whether it regarded the supply of necessaries or improvements in messing, and they looked upon it as an innovation on their *rights* to propose any plan for the good of the soldiers, by which the smallest portion of the pay would have been diverted from passing through their (the pay sergeants') hands ; and thus a great portion of the men were always in debt. A baneful system it was, when men were allowed to be in debt to the sergeant to the extent of several pounds.

[1] Peelers and Bobbies are names by which the police are sometimes, even yet, referred to. They were embodied under an Act brought in by Sir Robert Peel about 1820. In 1823 it was extended to all Ireland.

During the time the regiment was quartered in Dublin in 1819, a breakfast mess was established, much to the benefit of the soldier, who until this time had pleased himself regarding that meal. Bread and water satisfied some, while others indulged themselves according to their taste or ability to procure what was agreeable to them.

In 1819 a regimental medal (bearing on one side the names Corunna, Fuentes D'Onor, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthès, Toulouse, Peninsula) was struck in Dublin, and issued to those entitled to wear it—at their own expense. The authority of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, at the time commander-in-chief, was obtained for the wearing of it. Many good and gallant soldiers wore them in the regiment for years, but they quickly disappeared, although few of them were discharged under 19 and 20 years' service. The last of them were discharged between 1830 and 1834. Many inquiries have been made concerning this medal, which has puzzled collectors, but on the authority of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, the above is a correct account of its origin and history.

Leaving the province of Munster, in June 1825, the regiment received a highly commendatory communication from Lieutenant-General Sir John Lambert, expressing the high sense he entertained of the discipline and conduct of the corps. It afterwards marched to Dublin, where it was stationed three months.

The regiment was divided into six service and four depôt companies, and the service companies received orders to proceed to the celebrated fortress of Gibraltar. They accordingly marched from Dublin, for embarkation at the Cove of Cork, on board His Majesty's ship "Albion," and the "Sovereign" and "Numa" transports: the last division arrived at Gibraltar in the middle of December. The depôt companies were removed from Ireland to Scotland.

On arrival at Gibraltar, the regiment occupied Windmill-hill Barracks, and was afterwards removed to Rosia, where it was stationed during the year 1827.

In February 1828, the regiment took possession of a wing of the grand casemates. As an epidemic fever prevailed in the garrison, from which the regiment suffered severely, it encamped, in September, on the neutral ground. Its loss from the fever was, Ensign Charles Stewart, 6 sergeants, and 53 rank and file.

The regiment returned to the grand casemates on the 9th of January 1829; again encamped in the neutral ground in July, leaving in barracks the men who had recovered from the fever. It returned within the fortress in October.

As there is little or nothing to record with regard to the doings of the regiment during the six years it was at Gibraltar, where it took its share of the usual garrison work, we shall again recur to Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley's memoranda, and present the reader with some interesting notes on the manners, customs, &c., of the regiment about this time. Let us, however, note here, that in 1825, the regiment was armed with "The Long Land Tower" musket, being the only corps of the line to which it was issued; and again, in 1840, it was the first corps to receive the percussion musket, in both cases, through the interest of Sir George Murray, its colonel.

The bugle, for barrack duty, was introduced in 1828, whilst the 42d was encamped on the neutral ground, Gibraltar, during the epidemic fever. Before this the solitary bugler of the regiment sounded part of "quick march" for the guard, and had about half-a-dozen calls for the light company, whose knowledge of skirmishing barely extended to the covering of an advance in line. In the following year, and 1830, it was taken up in reality, and the corps soon became famous for their skirmishing: not that either the bugle calls for barracks or the light infantry drill was without its enemies. Indeed, in general, the officers were averse to the "new fangled innovations," and, in some instances, complained that they could not understand the bugle even for the men's breakfast, dinner, &c., and wished a return to the drum! However, the innovations, with numerous others, were supported by the commanding officers, and in due time the 42d became equal to its neighbours.

While at Gibraltar, in 1830, a regimental library was started, and continued in a flourishing condition for many years. Its history, as told by one of its originators. Lieutenant-

Colonel Wheatley, is extremely interesting. It deserves to be recorded, as it was creditable to the corps, and equally so to the men who so nobly supported it. At this time, such institutions were unknown in the army; indeed, if anything, they were discouraged.

The regiment was quartered with the 43d in the grand casemates, in February 1830. The sergeant-major of that corps had a small library, his private property, collected at sales of books from time to time, from the famous garrison library; he from that formed a circulating library, lending books at a certain rate per month. It was spoken of in the orderly-room one day, after the finish of the morning's duty, and Sir Charles Gordon expressed his surprise that in a Scotch regiment nothing of the kind had been instituted. As soon as he left, the pay-sergeants were called, and desired, by nine o'clock the following morning, to give a return of the number of subscribers willing to pay six days' pay of their rank, to be levied in three monthly instalments, and after the third month, to pay a subscription of sixpence a month. A return of 224 was given in, and it having willingly been approved of by Sir Charles, immediate steps were taken to establish the library. A large order was sent off to the Messrs Tegg, of London, and within a month, what from a purchase of old works from the garrison library, and donations of books from the officers, the library was in good reading order. The officers were most liberal in their donations. The members continued to increase, and various alterations were made from time to time, and in 1836 the subscriptions were reduced to fourpence. The funds were always fully able to meet any charge of conveyance whilst at home, from 1836 to 1841, and again from 1852 to 1854. On being ordered to Turkey in 1854, the whole of the books were disposed of, because the Government reading-rooms and libraries had been in force some time before this, and some corps had been ordered to do away with the regimental ones. At the time of its being broken up, it contained nearly 3000 volumes, and during its existence was highly creditable to the regiment.

In 1832, the regiment received orders to leave Gibraltar and proceed to Malta, embarking on the 13th January, when the governor, Sir William Houston, expressed in garrison orders "that the 42d Royal Highlanders had embarked in a manner fully supporting their high character for discipline and good conduct, and he regretted their departure." After remaining at Malta till December 1834, the regiment was removed to the Ionian Islands, where it stayed till June 1836, having by that time completed a period of ten years and six months' service in the Mediterranean.

The 42d left Corfu for Britain on the 30th of June, and was accompanied to the place of embarkation by the Lord High Commissioner, Major-General Sir Howard Douglas, who, on its being formed on the esplanade, addressed it in the following terms:—

"*Colonel Middleton, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Soldiers of the Royal-Highlanders,*

"I have come hither to assure you, that the conduct of the Forty-second has given me the highest degree of satisfaction during the time it has been under my orders, and I wish to express to you the deep regret I feel at the departure of this gallant and distinguished corps from the station under my command.

"The highest professional obligation of a regiment, is to act so as to render itself dreaded as well as respected by enemies. This the Forty-second has hitherto nobly and effectually done; and that power, though it exists unimpaired in the condition of this regiment, reposes for the present happily in peace.

"It is peculiarly the duty of a British soldier to conciliate, by personal demeanour and individual conduct, the esteem and regard of his fellow-subjects at home, and wherever he may be serving abroad, to cultivate the best terms, and gain the respect and good will of all classes of persons in the community of the place where he may be quartered. This, too, Forty-second, you have well done! The good terms which so happily subsist between the protector and the protected here, have not only been undisturbed, but cemented by your good conduct; and it affords me the greatest pleasure to have heard it declared by the highest authorities here, that you take with you the regard, respect, and good wishes of this population. As I was honoured by having this regiment placed under

my orders, and I am highly satisfied with the conduct of the corps to the moment of its departure, so should I feel gratified if I should have the good fortune to have you again under my command. If this should be in peace, I shall have the pleasure of renewing the agreeable intercourse I have had with the officers, and the pleasing duties I have had to discharge with you. Should a renewal of the connection take place in war, it will afford me much delight and satisfaction, and I shall feel great honour conferred upon me by being again associated with a corps, which, I well know, would acquire fresh inscriptions to its own renown, and to the honour of our country, on the banners which have braved many a hard-fought battle-field, and which have waved triumphantly over many a victory! Forty-second, *farewell!*"

The regiment, on landing at Leith, on the 7th September 1836, after 19 years absence from Scotland, was joined by the depôt companies awaiting it in Edinburgh Castle. It remained till the spring of 1838, when it embarked from Glasgow for Dublin, where it remained until the beginning of 1841. While in Ireland, new colours were presented to the 42d, March 7, 1839.

While at Limerick, Lieutenant-Colonel Middleton reluctantly retired from the command of the regiment, and issued the following pathetic farewell order:—

"New Barracks, Limerick,
12*th August*, 1839.

"*Regimental Order.*

"The Lieutenant-Colonel is persuaded that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and the soldiers of the regiment will enter into his feelings, and easily believe that it caused him many a heart-rending struggle before he brought himself to the sad conclusion of severing ties which connected his destiny for thirty-six years with that of the 42d, and which, but for one consideration, nothing on this side the grave could have induced him to do. That consideration they cannot be ignorant of, and which he is sure they will duly appreciate.

"It remains with him, therefore, only to return them, collectively and individually, the warmest expression of his thanks for the cordial and unremitting manner with which they co-operated with him in the various duties connected with his command, which made his situation truly an enviable one; indeed, he may with truth assert without alloy, until now, when bidding the regiment farewell. In his sorrow, however, it affords him consolation to think that he resigns his proud and enviable charge into the hands of Major Johnstone, so capable in every way of maintaining their discipline, and watching over the best interest of the regiment. The Lieutenant-Colonel hopes the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, will give the same undeviating support to him that they have on every occasion given the Lieutenant-Colonel, the recollection of which can never be banished from his mind; and wherever his future lot may be cast, his heart will always be with the Royal Highlanders; in saying which, should a tablet be over his tomb, the only epitaph he would wish engraved upon it would be, that he once belonged to the 42d."

In January 1841, the six service companies left Ireland for the Ionian Islands, and in May following, the depôt companies left Dublin for Scotland, being stationed at Stirling, which they quitted in March 1842, for Aberdeen.

The 42d and eight other regiments[2] having been augmented to an establishment of 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 12 captains, 14 lieutenants, 10 ensigns, 6 staff officers, 67 sergeants, 25 drummers, and 1200 rank and file; the Royal Highlanders received upwards of 400 Scots volunteers from other corps (180 of whom were furnished by the 72d, 79th, 92d, and 93d Highland regiments), towards the completion of their new establishment; and the depôt was moved to Aberdeen in May, where it was formed into 6 companies, to be termed the *Reserve Battalion*, and its organisation rapidly proceeded.

In August 1842, when her Majesty the Queen Victoria visited Scotland, the reserve battalion of the Royal Highlanders furnished a guard of honour for Her Majesty at Dupplin, Taymouth, Drummond, and Stirling Castles, and the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel was conferred on the commanding officer, Major James Macdougall.

In November 1842, the reserve battalion embarked from Gosport for Malta, to be joined by the first battalion from the Ionian Islands.

[2] The 12th, 20th, 23d, 45th, 71st, 91st, 97th, and second battalion Rifle Brigade.

The head-quarters and three companies of the first battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, embarked at Cephalonia, and landed at Malta on the 20th February; the other three companies arrived at Malta from Zante on the 27th March.

When the regiment embarked at Cephalonia, the Regent, the Bishop, and all the dignitaries saw Colonel Johnstone, the officers and men to the boats, and the leave-taking was nearly as touching as the one at Corfu in 1836. The Regent of the Island and the Civil authorities subsequently sent a large gold medal to Colonel Johnstone, with Cephalos and his dog on one side of it, and the Colonel's name on the other.[3]

On the 29th of December 1843, General the Right Honourable Sir George Murray, G.C.B., was removed to the 1st, or the Royal Regiment of Foot, in succession to General Lord Lynedoch, deceased; and the colonelcy of the 42d Royal Highlanders was conferred on Lieutenant-General Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B. (Adjutant-General of the Forces), from the 67th regiment. Sir George Murray on his removal, addressed a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, commanding the regiment, from which the following are extracts:—



Colonel Johnstone's Medal.

"I cannot leave the command of the Forty-second Royal Highlanders without requesting you to express to them, in the strongest terms, how high an honour I shall always esteem it to have been for upwards of twenty years the colonel of a regiment, which, by its exemplary conduct in every situation, and by its distinguished valour in many a well-fought field, has earned for itself so large a share of esteem and of renown as that which belongs to the FORTY-SECOND regiment.

"Wherever the military service of our country may hereafter require the presence of the Royal Highlanders, my most friendly wishes and best hopes will always accompany them, and it will afford me the greatest pleasure to learn that harmony and mutual goodwill continue, as heretofore, to prevail throughout their ranks; and that discipline, so essential to the honour and success of every military body, is upheld amongst them, not more by the vigilance and the good example of those in command,

[3] Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone appropriately acknowledged the honour thus conferred upon him by his Cephalonian friends:—

"*Farewell to Cephalonia*, 1843.

"GENTLEMEN,

"*Nobili e cari Signori.*

"I hardly know how to express my sense of your kindness, or how much I feel honoured by the announcement you have just made me of the intention of my friends in Cephalonia to present me with a medal, on my departure from this Island. As a proof of yours and their esteem, I cannot value it too highly, nor can I fail, however poor my merits may have been, to appreciate the generosity of feeling which has actuated you on this occasion.

Your allusions to the 42d and my family have been most gratifying to me, and one and all desire to join me in every good wish for your prosperity and happiness. May this happiness be long continued to you; and may the zeal and ability for which so many of you are distinguished be honourably and usefully employed in promoting the best interests of your country."

"Dear Friends, farewell,

"Cari Cefeleni Amici, Addio."

than by the desire of all to discharge regularly, faithfully, and zealously, the several duties which it belongs to each respectively to perform. Whilst the Royal Highlanders persevere (as I feel confident, by my long acquaintance with them, both before and during the period of my having the honour to command them, that they always will) in the same path of duty which they have hitherto followed, they will never cease to add to that high reputation which they have already achieved for themselves, and for their native land."

Until the 42d went to Corfu, in December 1834, according to Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, no Highland regiment had ever been seen there, and the natives flocked from all parts of the island to see the wonderful soldiers. Many of the natives, no doubt, had heard something of the dress, but could only think of it as being like the Albanian kilt, nor would they believe that the knees were bare. The Greeks, says the Colonel, are very stoical, but at the parade next day (Sunday), on the esplanade, they could not conceal their excitement. Both the officers and men of the 42d were very popular at Corfu; and when, after an absence of four years and a-half on home service, the regiment returned to the island in 1841, the islanders regarded it as a compliment, and declared that "the regiment had only been sent to England to get percussion muskets."

On February 10th, 1846, was killed in action at Sobraon in India, Major-General Sir R. H. Dick, who had entered the 42d as ensign in 1800. He served with the second battalion of the 78th in Sicily in 1806; was wounded at the battle of Maida; was in Calabria and Egypt, in 1807; and was severely wounded at Rosetta. He was in the Peninsula from 1809, and was wounded at Waterloo. In the entrance of St Giles' Church, Edinburgh, is a tablet to his memory, erected by the officers of the 42d in 1846.

The two battalions remained at Malta until 1847, when both were ordered to Bermuda. The first sailed on the 27th February, and landed three companies (head-quarters) at Hamilton, and three companies at Ireland Island on the 16th April. The reserve battalion embarked in March, and landed at St. George's Island on the 24th of April.

On the 1st April 1850, the reserve battalion was consolidated into the first, forming a regiment of ten companies of 1000 rank and file. In May 1851, three companies were separated from the regiment to be sent to Scotland, to be joined by the depôt company from the Isle of Wight, and on 4th June, the six service companies embarked on board the "Resistance," and on the following day sailed for Halifax (Nova Scotia), where they arrived on the 12th, sending out detachments to Prince Edward's Island, Cape Breton, and Annapolis, in all 200 officers and men.

The regiment was relieved by the 56th at Bermuda, and replaced the 88th at Halifax, ordered home. The depôt left Bermuda for Aberdeen on 13th July.

Before leaving, a letter, complimenting the regiment highly on its commendable conduct while in Bermuda, was forwarded to Colonel Cameron by his Excellency the governor. We give the following address from "the Corporation and other inhabitants of the town and parish of St. George," which was presented to Colonel Cameron on June 3d, 1851.

"*To Lieutenant-Colonel D. A. Cameron,*
42d R. H. Commandant, &c., &c., &c.

"Sir,—As Her Majesty's 42d regiment under your command is about to leave these Islands, we cannot allow its departure without expressing our esteem for the kindly feelings which have existed between the inhabitants and the 42d, during the four years' residence in this garrison. The urbanity and affability of the officers, the steady and upright conduct of the non-commissioned officers and men, have been eminently conspicuous. To our knowledge, not a man of your gallant and distinguished corps has been convicted of any crime before the civil authorities of this colony; a very gratifying circumstance, and bespeaking the high state of discipline of the regiment.

"To yourself, Sir, officers, and men, we sincerely tender our best wishes for your future welfare; and assured are we, that should the time arrive for the 'Forty-second' to be called into active service, they will display that loyalty and valour for which they are so justly renowned. Wishing you a safe and pleasant passage,—We have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient, humble servants:—

"(Signed by the Mayor, Corporation, and other Inhabitants of the town and parish of St George.)"

To this Colonel Cameron made a suitable reply.

This shows the esteem in which the regiment was held by the inhabitants of Bermuda, and it was well deserved. Not a man had been convicted before the civil authorities; it was something new to the Bermudans, and a subject which they often dwelt upon.

The mean strength of the regiment in the Islands for four years and two months, viz:—April 1847 to June 1851, was 1090; and the deaths, including accidents, &c., were only 31, being much less than the usual mortality at home. The regiment that the 42d had relieved (1st and reserve battalions of the 20th) sustained a heavy loss—several hundreds—from cholera; and the 56th, which replaced it, lost 6 officers and 224 men, in the autumn of 1853.

Early in 1852, the several detachments rejoined at Halifax, and on the 29th May the regiment (again in the "Resistance") embarked to return home, and on July 16th anchored at Greenock. They landed on the 19th, and proceeded by rail to Stirling, three companies going to Perth, and two to Dundee. The depôt was waiting the arrival of the service companies in Stirling Castle. The regiment had been absent from Scotland upwards of 14 years, viz., since embarking at Glasgow for Dublin in 1838.

Early in April 1853, the regiment was ordered to be in readiness to proceed to England. On the 22d headquarters left Stirling, and proceeded to Weedon, detaching two companies to Northampton. On the 14th of June left Weedon for Chobham. It was there encamped with the 1st Life Guards; 6th Dragoon Guards; 13th Light Dragoons; 17th Lancers; 1st Battalion Grenadier Guards; 1st Battalion Scots Fusiliers; 1st Battalion Coldstreams; 38th, 50th, 93d, and 95th regiments; and 2d Battalion Rifle Brigade, &c., &c.

On the 14th July, the whole of the troops were replaced, and the regiment proceeded to Haslar and Gosport (Fort Monckton), detaching three companies, under Major Cumberland, to Weymouth.

VI.

1854—1856.

Regiment Embarks for Crimea—Landing at Kalamita Bay—March to the Alma—Russian Position—Battle of the Alma—The Highland Brigade—Sir Colin Campbell—Work done by the 42d—Sir Colin's Bonnet—Work of the 42d before Sebastopol—Sir Colin Campbell's Addresses—The Kertch Expedition—Return Home.

Early in 1854, the regiment was removed to Portsea, preparatory to embarking for Turkey, in consequence of hostilities with Russia.

About 200 Volunteers were received from depôts in Ireland, and for the first time for upwards of 45 years, without regard to country. The ten service companies embarked in the hired screw ship the "Hydaspes," Captain John Baker, on the 20th May, and sailed next morning. They consisted of 32 officers, 45 sergeants, 20 Drummers and Pipers, and 850 Rank and File. On 1st June they went into Malta, and on the 7th anchored off Scutari. They landed and encamped on the 9th, joining in Brigade with the 79th and 93d.

On the 13th the division, consisting of the Brigade of Guards and the Highlanders, embarked and reached Varna next day, and disembarked on 15th, encamping near to Varna. On the 1st of July they moved to Aladyne; on the 28th to Gevrekler ("The three springs"); and on 16th August repassed Varna to Galatabourna,[1] where the regiment was in camp until the embarkation of the army on the 29th, on which day it went on board the ss. "Emeu," and sailed with the expedition on the 5th September.

The British force consisted of 27,000 men of all arms; the French about 30,000; and the Turks 7000; making a total of 63,000 men, with 128 guns. Lord Raglan was the chief of the British forces, while Marshal St Arnaud commanded the army of France. The English infantry consisted of four divisions; the Light, First, Second, and Third Divisions. The First Division, under the command of H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge, consisted of the third battalion of the Grenadier Guards, and the first battalions of the Coldstream and Scotch Fusilier Guards, commanded by Major-General Bentinck. Major-General Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde, of whom we give a steel

[1] Galatabourna, close to the Black Sea, about five miles to the south-west of Varna.

portrait) was commander of the other half of this division (the Highland Brigade), composed of the 42d, 79th, and 93d Highlanders. The 42d was commanded by Colonel Cameron, who had joined the regiment in 1825, and was made lieutenant-general in 1868.

On the 14th of September 1854, the allied armies of England and France, landed unopposed at Old Fort, Kalamita Bay, about 30 miles north of Sebastopol.

"The seamen knew," says Kinglake,[2] the fascinating historian of the Crimean War, "that it concerned the health and comfort of the soldiers to be landed dry, so they lifted or handed the men ashore with an almost tender care: yet not without mirth—nay, not without laughter far heard—when, as though they were giant maidens, THE TALL HIGHLANDERS OF THE FORTY-SECOND, placed their hands in the hands of the sailor, and sprang, by his aid, to the shore, their kilts floating out wide while they leapt." It was not until the 18th that all the soldiers and their accompaniments were landed, and not until the 19th that the march southwards on Sebastopol commenced. On the first night of their march, the allies bivouacked on the banks of the stream of the Bulganak, six miles from their landing place.

"During the march, the foot-soldiers of the Allied armies suffered thirst; but early in the afternoon the troops in advance reached the long-desired stream of the Bulganak; and as soon as a division came in sight of the water, the men broke from their ranks, and ran forward that they might plunge their lips deep in the cool, turbid, grateful stream. In one brigade a stronger governance was maintained. Sir Colin Campbell would not allow that even the rage of thirst should loosen the discipline of his grand Highland regiments. He halted them a little before they reached the stream, and so ordered it that, by being saved from the confusion that would have been wrought by their own wild haste, they gained in comfort, and knew that they were gainers. When men toil in organised masses, they owe what well-being they have to wise and firm commanders."[3]

[2] Whose kindness in allowing us to make these extracts we have pleasure in acknowledging.

[3] Kinglake's *Crimea*. vol. ii. pp. 186, 216.

When the allied forces came in sight of the Alma, they found the Russians intrenched in what looked a very formidable position, on the hills which rise from its left or southern bank. For a short distance from the mouth of the river, the banks rise precipitously from the river and form a table-land above, accessible by several gorges or passes. Further up the river the banks rise more gently, and the slope of the hills southwards is more gradual; everywhere are the heights cut up by passes or ravines into knolls and separate rounded heights. "From the sea-shore to the easternmost spot occupied by Russian troops, the distance for a man going straight was nearly five miles and a-half; but if he were to go all the way on the Russian bank of the river, he would have to pass over more ground, for the Alma here makes a strong bend and leaves open the chord of the arc to invaders who come from the north."[4] All over the heights extending from near the sea to this distance eastwards along the south-side of the river, the Russian force, amounting to 39,000 men and 106 guns, was massed on the side of the various slopes, in formidable looking columns. On the right of the Russian position rose gradually from the banks of the river a gentle slope, which terminated in a large rounded knoll, known as the Kourganè-hill. At about 300 yards from the river, the Russians had thrown up a large breastwork armed with fourteen heavy guns; this was known as the Great Redoubt. With this work Prince Mentschikoff, the Russian commander, was delighted; indeed, he fancied his position so impregnable, that he expected to hold out for three days, by which time he was confident the allies would be utterly exhausted, and fall an easy prey to his northern legions. On the same hill, but higher up, and more to his right, the Prince threw up another slight breast-work, which he armed with a battery of field guns. This was the Lesser Redoubt. At many other points which commanded the approaches to his position he had large batteries planted, and the vineyards which skirted the north bank of the river were marked and cleared, so as to give effect to the action of the artillery.

As it would be out of place here to give a

[4] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 234.

general account of the battle of the Alma, we shall content ourselves mainly with setting forth the part taken in it by the 42d Royal Highlanders, the actual strength of which regiment going into action was 27 officers, 40 sergeants, 20 pipers and drummers, and 703 rank and file. The work done by the other Highland regiments will be told in the proper place. The French and Turks, who formed the right of the allied army, were appointed to attack the left of the Russian position, while the British had to bear the brunt of the battle, and engage the enemy in front and on the right, being thus exposed to the full force of the murderous fire from the above-mentioned batteries.[5]

"The right wing of the Russian army was the force destined to confront, first our Light Division, and then the Guards and the Highlanders. It was posted on the slopes of the Kourganè Hill. Here was the Great Redoubt, armed with its fourteen heavy guns; and Prince Mentschikoff was so keen to defend this part of the ground, that he gathered round the work, on the slopes of the hill, a force of no less than sixteen battalions of regular infantry, besides the two battalions of Sailors, and four batteries of field-artillery. The right of the forces on the Kourganè Hill rested on a slope to the east of the Lesser Redoubt, and the left on the great road. Twelve of the battalions of regular infantry were disposed into battalion-columns posted at intervals and checkerwise on the flanks of the Great Redoubt; the other four battalions, drawn up in one massive column, were held as a reserve for the right wing on the higher slope of the hill. Of the four field-batteries, one armed the Lesser Redoubt, another was on the high ground commanding and supporting the Great Redoubt, and the remaining two were held in reserve. General Kvetzinski commanded the troops in this part of the field. On his extreme right, and posted at intervals along a curve drawn from his right front to his centre rear, Prince Mentschikoff placed his cavalry,—a force comprising 3400 lances, with three batteries of horse-artillery.

"Each of these bodies of horse, when brought within sight of the Allies, was always massed in column.

[5] Kinglake's *Crimea*, vol. ii. p. 242.

"Thus, then, it was to bar the Pass and the great road, to defend the Kourganè Hill and to cover his right flank, that the Russian General gathered his main strength; and this was the part of the field destined to be assailed by our troops. That portion of the Russian force which directly confronted the English army, consisted of 3400 cavalry, twenty-four battalions of infantry, and seven batteries of field-artillery, besides the fourteen heavy guns in the Great Redoubt, making together 23,400 men and eighty-six guns."[6]

In the march from its bivouac on the night of the 19th there were two or three protracted halts, one caused by a slight brush with some Cossack cavalry and artillery. The rest we must relate mainly in the charming words of Kinglake, after whose narrative all others are stale.

"The last of these took place at a distance of about a mile and a half from the banks of the Alma. From the spot where the forces were halted the ground sloped gently down to the river's side; and though some men lay prostrate under the burning sun, with little thought except of fatigue, there were others who keenly scanned the ground before them, well knowing that now at last the long-expected conflict would begin. They could make out the course of the river from the dark belt of gardens and vineyards which marked its banks; and men with good eyes could descry a slight seam running across a rising-ground beyond the river, and could see, too, some dark squares or oblongs, encroaching like small patches of culture upon the broad downs. The seam was the Great Redoubt; the square-looking marks that stained the green sides of the hills were an army in order of battle.

"That 20th of September on the Alma was like some remembered day of June in England, for the sun was unclouded, and the soft breeze of the morning had lulled to a breath at noontide, and was creeping faintly along the hills. It was then that in the Allied armies there occurred a singular pause of sound—a pause so general as to have been observed and remembered by many in remote parts of the ground, and so marked that its interruption

[6] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 242.

by the mere neighing of an angry horse seized the attention of thousands; and although this strange silence was the mere result of weariness and chance, it seemed to carry a meaning; for it was now that, after near forty years of peace, the great nations of Europe were once more meeting for battle.

"Even after the sailing of the expedition, the troops had been followed by reports that the war, after all, would be stayed; and the long frequent halts, and the quiet of the armies on the sunny slope, seemed to harmonise with the idea of disbelief in the coming of the long-promised fight. But in the midst of this repose Sir Colin Campbell said to one of his officers, 'This will be a good time for the men to get loose half their cartridges;' and when the command travelled on along the ranks of the Highlanders, it lit up the faces of the men one after another, assuring them that now at length, and after long expectance, they indeed would go into action. They began obeying the order, and with beaming joy, for they came of a warlike race; yet not without emotion of a graver kind—they were young soldiers, new to battle." [7]

The Light Division formed the right of the British army, and the duty of the Highland Brigade and the Guards was to support this division in its attack on the right of the Russian position. The 42d formed the right of the Highland Brigade, the 93d the centre, and the 79th the left. The Kourganè hill, which had to be assailed by the Light Division, supported by the Highlanders and Guards, was defended by two redoubts, by 42 guns, and by a force of some 17,000 men.

The battle commenced about half-past one P.M., and lasted a little over two hours. The French attack on the left was comparatively a failure, and their losses small, for they had but little of the fighting to sustain. The battle on the part of the English was commenced by the Light and Second Divisions crossing the Alma, the former getting first to the other or Russian side, driving the Russian skirmishers and riflemen before them at the point of the bayonet. As soon as they got out of the vineyards, double the number of guns opened upon them with grape and canister, still they moved on, keeping up a telling fire against the Russian gunners. By the time they reached the great redoubt they were terribly shattered, but, nevertheless, successfully carried it and captured two guns. Being, however, now comparatively few in number, and unsupported, they were compelled to leave the redoubt by a huge body of Russian infantry, upon whom, they never turned their backs. Other operations, with more or less success, were going on in other parts of the hillside, but our place is with the Highlanders of the First Division, who, along with the Guards, were now advancing to support the Light Division, so sore bestead. "This magnificent division, the flower of the British army, had crossed the river rather higher up than the Light Division, and consequently were on its left. . . . The First Division formed-up after crossing the Alma, and although they incurred considerable loss in so doing, they nevertheless advanced in most beautiful order—really as if on parade. I shall never forget that sight—one felt so proud of them." [8] Lord Raglan had been looking on all this time from some high ground, where he and his staff were posted, and where he obtained a comprehensive view of the battle-field. When he saw the First Division coming up in support, he said, "Look how well the Guards and Highlanders advance!" [9] We must allow Mr Kinglake to tell the rest.

"Further to the left (of the Guards), and in the same formation (of line), the three battalions of the Highland Brigade were extended. But the 42d had found less difficulty than the 93d in getting through the thick ground and the river, and again the 93d had found less difficulty than the 79th; so, as each regiment had been formed and moved forward with all the speed it could command, the brigade fell naturally into direct échelon of regiments, the 42d in front.

42d.

93d.

79th.

[7] Kinglake's *Crimea*, v. ii. p. 252.

[8] *Letters from Headquarters.*

[9] Kinglake's *Crimea*, v. ii. p. 443.

And although this order was occasioned by the nature of the ground traversed and not by design, it was so well suited to the work in hand that Sir Colin Campbell did not for a moment seek to change it.

"These young soldiers, distinguished to the vulgar eye by their tall stature, their tartan uniforms, and the plumes of their Highland bonnets, were yet more marked in the eyes of those who know what soldiers are by the warlike carriage of the men, and their strong, lithesome, resolute step. And Sir Colin Campbell was known to be so proud of them, that already, like the Guards, they had a kind of prominence in the army, which was sure to make their bearing in action a broad mark for blame or for praise."[1]

"The other battalions of the Highland Brigade were approaching; but the 42d—the far-famed 'Black Watch'—had already come up. It was ranged in line. The ancient glory of the corps was a treasure now committed to the charge of young soldiers new to battle; but Campbell knew them—was sure of their excellence—and was sure, too, of Colonel Cameron, their commanding officer. Very eager—for the Guards were now engaged with the enemy's columns—very eager, yet silent and majestic, the battalion stood ready.

"Before the action had begun, and whilst his men were still in column, Campbell had spoken to his brigade a few words—words simple, and, for the most part, workmanlike, yet touched with the fire of war-like sentiment. 'Now, men, you are going into action. Remember this: whoever is wounded—I don't care what his rank is—whoever is wounded must lie where he falls till the bandsmen come to attend to him. No soldiers must go carrying off wounded men. If any soldier does such a thing, his name shall be stuck up in his parish church. Don't be in a hurry about firing. Your officers will tell you when it is time to open fire. Be steady. Keep silence.

[1] We shall take the liberty of quoting here the same author's sketch of Campbell's career:—

"Whilst Ensign Campbell was passing from boyhood to man's estate, he was made partaker in the great transactions which were then beginning to work out the liberation of Europe. In the May of 1808 he received his first commission—a commission in the 9th Foot; and a few weeks afterwards—then too young to carry the colours—he was serving with his regiment upon the heights of Vimieira. There the lad saw the turning of a tide in human affairs; saw the opening of the mighty strife between 'Column' and 'Line;' saw France, long unmatched upon the Continent, retreat before British infantry; saw the first of Napoleon's stumbles, and the fame of Sir Arthur Wellesley beginning to dawn over Europe.

"He was in Sir John Moore's campaign, and at its closing scene—Corunna. He was with the Walcheren expedition; and afterwards, returning to the Peninsula, he was at the battle of Barossa, the defence of Tarifa, the relief of Taragona, and the combats at Malaga and Osma. He led a forlorn hope at the storming of St Sebastian, and was there wounded twice; he was at Vittoria; he was at the passage of the Bidassoa; he took part in the American war of 1814; he served in the West Indies; he served in the Chinese war of 1842. These occasions he had so well used that his quality as a soldier was perfectly well known. He had been praised and praised again and again; but since he was not so connected as to be able to move the dispensers of military rank, he gained promotion slowly, and it was not until the second Sikh war that he had a command as a general: even then he had no rank in the army above that of a colonel. At Chilianwalla he commanded a division. Marching in person with one of his two brigades, he had gained the heights on the extreme right of the Sikh position, and then bringing round the left shoulder, he had rolled up the enemy's line and won the day; but since his other brigade (being separated from him by a long distance) had wanted his personal control, and fallen into trouble, the brilliancy of the general result which he had achieved did not save him altogether from criticism. That day he was wounded for the fourth time. He commanded a division at the great battle of Gujerat; and, being charged to press the enemy's retreat, he had so executed his task that 158 guns and the ruin of the foe were the fruit of the victory. In 1851 and the following year he commanded against the hill-tribes. It was he who forced the Kohat Pass. It was he who, with only a few horsemen and some guns, at Punj Pao, compelled the submission of the combined tribes then acting against him with a force of 8000 men. It was he who, at Ishakote, with a force of less than 3000 men, was able to end the strife; and when he had brought to submission all those beyond the Indus who were in arms against the Government, he instantly gave proof of the breadth and scope of his mind as well as of the force of his character; for he withstood the angry impatience of men in authority over him, and insisted that he must be suffered to deal with the conquered people in the spirit of a politic and merciful ruler.

"After serving with all this glory for some forty-four years, he came back to England; but between the Queen and him there stood a dense crowd of families—men, women, and children—extending further than the eye could reach, and armed with strange precedents which made it out to be right that people who had seen no service should be invested with high command, and that Sir Colin Campbell should be only a colonel. Yet he was of so fine a nature that, although he did not always avoid great bursts of anger, there was no ignoble bitterness in his sense of wrong. He awaited the time when perhaps he might have high command, and be able to serve his country in a sphere proportioned to his strength. His friends, however, were angry for his sake; and along with their strong devotion towards him there was bred a fierce hatred of a system of military dispensation which could keep in the background a man thus tried and thus known.

"Upon the breaking-out of the war with Russia, Sir Colin was appointed—not to the command of a division, but of a brigade. It was not till the June of 1854 that his rank in the army became higher than that of a colonel."

Fire low. Now, men'—those who know the old soldier can tell how his voice would falter the while his features were kindling—'Now, men, the army will watch us; make me proud of the Highland Brigade!'

"It was before the battle that this, or the like of this, was addressed to the brigade; and now, when Sir Colin rode up to the corps which awaited his signal, he only gave it two words. But because of his accustomed manner of utterance, and because he was a true, faithful lover of war, the two words he spoke were as the roll of the drum: 'Forward, 42d!' This was all he then said; and, 'as a steed that knows his rider,' the great heart of the battalion bounded proudly to his touch.

"Sir Colin Campbell went forward in front of the 42d; but before he had ridden far, he saw that his reckoning was already made good by the event, and that the column which had engaged the Coldstream was moving off obliquely towards its right rear. Then with his Staff he rode up a good way in advance, for he was swift to hope that the withdrawal of the column from the line of the redoubt might give him the means of learning the ground before him, and seeing how the enemy's strength was disposed in this part of the field. In a few moments he was abreast of the redoubt, and upon the ridge or crest which divided the slope he had just ascended from the broad and rather deep hollow which lay before him. On his right he had the now empty redoubt, on his right front the higher slopes of the Kourganè Hill. Straight before him there was the hollow, or basin, just spoken of, bounded on its farther side by a swelling wave or ridge of ground which he called the 'inner crest.' Beyond that, whilst he looked straight before him, he could see that the ground fell off into a valley; but when he glanced towards his left front he observed that the hollow which lay on his front was, so to speak, bridged over by a bending rib which connected the inner with the outer crest—bridged over in such a way that a column on his left front might march to the spot where he stood without having first to descend into the lower ground. More towards his left, the ground was high, but so undulating and varied that it would not necessarily disclose any troops which might be posted in that part of the field.

"Confronting Sir Colin Campbell from the other side of the hollow, the enemy had a strong column—the two right battalions of the Kazan corps—and it was towards this body that the Vladimir column, moving off from the line of the redoubt, was all this time making its way. The Russians saw that they were the subject of a general officer's studies; and Campbell's horse at this time was twice struck by shot, but not disabled. When the retiring column came abreast of the right Kazan column it faced about to the front, and, striving to recover its formation, took part with the Kazan column in opposing a strength of four battalions—four battalions hard-worked and much thinned—to the one which, eager and fresh, was following the steps of the Highland General.

"Few were the moments that Campbell took to learn the ground before him, and to read the enemy's mind; but, few though they were, they were all but enough to bring the 42d to the crest where their General stood. The ground they had to ascend was a good deal more steep and more broken than the slope close beneath the redoubt. In the land where those Scots were bred, there are shadows of sailing clouds skimming straight up the mountain's side, and their paths are rugged, are steep, yet their course is smooth, easy, and swift. Smoothly, easily, swiftly, the 'Black Watch' seemed to glide up the hill. A few instants before, and their tartans ranged dark in the valley—now, their plumes were on the crest. The small knot of horsemen who had ridden on before them were still there. Any stranger looking into the group might almost be able to know—might know by the mere carriage of the head—that he in the plain, dark-coloured frock, he whose sword-belt hung crosswise from his shoulder, was the man there charged with command; for in battle, men who have to obey sit erect in their saddles; he who has on him the care of the fight seems always to fall into the pensive yet eager bend which the Greeks—keen perceivers of truth—used to join with their conception of Mind brought to bear upon War. It is on board ship, perhaps, more commonly than ashore, that people in peace-time have been used to

see their fate hanging upon the skill of one man. Often, landsmen at sea have watched the skilled, weather-worn sailor when he seems to look through the gale, and search deep into the home of the storm. He sees what they cannot see; he knows what, except from his lips, they never will be able to learn. They stand silent, but they question him with their eyes. So men new to war gaze upon the veteran commander, when, with knitted brow and steady eyes, he measures the enemy's power, and draws near to his final resolve. Campbell, fastening his eyes on the two columns standing before him, and on the heavier and more distant column on his left front, seemed not to think lightly of the enemy's strength; but in another instant (for his mind was made up, and his Highland blood took fire at the coming array of the tartans) his features put on that glow which, seen in men of his race—race known by the kindling grey eye, and the light, stubborn crisping hair—discloses the rapture of instant fight. Although at that moment the 42d was alone, and was confronted by the two columns on the farther side of the hollow, yet Campbell, having a steadfast faith in Colonel Cameron and in the regiment he commanded, resolved to go straight on, and at once, with his forward movement. He allowed the battalion to descend alone into the hollow, marching straight against the two columns. Moreover, he suffered it to undertake a manœuvre which (except with troops of great steadiness and highly instructed) can hardly be tried with safety against regiments still unshaken. The 'Black watch' 'advanced firing.'

"But whilst this fight was going on between the 42d and the two Russian columns, grave danger from another quarter seemed to threaten the Highland battalion; for, before it had gone many paces, Campbell saw that the column which had appeared on his left front was boldly marching forward; and such was the direction it took, and such the nature of the ground, that the column, if it were suffered to go on with this movement, would be able to strike at the flank of the 42d without having first to descend into lower ground.

"Halting the 42d in the hollow, Campbell swiftly measured the strength of the approaching column, and he reckoned it so strong that he resolved to prepare for it a front of no less than five companies. He was upon the point of giving the order for effecting this bend in the line of the 42d, when looking to his left rear, he saw his centre battalion springing up to the outer crest."[2] This was the 93d.

"Campbell's charger, twice wounded already, but hitherto not much hurt, was now struck by a shot in the heart. Without a stumble or a plunge the horse sank down gently to the earth, and was dead. Campbell took his aide-de-camp's charger; but he had not been long in Shadwell's saddle when up came Sir Colin's groom with his second horse. The man, perhaps, under some former master, had been used to be charged with the 'second horse' in the hunting-field. At all events, here he was; and if Sir Colin was angered by the apparition, he could not deny that it was opportune. The man touched his cap, and excused himself for being where he was. In the dry, terse way of those Englishmen who are much accustomed to horses, he explained that towards the rear the balls had been dropping about very thick, and that, fearing some harm might come to his master's second horse, he had thought it best to bring him up to the front.

"When the 93d had recovered the perfectness of its array, it again moved forward, but at the steady pace imposed upon it by the chief. The 42d had already resumed its forward movement; it still advanced firing.

"The turning moment of a fight is a moment of trial for the soul, and not for the body; and it is, therefore, that such courage as men are able to gather from being gross in numbers, can be easily outweighed by the warlike virtue of a few. To the stately 'Black Watch' and the hot 93d, with Campbell leading them on, there was vouchsafed that stronger heart for which the brave pious Muscovites had prayed. Over the souls of the men in the columns there was spread, first the gloom, then the swarm of vain delusions, and at last the sheer horror which might be the work of the Angel of Darkness. The two lines marched straight on. The three columns shook. They were not yet subdued. They were stubborn; but every moment the two advancing battalions grew nearer and nearer, and although—dimly mask-

[2] Kinglake's *Crimea*, vol. ii. pp. 474–79.

ing the scant numbers of the Highlanders—there was still the white curtain of smoke which always rolled on before them, yet, fitfully, and from moment to moment, the signs of them could be traced on the right hand and on the left in a long, shadowy line, and their coming was ceaseless.

"But moreover, the Highlanders being men of great stature, and in strange garb, their plumes being tall, and the view of them being broken and distorted by the wreaths of the smoke, and there being, too, an ominous silence in their ranks, there were men among the Russians who began to conceive a vague terror—the terror of things unearthly; and some, they say, imagined that they were charged by horsemen strange, silent, monstrous, bestriding giant chargers. Unless help should come from elsewhere, the three columns would have to give way; but help came. From the high ground on our left another heavy column—the column composed of the two right Sousdal battalions—was seen coming down. It moved straight at the flank of the 93d."[3] This was met by the 79th.

"Without a halt, or with only the halt that was needed for dressing the ranks, it sprang at the flank of the right Sousdal column, and caught it in its sin—caught it daring to march across the front of a battalion advancing in line. Wrapped in the fire thus poured upon its flank, the hapless column could not march, could not live. It broke, and began to fall back in great confusion; and the left Sousdal column being almost at the same time overthrown by the 93d, and the two columns which had engaged the 'Black Watch' being now in full retreat, the spurs of the hill and the winding dale beyond became thronged with the enemy's disordered masses.

"Then again, they say, there was heard the sorrowful wail that bursts from the heart of the brave Russian infantry when they have to suffer defeat; but this time the wail was the wail of eight battalions; and the warlike grief of the soldiery could no longer kindle the fierce intent which, only a little before, had spurred forward the Vladimir column. Hope had fled.

"After having been parted from one another by the nature of the ground, and thus thrown for some time into échelon, the battalions of Sir Colin's brigade were now once more close abreast; and since the men looked upon ground where the grey remains of the enemy's broken strength were mournfully rolling away, they could not but see that this, the revoir of the Highlanders, had chanced in a moment of glory. Knowing their hearts, and deeming that the time was one when the voice of his people might fitly enough be heard, the Chief touched or half lifted his hat in the way of a man assenting. Then along the Kourganè slopes, and thence west almost home to the Causeway, the hill-sides were made to resound with that joyous, assuring cry, which is the natural utterance of a northern people so long as it is warlike and free.[4]

"The three Highland regiments were now re-formed, and Sir Colin Campbell, careful in the midst of victory, looked to see whether the supports were near enough to warrant him in pressing the enemy's retreat with his Highland Brigade. He judged that, since Cathcart was still a good way off, the Highlanders ought to be established on the ground which they had already won; and, never forgetting that, all this while, he was on the extreme left of the whole infantry array of the Allies, he made a a bend in his line, which caused it to show a front towards the south-east as well as towards the south.

"This achievement of the Guards and the Highland Brigade was so rapid, and was executed with so steadfast a faith in the prowess of our soldiery and the ascendancy of Line over Column, that in vanquishing great masses of infantry 12,000 strong, and in going straight through with an onset which tore open the Russian position, the six battalions together did not lose 500 men."[5]

The British loss was 25 officers and 19 sergeants killed, and 81 officers and 102 sergeants wounded; 318 rank and file killed, and 1438 wounded, making, with 19 missing, a total loss of 2002. The French loss was probably

[3] Kinglake's *Crimea*, vol. ii. pp. 481–8[illegible]

[4] Many of our people who had heard the cheers of the Highlanders were hindered from seeing them by the bend of the ground, and they supposed that the cheers were uttered in charging. It was not so. The Highlanders advanced in silence.

[5] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 487–90, 493.

not more than 60 killed and 500 wounded, while the Russian killed and wounded amounted to considerably above 6000. The 42d in killed and wounded lost only 37 men.

After the battle, it was a touching sight to see the meeting between Lord Raglan and Sir Colin Campbell. The latter was on foot, as his horse had been killed in the earlier period of the action. Lord Raglan rode up, and highly complimented Campbell and his brigade. Sir Colin, with tears in his eyes,[6] said it was not the first battle-field they had won together, and that, now that the battle was over, he had a favour to ask his lordship, which he hoped he would not refuse—to wear a bonnet with his brigade while he had the honour to command it.

The request was at once granted, and the making up of the bonnet was intrusted secretly to Lieutenant and Adjutant Drysdale of the 42d. There was a difficulty next morning as to the description of heckle to combine the three regiments of the Brigade. It was at last decided to have one-third of it red, to represent the 42d, and the remaining two-thirds white at the bottom, for the 79th and 93d. Not more than half a dozen knew about the preparation of the bonnet, and these were confined to the 42d. A brigade parade was ordered on the morning of 22d September on the field of Alma, "as the General was desirous of thanking them for their conduct on the 20th." The square was formed in readiness for his arrival, and he rode into it with the bonnet on. No order or signal was given for it, but he was greeted with such a succession of cheers, again and again, that both the French and English armies were startled into a perfect state of wonder as to what had taken place. Such is the history of "the bonnet gained."

The 42d had its own share in the harassing and tedious work which devolved on the British soldiers while lying before Sebastopol, although it so happened that it took no part in any of the important actions which followed Alma. Here, as elsewhere, the men supported the well-known character of the regiment in all respects. On the first anniversary of the battle of the Alma, September 20, 1855, the first distribution of medals was made to the soldiers in the Crimea, on which occasion Lieutenant-General Sir Colin Campbell issued the following stirring address, duty preventing him from being present :—

"*Highland Brigade,*

"On the first anniversary of the glorious battle of the Alma, our gracious Sovereign has commanded the Crimean medal to be presented to her gallant soldiers, who were the first to meet the Russians and defeat them on their own territory. The fatigues and hardships of last year are well known, and have greatly thinned our ranks since we scaled the Alma heights together; but happy am I to see so many faces around me, who, on that day, by their courage, steadiness, and discipline, so materially assisted in routing the Russian hordes from their vaunted impregnable position. To that day Scotchmen can look with pride, (and Scotchmen are everywhere). For your deeds upon that day you received the marked encomiums of Lord Raglan, the thanks of the Queen, and admiration of all. Scotchmen are proud of you! I, too, am a Scotchman, and proud of the honour of commanding so distinguished a Brigade; and still prouder, that through all the trying severities of the winter, its incessant labours, and decimating disease, you have still maintained the same unflinching courage and energy with which your discipline, obedience, and steadiness, in whatever circumstances you have been placed, make you so unrivalled (and none more so than the oldest regiment of the brigade), and your commander confident of success, however numerous and determined your foe. The young soldiers who have not this day been presented with a medal, nor shared in the glories of the Alma, may soon win equal honours, for many an Alma will yet be fought, when I hope they will prove themselves worthy comrades of those who have struck home for Scotland, and for honours for their breast.

"Many have shared the greatest portion of the hardships of this campaign, and were ready upon the 8th (September) to do their duty, and eager for the morning of the 9th, when if we had been required I am positive would have gained renown.

[6] *Letters from Headquarters.*

"The honour of these last days all are equally entitled to, and I hope soon again to be presenting the young soldiers with their medals.

"I cannot conclude without bringing to your minds, that the eyes of your countrymen are upon you. I know you think of it, and will endeavour by every effort to maintain your famed and admirable discipline; also that your conduct in private equals your prowess in the field; and when the day arrives that your services are no longer required in the field, welcome arms will be ready to meet you with pride, and give you the blessings your deeds have so materially aided to bring to your country. And in after years, when recalling the scenes of the Crimea by your ingle side, your greatest pride will be that you too were there, and proved yourself a worthy son of sires who, in by-gone days, on many a field added lustre to their country's fame."

The brave Sir Colin seems to have been particularly fond of the old Black Watch, "the senior regiment" of the Highland Brigade, as will be seen from the above address, as well as from the following, in which, after regretting he was not present at the distribution of medals and clasps on the 20th September, he proceeds :—

"Your steadiness and gallantry at the battle of Alma were most conspicuous and most gratifying to me, whilst your intrepidity, when before the enemy, has been equalled by the discipline which you have invariably preserved.

"Remember never to lose sight of the circumstance, that you are natives of Scotland; that your country admires you for your bravery; that it still expects much from you; and, as Scotchmen, strive to maintain the name and fame of our countrymen, who are everywhere, and who have nobly fought and bled in all quarters of the globe. In short, let every one consider himself an hero of Scotland. It is my pride, and shall also be my boast amongst the few friends which Providence has left me, and those which I have acquired, that this decoration of the order of the Bath, which I now wear, has been conferred upon me on account of the distinguished gallantry you have displayed. Long may you wear your medals, for you well deserve them! And now for a word to the younger officers and soldiers. It is not only by bravery in action that you can anticipate success; much depends upon steadiness and discipline. Remember this, for it is owing to the high state of discipline heretofore maintained in the Highland Brigade, *and in the senior regiment thereof in particular*, that such results have been obtained as to warrant the highest degree of confidence in you, in whatever position the fortune of war may place you.

"Endeavour, therefore, to maintain steadiness and discipline, by which you will be able to emulate the deeds of your older comrades in arms, for we may yet have many Almas to fight, where you will have the opportunity of acquiring such distinction as now adorn your comrades."

From the 19th of October, the Highland Brigade was commanded by Colonel Cameron of the 42d, Sir Colin having been appointed to command the forces in and about Balaclava. In January 1855, the establishment was increased to 16 companies, and on the 3d of May, the regiment was embarked to take part in the Kertch expedition, but was recalled on the 6th. It again embarked on the 2d May, and landed at Kertch on the 24th, whence it marched to Yenikale. Two of the 42d men, while the regiment was at the last-mentioned place, were shot in rather an extraordinary manner. They were standing in a crowd which had assembled round a house for the purpose of "looting" it, when a Frenchman, having struck at the door with the butt of his musket, the piece went off, killing one 42d man on the spot and wounding the other. These, so far as we can ascertain, were the only casualties suffered by the regiment in this expedition. The 42d returned to Balaclava on the 9th of June, and on the 16th of the same month, took up its position in front of Sebastopol. On June 18th it formed one of the regiments of reserve in the assault of the outworks of Sebastopol, and was engaged in siege operations until August 24th, when the regiment marched to Kamara, in consequence of the Russians having again appeared in force on the flank of the allied armies. On September 8th, it marched to Sebastopol, took part in the assault and capture, returned to Kamara the following day, and remained there until the peace, 30th March 1856.

On June 15th, the regiment embarked at Kamiesh for England, landed at Portsmouth on the 24th of July, proceeded by rail to Aldershot, and was reviewed by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, after which it proceeded by rail to Dover, in garrison with the 41st, 44th, 79th, and 93d regiments.

The positive losses of the regiment in the Crimea from actual contact with the enemy, were nothing compared with the sad ravages made upon it, along with the rest of the army, by disease and privation, and want of the actual necessaries of life. During the campaign only 1 officer and 38 men were killed in action, while there died of wounds and disease, 1 officer and 226 men, 140 men having had to be sent to England on account of wounds and ill-health.

VII.

1856—1869.

The 42d proceeds to India—Cawnpore—Seria-Ghat—Marches and Skirmishes—Lucknow—42d Storms La Martiniere—The Begum Kootee—Fort Ruhya—Bareilly—Rohilkund—Maylah Ghaut—Khyrugher Jungles—Presentation of Colours—Title of "Black Watch" restored—Cholera—Embarks for England—Reception at Edinburgh—Leave Edinburgh for Aldershot.

On December 1856, the establishment was reduced to 12 companies. On July 31st 1857, the regiment proceeded to Portsmouth, and on the 4th of August following it was reviewed by Her Majesty the Queen, who expressed herself highly satisfied with the fine appearance of the regiment. Between this date and the 14th the corps embarked in six different ships for the east, to assist in putting down the Indian Mutiny, and arrived at Calcutta in the October and November following.

The headquarters, with five companies of the 42d Royal Highlanders, had orders to march for Cawnpore on the night of the 28th November; but the news of the state of affairs at Cawnpore having reached Allahabad, the column was recalled, and ordered to form an intrenched camp at Cheemee. Next morning the work was begun, and progressed favourably until the 1st of December. Meanwhile the party was reinforced by a wing of Her Majesty's 38th Regiment, a wing of the 3d battalion Rifle Brigade, a party of Sappers and Artillery, making in all a force of 1050 men, with two 8-inch howitzers and four field-pieces.

At 5 A.M. on the 2d December, a messenger arrived in camp with a despatch from the Commander-in-chief, ordering the column to make forced marches to Cawnpore. It marched accordingly at 8 P.M. on the same day, and reached Cawnpore about noon on the 5th, having marched a distance of 78 miles in three days, though the men were fairly exhausted through fatigue and want of sleep.

The position which the rebels held at Cawnpore was one of great strength. Their left was posted amongst the wooded high grounds, intersected with nullahs, and thickly sprinkled with ruined bungalows and public buildings, which lie between the town and the Ganges. Their centre occupied the town itself, which was of great extent, and traversed only by narrow winding streets, singularly susceptible of defence. The position facing the intrenchment was uncovered; but from the British camp it was separated by the Ganges canal, which, descending through the centre of the Doab, falls into that river below Cawnpore. Their right stretched out behind this canal into the plain, and they held a bridge over it, and some lime-kilns and mounds of brick in front of it.

The camp of the Gwalior contingent of 10,000 was situated in this plain, about two miles in rear of the right, at the point where the Calpee road comes in. The united force, amounting now, with reinforcements which had arrived, to about 25,000 men, with 40 guns, consisted of two distinct bodies, having two distinct lines of operation and retreat;—that of the Nana Sahib (and under the command of his brothers), whose line of retreat was in rear of the left on Bithoor; and that of the Gwalior contingent, whose retreat lay from the right upon Calpee.

General Windham, commanding in the fort, opened a heavy fire from every available gun and mortar from the intrenchment upon the hostile left and their centre in the town, so as to draw their attention entirely to that side and lead them to accumulate their troops there. Brigadier Greathed, with his brigade of 8th, 64th, and 2d Punjaub infantry, held the line of intrenchment, and engaged the enemy by a brisk attack. To the left, Brigadier Walpole,

with the 2d and 3d battalion Rifle brigade and a wing of 38th foot, crossed the canal just above the town, and advancing, skirted its walls, marking as he reached them every gate leading into the country, and throwing back the head of every column which tried to debouch thence to the aid of the right; whilst to the left, Brigadier Hope, with his Sikhs, and Highlanders, the 42d and 93d, and the 53d foot, and Brigadier Inglis, with the 23d, 32d, and 82d, moved into the plain, in front of the brick-mound, covering the enemy's bridge on the road to Calpee. Meanwhile the whole cavalry and horse artillery made a wide sweep to the left, and crossed the canal by a bridge two miles farther up, in order to turn the flank of the rebels.

The battle commenced on the morning of the 6th with the roar of Windham's guns from the intrenchment. After a few hours this tremendous cannonade slackened, and the rattle of Greathed's musketry was heard closing rapidly on the side of the canal. Walpole's riflemen pushed on in haste; and Hope and Inglis's brigades, in parallel lines, advanced directly against the high brick mound, behind which the enemy were formed in great masses, and their guns, worked with great precision, sent a shower of shot and shell upon the plain. The field batteries on the British side opened briskly, whilst the cavalry were seen moving on the left. The 42d skirmishers now rushed on and closed upon the mound, from which the enemy fell back to the bridge. Lieutenant-Colonel Thorold, commanding, riding in front of the centre of the regiment, here had his horse shot under him by a round shot, which swept through the line and killed private Mark Grant. The gallant old Colonel sprung to his feet, and with his drawn sword in hand, marched in front of the regiment during the remainder of the action, and the pursuit of the flying enemy.

After a moment's pause, the infantry again pushed on, and rushed upon the bridge. The fire was heavy in the extreme, when the sound of heavy guns was heard, and Peel's noble sailors, dragging with them their heavy 24-pounders, came up to the bridge, and brought them into action. The enthusiasm of the men was now indescribable; they rushed on, either crossing the bridge or fording the canal, came upon the enemy's camp, and took some guns at the point of the bayonet. A Bengal field-battery galloped up and opened fire at easy range, sending volleys of grape through the tents. The enemy, completely surprised at the onslaught, fled in great haste, leaving everything in their camp as it stood;—the rout was complete. The cavalry and horse artillery coming down on the flank of the flying enemy, cut up great numbers of them, and pursued along the Calpee road, followed by the 42d, 53d, and Sikhs, for 14 miles. The slaughter was great, till at last, the rebels despairing of effecting their retreat by the road, threw away their arms and accoutrements, dispersed over the country into the jungle, and hid themselves from the sabres and lances of the horsemen. Night coming on, the wearied forces returned to Cawnpore, carrying with them 17 captured guns. The strength and courage of the young men of the Royal Highlanders was remarkable. Many of them were mere lads, and had never seen a shot fired before, yet during the whole of this day's action and long march, not a single man fell out, or complained of his hardships.

As soon as the Gwalior contingent was routed on the right, a severe contest took place with the Nana Sahib's men in the town, at a place called the Sonbadar's Tank, but before nightfall all Cawnpore was in our possession.

The Nana's men fled in great confusion along the road to Bithoor, whither they were pursued on the 8th by Brigadier-General Hope Grant, at the head of the cavalry, light artillery, and Hope's brigade of infantry (42d and 93d Highlanders, 53d, and 4th Punjaub rifles). Bithoor was evacuated, but the force pushed on, marching all night, and came upon the enemy at the ferry of Seria-Ghat on the Ganges, 25 miles from Cawnpore, at daylight on the 9th. The rebels had reached the ferry, but had not time to cross. They received the British force with a heavy cannonade, and tried to capture the guns with a charge of cavalry, but the horsemen of the British drove them away. Their infantry got amongst the enclosures and trees; but the whole of the guns, amounting to 15 pieces, were captured, together with a large quantity of provisions, camp equipage, and ammunition.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thorold, commanding

the regiment, and Captain J. C. M'Leod, commanding the rear guard, are honourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Hope Grant, in his despatch dated 11th December 1857.

The grenadier company, when destroying some baggage-carts, &c., found a very large gong, which was kept as a trophy by the regiment. The troops encamped near the Ghat on the 9th and 10th, and on the 11th marched back to Bithoor, where they were employed till the 28th December, destroying the palace of the Nana Sahib, and searching for treasure,—a great quantity of which was found in a tank,—with a considerable amount of labour, the flow of water being so great that 200 men were employed night and day baling it out, so as to keep it sufficiently low to enable the sappers to work.

The remainder of the regiment—Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7 companies—under the command of Major Wilkinson, joined at Bithoor on the 22d December 1857. Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron and Major Priestley, who had been left at Calcutta, joined head-quarters on the 12th December.

The Commander-in-chief with the forces at Cawnpore, marched towards Futteghur on the 25th December, and the column at Bithoor followed on the 28th, overtaking the head-quarter's column on the 29th at Merukie Serai. The regiment marched from the latter place, and at 1 o'clock, P.M. joined the head-quarters camp at Jooshia-Gunge—the whole force a few days after proceeding to Futteghur. After various skirmishes with the enemy during January 1858, about Futteghur, the force on the 1st February commenced a retrograde march on Cawnpore, which it reached on the 7th. On the 10th the 42d and 93d Highlanders crossed the Ganges into Oudh, as a guard on the immense siege-train which had been collected in Cawnpore for service at Lucknow. On the 11th they marched to Onao, where, with other troops the regiment remained, acting as convoy escort to the immense train of provisions and military materials being sent forward towards Lucknow.

On the 21st the regiment moved forward, and on the morning of the 26th, met their old companions in arms, the 79th Highlanders, at Camp Purneah. A cordial greeting took place between old comrades, after which the regiments proceeded together to Bunteerah the same morning. Here the whole of the Commander-in-chief's force assembled. The siege train, &c., was gradually brought forward, and all necessary preparations made for the attack on Lucknow.

The force marched from Bunteerah on the 1st March, and passing through Alum Bagh (the post held by Major-General Sir George Outram) and by the old fort of Jellalahabad on the left, soon met the enemy's outposts, which, after a few rounds from their field-guns, retired to the city. The palace of Dalkoosha was seized without opposition, and being close to the river Goomptee, formed the right of the British position. The intervening space between this and the Alum Bagh on the left was held by strong bodies of troops posted under cover, for the hour of action had not yet arrived.

Lucknow had been fortified by every means that native art could devise to make a strong defence. The canal was scarped, and an immense parapet of earth raised on the inner side, which was loop-holed in all directions. Every street was barricaded, and every house loop-holed. The Kazerbagh was so strengthened as to form a kind of citadel, and the place was alive with its 50,000 mutinous sepoys, besides a population in arms of one kind or other of double that number.

Brigadier Franks, who had marched from Benares with a column, by way of Sultanpore, having been joined by the Nepaulese contingent under General Jung Bahadoor, reached Lucknow on the 5th March; and on the 6th a division, under command of Sir James Outram, crossed the Goomptee, opposite the Dalkoosha park, and moved round towards the old Presidency, driving in the enemy's posts. Sir James Outram, from his position on the opposite bank of the river, was enabled to enfilade, and take in reverse a great portion of the great canal embankment, and effectually to shell the enemy within his works.

The enemy's most advanced position was La Martiniere, a large public building surrounded on three sides by high walls and ruined houses, and its front covered by the river.

The plan of attack having been arranged,

the 42d Highlanders were ordered to storm the Martiniere, which they did in gallant style on the 9th. Four companies, under Major E. R. Priestley, advanced in extended order, the remaining five advanced in line under Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron. The Highlanders went steadily on until within two hundred yards of the place, when, giving three cheers, they rushed on in double time, the pipers playing "The Campbells are coming." The enemy became so alarmed, that they bolted from their trenches without waiting to fire more than their first round. Thus, the first position in Lucknow was gained without the loss of a single man.

Till the flying enemy, having been joined by reinforcements at their second line of intrenchment, summoned fresh courage, and showed battle to the four skirmishing companies who had followed up; a very smart affair ensued, in which the regiment suffered several calamities. The enemy from behind their works were enabled to do this without themselves being seen.

The five companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron were ordered to take position in an old village to the right of La Martiniere about 300 yards, in passing to which they were exposed to a heavy fire upon the great parapet of the canal; but on reaching the village it was observed that the parapet near the river was undefended, having at that end been enfiladed by General Outram's guns. The 42d, with the 4th Punjaub rifles, under Major Wyld, making steps in the face of the parapet with bayonets, &c., scrambled up, and taking ground to the left, cleared the line of work as far nearly as Bank's bungalow. Reinforcements were brought up, and the position was held for the night. Early next morning, the several companies of the regiment were collected together, and the order was given to occupy Bank's bungalow and the houses and gardens adjacent. These points were also carried with little opposition, the enemy nowhere attempting to stand, but keeping up a constant fire of all kind of missiles from the tops of houses, loop-holes, and other points.

The regiment was now close under the Begum Kootee, an extensive mass of solid buildings, comprising several courts, a mosque, bazaar, &c. This place was strongly fortified, and became an important post. Two 68-pound naval guns were at once brought up and commenced breaching; within Bank's bungalow were placed 16 mortars and cohorns, from which shells were pitched at the Kootee that day, and all night, until the following day about 2 o'clock (March 11th), when the 93d Highlanders stormed the breach, and carried the place in gallant style. Upwards of 500 corpses told the slaughter which took place within those princely courts. During the attack, the 42d grenadier and light companies were ordered to protect the left flank of the 93d, in doing which several casualties took place, caused by the fire of the enemy from a loop-holed gateway near which the light company had to pass. After occupying Bank's bungalow, two companies of the 42d were sent under Major Priestley to clear and occupy some ruined houses on the left front. This party, having advanced rather farther than this point, got hotly engaged with the enemy, but held their original ground.

A large section of the city being now in possession of the British, operations were commenced against the Kaizer Bagh, from the direction of the Begum Kootee, as well as from Sir James Outram's side. He took the Mess-house by storm, and other outworks in that direction, and on the morning of the 14th got into this great palace. The place was now almost wholly in possession of the British forces; at no one point did the enemy attempt to make a stand, but fled in every direction.

By the 20th the rebels had been everywhere put down, and peace partially restored. On the 22d the 42d Royal Highlanders were moved to the Observatory Mess-house and old Presidency, where they remained doing duty until the 2d April. During this time the men suffered greatly from fever, brought on by hardship and exposure to the sun. They had now been a whole month constantly on duty, their uniform and accoutrements never off their backs; and the effluvium arising from the many putrid half-buried carcases in the city, especially about the Presidency, rendered the air very impure. Notwithstanding the hard work performed by the regiment at Lucknow, only 5 rank and file were killed, and Lieu-

tenant F. E. H. Farquharson and 41 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. Lieutenant Farquharson was awarded the Victoria Cross "for a distinguished act of bravery at Lucknow, 9th March 1858."

On the evening of the 2d April, the regiment marched to camp at the Dalkoosha, having been ordered to form part of the Rohilcund field force under Brigadier Walpole. On the morning of the 8th the regiment marched from camp, accompanied by the 79th and 93d Highlanders, to the Moosha Bagh, a short distance beyond which the brigade encamped; and having been joined by the remainder of the force and the new Brigadier, commenced a march through Oudh, keeping the line of the Ganges. Nothing of note occurred until the 15th. On reaching Rhoadamow, Nurpert Sing, a celebrated rebel chief, shut up in Fort Ruhya, refused to give his submission. The fort was situated in a dense jungle, which almost completely hid it from view. Four companies of the 42d, with the 4th Punjaub rifles, were sent forward in extended order, to cover the guns and reconnoitre, and were brought so much under the enemy's fire from the parapet and the tops of trees, that a great many casualties occurred in a very short time. Brigadier Adrian Hope and Lieutenants Douglas and Bramley here received their death wounds. After remaining in this exposed condition for six hours, and after losing so many men, the Brigadier withdrew his force about sunset, and encamped about two miles off. During the night, the rebel chief retired quietly with all his men and material. Besides the two officers above mentioned, 1 sergeant and 6 privates were killed, and 3 sergeants and 34 privates wounded. Quarter-Master Sergeant John Simpson, Lance-Corporal Alexander Thompson, and Private James Davis were awarded the Victoria Cross.

Nothing of importance occurred till the force reached Bareilly, when they came up with the enemy's outposts at daybreak on the 5th May. After a short cannonade for about half-an-hour, the enemy fell back from the bridge and nullah, and occupied the topes (clumps of trees) and ruined houses in the cantonments. In this position it was necessary to shell every tope and house before advancing, which caused considerable delay: all the time the sun was shining on the troops with full force. About 10 A.M. the enemy made a bold attempt to turn the British left flank, and the 42d were ordered forward in support of the 4th Punjaub rifles, who had been sent to occupy the old cavalry lines, but were there surprised by the enemy in great numbers. Just as the 42d reached the old lines, they were met by the Punjabees in full flight, followed by a lot of Gazees carrying tulwars and shields. These rushed furiously on, and the men for a moment were undecided whether they should fire on them or not, their friends the Punjabees being mixed up with them when, as if by magic, the Commander-in-chief appeared behind the line, and his familiar voice, loud and clear, was heard calling out, "Fire away, men; shoot them down, every man jack of them!" Then the line opened fire upon them; but in the meantime, some of these Gazees had even reached the line, and cut at the men, wounding several. Four of them seized Colonel Cameron in rear of the line, and would have dragged him off his horse, when Colour-Sergeant Gardner stepped from the ranks and bayoneted them, the Colonel escaping with only a slight wound on his wrist. For this act of bravery Gardner was awarded the Victoria Cross. In this affair 1 private was killed, and 2 officers, 1 sergeant, and 12 privates wounded. No. 5 company 42d took possession of the fort which was abandoned, and a line of piquets of the 42d and 79th Highlanders was posted from the fort to the extreme right of the Commander-in-chief's camp. Next day the place was cleared of rebels.

The regiment was told off as a part of the Bareilly brigade, and on the 5th June detached a wing to Mooradabad under command of Lieutenant Colonel Wilkinson. This wing marched to Bedaon with a squadron of carbineers, and joined Brigadier Coke's force, but received orders to leave the carbineers with Brigadier Coke, and proceed to Mooradabad. On this march the men suffered from exhaustion and the heat. Indeed, the men who were still under canvas now began to suffer very much from sun-stroke, fevers, diarrhœa, &c. Every exertion was made to get them into temporary barracks, but this was not effected until the middle of July, just in time to escape the rains.

Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Cameron died of fever on the 9th August, and Lieutenant Colonel F. G. Wilkinson succeeded to the command of the regiment.

The headquarters and left wing were ordered to Peeleebheet on the 14th October, where it remained encamped till the 24th November, when, in order the better to guard against the rebels crossing from Oudh into Rohilkund, Colonel Smyth, Bengal Artillery, in command of a small column, was ordered to take up a position on the banks of the Sarda, to watch the Ghauts. No. 6, Captain Lawson's company, joined Colonel Smyth's column. At the same time, Major M'Leod was ordered, with the troops under his command, viz., 4 companies 42d Royal Highlanders, 2 squadrons Punjaub cavalry, 1 company Kumaon levies, and 2 guns, to proceed to Madho-Tanda, being a central position whence support might be sent in any direction required. This force subsequently moved close to the Sarda, in consequence of the numerous reports of the approach of the enemy, but all remained quiet until the morning of the 15th January 1859. The enemy having been pursued in the Khyreegurh district by a force under command of Colonel Dennis, attempted to force his way into Rohilkund, with the view, as was supposed, of getting into Rampore. Early on the morning of the 15th the enemy, about 2000 strong, effected the passage of the Sarda, at Maylah Ghaut, about three miles above Colonel Smyth's camp, at daylight. The alarm having been given, the whole of the troops in camp moved out with all speed, and attacked the rebels in the dense jungle, close to the river. Ensign Coleridge, 42d, was detached in command of a piquet of 40 men of Captain Lawson's company, and 40 men Kumaon levies, and was so placed as to be cut off from the remainder of the force. The jungle was so dense, that the cavalry could not act; the Kumaon levies were all raw recruits, who were with difficulty kept to their posts, so the fighting fell almost wholly to the lot of the 37 men under command of Captain Lawson. The enemy, desperate, and emboldened by the appearance of so small a force before them, made repeated attempts to break through the thin line of skirmishers, but the latter nobly held their ground. Captain Lawson received a gun-shot wound in his left knee, early in the day; Colour Sergeant Landles was shot and cut to pieces, two corporals—Ritchie and Thompson—were also killed, and several other casualties had greatly weakened them. The company now without either officers or non-commissioned officers, yet bravely held on their ground, and, cheered on by the old soldiers, kept the enemy at bay from sunrise to sunset. Privates Walter Cook and Duncan Miller, for their conspicuous bravery during this affair were awarded the Victoria Cross.

Major M'Leod's force was then at a place called Sunguree on the Sarda, 22 miles from Colonel Smyth's force. About 8 A.M. when the numbers and nature of the enemy's attack were discovered, a Sowar was despatched to Major M'Leod (in temporary command) for a reinforcement of two companies, and ordering the remainder of the force to proceed with all speed to Madho-Tanda to await the result of the battle. No. 7 and 8 companies were dispatched from Sunguree about noon, but did not reach the scene of action till after 5 P.M. Their arrival turned the tide of battle altogether. Such of the enemy as could recrossed the river in the dark, and next morning nothing remained on the field, but the dead and dying, 2 small guns, and some cattle belonging to the rebels. Lord Clyde complimented the regiment very highly on this occasion, and in particular, spoke of Captain Lawson's company as a pattern of valour and discipline.

General Walpole having received intelligence about the 22d that a body of rebels were hovering about, under Goolah Sing, in the Khyrugher jungles, two companies of the 42d Royal Highlanders at Colonel Smyth's camp, a squadron of the Punjaub cavalry, a squadron of Crossman's Horse, and three companies of Ghoorkhas, under command of Colonel Wilkinson, were ordered to cross the river at the spot where the rebels came over, and march to Gulori, 40 miles in the interior, under the Nepaul hills. Gulori was reached in 4 days, but Goolah Sing had secured himself in a fort under Nepauleese protection. Colonel Dennis, with a force from Sultanpore had orders to march on a village 20 miles from Gulori, and also sweep the jungles and communicate with Colonel Wilkinson. As he never arrived, and the

jungles being free from rebels, the force recrossed the river and returned to camp.

The left wing of the 42d remained on the Sarda until the 14th of March, when it returned to Bareilly, and joined the right wing, which had returned from Mooradabad on the 18th February, having been relieved by a wing of the 82d regiment; but information having been received that the rebels were again appearing in force in the Khyreegurh districts, the right wing, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Priestley, was sent to the Sarda to join Colonel Smyth on the 13th March, where it remained until the 15th May 1859, when it returned to Bareilly, the weather being by this time very hot and the district perfectly quiet. About this time, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkinson went on leave to England, and was appointed to a depot battalion, and on the 27th September Lieutenant-Colonel Priestley succeeded to the command of the regiment.

The regiment occupied the temporary barracks at the old Kutchery, Berkley's House, and the Jail, during the hot and rainy seasons. The men were remarkably healthy, and very few casualties occurred.

His Excellency, Sir Hugh Rose, Commander-in-chief in India having been invited on the 18th September, by Lieutenant-Colonel Priestley in the name of the officers and soldiers of the 42d Royal Highlanders, to present new colours to the regiment, arrived in Bareilly for that purpose on the 1st of January 1861. After the old colours had been lodged, and the new been presented by His Excellency, and trooped with the usual ceremonies, Sir Hugh Rose addressed the regiment in the following speech:—

"42d *Royal Highlanders*,

"I do not ask you to defend the colours I have presented to you this day. It would be superfluous: you have defended them for nearly 150 years with the best blood of Scotland.

"I do not ask you to carry these colours to the front should you again be called into the field; you have borne them round the world with success. But I do ask the officers and soldiers of this gallant and devoted regiment not to forget, because they are of ancient date, but to treasure in their memories the recollection of the brilliant deeds of arms of their forefathers and kinsmen, the scenes of which are inscribed on these colours. There is not a name on them which is not a study; there is not a name on them which is not connected with the most important events of the world's history, or with the pages of the military annals of England.

"The soldiers of the 42d cannot have a better or more instructive history than their regimental records. They tell how, 100 years ago, the 42d won the honoured name of 'Royal' at Ticonderoga in America, losing, although one battalion, 647 killed and wounded. How the 42d gained the 'Red Heckle' in Flanders. How Abercromby and Moore in Egypt and in Spain, dying in the arms of victory, thanked, with parting breath, the 42d. Well might the heroes do so! The fields of honour on which they were expiring were strewed with the dead and wounded soldiers of the 42d.

"The 42d enjoy the greatest distinction to which British regiments can aspire. They have been led and commanded by the great Master in War, the Duke of Wellington. Look at your colours: their badges will tell you how often—and this distinction is the more to be valued, because his Grace, so soldierlike and just was he, never would sanction a regiment's wearing a badge, if the battle in which they had been engaged, no matter how bravely they may have fought in it, was not only an important one, but a victory.

"In the Crimea, in the late campaign in this country, the 42d again did excellent service under my very gallant and distinguished predecessor, Lord Clyde. The last entry in the regimental records shews that the spirit of the 'Black Watch' of 1729 was the same in 1859, when No. 6 company of the 42d, aided only by a company of the Kumaon levy, four guns, and a squadron of irregular cavalry, under Sir Robert Walpole, beat back, after several hours obstinate fighting, and with severe loss, 2000 rebels of all arms, and gained the day. Lord Clyde bestowed the highest praise on the company that a general can do,—His Lordship thanked them for their valour and their discipline.

"I am sincerely obliged to Lieutenant-Colonel Priestley for having, on the part of the

42d Royal Highlanders, requested me to present them with their new colours. It is an honour and a favour which I highly prize, the more so, because I am of Highland origin, and have worn for many years the tartan of another regiment which does undying honour to Scotland—the 92d Highlanders.

"I have chosen this day—New Year's day—for the presentation of colours, because on New Year's day in 1785 the colours were given to the 42d under which they won their red plume. Besides, New Year's day, all over the world, particularly in Scotland, is a happy day. Heaven grant that it may be a fortunate one for this regiment!"

On the 3d, after inspecting the regiment, His Excellency desired Lieutenant-Colonel Priestley to thank them for the admirable condition in which he found them, and for their regularity and good conduct. His Excellency further called several officers and soldiers to the front of the battalion and thanked them for their gallant conduct on various occasions, and No. 6 company for the valour and discipline evinced by them on the occasion alluded to in His Excellency's speech.

On the 8th of March three companies were detached to Futteghur. On 23d March headquarters moved from Bareilly to Agra, where they arrived on the 8th of April, and were garrisoned along with the 107th regiment. On 27th July the regiment moved into camp, on account of cholera having broken out, and returned to barracks on 12th August, having lost from cholera 1 officer and 40 non-commissioned officers and men. After returning to barracks, the regiment was prostrated by fever and ague, so many as 450 men having been at one time unfit for duty out of seven companies.

On 12th September the regiment was delighted by having its old name reconferred upon it, as a distinguished mark of honour. A notification was received that on 8th July 1861 Her Majesty had been pleased graciously to authorise The Royal Highland Regiment to be distinguished, in addition to that title, by the name by which it was first known—"The Black Watch."

In March 1862, Lieutenant-General, the Marquis of Tweeddale, was appointed Colonel in place of the deceased Sir James Douglas. The Marquis, however, in September of the following year, removed to the 2d Lifeguards, and was succeeded by the regiment's former commander, who led them up the slopes of Alma—Major-General Sir Duncan Cameron.

On 6th December 1863, the Black Watch marched by forced marches from Lahore to Rawal Pundee, on account of active operations having been commenced against some of the hill tribes. It arrived at the latter place on December 19. Affairs on the frontier having, however, assumed a favourable aspect, the regiment returned to Dugshai, which it reached on the 13th February 1864, but returned to Rawal Pundee, where on 14th December it was put into garrison with the 79th. It left the latter place in October 1865, and proceeded to Peshawur, where it was in garrison with the first battalion of the 19th regiment, and subsequently with the 77th. In 1867, while at Peshawur, cholera broke out in the cantonments, and on the 21st of May five companies, under Major Macpherson, were removed to camp; these were followed on the 25th by headquarters and the other five companies. From the 20th to the 31st May, 66 men, 1 woman, and 4 children died of cholera. On the 1st of June the regiment commenced its march to Cheroat, a mountain of the Kultoch range, where headquarters was established on the 15th. The health of the regiment was not, however, immediately restored, and the number of deaths at Cheroat were 1 officer, 15 non-commissioned officers and men, 2 women, and 1 child. The total deaths in the regiment, from 20th May to 17th October, including casualties at depot, were 2 officers, 86 non-commissioned officers and men, 5 women, and 9 children;—altogether 102, or nearly one-sixth of the whole regiment.

On 17th October was commenced the march towards Kurrachee, preparatory to embarkation for England. On January 17, 1868, the regiment embarked at Kurrachee for Bombay, and on the 21st was trans-shipped to the Indian troopship "Euphrates," which landed it at Suez on 15th February. On the 18th it embarked at Alexandria on board the "Serapis," which reached Portsmouth on the 4th of March, when the regiment immediately left by

sea for Scotland and landed at Burntisland on the 7th, headquarters and 1 company proceeding to Stirling Castle, 5 companies to Perth, and 4 to Dundee. Colonel Priestley came home with the regiment from India, and carried on his duties till the 24th of March, the day before his death. He was succeeded by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, who joined the regiment in 1846. On 12th October headquarters moved by rail from Stirling to Edinburgh Castle, and the detachments from Perth and Dundee followed soon after. The reception accorded to Scotland's favourite and oldest regiment, on its arrival in Edinburgh, was as overwhelmingly enthusiastic as in the days of old, when the military spirit was in its glory. The reader will have an idea of the enthusiasm with which this regiment is still regarded, and will be so so long as its ranks are mainly recruited from Scotland, by the following account of its reception, for which we are indebted to the *Scotsman* newspaper of the day following the regiment's arrival:—"The train arrived at the station about 10 minutes past 1 P.M., but long before that hour large and anxious crowds had collected on the Waverley Bridge, in Princes Street Garden, on the Mound, the Calton Hill, the Castle, and every other point from which a view of the passing regiment could be obtained. The crowd collected on the Waverley Bridge above must have numbered several thousands. The scene altogether was very imposing and animated. Such a turn-out of spectators has not been witnessed on the occasion of the arrival of any regiment here since the 78th Highlanders came from India, nearly ten years ago. Immediately after the train entered the station, the bugle sounded, and the men were arranged in companies, under the command of their respective captains. The regiment was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. M'Leod, assisted by Major Cluny M'Pherson, Major F. C. Scott, and Adjutant J. E. Christie, and was drawn up in 8 companies. On emerging from the station the band struck up 'Scotland yet,' and the appearance of the regiment was hailed with hearty cheers from the spectators. The crowd in Canal Street was so great that it was with some difficulty the soldiers managed to keep their ranks. Their line of march lay along Princes Street, and every window and housetop from which a view of the gallant 42d could be obtained was crowded with spectators. The regiment proceeded by the Mound, Bank Street, and Lawnmarket, and was loudly cheered at every turn. On the Castle esplanade the crowd was, if possible, more dense than anywhere else. A large number of people had taken up their position on the top of the Reservoir, while every staircase from which a view could be obtained was thronged with anxious spectators. Large numbers had also gained admission to the Castle, and all the parapets and embrasures commanding a view of the route were crowded with people.

"On the regiment arriving at this point, loud cheers were raised by the immense crowd assembled on the esplanade, which were immediately taken up by those in the Castle, and enthusiastically continued. On arriving at the Castle gate, the band ceased playing, and the pipes struck up a merry tune. Even after the regiment had passed into the Castle, large numbers of people, including many relatives of the soldiers, continued to linger about the esplanade. It is now thirty-two years since the regiment was in Edinburgh, and certainly the reception which they received yesterday was a very enthusiastic one. Four companies came from Perth, and joined the headquarters at Stirling, and the whole regiment proceeded from thence to Edinburgh."

We cannot refrain here from quoting some verses of a short poem on the Black Watch, which appeared about this time, so happy and spirited that it deserves a more permanent resting-place than a newspaper.

THE BLACK WATCH.

A Historic Ode, by Dugald Dhu.

Written for Waterloo Day, 1868.

Hail, gallant regiment! Freiceadan Dubh!
Whenever Albion needs thine aid,
"Aye ready" for whatever foe,
Shall dare to meet "the black brigade!"
Witness disastrous Fontenoy,
When all seemed lost, who brought us through?
Who saved defeat? secured retreat?
And bore the brunt?—the "Forty-Two!"

So, at Corunna's grand retreat,
When, far outnumbered by the foe,
The patriot Moore made glorious halt,
Like setting sun in fiery glow.

Before us foam'd the rolling sea,
Behind, the carrion eagles flew;
But Scotland's "Watch" proved Gallia's match,
And won the game by "Forty-Two!"

The last time France stood British fire
"The Watch" gained glory at its cost;
At Quatre Bras and Hugomont,
Three dreadful days they kept their post.
Ten hundred there, who form'd in square,
Before the close a handful grew;
The little phalanx never flinched,
Till "Boney" ran from Waterloo!

The "Forty-Second" never dies--
It hath a regimental soul;
Fond Scotia, weeping, filled the blanks
Which Quatre Bras left in its roll.
At Alma, at Sevastopol,
At Lucknow, waved its bonnets blue!
Its dark green tartan, who but knows?
What heart but warms to "Forty-Two?'

But while we glory in the corps,
We'll mind their martial brethren too;
The Ninety-Second, Seventy-Ninth,
And Seventy-First—all Waterloo!
The Seventy-Second, Seventy-Fourth—
The Ninety-Third—all tried and true!
The Seventy-Eight, real, "men of Ross;"
Come, count their honours, "Forty-Two!'

Eight noble regiments of the Queen,
God grant they long support her crown!
"Shoulder to shoulder," Highlandmen!
United rivals in renown!
We'll wreath the rose with heath that blows
Where barley-rigs yield mountain dew;
And pledge the Celt, in trews or kilt,
Whence Scotland drafts her "Forty-Two!"

It is worthy of remark, that from the time that the regiment embarked at Leith for England in May 1803, until October 1868, a period of upwards of 65 years, it was quartered in Edinburgh only 15 months—6 months in 1816, and 9 months in 1836–7. At its last visit it remained only about a year, taking its departure on November 9, 1869, when it embarked at Granton in the troop-ship "Orontes," for Portsmouth, *en route* for the camp at Aldershot, where it arrived on the 12th. The enthusiasm of the inhabitants of Edinburgh appears to have been even far greater to the Black Watch on its departure than on its entry into the northern metropolis. During their residence in Edinburgh the Highlanders conducted themselves in such a manner as to win the favourable opinions of all classes of the community, and to keep up the ancient prestige and unbroken good name of the regiment. The following is the *Scotsman's* account of its departure:

"After a sojourn in Scotland of eighteen months, twelve of which have been passed in Edinburgh, the 42d Royal Highlanders departed yesterday from the city, taking with them the best wishes of the inhabitants. Since the arrival of the 78th Highlanders, immediately after the close of the Indian mutiny, such a degree of excitement as was displayed yesterday has not been witnessed in connection with any military event in the metropolis. It was generally known that 9 A.M. had been fixed for the evacuation of the Castle by the Highlanders, and long before that hour the Lawnmarket and the esplanade were crowded with an eager and excited multitude. At 9 o'clock the crowd increased fourfold, by the thousands of workpeople, who, set free at that time, determined to spend their breakfast-hour in witnessing the departure of the gallant 'Black Watch.' At half-past nine, the regiment, which had assembled in heavy marching order in the Castle Square, began to move off under the command of Colonel M'Leod, the band playing 'Scotland Yet,' and afterwards 'Bonnets o' Blue.' As the waving plumes were seen slowly wending down the serpentine path which leads to the esplanade, an enthusiastic and prolonged cheer burst from the spectators. As soon as the regiment had passed the drawbridge, a rush was made by the onlookers to get clear of the Esplanade. The narrow opening leading to the Lawnmarket was speedily blocked, and the manner in which the living mass swayed to and fro was most alarming—the din created by the crowd completely drowning the music of the band. The pressure of the crowd was so great that for a time the ranks of the regiment were broken, and a word of praise is due to the Highlanders for their forbearance under the jostling which they received from their perhaps too demonstratively affectionate friends. The line of route taken was Lawnmarket, Bank Street, the Mound, Hanover Street, Pitt Street, Brandon Street, to Inverleith Row, and thence by the highway to Granton. The whole way to the port of embarkation the regiment had literally to force its passage through the dense masses which blocked the streets, and every now and again a parting cheer was raised by the spectators. The crowd, as has already been mentioned, was the largest that has been seen in Edinburgh for many years, and has been roughly estimated as numbering from fifty to sixty thousand persons.

During the march to Inverleith toll, the band played 'Scotland for Ever,' the 'Red, White, and Blue,' 'Home, sweet Home,' and 'Loudon's bonnie Woods and Braes.' Shortly after pressing through the toll, and when within a mile of Granton, the Highlanders were met by the 90th Regiment of Foot (Perthshire Volunteers), who were *en route* to Edinburgh to succeed the 'Black Watch' as the garrison of the Castle. According to military custom, the junior regiment drew up alongside the roadway, and presented arms to the Highlanders, who fixed bayonets and brought their rifles to the shoulder as they marched past. At this interesting ceremony the band of the Highlanders played 'Blue Bonnets over the Border,' while that of the 90th struck up the 'Gathering of the Grahams.' Granton was reached about 11 o'clock, and as the Highlanders marched along the pier, 'Auld Langsyne' was appropriately played by the band. The slopes leading down to the harbour and the wharfs were thickly covered with spectators, who lustily cheered the Highlanders, and who showed the liveliest interest in the process of embarkation."

VIII.

1817—1873.

Account of Variations in Dress of the Black Watch—Regimental Pets—"Pincher"—"Donald the Deer"—"The Grenadiers' Cat"—Monument to Black Watch in Dunkeld Cathedral—Conclusion.

Before concluding our history of this, the oldest Highland regiment, we shall present a brief account of the variations which have from time to time taken place in the dress of the regiment, and wind up with short biographies of the regimental pets. For our information on both these matters, as well as for the greater part of the modern history of the regiment, we must again express our large indebtedness to the manuscript memorials of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley.

It is a curious study to note the many alterations that have taken place in the uniform of officers and men since 1817. In 1817 the officers had a short-skirted coatee, elaborately covered with rich gold lace, about nine bars on the breast over blue lappels, hooked in the centre. It was also thickly covered with lace on the collar, cuffs, and skirts. All ranks wore two heavy epaulets of rich bullion. The field officers only wore scarves, which were their distinguishing mark of rank. All the officers wore richly braided scarlet waistcoats, and frills plaited very small, the shirt collar well exposed above the black silk stock. Sky-blue cloth trousers, with a broad stripe of gold lace edged with scarlet was the usual parade uniform; and parade invariably took place morning and afternoon, every officer present, and in the above-mentioned uniform, and with feathered bonnet. The gold-laced trousers were abolished in 1823, and blue-gray substituted without lace, which was continued until 1829, when Sir Charles Gordon introduced the trews of regimental tartan, which were fringed round the bottom, and up the outer seams. The fringe system was continued for some years, when it was also done away with.

The undress in barracks was in general a light gray long frock coat; but leaving the barracks, the officers invariably appeared in the coatee and a tartan bonnet without feathers, with a short red heckle in front, confined by a gold ring about one-third up. This handy bonnet was also worn on the line of march with the coatee. It was replaced in 1824 by a tartan shako, with black silk cord ornaments and a heavy red ostrich plume, which again gave way to the regular forage cap in 1826, first introduced with a broad top, and stiff in appearance, with a small gold embroidered thistle in front. Before 1830, when the single-breasted blue frock-coat, without any shoulder ornaments, was introduced into the army, a richly braided blue frock-coat was worn; but it was optional. White Cashmere trousers, narrow at the ankles with a gold stripe edged with scarlet, silk socks, and long quartered shoes with buckles, was also permitted for the evening (about 1819–20).

Before the adoption of the tartan trousers, the officers' dress was a strange mixture of Highland and line. For instance, at the guard mounting parade in Dublin in 1819–20, could anything, in the way of dress, be more absurd in a Highland regiment than to see

the officers for the Castle guards in full Highland dress, and the five or six for other guards, the field officer, adjutant, quarter-master, and medical officer, in white Cashmere pantaloons, and short (under the knee) Hessian tassled boots, and that with a feathered bonnet? All officers for guard ought to have been in the full dress of the regiment, but it was put on by them with the greatest reluctance, and so seldom, that the officers could not dress themselves, and their remarks reached the barrack rooms, through their servants, which caused the dislike to the dress to descend to the men, and for years had the direct effect of causing the men to rail much against it. Since 1843, officers and men alike wear it on duty and on parade, which ought always to have been the case. In 1823–24 the officers all wore wings, rich and heavy, which were discontinued in 1830, by order, and epaulets, with bullion according to rank (for the first time) substituted; and it is a singular fact that the men were authorised to wear wings, by regulation, the same year; and still more singular, until the epaulets were abolished 25 years afterwards, the non-commissioned officers and men wore wings, and the officers epaulets. The laced lappels and braided waistcoats disappeared in 1830, when lace was generally done away with on the breast of the coat in the army. When the regiment returned from the Peninsula in 1814, from being so long in the field, the feathers had disappeared from the bonnet, and a little red feather on the front, the same as on a shako, had been adopted. When the bonnets were renewed, the rank and file were not allowed to have foxtails, under the impression that it caused an unsteady appearance in the ranks. Why not the officers and sergeants cause an unsteady appearance? Be that as it may, to the disgust of the men, and a source of amusement to all the other Highland regiments, was our "craw's wing," a wirework 8 inches above the cloth, covered with flats (almost free of anything like ostrich feathers) having a large unmeaning open gap at the right side, famous for catching the wind, which was ornamented with a large loose worsted tuft of white for the grenadiers, green for the light company, and red for the others. Yet this hideous thing was continued until the summer of 1821, when most willingly the men paid about thirty shillings each to have the addition of "foxtails;" yet these were a draw back, as the tails were not to hang lower than the top of the dice of the tartan. The grand point was, however, gained in getting rid of the frightful "craw's wing," and by degrees the tails descended to a proper length. At this time there were a variety of heckles worn in the bonnet, another piece of bad taste—white for the grenadiers, green for the light company, the band white, and the drummers yellow, with each of them two inches of red at the top, and the other eight companies (called battalion companies) red. On going to Dublin in 1825, from Buttevant, the colonel of the regiment, Sir George Murray, was the commander of the forces, and at the first garrison parade, noticing the extraordinary variety of heckles, asked an explanation as to the reason of any heckle being worn in the regiment other than the red, it being "a special mark of distinction," and desired that all other colours should disappear. The next day every officer and man was in possession of a red heckle.

The white jacket was first worn with the kilt in 1821, which was considered at first to be very odd. Up to 1819, it was sometimes served out without sleeves; and when sleeves became general, the soldiers were charged 1s. 3d. for them, "for the colonel's credit." Until 1821 it was used as a waistcoat, or for barrack-room wear. It is still in use in the Guards and Highland regiments, notwithstanding its being a most useless article to the soldier. Instead of being used, it has to be carefully put up ready for the next parade. Moreover, why were the Guards and Highlanders left to suffer under it, when the reason for doing away with it in 1830 was—"It having been represented to the general commanding-in-chief, that the frequent use of dry pipe-clay, in the cleaning of the white jacket, is prejudicial to the health of the soldiers?" Surely the lungs of the Guards and Highlanders were as vulnerable as those of the rest of the army, and their health and lives equally precious. Many a time it was brought to notice; but "to be like the Guards" was sufficient to continue it. Yet there is no doubt the honour would be willingly dispensed with, and the getting rid

of it would be much to the men's comfort. Let us hope it will soon disappear, as well as the white coats of the band, still in use for all the army in 1873.

Until about 1840, never more than 4 yards of tartan were put into the kilt, and until lately, it never exceeded $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5. The plaid up to 1830 contained about $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards, for no use or purpose but to be pushed up under the waist of the coat, taking from the figure of the man.

Until 1822, to have trousers was optional, even on guard at night. Many men were without them, and cloth of all colours, and fustian, was to be seen. From soon after the return of the regiment to Edinburgh after Waterloo, long-quartered shoes and buckles were worn on all occasions. The shoes were deserving of the name given to them —"toe cases." To such a ridiculous extent was the use of shoes and buckles carried, that after a marching order parade, the spats had to be taken off, and buckles put on before being permitted to leave the barracks. The red and white hose cloth up to 1819 was of a warm, woolly, genial stuff; but, for appearance, a hard cold thin article was encouraged, and soon became so general, that it was finally adopted, and the warm articles put out of use. At this time the regiment was in Richmond Barracks, Dublin (1819–20), and, consequently had to go to the Royal Barracks for guard mounting, and often from a mile or two farther to the guard, in the shoe already described. In rainy weather, it was quite a common occurrence to see men reach the guard almost shoeless, with the hose entirely spoiled, and no change for twenty-four hours; yet, bad as this was, it had its consolation, that "it was better than breeches and leggings," the guard and review dress for the infantry at this time. Had gaiters been taken into use, even in winter, and the strong shoe, it would have added much to the comfort of the men. The hose being made out of the piece, with coarse seams, were also badly adapted for the march, and not a man in twenty had half hose and socks. The soldier in general is thoughtless, and at this time no consideration for his comfort was taken by those whose duty it was do so, either in eating or clothing. As a proof of it, we have seen that no breakfast mess was established until 1819.

It was at Gibraltar, in the beginning of 1826, that the gaiters were taken into daily wear and for guard; and the frill, the pest of the men (because of the care that had to be taken of it), and the soldiers' wives who did the washing. There were individuals who rejoiced in these frills, and to excel, paid from 2s. 6d. to 4s. for them. White leather pipeclayed gloves were also part of the soldier's dress at all parades, and "gloves off" became a regular word of command before "the manual and platoon." In short, what with shoes and buckles, frills, a stock up to the ears, about six yards of garters on each leg, muskets with clear locks (burnished in many cases), and well bees-waxed stocks and barrels, they were a most singularly equipped set of soldiers. Yet such was the force of habit, and what the eye had been accustomed to, when the frills and buckles disappeared, many (officers) considered it as an unwarrantable innovation; but not so the soldiers, who derived more comfort from the change than can well be imagined.

In 1820, shoulder tufts, about four inches, were substituted for the smaller ones hitherto worn by the battalion companies. The following year they became a little longer. In 1824, though still short of a regular wing, a shell was added, but without lace, stiffened with pasteboard. In 1827 a little lace was added, and in 1830 the ambition of having wings was consummated, as it became regulation for the non-commissioned officers and men of Highland regiments to wear wings, although, as already mentioned, the officers continued to wear epaulets.

Patent leather chin straps were first used in 1822. Before that a few only had narrow tape, which was not always approved of, it resting upon the whim of the officers or sergeant-major.

Until about 1840, the lace on the coats of both cavalry and infantry was of great variety, a few corps having it all white, but, in general with a "worm" of one or two colours of from one-fifth to one-third of the breadth of the lace. The 42d wore white lace, with a red "worm" three-fourths of the white on one side of the red, and one-fourth on the other. The 73d

had the same lace, continued from the time it was the 2d battalion of the regiment.

The breast, cuffs, collars, and skirts were covered with lace, the cause of much dry pipe-claying. Some corps had it with square bars, others in "frogs." The 42d had the latter. The abolishing (about 1830) of the silver-lace worn by the sergeants was regretted by many because it was an old-established custom, since 1769, and also as it added much to the appearance of the sergeants' uniform; but when it came to be worn at a cost of from six to seven pounds for lace and fringe, it was, without doubt, a hardship, and Sir Charles Gordon did well in abolishing it.[1]

All the staff-sergeants wore the turned-back blue lappels, barred with square lace, and hooked in the middle, which was particularly handsome, and much admired. They ceased to wear the silver at the same time as the others, more to their regret, as a coat served many of them for years. The sergeant-major and quarter-sergeant only continued it, being furnished to them, with handsome bullion wings, along with their clothing.

The only changes of late years have been the Highland jacket and dark hose, both for the better, and the bonnet much reduced in size, also a decided improvement, all introduced after the Crimean war. The kilt is also more ample, and better made, adding to the better figure and appearance of the men, who are in all better dressed at present (1873) than at any previous period. May they always continue to be the pattern, as they ought to be, to all the Highland regiments, and that not only in dress, but also in all the qualities of good soldiers.

Out of the many pets of the regiment, we present our readers with the lives of these three, as being on the whole most worthy of record,—the dog "Pincher," "Donald" the Deer, and the "Grenadiers' Cat."

"Pincher" was a small smooth-skinned terrier that attached himself to the regiment on the march in Ireland, at some stage near to Naas, its destination on coming home after the Peninsular war in 1814. Pincher was truly a regimental dog. If he had any partiality, it was slightly towards the light company. He marched to Kilkenny with the regiment, back from Naas, remained with it during the winter, and embarked for Flanders in the spring; went into action with it at Quatre Bras, and was wounded somewhat severely in the neck and shoulder, but, like a good soldier, would not quit the field. He was again in action at Waterloo, accompanied his regiment to Paris, and, amidst armies of all nations, Pincher never lost himself, came home, kept to his post, and went over to his native country in 1817. Late in that year, or early in 1818, he went with some men going on furlough to Scotland, who were landed at Irvine. Poor Pincher ran after some rabbits in an open warren, and was shot by a keeper, to the general grief of the regiment, when the intelligence reached it, which was not until one of the men returned from Scotland to join. In the meantime, Pincher had hardly been missed. There was some wonder at Armagh, and remarks made that Pincher was long on his rounds, but no anxiety regarding him, because it was well known, that from the time of his joining the regiment in 1814, it mattered not how many detachments were out from headquarters, in turn he visited them all; and it was often a matter of wonder how he arrived, and by what instinct he found them out. Poor Pincher was a good and faithful soldier's dog, and, like many a good soldier, died an inglorious death. His memory was respected while his generation existed in the regiment.

"Donald" the Deer was with the depot which awaited the regiment when it went into Edinburgh Castle in September 1836 after landing at Granton from Corfu. He was a youth at the time, and not so formidable as to cause his antlers to be cut, which had to be done afterwards. He marched the three days to Glasgow in June 1837. He was some-

[1] We omitted to notice the death of this excellent officer in the proper place. It occurred while the regiment was at Vido in 1835. Sir Charles had gone on leave to Switzerland, with unaccountable reluctance it is said, though he was in apparently perfect health, and died at Geneva, after a short illness, on 30th September. His loss was deeply lamented by all ranks. The announcement of his unexpected death cast a gloom over the regiment, which was long felt. His gentlemanly bearing and kindly disposition made him universally loved and respected both by officers and men. The regiment was fortunate in his successor—Major William Middleton, who had served in the corps from 1803.

what mischievous that year, sometimes stopping the way when he chose to make his lair, or with the meddlers and intruders on the Green when the regiment was out at exercise. But it was in Dublin, in the summer of 1838, that Donald came out. Without any training, he took his place at the head of the regiment alongside of the sergeant-major. Whether marching to and from the Phœnix Park for exercise, marching out in winter, or at guard mounting on the day the 42d furnished the band and staff, Donald was never absent. He accompanied the regiment to all garrison field-days, went to feed until the time came for going home, was often a mile from them, but always at his post when the time came. With one exception, about the third-field day, the 79th were there for the first time, and Donald trotted up to them when marching off. He somehow discovered his mistake, and became uneasy and bumptious, and on reaching Island Bridge, when the 79th had to turn off to Richmond Barracks, declined to accompany his new friends any farther. Colonel Ferguson desired half a dozen men to hand over their muskets to their comrades, and to drive Donald towards the Royal Barracks. He went willingly, and happened to rejoin his own corps at the Park gate, evidently delighted. He never committed a similar mistake. When the regiment had the duty, he invariably went with the guard to the Castle; and whether going or coming, the crowd was always dense, although a daily occurrence, but Donald made his way, and kept it clear too, and the roughs knew better than to attempt to annoy him. Indeed, he has been known to single out an individual who did so, and give chase after him through the crowd. There was never any concern about him, as he could well defend himself. The Greys were in the Royal Barracks with the 42d, and permitted Donald to make his bed, even by tossing down their litter, fed him with oats daily, &c. But early in 1839 the Greys left, and the Bays' succeeded them. It was very soon evident that Donald and the new comers did not understand each other. The Bays would not allow him to make his bed, nor did they give oats, and Donald declared war against all Bays, when and wherever they came near him, till at last a Bay man could hardly venture to cross the Royal square, without looking out that Donald was out of the way. It gave rise to a clever sketch made on the wall of the officers' room at the Bank guard of the "Stag at Bay," where Donald was represented as having one of them up against a wall. In May 1839, he made nine days' march to Limerick, although very foot-sore and out of temper, and woe to the ostlers in the hotel-yard who interfered with him after a day's march. Donald had another failing, which his countrymen are accused of, which was a great liking for whisky or sherry. He suffered after a debauch, and it was forbidden to indulge Donald in his liking in that way. At Limerick, as soon as the officers' dinner pipe went, he made his way to the mess-room windows, which were on the ground floor, to look for sherry, until a high fine had to be made on any one who gave it to him. Donald afterwards marched to Templemore, and finally to Cork. He had by this time become so formidable in his temper, particularly to strangers, that it was clear he could not be taken on board a ship to Corfu, even if the captain of the troopship would permit it; and, to the regret of all, it was decided that Donald must be transferred to strangers. Colonel Johnstone arranged with Lord Bandon, who promised that Donald should have the run of his fine park at Bandon Castle while he lived, and it was Donald's own fault that it was not so. It was really an effecting sight to see poor Donald thrown over and tied with ropes by those he loved so well, and put into a cart to be carried off. His cries were pitiful, and he actually shed tears, and so did some of his friends, for Donald was a universal favourite. Thus the regiment parted with dear old Donald, and nothing more was heard of him for many years.

In 1862, nearly 22 years afterwards, Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley being appointed to the Cork district, soon after arriving at Cork, took steps to ascertain the subsequent history of Donald. The reply was, "That from the day he was set at liberty in the park, he declined having any intercourse with either man or beast. That summer and winter he kept in out-of-the-way places to which no one could approach; and that there had been so

many complaints against him, that about the end of two years his lordship reluctantly sanctioned his being shot." Poor Donald! the regiment and its ways was the only home he ever knew, and his happiness left him when separated from it. So has it been with many others besides Donald.

The "Grenadier's Cat" was picked up by the company in one of the encampments in Bulgaria, probably in Gevrecklar, and was embarked at Varna for the Crimea. Having seen it at the bivouac at Lake Touzla, Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley was induced, after the action at Alma had commenced, to ask what had become of poor puss, when one of No. 1 company called, "It is here, sir," and opening his haversack, the animal looked out quite contented. It was shut up again, and on making inquiry next morning, it was found that "Bell" had escaped both death and wounds, and was amongst them in the bivouac, well taken care of in so far as having an ample share of the rations. It appears that the man who carried the cat and took care of it, was exempted by the company from fatigue duties, or his turn of carrying the cooking-kettles, &c. Like all the pets, it did not come to a peaceful end. It finally became an inmate of the regimental hospital, being the only quiet place to be found for it, got worried, and died at Balaclava. Such was the end of Bulgarian "Bell," the only instance, probably, of a cat going into action.

On 2d April 1872 took place one of the most interesting events in connection with the history of the Black Watch, viz., the unveiling in Dunkeld Cathedral of a magnificent monument (a plate of which we give) to the memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the regiment, who fell in war from the creation of the regiment to the close of the Indian mutiny. The monument, which had been in preparation for several years, was subscribed for by the officers of the regiment, and was executed by Mr John Steell, R.S.A., the celebrated Scottish sculptor. It is placed in the vestibule of the cathedral, at the east end of the choir, and is the largest and one of the finest mural monuments ever erected in Scotland.

The monument, as we have indicated, is a mural one, having for its principal feature a beautiful piece of sculpture in *alto relievo*. As originally designed by the artist, this composition was on a comparatively small scale. When, however, the sketch came to be submitted to the officers of the regiment, they were so much pleased with the idea embodied in it that they resolved to have the figures executed of life size, and increased their contributions accordingly. Standing out against a large pointed panel of white marble, the sculptured group, which is worked out in the same material as the background, represents an officer of the 42d visiting a battle-field at the close of an engagment to look for some missing comrade. The point of time selected is the moment in which the searcher, having just discovered the body of his friend, stands with uncovered head, paying mute homage to departed valour. The central figure of the composition is admirably modelled, the expression of the soldier's countenance being in fine keeping with the calm and subdued tone which pervades the whole work. On the left, beneath the remains of a shattered gun-carriage, lies the body of a young ensign, his hand still grasping the flag he had stoutly defended, and his face wearing a peaceful expression, as befitted a man who had died at his post. Other accessories combine with those just mentioned to suggest the grim realities of war; but the artist has so toned his composition that the mind is insensibly led to dwell on that other aspect of the battlefield in which it speaks of danger braved and duty nobly done. A slab underneath the sculpture bears the following inscription :—

IN MEMORY OF
THE OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS,
AND
PRIVATE SOLDIERS
OF THE
42D ROYAL HIGHLANDERS—THE BLACK WATCH—
WHO FELL IN WAR
FROM
THE CREATION OF THE REGIMENT
TO
THE CLOSE OF THE INDIAN MUTINY,
1859.

THE TEN INDEPENDENT COMPANIES OF THE FREACADAN DUBH, OR BLACK WATCH, WERE FORMED INTO A REGIMENT ON THE 25TH OCTOBER 1739, AND THE FIRST MUSTER TOOK PLACE IN MAY 1740, IN A FIELD BETWEEN TAYBRIDGE AND ABERFELDY.

Here, 'mong the hills that nursed each hardy Gael,
Our votive marble tells the soldier's tale;
Art's magic power each perished friend recalls,
And heroes haunt these old Cathedral walls.

Erected by the Officers of the Corps.
1872.

On either side of the above inscription are recorded the names of the hard-fought fields in which the regiment gained its enviable reputation. How many memories are recalled as one reads the long roll of historic battle-grounds—"Fontenoy, Flanders, Ticonderoga, Martinique, Guadaloupe, Havannah, Egypt, Corunna, Fuentes D'Onor, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, Toulouse, Peninsula, Waterloo, Alma, Sebastopol, Lucknow!" The selection of a site for the monument was determined by considerations connected with the history of the regiment. The gallant 42d having been originally drawn chiefly from Perthshire, it was felt to be appropriate that the memorial intended to commemorate its fallen heroes should be erected in that county; and all will concur in the propriety of the arrangement by which a shrine has been found for it within the venerable Cathedral of Dunkeld.

For the following account of the ceremony we are indebted to the *Scotsman* of 3d April 1872:—

A detachment of the 42d, under the command of Major Macpherson, had been sent down from Devonport to perform the ceremony of handing over the monument to the custody of the Duke of Athole, and also to place over it the colours under which the regiment had fought on many a bloody field. In the vestibule of the cathedral were the Duke and Duchess of Athole, the Duchess Dowager of Athole, and many other distinguished persons.

Upon entering the vestibule, Major Macpherson, younger of Cluny, placed the old colours of the regiment over the monument. He then requested the Duchess-Dowager to unveil the monument; which having been done,

Major Macpherson said—May it please your Grace, ladies, and gentlemen—We, a detachment of the 42d Royal Highlanders, have come here to deposit the old colours of the regiment in Dunkeld Cathedral—a place which has been selected by the regiment as the most fitting receptacle for the colours of the 42d—a regiment which has been essentially connected with Perthshire. In the name of the officers of the regiment, I have to express to his Grace the Duke of Athole our kindest thanks for the great interest he has taken in this memorial, which I have had the too great honour to ask the Duchess-Dowager to unveil; and if I may be allowed, I would express to your Grace the kindest thanks of the regiment for the great interest the late Duke of Athole took in this monument.

The Duke of Athole then said—You have this day paid a great compliment to the county of Perth, and to this district in particular. By the placing of this beautiful monument in our cathedral you have enhanced its value, and by placing over it your time and battle-worn colours. I can assure you we shall value the possession of this monument excessively, and do our utmost to preserve it from all harm. I trust that the cloud which is now hanging over the connection between the 42d and Perthshire will yet be dispelled, and that the old ties may not be broken, and that we may yet see the 'Freiceadan Dubh' localised in Perth.[2] I need not allude to the services of the 42d—they are far too well known to require comment on my part. One of the earliest colonels of the regiment was one of my own family—Lord John Murray; and at different times a great many men from Athole have served in your ranks. Members of almost every large family in Athole have at one time or other been officers in the corps. Many relatives and friends of my own have likewise served with the regiment. His Grace concluded by asking Major Macpherson to convey to the officers of the 42d the thanks of the county of Perth for the honour they had done to the county.

At the close of the proceedings a salute of 21 guns was fired from a battery placed on Stanley Hill.

After the ceremony the Duchess-Dowager entertained a select party at her residence to lunch. The detachment of the 42d and the Athole Highlanders at the same time partook of dinner in the Servants' Hall. When the dinner had been concluded, the Duchess-Dowager, the Duke and Duchess of Athole, and party, entered the Servants' Hall, where the Dowager-Duchess proposed the health of the 42d, a detachment of which regiment had come such a long dis-

[2] Alluding to the Brigade Centre for the 42d and 79th being told off for Dundee, which was subsequently altered to Perth.

tance in order to place their beautiful colours in the Cathedral of Dunkeld. Her Grace having made a touching allusion to the various battles in which the colours had been borne, remarked that there was no better place where the regiment could lodge them than the old historical cathedral of the city where the corps was chiefly raised. The colours had been given in charge to the Athole Highlanders, and she was sure that they would be as proud to look upon them hanging on the walls of the Cathedral as the 42d themselves would be to see them in the midst of battle, and she might assure the detachment that the utmost care would be taken of them.

Major Macpherson returned thanks on behalf of the officers and men of the 42d. He stated that the officers had taken a vote as to where the colours should be lodged, and the majority were in favour of having them placed over this monument in Dunkeld Cathedral, on the banks of the Tay, where the regiment was originally formed. He begged, on behalf of the officers and men, to thank her Grace for the exceedingly kind reception which had been accorded to them during their stay in Dunkeld, and concluded by calling upon the men to drink to the health of the Duchess-Dowager of Athole. The original colours of the 42d are in the Tower of London.

The colours placed in Dunkeld Cathedral were carried through the Crimean campaign and the Indian Mutiny. The colours which the regiment at present possesses were presented by the Commander-in-Chief at Aldershot in 1871.

In the autumnal manœuvres of 1871, the Black Watch, as might be surmised, performed their part brilliantly, and to the satisfaction and gratification of all present, the foreign officers especially awarding them the palm as models in every respect of what soldiers ought to be; indeed, their praises were in the mouths of all.

In September 1871 the regiment went to Devonport; and when, in February 1873, in accordance with the scheme for the establishment of military centres, the 42d were allocated to Perth in conjunction with the 79th, we believe both corps felt the greatest gratification, as they had stood "shoulder to shoulder" in many a hard-fought field, always indeed in the same brigade—in Egypt, the Peninsula, Waterloo, the Crimea, and last of all in the Indian Mutiny.

We cannot help expressing our gratification at being able to present our readers with a group of authentic steel portraits of four of the most eminent Colonels of the Black Watch. That of the first Colonel, John, Earl of Crawford, is from the original in the possession of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, at Haigh Hall, Wigan. The Earl is represented in a Russian or Hungarian dress. That of Sir George Murray, so long and intimately associated with the regiment, is from an original painting by H. W. Pickersgill, R.A. The portrait of Sir John Macdonald, his successor, is taken from the original in possession of Mrs Burt, Edinburgh: And that of the present brave and much respected Colonel, Sir Duncan Alexander Cameron, from a photograph taken expressly for this work; and Sir Duncan's modest reluctance, we ought to say, to allow his portrait to be published, was not easily overcome.

Here may we fitly end the story of the brave Black Watch, which nearly a century and a half ago was originated not far from Perth by the chivalry of the North. In these later days of rapid advance in military science, when the blind enthusiasm of our forefathers is spoken lightly of, have the highest military authorities come to the conclusion, after much discussion and cogitation, that it is wise after all to give way occasionally to sentiment; and thus have they been led to assign to the old Black Watch, after a glorious but chequered career, a permanent recruiting home in the country of its birth, not many miles from the spot where it was first embodied.

SUCCESSION LISTS OF COLONELS, FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS, &c.

COLONELS.

John, Earl of Crawford, 25th October 1739.

Hugh Lord Sempill, 14th January 1741.

Lord John Murray, 25th April 1745.

Sir Hector Munro, K.B., 1st June 1787

George, Marquis of Huntly, 3d January 1806

John, Earl of Hopetoun, G.C.B., 29th January 1820.

The Right Hon. Sir George Murray, G.C.B., G.C.H. 6th September 1823.
Removed to the First, or the Royal Regiment of Foot, on the 29th December 1843.

Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B., 15th January 1844.
Died 28th March 1850.

Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., 10th April 1850.
Died 6th March 1862.

George, Marquis of Tweeddale, K.T., 7th March 1862.
Removed to 2d Life Guards 9th September 1863.

Major General Sir Duncan Alexander Cameron, K.C.B., 9th September 1863.

Sir Duncan Alexander Cameron, K.C.B., joined the Regiment in 1825 as Ensign, and has never served in any other.—He was appointed Brigadier in Turkey, (local rank) on the . 24th October 1854.
Major-General, (local) . . 5th October 1855.
Major-General, (local) in England, 24th July 1856.
Major-General, ... 25th March 1859.
Colonel of the 42d, . . . 9th Sept. 1863.
Lieutenant-General, . . 1st May 1868.

He served throughout the Eastern campaign of 1854–1855; commanded the regiment at the battle of Alma, and the Highland Brigade at the battle of Balaklava, on the expedition to Kertch—Siege and fall of Sebastopol and assault on the outworks 18th June—Was appointed president of the Council of Education in 1857—Commander-in-chief in Scotland in 1860—Commander of the forces in New Zealand, with the local rank of Lieut-General 1861, and of the Australian Colonies and New Zealand in 1863—Governor of The Royal Military College at Sandhurst in 1865, which he still holds (1873).

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Sir Robert Munro, 25th October 1739.
Promoted to Colonelcy Ponsonby's Regiment, 17th June 1745.

John Monroe, 17th July 1745.
Died in 1749.

John Campbell, 24th May 1749.
Promoted to Colonelcy of 56th Foot, 23d December 1755.

Francis Grant, 17th December 1755.
Promoted to be Colonel-Commandant of 90th Regiment, 19th February 1762.

Gordon Graham, 9th July 1762.
Retired 12th December 1770.

Thomas Græme, 12th December 1770.
Retired 7th September 1771.

Thomas Stirling, 7th September 1771.
Promoted to 71st Regiment, 13th February 1782.

Norman Macleod, 21st March 1780.
Removed to 73d in 1786, which regiment was formed from second battalion of the 42d Regiment.

Charles Graham, 28th April 1782.
Promoted to a regiment serving in the West Indies, 30th November 1796.

William Dickson, 1st September 1795.
Retired 3d March 1808.

James Stewart, 14th December 1796.
Retired 19th September 1804.

James Stirling, 7th September 1804.
Promoted to rank of Major-General, 4th June 1814.

Robert Lord Blantyre, 19th September 1804.
Exchanged to half-pay, late Eighth Garrison Battalion, 6th May 1813.

John Farquharson, 3d March 1808.
Retired 16th April 1812.

Robert Macara, 16th April 1812.
Killed in action, 16th June 1815.

Sir George Leith, Bart, 6th May 1813.
Placed on Half-pay, 25th December 1814.

Robert Henry Dick, 18th June 1815.
Exchanged to Half-pay, 25th November 1828.

Honourable Sir Charles Gordon, 25th November 1828.

William Middleton, 23d October 1835.

George Johnstone, 23d August 1839.

Henry Earl of Uxbridge, 5th September 1843.

Duncan Alexander Cameron, 5th September 1843.

James Macdougall, 14th April 1846.

Charles Dunsmure, 15th February 1850.

Thomas Tulloch, 9th March 1855.

Alexander Cameron, 9th October 1855.

George Edward Thorold, 28th July 1857.

Frederick Green Wilkinson, 5th March 1858.

Edward Ramsden Priestley, 10th August 1858

John Chetham M'Leod, 26th March 1868.

The Lieut.-Colonels from 1815 are also included in the general alphabetical list.

MAJORS.

George Grant, 25th October 1739.
Died in 1742.

James Colquhon, 24th June 1742.
Retired in 1745.

Francis Grant, 1st October 1745.
Promoted December 17, 1755.

Duncan Campbell, 17th December 1755.
Killed at Ticonderago.

Gordon Graham, 17th July 1758.
Promoted July 9, 1762.

John Reid, 1st August 1759.
Exchanged to half-pay, February 10, 1770.

John M'Neil, 9th July 1762.
Died in 1762.

Allan Campbell, 15th August 1762.
Placed on half-pay on the reduction of the regiment, March 18, 1763.

John Murray, 10th February 1770.
Retired March 31, 1770.

Thomas Græme, 31st March 1770.
Promoted December 12, 1770.

Thomas Stirling, 12th December 1770.
Promoted September 7, 1771.
William Murray, 7th September 1771.
Promoted to Twenty-seventh Regiment, October 5, 1777
William Grant, 5th October 1777.
Retired August 25, 1778.
Charles Graham, 25th August 1778.
Promoted April 28, 1782.
Patrick Graham, 21st March 1780.
Died October 22, 1781.
Walter Home, 28th April 1782.
Retired March 16, 1791.
John Campbell, 23d October 1781.
Died March 23, 1784.
Hay Macdowall, 24th March 1784.
Removed in 1786 to Seventy-third, which corps was formed from second battalion Forty-second Regiment.
George Dalrymple, 16th March 1791.
Promoted to Nineteenth Foot, December 31, 1794.
William Dickson, 14th January 1795.
Promoted September 1, 1795.
Robert Pigot Christie, 1st September 1795.
Died June 23, 1796.
William Munro, 2d September 1795.
Promoted to Caithness Legion Fencibles, October 21, 1795.
James Stewart, 21st October 1795.
Promoted December 14, 1796.
Alexander Stewart, 24th June 1796.
Retired September 7, 1804.
James Stirling, 14th December 1796.
Promoted September 7, 1804.
John Farquharson, 9th July 1803.
Promoted March 3, 1808.
Archibald Argyll Campbell, 9th July 1803
Died in February 1809.
Charles Macquarie, 7th September 1804.
Retired May 2, 1811.
James Grant, 7th September 1804.
Retired November 14, 1805.
Robert Macara, 14th November 1805.
Promoted April 16, 1812.
Thomas Johnston, 3d March 1808.
Exchanged to half-pay, Bradshaw's Levy, July 14, 1808.
Robert Henry Dick, 14th July 1808.
Promoted June 18, 1815.
Hamilton Rose, 9th February 1809.
Died in October 1811.
William Munro, 2d May 1811.
Exchanged to half-pay, Royal Regiment of Malta, May 30, 1811.
William Cowell, 30th May 1811.
Retired April 8, 1826.
Maxwell Grant, 10th October 1811.
Placed on half-pay, December 25, 1814.
Robert Anstruther, 16th April 1812.
Placed on half-pay, December 25, 1814.
Archibald Menzies, 18th June 1815.
James Brander, 8th April 1826.
William Middleton, 15th August 1826.
John Malcolm, 25th December 1828.
Hugh Andrew Fraser, 3d December 1829.
George Johnstone, 4th May 1832.
James Macdougall, 23d October 1835.
Duncan Alexander Cameron, 23d August 1839.
Charles Dunsmure, 5th September 1843.
Daniel Frazer, 14th April 1846.
George Burell Cumberland, 15th February 1850.
Thomas Tulloch, 20th May 1853.
John Cameron Macpherson, 29th December 1854.
The Honourable Robert Rollo, 5th January 1855.
Alexander Cameron, 24th April 1855.
Charles Murray, 10th August 1855.
Frederick Green Wilkinson, 9th October 1855.
Andrew Pitcairn, 12th September 1856.
Edward Ramsden Priestley, 17th July 1857.
John Chetham M'Leod, 16th March 1858.
John Drysdale, 10th August 1858.
Duncan Macpherson, 5th July 1865.
Francis Cunningham Scott, 26th March 1868.

The Majors from 1815 are also included in the alphabetical list.

PAYMASTERS.

John Home, 21st March 1800—the first appointment of that rank to the Regiment.
Alexander Aitken, 25th December 1818.
Charles Wardell, 22d February 1821.
Stephen Blake, 3d July 1828.
William A. M'Dougall, 23d August 1833.
John Wheatley, 12th October 1838.
James A. Bazalgette, 24th April 1855.
Frank Samwell, 15th Dec. 1869.

ADJUTANTS.

Gilbert Stewart, 25th October 1739.
Lieut. James Grant, 26th June 1751.
,, Alexander Donaldson, 20th March 1759.
,, John Gregor, 27th August 1760.
,, William Gregor, 22d October 1761.
,, Duncan Cameron, 6th October 1762.
,, John M'Intosh, 1st November 1768.
,, Hugh Fraser, 20th March 1776.
,, Robert Leslie, (2d Battalion), 21st March 1780.
,, John Farquharson, 6th April 1791.
,, John Fraser, 5th October 1795.
,, Simon Fraser, 21st March 1800.
,, James Walker, 5th April 1801.
,, Archibald Menzies, 9th July 1803.
,, James Hunter, 28th September 1804.
,, James Swanson, 6th June 1805.
,, John Innes (Killed at Orthes), 8th December 1808.
,, James White, 8th June 1809.
,, Colin M'Dougall, 13th February 1812.
Lieutenant James Young, from 13th March 1814.
Lieutenant James Robertson, 14th September 1815.
Ensign (from Sergeant-Major) William Duff, 14th April 1825.
Lieutenant William Dick Macfarlane, 16th July 1829.
Ensign (from Acting Sergeant-Major) John Wheatley, 20th July 1832.
Ensign Duncan Cameron, 30th October 1838.
Lieut. Atholl Wentworth Macdonald, 8th May 1840.
Lieut. Archibald Colin Campbell, 31st March 1843.
Lieut. Thomas Robert Drummond Hay, 24th January 1845.
Lieutenant Andrew Pitcairn, 28th August 1846.
Lieut. William John Cunninghame, 9th March 1849.
Ensign John Drysdale, 25th June 1852.
Ensign (from Quarter-Master) William Wood, 16th February 1855.
Lieutenant James Edmund Christie, 4th May 1863.
,, Andrew Gilbert Wauchope, 5th April 1870.
,, Andrew Scott Stevenson, 10th Dec. 1873.

The Adjutants from 1814 are also included in the alphabetical list.

QUARTERMASTERS FROM 1795.

David Rawlins, 5th October 1795.
Donald M'Intosh, 9th July 1803.
Finlay King, from Sergt. Major, 31st December 1818.
Edward Paton, from Quarter-Master Sergt., 19th June 1840.
Charles Fraser, from Ensign, 28th August 1846.
William Wood, from Sergeant-Major, 5th May 1854.
Alexander M'Gregor, from Quarter-Master Sergeant, 25th May 1855.
John Simpson, V.C. from Quarter-Master-Sergeant, 7th October 1859.
John Forbes, from Sergeant-Major, 24th Sept. 1873.

All, with the exception of the first, are included in the general alphabetical list.

SUCCESSION OF SURGEONS FROM 1800.

Alexander Grant, 26th September 1795.
Swinton Macleod, 9th July 1803.
Brinsley Nicholson, M.D., 15th November 1829.
James Paterson, M.D. 19th June 1835.
James M'Gregor, 26th February 1841.
John Gillespie Wood, M.D. 12th March 1852.
John Sheldon Furlong, M.D. 9th February 1855.
James Edmund Clutterbuck, M.D. 14th June 1864.

All, with the exception of the first, are included in the general alphabetical list.

SUCCESSION OF SERGEANT-MAJORS.

Sergeant-Major Clerk, was killed in action at Toulouse, 10th April 1814.
Sergeant-Major Perie, was killed in action at Quatre Bras (Waterloo), on the 16th June 1815.
Finlay King, 16th June 1815, to Quarter-Master, 1818.
William Duff, 31st December 1818, to Adjutant, 1825.
John Macdonald, 14th April 1825. Discharged to pension, 10th December 1834. Died the following year.
John Wheatley, appointed Acting, on the 15th November 1827; at the regiment (the Sergeant-Major being at the Depot), to Adjutant, 1832.
Thomas Penny, acting with service companies, from 20th July 1832—Sergeant-Major, 11th December 1834. Discharged to Pension 1839. Died at Glasgow 15th February 1865.
Charles Fraser, 12th December 1839, to Ensign, 1843.
Alexander Geddes, appointed to Reserve Battalion 1st April 1843. Discharged to Pension 22d October 1851—appointed Quarter-Master of the Perth Militia 22d November 1856.
John Drysdale, 5th September 1843, to Ensign, 1847.
James Ranken, 22d June 1847. Discharged to Pension 10th November 1853. Quarter-Master Argyll Militia 14th April 1869.
William Wood, 11th November 1853, to Quarter-Master, 1854.
John Wilson, 5th May 1854, to Ensign, 1854.
William Lawson, 10th August 1854, to Ensign, 1854.
John Granger, 18th January 1855, to Lieutenant Land Transport Corps, 1855.
Peter White, 7th September 1855. Discharged to Pension 25th July 1865.
John Forbes, July 26, 1865. To Qr.-Mr. Sept. 24, 1873.
John Barclay, 25th Sept. 1873.

The Sergeant-Majors who were promoted to be Officers are included in the general alphabetical list.

LIST OF OFFICERS

Who have served in the 42d Royal Highlanders, "The Black Watch," from the date of the Muster taken at Armagh on the 28th of May 1817, *the day of marching in from Glasgow, for the period ended on the 24th of May up to the 31st of December* 1872.[1] From Lieut.-Colonel Wheatley's MS.

Abercromby, Samuel Douglas, Lieut.—3d June 1842, Ensign. Died at Bermuda 16th May 1847.
Ainslie, Montague, Ensign, 20th May 1853. Died at Gosport, 18th Oct. 1853.
Aitken, Alex., Paymaster, 25th Dec. 1818.—Half-pay 7th February 1821. Died at Brighton, 13th May 1871.
Aitken, Walker, Capt.—3d Dec. 1861, Ensign—Capt. 6th March 1874.
Alexander, Sir James Edward, Major-General.—9th March 1832, Captain—Half-pay 4th April 1838.
Allan, Fife, Ens. Sept. 23, 1855. Retired Dec. 12, 1856.
Baird, William, Bt.-Major.—17th Nov. 1854, Ensign—Capt. 22d May 1857—Bt.-Major 5th July 1872. Major Baird died at Sierra Leone, March 6, 1874.
Balfour, James William, Captain.—2d March 1847, Ensign. On Reduction to 89th, Lieut. Retired Captain from 7th Dragoon Guards 16th June 1857.
Balguy, Charles Yelverton.—24th Feb. 1854, Captain from 41st. Retired 24th April 1855.

[1] The rank after the name is that held in December 1872, or the one attained before death. The first date is that of joining the regiment, followed by the rank at the time. Field and staff officers since 1817 are included in the general list, as well as in the separate succession lists of those officers. Those left unfinished were alive, or still serving in the regiment, on the 1st January 1873.

Barnett, John Osborne, Lieut.—16th Nov. 1841, Ensign. Retired 12th Nov. 1847.

Bayly, Richard Kerr, Bt. Major—16th Mar. 1855, Ensign—Captain 5th July 1865.

Bazalgette, James Arnold.—24th April 1855, Paymaster.—Half-pay—1869.

Beales, William, Lieut.-Colonel.—24th April 1838, Captain—To Half-Pay 30th August 1844, Captain. Died at St Heliers, Jersey, on retired full pay, 23d April 1868.

Bedingfield, William.—9th Dec. 1862, Ensign from 58th Regiment—To 7th Hussars, Cornet, 22d Nov. 1864.

Bennett, William Henry.—27th May 1853, Lieut. from 30th Regiment. Retired 11th May 1855.

Berwick, William Alex., Lieut.—17th Feb. 1869, Ensign from 16th Foot.—Lieut. 28th Oct. 1871.

Bethune, Alex. (of Blebo), Lieut.—20th May 1842, Ensign. Retired 2d March 1847.

Black, Wilsone, Major.—11th August 1854, Ensign—Half-pay on reduction, 9th Jan. 1857—To 6th Foot 17th Nov. 1857—Brevet-Major 14th April 1873.

Blake, Stephen, Paymaster.—3d July 1828, Paymaster—Exchanged to 7th Fusiliers 23d Aug. 1833. Died Paymaster of the 93d at Dublin, 5th Oct. 1848.

Borrowes, Peter Robert.—2d Sept. 1845, Lieut. from 13th Foot. Retired 16th June 1848. Died in Dublin 1854.

Bosworth, Percie Mackie, Lieut.—23d March 1855, Ensign—Lieut. 2d Oct. 1855. Died at Nynee, India, 19th June 1858.

Boyle, Robert, Captain.—5th April 1806, Ensign—Half-Pay 31st May 1821. Died in London 11th July 1821.

Bramly, Alfred Jennings, Lieut.—15th March 1855, Ensign—Lieut. 2d Oct. 1855. Killed in action at Rooyah, India, 15th April 1858.

Bramly, Henry Jennings, Lieut.—30th Dec. 1859, Ensign. Retired Lieut. 3d March 1865. Died at Tunbridge Wells 19th Feb. 1870.

Brander, James, Major.—14th Dec. 1809, Ensign—To Half-pay, Lieut.-Colonel, 15th Aug. 1826. Died at Pitgaveny House, Elgin, 23d March 1854.

Brereton, Robert, Captain.—8th Dec. 1825, Captain, to Half-pay 9th March 1832. Retired 12th May 1842.—Dead.

Brickenden, Richard H. Lambert, Lieut.—18th July 1865, Ensign—Lieut. 11th Jan. 1867.

Brooke, Henry, Ensign.—5th Aug. 1859. Retired 9th Dec. 1862.

Brophy, N. Winsland, Lieut.—30th Jan. 1866, Ensign from 6th Regiment—Lieut. 17th March 1869.

Cameron, Alexander, Lieut.-Colonel.—24th Feb. 1832, Ensign. Died Lieut.-Colonel Commanding at Bareilly, India, 9th Aug. 1858.

Cameron, Duncan (of Inverailort), Lt.—23d Oct. 1835, Ensign. Retired 8th May 1840. Died 24th June 1874.

Cameron, Sir Duncan Alexander, Lieut.-General—8th April 1825, Ensign—In the Regiment until promoted to Major-General in 1855—Colonel of the Regiment 9th Sept. 1863.

Cameron, Wm. Gordon, C.B., Colonel.—24th May 1844, Ensign—To Grenadier Guards, Lieut. 12th May 1847—4th Foot, Major, 23d Oct. 1857—Lieut.-Colonel 1st April 1873.

Campbell, Archibald (of Glendaruel), Captain.—26th Nov. 1825, Ensign. Retired Captain 6th March 1840.

Campbell, Arch. Colin (Renton), Brevet-Major.—24th Feb. 1837, Ensign. Retired Captain and Brevet-Major 7th Sept. 1855. Died at Mordington House, Berwickshire, 23d Nov. 1866.

Campbell, Colin (Southhall family), Lieut.—8th April 1826, Ensign. Retired Lieut. 27th Sept. 1839. Died at Auchan, Isle of Man, 10th Oct. 1859.

Campbell, Colin George (of Stonefield), Lieut.—31st Dec. 1829, Ensign. Retired Lieut. 24th April 1838.

Campbell, Edward Parker, Lieut. Jan 17, 1872.

Campbell, Farquhard (of Aros), Captain.—30th Nov. 1838, Ensign. Retired Captain 26th Oct. 1849.

Campbell, G. F., Lieut.—11th Jan. 1867, Ensign—Lieut. Mar. 25, 1871, to 51st Regiment 31st Oct. 1871.

Campbell, John, Colonel.—3d Dec. 1807, Captain from 35th—Half-pay Major and Brevet Lieut.-Colonel 22d April 1826. Died at Marseilles, 31st March 1841.

Campbell, John Charles, M.B.—29th March 1861, Assistant-Surgeon, from 4th Hussars—To Half-pay 2d July 1861.

Campbell, John Gordon, Captain.—17th Nov. 1848, Ensign. Retired 9th May 1856. Died at Peebles 30th Nov. 1865.

Campbell, Patrick, Captain.—24th Aug. 1815, Ensign—To Half-pay 3d Sept. 1829. Died at Ford near Dalkeith, 24th Feb. 1856.

Ceely, Arthur James, Lieut.—10th Aug. 1855, Ensign—Lieut. 20th June 1858. Died at Point de Galle, Ceylon, Sick from India, 29th Dec. 1866.

Chawner, Edward Hoare, Captain.—9th June 1825, Ensign—Exchanged to 4th Dragoon Guards, Lieut.—Half-pay, Captain, 7th Sept. 1832. Died 23c Nov. 1868.

Childers, William, Captain.—8th June 1826, Captain. Retired 14th Sept. 1832. Died at St Heliers, Jersey, 28th Feb. 1861.

Chisholm, Arch. Macra, Captain.—17th April 1842, Ensign. Retired Captain 6th April 1855.

Chisholm, Donald, Captain.—10th Oct. 1805, Lieut from 30th—To 4th Veteran Battalion, Captain, 24th Feb. 1820. Died at Portobello, Edinburgh, 21st Aug. 1853.

Christie, James Edmund, Captain.—10th Aug. 1855, Ensign—Captain, Half-pay 1st April 1870.

Clark, James, Ensign.—26th Aug. 1819, Ensign—To Half-Pay 2d Sept. 1824. Died 12th Dec. 1838.

Clarke, Alfred T. Stafford, M.D. 8th Aug. 1862, Assistant-Surgeon, from Staff—To Royal Artillery, 20th Sept. 1864.

Clarke, Charles Christopher, Lieut.—2d Aug. 1815, Ensign—To Half-Pay 1st Nov. 1827. Died in the 33d Regiment in Jamaica, 23d Sept. 1831.

Clavering, Ernest, F.G. Lieut.—15th April 1842 Ensign. Retired 6th July 1849. Died in Edinburgh 9th Aug. 1852.

Clutterbuck, James Edward, M.D.—14th June 1864, Surgeon from Staff—Surgeon-Major, 22d Dec. 1868.

Cockburn, George William, Captain.—23d Feb. 1855, Ensign—Captain 24th March 1863—Exchanged to 83d, 28th Jan. 1870. Retired 30th Nov. 1870.

Cockburn, Thomas Hugh, Lieut-Colonel.—6th March 1840, Ensign—Exchanged Captain to 43d 28th Nov. 1851—Half-Pay Major 29th May 1863. Retired with rank of Lieut.-Colonel 18th April 1865.

Coleridge, Francis George, Captain.—11th Jan. 1856, Ensign—Lieut. in 25th 13th Dec. 1859. Retired as Captain 28th June 1871.

Colquhoun, Alan John, Lieut.—15th Oct. 1861.—Ensign, from Cornet 16th Lancers—Lieut. 13th Nov. 1865. Retired 23d Jan. 1869.

Cooper, Egbert William, Captain.—From 2d West India Regiment, 30th July 1869.

Coveny, Robert Charles, Lieut.—2d Sept. 1862, Ensign—from 23d Regiment, Lieut. 30th Jan. 1866.

Cowell, William, Major from H. P., and Brevet Lieut.-Colonel—30th May 1811, Major. Retired 8th April 1826. Died at Portarlington, Ireland, 29th May 1847.

Creagh, A. Michael, Lieut.—16th April 1861, Ensign from 58th—Lieut. 3d March 1865.

Crompton, William Henry, (Now Crompton-Stansfield), Lieut-Colonel.—17th Aug. 1854, Ensign—

To Half-Pay Captain on reduction 7th Nov. 1856 —11th Foot 9th Jan. 1858—Lieut.-Colonel, 22d July 1871.

Crosse, Robert Legh, 18th June 1861, Ensign.—To 52d, 3d Dec. 1861.

Cumberland, George Bentinck Macleod, Lieut.—22d Nov. 1864, Ensign—Lieut. 29th Dec. 1866.

Cumberland, George Burrel, Major.—28th May 1829, Lieut. Retired Major 5th Jan. 1855. Died at Wolvers Dean, Andover, 22d May 1865.

Cumming, Alex. Ensign.—17th July 1814, Ensign —To Half-Pay, 26th Aug. 1819. Died Jan. 1853.

Cunninghame, Robert Campbell, Captain.—29th Aug. 1846, Ensign. Sent from the Crimea. Died at Malta, 5th Sept. 1855.

Cunninghame, William John, Lieut.—25th Oct. 1844, Ensign. Died at Halifax on sick leave from Bermuda, 21st June 1850.

Daniel, John Hinton—22d May 1846, Captain from 49th. Retired 23d July 1852. Died in London 8th May 1863.

Davidson, Wm. Alex., M.D., Surgeon.—28th March 1854, Assistant Surgeon—To 1st Royal Dragoons 31st July 1855.

Dawson, Charles, M.D.—9th Oct. 1840, Assistant-Surgeon—To Surgeon into the 54th, 9th Oct. 1846. Died at Antigua, West Indies, 13th Nov. 1849.

Dempster, James, M.D., Surgeon.—14th April 1825, Assistant Surgeon—To 94th Surgeon 27th Sept. 1827.

Dick, Sir Robert Henry, Major-General.—22d Nov. 1800, Ensign—Half-Pay Colonel, 25th Nov. 1828 —Killed in action at Sobraon, 10th Feb. 1846.

Douglas, Arthur Henry Johnstone—27th Nov. 1866, Ensign. Retired 23d July 1869.

Douglas, Charles.—23d March 1855, Lieutenant from Canadian Rifles. Died of wounds at Rooyah, India, 17th April 1858.

Douglas, Henry Sholto, Captain.—31st May 1839, Ensign. Retired Captain 17th Nov. 1848.

Douglas, Sir James, General.—10th April 1850, Colonel. Died at Clifton, 6th March 1862.

Douglas, William, Lieut.—1st Nov. 1827, Lieut.—Retired 20th July 1832.—Dead.

Drake, John Allat, 18th July 1865, Lieut.—from Bengal Staff Corps. Retired 9th Nov. 1866.

Drummond, Henry Maurice, Colonel, (now Drummond Hay) of Seggieden.—4th Dec. 1832, Ensign. —Retired Captain, 8th June 1852.—Lieut.-Colonel, Royal Perth Rifles, 5th Nov. 1855. Retired with the rank of Colonel, 21st Nov. 1870.

Drummond, Malcolm, (Viscount Forth), 4th Nov. 1853, Ensign. Retired 17th Nov. 1854. Died at Gloucester 8th Oct. 1861.

Drysdale, John, Brevet Lieut.-Colonel.—Joined the Regiment 28th June 1836—Ensign from Sergeant-Major, 22d June 1847—Major 10th Aug. 1858. —Brevet Lieut.-Colonel on the day that he died, viz, 4th July 1865, at Uphall, near Edinburgh, on sick leave from India.

Duff, William, Lieut.—Joined the Regiment 16th Aug. 1806—Ensign and Adjutant from Sergeant-Major 14th April 1825.—To Half-pay 16th July 1829. Died at Ayr 8th Oct. 1833.

Dunbar, Alex., Lieut.—25th July 1807, Ensign, —To Half-pay 3d March 1825. Died at Inverness, 15th Feb. 1832.

Dunbar, Sir Frederick Wm., Bart.—24th April 1838, Ensign. Retired 10th Jan. 1840. Died Dec. 1841.

Dunbar, Rothes Lennox, Captain.—13th May 1854, Ensign. Retired Captain 7th Sept. 1856. Died in London, 31st Jan. 1857.

Dunsmure, Charles, Lieut.-Colonel.—9th April 1825, Ensign—Reduced Lieut.-Colonel 1st April 1850, with the Reserve Battalion. Retired 8th June 1852.

Dundas, Charles Whitely Dean, Lieut.—25th Dec. 1828, Ensign—To Coldstream Guards, 3d Aug. 1830. Retired 21st April 1837. Died 11th April 1856.

Eden, Charles John, Lieut.—20th Oct. 1865, Ensign from the 30th—Lieut. 23d March 1867.

Elgin, Edward Arthur, Lieut.—from 17th Foot, 10th July 1860. Died at Agra, 28th July 1861.

Elliot, Herman F., Sub.-Lieut. 9th August 1873.

Fairlie, William, Lieut.—22d June 1815, Ensign —Half-pay 10th Sept. 1819. Died 18th May 1824.

Farquharson, Francis Edward Henry, V.C. Bt. Major. 19th Jan. 1855, Ensign—Captain 28th June 1862.

Feilden, Henry Wemys, Lieut.—1st Feb. 1856, Ensign. Retired Lieut. 27th Sept. 1861.

Ferguson, Adam, Capt.—18th Aug. 1854. Ensign.— Captain 1st May 1857. Died in India, 11th Sept. 1865.

Fergusson, James Muir (of Middlehaugh), Lieut.—9th Nov. 1826, Ensign. Retired Lieut. 29th May 1839. Died at Perth, 20th May 1867.

Fletcher, Duncan Downie—Apr. 2, 1851. Ensign. Retired 6th May 1853. Died at Killarney, May 20, 1855.

Foley, H. R. Stanhope, Lieut.—14th June 1864, Ensign —Lieut. 9th Nov. 1866. Retired 16th March 1869.

Forbes, John, joined 3d Sept. 1852—from Sergt.-Maj. to Qr.-Mr. Sept. 24, 1873.

Frazer, Alex., Captain.—26th May 1803, Ensign— Half-pay 8th Dec. 1825. Died in Edinburgh, 24th June 1835.

Fraser, Charles, Captain.—Joined the Regiment 21st April 1813—From Sergeant-Major, Ensign 5th Sept. 1843—Quarter-Master, 28th Aug. 1846—Reduced with Reserve Battalion, 1st April 1850, appointed to 49th—To Half-Pay with the rank of Captain, 30th June 1854.

Fraser, George, Captain.—6th July 1849, Ensign. Died in India, Captain 27th June 1862.

Fraser, The Hon. Henry Thomas, Lieut.-Colonel— 10th April 1858, Ensign—To Scotts Fusilier Guards, 24th June 1859.

Fraser, Hugh Andrew, Major.—25th April 1806, Ensign—Half-pay, 4th May 1832. Died at Maidstone, Kent, 3d May 1855.

Fraser, William Thomas, Lieut.—1st May 1855, Ensign—Lieut. 14th Dec. 1855. Retired 9th April 1861.

Frazer, Daniel, Colonel.—27th Dec. 1827, Captain from H.-P. Retired on full pay, May 20, 1853, Major and Bt. Lt. Colonel. Died Colonel at Feversham, Newport-Pagnel, Bucks, 12th July 1868.

Frazer, Rowland Aynsworth (son of Col. Daniel Frazer), Captain.—14th April 1846, Ensign. Killed before Sebastopol, 17th July 1855.

Furlong, John Sheldon, M.D., Surgeon-Major.—9th Feb. 1855, Surgeon from 39th—To 6th Dragoons, 14th June 1864.

Furse, George Armand, Bt. Major.—29th March 1855, Ensign.—Captain 12th Sept. 1865.

Fyfe, Laurence, Captain.—10th Oct. 1817, Ensign— Exchanged to 17th Foot, 10th Aug. 1838. Retired from Half-pay 22d Nov. 1842.

Gartshore, John Murray (of Ravelston), Captain— 7th Dec. 1826. Retired 30th March 1838.

Gisborne, Henry Francis, Assistant-Surgeon—15th Jan. 1827, Assistant-Surgeon. Resigned 27th Nov. 1828.

Goldie, Mark Wilkies.—27th Aug. 1844, Captain from 22d. Retired 3d Nov. 1846.

Gordon, Lord Cecil, Captain.—10th Aug. 1838, Captain from 17th. Retired 4th Nov. 1841.

Gordon, The Hon. Sir Charles, Lieut.-Colonel.—From H.-P. 93d, 25th Nov. 1828. Died at Geneva, when on leave from Corfu, 30th Sept. 1835.

Gordon, George, Lieut.—20 Feb. 1812, Ensign—Half-pay 30th Dec. 1819. Died at Glasgow, 31st March 1861.

Gordon, Hamilton Douglas.—2d May 1851, Captain from 78th. Died at Cairo, on his way to join from India, 9th Sept. 1851.

Gordon, Rowland Hill, Captain from Coldstream Guards, 7th Sept. 1855. Retired 30th June 1869.

Graham, Charles Campbell, (now Graham Stirling, of Craigbarnet), Brevet-Major.—30th Aug. 1844, Ensign. Retired 1st May 1857.

Graham, Thomas, Lieut.-Colonel.—30th April 1827, Lieut.—Half-Pay, Captain, 9th Aug. 1833. Died Lieut -Colonel 1st Royal Scots at Haslar, Gosport, from the Crimea, 29th Oct. 1855.

[1]Granger, John, Captain—Joined the Regiment 21st Dec. 1837.—Promoted from Sergeant-Major to Lieut. in Land Transport Corps, 1st Oct. 1855—Captain, 1st Feb. 1856, Half-pay, 1st April 1857. Retired in 1860.

Grant, Alexander, Lieut.—16th Oct. 1866, Ensign from 15th Foot.—Lieut. 22d Oct. 1870. Retired 24th March 1871.

Grant, Edward Birkett, Captain.—14th Nov. 1826, Ensign—To 92d, 22d March 1827. Retired Captain from 4th Light Dragoons, 13th May 1839. Died at Hill, near Carlisle, 25th Sep. 1852.

Grant, The Hon. George Henry Essex, Captain.—5th Nov. 1841, Ensign. Retired Captain, 6th April 1865. Died at Crieff, 31st May 1873.

Grant, The Hon. James, Lieut.—30th March 1838, Ensign. Retired 26th October 1841.

Grant, John, Lieut.—20th May 1811, Ensign—To Half-pay 24th Aug. 1821. Died 18th June 1827.

Grant, John, (of Glenmoriston), Captain.—8th May 1840, Lieut. from 62d—Exchanged Captain, to 49th 22d May 1846. Retired 23d May 1848. Died at Moy House, Forres, 17th Aug. 1867.

Grant, William Oliver, Lieut.—29th March 1827, Ensign. Retired Lieut. 25th Sept. 1835. Died in 1836.

Green, William, Bt.-Major.—16th Jan. 1855, Ensign—Captain 19th Aug. 1859—Bt.-Major 5th July 1872.

Grogan, Edward George, Lieut.—24th July 1869, Ensign—Lieut. 28th Oct. 1871.

Grove, J. Charles Ross, Captain.—9th Sept. 1851, Ensign—Half-pay Captain, 14th June 1864. Retired 16th Oct. 1866.

Guthrie, John (of Guthrie), Lieut.—16th July 1829, Lieut.—Half-pay 15th June 1832. Retired 19th July 1836.

Guthrie, William, Captain.—21st March 1827, Lieut. —To Half-pay Captain, 10th August 1847.

Haldane, Edward, Orlando.—30th June 1863, Lieut. from H. P. 14th Hussars. Retired 23d Nov. 1865.

Halkett, Sir P. Arthur, of Pitfirrane, Bart., Captain. —20th May 1853, Ensign from 71st, exchanged Captain to 3d Light Dragoons 8th Jan. 1856. Retired 21st May 1858.

Hamilton, Alex. Thomas, Lieut.—18th August 1869, Ensign—Lieut. 28th October 1871. Retired 26th March 1873.

Harrison, James Compson, Lieut.—23d Nov. 1867, Ensign from 73d—Lieut. 28th Oct. 1871. Retired 22d April 1873.

Harvey, John, E. A.—31st Oct. 1871, Lieut. from 51st.

Hay, T. R. Drummond, Lieut-Colonel.—2d August 1839, Ensign—Exchanged Captain to 78th 2d May 1851—To Half-pay 2d Feb. 1864.

Haynes, Jonathan Wynyard, Captain.—25th May 1855, Ensign—Captain 10th July 1866—Exchanged to 2d West India Regiment, 30th July 1869.

Hesketh, Wm. Pemberton, Lieut.—9th March 1855, Ensign—Lieut. 6th Sept. 1855—To 18th Hussars 16th March 1858. Retired 7th Nov. 1862.

Hicks, Edward Percy, Lieut.—Ensign 24th May 1861 —Lieut. 12th Sept. 1865.

[1] Never served in the regiment as an officer

Hill, Harcourt, Lieut.—10th Feb. 1825, Ensign-Half-pay 28th May 1829. Dead.

Hill, Marcus, Lieut.—7th June 1854, Ensign—Resigned 23d March 1855.

Hogarth, George, Lieut-Colonel.—4th Nov. 1819, Ensign—Lieut. H. P. 13th Sept. 1821. Died Major and Brevet. Lieut.-Colonel in the 26th Regiment at Quebec, 25th July 1854.

Home, John, Paymaster.—21st March 1800, Paymaster—Half-pay 20th December 1818. Died at Eskbank, near Dalkeith, 14th April 1849.

Hooper, Alfred, Surgeon.—31st July 1857, Assistant Surgeon from Staff—To Staff Corps in India, 1st Sept. 1865—Surgeon 10th July 1866.

Hopetoun, John, Earl of, General.—29th Jan. 1820, Colonel. Died 27th August 1823.

Hulse, Samuel George.—3d March 1865, Ensign. Retired 11th Dec. 1866.

Hunter, James, Captain.—17th Nov. 1837, Ensign—Exchanged to 13th Foot, Lieut., 2d Sept. 1845. Died Staff Officer of Pensioners at Chester, 26th March 1860.

Inglis, Abraham, Lieut.—15th August 1826, Ensign —Retired Lieut. 15th Jan. 1833.

Jackson, Adam Thomas, M.D., Surgeon Major.—15th Feb. 1833, Assistant-Surgeon—To Staff 5th May 1837. Died at Athlone, Surgeon-Major Depot Battalion, 1st May 1860.

James, Thomas Mansfield, Lieut.—11th May 1855, Ensign—Lieut. 22d Nov. 1855. Died at Almorah, India, 26th Sept. 1860.

James, William, Lieut.—30th March 1855, Ensign.—Lieut. 16th April 1858. Retired 19th Dec. 1865.

Jervoise, Henry Clark, Lieut.-Colonel.—8th April 1853 Lieut. from 23d—Exchanged to Coldstream Guards Captain, 7th Sept. 1855.

Johnstone, George, Lieut.-Colonel.—From H. P. Late of the Grenadier Guards—4th May 1832, Major—To Half-pay from Lieut.-Colonel Commanding, 5th Sept. 1843. Died in London 16th April 1874.

Johnstone, Wm. James Hope (Yr. of Annandale), Lieut.—16th March 1838, Ensign. Retired 16th May 1840. Died at Annandale, 17th March 1850.

Kauntze, George, E. F., Major.—8th June 1856 Captain from 3rd Lt. Dragoons—To H.-P. 7th Nov. 1856—To 7th Dragoon Guards. Retired Major 1867.

Kellet, Robert J. Napier, Captain.—3d Sept. 1829, Captain—To Half-pay 24th Feb. 1837. Retired 19th Oct. 1838. Died at Florence 2d Nov. 1853.

Kennedy, Lord Alex., Sub.-Lieut., 12th Nov. 1873.

Kerr, Lord Charles Lennox, Captain.—1st Sept. 1837. Lieut.—Half-pay Captain 23d August 1844. Retired 10th Dec. 1848.

Kidston, Alex. Ferrier, Captain—9th Nov. 1858, Ensign—Captain 12th Feb. 1873.

King, Finlay. Joined the Regiment in 1803.—31st Dec. 1818, from Sergeant-Major promoted to Quarter-Master—Half-pay 19th June 1840. Died at Guernsey, 1st November 1842.

King, Robert Henry (son of the Quarter-Master).—18th August 1848, Assistant-Surgeon—To Staff 16th July 1852. Died in Canada 31st July 1853.

Kinloch, Thomas, Captain.—14th Sept. 1832, Ensign —Retired 25th Oct. 1844. Died at Logie, Perthshire, 6th Dec. 1848.

Lawson, William, Captain.—Joined the Regiment 29th Sept. 1837—Promoted to Ensign from Sergeant-Major, 5th Nov. 1854—Captain 10th August 1858. Died from wounds received in action, 19th August 1858.

Leith, T. Augustus Forbes.—18th Nov. 1854. Resigned 23d March 1855.

Leslie, John, Captain.—20th July 1815, Ensign—To Half-pay 9th March 1838. Died at Aberdeen 25th Dec. 1845.

M'Dakin, S. Gordon, Lieut.—23d Oct. 1855, Ensign—Lieut. 24th May 1861—To 19th Foot 5th Nov. 1861—Half-pay 22d Dec. 1863.

Macdonald, Atholl Wentworth, Captain.—9th August 1833, Ensign. Retired Captain 6th Dec. 1844. Died in the Pavilion Floriana Malta, with the Regiment, 27th February 1845.

Macdonald, Charles Kerr, Brevet-Major.—15th May 1823, Ensign—Half-pay Captain, 7th Nov. 1826. Died at Alexandria in Egypt, 17th Oct. 1867.

M'Donald, Donald, Captain.—16th August 1803, Ensign—Half-pay 27th May 1819. Died at Musselburgh 24th Sept. 1865.

Macdonald, Sir John, Lieut.-General.—15th Jan. 1844, Colonel. Died in London 28th March 1850.

M'Donald, Ranald, Ensign.—10th August 1815—Half-pay 8th July 1819. Cashiered from 3d Foot 31st July 1828.

Macdonald, Robert Douglas, Captain.—11th July 1822, Ensign. Exchanged to 94th 15th June 1838. Died Barrack-Master at Dover, 9th Feb. 1860.

Macdougall, James, Lieut.-Colonel.—From H. P. 23d, 30th Dec. 1819, Lieut. Retired from Lieut.-Colonel Commanding the Reserve Battalion, 15th Feb. 1850.

M'Dougall, Kenneth, Lieut.—6th March 1809, Ensign. Retired 9th Nov. 1826. Died in the Island of Skye, 1827.

M'Dougall, William Adair, Paymaster—23d August 1833.—To Half-pay 1st Oct. 1838. Died at Guernsey 27th Jan. 1841.

M'Duff, John, Major-General.—7th April 1825, Ensign—from Half-pay; Lieut. 40th Regiment 26th June 1827—Major-General 23d Oct. 1863. Died at New-milu Stanley, Perthshire, 25th September 1865.

Macfarlane, Victor, Ensign.—2d October 1855.—Superseded for absence without leave, 29th July 1856.

Macfarlane, Wm. Dick (of Donavourd), Captain.—10th Sept. 1825, Ensign—Half-pay Captain 16th Nov. 1832. Retired from 92d 15th Jan. 1836. Died at Perth 3d Feb. 1838.

M'Gregor, Alexander.—Joined the Regiment 13th March 1833.—Promoted to Quarter-Master from Quarter-Master Sergeant 25th May 1855—To a Depot Battalion, 30th August 1859—To Half-pay with rank of Captain, from 98th Regiment 1st August 1868.

M'Gregor, Alex. Edgar, Captain.—18th June 1852 Lieut. from 93d. Died Captain in the 31st at Hong-Kong, 12th August 1860.

M'Gregor, James (of Fonab), Dep. Inspector General.—12th April 1826, Assistant-Surgeon—To Staff Surgeon 1st class 12th March 1852—To Half-pay, 7th Dec. 1858.

M'Gregor, James, M.D.—12th March 1841, Assistant-Surgeon—To Staff 22d Nov. 1842.

M'Intosh, Daniel, Captain.—4th June 1805, Lieut. Retired 24th October 1821. Died at Hamilton 13th March 1830.

M'Intosh, Donald, Quarter-Master.—Joined the Regiment, not known—9th July 1803, Quarter-Master—Half-pay 30th Dec. 1818. Died at Perth 30th July 1829.

M'Intosh, William Henry.—27th Oct. 1846, Assistant-Surgeon.—Resigned 18th August 1848.

M'Iver, George, Captain.—31st March 1814, Ensign—To Half-pay 5th April 1839. Died July 1845.

M'Kay, Donald, Captain.—25th Jan. 1810, Ensign. Died at the Regimental Depot, Stirling, 13th Feb. 1832.

Mackie, Hugh, 7th August 1846, Surgeon.—To Staff 1st April 1850. Died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, 10th April 1858.

M'Kenzie, Donald, Captain.—23d July 1807, Lieut. Retired 13th Sept. 1821. Died in Edinburgh 5th Dec. 1838.

M'Kenzie, Thomas, Captain.—8th Feb. 1856, Ensign. Exchanged to 78th 23d Oct 1857.

M'Kinnon, Wm. Alex., C.B. Dep. Surg. General 1st April 1874—24th March 1854, Assistant-Surgeon from the Staff—To 57th Surgeon 28th Jan 1862.

Maclachlan, James.—16th April 1842, Ensign. Resigned 24th May 1844.

M'Laine, Murdoch, Brevet-Major.—18th Jan. 1800, Ensign. Died 12th Dec. 1822.

M'Laren, Charles, Lieut.—2d June 1808, Lieut.—Half-pay 25th June 1817. Died in London 13th March 1818.

M'Lean, Alex., Surgeon.—7th Sept. 1854. Assistant-surgeon—To Royal Artillery 8th Nov. 1861.

Macleod, Arthur Lyttleton, Captain.—12th Dec. 1822, Ensign—Half-pay Lieut, 9th June 1825. Retired from 86th 12th March 1841. Nothing more known of him.

M'Leod, Sir John Chetham, K.C.B., Colonel.—21st April 1846, Ensign—now (1873) in command of the Regiment.

M'Leod, Murdoch, Captain.—20th Feb. 1855, Ensign—Captain 24th May 1761. Retired 17th Aug. 1869.

Macleod, Swinton, Dep. Inspec.-General.—25th June 1801, Assistant-surgeon—Half-pay 5th Nov. 1829. Died in London 27th Dec. 1847.

Macnish, Wm. Lear, Lieut.— 28th August 1846, Ensign—Exchanged to 93d. Lieut. 18th June 1852. Drowned at Scutari, Turkey, 19th May 1854.

Macpherson, Andrew Kennedy, Lieut.—19th Dec. 1865, Ensign—To 17th Foot 16th Feb. 1869. Lieut. Bengal Staff Corps 14th Dec. 1869.

Macpherson, Donald, Surgeon.—1st June 1809, Assistant-Surgeon—To half-pay from 62d 24th July 1835. Died at Chatham, 25th June 1839.

Macpherson, Duncan (Younger of Cluny), Major.—Bt. Lt.-Col., C.B. 25th June 1852, Ensign—Major 5th July 1865.

Macpherson, Ewen (of Cluny), 15th June 1830. Capt.—H.-pay 14th June 1833. Retired 16th July 1841.

Macpherson, John Cameron, Lieut.-Colonel.—10th September 1830, Ensign—To full-pay Major, with rank of Lieut.-Colonel 24th April 1855. Died at Stirling, 23d April 1873.

Macpherson, Mungo, Major.—4th Nov. 1800, Ensign—Half-pay Major 18th May 1826. Died at Hastings 26th Nov. 1844.

Macquarie, George W., Captain.—25th Sept. 1835, Ensign—Captain 25th Oct. 1844. Exchanged to 63d, 1853. Retired 7th Sept. 1855.

Maginn, Daniel Wedgworth, Assistant-Surgeon 27th Nov. 1828. Exchanged to Staff 15th Feb. 1833. Died at Chatham 20th March 1834.

Maitland, Charles.—12th Nov. 1847, Ensign. Died at Bermuda 21st April 1851.

Maitland, George Thomas, Lieut.—9th April 1861, Ensign—Lieut. 5th July 1865—To Bengal Staff Corps 2d March 1866.

Malcolm, John, Major.—19th Feb. 1807, Ensign. Died at Cork, returning home on sick leave from Gibraltar, 14th Nov. 1829.

Malcolm, John, Ensign.—6th Jan. 1814, Ensign—To Half-pay 4th Nov. 1819. Died 8th Sept. 1835.

Menzies, Archd., Major.—25th September 1800, Ensign—Retired Major 25th. Dec. 1828. Died at Avondale, near Falkirk, 11th July 1854.

Menzies, Gilbert Innes, Lieut.—18th April 1842, Ensign. Retired 20th May 1853. Died at Largs, 17th March 1874.

Middleton, William, Lieut-Colonel.—9th July 1803, Ensign. Retired from command of the Regiment 23d August 1839. Died at Woolwich 18th Feb. 1843.

Mitchell, James William.—5th March 1858, Lieut. from St Helena Regiment—To 17th Foot 10th July 1860. Retired 23d July 1861.

Montagu, George, Brevet-Major.—5th April 1839. —From H. P. 52d, 3d June 1842, to H. P.

Montgomery, Thos. Henry (of Hattonburn), Captain. —3d March 1847, Ensign. Retired 22d May 1857.

Moore, George T. Carus, Captain.—12th Dec. 1856, Ensign—Captain 23d Nov. 1872.

Moseley, Herbert Henry, Captain.—3d June 1853, Ensign—Retired 24th March 1863. Died at Calcutta 19th May 1863.

Moubray, William Henry H. C., Lieut.—22d Oct. 1870, Ensign—Lieut. 28th Oct. 1871.

Muir, Sir Wm., K.C.B. and M.D., Director General —22d Nov. 1842, Assistant-surgeon—Promoted Surgeon 33d Regiment 24th Feb. 1854—Inspector-General 15th Feb. 1861.—Dir.-Gen., April 1, 1874.

Munro, Geo. Montgomery, Sub-Lt.—11th Dec. 1872.

Murray, Charles, Lieut.-Colonel.—21st June 1833, Ensign—To Half-pay Major 12th Sept. 1856. Retired 21st Sept. 1860 with rank of Lieut.-Colonel. Died at Kendal 23d May 1874.

Murray, The Hon. David Henry, Brevet-Major.—6th April 1828, Ensign—To Lieut. 7th Fusiliers 9th Nov. 1830. Retired from Scots Fusilier Guards 4th Feb. 1848. Died at Taymount, Perthshire, 5th Sept. 1862.

Murray, Sir George, General.—6th Sept. 1823, Colonel—Removed to the 1st Royal Scots 29th Dec. 1843. Died in London 28th July 1846.

Murray, Henry Dundas.—30th Jan. 1835, Ensign. Retired 17th Nov. 1837.

Murray, James Wolfe (of Cringletie).—25th Jan. 1853, Ensign. Retired 24th June 1833.

Murray, Sir Robert, Bart.—15th Dec. 1837, Ensign. Retired 2d August 1839.

Murray, Sir William Keith, Bart.—Captain 1st Oct. 1825.—Half-pay 15th June 1830. Retired 10th March 1838. Died 16th Oct. 1861.

Nicholson, Brinsley, M.D., Dep.-Inspector-General. —15th Nov. 1829, Surgeon—Staff-Surgeon to the Forces 19th June 1835—Half-pay 30th Dec. 1845. Died at Red Hill, Surrey, 15th March 1857.

Orde, John W. Powlett, Captain (yr. of Kilmory).—6th Dec. 1844, Ensign. Retired 9th Jan. 1857.

Paterson, Augustus, Captain.—10th Jan. 1840, Ensign—To 68th Captain on reduction 24th Sept. 1850. Retired from 41st on the 24th Nov. 1854.

Paterson, James, M.D., Surgeon.—19th June 1835, Surgeon—To Half-pay 26th Feb. 1841. Died in Edinburgh 26th August 1866.

Paterson, James Erskine, Lieut. (now Erskine Erskine of Linlathen).—3d Nov. 1846, Ensign. Retired 12th Oct. 1852.

Paton, Edward, Captain.—Joined the Regiment as Armourer-Serjeant 24th August 1814.—Quarter-Master-Serjeant 15th Nov. 1838—Quarter-Master 19th June 1840—To Half-pay 5th May 1854. Died at Southsea, Portsmouth, 2d May 1863.

Peter, James John, Lieut.—16th April 1861, Ensign from 5th foot—Lieut. 14th June 1864. Died in India, 11th Nov. 1865.

Pitcairn, Andrew, Lieut.-Colonel.—15th May 1840, Ensign—Exchanged Major to 25th, 17th July 1857 To Half-pay Lieut.-Colonel on reduction of a Depot Battalion—1st April 1870. Retired 21st August 1871.

Priestly, Edward Ramsden, Colonel.—17th July 1857, Major from 25th Regiment. Died in command of the Regiment at Stirling, 25th March 1868.

Ramsay, Alexander, Captain.—16th May 1840, Ensign—Exchanged to 68th Captain 27th Sept. 1853. Retired 20th Jan. 1854.

Ramsay, Robert Williamson, Captain.—15th June 1832, Lieut. from 62d. Retired 16th Nov. 1841.

Raynes, Thomas, Captain.—2d Sept. 1824, Ensign. Retired 30th Jan. 1835.

Robertson, George Duncan (of Struan), Lieut.—14th June, 1833, Ensign. Retired 16th May 1840. Died at Bonchurch, Isle of Wight, 3d April 1864.

Robertson, James, Captain.—1st Dec. 1808, Ensign—to Half-pay Captain 13th Feb. 1827. Died in the 48th Regiment, at Chatham, 20th April 1833.

Robertson, Wm. James (younger of Kinlochmoidart), Captain.—16th June 1848, Ensign—Exchanged Lieut. to 30th Regiment. Retired 4th Dec. 1857. Died at Kinlochmoidart, 26th June 1869.

Rollo, The Hon. Robert, C.B., Major-General.—10th Aug. 1832, Ensign—To Half-pay Lieut.-Colonel 17th July 1855.

Rose, Eustace, Henry.—21st Jan. 1853, Captain from 60th Rifles—Exchanged to 7th Fusiliers 27th May 1853. Retired 3d June 1856.

Ross, Gilian M'Lean, Brevet-Major.—17th Nov. 1841 —Lieut. from 57th—To Half-pay as Captain 4th Sept. 1849—To 3d W. I. Regiment—and To Half-pay from it 6th March 1863. Died in London 23d May 1866.

Ross, James Kerr, Lieut.-General.—31st May 1821, Captain—Half-pay 27th Dec. 1827. Died at Edinburgh, 26th April 1872.

St John, George Frederick Berkeley, Major.—25th Nov. 1819, Lieut.—To Half-pay Captain 25th Oct. 1821—To H. P. Major from the 52d, 31st May 1839. Died a Knight of Windsor, 23d July 1866.

Samwell, Frank, Captain.—Paymaster from Half-pay 102d 15th Dec. 1869.

Sandeman, Thos. Fraser, Captain 24th Dec. 1828—Ensign, 1828—Half-pay Lieut. 10th Aug. 1832. Retired from 73d Captain 31st May 1844.

Sandilands, E. Nimmo, Lieut.-Colonel.—21st May 1842, Ensign—Promoted to Lieut. 8th Foot 3d April 1846—Lieut.-Colonel Bengal Staff Corps.

Scobie, Mackay John, Lieut.—12th Jan. 1867, Ensign—Lieut. 28th Oct. 1871.

Scott, Francis Cunningham (younger of Malleny), Major, Bt. Lt.-Col. C.B.—24th Nov. 1852, Ensign —Major 26th March 1868.

Scott, James Rattray, Lieut.—4th July 1819, Ensign —To 47th 11th July 1822. Resigned 6th Dec. 1826.

Shuttleworth, Charles, Captain.—23d April 1855, Ensign—To Bengal Staff Corps, Lieut. 27th Oct. 1865—Captain 23d April 1867.

Simpson, John, V.C.—Joined the Regiment 8th June 1843—From Quarter-Master Sergeant promoted to Quarter-Master 7th Oct. 1859. To 55th Brigade Depôt 1873.

Sinclair, Robert Bligh, Captain.—27th Sept. 1839, Ensign.—To Half-pay Captain on reduction 15th. Nov. 1850. Retired from 66th Captain 3d Nov. 1854—Was Adjutant-General of Militia for Nova Scotia. Died at the Danish Island of Santa Cruz 28th of June 1872.

Spens, Colin, Lieut.—2d Dec. 1862, Ensign—Lieut. 2d March 1866. Died in India 22d June 1867.

Spooner, Wm. Henry, Lieut.—9th Oct. 1855, Ensign —To 9th Foot Lieut. 16th April 1861—To 90th 11th April 1862—Half-pay 27th Feb. 1867. Died at Bingen on the Rhine, 29th Nov. 1870.

Stevenson, A. Scott, Lieut.—17th March 1869, Ensign—Lieut. 28th Oct. 1871.

Stevenson, George Milne, Lieut.-Colonel.—10th Sept. 1818, Lieut.—To Half-pay Captain 24th Oct. 1821 —To H. P. Lieut.-Colonel from Rifle Brigade 19th June 1840. Retired 7th August 1846. Nothing more known of him.

Stewart, Andrew David Alston, Captain.—26th Sept. 1831, Ensign—Exchanged to 6th Foot Lieut. 1st Sept 1837. Died in India, Captain 61st, 18th May 1848.

Stewart, Charles Edward, Ensign.—8th June 1826, Ensign. Died at Gibraltar, 3d Nov. 1828.

Stewart, The Hon. Randolph Henry, Captain.—2d March 1855, Ensign—Captain 14th June 1864—To Half-pay 23d March 1867.

Stewart, John, Assistant-Surgeon.—4th May 1809.—To Half-pay 25th Dec. 1818. Died at Perth, 2d Jan. 1837.

Stewart, Roger, Captain.—28th June 1810, Ensign—To Half-pay Captain 13th Feb. 1827. Died in the Royal African Corps, on the West Coast, 15th July 1833.

Stirling, James, Captain.—13th August 1805, Ensign. Retired 25th Sept. 1817. Died at Musselburgh 20th Jan. 1818.

Stirling, Thos. Jas. Graham (of Strowan), Lieut.—8th Nov. 1827, Ensign. Retired 15th Dec. 1837.

Strange, Alex., Lieut.—8th Feb. 1809, Ensign. Died 15th May 1823.

Stuart, J. G. Gordon, Lieut.—1st June 1855, Ensign—Lieut. 1st May 1857—Exchanged to St Helena Regiment 5th March 1858. Retired 23d Sept. 1862.

[1] Stuart, John Patrick, Brevet-Major.—Joined the Regiment 18th May 1825—Promoted from Colour-Serjeant to 2d Lieut. in the 21st Fusiliers, 30th Dec. 1838—To Staff-Officer of Pensioners, 1st Jan. 1855, from 43d Light Infantry.

Suther, William King, Lieut.—13th Feb. 1866, Ensign from 99th—Lieut. 18th August 1869.

Thompson, William Kerr, Lieut.—7th April 1825, Ensign from Half-pay, Lieut. 26th Regiment, 26th April 1828. Died on Half-pay 27th May 1833.

Thompson, William Thomas, Captain from 83d, 28th Jan. 1870. Retired 19th Oct. 1872.

Thornhill, T. Allen, M.B.—24th July 1857, Assistant-Surgeon—To 7th Hussars 25th March 1859.

Thorold, George Edward, Colonel.—28th July 1857, Lieut.-Colonel from H. P. 92d. Retired on Full-pay with rank of Colonel, 16th March 1858. Died at Brighton 11th April 1874.

Tinnie, William Thomas, Captain.—26th June 1827. Ensign—To 86th Lieut. 20th Dec. 1827. Retired Captain from 8th Hussars 15th Nov. 1839. Died 21st March 1848.

Troup, Robert William, M.B.—1st Sept. 1865, Assistant-Surgeon from the Staff.

Tulloch, Thomas, Colonel.—15th June 1838, Captain from 94th—To Half-pay Lieut-Colonel 9th Oct. 1855. Retired with the rank of Colonel 21st Oct. 1859. Died in London 3d Jan. 1866.

Tulloch, James Tulloch, M.D. Assistant-Surgeon.—2d July 1861, from Rifle Brigade. Died in India 16th July 1867.

Underwood, William, Capt.—5th June 1855, Ensign—Capt. 11th Jan. 1867. Retired 12th Feb. 1873.

Wade, Thos. Francis, Colonel.—13th July 1809, Captain from 20th—Half-pay Major 4th May 1826.—Died at Haverford West, 3d Dec. 1846.

[1] Never served in the Regiment as an Officer.

Wade, Thomas Francis (son of the Colonel), Lieut.—23d August 1839, Ensign—Promoted in 98th, Lieut. 16 Nov. 1841. Retired 22d June 1847. Now British Minister at Pekin.

Walter, William Sanders, Captain.—25th Jan. 1856, Ensign—Captain 23d March 1867. Retired 23d Nov. 1872.

Ward, William Crofton, Captain.—18th August 1848, Ensign—Retired 24th May 1861.

Wardell, Charles, Paymaster.—22d Feb. 1821.—Half-pay 25th Jan. 1828. Died 29th July 1862.

Warner, Chas. W. Pole.—28th Dec. 1860, Ensign from 43d. Resigned 16th April 1861.

Warrand, Arthur Wellesley, Lieut. 24th March 1863, Ensign—Lieut. 10th July 1866. Retired 21st Oct. 1870. Died at Cape of Good Hope 1st June 1871.

Wauchope, Andrew Gilbert, Lieut. and Adjutant.—21st Nov. 1865, Ensign—Lieut. 23d June 1867—Adjutant 5th April 1870.

Webber, W. G. Everard, Captain.—23d Nov. 1852, Ensign. Died in India, 9th July 1866.

Wedderburn, John Walter, Lieut.-Colonel.—26th Oct. 1841, Ensign. Retired Captain 12th May 1854—Major, Royal Perth Rifles, 5th Nov. 1855. Retired with rank of Lieut.-Colonel 10th Dec. 1869.

Wheatley, John, Lieut.-Colonel.—Joined the Regiment 1st May 1817—Ensign and Adjutant from Acting Serjeant-Major 20th July 1832—To a Depot Battalion, 26th Jan. 1855. Retired on Half-pay 27th June 1866.

Whigham, Robert, Major.—6th June 1854, Ensign To Half-pay Captain on reduction 1st Jan. 1857—7th Fusiliers 31st Dec. 1857—16th Lancers 9th Oct. 1863.

Whitehead, Edmund, Captain.—22d May 1857, Ensign.—Captain 17th August 1869.

Whitehead, Frederick G. I.—27th May 1853, Captain from 7th Fusiliers. Retired 27th July 1854.

Wilkes, Edwin.—10th July 1860, Assistant-Surgeon from Staff—To Staff Corps in India, 8th Aug 1862.

Wilkinson, Frederick Green, Colonel—28th Nov. 1851, Captain from 43d—Lieut.-Colonel, exchanged to a Depôt Battalion 27th Sept. 1861.

Wilson, John, Bt.-Major.—Joined the Regiment 22d Oct. 1844—Promoted Ensign from Sergeant-Major 10th August 1854—Captain 16th March 1858—Bt. Major 5th July 1872.

Wood, John Gillespie, M.D.—12th March 1852, Surgeon—To Staff Surgeon-Major 9th Feb. 1855—To Half-pay Dep.-Inspector-General, 8th June 1867. Died in Edinburgh 27th Nov. 1873.
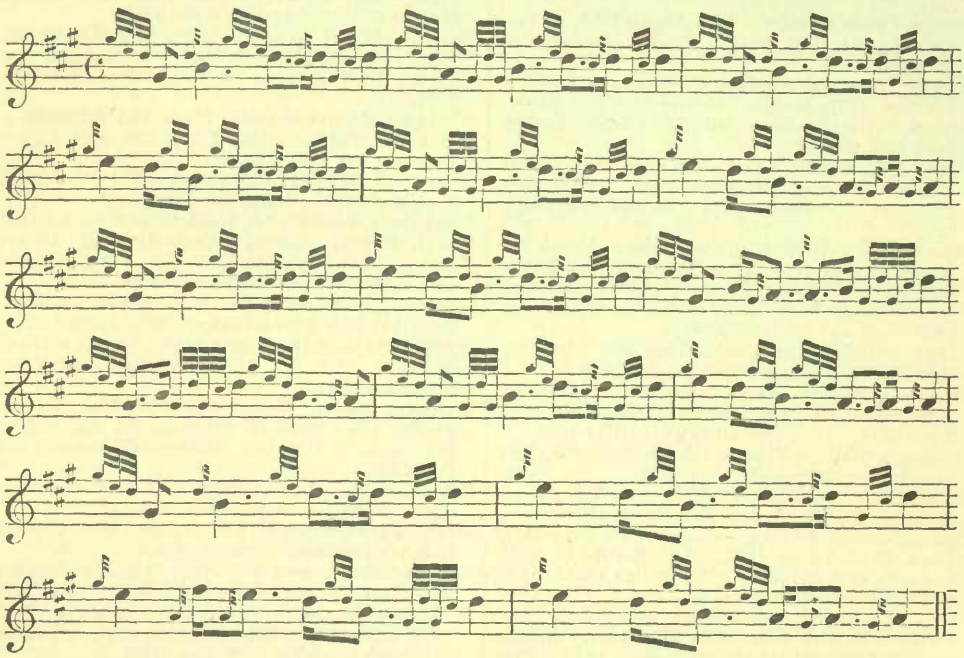
Wood, William, Major—Joined the Regiment 27th July 1843—Promoted to Quarter Master from Sergeant Major, 5th May 1854—Adjutant 16th Feb. 1855—To Half-pay Captain 17th March 1863—Major 1st April 1870.

Young, James, Lieut.—22d Oct. 1805, Ensign—Half-pay 25th Nov. 1819. Died in Edinburgh, 15th June 1846.

HIGHLAND PIBROCH:
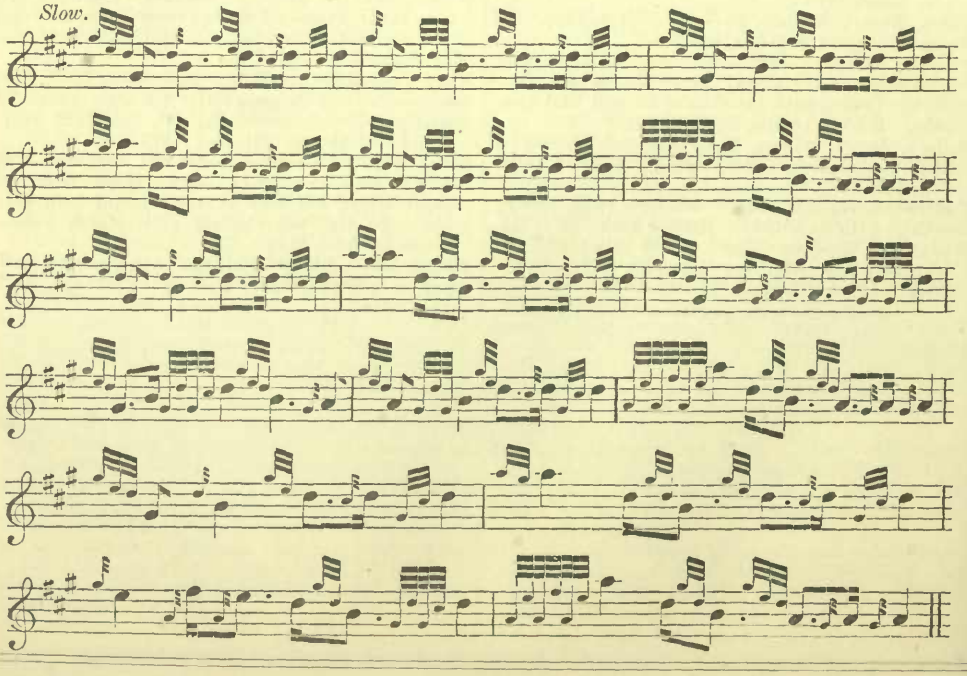
Composed by one of the MacCrummens in the midst of the Battle of Inverlochy, 1427, wherein Donald Balloch of the Isles was victorious over the Royal Forces.

ARRANGED FOR THE BAGPIPES.

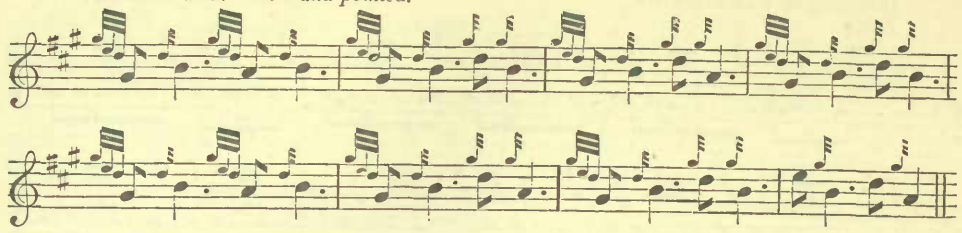


VARIATION 1st.
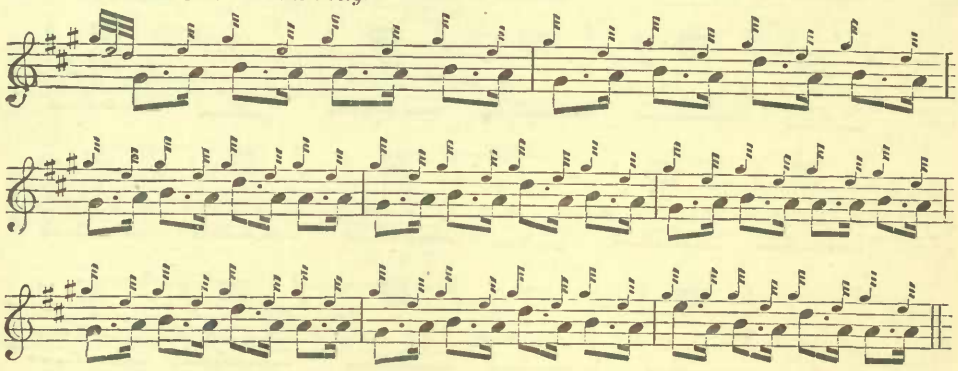
Slow.



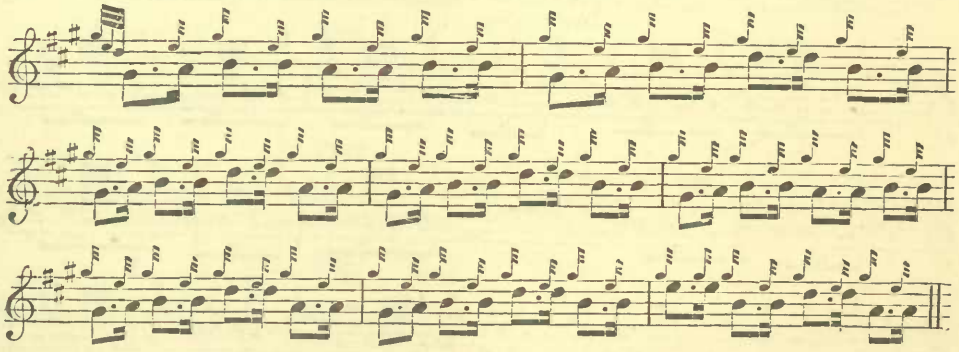
VARIATION 2nd. *Slow and pointed.*



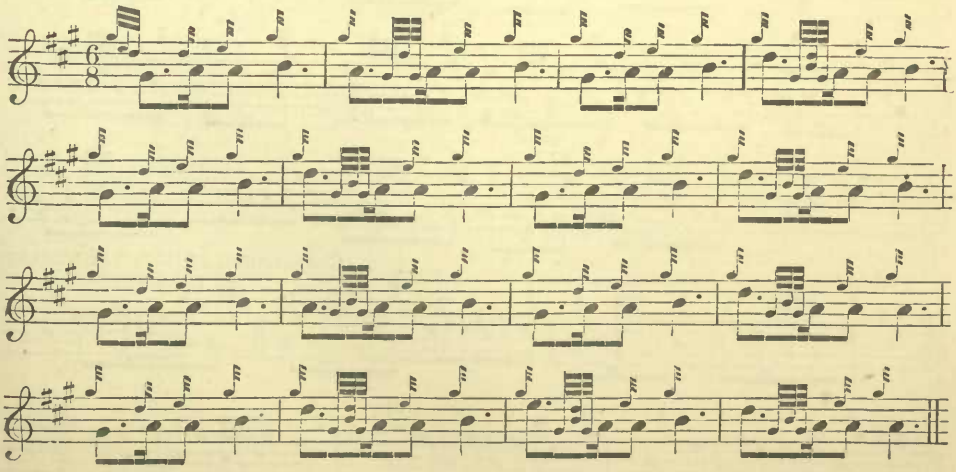
VARIATION 3rd. *A little lively.*
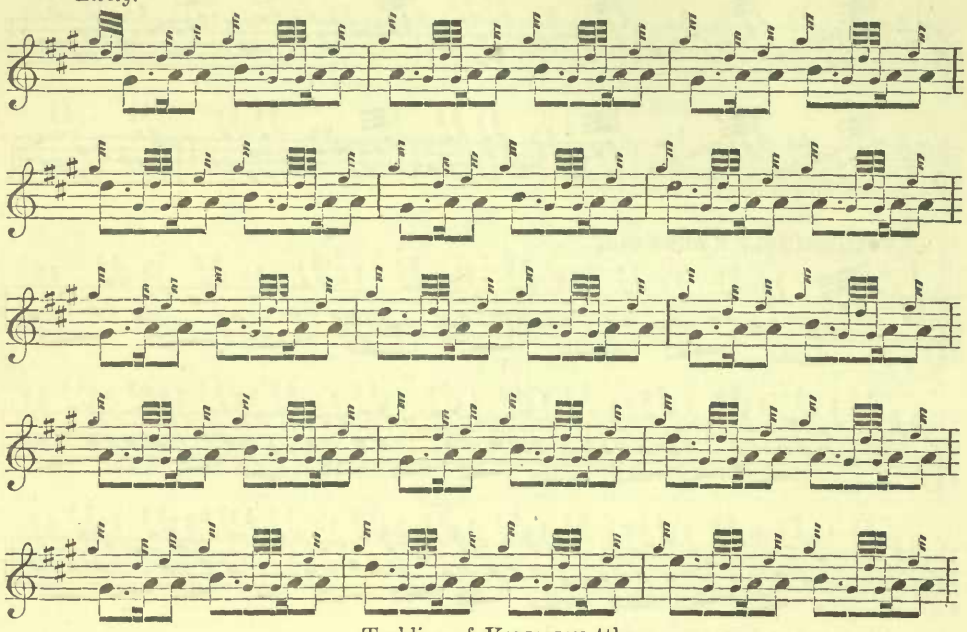


DOUBLING OF VARIATION 3rd.
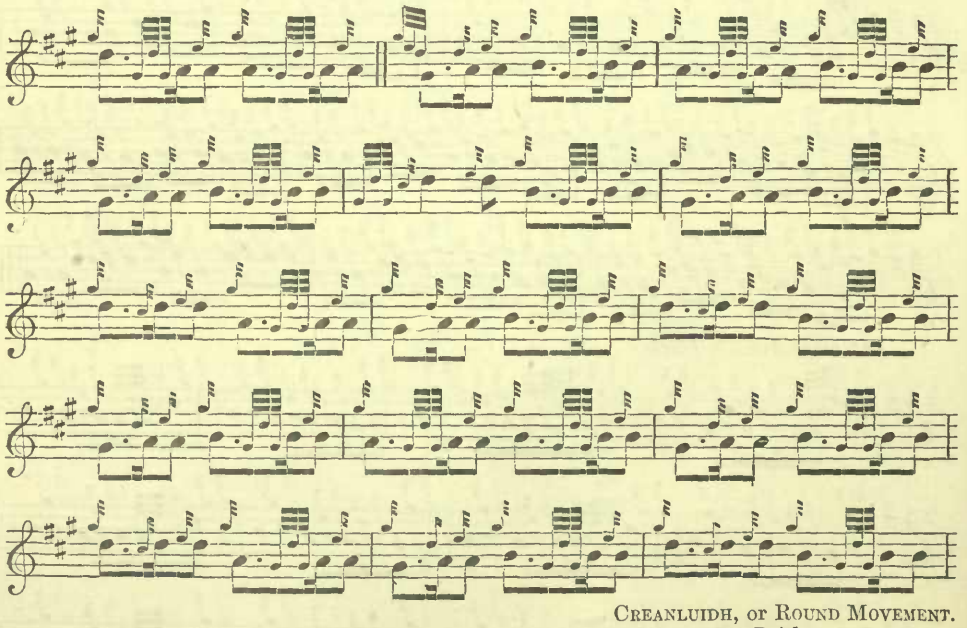


VARIATION 4th. *Livelier.*



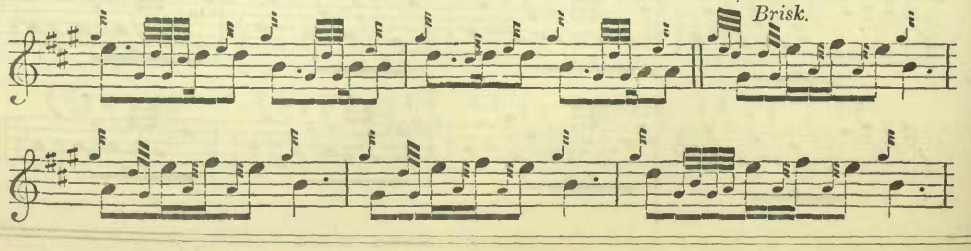
Doubling of VARIATION 4th.
Lively.

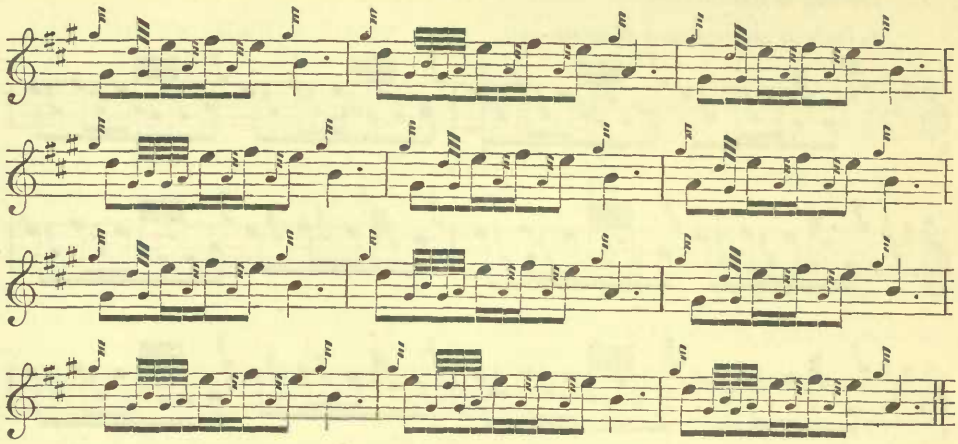


Trebling of VARIATION 4th.
Livelier still.
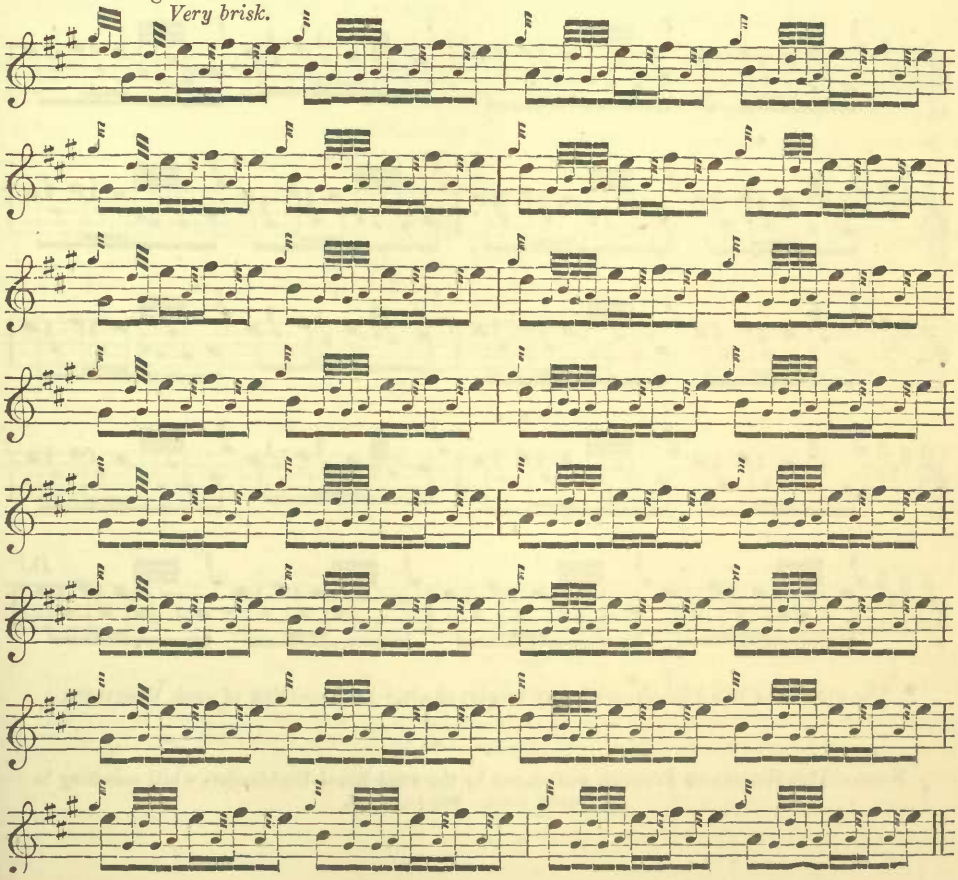


CREANLUIDH, or ROUND MOVEMENT.
Brisk.





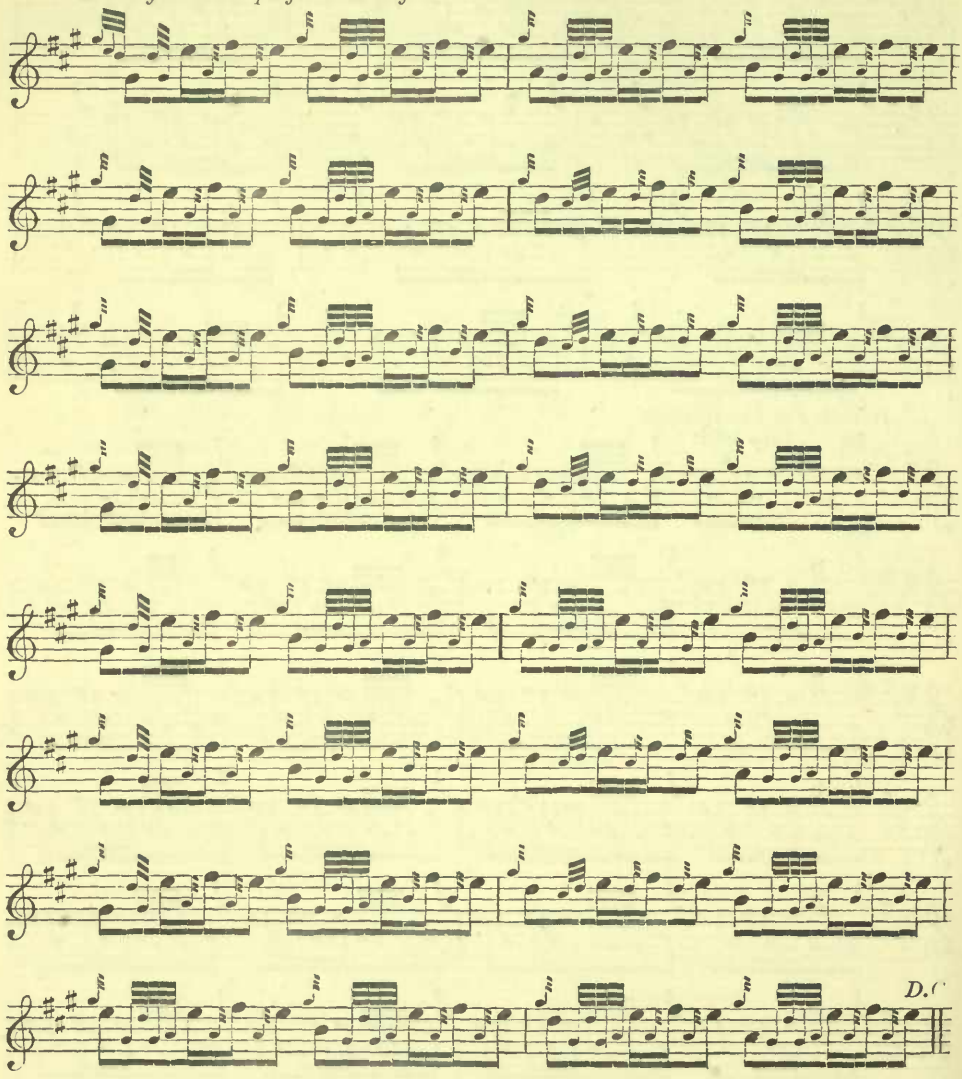
Doubling of CREANLUIDH.

Very brisk.



Trebling of CREANLUIDH.

As lively as can be played distinctly.



The ground of this Piobaireachd may be played after the Doubling of each VARIATION.

NOTE.—This HIGHLAND PIBROCH was played by the 42nd Royal Highlanders while marching to Quatre Bras. See page 394.

LOUDON'S HIGHLANDERS.

1745—1748.

Raising of Regiment—Rebellion of 1745—Flanders—Bergen-op-Zoom—Reduction of Regiment.

THE bravery displayed by Lord John Murray's Highlanders at Fontenoy opened the eyes of Government to the importance of securing the military services of the clans. It was therefore determined to repair, in part, the loss sustained in that well-fought action, by raising a second regiment in the Highlands, and authority to that effect was granted to the Earl of Loudon. By the influence of the noblemen, chiefs, and gentlemen of the country, whose sons and connexions were to be appointed officers, a body of 1250 men was raised, of whom 750 assembled at Inverness, and the remainder at Perth. The whole were formed into a battalion of twelve companies, under the following officers, their commissions being dated June 8th 1745:—

Colonel.—John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, who died in 1782, a general in the army.

Lieutenant-Colonel.—John Campbell (afterwards Duke of Argyll), who died a field-marshal in 1806.

Captains.

John Murray (afterwards Duke of Athole), son of Lord George Murray.
Alexander Livingstone Campbell, son of Ardkinglass.
John Macleod, younger of Macleod.
Henry Munro, son of Colonel Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis.
Lord Charles Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon.
John Stewart, son of the Earl of Moray.
Alexander Mackay, son of Lord Reay
Ewen Macpherson of Clunie.
John Sutherland of Forse.
Colin Campbell of Ballimore, killed at Culloden.
Archibald Macnab, who died a lieutenant-general in 1791, son of the laird of Macnab.

Lieutenants.

Colin Campbell of Kilberrie.
Alexander Maclean.
John Campbell of Strachur, who died in 1806, a general in the army, and colonel of the 57th regiment.
Duncan Robertson of Drumachuine, afterwards of Strowan.
Patrick Campbell, son of Achallader.
Donald Macdonald.
James Macpherson of Killihuntly.
John Robertson or Reid, of Straloch, who died in 1806, at the age of eighty-five, a general in the army, and colonel of the 88th or Connaught Rangers.[1]
Patrick Grant, younger of Rothiemurchus.
John Campbell of Ardsliginish.
Alexander Campbell, brother to Barcaldine.
Donald Macdonell of Lochgarry.
Colin Campbell of Glenure.

Ensigns.

James Stewart of Urrard.
John Martin of Inch.
George Munroe of Novar.
Malcolm Ross, younger of Pitcalnie.
Hugh Mackay.
James Fraser.
David Spalding of Ashintully.
Archibald Campbell.
Donald Macneil.
Alexander Maclagan, son of the minister of Little Dunkeld.
Robert Bisset of Glenelbert, afterwards commissary-general of Great Britain.
John Grant, younger of Dalrachnie.

[1] For details as to General Reid, see accounts of Clan Robertson and the 42d Regiment.

Before the regiment was disciplined, the rebellion broke out, and so rapid were the movements of the rebels, that the communication between the two divisions, at Perth and Inverness, was cut off. They were therefore obliged to act separately. The formation of the regiment at the time was considered a fortunate circumstance, as many of the men would certainly have joined in the insurrection; and indeed several of the officers and men went over to the rebels. Four companies were employed in the central and southern Highlands, whilst the rest were occupied in the northern Highlands, under Lord Loudon. Three companies under the Hon. Captains Stewart and Mackay, and Captain Munro of Fowlis, were, with all their officers, taken prisoners at the battle of Gladsmuir. Three other companies were also at the battle of Culloden, where Captain Campbell and six men were killed and two soldiers wounded.

On the 30th of May 1747, the regiment embarked at Burntisland for Flanders, but it did not join the Duke of Cumberland's army till after the battle of Lafeldt, on the 2d of July. Though disappointed of the opportunity which this battle would have given them of distinguishing themselves, another soon offered for the display of their gallantry. Marshal Saxe having determined to attack the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, with an army of 25,000 men under General Count Lowendahl, all the disposable forces in Brabant, including Loudon's Highlanders, were sent to defend the lines, which were strongly fortified. To relieve the garrison, consisting of six battalions, and to preserve a communication with the

country, eighteen battalions occupied the lines. The fortress, which was considered impregnable, was defended by 250 pieces of cannon. The siege was carried on unremittingly from the 15th of July till the 17th of September, during which time many sorties were made. In the *Hague Gazette*, an account is given of one of these, which took place on the 25th of July, in which it is stated "that the Highlanders, who were posted in Fort Rouro, which covers the lines of Bergen-op-Zoom, made a sally, sword in hand, in which they were so successful as to destroy the enemy's grand battery, and to kill so many of their men, that Count Lowendahl beat a parley, in order to bury the dead. To this it was answered, that had he attacked the place agreeably to the rules of war, his demand would certainly have been granted; but as he had begun the siege like an incendiary, by setting fire to the city with red-hot balls, a resolution had been taken neither to ask or grant any suspension of arms."

Having made breaches in a ravelin and two bastions, the besiegers made an unexpected assault on the night of the 16th of September, and throwing themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally port, and, entering the place, ranged themselves along the ramparts, almost before the garrison had assembled. Cronstrun, the old governor, and many of his officers, were asleep, and so sudden and unexpected was the attack, that several of them flew to the ranks in their shirts. Though the possession of the ramparts sealed the fate of the town, the Scottish troops were not disposed to surrender it without a struggle. The French were opposed by two regiments of the Scotch brigade, in the pay of the States-general, who, by their firmness, checked the progress of the enemy, and enabled the governor and garrison to recover from their surprise. The Scotch assembled in the market-place, and attacked the French with such vigour that they drove them from street to street, till, fresh reinforcements pouring in, they were compelled to retreat in their turn,—disputing every inch as they retired, and fighting till two-thirds of their number fell on the spot, killed or severely wounded,—when the remainder brought off the old governor, and joined the troops in the lines.

The troops in the lines, most unaccountably, retreated immediately, and the enemy thus became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. "Two battalions," says an account of the assault published in the *Hague Gazette*, "of the Scotch brigade have, as usual, done honour to their country,—which is all we have to comfort us for the loss of such brave men, who, from 1450, are now reduced to 330 men —and those have valiantly brought their colours with them, which the grenadiers twice recovered from the midst of the French at the point of the bayonet. The Swiss have also suffered, while others took a more *speedy way to escape* danger." In a history of this memorable siege the brave conduct of the Scotch is also thus noticed: "It appears that more than 300 of the Scotch brigade fought their way through the enemy, and that they have had 19 officers killed and 18 wounded. Lieutenants Francis and Allan Maclean of the brigade were taken prisoners, and carried before General Lowendahl, who thus addressed them: 'Gentlemen, consider yourselves on parole. If all had conducted themselves as you and your brave corps have done, I should not now be master of Bergen-op-Zoom.'"[2]

The loss of a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable was deeply felt by the allies. The eyes of all Europe had been fixed upon this important siege, and when the place fell strong suspicions were entertained of treachery in the garrison. Every thing had been done by the people of the United Provinces to enable the soldiers to hold out: they were allowed additional provisions of the best quality, and cordials were furnished for the sick and dying. Large sums of money were collected to be presented to the soldiers, if they made a brave defence; and £17,000 were collected in one

2 Lieutenant Allan Maclean was son of Maclean of Torloisk. He left the Dutch and entered the British service. He was a captain in Montgomery's Highlanders in 1757; raised the 114th Highland regiment in 1759; and, in 1775, raised a battalion of the 84th, a Highland Emigrant regiment; and, by his unwearied zeal and abilities, was the principal cause of the defeat of the Americans at the attack on Quebec in 1775–6. Lieutenant Francis Maclean also entered the British service, and rose to the rank of Major-general. In the year 1777 he was appointed colonel of the 82d regiment, and, in 1779 commanded an expedition against Penobscot in Nova Scotia, in which he was completely successful.—*Stewart's Sketches.*

day in Amsterdam, to be applied in the same way, if the soldiers compelled the enemy to raise the siege. Every soldier who carried away a gabion from the enemy was paid a crown, and such was the activity of the Scotch, that some of them gained ten crowns a-day in this kind of service. Those who ventured to take the burning fuse out of the bombs of the enemy (and there were several who did so), received ten or twelve ducats. In this remarkable siege the French sustained an enormous loss, exceeding 22,000 men; that of the garrison did not exceed 4000.[3]

After the loss of Bergen-op-Zoom, Loudon's Highlanders joined the Duke of Cumberland's army, and at the peace of 1748 returned to Scotland, and was reduced at Perth in June of the same year.

MONTGOMERY'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

1757—1763.

Lord Chatham and the Highlanders—Raising of the Regiment—America—Fort du Quèsne—Ticonderogo —Cherokees — Dominique— West Indies — Newfoundland—Fort Pitt.

We have already quoted [4] Lord Chatham's eloquent statement with regard to the Highland Regiments, in his celebrated speech on the differences with America in 1766. The only way by which the Highlanders could be gained over was by adopting a liberal course of policy, the leading features of which should embrace the employment of the chiefs, or their connections, in the military service of the government. It was reserved to the sagacity of Chatham to trace to its source the cause of the disaffection of the Highlanders, and, by suggesting a remedy, to give to their military virtue a safe direction.

Acting upon the liberal plan he had devised, Lord Chatham (then Mr Pitt), in the year 1757 recommended to his Majesty George II. to employ the Highlanders in his service, as the best means of attaching them to his person. The king approved of the plan of the minister, and letters of service were immediately issued for raising several Highland regiments. This call to arms was responded to by the clans, and "battalions on battalions," to borrow the words of an anonymous author, "were raised in the remotest part of the Highlands, among those who a few years before were devoted to, and too long had followed the fate of the race of Stuarts. Frasers, Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleans, Macphersons, and others of disaffected names and clans, were enrolled; their chiefs or connections obtained commissions; the lower class, always ready to follow, with eagerness endeavoured who should be first listed."

This regiment was called Montgomerie's Highlanders, from the name of its colonel, the Hon. Archibald Montgomerie, son of the Earl of Eglinton, to whom, when major, letters of service were issued for recruiting it. Being popular among the Highlanders, Major Montgomerie soon raised the requisite body of men, who were formed into a regiment of thirteen companies of 105 rank and file each; making in all 1460 effective men, including 65 sergeants, and 30 pipers and drummers.

The colonel's commission was dated the 4th of January 1757. The commissions of the

[3] The following anecdote of faithful attachment is told by Mrs Grant, in her *Superstitions of the Highlanders*. Captain Fraser of Culduthel, an officer of the Black Watch, was a volunteer at this celebrated siege, as was likewise his colonel, Lord John Murray. Captain Fraser was accompanied by his servant, who was also his foster-brother. A party from the lines was ordered to attack and destroy a battery raised by the enemy. Captain Fraser accompanied this party, directing his servant to remain in the garrison. "The night was pitch dark, and the party had such difficulty in proceeding that they were forced to halt for a short time. As they moved forward Captain Fraser felt his path impeded, and putting down his hand to discover the cause, he caught hold of a plaid, and seized the owner, who seemed to grovel on the ground. He held the caitiff with one hand, and drew his dirk with the other, when he heard the imploring voice of his foster-brother. 'What the devil brought you here?' 'Just love of you and care of your person.' 'Why so, when your love can do me no good; and why encumber yourself with a plaid?' 'Alas! how could I ever see my mother had you been killed or wounded, and I not been there to carry you to the surgeon, or to Christian burial? and how could I do either without any plaid to wrap you in?' Upon inquiry it was found that the poor man had crawled out on his knees and hands between the sentinels, then followed the party to some distance, till he thought they were approaching the place of assault, and then again crept in the same manner on the ground, beside his master, that he might be near him unobserved."

Captain Fraser was unfortunately killed a few days thereafter, by a random shot, while looking over the ramparts.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 345.

other officers were dated each a day later than his senior in the same rank.

Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding.

The Hon. Archibald Montgomerie, afterwards Earl of Eglinton, died a general in the army, and colonel of the Scots Greys, in 1796.

Majors.

James Grant of Ballindalloch, died a general in the army in 1806.
Alexander Campbell.

Captains.

John Sinclair.
Hugh Mackenzie.
John Gordon.
Alexander Mackenzie, killed at St John's, 1761.
William Macdonald, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.
George Munro, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.
Robert Mackenzie.
Allan Maclean, from the Dutch brigade, colonel of the 84th Highland Emigrants; died Major-general, 1784.
James Robertson.
Allan Cameron.
Captain-lieutenant Alexander Mackintosh.

Lieutenants.

Charles Farquharson.
Alexander Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.
Nichol Sutherland, died Lieutenant-colonel of the 47th regiment, 1780.
Donald Macdonald.
William Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quèsne.
Robert Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quèsne.
Henry Munro.
Archibald Robertson.
Duncan Bayne.
James Duff.
Colin Campbell, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.
James Grant.
Alexander Macdonald.
Joseph Grant.
Robert Grant.
Cosmo Martin.
John Macnab.
Hugh Gordon, killed in Martinique, 1762.
Alexander Macdonald, killed at Fort du Quèsne.
Donald Campbell.
Hugh Montgomerie, late Earl of Eglinton.
James Maclean, killed in the West Indies, 1761.
Alexander Campbell.
John Campbell of Melford.
James Macpherson.
Archibald Macvicar, killed at the Havannah, 1762.

Ensigns.

Alexander Grant.
William Haggart.
Lewis Houston.
Ronald Mackinnon.
George Munro.
Alexander Mackenzie.
John Maclachlane.
William Maclean.
James Grant.
John Macdonald.
Archibald Crawford.
James Bain.
Allan Stewart.

Chaplain.—Henry Munro.
Adjutant.—Donald Stewart.
Quarter-master.—Alex. Montgomerie.
Surgeon.—Allan Stewart.

The regiment embarked at Greenock for Halifax, and on the commencement of hostilities in 1758 was attached to the corps under Brigadier-general Forbes in the expedition against Fort du Quèsne, one of the three great enterprises undertaken that year against the French possessions in North America. Although the point of attack was not so formidable, nor the number of the enemy so great, as in the cases of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; yet the great extent of country which the troops had to traverse covered with woods, morasses, and mountains, made the expedition as difficult as the other two. The army of General Forbes was 6238 men strong.

The brigadier reached Raystown, about 90 miles from the Fort, in September, having apparently stayed some time in Philadelphia.[5] Having sent Colonel Boquet forward to Loyal Henning, 40 miles nearer, with 2000 men, this officer rashly despatched Major Grant of Montgomery's with 400 Highlanders and 500 provincials to reconnoitre. When near the garrison Major Grant imprudently advanced with pipes playing and drums beating, as if entering a friendly town. The enemy instantly marched out, and a warm contest took place. Major Grant ordered his men to throw off their coats and advance sword in hand. The enemy fled on the first charge, and spread themselves among the woods; but being afterwards joined by a body of Indians, they rallied and surrounded the detachment on all sides. Protected by a thick foliage, they opened a destructive fire upon the British. Major Grant then endeavoured to force his way into the wood, but was taken in the attempt, on seeing which his troops dispersed. Only 150 of the Highlanders returned to Loyal Henning.

In this unfortunate affair 231 soldiers of the regiment were killed and wounded. The names of the officers killed on this occasion have already been mentioned; the following were wounded: viz. Captain Hugh Mackenzie; Lieutenants Alexander Macdonald, junior, Archibald Robertson, Henry Monro; and Ensigns John Macdonald and Alexander Grant. The enemy did not venture to oppose the main body, but retired from Fort du Quèsne on its approach, leaving their ammunition, stores, and provisions untouched. General Forbes took possession of the Fort on the 24th of November, and, in honour of Mr Pitt, gave it the name of Pittsburgh.

[5] See vol. ii. p. 354, *note*.

VIEW OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

AS IN 1753 A.D.,

TAKEN FROM THE JERSEY SIDE OF THE DELAWARE.



1. Christ Church.
2. State House
3. Academy.
4. Wesleyan Church.
5. Dutch Calvinist Church.
6. The Court House.
7. Corn Mill.
8. Quaker Meeting House

From a rare print, the drawing of which was made under the direction of Nicholas Scull. Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania

The regiment passed the winter of 1758 in Pittsburgh, and in May following they joined part of the army under General Amherst in his proceedings at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the Lakes,—a detail of which has been given in the history of the service of the 42d regiment.

In consequence of the renewed cruelties committed by the Cherokees, in the spring of 1760, the commander-in-chief detached Colonel Montgomery with 700 Highlanders of his own regiment, 400 of the Royals, and a body of provincials, to chastise these savages. The colonel arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town Little Keowee in the middle of June, having, on his route, detached the light companies of Royals and Highlanders to destroy the place. This service was performed with the loss of a few men killed and two officers of the Royals wounded. Finding, on reaching Estatoe, that the enemy had fled, Colonel Montgomery retired to Fort Prince George. The Cherokees still proving refractory, he paid a second visit to the middle settlement, where he met with some resistance. He had 2 officers and 20 men killed, and 26 officers and 68 men wounded.[6] Of these, the Highlanders had 1 sergeant and 6 privates killed, and Captain Sutherland, Lieutenants Macmaster and Mackinnon, and Assistant-surgeon Monro, and 1 sergeant, 1 piper, and 24 rank and file wounded. The detachment took Fort Loudon, —a small fort on the confines of Virginia,— which was defended by 200 men.

[6] "Several soldiers of this and other regiments fell into the hands of the Indians, being taken in an ambush. Allan Macpherson, one of these soldiers, witnessing the miserable fate of several of his fellow-prisoners, who had been tortured to death by the Indians, and seeing them preparing to commence some operations upon himself, made signs that he had something to communicate. An interpreter was brought. Macpherson told them, that, provided his life was spared for a few minutes, he would communicate the secret of an extraordinary medicine, which, if applied to the skin, would cause it to resist the strongest blow of a tomahawk or sword; and that, if they would allow him to go to the woods with a guard to collect the proper plants for this medicine, he would prepare it, and allow the experiment to be tried on his own neck by the strongest and most expert warrior amongst them. This story easily gained upon the superstitious credulity of the Indians, and the request of the Highlander was instantly complied with. Being sent into the woods, he soon returned with such plants as he chose to pick up. Having boiled the herbs, he rubbed his neck with their juice, and laying his head upon a log of wood, desired the strongest man amongst them to strike at his neck with his tomahawk, when he would find he could not make the smallest impression. An Indian, levelling a blow with all his might, cut with such force, that the head flew off at the distance of several yards. The Indians were fixed in amazement at their own credulity, and the address with which the prisoner had escaped the lingering death prepared for him; but, instead of being enraged at this escape of their victim, they were so pleased with his ingenuity that they refrained from inflicting farther cruelties on the remaining prisoners."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

The next service in which Montgomery's Highlanders were employed was in an expedition against Dominique, consisting of a small land force, which included six companies of Montgomery's Highlanders and four ships of war, under Colonel Lord Rollo and Commodore Sir James Douglas. The transports from New York were scattered in a gale of wind, when a small transport, with a company of the Highlanders on board, being attacked by a French privateer, was beaten off by the Highlanders, with the loss of Lieutenant Maclean and 6 men killed, and Captain Robertson and 11 men wounded. The expedition arrived off Dominique on the 6th of June 1761. The troops immediately landed, and marched with little opposition to the town of Roseau. Lord Rollo without delay attacked the entrenchments, and, though the enemy kept up a galling fire, they were driven, in succession, from all their works by the grenadiers, light infantry, and Highlanders. This service was executed with such vigour and rapidity that few of the British suffered. The governor and his staff being made prisoners, surrendered the island without further opposition.

In the following year Montgomery's Highlanders joined the expeditions against Martinique and the Havannah, of which an account will be found in the narrative of the service of the 42d regiment. In the enterprise against Martinique, Lieutenant Hugh Gordon and 4 rank and file were killed, and Captain Alexander Mackenzie, 1 sergeant, and 26 rank and file file, were wounded. Montgomery's Highlanders suffered still less in the conquest of the Havannah, Lieutenant Macvicar and 2 privates only having been killed, and 6 privates wounded. Lieutenants Grant and Macnab and 6 privates died of the fever. After this last enterprise Montgomery's Highlanders returned to New York, where they landed in the end of October.

Before the return of the six companies to

New York, the two companies that had been sent against the Indians in the autumn of 1761, had embarked with a small force, under Colonel Amherst, destined to retake St John's, Newfoundland, which was occupied by a French force. The British force, which consisted of the flank companies of the Royals, a detachment of the 45th, two companies of Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders, and a small party of provincials, landed on the 12th of September, seven miles to the northward of St John's. A mortar battery having been completed on the 17th, and ready to open on the garrison, the French commander surrendered by capitulation to an inferior force. Of Montgomery's Highlanders, Captain Mackenzie and 4 privates were killed, and 2 privates wounded.

After this service the two companies joined the regiment at New York, where they passed the ensuing winter. In the summer of 1763 a detachment accompanied the expedition sent to the relief of Fort Pitt under Colonel Bouquet, the details of which have been already given in the account of the 42d regiment. In this enterprise 1 drummer and 5 privates of Montgomery's Highlanders were killed, and Lieutenant Donald Campbell, and Volunteer John Peebles, 3 sergeants, and 7 privates were wounded.

After the termination of hostilities an offer was made to the officers and men either to settle in America or return to their own country. Those who remained obtained a grant of land in proportion to their rank. On the breaking out of the American war a number of these, as well as officers and men of the 78th regiment, joined the royal standard in 1775, and formed a corps along with the Highland Emigrants in the 84th regiment.

FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

OLD SEVENTY-EIGHTH AND SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENTS.

I.

78TH REGIMENT.

1757—1763.

Raising of the Regiment—Uniform—North America—Louisburg—Quebec—General Wolfe—Newfoundland—Reduction of the Regiment—Its descendants.

FOLLOWING up the liberal policy which Lord Chatham had resolved to pursue in relation to the Highlanders, he prevailed upon George II. to appoint the Hon. Simon Fraser, son of the unfortunate Lord Lovat, and who had himself, when a youth, been forced into the rebellion by his father, Lieutenant-colonel commandant of a regiment to be raised among his own kinsmen and clan. Though not possessed of an inch of land, yet, such was the influence of clanship, that young Lovat in a few weeks raised a corps of 800 men, to whom were added upwards of 600 more by the gentlemen of the country and those who had obtained commission. The battalion was, in point of the number of companies and men, precisely the same as Montgomery's Highlanders.

The following is a list of the officers whose commissions were dated the 5th January 1757 :—

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.

The Hon. Simon Fraser, died a Lieutenant-general in 1782.

Majors.

James Clephane.
John Campbell of Dunoon, afterwards Lieutenant-colonel commandant of the Campbell Highlanders in Germany.

Captains.

John Macpherson, brother of Cluny.
John Campbell of Ballimore.
Simon Fraser of Inverallochy, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.
Donald Macdonald, brother to Clanranald, killed at Quebec in 1760.
John Macdonell of Lochgarry, afterwards colonel of the 76th, or Macdonald's regiment, died in 1789 colonel.
Alexander Cameron of Dungallon.
Thomas Ross of Culrossie, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.
Thomas Fraser of Strui.
Alexander Fraser of Culduthel.
Sir Henry Seton of Abercorn and Culbeg.
James Fraser of Belladrum.
Captain-lieutenant—Simon Fraser, died Lieutenant-general in 1812.

Lieutenants.

Alexander Macleod.
Hugh Cameron.
Ronald Macdonell, son of Keppoch.
Charles Macdonell from Glengarry, killed at St John's.
Roderick Macneil of Barra, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.
William Macdonell.
Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon.
John Fraser of Balnain.
Hector Macdonald, brother to Boisdale, killed 1759.
Allan Stewart, son of Innernaheil.
John Fraser.
Alexander Macdonald, son of Barisdale, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.
Alexander Fraser, killed at Louisburg.
Alexander Campbell of Aross.
John Douglas.

John Nairn.
Arthur Rose of the family of Kilravock.
Alexander Fraser.
John Macdonell of Leeks, died in Berwick, 1818.
Cosmo Gordon, killed at Quebec, 1760.
David Baillie, killed at Louisburg.
Charles Stewart, son of Colonel John Roy Stewart.
Ewen Cameron, of the family of Glennevis.
Allan Cameron.
John Cuthbert, killed at Louisburg.
Simon Fraser.
Archibald Macallister, of the family of Loup.
James Murray, killed at Louisburg.
Alexander Fraser.
Donald Cameron, son of Fassifern, died Lieutenant on half-pay, 1817.

Ensigns.

John Chisolm.
Simon Fraser.
Malcolm Fraser, afterwards captain 84th regiment.
Hugh Fraser, afterwards captain 84th or Highland Emigrants.
Robert Menzies.
John Fraser of Errogie.
James Mackenzie.
Donald Macneil.
Henry Munro.
Alexander Gregorson, Ardtornish.
James Henderson.
John Campbell.

Chaplain.—Robert Macpherson.
Adjutant.—Hugh Fraser.
Quarter-master.—John Fraser.
Surgeon.—John Maclean.

The uniform of the regiment "was the full Highland dress with musket and broad-sword, to which many of the soldiers added the dirk at their own expense, and a purse of badger's or otter's skin. The bonnet was raised or cocked on one side, with a slight bend inclining down to the right ear, over which were suspended two or more black feathers. Eagle's or hawk's feathers were usually worn by the gentlemen, in the Highlands, while the bonnets of the common people were ornamented with a bunch of the distinguishing mark of the clan or district. The ostrich feather in the bonnets of the soldiers was a modern addition of that period, as the present load of plumage on the bonnet is a still more recent introduction, forming, however, in hot climates, an excellent defence against a vertical sun."[7]

The regiment embarked in company with Montgomery's Highlanders at Greenock, and landed at Halifax in June 1757. They were intended to be employed in an expedition against Louisburg, which, however, after the necessary preparations, was abandoned. About this time it was proposed to change the uniform of the regiment, as the Highland garb was judged unfit for the severe winters and the hot summers of North America; but the officers and soldiers having set themselves in opposition to the plan, and being warmly supported by Colonel Fraser, who represented to the commander-in-chief the bad consequences that might follow if it were persisted in, the plan was relinquished. "Thanks to our gracious chief," said a veteran of the regiment, "we were allowed to wear the garb of our fathers, and, in the course of six winters, showed the doctors that they did not understand our constitution; for, in the coldest winters, our men were more healthy than those regiments who wore breeches and warm clothing."

Amongst other enterprises projected for the campaign of 1758, the design of attacking Louisburg was renewed. Accordingly, on the 28th of May, a formidable armament sailed from Halifax, under the command of Admiral Boscawen and Major-general Amherst, and Brigadier-generals Wolfe, Laurence, Monckton, and Whitmore. This armament, consisting of 25 sail of the line, 18 frigates, and a number of bombs and fire-ships, with 13,000 troops including the 78th Highlanders, anchored, on the 2d of June, in Gabarus Bay, seven miles from Louisburg. In consequence of a heavy surf no boat could approach the shore, and it was not till the 8th of June that a landing could be effected. The garrison of Louisburg consisted of 2500 regulars 600 militia, and 400 Canadians and Indians. For more than seven miles along the beach a chain of posts had been established by the enemy, with entrenchments and batteries; and, to protect the harbour, there were six ships of the line and five frigates placed at its mouth, of which frigates three were sunk.

The disposition being made for landing, a detachment of several sloops, under convoy, passed the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, whilst the landing should really be on the other side of the town. On the 8th of June, the troops being assembled in the boats before day-break in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to

[7] Stewart's *Sketches*.

scour the beach with their shot. The division on the left, which was destined for the real attack, consisted of the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, and Fraser's Highlanders, and was commanded by Brigadier-general Wolfe. After the fire from the sloops and frigates had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats containing this division were rowed towards the shore; and, at the same time, the other two divisions on the right and in the centre, commanded by Brigadiers-general Whitmore and Laurence, made a show of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy. The landing-place was occupied by 2000 men entrenched behind a battery of eight pieces of cannon and ten swivels. The enemy reserved their fire till the boats were near the beach, when they opened a discharge of cannon and musketry which did considerable execution. A considerable surf aided the enemy's fire, and numbers of the men were drowned by the upsetting of the boats. Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert of the Highlanders, Lieutenant Nicholson of Amherst's, and 38 men were killed; but, notwithstanding these disadvantages, General Wolfe pursued his point with admirable courage and deliberation: "and nothing could stop our troops, when headed by such a general. Some of the light infantry and Highlanders got first ashore, and drove all before them. The rest followed; and, being encouraged by the example of their heroic commander, soon pursued the enemy to the distance of two miles, where they were checked by a cannonading from the town."

The town of Louisburg was immediately invested; but the difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege. The governor of Louisburg, having destroyed the grand battery which was detached from the body of the place, recalled his outposts, and prepared for a vigorous defence. He opened a fire against the besiegers and their work from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour, but without much effect. Meanwhile General Wolfe, with a strong detachment, marched round the north-east part of the harbour to secure a point called the Light-house Battery, from which the guns could play on the ships and on the batteries on the opposite side of the harbour. This service was performed on the 12th by General Wolfe with great ability, who, "with his Highlanders and flankers," took possession of this and all the other posts in that quarter with very trifling loss. On the 25th the inland battery immediately opposite was silenced from this post. The enemy however, kept up an incessant fire from their other batteries and the shipping in the harbour. On the 9th of July they made a sortie on Brigadier-general Lawrence's brigade, but were quickly repulsed. In this affair Captain, the Earl of Dundonald, was killed. On the 16th General Wolfe pushed forward some grenadiers and Highlanders, and took possession of the hills in front of the Light Horse battery, where a lodgement was made under a fire from the town and the ships. On the 21st one of the enemy's line-of-battle ships was set on fire by a bombshell and blew up, and the fire being communicated to two others, they were burned to the water's edge. The fate of the town was now nearly decided, the enemy's fire being almost totally silenced and their fortifications shattered to the ground. To reduce the place nothing now remained but to get possession of the harbour, by taking or burning the two ships of the line which remained. For this purpose, in the night between the 25th and 26th, the admiral sent a detachment of 600 men in the boats of the squadron, in two divisions, into the harbour, under the command of Captains Laforey and Balfour. This enterprise was gallantly executed, in the face of a terrible fire of cannon and musketry, the seamen boarding the enemy sword in hand. One of the ships was set on fire and destroyed, and the other towed off. The town surrendered on the 26th, and was taken possession of by Colonel Lord Rollo the following day; the garrison and seamen, amounting together to 5637 men, were made prisoners of war. Besides Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert, the Highlanders lost Lieutenants Fraser and Murray, killed; Captain Donald M'Donald, Lieutenants Alexander Campbell (Barcaldine), and John M'Donald, wounded; and 67 rank and file killed and wounded.

In consequence of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the several nations of Indians between the Apalachian mountains and the Lakes, the British government was enabled to carry into effect those operations which had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. The plan and partial progress of these combined operations have been already detailed in the service of the 42d regiment. The enterprise against Quebec, the most important by far of the three expeditions planned in 1759, falls now to be noticed from the share which Fraser's Highlanders had in it.

According to the plan fixed upon for the conquest of Canada, Major-general Wolfe, who had given promise of great military talents at Louisburg, was to proceed up the river St Lawrence and attack Quebec, whilst General Amherst, after reducing Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was to descend the St Lawrence and co-operate with General Wolfe in the conquest of Quebec. Though the enterprise against this place was the main undertaking, the force under General Wolfe did not exceed 7000 effective men, whilst that under General Amherst amounted to more than twice that number; but the commander in-chief seems to have calculated upon a junction with General Wolfe in sufficient time for the siege of Quebec.

The forces under General Wolfe comprehended the following regiments,—15th, 28th, 35th, 43d, 47th, 48th, 58th, Fraser's Highlanders, the Rangers, and the grenadiers of Louisburg. The fleet, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, with the transports, proceeded up the St Lawrence, and reached the island of Orleans, a little below Quebec, in the end of June, where the troops were disembarked without opposition. The Marquis de Montcalm who commanded the French troops, which were greatly superior in number to the invaders, resolved rather to depend upon the natural strength of his position than his numbers, and took his measures accordingly. The city of Quebec was tolerably well fortified, defended by a numerous garrison, and abundantly supplied with provisions and ammunition. This able, and hitherto fortunate leader had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions, formed of the best of the inhabitants, and he had, besides, completely disciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of Indians. He had posted his army on a piece of ground along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St Charles to the falls of Montmorency,—a position rendered strong by precipices, woods, and rivers, and defended by intrenchments where the ground appeared the weakest. To undertake the siege of Quebec under the disadvantages which presented themselves, seemed a rash enterprise; but, although General Wolfe was completely aware of these difficulties, a thirst for glory, and the workings of a vigorous mind, which set every obstacle at defiance, impelled him to make the hazardous attempt. His maxim was, that "a brave and victorious army finds no difficulties;"[8] and he was anxious to verify the truth of the adage in the present instance.

Having ascertained that, to reduce the place, it was necessary to erect batteries on the north of the St Lawrence, the British general endeavoured, by a series of manœuvres, to draw Montcalm from his position; but the French commander was too prudent to risk a battle. With the view of attacking the enemy's intrenchments, General Wolfe sent a small armament up the river above the city, and, having personally surveyed the banks on the side of the enemy from one of the ships, he resolved to cross the river Montmorency and make the attack. He therefore ordered six companies of grenadiers and part of the Royal Americans to cross the river and land near the mouth of the Montmorency, and at the same time directed the two brigades commanded by Generals Murray and Townshend to pass a ford higher up. Close to the water's edge there was a detached redoubt, which the grenadiers were ordered to attack, in the expectation that the enemy would descend from the hill in its defence, and thus bring on a general engagement. At all events the possession of this post was of importance, as from it the British commander could obtain a better view of the enemy's intrenchments than he had yet been able to accomplish. The grenadiers and Royal Americans were the first who landed. They

[8] General Wolfe's Despatches.

had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, but not to begin the attack till the first brigade should have passed the ford, and be near enough to support them. No attention, however, was paid to these instructions. Before even the first brigade had crossed, the grenadiers, ere they were regularly formed, rushed forward with impetuosity and considerable confusion to attack the enemy's intrenchments. They were received with a well-directed fire, which effectually checked them and threw them into disorder. They endeavoured to form under the redoubt, but being unable to rally, they retreated and formed behind the first brigade, which had by this time landed, and was drawn up on the beach in good order. The plan of attack being thus totally disconcerted, General Wolfe repassed the river and returned to the isle of Orleans. In this unfortunate attempt the British lost 543 of all ranks killed, wounded, and missing. Of the Highlanders, up to the 2d of September, the loss was 18 rank and file killed, Colonel Fraser, Captains Macpherson and Simon Fraser, and Lieutenants Cameron of Gleneves, Ewen Macdonald, and H. Macdonald, and 85 rank and file, wounded. In the general orders which were issued the following morning, General Wolfe complained bitterly of the conduct of the grenadiers: "The check which the grenadiers met with yesterday will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the time to come. Such impetuous, irregular, and unsoldier-like proceedings, destroy all order, make it impossible for the commanders to form any disposition for attack, and put it out of the general's power to execute his plan. The grenadiers could not suppose that they alone could beat the French army; and therefore it was necessary that the corps under brigadiers Monckton and Townshend should have time to join, that the attack might be general. The very first fire of the enemy was sufficient to repulse men who had lost all sense of order and military discipline. Amherst's (15th regiment) and the Highlanders alone, by the soldier-like and cool manner they were formed in, would undoubtedly have beaten back the whole Canadian army if they had ventured to attack them."

General Wolfe now changed his plan of operations. Leaving his position at Montmorency, he re-embarked his troops and artillery, and landed at Point Levi, whence he passed up the river in transports; but finding no opportunity of annoying the enemy above the town, he resolved to convey his troops farther down, in boats, and land them by night within a league of Cape Diamond, with the view of ascending the heights of Abraham, —which rise abruptly, with steep ascent, from the banks of the river,—and thus gain possession of the ground on the back of the city, where the fortifications were less strong. A plan more replete with dangers and difficulties could scarcely have been devised; but, from the advanced period of the season, it was necessary either to abandon the enterprise altogether, or to make an attempt upon the city, whatever might be the result. The troops, notwithstanding the recent disaster, were in high spirits, and ready to follow their general wherever he might lead them. The commander, on the other hand, though afflicted with a severe dysentery and fever, which had debilitated his frame, resolved to avail himself of the readiness of his men, and to conduct the hazardous enterprise in which they were about to engage in person. In order to deceive the enemy, Admiral Holmes was directed to move farther up the river on the 12th of September, but to sail down in the night time, so as to protect the landing of the forces. These orders were punctually obeyed. About an hour after midnight of the same day four regiments, the light infantry, with the Highlanders and grenadiers, were embarked in flat-bottomed boats, under the command of Brigadiers Monckton and Murray. They were accompanied by General Wolfe, who was among the first that landed. The boats fell down with the tide, keeping close to the north shore in the best order; but, owing to the rapidity of the current, and the darkness of the night, most of the boats landed a little below the intended place of disembarkation.[9] When the troops were landed the boats

[9] "The French had posted sentries along shore to challenge boats and vessels, and give the alarm occasionally. The first boat that contained the English troops being questioned accordingly, a captain of Fraser's regiment, who had served in Holland, and who was perfectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered without hesitation to *Qui vive?*—which is their challenging word,—*la France;* nor was he at a loss to answer the second

were sent back for the other division, which was under the command of Brigadier-general Townshend. The ascent to the heights was by a narrow path, that slanted up the precipice from the landing-place; this path the enemy had broken up, and rendered almost impassable, by cross ditches, and they had made an intrenchment at the top of the hill. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Colonel Howe, who was the first to land, ascended the woody precipices, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, and dislodged a captain's guard which defended the narrow path. They then mounted without further molestation, and General Wolfe, who was among the first to gain the summit of the hill, formed the troops on the heights as they arrived. In the ascent the precipice was found to be so steep and dangerous, that the troops were obliged to climb the rugged projections of the rocks, pulling themselves up by aid of the branches of the trees and shrubs growing on both sides of the path. Though much time was thus necessarily occupied in the ascent, yet such was the perseverance of the troops, that they all gained the summit in time to enable the general to form in order of battle before daybreak. M. de Montcalm had now no means left of saving Quebec but by risking a battle, and he therefore determined to leave his stronghold and meet the British in the open field. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St Charles, and, forming his line with great skill, advanced forward to attack his opponents. His right was composed of half the provincial troops, two battalions of regulars, and a body of Canadians and Indians; his centre, of a column of two battalions of Europeans, with two field-pieces; and his left of one battalion of regulars, and the remainder of the colonial troops. In his front, among brushwood and corn-fields, 1500 of his best marksmen were posted to gall the British as they approached. The British were drawn up in two lines: the first, consisting of the grenadiers, 15th, 28th, 35th Highlanders, and 58th; the 47th regiment formed the second line, or reserve. The Canadians and the Indians, who were posted among the brushwood, kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many officers, who, from their dress, were singled out by these marksmen. The fire of this body was, in some measure, checked by the advanced posts of the British, who returned the fire; and a small gun, which was dragged up by the seamen from the landing-place, was brought forward, and did considerable execution. The French now advanced to the charge with great spirit, firing as they advanced; but, in consequence of orders they received, the British troops reserved their fire till the main body of the enemy had approached within forty yards of their line. When the enemy had come within that distance, the whole British line poured in a general and destructive discharge of musketry. Another discharge followed, which had such an effect upon the enemy, that they stopped short, and after making an ineffectual attempt upon the left of the British line, they began to give way. At this time General Wolfe, who had already received two wounds which he had concealed, was mortally wounded whilst advancing at the head of the grenadiers with fixed bayonets. At this instant every separate corps of the British army exerted itself, as if the contest were for its own peculiar honour. Whilst the right pressed on with their bayonets, Brigadier-general Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the centre of the enemy, "when the Highlanders, taking to their broad-swords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them back with great slaughter."[1] The action on the left of the British was not so warm. A smart contest, however, took place between part of the enemy's right and some light infantry, who had thrown themselves into houses, which they defended with great courage.

question, which was much more particular and difficult. When the sentinel demanded, *a quel regiment?* the captain replied, *de la reine*, which he knew, by accident, to be one of those that composed the body commanded by Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted this was the expected convoy (a convoy of provisions expected that night for the garrison of Quebec), and, saying *passe*, allowed all the boats to proceed without further question. In the same manner the other sentries were deceived; though one, more wary than the rest, came running down to the water's edge, and called, *Pour quoi est ce que vous ne parlez pas haut?* 'Why don't you speak with an audible voice?' To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the captain answered with admirable presence of mind, in a soft tone of voice, *Tai toi nous serons entendues!* 'hush! we shall be overheard and discovered.' Thus cautioned, the sentry retired without farther altercation."—*Smollett.*

[1] General account of the battle.

During this attack, Colonel Howe, who had taken post with two companies behind a copse, frequently sallied out on the flanks of the enemy, whilst General Townshend advanced in platoons against their front. Observing the left and centre of the French giving way, this officer, on whom the command had just devolved in consequence of General Monckton, the second in command, having been dangerously wounded, hastened to the centre, and finding that the troops had got into disorder in the pursuit, formed them again in line. At this moment, Monsieur de Bougainville, who had marched from Cape Rouge as soon as he heard that the British troops had gained the heights, appeared in their rear at the head of 2000 fresh men. General Townshend immediately ordered two regiments, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this body; but Bougainville retired on their approach. The wreck of the French army retreated to Quebec and Point Levi.

The loss sustained by the enemy was considerable. About 1000 were made prisoners, including a number of officers, and about 500 died on the field of battle. The death of their brave commander, Montcalm, who was mortally wounded almost at the same instant with General Wolfe, was a serious calamity to the French arms. When informed that his wound was mortal,—"So much the better," said he, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Before his death he wrote a letter to General Townshend, recommending the prisoners to the generous humanity of the British. The death of the two commanders-in-chief, and the disasters which befell Generals Monckton and Severergues, the two seconds in command, who were carried wounded from the field, are remarkable circumstances in the events of this day. This important victory was not gained without considerable loss on the part of the British, who, besides the commander-in-chief, had 8 officers and 48 men killed; and 43 officers and 435 men wounded. Of these, the Highlanders had Captain Thomas Ross of Culrossie, Lieutenant Roderick Macneil of Barra, Alexander Macdonell, son of Barrisdale, 1 sergeant and 14 rank and file killed; and Captains John Macdonell of Lochgarry, Simon Fraser of Inverallochy; Lieutenants Macdonell, son of Keppoch, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, John Douglas, Alexander Fraser, senior; and Ensigns James Mackenzie, Malcolm Fraser, and Alexander Gregorson; 7 sergeants and 131 rank and file, wounded. The death of General Wolfe was a national loss. When the fatal ball pierced the breast of the young hero, he found himself unable to stand, and leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant who sat down on the ground. This officer, observing the French give way, exclaimed,—"They run! they run!" "Who run?" inquired the gallant Wolfe with great earnestness. When told that it was the French who were flying: "What," said he, "do the cowards run already? Then I die happy!" and instantly expired.[2]

On the 18th of September the town surrendered, and a great part of the surrounding country being reduced, General Townshend embarked for England, leaving a garrison of 5000 effective men in Quebec, under the Hon. General James Murray. Apprehensive of a visit from a considerable French army stationed in Montreal and the neighbouring country, General Murray repaired the fortifications, and put the town in a proper posture of defence; but his troops suffered so much from the rigours of winter, and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that, before the end of April, 1760, the garrison was reduced, by death and disease, to about 3000 effective men. Such was the situation of affairs when the general received intelligence that General de Levi, who succeeded the Marquis de Montcalm, had reached Point au Tremble with a force of 10,000 French and Canadians, and 500 Indians. It was the intention of the French commander to cut off the posts which the British had established; but General Murray defeated this scheme, by ordering the bridges over the river Rouge to be broken down, and the landing-places at Sylleri and Foulon to be secured. Next day, the 27th of April, he marched in person with a strong detachment and two field-pieces, and took possession of an advantageous position, which he retained till the afternoon, when the outposts were withdrawn, after which he returned to Quebec with very little loss, although the enemy pressed closely on his rear.

[2] Smollett.

General Murray was now reduced to the necessity of withstanding a siege, or risking a battle. He chose the latter alternative, a resolution which was deemed by some military men as savouring more of youthful impatience and overstrained courage, than of judgment; but the dangers with which he was beset, in the midst of a hostile population, and the difficulties incident to a protracted siege, seem to afford some justification for that step. In pursuance of his resolution, the general marched out on the 28th of April, at half-past six o'clock in the morning, and formed his little army on the heights of Abraham. The right wing, commanded by Colonel Burton, consisted of the 15th, 48th, 58th, and second battalion of the 60th, or Royal Americans: the left under Colonel Simon Fraser, was formed of the 43d, 23d Welsh fusiliers, and the Highlanders. The 35th, and the third battalion of the 60th, constituted the reserve. The right was covered by Major Dalling's corps of light infantry; and the left by Captain Huzzen's company of rangers, and 100 volunteers, under the command of Captain Macdonald of Fraser's regiment. Observing the enemy in full march in one column, General Murray advanced quickly forward to meet them before they should form their line. His light infantry coming in contact with Levi's advance, drove them back on their main body; but pursuing too far, they were furiously attacked and repulsed in their turn. They fell back in such disorder on the line, as to impede their fire, and in passing round by the right flank to the rear, they suffered much from the fire of a party who were endeavouring to turn that flank. The enemy having made two desperate attempts to penetrate the right wing, the 35th regiment was called up from the reserve, to its support. Meanwhile the British left was struggling with the enemy, who succeeded so far, from their superior numbers, in their attempt to turn that flank, that they obtained possession of two redoubts, but were driven out from both by the Highlanders, sword in hand. By pushing forward fresh numbers, however, the enemy at last succeeded in forcing the left wing to retire, the right giving way about the same time. The French did not attempt to pursue, but allowed the British to retire quietly within the walls of the city, and to carry away their wounded. The British had 6 officers, and 251 rank and file killed; and 82 officers, and 679 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded. Among the killed, the Highlanders had Captain Donald Macdonald,[3] Lieutenant Cosmo Gordon and 55 non-commissioned officers, pipers, and privates; their wounded were Colonel Fraser, Captains John Campbell of Dunoon, Alexander Fraser, Alexander Macleod, Charles Macdonell; Lieutenants Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon, Charles Stewart,[4] Hector Macdonald, John Macbean, Alexander Fraser, senior, Alexander Campbell, John Nairn, Arthur Rose, Alexander Fraser, junior, Simon Fraser, senior, Archibald M'Alister, Alexander Fraser, John Chisholm, Simon Fraser, junior, Malcolm Fraser, and Donald M'Neil; Ensigns Henry Monro, Robert Menzies, Duncan Cameron (Fassifern), William Robertson, Alexander

[3] "Captain Macdonald was an accomplished high-spirited officer. He was a second son of Clanranald. He entered early in life into the French service, and following Prince Charles Edward to Scotland, in 1745, he was taken prisoner, and along with O'Neil, afterwards a lieutenant-general in the service of Spain, and commander of the expedition against Algiers in 1775, was confined in the castle of Edinburgh; but being liberated without trial, he returned to France, where he remained till 1756, when he came back to Scotland, and was appointed to a company in Fraser's Highlanders. On the expeditions against Louisburg and Quebec he was much in the confidence of Generals Amherst, Wolfe, and Murray, by whom he was employed on all duties where more than usual difficulty and danger was to be encountered, and where more than common talent, address, and spirited example were required. Of this several instances occurred at Louisburg and Quebec."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

[4] "This officer engaged in the Rebellion of 1745, and was in Stewart of Appin's regiment, which had seventeen officers and gentlemen of the name of Stewart killed, and ten wounded, at Culloden. He was severely wounded on that occasion, as he was on this. As he lay in his quarters some days afterwards, speaking to some brother officers on the recent battles, he exclaimed, 'From April battles and Murray generals, good Lord, deliver me!' alluding to his wound at Culloden, where the vanquished blamed Lord George Murray, the commander-in-chief of the rebel army, for fighting on the best field in the country for regular troops, artillery, and cavalry; and likewise alluding to his present wound, and to General Murray's conduct in marching out of a garrison to attack an enemy, more than treble his numbers, in an open field, where their whole strength could be brought to act. One of those story retailers who are sometimes about headquarters, lost no time in communicating this disrespectful prayer of the rebellious clansman; General Murray, who was a man of humour and of a generous mind, called on the wounded officer the following morning, and heartily wished him better deliverance in the next battle, when he hoped to give him occasion to pray in a different manner."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

Gregorson, and Malcolm Fraser,[5] and 129 non-commissioned officers and privates. The enemy lost twice the number of men.

Shortly after the British had retired, General Levi moved forward on Quebec, and having taken up a position close to it, opened a fire at five o'clock. He then proceeded to besiege the city in form, and General Murray made the necessary dispositions to defend the place. The siege was continued till the 10th of May, when it was suddenly raised; the enemy retreating with great precipitation, leaving all their artillery implements and stores behind. This unexpected event was occasioned by the destruction or capture of all the enemy's ships above Quebec, by an English squadron which had arrived in the river, and the advance of General Amherst on Montreal. General Murray left Quebec in pursuit of the enemy, but was unable to overtake them. The junction of General Murray with General Amherst, in the neighbourhood of Montreal, in the month of September, and the surrender of that last stronghold of the French in Canada, have been already mentioned in the history of the service of the 42d regiment.

Fraser's Highlanders were not called again into active service till the summer of 1762, when they were, on the expedition under Colonel William Amherst, sent to retake St John's, Newfoundland, a detailed account of which has been given in the notice of Montgomery's Highlanders. In this service Captain Macdonell of Fraser's regiment, was mortally wounded, 3 rank and file killed, and 7 wounded.

At the conclusion of the war, a number of the officers and men having expressed a desire to settle in North America, had their wishes granted, and an allowance of land given them. The rest returned to Scotland, and were discharged. When the war of the American revolution broke out, upwards of 300 of those men who had remained in the country, enlisted in the 84th regiment, in 1775, and formed part of two fine battalions embodied under the name of the Royal Highland Emigrants.

Many of the hundreds of Frasers who now form so important a part of the population of Canada claim descent from these Fraser Highlanders who settled in America. Full details concerning the Canadian branch of the great clan Fraser have already been given at the conclusion of our history of that clan.

The loss of this regiment during four years' active service was—

	KILLED.
In officers, ...	14
Non-commissioned officers and privates,	109
Total, . . .	123
	WOUNDED.
In officers, ...	46
Non-commissioned officers and privates,	400
Total, . . .	446
Grand Total, . .	569

II.

Old Seventy-First Regiment.

1775—1783.

Raising of the Regiment—American Revolutionary War—Honourable place assigned to the regiment—Brooklyn—Various expeditions—Savannah—Boston Creek—Defence of Savannah—Stony Point and Verplanks—Cambden—Catawba River—South Carolina—Guilford Court-house—York River—Reduction of Regiment.

The American revolutionary war requiring extraordinary exertions on the part of the Government, it was resolved in 1775 to revive Fraser's Highlanders, by raising two battalions, under the auspices of Colonel Fraser, who, for his services, had been rewarded by King George III. with a grant of the family estates of Lovat, which had been forfeited in 1746. In his exertions to raise the battalions, Colonel Fraser was warmly assisted by his officers, of whom no less than six, besides himself, were chiefs of clans, and within a few months after the letters of service were issued, two battalions of 2340 Highlanders were raised, and assembled first at Stirling, and afterwards at Glasgow, in April 1776. The following were the names of the officers:—

FIRST BATTALION.

Colonel.—The Honourable Simon Fraser of Lovat, died in 1782, a lieutenant-general.

Lieutenant-Colonel.—Sir William Erskine of Torry, died in 1795, a lieutenant-general.

[5] In a journal kept by this officer, lent to the editor by the Hon. John Fraser de Berry, "Chief of the Frasers of the Province of Quebec," Member of the Legislative Council of Canada, &c., it is stated that the 78th had about 400 men in the field on this occasion, half of whom had of their own accord left the hospital to take part in the fight.

Majors.

John Macdonell of Lochgarry, died in 1789, colonel.
Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, retired from the foot-guards in 1791, died in 1820.

Captains.

Simon Fraser, died lieutenant-general in 1812.
Duncan Chisholm of Chisholm.
Colin Mackenzie, died general in 1818.
Francis Skelly, died in India, lieutenant-colonel of the 94th regiment.
Hamilton Maxwell, brother of Monreith, died in India lieutenant-colonel of the 74th regiment, 1794.
John Campbell, son of Lord Stonefield, died lieutenant-colonel of the 2d battalion of 42d regiment at Madras, 1784.
Norman Macleod of Macleod, died lieutenant-general, 1796.
Sir James Baird of Saughtonhall.
Charles Cameron of Lochiel, died 1776.

Lieutenants.

Charles Campbell, son of Ardchattan, killed at Catauba.
John Macdougall.
Colin Mackenzie.
John Nairne, son of Lord Nairne.
William Nairne, afterwards Lord Nairne.
Charles Gordon.
David Kinloch.
Thomas Tause, killed at Savannah.
William Sinclair.
Hugh Fraser.
Alexander Fraser.
Thomas Fraser, son of Leadclune.
Dougald Campbell, son of Craignish.
Robert Macdonald, son of Sanda.
Alexander Fraser.
Roderick Macleod.
John Ross.
Patrick Cumming.
Thomas Hamilton.

Ensigns.

Archibald Campbell.
Henry Macpherson.
John Grant.
Robert Campbell, son of Ederline.
Allan Malcolm.
John Murchison.
Angus Macdonell.
Peter Fraser.

Chaplain.—Hugh Blair, D.D., Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh.
Adjutant.—Donald Cameron.
Quarter-master.—David Campbell.
Surgeon.—William Fraser.

SECOND BATTALION.

Colonel.—Simon Fraser.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Archibald Campbell, died lieutenant-general, 1792.

Majors.

Norman Lamont, son of the Laird of Lamont.
Robert Menzies, killed in Boston harbour, 1776.

Captains.

Angus Mackintosh of Kellachy, formerly Captain in Keith's Highlanders, died in South Carolina, 1780.
Patrick Campbell, son of Glenure.
Andrew Lawrie.
Æneas Mackintosh of Mackintosh.
Charles Cameron, son of Fassifern, killed at Savannah, 1779.
George Munro, son of Culcairn.
Boyd Porterfield.
Law Robert Campbell.

Lieutenants.

Robert Hutchison.
Alexander Sutherland.
Archibald Campbell.
Hugh Lamont.
Robert Duncanson.
George Stewart.
Charles Barrington Mackenzie.
James Christie.
James Fraser.
Dougald Campbell, son of Achnaba.
Lodovick Colquhoun, son of Luss.
John Mackenzie.
Hugh Campbell, son of Glenure.
John Campbell.
Arthur Forbes.
Patrick Campbell.
Archibald Maclean.
David Ross.
Thomas Fraser.
Archibald Balnevis, son of Edradour.
Robert Grant.
Thomas Fraser.

Ensigns.

William Gordon.
Charles Main.
Archibald Campbell.
Donald Cameron.
Smollett Campbell, son of Craignish.
Gilbert Waugh.
William Bain.
John Grant.

Chaplain.—Malcolm Nicholson.
Adjutant.—Archibald Campbell.
Quarter-master.—J. Ogilvie.
Surgeon.—Colin Chisholm, afterwards physician in Bristol.

At the time when the regiment was mustered in Glasgow, there were nearly 6000 Highlanders in that city, of whom 3000 belonging to the 42d and 71st regiments were raised and brought from the North in ten weeks. A finer and a more healthy and robust body of men could not have been anywhere selected; and their conduct was so laudable and exemplary as to gain the affections of the inhabitants, between whom and the soldiers the greatest cordiality prevailed. So great was the desire of the Highlanders to enlist into this new regiment, that before leaving Glasgow for embarkation, it was found that more men had arrived than were required, and it became necessary, therefore, to leave some of them behind; but unwilling to remain, several of these stole on board the transports, and were not discovered till the fleet was at sea. There were others,

however, who did not evince the same ardour to accompany their countrymen. A body of 120 men had been raised on the forfeited estate of Captain Cameron of Lochiel, by the ancient tenants, with the view of securing him a company. Lochiel was at the time in London, and being indisposed, was unable to join the regiment. His men were exceedingly disappointed at not meeting their chief and captain at Glasgow, and when they received orders to embark, they hesitated, as they believed that some misfortune had befallen him; but General Fraser, with a persuasive eloquence, in which he was well skilled, removed their scruples; and as Captain Cameron of Fassifern, a friend and near relation of Lochiel, was appointed to the company, they cheerfully consented to embark.[6] When Lochiel heard of the conduct of his men he hastened to Glasgow, though he had not recovered from the severe illness which had detained him in London; but the fatigue of the journey brought on a return of his complaint, to which he fell a victim in a few weeks. His death was greatly lamented, as he was universally respected.

Some time after the sailing of the fleet, it was scattered in a violent gale, and several of the ships were attacked singly by American privateers. One of these, with eight guns, attacked a transport with two six pounders only, having Captain (afterwards Sir Æneas) Macintosh and his company on board. Having spent all their ammunition, the transport bore down upon the privateer to board her; but the latter sheered off, and the transport proceeded on her voyage.

Another transport, having Colonel Archibald Campbell and Major Menzies on board, was not so fortunate. Ignorant of the evacuation of Boston by General Howe, they sailed into Boston harbour, and were instantly attacked by three privateers full of men. The transport beat off her antagonists, but expended all her ammunition, and getting her rudder disabled by a shot, she grounded under a battery, and was forced to surrender. Major Menzies and seven men were killed, and Colonel Campbell and the rest were made prisoners. The death of Major Menzies was a great loss, as from his great military experience he was particularly well qualified to discipline the corps which had not yet undergone the process of drilling.

The regiment joined the army under General Howe in Staten island, and though totally undisciplined, the 71st was immediately put in front, the general judging well from the experience he had had of Fraser's Highlanders in the seven years' war, that their bravery, if engaged before being disciplined, would make up for their want of discipline. The regiment was divided, the grenadiers being placed in the battalion under the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Stewart, and the other companies, which were formed into three small battalions, formed a brigade under Sir William Erskine.

The first affair in which they were engaged was the battle of Brooklyn, referred to in the notice of the 42d. In this action they fully justified the expectations of the commander. They displayed, in common with the other troops, great eagerness to push the enemy to extremities, and compel them to abandon the strong position they had taken up; but from a desire to save the lives of his troops, General Howe restrained their ardour by recalling the right wing, in which the grenadiers were, from the attack. The loss sustained on this occasion by the 71st was 3 rank and file killed, and 2 sergeants and 9 rank and file wounded.

The regiment passed the winter at Amboy. The next campaign was spent in skirmishes, in some of which the regiment was engaged. They were also employed in the expeditions against Willsborough and Westfield, at the commencement of the campaign of 1777. They afterwards embarked for the Chesapeake, and part of them were engaged in the battle of Brandywine. They embarked for New York in November, where they received an accession of 200 recruits from Scotland. Along with 100 more from the hospital, they were formed

[6] "While General Fraser was speaking in Gaelic to the men, an old Highlander, who had accompanied his son to Glasgow, was leaning on his staff gazing at the general with great earnestness. When he had finished, the old man walked up to him, and with that easy familiar intercourse which in those days subsisted between the Highlanders and their superiors, shook him by the hand, exclaiming, 'Simon, you are a good soldier, and speak like a man; as long as you live, Simon of Lovat will never die;' alluding to the general's address and manner, which, as was said, resembled much that of his father, Lord Lovat, whom the old Highlanders knew perfectly. The late General Sir George Beckwith witnessed the above scene, and often spoke of it with much interest."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

into a corps under Captain Colin (afterwards General) Mackenzie. This small corps acted as light infantry, and formed part of an expedition sent up the New River to make a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne's movements. This corps led a successful assault on Fort Montgomery on the 6th of October, in which they displayed great courage. In the year 1778 the 71st regiment was employed in the Jerseys, under Lord Cornwallis, in which excursion an occasion occurred for distinguishing themselves.

On the 29th of November 1777, an expedition, of which the 71st formed a part, destined against Savannah, the capital of Georgia, sailed from Sandy Hook, and reached the river of that name about the end of December, under Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, who had been exchanged this year. The 1st battalion and the light infantry, having landed a little below the town, Captain Cameron, an "officer of high spirit and great promise," instantly pushed forward to attack the advanced post of the enemy, when he and three men were killed by a volley. The remainder advancing, charged the enemy and drove them back on the main body drawn up in line in an open plain behind the town. As soon as the disembarkation was finished, Colonel Campbell formed his army in line, and whilst he detached Sir James Baird with the light infantry, to get round the right flank of the enemy by a narrow path, he sent the corps, lately Captain Cameron's, to get round the left. The attention of the enemy being occupied by the army in front, they neglected to watch the motions of the flanking parties, who, on reaching their ground, made signals to the front to advance. These being instantly answered, the enemy now perceived they were nearly surrounded, and turning their backs fled in great disorder. They suffered severely from the light infantry, who closed in upon their flanks; they had 100 men killed, and 500 wounded or taken prisoners. The British had only 4 soldiers killed and 5 wounded. The town then surrendered, and the British took possession of all the shipping and stores and 45 pieces of cannon.

Colonel Campbell now advanced into the interior, and entered Augusta, a town 150 miles distant from Savannah, where he established himself. Meanwhile General Prevost, having arrived at Savannah from Florida, assumed the command. Judging the ground occupied too extensive, he evacuated Augusta. The Americans, taking courage from this retrograde movement, assembled in considerable numbers, and harassed the rear of the British. The Loyalists in the interior were greatly dispirited, and, being left unprotected, suffered much from the disaffected. The winter was spent in making some inroads into the interior, to keep the Americans in check. About this time Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland succeeded to the command of the regiment, in consequence of the return of Colonel Campbell to England, on leave of absence.

The regiment remained almost inactive till the month of February 1779, when it was employed in an enterprise against Boston Creek, a strong position defended by upwards of 2000 men, besides 1000 occupied in detached stations. The front of this position was protected by a deep swamp, and the only approach in that way was by a narrow causeway; on each flank were thick woods nearly impenetrable, except by the drier parts of the swamps which intersected them; but the position was more open in the rear. To dislodge the enemy from this stronghold, which caused considerable annoyance, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Macpherson,[7] with the first battalion of the 71st, was directed to march upon the front of the position; whilst Colonel Prevost, and Lieutenant-Colonels Maitland and Macdonald, with the 2d battalion, the light infantry, and a party of provincials, were ordered to attempt the rear by a circuitous route of many miles. These combined movements were executed with such precision, that, in ten minutes after Colonel Macpherson appeared at the head of the causeway in front, the fire of the body in the rear was heard. Sir James Baird, with the light infantry, rushing through the openings in the swamps on the left flank, the enemy were overpowered after a short resistance. In this affair the Highlanders had 3 soldiers killed, and 1 officer and 12 rank and file wounded.

[7] This officer was called *Duncan of the Kiln*, from the circumstance of his being born in an old malt-kiln, which was fitted up as a temporary residence for his mother, after the destruction of his father's castle of Cluny, in 1745.

General Prevost next determined to dislodge a considerable force under General Lincoln, stationed on the South Carolina side of the river. With the troops lately so successful at Brien's Creek, he crossed the river ten miles below the enemy's position. Whilst the general advanced on their front, he ordered the 71st to attack their rear by a circuitous march of several miles. Guided by a party of Creek Indians, the Highlanders entered a woody swamp at eleven o'clock at night, in traversing which they were frequently up to the shoulders in the swamp. They cleared the woods at eight o'clock in the morning, with their ammunition destroyed. They were now within half a mile of the enemy's rear, and although General Prevost had not yet moved from his position, the Highlanders instantly attacked and drove the enemy from their position without sustaining any loss.

Emboldened by this partial success, the general made an attempt upon Charleston; but after summoning the town to surrender, he was induced, by the approach of the American general, Lincoln, with a large force, to desist, and determined to return to his former quarters in Georgia. As the Americans were in arms, and had possessed themselves of the principal pass on the route, he was forced to return by the sea-coast, a course very injurious to the troops, as they had to march through unfrequented woods, and salt water marshes and swamps, where they could not obtain fresh water. In this retreat, the British force was separated in consequence of Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, the Quarter-master-general, who had gone with a party on a foraging excursion, having removed part of a bridge of boats leading to John's Island. The enemy, who had 5000 men in the neighbourhood, endeavoured to avail themselves of this circumstance, and pushed forward 2000 men with some artillery, to attack a battalion of the Highlanders and some Hessians under Colonel Maitland, who were placed in a redoubt at Stone Ferry, for the purpose of protecting the foraging party. Hearing of the advance of the enemy, Colonel Maitland sent out Captain Colin Campbell,[8] with 4 officers and 56 men, to reconnoitre. Whilst this small party was standing on an open field, the enemy emerged from a thick wood. Regardless of the inequality of numbers, Captain Campbell attacked the enemy with great vivacity; and a desperate contest took place, in which all the Highlanders and officers, except 7 of the soldiers, fell. When Captain Campbell was struck, he desired such of his men as were able to retire to the redoubt; but they refused to obey, as they considered that if they left their officers behind in the field, they would bring a lasting disgrace on themselves. The enemy, unexpectedly, ceased firing, and the 7 men, availing themselves of the respite, retired, carrying their wounded officers along with them, followed by such of the soldiers as were able to walk. The enemy then advanced on the redoubt, and the Hessians having got into confusion, they forced an entrance; but they were driven out by the Highlanders, at the point of the bayonet. The enemy were preparing for another attack, but the second battalion of the Highlanders having come up, the Americans retired with considerable loss.

After this affair, General Prevost retired with the main body towards Savannah, leaving behind him 700 men under Colonel Maitland, who took up a position in the island of Port Royal. In the month of September 1779, the Count D'Estaing arrived on the coast of Georgia with a large fleet, with troops on board, for the purpose of retaking Savannah, then garrisoned by 1100 effective men, including one battalion of the 71st. The town, situated on a sandy plain, gently declining towards the south, had few natural or artificial means of defence, and as the force about to attack it was said to exceed 12,000 men, the British general had nothing to rely upon but the energy and firmness of his troops. The Count, on landing, made regular approaches, and summoned the town to surrender. In the absence of Colonel Maitland's detachment in Port Royal, time was of importance, and being demanded, was granted. Colonel Maitland, on hearing of the arrival of the enemy, instantly set out for Savannah; but finding the principal passes and fords in possession of the enemy, he made a wide circuit; and after a most tedious march through marshes and woods hitherto considered impassable, he

[8] He was son of Campbell of Glendaruel, in Argyleshire.

reached Savannah before General Prevost had returned a definitive answer to D'Estaing's summons.

Having thus accomplished his object, General Prevost made immediate preparations to defend the place to the last extremity, and being seconded by the zeal and abilities of Captain Moncrieff, the chief engineer, and the exertions of the officers and soldiers, assisted by the Negro population, the town was put in a good state of defence before the enemy had completed their approaches. During these operations, several sorties were made by the garrison. On the morning of the 24th of September, Major Colin Graham sallied out with the light company of the 16th and the Highlanders, and drove the enemy from their outworks, with the loss of 14 officers, and 145 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. In this affair, Lieutenant Henry Macpherson of the 71st and 3 privates were killed, and 15 wounded. In another sortie, Major Macarthur with the piquets of the Highlanders advanced with such caution, that, after a few rounds, the Americans and French, mistaking their object, fired on each other, and killed 50 men, during which encounter he retired without loss.

Having completed his arrangements, D'Estaing made an assault, on the 9th of October, before day-break, with all his forces. Owing to a thick fog, and the darkness of the morning, it was some time before the besieged could ascertain in what direction the principal attack was to be made. As soon as daylight appeared, the French and American forces were seen advancing in three columns, D'Estaing leading the right in person. By taking too large a circuit, the left column got entangled in a swamp, and being exposed to the guns of the garrison, fell into confusion, and was unable to advance. The heads of the right and centre columns suffered greatly, from a well-directed fire from the batteries; but they still persevered in advancing; the men in the rear supplying the place of those who fell in front. When the enemy reached the first redoubt, the contest became furious; many of them entered the ditch, and some of them even ascended and planted the colours on the parapet, where they were killed. The first man who mounted was stabbed by Captain Tawse of the 71st, who commanded the redoubt, and the Captain himself was shot dead by the man who followed. The grenadiers of the 60th came up to the support of Captain Archibald Campbell, who had assumed the command of the redoubt, and the enemy's column, being attacked on both sides, was broken and driven back with precipitation.

In this enterprise the enemy are supposed to have lost 1500 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The British had only 3 officers and 36 soldiers killed, and 2 officers and 60 men wounded. The Americans retired to South Carolina, and the French to their ships. The garrison before the siege was sickly, but during active operations, the disease was in a manner suspended, an affect which has been often observed in the army. After the cause of excitement was over, by the raising of the siege, the men relapsed, and one-fourth of them were sent to the hospital.[9]

The grenadiers of the 71st were not employed in Georgia, but were posted at Stony Point and Verplanks, in the state of New York, which places had been recently taken from the enemy. Wishing to make amends for allowing his post to be surprised by Major-General Sir Charles Grey, the American general, Wayne, was sent to retake the posts of Stony Point and Verplanks. Accordingly, with a body of troops, he proceeded at eight o'clock in the evening of the 15th of July 1779, and taking post in a hollow within two miles of the fort, advanced unperceived, about midnight, in two columns. One of these gained the summit, on which the fort stood, without being observed, and the garrison being surprised, surrendered after a short resistance, with the loss of 17 soldiers

[9] One of the first who died was the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, son of the Earl of Lauderdale. He was an able and an enterprising officer, and attracted the particular notice of General Washington, with whom he was personally acquainted. During some of the operations, which brought them into occasional collision, Colonel Maitland jocularly notified to the American general, that, to enable him to distinguish the Highlanders, so that he might do justice to their exploits, in annoying his posts, and obstructing his convoys and detachments, they would in future wear a red feather in their bonnets. Fraser's Highlanders accordingly put the red feather in their bonnets, which they wore till the conclusion of the war. This must not be confounded with the red feather of the 42d, the origin of which has been given in the history of that regiment.

killed, and 3 officers and 72 privates wounded. The piquet, which was commanded by Lieutenant Cumming of the 71st, resisted one of the columns till almost all the men composing it were killed or wounded. Lieutenant Cumming was among the latter.

After the surrender of Charleston on the 12th of May 1780, to the forces under Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis was appointed to the command of the southern provinces. Having projected an excursion into the interior, he was joined by the 71st, which had remained at Savannah in quarters during the winter. In the beginning of June, the army, amounting to 2500, reached Cambden, and encamped in the neighbourhood, the general making that place his head quarters. The American general, Gates, having, in July, assembled a force of 7000 men, took up a position at Rugley's Mill, nearly twelve miles from Cambden. Determined to surprise and attack the enemy, the British general moved forward on the night of the 15th of August; whilst, by a singular coincidence, the American commander left his position at the very same hour, with the same intention. It was full moon, and the sky was unclouded. Before three o'clock in the morning, the advanced guards met halfway, and exchanged some shots; but both generals, ignorant of each other's strength, declined a general action, and lay on their arms till morning. The ground on which the armies lay was a sandy plain, with straggling trees, but a part on the left of the British was soft and boggy. Each army prepared for battle, by forming line. The British right consisted of the light infantry and the Welsh fusileers; the 33d regiment and the volunteers of Ireland formed the centre; and the provincials composed the left, having the marshy ground in their front. Whilst this formation was going on, Captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the Highland light companies on the right, mounted the stump of an old tree to reconnoitre, and perceiving the enemy in motion, as if they intended to turn his flank, he leaped down, muttering to himself, "I'll see you damned first," and calling to his men, said, "Remember you are light infantry; remember you are Highlanders:—charge!" The Highlanders instantly rushed forward, and such was the impetuosity of the attack, that the division of the enemy which was to have surrounded the right of the British was completely broken, and driven from the field before the battle commenced in the other parts of the line. In the contest which took place between these, the centre of the enemy gained ground; but neither party seeming disposed to advance, a pause of a few minutes took place, as if by mutual consent, during which both parties remained stationary without firing a shot. Whilst matters were in this state Lord Cornwallis ordered the corps in the centre to open their right and left; and when a considerable space intervened, he directed the Highlanders, who were getting impatient at being left in the rear, whilst their friends were fighting in front, to advance and occupy the vacant space. When the Highlanders had taken their ground, his lordship cried out, "My brave Highlanders, now is your time!" The words were scarcely uttered, when they rushed forward, accompanied by the 33d, and the volunteers of Ireland. The charge was irresistible, and the centre of the enemy was completely overthrown. Meanwhile the right of the enemy, which was enveloped in the smoke of the fire, advanced unperceived, and gained the ground on which the Highlanders had been formerly posted as a reserve. Unaware of the fate of their companions, they gave three cheers for victory; but their joy was of short duration, for, the smoke immediately clearing up, they saw their mistake; and a party of Highlanders turning on them, the greater part threw down their arms, whilst the remainder flew in all directions. The loss of the British in this decisive action was 3 officers and 66 men killed, and 17 officers and 226 rank and file wounded. Lieutenant Archibald Campbell and 3 soldiers of the 71st were killed, and Captain Hugh Campbell, Lieutenant John Grant, 2 sergeants, and 30 privates wounded.[1]

Though the battle of the 16th of August

[1] In a letter communicated to General Stewart by Dr Chisholm of Bristol, an eye-witness, the writer says that there were many acts of individual prowess. One will suffice. "A tough stump of a Sutherland Highlander, of the name of Mackay, afterwards my own batman, entered the battle with his bayonet perfectly straight, and brought it out twisted like a cork-screw, and with his own hand had put to death seven of the enemy."

was decisive, yet as General Sumpter with a strong corps occupied positions on the Catawba river, which commanded the road to Charleston, it was necessary to dislodge him. For this purpose Colonel Tarleton was directed to proceed with the cavalry, and a corps of light infantry, under Captain Charles Campbell of the 71st. On the morning of the 18th they came in sight of Fishing-Creek, and observing some smoke at a short distance on their right, the sergeant of the advanced guard halted his party, and went forward to reconnoitre. He observed an encampment with arms piled, and, with the exception of a few sentinels and some persons employed in cooking, the soldiers were reposing in groups apparently asleep. The sergeant reporting what he had seen to Captain Campbell, the latter, who commanded in front, fearing a discovery, formed such of the cavalry as had come up, and with 40 of the Highlander light infantry rushed quickly forward, secured the piled arms, and surprised the camp. The success was complete; a few men were killed, nearly 500 surrendered prisoners, and the rest fled in all directions. The loss was trifling, but the Highlanders had in an especial manner to regret the death of Captain Campbell, who was killed by a random shot.

The American general, Morgan, having entered South Carolina, in December 1780, with about 1100 men, Colonel Tarleton was detached with some infantry, of which the first battalion of the 71st formed a part, and a small body of cavalry. On the morning of the 17th of January 1781, intelligence was received that General Morgan was posted on a rising ground in front, which was thinly covered with pine trees. The front line was drawn up on the top of the rising ground, and the second, four hundred paces in rear of the first. Colonel Tarleton instantly formed in order of battle. In front he placed the 7th, or fusileers, the infantry of the British legion, and the light infantry; the Highlanders and cavalry formed the reserve. The line, exhausted by running at a rapid pace, received the fire of the enemy at the distance of thirty or forty yards, which did considerable execution. The fire was returned, but without spirit and with little effect; and it was kept up on both sides for ten or twelve minutes, neither party advancing. The light infantry then made two attempts to charge, but were repulsed with loss. In this state of matters the Highlanders were ordered up, and advancing rapidly to the charge, the enemy's front line instantly gave way; and this retrograde motion being observed by the second line, which had not yet been engaged, it immediately faced to the right and inclined backwards, and by this skilful manœuvre opened a space by which the front line retreated. Eager to pursue, the Highlanders followed the front line, when Colonel Howard, who commanded the enemy's reserve, threw in a destructive fire upon the 71st, when within forty yards of the hostile force. So disastrous was the effect of this fire, that nearly one half of the Highlanders fell; and the rest were so scattered over the ground, on which they pursued, that they could not be united to form a charge with the bayonet. Though checked, the Highlanders did not fall back, probably expecting that the first line and the cavalry would come up to their support; but they were mistaken: and after some irregular firing between them and Colonel Howard's reserve, the front line of the Americans rallied, returned to the field, and pushed forward to the right flank of the Highlanders. Alone, and unsupported, and almost overpowered by the increasing numbers of the enemy, the Highlanders "began to retire, and at length to run, the first instance (may it be the only one!) of a Highland regiment running *from* an enemy!!"[2] A general rout ensued; few of the infantry escaped, but the cavalry saved themselves by the speed of their horses. The loss of the British, in this disastrous affair, exceeded 400 men. The Highland officers were perfectly satisfied with the conduct of their men, and imputing the disaster altogether to the bad dispositions of Colonel Tarleton, made a representation to Lord Cornwallis, not to be employed again under the same officer, a request with which his lordship complied.

The main body of the American army under General Green retreated northward after this action, and Lord Cornwallis made every exertion to follow them. Previous to the

[2] Stewart's *Sketches.*

march the two battalions of the 71st, being greatly reduced, were consolidated into one, and formed in brigade with the Welsh fusileers and 33d regiment. General Green retreated to Guildford Court-house, where on the 16th of March he prepared for battle. He drew up his army in three lines: the first occupied the edge of a wood with a fence in front of Hogstie farm; the second a wood of stunted oaks at some distance in the rear; and the third line was drawn up in the more open parts of the woods and upon cleared ground. The front line of the British was formed of the German regiment of De Bos, the Highlanders and guards under the Honourable General Leslie on the right; and the Welsh fusileers, 33d regiment, and 2d battalion of guards under Brigadier-General Charles O'Hara, on the left. The cavalry were in the rear, supported by the light infantry of the guards and the German Jagers.

The order of battle being completed, the attack began at one o'clock. The Americans, covered by the fence in their front, reserved their fire till the British were within thirty or forty paces, at which distance they opened a most destructive fire, which annihilated nearly one-third of Colonel Webster's brigade. The fire was returned by the brigade, who rushed forward on the enemy. These abandoned their fence, and retreated on the second line. The contest was maintained with greater pertinacity on the more open ground, where the regiment of De Bos and the 33d retreated and advanced repeatedly before they succeeded in driving the enemy from the field. A party of the guards pressing forward without observing a body of cavalry placed in the right flank as a reserve, were charged in flank, had their line broken, and lost several men. The enemy, who had retreated, emboldened by the effect of this charge, halted, turned their face to the field, and recommenced firing. Whilst matters were in this state, and the Hessians warmly engaged, the Highlanders, who had rapidly pushed round the flank, appeared on a rising ground in rear of the enemy's left, and rushing forward with shouts, made such an impression on the Americans that they immediately fled, leaving their guns and ammunition behind. In this well-contested action every corps fought separately, each depending on its own firmness; and having to sustain the weight of so greatly superior numbers, the issue was for some time doubtful. The British had 7 officers and 102 non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed, among whom were Ensign Grant and 11 soldiers of the 71st; and 20 officers and 419 non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded, including 4 sergeants and 46 soldiers of the same regiment.

No solid advantage was gained by this battle, as Lord Cornwallis found it necessary to retreat, and was even obliged to leave his wounded behind in a house in the neighbourhood. The British took the direction of Cross Creek, followed close in the rear by the Americans. The settlement of Cross Creek was possessed by emigrant Highlanders, who had evinced great loyalty during the war; and they now offered to bring 1500 men into the field, and to furnish every necessary except arms and ammunition, but stipulated that they should be commanded by officers from the line. This reasonable offer was declined; but it was proposed to form them into what was called a provincial corps of the line. This proposition was rejected by the emigrant Highlanders, who retired to their settlements, after a negotiation of twelve days. The army then marched for Wilmington, where it arrived on the 17th of April. Here Lord Cornwallis halted till the 26th, when he proceeded on the route to Petersborough. After traversing several hundred miles of a country chiefly hostile, he arrived at Petersborough on the 20th of May, where he formed a junction with Major-general Philips, who had recently arrived from New York with 3000 men. With the united forces, which amounted to 6000 men, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Portsmouth, and whilst he was preparing to cross the river at St James's island, the Marquis de la Fayette, ignorant of the strength of the British army, gallantly attacked Colonel Thomas Dundas's brigade, with 2000 men. The Marquis was repulsed, but not without a warm contest.

Arriving at Portsmouth, Lord Cornwallis continued his march to Yorktown, and took up a position on the York river, on the 22d of

August. The place selected was an elevated platform, on the banks of the river, nearly level. On the right of the position, extending from the river, was a ravine about forty feet in depth, and upwards of one hundred yards in breadth; a line of entrenchments, with a hornwork, formed the centre. Beyond the ravine, on the right of the position, was an extensive redoubt, and two smaller ones on the left, also advanced beyond the entrenchments. These defences, which constituted the chief strength of the camp, were not completed when General Washington, who had been lately joined by the Count de Rochambeau, took up a position at the distance of two miles from the British lines. His force consisted of 7000 French and 12,000 Americans, being thrice as numerous as that of the British, which did not exceed 5950 men.

General Washington immediately proceeded to erect batteries, and to make his approaches. He first directed his fire against the redoubt on the right, which after four days' bombardment was reduced to a heap of sand. He did not, however, attempt an assault on this point of the position, but turned his whole force against the redoubts on the left, which he carried by storm, and turned the guns of the redoubts on the other parts of the entrenchments. Some soldiers of the 71st, who had manned one of these redoubts, conceiving that the honour of the regiment was compromised by their expulsion from the redoubt, sent a petition through the commanding officer to Lord Cornwallis, for permission to retake it; but as his lordship did not think that the acquisition would be of much importance, under existing circumstances, he declined.

Finding his position quite untenable, and his situation becoming every hour more critical, the British commander determined to decamp at midnight with the *elite* of his army, to cross the river, and leave a small force in the works to capitulate for the sick and wounded, the former being very numerous. The plan would have succeeded had not the passage of the river been rendered dangerous, if not impracticable, by a squall of wind. The first division was embarked, and some of the boats had reached Gloucester Point on the opposite shore, when the General countermanded the enterprise in consequence of a storm which arose. Judging farther resistance hopeless, Lord Cornwallis made proposals of capitulation, and the terms being adjusted, the British troops marched out with their arms and baggage on the 8th of October 1781, and were afterwards sent to different parts of the country. The garrison had 6 officers and 150 non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed, and 6 officers and 319 non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded. Lieutenant Fraser and 9 soldiers of the 71st were killed, and 3 drummers and 19 soldiers wounded.

The military services of this army, which were now closed, had been most arduous. In less than twelve months they had marched and countermarched nearly 2000 miles, had been subjected to many severe hardships, and besides numerous skirmishes had fought two pitched battles, in all of which they had been victorious; yet all their exertions were unavailing in the general contest.

With this misfortune also ended the military career of the Fraser Highlanders, who remained prisoners till the conclusion of the war. True to their allegiance, they resisted to a man the solicitations of the Americans to join their standard and settle among them, thus exhibiting a striking contrast to many soldiers of other corps, who, in violation of their oath, entered the American ranks. In other respects the conduct of the Highlanders was in perfect keeping with this high state of moral feeling and daring, not one instance of disgraceful conduct ever having occurred in the old 71st. The only case of military insubordination was that which happened at Leith in April 1779, of which an account has been given in the history of the 42d regiment; but it is clear that no fault was attributable to the men of the detachment in question who merely insisted on the fulfilment of the engagement which had been entered into with them.[3]

The regiment returned to Scotland on the termination of hostilities, and was discharged at Perth in 1783.

[3] Vol. ii., page 355.

KEITH'S AND CAMPBELL'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

THE OLD EIGHTY-SEVENTH AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH REGIMENTS.

1759—1763.

Keith's Highlanders—Germany—Campbell's Highlanders—Germany—Zeirenberg—Fellinghausen—Continental Notions of Highlanders—Brucher Mühl—Reduction of regiments.

THE first of these regiments consisted of three companies of 105 men each. A relation of the celebrated Field-Marshal Keith, Major Robert Murray Keith, who had served in the Scotch Brigade in Holland, was appointed to the command. About the end of the year 1759 this regiment joined the allied army in Germany under Prince Frederick of Brunswick.

The Highlanders were not long in the allied camp when they were brought into action. On the 3d of January 1760 the Marquis de Vogue attacked and carried the town of Herborn, and made a small detachment of the allies who were posted there prisoners. At the same time the Marquis Dauvet made himself master of Dillenburg, the garrison of the allied troops retiring into the castle, where they were closely besieged. Prince Ferdinand no sooner understood their situation than he began to march with a strong detachment for their relief on the 7th of January, when he attacked and defeated the besiegers. On the same day "the Highlanders under Major Keith, supported by the hussars of Luckner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eybach, where Beau Fremonte's regiment of dragoons was posted, and routed them with great slaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many prisoners were taken, together with two hundred horses and all their baggage. The Highlanders distinguished themselves on this occasion by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits, just arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with discipline." The Highlanders had 4 men killed and 7 wounded.[3]

Prince Ferdinand was so well satisfied with the conduct of this body, that he recommended to the governor not only to increase it to 800 men, but to raise another regiment of equal strength, to be placed under his serene highness. This recommendation was instantly attended to, and, in a few weeks, the requisite number of men was raised in the counties of Argyle, Perth, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland. The command of the new regiment was conferred on John Campbell of Dunoon; but power was reserved to the Earls of Sutherland and Breadalbane, the lairds of Macleod and Innes, and other gentlemen in the north, to appoint captains and subalterns to companies raised on their respective estates. Major Macnab, son of the laird of Macnab; Captain Archibald Campbell, brother of Achallader; John Campbell of Auch, and other officers, were recommended by Lord Breadalbane; and Macleod, who raised a company in Skye, appointed his nephew, Captain Fothringham of Powrie to it. Sir James Innes, chief of that name, who succeeded to the estates and Dukedom of Roxburgh in the year 1810, was also appointed to a company.

Keith's regiment was embodied at Perth and Campbell's at Stirling, and being embodied at the same time, and ordered on the same service, an interchange of officers took place. Embarking for Germany they joined the allied army, under Prince Ferdinand, in 1760, and were distinguished by being placed in the grenadier brigade.

The allied army moved from Kalle on the 30th of July 1760, in consequence of the advance of the French, who took up a position on the river Dymel. The hereditary prince of Brunswick, who had passed that river the preceding day, was directed by Prince Ferdinand to turn the left of the enemy, who were posted between Warburg and Ochsendorff, whilst he himself advanced in front with the main body of the army. The French were attacked almost at the same moment both in flank and rear, and defeated with considerable loss. In an account of the battle written by Prince Ferdinand to George II., he says, "that the loss of the allies, which was moderate, fell chiefly upon Maxwell's brave battalion of English grenadiers and the two regiments of Scots Highlanders, which did wonders. Colonel

[3] Smollett.

Beckwith, who commanded the whole brigade formed of English grenadiers and Scots Highlanders, distinguished himself greatly." None of the Highlanders were killed, but Lieutenant Walter Ogilvie, and two privates were wounded.

Another affair soon occurred in which the Highlanders also distinguished themselves. Prince Ferdinand, having determined to beat up the quarters of a large French detachment stationed at Zierenburg, pitched upon five battalions, with a detachment of the Highlanders and eight regiments of dragoons, for this service. This body began their march on the night of the 5th of August, and when within two miles of the town the corps proceeded by three different roads—Maxwell's brigade of grenadiers, the regiment of Kingsby, and the Highlanders, keeping together. They marched in profound silence, and though their tramp was at last heard by the French, the surprise was too sudden for effectual resistance. "The Scots Highlanders mounted the breaches sword in hand, supported by the Chasseurs. The column of English grenadiers advanced in good order and with the greatest silence. In short, the service was complete, and the troops displayed equal courage, soldier-like conduct, and activity." [4] The loss of the Highlanders in this affair was 3 privates killed and 6 wounded.

The hereditary prince being hard pressed by Marshal de Castries, was reinforced from the camp at Warburg. The Highlanders joined him on the 14th of October shortly after he had been attacked by the Marshal, who had compelled him to retire. The prince now attacked the French commander in his turn, but was unsuccessful, being obliged again to retire after a warm contest, which lasted from five till nine in the morning. The Highlanders, who "were in the first column of attack, were the last to retreat, and kept their ground in the face of every disadvantage, even after the troops on their right and left had retired. The Highlanders were so exasperated with the loss they sustained that it was with difficulty they could be withdrawn, when Colonel Campbell received orders from an aide de-camp sent by the prince, desiring him to retreat as to persist in maintaining his position longer would be a useless waste of human life." In this action Lieutenants William Ogilvie and Alexander Macleod of the Highlanders, 4 sergeants, and 37 rank and file were killed, and Captain Archibald Campbell of Achallader, Lieutenants Gordon Clunes, Archibald Stewart, Angus Mackintosh of Killachy, and Walter Barland, and 10 rank and file wounded.[5]

On the preceding night an attempt was made by Major Pollock, with 100 grenadiers and the same number of Keith's Highlanders, to surprise the convent of Closter Camp, where a detachment of the enemy was posted, and where, it was supposed, the French commander and some of his officers were to pass the night; but this attempt miscarried. On reaching the sentinel of the main-guard Major Pollock rushed upon him and ran him through the body with his sword. The wounded man, before falling, turned round upon his antagonist and shot him with a pistol, upon which they both fell dead.

The next affair in which the Highlanders were engaged was the battle of Fellinghausen, in July 1762. The commander in chief, in a general order, thus expressed his approbation of the conduct of the corps in this action: "His serene highness, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, has been graciously pleased to order Colonel Beckwith to signify to the brigade he has the honour to command his entire approbation of their conduct on the 15th and 16th of July. The soldier-like perseverance of the Highland regiments in resisting and repulsing the repeated attacks *of the chosen troops of France*, has deservedly gained them the highest honour. The ardour and activity with which the grenadiers pushed and pursued the enemy, and the trophies they have taken, justly entitle them to the highest encomiums. The intrepidity of the little band of Highlanders merits the greatest praise." Colonel Beckwith, in making his communication, added, that "the humanity and generosity with which the soldiers treated the great flock of prisoners they took, did them as much honour as their subduing the enemy." In this action Major Archibald Campbell of

[4] Military Memoirs.

[5] At this time the corps was joined by a reinforcement of 400 men from Johnstone's Highlanders, and soon afterwards by 200 of Maclean's.

Achallader, who had been promoted only a week before,[6] and Lieutenants William Ross and John Grant, and 31 rank and file, were killed; and Major Archibald Macnab, Captain James Fraser, Lieutenants Archibald Macarthur, Patrick Campbell, and John Mackintosh, brother of Killachy and father of Sir James Mackintosh, 2 sergeants, and 70 privates, were wounded.

No enterprise of any moment was attempted till the 28th of June 1762, when Prince Ferdinand attacked the French army at Graibenstein, and defeated them. The French lost upwards of 4000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, including 200 officers, whilst that sustained by the allies did not exceed 700 men. The British troops, who were under the command of the Marquis of Granby, "behaved with a bravery not to be paralleled, especially our grenadiers and Highlanders."

The Highlanders, from the distinction they had earned in these different encounters, now began to attract the especial notice of the Germans. At a time when an entire ignorance prevailed among the people of England respecting the Highlanders, it is not to be wondered at that the Germans should have formed the most extraordinary notions of these mountaineers. In common with the English they looked upon the Highlanders as savages; but their ignorance went farther, for the people of Germany actually believed that the Highlanders were still strangers to Christianity. "The Scotch Highlanders," says an article which appeared in the *Vienna Gazette* of 1762, "are a people totally different in their dress, manners, and temper from the other inhabitants of Britain. *They are caught in the mountains when young*, and still run with a surprising degree of swiftness. As they are strangers to fear, they make very good soldiers when disciplined. The men are of low stature, and the most of them old or very young. They discover an extraordinary submission and love for their officers, who are all young and handsome. From the goodness of their dispositions in every thing—for the boors are much better treated by these savages than by the polished French and English; from the goodness of their disposition, which, by the by, shows the rectitude of human nature before it is vitiated by example or prejudice, it is to be hoped that their king's laudable, though late, endeavours to civilise and instruct them in the principles of Christianity will meet with success!" The article adds, that the "French held them at first in great contempt, but they have met with them so often of late, and seen them in the front of so many battles, that they firmly believe that there are twelve battalions of them in the army instead of two. Broglio himself has lately said that he once wished that he was a man of six feet high, but that now he is reconciled to his size since he has seen the wonders performed by the little mountaineers." An acquaintance with the Highlanders soon dissipated the illusions under which the Germans laboured.

The Highlanders were not engaged in the battle of Johannisberg, in which the allies were worsted; but on the 21st of September, in the subsequent action at Brucher Mühl, they took a part. The French occupied a mill on one side of the road, and the allies a redoubt on the other, and the great object of both parties was to obtain possession of a small post which defended the bridge at Brucher Mühl. At first a slight cannonade was opened from a few guns, but these were speedily augmented to twenty-five heavy pieces on each side. In the post occupied by the allies there was only at first 100, but during the action, which lasted without intermission for fifteen hours, no less than seventeen regiments were successively brought forward, replacing one another after they had spent their ammunition. Both sides remained in their respective positions, and although the contest was long and severe the allies lost only 600 in killed and wounded. The Highland corps had Major Alexander Maclean and 21 rank and file killed, and Captain Patrick Campbell and Lieutenant Walter Barland, 3 sergeants, and 58 rank and file wounded.

On the conclusion of hostilities in November 1762 the Highlanders were ordered home. In the three campaigns in which they had

[6] The cause of his promotion was his having, with a party of Highlanders, rescued General Griffin, afterwards Lord Howard of Walden, from a strong detachment of the enemy. Major Campbell was brother of Achallader, who, by his classical learning and acquirements, attracted the notice of Lord Lyttleton.

served they had established a well-earned reputation for bravery; and so great was the estimation in which they were held by the Dutch, that, on their march through Holland, they were welcomed with acclamations, particularly by the women, who presented them with laurel leaves;—a feeling which, it is said, was in some measure owing to the friendly intercourse which had previously existed between the inhabitants and the Scotch brigade.

After landing at Tilbury Fort, the regiments marched for Scotland, and were received everywhere on their route with the most marked attention, particularly at Derby, the inhabitants of which town presented the men with gratuities in money. Among various reasons assigned for the remarkable predilection shown by the people of Derby, the most probable is, a feeling of gratitude for the respect shown by the Highlanders to the persons and properties of the inhabitants when visited by them in the year 1745.

Keith's regiment was marched to Perth and Campbell's to Linlithgow, and they were reduced in July 1763.

The total loss of these corps was 150 men besides 7 officers killed; and 170 men, and 13 officers, wounded.

EIGHTY-NINTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

1759—1765.

Raising of the Regiment—India—Reduction.

The war in which Great Britain was engaged requiring at this time increased exertions on the part of the government, it was resolved to raise, in addition to Keith's Highlanders, another regiment in those parts of the Highlands where the influence of the Gordon family prevailed. At the solicitation of the Dowager Duchess of Gordon, Major Staates Long Morris, to whom she had been lately married, was appointed to raise the regiment; and to strengthen his interest amongst the youth of the North, her eldest son by her former husband, the late Duke of Gordon, then a youth at college, was appointed a captain; his brother, Lord William, a lieutenant; and his younger brother, Lord George, an ensign. The object of the duchess in obtaining these appointments was to counteract the political influence of the Duke of Argyle during the minority of her son. Major Morris was so successful that, in a few weeks, 760 men were collected at Gordon Castle, who, in December 1759, were marched to Aberdeen.

The regiment embarked at Portsmouth for the East Indies in December 1760, and arrived at Bombay in November following. The Duke of Gordon was desirous of accompanying the regiment, but his mother, at the especial request of George II., induced him to remain at home to finish his education.

The 89th had no particular station assigned it, but kept moving from place to place till a strong detachment under Major Hector Munro joined the army under the command of Major Carnac, in the neighbourhood of Patna. Major Munro then assumed the command, and being well supported by his men, quelled a formidable mutiny among the troops. After the ringleaders had been executed, and discipline restored, Major Munro attacked the enemy at Buxar, on the 23d of October 1764, and though the force opposed to him was five times as numerous as his own, he overthrew and dispersed it. The enemy had 6000 men killed, and left 130 pieces of cannon on the field, whilst his majesty's troops had only 2 officers and 4 rank and file killed. Major Munro received a letter of thanks on the occasion from the President and Council of Calcutta. "The signal victory you gained," they say, "so as at one blow utterly to defeat the designs of the enemy against these provinces, is an event which does so much honour to yourself, Sir, in particular, and to all the officers and men under your command, and which, at the same time, is attended with such particular advantages to the Company, as call upon us to return you our sincere thanks." For this important service Major Munro was immediately promoted to the brevet rank of Lieutenant-colonel.

The services of the regiment being no longer required, it was ordered home, and was reduced in the year 1765. It has been remarked, as a singular circumstance attending their service, that although five years embodied, four of

which were spent in India, or on the passage going and returning, none of the officers died, nor was there any promotion or other change among them, except the change of Lord William Gordon to the 76th regiment, and the promotion of his successor to his lieutenancy. The same good conduct which distinguished the other Highland corps was not less conspicuous in this,—not one man out of eight of the companies, numbering in all 780, having been brought to the halberts. Of the whole regiment only six men suffered corporal punishment.

JOHNSTONE'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST REGIMENT.

1760—1763.

THIS regiment, which consisted of five companies, of 5 sergeants and 105 rank and file each, was raised in the year 1760 by the following gentlemen, viz. Colin Graham of Drainie, James Cuthbert of Milncraigs, Peter Gordon of Knockespic, Ludovick Grant of the family of Rothiemurchus, and Robert Campbell, son of Ballivolin. These all received captain's commissions.

After the companies were completed they assembled at Perth, and thence were marched to Newcastle, where they remained till near the end of the year 1761, when they were sent to Germany, to reinforce Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders. Their officers did not accompany them, but were ordered back to the Highlands to raise six additional companies of the same strength as the other five. This service was soon performed, 600 men having assembled at Perth in a few months. Major, afterwards Sir James Johstone of Westerhall was appointed to the command of the corps, with the rank of major-commandant. The major, Adjutant Macveah, and Sergeant-major Coxwell, were the only persons in the 101st regiment not Highlanders. Lieutenant-general Lord George Beauclerk reviewed the regiment at Perth in 1762, and declared that he had never seen a body of men in a more "efficient state, and better fitted to meet the enemy." They had, however, no opportunity of realizing the expectations formed of them, not having been called into active service. The regiment was reduced at Perth in August 1763.

LORD MACLEOD'S HIGHLANDERS,

FORMERLY SEVENTY-THIRD REGIMENT, NOW SEVENTY-FIRST OR GLASGOW HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY.

1777—1818.

I.

Raising of the Regiment—First Battalion in India—Perambaucum—Porto-Novo—Cuddalore—Number of Regiment changed to 71st—War with Tippoo Saïb—Bangalore—Seringapatam—Nundydroog—Savendroog—Seringapatam—Ceylon—Home—Cape of Good-Hope—Buenos Ayres—Home—Peninsula—Roleia—Vimiera—Corunna—Flushing—Sobral—Zibriera—Fuentes d'Onor—Albuera—Arroyo-del-Molinos—Ciudad-Rodrigo—Badajoz—Almaraz—Fort-Napoleon—Salamanca—Alba-de-Tormes—Vittoria—La Puebla—Maya—Lizasso—Eguaros—Doña Maria—Pyrenees—Altobispo—The Nive—St Pierre—Sauveterre—Orthes—Aire—Tarbes—Toulouse—Waterloo—Champs Elysées.

THIS regiment took its orignal name from Lord Macleod, eldest son of the Earl of Cromarty, both of whom were engaged in the rebellion of 1745. Having on account of his youth, received an unconditional pardon for his share in that transaction, Lord Macleod went abroad in quest of employment in foreign service. He sojourned some time at Berlin with Field Marshal Keith, through whose interest, it is believed, he obtained a commission in the Swedish army. At this time his means were so limited that he was unable to equip himself for the service, but the Chevalier de St George, on the recommendation of Lord George Murray, sent him a sum of money to defray the expenses of his outfit. He is described by Lord George as "a young man of real merit," who, he was hopeful, would gain the good opinion of those under whom he was to serve This expectation was fully realized, and after serving the crown of Sweden twenty-seven years with distinguished efficiency, he obtained the rank of Lieutenant-general.

Though exiled so long from his native country, his attachment to the land of his birth was not in the least abated, and, desirous of revisiting it, he returned to England in the year 1777, and was presented to George III., who received him very graciously. At the

suggestion of Colonel Duff of Muirtown, who had served in Keith's Highlanders, and encouraged by the favourable reception he met with in the North, he offered his services to raise a regiment. The offer was accepted, and although without property or political consequence, yet so great was the influence of his name, that 840 Highlanders were raised and marched to Elgin in a very short time. In addition to these, 236 Lowlanders were raised by Captains the Honourable John Lindsay, David Baird, James Fowlis, and other officers, besides 34 English and Irish, who were enlisted in Glasgow, making in all 1100 men. The corps was embodied at Elgin, and inspected there by General Skene in April 1778. About this time letters of service were issued for raising a second battalion of the same size as the first,—a service which was speedily performed. The men of both battalions, of whom nearly 1800 were from those parts of the Highlands where the interest of Lord Macleod's family had once predominated, were of a robust constitution and of exemplary behaviour.

FIRST BATTALION.

Colonel—John Lord Macleod.
Lieut.-Colonel—Duncan M'Pherson.

Majors.

John Elphinston. James Mackenzie.

Captains.

George Mackenzie. Hugh Lamont.
Alexander Gilchrist. Hon. James Lindsay.
John Shaw. David Baird.
Charles Dalrymple.

Captain Lieutenant and Captain, David Campbell.

Lieutenants.

A. Geddes Mackenzie. Simon Mackenzie.
Hon. John Lindsay. Philip Melvill.
Abraham Mackenzie, Adjt. John Mackenzie.
Alexander Mackenzie. John Borthwick.
James Robertson. William Gunn.
John Hamilton. William Charles Gorrie.
John Hamilton. Hugh Sibbald.
Lewis Urquhart. David Rainnie.
George Ogilvie. Charles Munro.
Innis Munro.

Ensigns.

James Duncan. George Sutherland.
Simon Mackenzie. James Thrail.
Alexander Mackenzie. Hugh Dalrymple.
John Sinclair.

Chaplain—Colin Mackenzie.
Adjutant—Abraham Mackenzie.
Quartermaster—John Lytrott.
Surgeon—Alexander MacDougall.

SECOND BATTALION.

Colonel—John Lord Macleod.
Lieut.-Colonel—The Hon. George Mackenzie.

Majors.

Hamilton Maxwell. Norman Macleod.

Captains.

Hon. Colin Lindsay. Mackay Hugh Baillie.
John Mackintosh. Stair Park Dalrymple.
James Foulis. David Ross.
Robert Sinclair. Adam Colt.

Lieutenants.

Norman Maclean. Angus Mackintosh.
John Irving. John Fraser.
Rod. Mackenzie, senior. Robert Arbuthnot.
Charles Douglas. David MacCulloch.
Rod. Mackenzie, junior. Murdoch Mackenzie.
Phineas Mackintosh. George Fraser.
John Mackenzie, senior. John Mackenzie, junior.
Alexander Mackenzie. Martin Eccles Lindsay.
Phipps Wharton. John Dallas.
Laughlan MacLaughlan. David Ross.
Kenneth Mackenzie. William Erskine.

Ensigns.

John Fraser. John Forbes.
John MacDougal. Æneas Fraser.
Hugh Gray. William Rose.
John Mackenzie. Simon Fraser, Adjutant.

Chaplain—Æneas Macleod.
Adjutant—Simon Fraser.
Quartermaster—Charles Clark.
Surgeon—Andrew Cairncross.

The first battalion, under Lord Macleod, embarked for the East Indies in January 1779, and arrived in Madras Roads on the 20th of January 1780. The second battalion, under the command of the Honourable Lieut.-Colonel George Mackenzie, brother of Lord Macleod, was sent to Gibraltar, where it landed two days before the arrival of the first battalion at Madras.

The second battalion formed part of the garrison of Gibraltar during the siege, which lasted upwards of three years. In this, the only service in which it was engaged, the battalion had 30 privates killed and 7 sergeants, and 121 rank and file wounded. In May 1783 it returned to England, and was reduced at Stirling in October following. The officers who were regimentally senior in rank had liberty granted to join the first battalion in India.

The first battalion joined the army under Major-General Sir Hector Munro, and assembled at St Thomas's Mount, near Madras, in July 1780. This force amounted to 5209 men, and, with the exception of one battalion of the Company's European troops and the Grenadiers of another and 800 Highlanders, consisted of native troops.

This young and untried regiment had scarcely arrived in India, when Hyder Ali, forcing his way through the Ghauts, at the head of 100,000 men, burst like a mountain torrent into the Carnatic. He had interposed his vast army between that of the British, commanded by Sir Hector Monro, and a smaller force, under the command of Colonel Baillie, which were endeavouring to form a junction. The latter having, though victorious, sustained a serious loss in an engagement with Hyder Ali's troops, sent to the commander an account of his difficult position, stating that, from the loss he had sustained and his total want of provisions, he was equally unable to advance or remain in his then situation. With the advice of a council of war, Sir Hector judged the only course was to endeavour to aid Colonel Baillie, with such a reinforcement as would enable him to push forward in defiance of the enemy. The detachment selected for this enterprise consisted of about 1,000 men under Colonel Fletcher; and its main force was composed of the grenadier and infantry companies of Lord Macleod's regiment, commanded by Captain Baird. Hyder Ali having gained intelligence of this movement, sent a strong body to cut them off on their way, but, by adopting a long circuitous route, and marching by night, they at length safely effected a junction with Colonel Baillie. With the most consummate skill, however, Hyder, determining that they should never return, prepared an ambuscade, into which, early on the morning of the 10th of September, they unwarily advanced. The enemy, with admirable coolness and self-command, reserved their fire till the unhappy British were in the very midst of them. The army under the command of Colonels Baillie and Fletcher, and Captain Baird, marched in column. On a sudden, whilst in a narrow defile, a battery of twelve guns opened upon them, and, loaded with grape-shot, poured in upon their right flank. The British faced about; another battery opened immediately upon their rear. They had no choice therefore, but to advance; other batteries met them here likewise, and in less than half an hour fifty-seven pieces of cannon, brought to bear on them at all points, penetrated into every part of the British line. By seven o'clock in the morning, the enemy poured down upon them in thousands: Captain Baird and his grenadiers fought with the greatest heroism. Surrounded and attacked on all sides, by 25,000 cavalry, by thirty regiments of Sepoy infantry, besides Hyder's European corps, and a numerous artillery playing upon them from all quarters, within grape shot distance, yet did this gallant column stand firm and undaunted, alternately facing their enemies on every side of attack. The French officers in Hyder's camp beheld with astonishment the British Grenadiers, under Captain Baird's command, performing their evolutions in the midst of all the tumult and extreme peril, with as much precision, coolness, and steadiness, as if upon a parade ground. The little army, so unexpectedly assailed, had only ten pieces of cannon, but these made such havoc amongst the enemy, that after a doubtful contest of three hours, from six in the morning till nine, victory began to declare for the British. The flower of the Mysore cavalry, after many bloody repulses, were at length entirely defeated, with great slaughter, and the right wing, composed of Hyder's best forces, was thrown into disorder. Hyder himself was about to give orders for retreat, and the French officer who directed the artillery began to draw it off, when an unforeseen and unavoidable disaster occurred, which totally changed the fortune of the day. By some unhappy accident the tumbrils which contained the ammunition suddenly blew up in the centre of the British lines. One whole face of their column was thus entirely laid open, and their artillery overturned and destroyed. The destruction of men was great, but the total loss of their ammunition was still more fatal to the survivors. Tippoo Sahib, the son of Hyder, instantly seized the moment of advantage, and without waiting for orders, fell with the utmost rapidity, at the head of the Mogul and Carnatic horse, into the broken square, which had not had time to recover its form and order. This attack by the enemy's cavalry being immediately seconded by the French corps, and by the first line of infantry, determined at once the fate of our unfortunate army. After successive prodigies of valour, the brave Sepoys were almost to a man cut to pieces. Colonels

Baillie and Fletcher, assisted by Captain Baird, made one more desperate effort. They rallied the Europeans, and, under the fire of the whole immense artillery of the enemy, gained a little eminence, and formed themselves into a new square. In this form did this intrepid band, though totally without ammunition, the officers fighting only with their swords and the soldiers with their bayonets, resist and repulse the myriads of the enemy in thirteen different attacks; until at length, incapable of withstanding the successive torrents of fresh troops which were continually pouring upon them, they were fairly borne down and trampled upon, many of them still continuing to fight under the very legs of the horses and elephants. To save the lives of the few brave men who survived, Colonel Baillie had displayed his handkerchief on his sword, as a flag of truce; quarter was promised, but no sooner had the troops laid down their arms than they were attacked with savage fury by the enemy. By the humane interference, however, of the French officers in Hyder's service, many lives were saved. Colonel Fletcher was slain on the field. Colonel Baillie, severely wounded, and several other officers, with two hundred Europeans, were made prisoners. When brought into the presence of Hyder, he, with true Asiatic barbarism, received them with the most insolent triumph. The British officers, with a spirit worthy of their country, retorted with an indignant coolness and contempt. "Your son will inform you," said Colonel Baillie, "that you owe the victory to our disaster, rather than to our defeat." Hyder angrily ordered them from his presence, and commanded them instantly to prison. Captain Baird had received two sabre-wounds on his head, a ball in his thigh, and a pike-wound in his arm. He lay a long time on the field of battle, narrowly escaping death from some of the more ferocious of the Mysore cavalry, who traversed the field spearing the wounded, and at last being unable to reach the force under Munro, he was obliged to surrender to the enemy.



Sir David Baird, from a painting by Raeburn.

The result of this battle was the immediate retreat of the main army under Sir Hector Munro to Madras. Colonel Baillie, Captain Baird, and five other British officers were marched to one of Hyder's nearest forts, and afterwards removed to Seringapatam, where they were joined by others of their captive countrymen, and subjected to a most horrible and protracted imprisonment. It was commonly believed in Scotland that Captain Baird was chained by the leg to another man; and Sir Walter Scott, writing in May 1821 to his son, then a cornet of dragoons, with his regiment in Ireland, when Sir David was commander of the forces there, says, "I remember a story that when report came to Europe that Tippoo's prisoners (of whom Baird was one) were chained together two and two, his mother

said, 'God pity the poor lad that's chained to *our Davie!*'" She knew him to be active, spirited and daring, and probably thought that he would make some desperate effort to escape. But it was not the case that he was chained to another. On the 10th of May all the prisoners had been put in irons except Captain Baird; this indignity he was not subjected to till the 10th of November following. "When they were about," says his biographer, "to put the irons on Captain Baird, who was completely disabled in his right leg, in which the wound was still open, and whence the ball had just then been extracted, his friend Captain Lucas, who spoke the language perfectly, sprang forward, and represented in very strong terms to the Myar the barbarity of fettering him while in such a dreadful state, and assured him that death would be the inevitable termination of Captain Baird's sufferings if the intention were persisted in. The Myar replied that the Circar had sent as many pairs of irons as there were prisoners, and they must be put on. Captain Lucas then offered to wear two sets himself, in order to save his friend. This noble act of generosity moved the compassion even of the Myar, who said he would send to the Kellidar, (commander of the fort,) to open the book of fate. He did so, and when the messenger returned, he said the book had been opened, and Captain Baird's fate was good; and the irons were in consequence not put on at that time. Could they really have looked into the volume of futurity, Baird would undoubtedly have been the last man to be spared."[1] Each pair of irons was nine pounds weight. Captain Lucas died in prison. Captain Baird lived to revenge the sufferings which he and his fellow-prisoners endured by the glorious conquest of Seringapatam on the 4th of May, 1799.

Some time after the battle of Conjeveram, Lord Macleod took ship for England, having, it is said, differed in opinion with General Munro on the subject of his movements, particularly those preceding Colonel Baillie's disaster. He was succeeded in the command of the 73d by Colonel James Crawford, who, with the regiment now reduced to 500 men, joined the army under Sir Eyre Coote on the morning of the 1st of July 1781, when about to attack the enemy at Porto Novo.

[1] *Life of Sir David Baird*, vol. i. p. 44.

General Coote's army did not exceed 8000 men, of which the 73d was the only British regiment. The force under Hyder Ali consisted of 25 battalions of infantry, 400 Europeans, between 40,000 and 50,000 horse, and above 100,000 matchlock men, peons, and polygars, with 47 pieces of cannon. Nothwithstanding this immense disparity of force, Sir Eyre Coote determined to attack Hyder, and, accordingly, drew up his army in two lines, the first commanded by Major-general Hector Munro, and the second by Major-general James Stewart. A plain divided the two armies, beyond which the enemy were drawn up on ground strengthened by front and flanking redoubts and batteries. General Coote advanced to the attack at nine o'clock, and, after a contest of eight hours, the enemy was forced from all his entrenchments, and compelled to retire.

The 73d was on the right of the first line, and led all the attacks, to the full approbation of General Coote, whose notice was particularly attracted by one of the pipers, who always blew up his most warlike sounds whenever the fire became hotter than ordinary. This so pleased the General that he cried aloud, "Well done, my brave fellow, you shall have a pair of silver pipes for this!" The promise was not forgotten, and a handsome pair of pipes was presented to the regiment, with an inscription in testimony of the General's esteem for its conduct and character.

After a variety of movements, both armies again met, August 27th, near Perambaucum, the spot so fatal to Colonel Baillie's detachment.

"Perhaps there come not within the wide range of human imagination scenes more affecting, or circumstances more touching, than many of our army had that day to witness and to bear. On the very spot where they stood lay strewed amongst their feet the relics of their dearest fellow soldiers and friends, who near twelve months before had been slain by the hands of those very inhuman monsters that now appeared a second time eager to complete the work of blood. One poor soldier, with the tear of affection glistening in his eye, picked up the decaying spatterdash of his valued brother, with the name yet entire upon it,

which the tinge of blood and effects of weather had kindly spared. Another discovered the club or plaited hair of his bosom friend, which he himself had helped to form, and knew by the tie and still remaining colour. A third mournfully recognised the feather which had decorated the cap of his inseparable companion. The scattered clothes and wings of the flank companies of the 73d were everywhere perceptible, as also their helmets and skulls, both of which bore the marks of many furrowed cuts.

These horrid spectacles, too melancholy to dwell upon, while they melted the hardest hearts, inflamed our soldiers with an enthusiasm and thirst of revenge such as render men invincible; but their ardour was necessarily checked by the involved situation of the army."[2]

Hyder Ali, in anticipation of an attack, had taken up a strong position on ground intersected by deep water courses and ravines. The British commander formed his line of battle under a heavy fire, which the troops bore with firmness. An obstinate contest took place, which lasted from nine in the morning till sun-set. Hyder then abandoned his position, leaving General Coote master of the field of battle. The loss of the British was upwards of 400 killed and wounded, almost all native troops.

Colonel Crawford having become second in command, in consequence of the departure of General Munro for England, and the disabling of General Stewart in the last-mentioned action, Captain Shaw assumed the command of the 73d regiment. It continued attached to General Coote's army, and was present at the battles of Sholungar on the 27th of September 1781, and of Arnee on the 2d of June 1782.[3]

Having obtained reinforcements from England, General Stewart, who had recovered from his wounds, and succeeded to the command of the army on the death of General Coote, who died in April 1783, resolved to attack Cuddalore, the garrison of which had also obtained considerable additions from the Isle of France. General Stuart accordingly appeared before the place on the 6th of June 1783, and as M. Bussy, who commanded the garrison, was active in increasing his means of defence, he determined to make a speedy attack, and fixed the morning of the 13th for that purpose. The firing of three guns from a hill was to be the signal for a simultaneous assault at three different points; but in consequence of the noise of the cannonade which was immediately opened, the signals were not distinguished, and the attacks were not made at the same time. The enemy were thus enabled to direct their whole forces against each successive attack, and the result was, that one of the divisions was driven back. In the ardour of the pursuit, the besieged evacuated their redoubts, which were instantly taken possession of by Lieutenant-colonel Cathcart with the Grenadiers, and Lieutenant-colonel Stuart "with the precious remains of the 73d regiment." Though Colonel Stuart's party were forced to retire from the more advanced posts, yet as they retained possession of the principal redoubts, the advantage already was on the side of the British. In the belief that the French would retire from all their advanced posts during the night, General Stuart did not attempt to carry them. This expectation was realised. In this affair the 73d had Captains Alexander Mackenzie, and the Honourable James Lindsay, Lieutenants Simon Mackenzie and James Trail, 4 sergeants and 80 rank and file killed; and Captain John Hamilton, Lieutenants Charles Gorrie, David Rannie, John Sinclair, James Duncan, and George Sutherland, 5 sergeants, and 107 rank and file wounded. The casualties of the enemy exceeded 1000 men.

The following flattering compliment formed part of the general orders issued by the Commander-in-chief at the conclusion of the battle:—"I am also grateful to Captain Lamont and the officers under his command, who gallantly led the *precious remains* of the 73d regiment through the most perilous road to glory, until exactly one half of the officers and men of the battalion were either killed or wounded."

[2] Cannon's 71st, p. 16.

[3] In these encounters the regiment suffered little loss. Munro in his narrative mentions the following case: "I take this opportunity of commemorating the fall of John Doune Mackay, corporal in Macleod's Highlanders, son of Robert Doune, the bard whose singular talent for the beautiful and extemporaneous composition of Gaelic poetry, was held in such esteem. This son of the bard had frequently revived the spirits of his countrymen, when drooping in a long march, by singing the humorous and lively productions of his father. He was killed by a cannon shot, and buried with military honours by his comrades the same evening."

With the aid of 2400 men from the fleet, under Admiral Suffrein, Bussy made a spirited sortie on the 25th of June, but was driven back with great loss. Hostilities terminated on the 1st of July in consequence of accounts of the signature of preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France having been received. The army returned to St Thomas's Mount at the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, in March, 1784.

In consequence of the arrangements made when the second battalion was reduced, the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackenzie, and some other officers of that corps, joined the regiment in 1785. Next year the number of the regiment was changed to the 71st, on which occasion it received new colours. The same year the corps sustained a heavy loss by the death of Colonel Mackenzie, when Captain (afterwards General Sir David) Baird was appointed Major. Lord Macleod died in 1789, and was succeeded in the Colonelcy by the Honourable Major-General William Gordon. The strength of the regiment was at this time about 800 men, having been kept up to that number by occasional detachments from Scotland.

The war between Tippoo Sahib and the East India Company, which broke out in 1790, brought the regiment again into active service. In May of that year, the 71st and Seaforth's Highlanders (now the 72d), joined a large army assembled at Trichinopoly, the command of of which was assumed by Major-General Meadows. The right wing was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Stuart, and the left by Lieutenant-Colonel Bridges, while the two Highland regiments formed the second brigade. In the campaign against Tippoo, the 71st followed all the movements of the army. The flank companies were employed in the attack on Dundegul, and the regiment was after the capture of that place, engaged in the siege of Palacatcherry.

Lord Cornwallis joined the army early in 1791 as Commander-in-chief, and, after various movements, encamped close to Bangalore on the 5th of March. He made an assault on the 21st, and carried the place with little loss. The attack was led by the flank companies, including those of the 71st, all under the command of the Honourable John Lindsay and Captain James Robertson, son of Principal Robertson the historian.

Having obtained a reinforcement of 10,000 well-mounted native cavalry and some European troops from the Carnatic, Lord Cornwallis advanced upon Seringapatam, and on the 13th of May came within sight of the enemy, drawn up a few miles from the town, having the river on their right, and the heights of Carrighaut on their left. On the 15th the enemy were forced from a strong position, and driven across the river into the island on which the capital stands. In this affair the 71st had Lieutenant Roderick Mackenzie, and 7 rank and file killed; and Ensign (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel of the 50th regiment[4]) Chas. Stewart, and 74 rank and file wounded.

The advanced state of the season, and other unfavourable circumstances operating against a siege, Lord Cornwallis retired to Bangalore. From this place he detached Major Gowdie to attack Nundydroog, a strong fortified granite rock of great height. Except on one side this fortress was inaccessible, and care had been taken to strengthen that part by a double line of ramparts; and an outwork covered the gate by a flanking fire. Notwithstanding its great elevation, and very steep ascent, Nundydroog could still be approached, though it required immense labour to render the approaches available. After fourteen days' intense exertion, the besiegers succeeded in drawing up some guns, and erecting batteries on the face of a craggy precipice, from which they made two breaches, one on the re-entering angle of the outwork, and the other in the curtain of the outer wall.

Moving with his whole army towards Nundydroog, on the 18th of October, Lord Cornwallis made preparations for storming the place. An assault by night having been determined upon, Lieutenant Hugh Mackenzie, (afterwards paymaster of the 71st,) with twenty grenadiers of the 36th and 71st regiments, was to lead the attack on the right, and Lieutenant Moore, with twenty light infantry, and two flank companies of the same regiment, under the command of Lieutenants Duncan and Kenneth Mackenzie, was to lead the left. The whole was under the command of Captain (afterwards

[4] He died in Spain, in the year 1810.

Lieutenant-General) James Robertson, supported by Captain (afterwards Major-General) Burns, with the grenadiers, and Captain Hartly with the light infantry of the 36th regiment. Whilst waiting the signal to advance, one of the soldiers whispered something about a *mine*. General Meadows overhearing the observation, took advantage of the circumstance, by intimating that there *was* a mine, but it was "a mine of gold." This remark was not thrown away upon the troops.

Apprehensive of an assault, the enemy had provided themselves with huge masses of granite, to hurl down upon the besiegers when they should attempt to ascend the rock. The assault was made on the morning of the 19th of October, in a clear moonlight, and in spite of every obstacle the assailants effected a lodgement within one hundred yards of the breach. Driven from the outward rocks, the enemy attempted to barricade the gate of the inner rampart; but it was soon forced, and the place carried with the loss of 30 men amongst the native troops killed and wounded, principally from the stones which were rolled down the rock.

Encouraged by this success, Lord Cornwallis next laid siege to Savendroog, the strongest rock in the Mysore, and hitherto deemed impregnable. This stronghold was considerably higher than Nundydroog, and was separated by a chasm into two parts at the top, on each of which parts was a fort, but each independent of the other. The arduous duty of reducing this stronghold was intrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, who had already distinguished himself in other enterprises. Some of the outworks were battered, preparatory to an assault, which was fixed for the 21st of December. Accordingly on the morning of that day, the flank companies of the 52d, the two Highland regiments and the 76th, were assembled under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Nisbet of the 52d, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the party advanced to the assault to the air of *Britons Strike Home*, performed by the band of the 52d regiment. The assailants then ascended the rock, clambering up a precipice which was so nearly perpendicular, that after the capture of the place the men were afraid to descend. The citadel on the eastern top was soon carried, and eventually the whole of the rock, the assailants losing only two men. This success was soon followed by the capture of all the other strongholds in the Mysore.

Bent upon the capture of the Sultan's capital, the possession of which would, it was supposed, finish the war, Lord Cornwallis, in the month of January 1792, put his army in motion for Seringapatam, of which place he came in sight on the 4th of February. On the evening of the 6th he formed his army into three columns; the right column consisting of the 36th and 76th regiments, being under the command of General Meadows; the centre one, consisting of the 52d, with the 71st and 74th Highland regiments, under Lord Cornwallis, with Lieutenant-Colonels James Stuart and the Honourable John Knox; and the left column, being the 72d Highland regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell. The native troops were divided in proportion to each column. General Meadows was to penetrate the enemy's left, after which he was to attempt to open and preserve the communication with Lord Cornwallis's division, by directing all his efforts towards the centre. Part of the centre division, under Colonel Stewart, was to pierce through the centre of the enemy's camp, and attack the works on the island, while Colonel Maxwell with the left wing was directed to force the works on Carrighaut Hill, and descending thence to turn the right of the main division, and unite with Colonel Stuart. The three columns began to move at eight o'clock in the evening. "The head of the centre column led by the flank companies of the regiment, after twice crossing the Lockary, which covered the right wing of the enemy, came in contact with their first line, which was instantly driven across the north branch of the Cavery, at the foot of the glacis of the fort of Seringapatam. Captain Lindsay, with the grenadiers of the 71st, attempted to push into the body of the place, but was prevented by the raising of the drawbridge a few minutes before he advanced. He was here joined by some grenadiers and light infantry of the 52d and 76th regiments. With this united force he pushed down to the Loll Bang, where he was fiercely attacked by a body of the enemy, whom he quickly drove back with the bayonet. His numbers were soon

afterwards increased by the grenadier company of the 74th, when he attempted to force his way into the Pettah (or town,) but was opposed by such overwhelming numbers that he did not succeed. He then took post in a small redoubt, where he maintained himself till morning, when he moved to the north bank of the river, and joined Lieutenant-Colonels Knox and Baird, with the troops who formed the left of the attack. During these operations the battalion companies of the 52d, 71st, and 72d regiments forced their way across the river to the island, overpowering all that opposed them. At this moment, Captain Archdeacon, commanding a battalion of Bengal seapoys, was killed. This threw the corps into some confusion, and caused it to fall back on the 71st, at the moment that Major Dalrymple was preparing to attack the Sultan's redoubt, and thus impeded his movements. However, the redoubt was attacked, and instantly carried. The command was given to Captain Sibbald, who had led the attack with his company of the 71st. The animating example and courage of this officer made the men equally irresistible in attack, and firm in the defence of the post they had gained. The enemy made several vain attempts to retake it. In one of these the brave Captain Sibbald was killed. Out of compliment to this officer, the Commander-in-chief changed the name from Sultan's to Sibbald's redoubt. In this obstinate defence the men had consumed their ammunition, when, by a fortunate circumstance, two loaded oxen of the enemy, frightened by the firing, broke loose from their drivers, and taking shelter in the ditch of this redoubt, afforded an ample and seasonable supply. The command of this post was assumed by Major Kelly of the 74th regiment, who had gone up with orders from the Commander-in-chief, and remained there after the death of Captain Sibbald. The Sultan seemed determined to recover this redoubt distinguished by his own name, and directed the French troops to attack it. But they met with no better success than the former, notwithstanding their superior discipline."[5]

The loss of the enemy in this affair was estimated at 4000 men and 80 pieces of cannon. That on the side of the assailants was 535 men killed and wounded. Of the 71st, Captain Sibbald and Lieutenant Baine, 2 sergeants, and 34 rank and file were killed; and Ensigns Duncan Mackenzie, and William Baillie, 3 sergeants, and 67 rank and file wounded.

On the 9th of February Major-General Robert Abercromby, with the army from Bombay, consisting of the 73d and 75th Highland, and 77th, besides some native regiments, joined the besieging army. Operations for the siege were begun the same day; but nothing particular occurred till the 18th, when Major Dalrymple, to cover the opening of the trenches, crossed the Cavery at nine o'clock at night, and surprised and routed a camp of Tippoo's horse. During the three following days traverses were finished; and on the 22d, the enemy, after a warm contest, were defeated by a part of the Bombay army under General Abercromby. This was the last effort of the Sultan, who sued for peace, and obtained it at the expense of nearly one-half of his dominions, which he ceded to the East India Company.

On the termination of the war, the 71st, now under the command of Lieutenant-colonel David Baird, was marched to the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, where they remained till the breaking out of the war with France, in 1793. The flank companies were employed on the expedition against Ceylon, in the month of August that year, in which enterprise Captain Gorrie was severely wounded, and 11 men were killed and wounded.

On the 2d of January 1797, the regiment was inspected by Major-general Clarke, who issued the following general order:—

"Major General Clarke has experienced infinite satisfaction, this morning, at the review of His Majesty's 71st regiment.

" He cannot say that on any occasion of field exercise he ever was present at a more perfect performance.

" When a corps is so striking in appearance, and so complete in every branch of its discipline, little can occur to the Commander in-chief to particularise. He cannot but notice, however that the 71st regiment has excited his admiration for its expertness in those parts of its exercise which are most essential, and most difficult to execute. He alludes to its order and regularity when moving in line; its ex-

[5] Stewart's *Sketches.*

treme accuracy in preserving distances, and the neatness and promptitude that are so evident in all its formations. So much perfection in a corps, whose services in India will long be held in remembrance, does the greatest honour to Lieut.-Colonel Baird and all his officers, to whom, and the corps at large, the Commander-in-chief desires to offer his best thanks."

In October 1797, in consequence of orders, all the soldiers fit for service, amounting to 560 men, were drafted into the 73d and 74th regiments; those unfit for service, along with the officers and non-commissioned officers, sailed from Madras for England on the 17th of October, and arrived in the Thames in August 1798. The regiment was then removed to Leith, and thence to Stirling, after an absence of nearly 18 years from Scotland.[6]

As a mark of indulgence, a general leave of of 2 months was granted to the officers and men of the 71st, to enable them to visit their friends and families, after so long an absence from their native country.

The regiment remained in Scotland till June, 1800, when it was removed to Ireland, having previously received an accession of 600 volunteers from the Scottish fencible regiments. This augmented the corps to 800 men, of whom 600 were Highlanders. On the 24th of April, 1801, Lieutenant-Colonel Pack joined and assumed command of the regiment. In August 1803, Major-General Sir John Francis Cradock was appointed Colonel of the 71st, in succession to General the Honourable William Gordon. A second battalion was ordered to be embodied at Dumbarton, in the year 1804. From the success with which the recruiting for this battalion was carried on in Glasgow, and the favour shown to the men by the inhabitants, the corps acquired the name of the "Glasgow Highland Light Infantry."

The first battalion sailed from Cork on the 5th of August, 1805, on the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, (of which an account will be found under the head of the Sutherland Regiment,) and reached its destination on the 4th of January 1806. On this service the regiment had 6 rank and file killed, and Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Campbell, 5 sergeants, and 67 rank and file wounded.

This enterprise was followed by that against Buenos Ayres, of which the 71st formed the chief force. The expedition reached the Rio de la Plata on the 8th of June, and passing Monte Video, anchored opposite to the city of Buenos Ayres, on the 24th. The troops and the marines of the fleet, amounting together to about 1400 men, landed the following evening without opposition. Next forenoon the troops moved forward to the village of Reduction in full view of the enemy, who were posted on the brow of an adjoining eminence. The enemy, after firing a few shots, retired into the city. On the 27th the passage of the Rio Chuelo was forced, and the result was that the city surrendered. The Spaniards, however, soon attempted to regain what they had lost, and in the beginning of August collected a force of 1500 men in the neighbourhood; but these were attacked and dispersed by General Beresford, with a detachment of the 71st, and the corps of St Helena. Notwithstanding their dispersion, however, these troops collected again, and on the 10th of August, surprised and cut off a sergeant's guard. Next day the town was abandoned by the British, who retired to the fort, and seeing no prospect of relief, capitulated the same evening. The 71st lost in this expedition Lieutenant Mitchell and Ensign Lucas, and 91 non-commissioned officers and privates were killed and wounded.

After the capitulation of General Whitelock's army, the regiment was restored to liberty, and embarked with the troops for England. The regiment landed in Ireland and marched to Middleton and afterwards to Cork, where it received a reinforcement of 200 men from the second battalion, by which the effective force was increased to 920 men. On the 21st of April, 1808, the regiment received new colours instead of those they had surrendered at Buenos Ayres. The colours were presented by General Floyd, a veteran officer, who had frequently witnessed the gallantry of the 71st in India. He made an eloquent speech on the occasion, the conclusion of which was as follows:—

[6] On the 23d of May 1821, His Majesty King George the Fourth was graciously pleased to authorise the 71st to bear on the regimental colour and appointments the word "HINDOOSTAN," in commemoration of its distinguished services in the several actions in which it had been engaged, while in India, between the years 1780 and 1797.

"SEVENTY-FIRST,

"I am directed to perform the honourable duty of presenting your colours.

"Brave SEVENTY-FIRST! The world is well acquainted with your gallant conduct at the capture of *Buenos Ayres*, in South America, under one of His Majesty's bravest generals.

"It is well known that you defended your conquest with the utmost courage, good conduct, and discipline to the last extremity. When diminished to a handful, hopeless of succour, and destitute of provisions, you were overwhelmed by multitudes, and reduced by the fortune of war to lose your liberty, and your well-defended colours, but not your honour. Your honour, SEVENTY-FIRST regiment, remains unsullied. Your last act in the field covered you with glory. Your generous despair, calling upon your general to suffer you to die with arms in your hands proceeded from the genuine spirit of British soldiers. Your behaviour in prosperity,—your sufferings in captivity,—and your faithful discharge of your duty to your King and country, are appreciated by all.

"You who now stand on this parade, in defiance of the allurements held out to base desertion, are endeared to the army and to the country, and your conduct will ensure you the esteem of all true soldiers,—of all worthy men,—and fill every one of you with honest martial pride.

"It has been my good fortune to have witnessed, in a remote part of the world, the early glories and gallant conduct of the SEVENTY-FIRST regiment in the field; and it is with great satisfaction I meet you again, with replenished ranks, and with good arms in your hands, and with stout hearts in your bosoms.

"Look forward, officers and soldiers, to the achievement of new honours and the acquirement of fresh fame.

"Officers, be the friends and guardians of these brave fellows committed to your charge.

'Soldiers, give your confidence to your officers. They have shared with you the chances of war; they have bravely bled along with you; they will always do honour to themselves and you. Preserve your regiment's reputation for valour in the field and regularity in quarters.

"I have now the honour to present the ROYAL COLOUR.

This is the KING'S COLOUR.

"I have now the honour to present your REGIMENTAL COLOUR.

"This is the colour of the SEVENTY-FIRST regiment.

"May victory for ever crown these colours."

The expectations which General Floyd had formed of the regiment were soon to be realised. In the month of June the first battalion of the regiment embarked at Cork for Portugal, in the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley, which sailed on the 13th of July. The fleet arrived in Mondego Bay on the 29th, and the forces, amounting to 10,000 men, landed early in August. In a few days a body of 5000 troops from Gibraltar joined the army. General Wellesley made a forward movement towards Lisbon on the 9th of August, and was joined on the 11th by 6000 Portuguese, but being destitute of provisions and military stores he could not proceed. The British army reached Caldas on the 14th—four companies of the 60th and Rifle corps pushing forward to the village of Brilos, then in possession of the enemy. An affair of advanced posts now took place, which ended in the occupation of the village by the British. This was the commencement of a series of battles and operations which raised the military fame of Great Britain to the highest pitch, overtopping all the glories of Marlborough's campaigns. Lieutenant Bunbury and a few privates of the Rifle corps were killed on this occasion.

The French under General Laborde, amounting to upwards of 5000 men, took up a position on the heights of Roleia, whither they were followed by the British on the 17th. These heights were steep and very difficult of access, with only a narrow path leading to the summit; but notwithstanding the almost insuperable obstacles which presented themselves, the position was carried by the British, after a gallant resistance by the French, who were forced to retreat at all points. The light company of the 71st was the only part of the regiment engaged, the remainder being employed in manœuvring on the right flank of the French. The company had only one man killed and one wounded.

The regiment acted a conspicuous part in the battle of Vimeiro, which took place on the 21st of August 1808.

It was Sunday morning, and the men were engaged in washing their clothes, cleaning their fire-locks, and in other employments, when the French columns made their appearance on the opposite hills, about half-past eight. "To arms" was sounded, and everything being packed up as soon as possible, the 71st, along with the other brigaded regiments, left the camp ground, and moved across a valley to the heights on the east of Vimeiro.

The grenadier company of the 71st greatly distinguished itself, in conjunction with a sub-division of the light company of the 36th regiment. Captain Alexander Forbes, who commanded the grenadier company, was ordered to the support of some British artillery, and, seizing a favourable opportunity, made a dash at a battery of the enemy's artillery immediately in his front. He succeeded in capturing five guns and a howitzer, with horses, caissons, and equipment complete. In this affair alone the grenadier company had Lieutenants John Pratt and Ralph Dudgeon and 13 rank and file wounded, together with 2 men killed.[7]

The French made a daring effort to retake their artillery, both with cavalry and infantry; but the gallant conduct of the grenadier company, and the advance of Major-General Ferguson's brigade, finally left the guns in the possession of those who had so gallantly captured them.

George Clark, one of the pipers of the regiment, and afterwards piper to the Highland Society of London, was wounded in this action, and being unable to accompany his corps in the advance against the enemy, put his pipes in order, and struck up a favourite regimental air, to the great delight of his comrades. This is the second instance in which the pipers of the 71st have behaved with particular gallantry, and evinced high feeling for the credit and honour of the corps.

[7] Lieut.-General Sir Harry Burrard landed during the action, but did not assume the command. Lieut.-General Sir Hew Dalrymple landed on the following day, and took command of the army. The force under Lieut.-General Sir John Moore was also disembarked during the negotiation, which subsequently took place, making the British army amount to 32,000 men.

During the advance of the battalion, several prisoners were taken, among whom was the French general, Brennier. Corporal John M'Kay, of the 71st, who took him, was afterwards promoted to an ensigncy in the Fourth West India Regiment.

The result of this battle was the total defeat of the enemy, who subsequently retreated on Lisbon, with the loss of twenty-one pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition waggons, with powder, shells, stores of all descriptions, and 20,000 rounds of musket ammunition, together with a great many officers and soldiers killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

The conduct of the battalion, and of its commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel Pack, was noticed in the public despatches, and the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were conferred on the troops.

The following officers of the 71st were wounded in the battle of Vimeiro:—Captains Arthur Jones and Maxwell Mackenzie; Lieutenants John Pratt, William Hartley, Augustus M'Intyre, and Ralph Dudgeon; Ensign James Campbell, and Acting Adjutant R. M'Alpin.

The 71st subsequently received the royal authority to bear the word "*Vimeiro*" on the regimental colour and appointments, in commemoration of this battle.

The "*Convention of Cintra*," signed on the 30th of August, was the result of this victory. By its provisions the French army evacuated Portugal, which thus became freed from its oppressors.

In September, Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore assumed the command and made dispositions for entering Spain. The 71st was brigaded with the 36th and 92d regiments under Brigadier-General Catlin Crawfurd, and placed in the division under the command of Lieutenant-General the Honourable John Hope, afterwards the Earl of Hopetoun. On the 27th October the division left Lisbon, and joined the forces under Moore at Salamanca. The regiment took part in the disastrous retreat under Sir John Moore to Corunna, and along with the rest of the army suffered dreadfully from the severity of the weather, want of food and clothing, and disease.

"At this period the situation of the British

army was dispiriting in the extreme. In the midst of winter, in a dreary and desolate country, the soldiers, chilled and drenched with the heavy rains, and wearied by long and rapid marches, were almost destitute of fuel to cook their victuals, and it was with extreme difficulty that they could procure shelter. Provisions were scarce, irregularly issued, and difficult of attainment. The waggons, in which were their magazines, baggage, and stores, were often deserted in the night by the Spanish drivers, who were terrified by the approach of the French. Thus baggage, ammunition, stores, and even money were destroyed to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy; and the weak, the sick, and the wounded were necessarily left behind. The 71st suffered in proportion with the rest, and by weakness, sickness, and fatigue, lost about 93 men."[8]

In January 1809, Lieutenant-General Francis Dundas was appointed from the 94th regiment to be Colonel of the 71st, in succession to Sir John Francis Cradock, removed to the 43d.

On the 11th of January the army under Moore arrived at Corunna, where the furious battle was fought in which this famous leader got his death-wound. We have already, in our account of the 42d, given sufficient details of this engagement. While waiting for the transports some skirmishing took place with the French, in which four companies of the 71st were warmly engaged, and lost several men in killed and wounded. In the general battle on the 16th, the 71st, being placed on the extreme left of the British line, had little to do therein. In commemoration of this battle, and of the conduct of the regiment during the expedition, the 71st was authorised to bear the word *Corunna* on the regimental colours and appointments.

On the 17th of January the army embarked for England, and reached Plymouth about the end of the month, where the men were received by the people with the utmost enthusiasm, and were welcomed into every house as if they had been relations.[9] The battalion in which was the 71st was marched to Ashford barracks, where it remained for some time. In June the first battalion was increased by the addition of several officers and 311 non-commissioned officers and men from the second battalion which continued to be stationed in Scotland, and by a number of volunteers from the militia.

In March 1809, the royal authority was granted for the 71st to be formed into a light infantry regiment, when it was directed that the clothing, arming, and discipline should be the same as those of other regiments of a similar kind. However, it cannot be said to have ceased to be a Highland regiment, for the men were permitted to retain such parts of the national dress as might not be inconsistent with their duties as a light corps. Lieutenant-Colonel Pack wrote to the Adjutant-General, in April 1810, on the subject, and received the following reply from headquarters:—

"Horse Guards, 12*th April* 1810.

"Sir,—Having submitted to the Commander-in-Chief your letter of the 4th instant, I am directed to state, that there is no objection to the 71st being denominated *Highland Light Infantry Regiment*, or to the retaining of their pipes, and the Highland garb for the pipers; and that they will, of course, be permitted to wear caps according to the pattern which was lately approved and sealed by authority.[1]

"I have, &c.

William Wynyard,

"Deputy-Adjutant-General.

"Lieut.-Colonel Pack,
"71st Regiment."

The 71st was next employed on the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, for which the most gigantic preparations had been made. The troops amounted to 40,000 men, commanded by Lieutenant-General the Earl of Chatham, while the naval portion consisted of 39 ships of the line, 36 frigates, and numerous gunboats and bomb-vessels, and other small craft, under Admiral Sir James Strachan.

[8] Cannon's *History of the 71st Regiment*, p. 73.
[9] *Journal of a Soldier of the 71st.*

[1] The bonnet *cocked* is the pattern cap to which allusion is made in the above letter. This was in accordance with Lieutenant-Colonel Pack's application; and with respect to retaining the pipes, and dressing the pipers in the Highland garb, he added, "It cannot be forgotten how these pipes were obtained, and how constantly the regiment has upheld its title to them. These are the honourable characteristics which must preserve to future times the precious remains of the old corps, and of which I feel confident His Majesty will never have reason to deprive the 71st regiment."

On the 16th of July, the first battalion of the 71st, consisting of 3 field-officers, 6 captains, 27 subalterns, 48 sergeants, and 974 drummers and rank and file, embarked at Portsmouth on board the *Belleisle* and *Impérieuse*. The expedition sailed from the Downs on the 28th of July, and in about thirty hours reached Roompet Channel, when the 71st was the first to disembark. It was brigaded with the 68th and 85th regiments, under the command of Brigadier-General the Baron de Rottenburg, in the division commanded by Lieutenant-General Alexander Mackenzie Fraser, and the corps of Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote. The light brigade, consisting of the 71st, 68th, and 85th light infantry, were landed under cover of the fire of some small craft, and immediately on landing came in contact with the enemy's sharpshooters, who fell back skirmishing. Two of the companies of the 71st captured four guns and several prisoners. A battery and flagstaff on the coast were taken possession of by the 10th company of the 71st, and in place of a flag, a soldier's red jacket was hoisted on it. Further details of this expedition we take the liberty of copying from Cannon's history of this regiment.

"This advance having succeeded at all points, and the enemy having fallen back on *Flushing* and *Middelburg*, the army was disembarked. The advance then dividing, proceeded by different routes. The 71st moved by the sea dyke on a fort called *Ter Veer*, the situation and strength of which was not sufficiently known, an enemy's deserter having given but imperfect intelligence respecting it.

After nightfall the column continued to advance in perfect silence, with orders to attack with the bayonet, when, on a sudden, the advance-guard fell in with an enemy's party, who came out for the purpose of firing some houses which overlooked the works. The column following the advance-guard had entered an avenue or road leading to the fort, when the advance commenced the action with the enemy, who, retiring within the place, opened a tremendous fire from his works with artillery and musketry. Some guns pointing down the road by which the battalion advanced did great execution, and the 71st had Surgeon Charles Henry Quin killed, and about 18 men killed and wounded. The column, after some firing, retired, and the place was the next day regularly invested by sea and land. It took three days to reduce it, when it capitulated, with its stores, and a garrison of 800 men.

Flushing having been invested on the 1st of August, the 71st, after the surrender of Ter Veer, were ordered into the line of circumvallation, and placed on the extreme left, resting on the Scheldt. The preparations for the attack on the town having been completed, on the 13th a dreadful fire was opened from the batteries and bomb-vessels, and congreve rockets having been thrown into the town, it was on fire in many places. The ships having joined in the attack, the enemy's fire gradually slackened, and at length ceased. A summons being sent in, a delay was demanded, but being rejected, the firing recommenced.

On the 14th of August one of the outworks was carried at the point of the bayonet by a party of detachments and two companies of the 71st under Lieutenant-Colonel Pack.

In this affair Ensign Donald Sinclair, of the 71st, was killed; Captain George Spottiswoode and a few men were wounded.

Flushing, with its garrison of 6000 men, capitulated on the 15th of August, and the right gate was occupied by a detachment of 300 men of the first or Royal Scots, and the left gate by a detachment of similar strength of the 71st under Major Arthur Jones. The naval arsenal, and some vessels of war which were on the stocks, fell into the hands of the British.

The 71st shortly after proceeded to Middelburg, where the battalion remained for a few days, when it was ordered to occupy *Ter Veer*, of which place Lieutenant-Colonel Pack was appointed commandant, and Lieutenant Henry Clements, of the 71st, town major. The battalion remained doing duty in the garrison until this island, after the works, &c., were destroyed, was finally evacuated on the 22d of December.

On the 23d of December, the battalion embarked in transports, and sailed for England, after a service of five months in a very unhealthy climate, which cost the battalion the loss of the following officers and men:—

	Officers.	Sergeants, Drummers, and Rank and File.
Died on service .	1	57
Killed . .	2	19
Died after return home	2	9
Total . .	5	85

In passing Cadsand, that fort opened a fire on the transports, one of which, having part of the 71st on board, was struck by a round shot, which carried off Sergeant Steele's legs above the knees.

On the 25th of December, the first battalion of the 71st disembarked at Deal, and marched to Brabourne-Lees Barracks, in Kent, where it was again brigaded with the 68th and 85th light infantry, and was occupied in putting itself in an efficient state for active service." [2]

In May 1810, the battalion removed to Deal Barracks, and while here Lieutenant-Colonel Pack was removed from the regiment to become a brigadier in the Portuguese army. In the early part of September the battalion received orders to prepare six companies for foreign service, which was done by drafting into the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 6th, and 10th companies the most effective officers and men belonging to the other companies. When completed, the companies altogether consisted of 30 officers, 42 sergeants, and 615 rank and file. These companies sailed on the 15th September from the Downs in two frigates, and disembarked at Lisbon on the 26th of the same month, when the men were quartered in two convents. "To my great joy," says the *Journal of a Soldier of the* 71*st*, "we paraded in the grand square, on the seventh day after our arrival, and marched in sections, to the music of our bugles, to join the army: having got our camp equipments, consisting of a camp-kettle and bill-hook, to every six men; a blanket, a canteen, and haversack, to each man. Orders had been given that each soldier, on his march, should carry along with him three days' provision. Our mess of six cast lots who should be cook the first day, as we were to carry the kettle day about; the lot fell to me. My knapsack contained two shirts, two pairs of stockings, one pair of overalls, two shoe-brushes, a shaving box, one pair of spare shoes, and a few other articles; my great-coat and blanket above the knapsack; my canteen with water was slung over my shoulder, on one side; my haversack, with beef and bread, on the other; sixty round of ball-cartridge, and the camp-kettle above all." [3]

At Mafra, to which place the detachment marched on the 2nd of October, it was joined by Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan, who assumed the command. The detachment joined the army under Wellington at Sobral on the 10th, and was brigaded with the 50th and 92d regiments, under Major-General Sir William Erskine, in the first division under Lieutenant-General Sir Brent Spencer. We cannot do better than quote from the simple but graphic journal already referred to:—

"We had not been three hours in the town, and were busy cooking, when the alarm sounded. There were nine British and three Portuguese regiments in the town. We were all drawn up and remained under arms, expecting every moment to receive the enemy, whose skirmishers covered Windmill Hill. In about an hour the light companies of all the regiments were ordered out, along with the 71st. Colonel Cadogan called to us, at the foot of the hill, 'My lads, this is the first affair I have ever been in with you; show me what you can do, now or never.' We gave a hurra, and advanced up the hill, driving their advanced skirmishers before us, until about half-way up, when we commenced a heavy fire, and were as hotly received. In the meantime the remaining regiments evacuated the town. The enemy pressed so hard upon us, we were forced to make the best of our way down the hill, and were closely followed by the French, through the town, up Gallows Hill. We got behind a mud wall, and kept our ground in spite of their utmost efforts. Here we lay upon our arms all night.

Next morning, by day-break, there was not a Frenchman to be seen. As soon as the sun was fairly up, we advanced into the town, and began a search for provisions, which had now become very scarce; and, to our great joy, we found a large store-house full of dry fish, flour, rice, and sugar, besides bales of cloth. All now became bustle and mirth; fires were

[2] Cannon's *History of the* 71*st Regiment*, pp. 77–79.

[3] *Memorials of the late War*, p. 76.

kindled, and every man became a cook. Scones[4] were the order of the day. Neither flour nor sugar were wanting, and the water was plenty; so I fell to bake myself a flour scone. Mine was mixed and laid upon the fire, and I, hungry enough, watching it. Though neither neat nor comely, I was anticipating the moment when it would be eatable. Scarce was it warm ere the bugle sounded to arms. Then was the joy that reigned a moment before turned to execrations. I snatched my scone off the fire, raw as it was, put it into my haversack, and formed. We remained under arms until dark, and then took up our old quarters upon Gallows Hill, where I ate my raw scone, sweetly seasoned by hunger. In our advance to the town we were much entertained by some of our men who had got over a wall the day before, when the enemy were in the rear; and now were put to their shifts to get over again, and scarce could make it out.

Next morning the French advanced to a mud wall, about forty yards in front of the one we lay behind. It rained heavily this day, and there was very little firing. During the night we received orders to cover the bugle and tartans of our bonnets with black crape, which had been served out to us during the day, and to put on our great-coats. Next morning the French, seeing us thus, thought we had retired, and left Portuguese to guard the heights. With dreadful shouts they leaped over that wall before which they had stood, when guarded by British. We were scarce able to withstand their fury. To retreat was impossible; all behind being ploughed land, rendered deep by the rain. There was not a moment to hesitate. To it we fell, pell-mell, French and British mixed together. It was a trial of strength in single combat: every man had his opponent, many had two." In the first of these affairs the detachment had 8 men killed and 34 wounded. In Wellington's despatch concerning the affair of the 14th, the names of Lieutenant-Colonels Cadogan and Reynell were particularly mentioned. John Rea, a soldier of the 6th company of the 71st behaved on this occasion with so much gallantry, and so particularly distinguished himself, that he received a silver medal, inscribed "To John Rea, for his exemplary courage and good conduct as a soldier at Sobral, 14th October 1810."

On the 15th October the 71st retired between the lines at Tibreira, a continuation of those at Torres Vedras. Here the detachment remained along with the other regiments watching Marshal Massena, until the latter was compelled to retire from want of provisions in the nights between the 14th and 15th November. He was followed by the allied forces, and the 71st, along with the rest of its division, were quartered in and about Almoster from the 20th to the 26th. Massena took up a position in the vicinity of Santarem, and Wellington, after some manœuvring, placed himself in front of the enemy, having his headquarters at Cartano. The 71st was quartered in a convent at Alquintrinha, where the detachment remained until March 1811. In this month two companies of the 1st battalion arrived in the Peninsula to reinforce the regiment, other two coming out in July. On the night of the 5th of March, the French gave the British army the slip, deceiving the latter by placing wooden guns in their batteries, and stuffing old clothes with straw, which they put in place of their sentinels. It was two days before the trick was discovered. The British army immediately followed in pursuit, but did not come up with the enemy until they reached the Aguida on the 9th of April. The division, in which was the 71st, was posted at Abergaria, a small town on the frontiers of Spain, where it remained till the 30th April, when, on account of the movements of the enemy, the British army was moved out of its cantonments, and was formed in line on the high ground about two miles in rear of Fuentes d'Onor.

"On the 3rd of May, at day-break, all the cavalry and sixteen light companies occupied the town. We stood under arms until three o'clock, when a staff-officer rode up to our colonel, and gave orders for our advance. Colonel Cadogan put himself at our head, saying, 'My lads, you have had no provisions these two days; there is plenty in the hollow in front, let us down and divide.' We advanced as quick as we could run, and met the

[4] Thin flat cakes

light companies retreating as fast as they could. We continued to advance at double-quick time, our firelocks at the trail, our bonnets in our hands. They called to us, 'Seventy-first, you will come back quicker than you advance.' We soon came full in front of the enemy. The colonel cried, 'Here is food, my lads; cut away.' Thrice we waved our bonnets, and thrice we cheered; brought our firelocks to the charge, and forced them back through the town.

How different the duty of the French officers from ours! They, stimulating the men by their example; the men vociferating, each chafing each until they appear in a fury, shouting, to the points of our bayonets. After the first huzza, the British officers, restraining their men, still as death—'Steady, lads, steady,' is all you hear, and that in an under tone.

During this day the loss of men was great. In our retreat back to the town, when we halted to check the enemy, who bore hard upon us, in their attempts to break our line, often was I obliged to stand with a foot upon each side of a wounded man, who wrung my soul with prayers I could not answer, and pierced my heart with his cries to be lifted out of the way of the cavalry. While my heart bled for them, I have shaken them rudely off.

We kept up our fire until long after dark. About one o'clock in the morning we got four ounces of bread served out to each man, which had been collected out of the haversacks of the Foot Guards. After the firing had ceased, we began to search through the town, and found plenty of flour, bacon, and sausages, on which we feasted heartily, and lay down in our blankets, wearied to death. Soon as it was light the firing commenced, and was kept up until about ten o'clock, when Lieutenant Stewart, of our regiment, was sent with a flag of truce, for leave to carry off our wounded from the enemy's lines, which was granted; and, at the same time, they carried off theirs from ours. We lay down, fully accoutred, as usual, and slept in our blankets. An hour before day we were ready to receive the enemy

About half-past nine o'clock, a great gun from the French line, which was answered by one from ours, was the signal to engage. Down they came, shouting as usual. We kept them at bay, in spite of their cries and formidable looks. How different their appearance from ours! their hats set round with feathers, their beards long and black, gave them a fierce look. Their stature was superior to ours; most of us were young. We looked like boys; they like savages. But we had the true spirit in us. We foiled them in every attempt to take the town, until about eleven o'clock, when we were overpowered, and forced through the streets, contesting every inch.

During the preceding night we had been reinforced by the 79th regiment, Colonel Cameron commanding, who was killed about this time. Notwithstanding all our efforts, the enemy forced us out of the town, then halted, and formed close column betwixt us and it. While they stood thus the havoc amongst them was dreadful. Gap after gap was made by our cannon, and as quickly filled up. Our loss was not so severe, as we stood in open files. While we stood thus, firing at each other as quick as we could, the 88th regiment advanced from the lines, charged the enemy, and forced them to give way. As we passed over the ground where they had stood, it lay two and three deep of dead and wounded. While we drove them before us through the town, in turn, they were reinforced, which only served to increase the slaughter. We forced them out, and kept possession all day."[5]

The 71st took 10 officers and 100 men prisoners, but lost about half their number in killed and wounded. Those killed were Lieutenants John Consell, William Houston, and John Graham, and Ensign Donald John Kearns, together with 4 serjeants and 22 rank and file.

Captains Peter Adamson and James M'Intyre, Lieutenants William M'Craw, Humphrey Fox, and Robert Law (Adjutant), Ensigns Charles Cox, John Vandeleur, and Carique Lewin, 6 serjeants, 3 buglers, and 100 rank and file, were wounded. Two officers, with several men, were taken prisoners.

In commemoration of the gallantry displayed in this prolonged action, the 71st subsequently received the royal authority to bear the words

[5] *Memorials of the late War*, pp. 87–91.

"*Fuentes d'Onor*" on the regimental colour and appointments.

Viscount Wellington particularly mentioned the name of Lieut.-Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan in his despatch, and being highly gratified with the conduct of the 71st on this occasion, directed that a non-commissioned officer should be selected for a commission. According to his Lordship's recommendation, Quartermaster-Serjeant William Gavin was shortly afterwards promoted to an ensigncy in the regiment.[6]

The 71st, on the 14th of May, returned to Albergaria, where it remained till the 26th, when it was marched to reinforce Marshal Beresford's army, then beseiging Badajoz. After a variety of marchings, the battalion went into camp at Toro de Moro, where it remained a month, and was recruited by a detachment of 350 from the 2d battalion, stationed at Deal. The battalion returned along with Wellington's army on the 20th of July to Borba, where it remained until the 1st of September, when it removed to Portalegre, and thence marched to Castello de Vido on October 4th.

On the 22nd of October, we received information that General Girard, with 4000 men, infantry and cavalry, was collecting contributions in Estremadura, and had cut off part of our baggage and supplies. We immediately set off from Portalegre, along with the brigade commanded by General Hill, and, after a most fatiguing march, the weather being very bad, we arrived at Malpartida. The French were only ten miles distant. By a near cut, on the Merida road, through Aldea del Cano, we got close up to them, on the 27th, at Alcuesca, and were drawn up in columns, with great guns ready to receive them. They had heard nothing of our approach. We went into the town. It was now nigh ten o'clock; the enemy were in Arroyo del Molino, only three miles distant. We got half a pound of rice served out to each man, to be cooked immediately. Hunger made little cooking necessary. The officers had orders to keep their men silent. We were placed in the houses; but our wet and heavy accoutrements were, on no account, to be taken off. At twelve o'clock we received our allowance of rum; and, shortly after, the serjeants tapped at the doors, calling not above their breath. We turned out, and at slow time continued our march.

The whole night was one continued pour of rain. Weary, and wet to the skin, we trudged on, without exchanging a word; nothing breaking the silence of the night save the howling of the wolves. The tread of the men was drowned by the pattering of the rain. When day at length broke we were close upon the town. The French posts had been withdrawn into it, but the embers still glowed in their fires. During the whole march the 71st had been with the cavalry and horse-artillery, as an advanced guard.

General Hill rode up to our colonel, and ordered him to make us clean out our pans (as the rain had wet all the priming), form square, and retire a short distance, lest the French cavalry had seen us, and should make an attack; however, the drift was so thick, they could not—it blew right in their faces when they looked our way. The Colonel told us off in three divisions, and gave us orders to charge up three separate streets of the town, and force our way, without halting, to the other side. We shouldered our arms. The general, taking off his hat, said, 'God be with you—quick march.' On reaching the gates, we gave three cheers, and in we went; the inhabitants calling, 'Live the English,' our piper playing 'Hey Johnny Cope;' the French swearing, fighting in confusion, running here and there, some in their shirts, some half accoutred. The streets were crowded with baggage, and men ready to march, all now in one heap of confusion. On we drove: our orders were to take no prisoners, neither to turn to the right nor left, until we reached the other side of the town.

As we advanced I saw the French general come out of a house, frantic with rage. Never shall I forget the grotesque figure he made, as he threw his cocked hat upon the ground, and stamping upon it, gnashed his teeth. When I got the first glance of him he had many medals on his breast. In a minute his coat was as bare as a private's.

We formed under cover of some old walls. A brigade of French stood in view. We got

[6] Cannon's *History of the 71st Regiment*, p. 85.

orders to fire: not ten pieces in a company went off, the powder was again so wet with the rain. A brigade of Portuguese artillery came up. We gave the enemy another volley, leaped the wall, formed column, and drove them over the hill; down which they threw all their baggage, before they surrendered. In this affair we took about 3000 prisoners, 1600 horse, and 6 pieces of artillery, with a great quantity of baggage, &c.

We were again marched back to Portalegre, where the horses were sold and divided amongst the men according to their rank. I got 2s. 6d."[7]

The 71st remained in Portalegre till March 1812, having taken part, during the January of that year, in the expulsion of the French from Estremadura. After the capture of Badajos by Wellington on the 6th of April, the 71st, and the other troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, retired into Andalusia. Wellington, having armed the Tagus against Marshal Marmont, Sir Rowland Hill's force took post at Almendralejos for the purpose of watching Marshal Soult. Here the 71st remained from the 13th April to the 11th May, when it along with the rest of Sir R. Hill's corps marched to Almaraz to destroy the bridge of boats there. On the 18th of May it reached the height on which the castle of Mirabete stands, five miles from Almaraz.

"On the evening of the third day, General Hill ordered our left companies to move down to the valley, to cover his reconnaisance. When he returned, the officers were called. A scaling ladder was given to each section of a company of the left wing, with the exception of two companies. We moved down the hill in a dismal manner; it was so dark we could not see three yards before us. The hill was very steep, and we were forced to wade through whins and scramble down rocks, still carrying the ladders. When day-light, on the morning of the 19th, at length showed us to each other, we were scattered all over the foot of the hill like strayed sheep, not more in one place than were held together by a ladder. We halted, formed, and collected the ladders, then moved on. We had a hollow to pass through to get at the battery. The French had cut a part of the brae-face away, and had a gun that swept right through into the hollow. We made a rush past it, to get under the brae on the other side. The French were busy cooking, and preparing to support the other fort, thinking we would attack it first, as we had lain next it.

On our approach the French sentinel fired and retired. We halted, fixed bayonets, and moved on in double-quick time. We did not receive above four shots from the battery, until we were under the works, and had the ladders placed to the walls. Their entrenchment proved deeper than we expected, which caused us to splice our ladders under the wall; during which time they annoyed us much, by throwing grenades, stones, and logs over it; for we stood with our pieces cocked and presented. As soon as the ladders were spliced, we forced them from the works, and out of the town, at the point of the bayonet, down the hill and over the bridge. They were in such haste, they cut the bridge before all their men had got over, and numbers were either drowned or taken prisoners. One of our men had the honour to be the first to mount the works.

Fort Napoleon fired two or three shots into Fort Almaraz. We took the hint from this circumstance, and turned the guns of Almaraz on Fort Napoleon, and forced the enemy to leave it.

We moved forward to the village of Almaraz, and found plenty of provisions, which had been very scarce with us for some days."[8]

The whole of this brilliant affair was concluded in about 15 minutes, the regiment losing Captain Lewis Grant, 1 sergeant, and 7 rank and file, killed; Lieutenants William Lockwood and Donald Ross, 3 sergeants, and 29 rank and file wounded. The names of 36 non-commissioned officers and soldiers were inserted in regimental orders for conspicuous bravery on this occasion, and "*Almaraz*" was henceforth inscribed upon the regimental colours. Both in the Brigade and General Orders, the 71st was particularly mentioned.

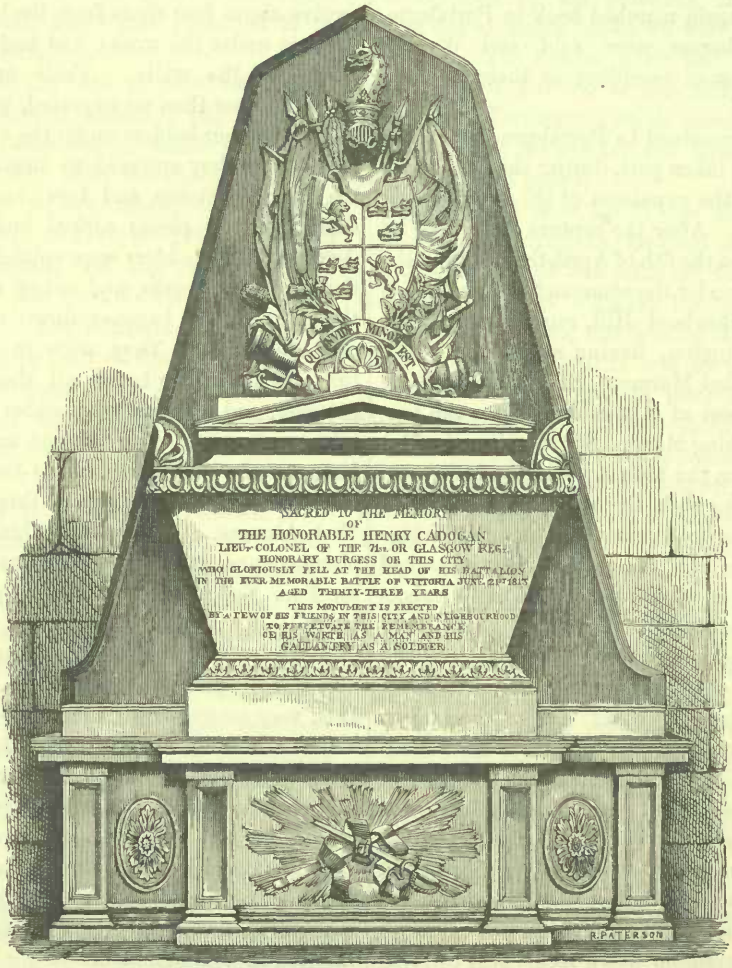
From this time to the 7th of November the 71st was occupied with many tedious marchings and countermarchings in accordance with the movements of the enemy. It occupied Alba de

[7] *Memorials of the late War*, p. 94.

[8] *Memorials of the late War*, p. 98.

Tormes from the 7th till the 13th of November, and during that period sustained a loss, in action with the enemy, of 1 sergeant and 6 rank and file killed, and 1 bugler and 5 rank and file wounded. The army retired from this part and began to return on Portugal; and after various slight skirmishes with the enemy, reached Puerto de Baños in December, where it remained till April 1812, being then removed to Bejar, which it occupied till May 21st. In December the 1st battalion was joined by a draft of 150 men from the 2nd. On the 20th of June the battalion along with the rest of its division encamped at La Puebla, in the neighbourhood of Vitoria.

On the morning of the 21st, the two



Monument in Glasgow Cathedral to Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan.

armies being in position, the 71st was ordered to ascend the heights of La Puebla to support the Spanish forces under General Morillo. Forward they moved up the hill under a very heavy fire, in which fell mortally wounded their commander Colonel Cadogan, who, in falling, requested to be carried to a neighbouring height, from which he might take a last farewell of the regiment and the field.

"The French had possession of the top, but we soon forced them back, and drew up in column on the height, sending out four companies to our left to skirmish. The remainder moved on to the opposite height.

Scarce were we upon the height, when a heavy column, dressed in great-coats, with white covers on their hats, exactly resembling the Spanish, gave us a volley, which put us to the right about at double-quick time down the hill, the French close behind, through the whins. The four companies got the word, the French were on them. They likewise thought them Spaniards, until they got a volley that killed or wounded almost every one of them. We retired to the height, covered by the 50th, who gave the pursuing column a volley which checked their speed. We moved up the remains of our shattered regiment to the height. Being in great want of ammunition, we were again served with sixty rounds a man, and kept up our fire for some time, until the bugle sounded to cease firing.

We lay on the height for some time. Our drought was excessive; there was no water upon the height, save one small spring, which was rendered useless. At this time the major had the command, our second colonel being wounded. There were not 300 of us on the height able to do duty, out of above 1000 who drew rations in the morning. The cries of the wounded were most heart-rending.

The French, on the opposite height, were getting under arms: we could give no assistance, as the enemy appeared to be six to one of us. Our orders were to maintain the height while there was a man of us. The word was given to shoulder arms. The French at the same moment got under arms. The engagement began in the plains. The French were amazed, and soon put to the right about, through Vitoria. We followed, as quick as our weary limbs would carry us. Our legs were full of thorns, and our feet bruised upon the roots of the trees. Coming to a bean field at the bottom of the heights, the column was immediately broken, and every man filled his haversack. We continued to advance until it was dark, and then encamped on a height above Vitoria.

This was the dullest encampment I ever made. We had left 700 men behind. None spoke; each hung his head, mourning the loss of a friend and comrade. About twelve o'clock a man of each company was sent to receive half a pound of flour for each man at the rate of our morning's strength, so that there was more than could be used by those who had escaped. I had fired 108 rounds this day."[9]

The loss of the regiment in the battle of Vitoria was dreadful. Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan, Captain Hall, Lieutenants Fox and Mackenzie, 6 serjeants, 1 bugler, and 78 rank and file were killed; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Cother; Captains Reed, Pidgeon, and Grant; Lieutenants Duff, Richards, M'Intyre, Cox, Torriano, Campbell, and Cummeline; 13 serjeants, 2 buglers, and 255 rank and file were wounded.

The enemy retired to Pamplona, followed by the British, who afterwards marched towards the Pyrenees, the 71st reaching Maya upon the 8th of July. At Maya, on July 25th,—of which, as of other Peninsular battles, details will be found in the account of the 42nd,—the 71st behaved with marked bravery, maintaining their position to the last, and, when their ammunition was exhausted, hurling stones upon the enemy to impede their advance. The 71st had 3 sergeants and 54 rank and file killed, and 6 sergeants and 77 rank and file wounded.

The army under General Hill continued retiring until the 30th of July, when a strong position was taken up at Lizasso. Here they were attacked by the French, the 71st taking an active part in the engagement, and losing 1 sergeant, and 23 rank and file killed, and 2 sergeants and 34 rank and file wounded.

In the action in the pass of Doña Maria on the 31st, the 71st distinguished itself, and had 1 sergeant and 29 rank and file killed, and 2 sergeants and 45 rank and file wounded. For the part taken in these engagements the 71st was authorised to bear the word "*Pyrenees*" on its colours and appointments. Between the 14th of June and the 7th August, the regiment lost in killed and wounded, 33 officers, 6 buglers, and 553 rank and file.

For nearly three months after the last engagement the regiment was encamped on the heights of Roncesvalles, where the men were principally engaged in the construction of block-houses and batteries, and in the formation of roads for artillery, during which they suffered dreadfully from the inclemency of the weather. On the night of October 11th a strong party of the

[9] *Memorials of the late War*, p. 113.

French made an attack upon an advance of 15 men of the 71st under Sergeant James Ross, but the small band, favoured somewhat by their position and the darkness, maintained its ground, and forced the enemy to retire. At the request of Lieutenant-General Sir William Stewart, each of the 16 men was presented with a medal.

After the battle of Nivelle, in which the 71st did not take part, the regiment occupied part of the town of Cambo, and was there joined by a detachment of 16 men of the 2nd battalion (then in Glasgow), under the command of Lieutenant Charles Henderson. On the 9th of December the 71st crossed the Nive without loss, the regiment forming upon the top of the opposite height, and sending out two companies after the enemy, who, however, eluded pursuit. The enemy retired on Bayonne, and General Hill disposed his army with the right on the Adour, the left above the Nive, and the centre, in which was the 71st, at St Pierre, across the high road to St Jean Pied-de-Port.

"All the night of the 11th December we lay in camp upon the face of a height, near the Spaniards. In the afternoon of the 12th, we received orders to move round towards Bayonne, where we were quartered along the main road. There we remained until we received orders to march to our own right, to assist a Spanish force which was engaged with superior numbers. We set off by day-light on the morning of the 13th towards them, and were moving on, when General Hill sent an aide-de-camp after us, saying, 'That is not the direction,—follow me.' We put to right-about, to the main road towards Bayonne. We soon came to the scene of action, and were immediately engaged. We had continued firing, without intermission, for five hours, advancing and retreating, and lost a great number of men, but could not gain a bit of ground. Towards evening we were relieved by a brigade which belonged to another division. As many of us as could be collected were drawn up. General Hill gave us great praise for our behaviour this day, and ordered an extra allowance of liquor to each man. We were marched back to our old quarters along the road-side. We lay upon the road-side for two or three days, having two companies three leagues to the rear, carrying the wounded to the hospital. We were next cantoned three leagues above Bayonne, along the side of the river. We had strong picquets planted along the banks. The French were cantoned upon the other side. Never a night passed that we were not molested by boats passing up and down the river, with provisions and necessaries to the town. Our orders were to turn out and keep up a constant fire upon them while passing. We had two grasshopper guns planted upon the side of the river, by means of which we one night sunk a boat loaded with clothing for the army, setting it on fire with red-hot shot.

Next day we were encamped in the rear of the town, being relieved by a brigade of Portuguese. We remained in camp two or three days, expecting to be attacked, the enemy having crossed above us on the river. We posted picquets in the town, near our camp. At length, receiving orders to march, we moved on, until we came to a river on our right, which ran very swift. Part of the regiment having crossed, we got orders to come to the right-about, and were marched back to our old camp-ground. Next morning we received orders to take another road toward Salvatierra, where we encamped that night, and remained until the whole army assembled the following day.

About two o'clock in the afternoon we were under arms, and moved towards the river, covered by a brigade of artillery. We forded, and continued to skirmish along the heights until the town was taken. We lost only one man during the whole time. We encamped upon the other side of the town; and next morning followed the line of march, until we came before a town called Aris. We had severe fighting before we got into it. We were led on by an aide-de-camp. The contest lasted until after dark. We planted picquets in different streets of the town; the enemy did the same in others. Different patroles were sent out during the night, but the French were always found on the alert. They retired before day-light, and we marched into the town with our music at the head of the regiments. The town appeared then quite desolate, not worth twopence; but we were not three days in it, until the French inhabitants came back, opened

their shops and houses, and it became a fine lively place."[1]

In the action of the 13th December the 71st lost Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, Lieutenants Campbell and Henderson, 2 sergeants, and 24 men killed; Captains Barclay and Grant, Lieutenants M'Intyre and Torriano, and 37 men wounded. For these services the regiment bears "*Nive*" on its colours. On the 26th February 1814 the regiment was in action at Sauveterre, and on the 27th took part in the battle of Orthez, although it appears that in the latter it sustained little or no loss. It bears "*Orthez*" on its colours.

Two divisions of the French army having retired to Aire, after the action of the 27th of February, Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill moved upon that town to dislodge them. Upon the 2d of March the French were found strongly posted upon a ridge of hills, extending across the great road in front of the town, having their right on the Adour. The second division attacked them along the road, seconded by a Portuguese brigade, and drove them from their position in gallant style. Lieutenant James Anderson and 17 rank and file were killed; Lieutenant Henry Frederick Lockyer, 1 sergeant, and 19 rank and file, were wounded.

A detachment from the second battalion, consisting of 1 captain, 4 subalterns, and 134 rank and file, under the command of Major Arthur Jones, joined at Aire.

On the 25th of March part of the battalion was engaged in an affair at Tarbes, in which Lieutenant Robert Law was wounded, and upon the 10th of April was in position at Toulouse, where some of the companies were employed skirmishing, and sustained a loss of 1 sergeant and 3 rank and file killed; 6 rank and file were wounded.[2]

On the 10th of April the regiment marched to Toulouse, in order to attack it. It was drawn up in column behind a house, and sent out the flank companies to skirmish; the French, however, evacuated Toulouse on the night of the 11th, when the 71st and the other regiments entered the town. The following interesting incident, in connection with the attack on Toulouse, is narrated by a soldier of the 71st in his *Journal*:—

"I shall ever remember an adventure that happened to me, towards the afternoon. We were in extended order, firing and retiring. I had just risen to run behind my file, when a spent shot struck me on the groin, and took the breath from me. 'God receive my soul!' I said, and sat down resigned. The French were advancing fast. I laid my musket down and gasped for breath. I was sick, and put my canteen to my head, but could not taste the water; however, I washed my mouth, and grew less faint. I looked to my thigh, and seeing no blood, took resolution to put my hand to the part, to feel the wound. My hand was unstained by blood, but the part was so painful that I could not touch it. At this moment of helplessness the French came up. One of them made a charge at me, as I sat pale as death. In another moment I would have been transfixed, had not his next man forced the point past me: 'Do not touch the good Scot,' said he; and then addressing himself to me, added, 'Do you remember me?' I had not recovered my breath sufficiently to speak distinctly: I answered, 'No.' 'I saw you at Sobral,' he replied. Immediately I recognised him to be a soldier whose life I had saved from a Portuguese, who was going to kill him as he lay wounded. 'Yes, I know you,' I replied. 'God bless you!' cried he; and, giving me a pancake out of his hat, moved on with his fellows; the rear of whom took my knapsack, and left me lying. I had fallen down for greater security. I soon recovered so far as to walk, though with pain, and joined the regiment next advance."[3]

On the afternoon of April 12th word came that Napoleon had abdicated, and shortly after peace was proclaimed, and a treaty concluded between France and England.

The 71st marched from Toulouse to Blaachfort, where it was encamped for about a fortnight, after which it proceeded to Bordeaux, where it embarked on the 15th of July, arriving in Cork on the 28th of that month. Shortly afterwards the regiment proceeded to Limerick, where it lay for the rest of the year, and where Colonel

[1] *Memorials of the late War*, p. 123.
[2] Cannon's *History of the 71st Regiment*, p. 104.
[3] *Memorials of the late War*, p. 127.

Reynell assumed the command in December. In January 1815 the first battalion of the 71st embarked at Cork, and proceeded to America; but peace having been concluded with the United States, its destination was changed, in consequence of Napoleon having again broken loose, and resumed his former dignity of Emperor of the French. Thus England was once more embroiled in war. The 71st was in consequence transhipped in a small craft, and sent to Ostend, where it disembarked on April 22nd. It was then marched to Leuze, where, quartered in the surrounding villages, it lay till June 16th, 1815, under the command of Colonel Reynell. It was brigaded with the first battalion of the 52nd, and eight companies of the 95th regiment (Rifles), the brigade being commanded by Major-General Frederick Adam, and the division by Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton. The first battalion had at this time 997 rank and file. The regiment was drilled every day, and on the morning of June 16 was proceeding to its drill-ground as usual, when it was ordered immediately to advance upon Nivelles, where it arrived late at night. On the same day Blucher had been attacked at Ligny, and Wellington had successfully met Marshal Ney at Quatre Bras, in which action the 71st had no chance of taking part, although they had their own share of the fighting at Waterloo. On the morning of the 17th the 71st took the road to Waterloo, and along with the other regiments of the brigade took up a position behind Hougoumont, where they lay under arms, amid pouring rain, all night. Two hours after daybreak, General Hill came down and took away the 10th company to cover his reconnaissance, and shortly after, the regiment set to cleaning their arms, and preparing for action. All the opposite heights were covered by the enemy.

The artillery had been tearing away since daybreak in different parts of the line. About twelve o'clock we received orders to fall in for attack. We then marched up to our position, where we lay on the face of a brae, covering a brigade of guns. We were so overcome by the fatigue of the two days' march, that scarce had we lain down until many of us fell asleep. We lay thus about an hour and a half, under a dreadful fire, which cost us about 60 men, while we had never fired a shot. The balls were falling thick amongst us.

About two o'clock a squadron of lancers came down, hurrahing, to charge the brigade of guns: they knew not what was in the rear. The general gave the word, 'Form square.' In a moment the whole brigade were on their feet, ready to receive the enemy. The general said, 'Seventy-first, I have often heard of your bravery, I hope it will not be worse to-day than it has been.' Down they came upon our square. We soon put them to the right-about.

Shortly after we received orders to move to the heights. Onwards we marched, and stood, for a short time, in square, receiving cavalry every now and then. The noise and smoke were dreadful. We then moved on in column for a considerable way, and formed line; gave three cheers, fired a few volleys, charged the enemy, and drove them back.

At this moment a squadron of cavalry rode furiously down upon our line. Scarce had we time to form. The square was only complete in front when they were upon the points of our bayonets. Many of our men were out of place. There was a good deal of jostling for a minute or two, and a good deal of laughing. Our quarter-master lost his bonnet in riding into the square; got it up, put it on, back foremost, and wore it thus all day. Not a moment had we to regard our dress. A French general lay dead in the square; he had a number of ornaments upon his breast. Our men fell to plucking them off, pushing each other as they passed, and snatching at them.

We stood in square for some time, whilst the 13th dragoons and a squadron of French dragoons were engaged. The 13th dragoons retiring to the rear of our column, we gave the French a volley, which put them to the right-about; then the 13th at them again. They did this for some time; we cheering the 13th, and feeling every blow they received.

The whole army retired to the heights in the rear; the French closely pursuing to our formation, where we stood, four deep, for a considerable time. As we fell back, a shot cut the straps of the knapsack of one near me: it fell, and was rolling away. He snatched it up, saying 'I am not to lose you that way, you are all I

have in the world,' tied it on the best manner he could, and marched on.

Lord Wellington came riding up. We formed square, with him in our centre, to receive cavalry. Shortly the whole army received orders to advance. We moved forwards in two columns, four deep, the French retiring at the same time. We were charged several times in our advance. This was our last effort; nothing could impede us. The whole of the enemy retired, leaving their guns and ammunition, and every other thing behind. We moved on towards a village, and charged right through, killing great numbers, the village was so crowded. We then formed on the other side of it, and lay down under the canopy of heaven, hungry and weary to death. We had been oppressed, all day, by the weight of our blankets and great-coats, which were drenched with rain, and lay upon our shoulders like logs of wood." [4]

The 71st had Brevet Major Edmund L'Estrange, aide-de-camp to Major-General Sir Denis Pack, and Ensign John Tod killed. The following officers were wounded: the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the battalion, Colonel Thomas Reynell; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Jones; Captains Samuel Reed, Donald Campbell, William Alexander Grant, James Henderson, and Brevet Major Charles Johnstone; Lieutenants Joseph Barrallier, Robert Lind, John Roberts, James Coates, Robert Law, Carique Lewin, and Lieutenant and Adjutant William Anderson.

The number of serjeants, buglers, and rank and file killed amounted to 29; 166 were wounded, and 36 died of their wounds." [5]

The 71st afterwards marched to Paris with the rest of the army, and was encamped in the Champs Elysées, continuing there till the beginning of November, when it proceeded to Versailles, and to Viarmes in December. On the 21st of December the second battalion was disbanded at Glasgow, the effective officers and men being transferred to the first battalion.

In January 1816 the regiment marched to the Pas de Calais, where it was cantoned in several villages. On the 21st of June the 71st was formed in hollow square upon the *bruyère* of Rombly for the purpose of receiving the medals which had been granted by the Prince Regent to the officers and men for their services at Waterloo, when Colonel Reynell addressed the regiment as follows:—

"Seventy-first,—The deep interest which you will all give me credit for feeling in everything that affects the corps, cannot fail to be awakened upon an occasion such as the present, when holding in my hands, to transfer to yours, these honourable rewards bestowed by your sovereign for your share in the great and glorious exertions of the army of His Grace the Duke of Wellington upon the field of Waterloo, when the utmost efforts of the army of France, directed by Napoleon, reputed to be the first captain of the age, were not only paralysed at the moment, but blasted beyond the power of even a second struggle.

"To have participated in a contest crowned with victory so decisive, and productive of consequences that have diffused peace, security, and happiness throughout Europe, may be to each of you a source of honourable pride, as well as of gratitude to the Omnipotent Arbiter of all human contests, who preserved you in such peril, and without whose protecting hand the battle belongs not to the strong, nor the race to the swift.

"I acknowledge to feel an honest and, I trust, excusable exultation in having had the honour to command you on that day; and in dispensing these medals, destined to record in your families the share you had in the ever memorable battle of Waterloo, it is a peculiar satisfaction to me that I can present them to those by whom they have been fairly and hon ourably earned, and that I can here solemnly declare that, in the course of that eventful day, I did not observe a soldier of this good regiment whose conduct was not only creditable to the English nation, but such as his dearest friends could desire.

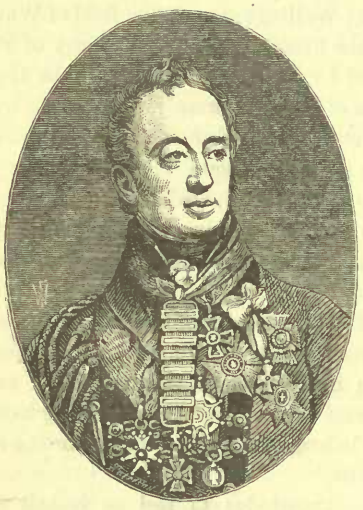
"Under such agreeable reflections, I request you to accept these medals, and to wear them with becoming pride, as they are incontestable proofs of a faithful discharge of your duty to your king and your country. I trust that they will act as powerful talismans, to keep you, in your future lives, in the paths of honour, sobriety, and virtue."

[4] *Memorials of the late War*, p. 132.
[5] Cannon's *History of the 71st Regiment*, p. 110.

The regiment received new colours on the 13th of January 1817; they were presented by Major-General Sir Denis Pack, a name intimately associated with some of our Highland regiments. On this occasion he addressed them as follows :—

"SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT,—Officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, it affords me the greatest satisfaction, at the request of your commanding officer, Colonel Reynell, to have the honour of presenting these colours to you.

"There are many who could perform the office with a better grace, but there is no one, believe me, who is more sensible of the merit of the corps, or who is more anxious for its honour and welfare.



Major-General Sir Denis Pack, K.C.B. From a painting in possession of Mrs Reynell Pack.

"I might justly pay to the valour and good conduct of those present the compliments usual on such occasions, but I had rather offer the expression of my regard and admiration of that excellent *esprit-de-corps* and real worth which a ten years' intimate knowledge of the regiment has taught me so highly to appreciate. I shall always look back with pleasure to that long period in which I had the good fortune to be your commanding officer, and during which time I received from the officers the most cordial and zealous assistance in support of discipline; from the non-commissioned officers proofs of the most disinterested regard for His Majesty's service and the welfare of their regiment; and I witnessed on the part of the privates and the corps at large a fidelity to their colours in South America, as remarkable under such trying circumstances as their valour has at all times been conspicuous in the field. I am most happy to think that there is no drawback to the pleasure all should feel on this occasion. Your former colours were mislaid after a fête given in London to celebrate the Duke of Wellington's return after his glorious termination of the peninsular war, and your colonel, General Francis Dundas, has sent you three very handsome ones to replace them. On them are emblazoned some of His Grace's victories, in which the 71st bore a most distinguished part, and more might be enumerated which the corps might well be proud of. There are still in our ranks valuable officers who have witnessed the early glories of the regiment in the East, and its splendid career since is fresh in the memory of all. Never, indeed, did the character of the corps stand higher; never was the fame of the British arms, or the glory of the British empire more pre-eminent than at this moment, an enthusiastic recollection of which the sight of these colours must always inspire.

"While you have your present commanding officer to lead you, it is unnecessary for me to add anything to excite such a spirit; but were I called upon to do so, I should have only to hold up the example of those who have fallen in your ranks, and, above all, point to the memory of that hero who so gloriously fell at your head."[6]

After remaining in France until the end of October 1818, the 71st embarked for England, and arrived at Dover on the 29th of that month, proceeding to Chelmsford, where the establishment was reduced from 810 to 650 rank and file.

II.

1818—1874.

Chatham—Ireland—Sir Gordon Drummond becomes Colonel—Quebec—Montreal—Inspected by Lord Dalhousie—Kingston—Toronto—Major-General Sir Colin Halkett becomes Colonel—Bermuda—Tartan Plaid Scarf restored—Edinburgh—Major-General Sir S. T. Whittingham becomes Colonel—Lt. General Sir Thomas Reynell becomes Colonel—Divided into two Battalions—Chichester—Canada—West Indies—Death of Sir Thomas Reynell—Lt. General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot becomes Colonel—His death—Lt. General Sir James Macdonell becomes Colonel—Dublin—The Queen's Visit (1849)—Canada—Ireland—Inspected by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge—New Colours—Corfu—The Crimea—Malta—India—Inspected by Lord Clyde—Cholera—Sealkote—Nowshera—Umbeylah Pass—Chumla Valley—Delhi—Home—Edinburgh—Aldershot—Ireland—Inspected by Lord Strathnairn—Gibraltar—Death of Colonel the Hon. Charles Grey—Lt. General Robert Law, K.H., appointed Colonel—His Services — Buttevant — Malta — Fort St. George.

FROM 1818 to 1822 this regiment performed garrison duties at various places in England, a mere enumeration of which would not be interesting, and is needless here. While at Chatham in 1821, the strength of the regiment was reduced to 576 rank and file. In 1822 it sailed from Liverpool for Dublin, where it

[6] Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan, who was mortally wounded at Vittoria on the 21st of June 1813.

arrived on the 3rd of May, and remained there till the beginning of October, when it was marched to the south of Ireland. Here it remained until May 1824, having its headquarters at Fermoy, with detachments stationed at various villages in order that disturbances might be suppressed and order maintained. The nature of the duties which the regiment had to perform can be seen by reference to our account of the 42nd about this period. In January 1824 Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond was removed from the colonelcy of the 88th to that of the 71st, vacant by the death of General Francis Dundas.

In May the regiment proceeded to Cork to reembark for North America; but before doing so, Colonel Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, commanding the regiment, received very gratifying addresses from the magistrates and inhabitants of Fermoy, praising highly the conduct of the regiment, which had now the esteem of all classes. The 71st embarked at Cork for North America on the 14th, 16th, 17th, and 18th of May 1824, and arrived at Quebec about a month thereafter, at which place the headquarters of the regiment was stationed. The 71st remained in America performing garrison duty at various places till 1831. In May 1827 the headquarters was removed to Montreal; preparatory to the change, the service companies were inspected by Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie, who assured Lieutenant-Colonel Jones that he never had seen any regiment in more perfect order. In May 1828 the regiment removed to Kingston, where it remained for a year, and where it suffered much from fever and ague. From this place headquarters removed to Toronto in June 1829, and companies were sent out to occupy various posts; the 71st remained there for two years.

In June 1825 the strength of the regiment had been increased to 710 rank and file, who were formed into 6 service and 4 depôt companies, the latter stationed in England; the movements of the former we have been narrating. In August 1829 the depôt companies removed from Gravesend to Berwick-on-Tweed, and in June 1830 from the latter place to Edinburgh Castle. In September 1829 Major-General Sir Colin Halkett succeeded General Drummond as colonel of the 71st.

In May 1831 the service companies returned to Quebec, where they stayed four months, sailing in October for Bermuda, where they were stationed till September 1834. While at Bermuda, in Febuary 1834, the tartan plaid scarf was restored to the 71st by authority of the King. In September of that year the 6 service companies left Bermuda for Britain, arriving at Leith in October 19th. The regiment was stationed at Edinburgh till May 1836, when it embarked for Ireland, and was stationed at Dublin till June 1837, when it proceeded to Kilkenny. The regiment remained in Ireland till April 1838, on the 16th of which month the 6 service companies again sailed from Cork to Canada. The four depôt companies remained in Ireland till June 1839, when they sailed from Cork to Scotland, and were stationed at Stirling. While in Ireland, March 1838, Major-General Sir Samuel Ford Whittingham succeeded Sir Colin Halkett to the colonelcy of the regiment, and he again was succeeded in March 1841 by Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Reynell, formerly so intimately associated with the regiment as its lieutenant-colonel. The strength of the regiment was in August 1838 increased to 800.

During 1840 the 6 service companies were stationed at St John's, Lower Canada.

The service companies proceeded from St John's to Montreal, in two divisions, on the 27th and 28th of April 1842.

In consequence of the augmentation which took place in the army at this period, the 71st regiment was ordered to be divided into two battalions, the 6 service companies being termed the first battalion, and the depôt, augmented by two new companies, being styled the reserve battalion. The depôt was accordingly moved from Stirling to Chichester in 1842, and after receiving 180 volunteers from other corps, was there organised into a battalion for foreign service.

The reserve battalion of the 71st, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel James England, embarked at Portsmouth in Her Majesty's troop-ship "Resistance," which sailed for Canada on the 13th of August 1842, and landed at Montreal on the 23d of September, where the first battalion was likewise stationed, under the command of Major William

Denny, who, upon the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel England, took charge of the reserve battalion.

The reserve battalion marched from Montreal to Chambly on the 5th of May 1843, and arrived there on the same day.

The first battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel England, embarked at Quebec for the West Indies in the "Java" transport, on the 20th of October 1843. The headquarters disembarked at Grenada on the 15th of December following.

The headquarters of the first battalion embarked on the 25th of December 1844, at Grenada, for Antigua,[7] where it remained till April 1846. It proceeded to Barbadoes, leaving that in December for England, arriving at Spithead, January 25th 1847. The first battalion, on landing, proceeded to Winchester, where it remained till July, when it was removed to Glasgow, and in December left the latter place for Edinburgh. Here it remained till April 1848, when it was removed to Ireland.

In February 1848, on the death of Sir Thos. Reynell, Lieutenant-General Sir Thos. Arbuthnot succeeded to the colonelcy of the 71st, and on his death, in January 1849, it was conferred on Lieutenant-General Sir James Macdonell.

In compliance with instructions received upon the occasion of Her Majesty's visit to Dublin, the headquarters of the first battalion, with the effectives of three companies, proceeded from Naas to that garrison on the 28th of July, and were encamped in the Phœnix Park. The three detached companies also joined at the encampment on the same day. On the 13th of August the head-quarters and three companies returned to Naas.

The headquarters and two companies of the reserve battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., proceeded from St John's to Montreal in aid of the civil power, on the 28th of April 1849. The headquarters and three companies quitted Montreal and encamped on the Island of St Helen's on the 30th of June, but returned to St John's on the 16th of July. On the 17th of August 1849, the headquarters and two companies proceeded from St John's to Montreal in aid of the civil power, and returned to St John's on the 6th of September.

In April 1850 the first battalion proceeded from Naas to Dublin.

The headquarters and two companies of the reserve battalion quitted St John's and Chambly on the 21st of May 1850, and arrived at Toronto on the 23rd of that month, where the battalion was joined by the other companies, and it continued there during the remainder of the year.

In May 1852 the reserve battalion proceeded from Toronto to Kingston. On the 8th of June following, Lieutenant-Colonel Hew Dalrymple, Bart., retired from the service by the sale of his commission, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Nathaniel Massey Stack.[8]

On the 18th of February 1848, Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, K.C.B., from the 9th Foot, was appointed colonel of the regiment in room of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Reynell, Bart., who had died; and on the death of the new colonel, about a year after, Lieutenant-General Sir James Macdonell, K.C.B., from the 79th Foot, was appointed to the colonelcy of the regiment.

Instructions having been received for the battalion to embark at Glasgow for Ireland, three companies proceeded to Dublin on the 27th, and the headquarters, with the three remaining companies, embarked on board the "Viceroy" steamer on the 1st of May, and arrived at Dublin on the 2nd. Companies were detached to various places, and the headquarters proceeded from Dublin to Naas on the 20th of May.

On the 4th of July Lieutenant-Colonel William Denny, having arrived from Canada, assumed the command of the battalion, when Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., proceeded to join the reserve battalion.

H.R.H. Major-General Prince George of Cambridge, commanding the Dublin district, made the autumn half-yearly inspection of the regiment on the 13th of October, on which occasion H.R.H. expressed personally to the regiment his satisfaction and approbation of their appearance and steadiness under arms,

[7] Cannon's *History of the 71st Regiment*, pp. 120, 121.

[8] Cannon's *History of the 71st Regiment*, pp. 122, 123.

and the marked improvement that had been effected.

In compliance with instructions received, on the occasion of the expected visit of Her Majesty to Dublin, the headquarters, with the effectives of three companies, moved from Naas to Dublin on the 28th of July, and encamped in the Phœnix Park. The three detached companies also joined the encampment on the same day.

The Queen having arrived on the 6th of August, the battalion had the honour of sharing in the grand review which took place in the park on the 9th, in presence of Her Majesty and Prince Albert, after which a highly complimentary general order was issued, expressing the high approval of Her Majesty and Prince Albert of the conduct of the troops present at the review.

On the 10th of August Her Majesty and Prince Albert and the Royal Family left Dublin, and the 71st furnished a guard of honour under Captain T. H. Colville, at the railway station; and on the 11th, the lieutenant-general commanding marked his very high appreciation of the services of the troops stationed in Dublin during the above auspicious occasion, by publishing another highly complimentary general order.

In addition to the remarks in the general order of Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Blackeney, which reflected so much credit on the 71st Highland Light Infantry, in common with the other regiments in garrison, Major-General H.R.H. Prince George of Cambridge was graciously pleased to express his approbation of the high state of efficiency and good conduct of the battalion; and as its stay in Dublin was intended to be during Her Majesty's visit, the headquarters and three companies returned to Naas on the 13th of August, detaching on the same day three companies to Maryborough, Carlow, and Newbridge.

During the months of March and April 1850, the various scattered companies of the 71st were removed to Dublin, where the whole battalion was stationed at the Richmond Barracks.

A draft of the reserve battalion, consisting of 2 subalterns, 2 sergeants, and 90 rank and file, embarked at Cork for Canada on the 4th of May of the same year.

The state of discipline in the regiment was reported to be good on its arrival in Dublin, and during its stay in that garrison it was most favourably reported upon. The accompanying extracts, which were conveyed to the commanding officer, by order, are creditable to the character of the regiment:—

"Asst. Adjt.-General's Office,
"Dublin, 21*st July* 1851.

"The Commander-in-Chief is glad to find that his Royal Highness considers the recruits lately joined to be of a superior description, and that he is enabled to speak with unqualified praise on the state of the discipline to which the regiment has arrived since it formed part of the garrison of Dublin.

"George Mylins,
"*Asst. Adj.-Gen.*"

"Officer Commanding
"1st Bat. 71st Regt."

The following is an extract from a letter received from the Adjutant-General of the Forces, having reference to the confidential report of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, of the 1st battalion of the 71st Highland Light Infantry, for the second period of 1850:—

"Asst. Adjt.-General's Office,
"Dublin, 28*th January* 1851.

"The progress made by this battalion during the half year is extremely satisfactory to the Commander-in-Chief, and in the highest degree creditable to Lieutenant-Colonel Denny and his officers, who may congratulate themselves on having brought the battalion into a state of efficiency of which it certainly could not boast when the lieutenant-colonel assumed the command.

"W. F. Forster, *A. A.-G.*"

During 1851 and 1852 the regiment remained in Ireland, moving about in detachments from place to place, and performing efficiently a variety of duties, agreeable and disagreeable, in that disturbed country, and sending off now and then small parties to join the reserve battalion in Canada. In August the regiment removed to Kilkenny.

On the 1st of November 1852, a communication was received for the battalion to be held in readiness for embarkation for the Mediterranean, and in compliance therewith, the

service and depôt companies were formed on the 1st of January 1853; and on the 3rd the battalion received new colours. On the arrival of the battalion at Cork, the old colours were placed over a tablet erected at Kinsale, to the memory of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, a native of that place, who commanded the regiment for many years. During February and March the regiment sailed in detachments for Corfu.

By a War Office letter of 20th of February 1854, the regiment was to be augmented, from the 1st of April, by one pipe-major and five pipers.

The reserve battalion remained in Canada from 1849 to 1853, having been stationed successively at St John's, Toronto, Kingston, and Quebec, returning from Canada in 1854, and forming the depôt of the regiment at Canterbury in October.

On the outbreak of the Crimean war all the effectives, with a proportion of officers, consisting of 1 major, 3 captains, 6 subalterns, 20 serjeants, 6 buglers, and 391 rank and file—total, 417—were ordered to proceed to the Crimea, and embarked at Portsmouth, on board the "Royal Albert," November 24, and landed at Balaclava on the 20th of December. The first battalion joined the reserve in February 1855.

Major-General A. F. Mackintosh, Commander of the Forces in the Ionian Islands, issued the following order prior to the embarkation of the first battalion from Corfu for the Crimea, in January 1855:—

"*General Order.*

"DEPUTY QR.-MASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"CORFU, *24th January* 1855.

"The Major-General commanding addresses a few words to the 71st Light Infantry on their departure for the seat of war.

"The Major-General first saw the 71st a good many years ago, on a day when their commanding officer fell at their head; he has since often met the regiment in various parts of the world, and has always remarked among both the officers and men of the regiment that high military spirit and personal activity still conspicuous, which caused it to be selected and organised as a light corps.

"They are now about to appear on a scene where their predecessors in the regiment have so often distinguished themselves—the field of battle,—and the Major-General wishes them a prosperous passage, followed by a glorious career.

"R. WALPOLE,
"*Dep. Qr.-Mr. General.*"

During the time the 71st was in the Crimea, it had no chance of distinguishing itself in any great action, as had the 42d, and the other two Highland regiments with which it was brigaded. Nevertheless, the 71st had many fatiguing and critical duties to perform, which it did with efficiency; as will be seen, it was mainly occupied in expeditions to various parts of the Crimea.

The regiment embarked on the 3rd of May on board the "Furious" and the "Gladiator" steam frigates, forming part of the first expedition to Kertch, returning to Balaclava on the 8th. The regiment moved to the front on the 9th of May, and joined the third brigade of the fourth division in camp, before Sebastopol, performing satisfactorily the very trying duties in the trenches. Here, however, it did not long remain, as on May 22nd it embarked at Balaclava, on board the steam frigates "Sidon" and "Valorous," and proceeded to Kertch with the expeditionary force of the allied army.

Landing at Kamiesch Bouroun, about five miles from Kertch, on the 24th of May, under cover of the gun-boats, it bivouacked that night, and marched to Kertch the following morning, proceeding the same day to Yenikali, where it encamped.

The regiment re-embarked at Yenikali on the 10th of June on board the steam frigates "Sidon" and "Valorous," to return to the headquarters of the army, but was again disembarked—the headquarters and right wing at Yenikali on June the 12th, and the left wing at Cape St Paul on the 14th—to protect these points, in conjunction with a French and Turkish force. One company moved into Kertch from Yenikali, August 4th, and the left wing from Cape St Paul to Kertch, September 22nd.

Three companies, under Major Hunter, embarked at Kertch, September 24th, and proceeded with the French on a joint expedition

to Taman. Taman and Phanagoria were bombarded by the French and English gunboats, and taken possession of by the allied expeditionary force on the same day. A large supply of hutting material and fuel was obtained for the use of the troops from these places, after which they were fired and abandoned. The expedition returned to Kertch on the 3rd of October.

A draft, consisting of 1 captain, 5 subalterns, 4 sergeants, and 121 rank and file from the reserve companies at Malta, landed at Balaclava in August, was moved to the front, and attached to the Highland division in camp before Sebastopol. It was present at the fall of Sebastopol, under the command of Major Campbell, and joined the headquarters of the regiment at Yenikali on the 2nd of October.

Until the 22nd of June 1856, the various companies were kept moving between Yenikali and Kertch. On that date Kertch and Cape St Paul were handed over by the regiment to the Russians, the Turks and French having already evacuated the Crimea.

The headquarters and six companies em barked on board the steamship "Pacific," and two companies on board the "Gibraltar," on the 22nd of June, for passage to Malta.

During the stay of the 71st in Malta, from July 1856 to January 1858, there is nothing of importance to record except the death of Sir James Macdonell on the 15th of May 1857.

The regiment received orders by telegram from England to proceed overland to India on the evening of the 2nd of January 1858, and on the morning of the 4th it embarked on board H.M. ship "Princess Royal" and the steam frigate "Vulture." The headquarters and right wing arrived at Bombay on February 6th, and the left wing on the 8th; the right wing proceeding to Mhow by bullock train in detachments of about forty daily, the first of which left Bombay on the 26th of February, and the last arrived at Mhow, March 17th. It marched from Mhow on the 30th March to join the Central India Field Force, and joined the second brigade at Mote on May 3rd. It was present at the action in Rose's attack on the enemy at Koonch, May 7th, when eight men fell dead in the ranks, and upwards of twenty officers and men had to be carried from the field on account of the heat of the sun. It was present also at the actions at Muttra and Deapoora, 16th and 17th May; at the latter places the principal attacks of the enemy were repulsed by this regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell commanding the brigade, Major Rich commanding the regiment, and Battalion Major Loftus, were specially mentioned by the major-general. The regiment was present at the battle of Gowlowlee, May 22nd, the occupation of Calpee, May 23rd, and it marched on Gwalior with the 1st Brigade Central India Field Force; at the action of Moorar on the 16th of June, in which the 71st took a prominent part. It was while rushing on at the head of a company of this regiment that Lieutenant Wyndham Neave fell mortally wounded, and that Sergeant Hugh M'Gill, 1 corporal, and 2 privates were killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Major Rich, and Lieutenant Scott were specially mentioned; and Sergeant Ewing and Private George Rodgers were recommended for the Victoria Cross.

On the evening of the 18th of June the regiment formed part of a column for the support of Brigadier Smith's brigade, and advanced on Gwalior with the whole force on the 19th and 20th.

After the capture of Gwalior on the 20th of June, the headquarter's wing marched back to Moorar cantonments, where it was stationed till the 12th of August, when it returned to Gwalior, and was stationed at the Lushker and Phool Bagh, and returned again to Moorar on the 6th of June 1859.

On the 11th of November 1858, a detachment from headquarters went on field-service to the Sind River, had two skirmishes with the rebels, and returned to Gwalior on the 9th of February 1859.

On the 29th of November 1858, another detachment from headquarters went on field service, and had skirmishes with the rebels at Ranode and Nainewass. At the latter place three were killed. This detachment returned to Gwalior on 27th of May 1859.

The left wing marched from Bombay on the 11th of March 1858, and arrived at Mhow on 17th of April, and on the 9th of June a

company was detached from Mhow to Indore. The greater portion of the left wing proceeded on field-service, under Major-General Michel, C.B., and on 2nd September 1858 was present at the action at Rajghur. In the action at Mongrowlee, on September the 15th, the 71st had one private killed. In the action at Sindwaho on October the 19th, and that at Koorai on October the 25th, the 71st had no casualties. The left wing arrived at Bhopal on the 17th of November 1858, and marched to Goonah on the 17th of January 1859.

On the 25th of November a party of 50 rank and file left Mhow on camels, with a column under command of Major Sutherland, 92d Highlanders, and were engaged with the rebels at Rajpore on the same day, after which they returned to Mhow.

On the 1st of January 1859, the company stationed at Indore marched from that place *en route* to join a column on service under Brigadier-General Sir R. Napier, K.C.B., and was present at the attack of the Fort of Naharghur, 17th of January, where two privates were wounded. Captain Lambton was specially mentioned for his daring attack.

The headquarters of the regiment were inspected by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Clyde, on the 2nd of December 1859. His Excellency expressed his satisfaction, both with what he himself saw and the reports which he had received regarding the state of the regiment from other sources. The report made by Lord Clyde to H.R.H. the General Commanding-in-Chief, produced the following letter from the Adjutant-General of the Forces, highly complimentary to the commanding officer and all ranks of the regiment:—

"Horse Guards,
"24*th January* 1860.

"Sir,—His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief is much gratified to hear from General Lord Clyde, Commander-in-Chief in India, that at his Lordship's last visit to the station occupied by the regiment under your command, he found it in the highest order.

"After the recent arduous and continuous duties on which it has been employed, great credit is due to its commanding officer, Colonel William Hope, and to every rank in the corps, and H.R.H. requests that his opinion may be communicated to them accordingly.—I have the honour to be, &c.

"G. A. Wetheral,
"*Adjutant-General.*

"Officer Commanding
"71st Highlanders."

In the month of January 1860, intimation was received of the death of Lieutenant-Colonel R. D. Campbell, C.B., in London, on the 4th of December 1859, and the command of the 71st devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Hope, C.B.

On the 22nd of July cholera broke out in the regiment. It first appeared in the hospital in cantonments, but the next day spread to the barracks, and, two or three days later, reached the fortress of Gwalior. The companies in cantonments, with the exception of one, moved under canvas; two of those in the fort moved down into quarters at the Phool Bagh. Notwithstanding these movements, the epidemic continued until the beginning of September, and did not finally disappear until the 16th of that month, having carried off 1 colour-sergeant, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 1 piper, 1 bugler, and 62 men, 11 women and 11 children.

On the 11th of November 1860 the order for the relief was received, and on the 20th of the next month the regiment marched for Sealkote, Punjab, having been relieved at Gwalior by the 27th Inniskillings.

The state of discipline of the regiment while in the Gwalior district can be gathered from the following extract from a report from the Political Agent, Gwalior, to the Government of India, dated 15th June 1860:—

"When it was determined in June last to post a British force at the Lushker, the people expected with dread and deprecation a violent and dangerous, at least a rude and overbearing soldiery; but Her Majesty's 71st Highlanders soon dispelled their fears and created pleasant feelings.

"His Highness and the best informed men of the Durbar have assured me that those soldiers who passed ten months in the

Phool Bagh have, by their manners, habits, dealings, and whole demeanour, so conciliated the respect and regards of all, that nothing would be more acceptable than the domestication of such a force in the capital.

"The Durbar considers further, that it would bring to Gwalior incalculable industrial advantages, through affording a constant supply of superintendents of public works and skilled labourers.

"I venture to express the hope, that his Excellency may consider the Durbar's view of the conduct of Her Majesty's 71st, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, C.B., a very high and true compliment, as worthy of express recognition as good conduct in the field. It is in my humble judgment a most fully deserved compliment.

"AD. A. CHARTERS MACPHERSON,
"*Political Agent.*"

"CAMP AGRA,
"29*th November* 1859.

"MY LORD,—As your Lordship is going to Gwalior, I trust you will not think that I exceed my office, if I venture to send you an extract from a report of June last, in which I attract the attention of the Government to the admirable conduct of Her Majesty's 71st Highlanders, and to its appreciation by Maharajah Scindia and his people.

"The importance of such conduct on the part of the first British troops stationed at the capital of Gwalior might scarcely be overstated.

"Having lived with the 71st at the Phool Bagh for about twelve months, my pride in them as soldiers and countrymen must be my excuse to your Lordship for venturing upon this irregular communication of my impressions. General Napier's views will, I trust, confirm them.

"AD. A. CHARTERS MACPHERSON,
"*Political Agent.*"

Various drafts joined the service companies in 1860. The regiment marched into Sealkote on Sunday, the 17th of February 1861.

The brigadier-general, commanding the Lahore division, made his first half-yearly inspection of the regiment on the 26th of April 1861, and published the following order on the conclusion of this duty :—

"*Extract from Station Orders, dated Sealkote, 27th April* 1871.

"Brigadier-General Ferryman, C.B., having completed the inspection of the 71st Highland Light Infantry, begs to express to Lieut.-Col. Rich and the regiment his great satisfaction with everything he has seen. The drill is excellent; it could not be better; and the officers are well instructed. He will, therefore, have much pleasure in making a very high report to the Commander-in-Chief of everything he has witnessed."

The regiment remained at Sealkote till the 1st of November 1862, when headquarters and seven companies marched *en route* to Nowshera, and arrived at that station on the 21st of the same month, having detached one company at Attock to garrison the fortress.

On the 14th of October 1863, headquarters, under Lieut.-Col. Hope, C.B., moved from Nowa-Killa in the Yuzufzai country, arriving on the 18th of October at Nowshera, where the sick were left. At Nowa-Killa was assembled the force about to be employed in the hill country to the eastward, and the command was assumed by Brigadier-General Sir Neville Chamberlain, K.C.B. The object of the expedition was to destroy Mulka, on the Mahabun Mountains, the stronghold of certain Hindostanee refugees, generally known as the Sitana Fanatics, who infested our frontier and preyed on the villages. Mulka is just beyond our frontier line, and in the territory of the Indoons.

The direct route to Mulka by the Chinglae Pass being reported to be stockaded, it was decided to take the more circuitous one by the Umbeylah Pass and the Chumla Valley. The brigadier-general decided on having a small native force at Nowa-Killa, and forming a depôt for the European troops at Roostum, which is near the entrance to the Umbeylah Pass, and directed the sick and the regimental band to remain there accordingly. 99 men of the 71st of all ranks were detached to remain at Roostum under Lieut. Boulderson.

The force marched in two divisions,—the first, all of native troops under command of

Lieut.-Col. Wilde, C.B., of the corps of Guides, on 19th October; and the second, which included all the European troops, on the 20th of October, under the brigadier-general.

The pass was seized by Lieut.-Col. Wilde without difficulty, but owing to the rugged nature of the ground, the so-called road being merely a path hardly practicable for loaded cattle, the troops were not concentrated at the crest of the pass until nearly 8 o'clock in the evening, and the baggage, of which much was lost or destroyed, was not all up for four days. The heavy guns were shifted on to elephants at the bottom of the pass, and got up without much difficulty.

On the 21st more ground to the front was taken, and the regiment marched down in the direction of Umbeylah about a quarter of a mile, and encamped on a small piece of level ground, and not far from a small stream of water. On the 22nd a reconnaissance was made in the Chumla Valley under the orders of Lieut.-Col. Taylor, C.E., with a small body of native cavalry, supported by the 20th Native Infantry. This party penetrated some distance into the valley without being molested; but on its return near sunset it was attacked near the village of Umbeylah, and sustained some loss. Their assailants, who were chiefly of the Boneyir tribe, followed up the 20th Native Infantry in great numbers, and commenced a general attack upon the force, which was immediately turned out and placed in position with some difficulty owing to the darkness. The attack was, however, repulsed with heavy loss to the enemy and slight loss on the British side, the 71st sustaining none. This attack by the Boneyir was not anticipated.

There was no intention of entering the Boneyir Valley, the pass of which is close to the village of Umbeylah; but this had not been explained to them. They were doubtless unwilling to allow a force to enter even the Chumla Valley, the inhabitants of which are closely connected with them, and the opportunity of attacking the invaders at a disadvantage, as they thought, was not to be lost by these warlike mountaineers.

The unexpected hostility of this numerous and warlike tribe, superadded to the difficulty regarding the baggage, and the delay now become necessary to bring up additional supplies, entirely changed the aspect of affairs, and it became apparent that the force must remain on its present ground for some days at least; orders were accordingly given to throw up breastworks along the front and flanks. The front line, which was across the valley or pass, was chiefly occupied by the European troops; while the flanks, which were on the hills on each side, were entirely occupied by native troops, until the 26th.

On the 25th, 100 men under command of Captain Aldridge, and 15 marksmen, were employed in meeting a slight attack made on the right flank; but no casualty occurred in the 71st. On the 26th, the marksmen, 1 sergeant and 15 men, were with an equal number of the 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers ordered up to the left flank, which was threatened. Shortly afterwards, Major Parker with 150 men of the 71st proceeded as a further reinforcement. Both these parties obtained great praise for steadiness and gallantry in this, the most serious attack that had yet occurred. The marksmen occupied the post called the Eagle's Nest, which was several times attacked by the enemy in great numbers, and with great determination. Many were shot down when close to the breastwork.

Major Brownlow, 20th Native Infantry commanding the post, made a most favourable report of the conduct of this small party, and especially named privates William Clapperton and George Stewart as having exhibited great gallantry and coolness. These men's names afterwards appeared in General Orders, and they were recommended for the "medal for service in the field."

The conduct of the party under Major Parker was also eulogised by Lieut.-Col. Vaughan, who commanded the picquets on the left flank, and Major Parker's name was afterwards specially brought to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief. On this day the casualties were, 1 killed and 5 wounded. Major Parker's party remained on the heights during the 26th and 27th, and was relieved on the 28th by equal numbers of the 101st regiment.

On the 30th the regiment assisted in re-

pulsing a very spirited, but not well-sustained attack made by the enemy about dawn on the front line of the picquets in the valley, when 3 men were wounded.

On several days the regiment furnished a strong working party to make a new road, leading from the right flank to the village of Umbeylah. On the 6th of November an armed party, under Ensign C.B. Murray, was ordered out to cover the working party, and about a mile from the nearest post it soon became evident that the enemy intended to molest the party. Accordingly, about 11 A.M. a reinforcement of 50 men, under Captain Mounsey, proceeded to the threatened point. Captain Mounsey was placed by the commanding officer, Major Harding, at a point considerably higher than that occupied by Ensign Murray, and nearer to camp, where he materially assisted in protecting Ensign Murray's left flank, which was threatened. Soon after 1 o'clock the working party was withdrawn. Corresponding orders were, however, omitted to be sent to Ensign Murray's party, which consequently held its ground along with a party of the 20th Native Infantry; and Captain Mounsey having been ordered to take up a fresh position still higher up the hill, the party under Ensign Murray, no longer assisted by the flank fire of the other, could only hold its ground, and was nearly surrounded.

About 2 P.M. Ensign Murray was killed, and other casualties having occurred, Major Harding, who had joined soon after, decided on holding the ground till dark, when he hoped to be able to carry off the wounded, which could not be done under the enemy's fire. Major Harding finally retired without the wounded, but was killed in the retreat. Captain Mounsey having proceeded to the point to which he was directed, assisted by parties of the Guide corps and 1st Punjab Infantry, twice charged and drove the enemy off; and, without casualty to his own party, protected some wounded officers and men until they could be removed. For this service he was specially mentioned to the Commander-in-Chief, as was also Lieutenant Davidson of the Indian army, attached to, and doing duty with the 71st, for gallantry in assisting a wounded officer. In addition to the above-named officers, sergeant J. B. Adams and 2 privates were killed, and 5 wounded.

On the 18th of November, at daylight, a change of position was effected, and the whole force was concentrated on the heights, which up to that time had been on the right flank. The movement was completed by 8 o'clock A.M., without molestation, and apparently without the knowledge of the enemy, who soon afterwards appeared in great force in the valley and occupied the abandoned position.

An attack on Captain Griffan's battery, which was supported by two companies of the 71st, was at first threatened, but the enemy soon turned his attention to the post occupied by the 14th Native Infantry, commanded by Major Ross, and which had now become our advanced post on the left. Repeated attacks were made on this post. Reinforcements being called for, Captain Smith's company, 2 officers and 34 bayonets, was pushed forward about 2 P.M. The enemy was in great force, and between 5 and 6 P.M. the picquets were obliged to retire to a second line of breastwork. During its occupation of the advance line and in the retreat, Captain Smith's company suffered severely. The captain himself had his leg broken by a matchlock ball, and was cut down. Lieutenant Gore Jones of the 79th, who was attached to the company, was shot in the head. The picquet reformed in the second line, and were joined by two companies of the 71st under Major Parker, who resumed command. They were furiously attacked, but after a severe hand-to-hand struggle repulsed the enemy at all points, and retained possession of the ground until after nightfall, when the whole were withdrawn by the brigadier-general, as the occupation of this point was not considered necessary or advisable. Major Parker was specially mentioned for this service.

There were killed on this occasion Captain C. F. Smith, Lieutenant Gore Jones, and 4 privates; the wounded were Sergeant John Hunter and 4 privates.

On the morning of the 19th Captain Aldridge was shot, when returning from visiting the advance sentries of the Lalloo picquet. Four companies of the regiment relieved an

equal number of the 101st on the upper picquet, on which the enemy continued firing all day, when 2 privates were wounded.

The 101st took the picquets of the upper camp, and also held the advanced post known as the Craig picquet. About 3 P.M. the enemy made a sudden and furious attack in great force on the Craig picquet, and succeeded in obtaining possession of it. The 71st was at once ordered to re-take it. This post was situated on the apex of a very steep and rocky hill, of which the enemy had disputed possession on several occasions. Supported by a concentrated artillery fire and by two native corps, the 5th Ghoorkas and the 5th Punjab Infantry, the regiment, led by Colonel Hope, C.B., soon regained possession, and the combined force drove the enemy back over the nearest hill. A heavy flanking fire was maintained on the enemy by the water picquet, which also suffered some loss. The loss of the regiment was severe. The post was held that night by 270 of the 71st, under Major Parker, who also assumed command of the regiment. Brigadier-General Sir N. Chamberlain was wounded in the attack, and eventually had to resign command of the force to Major-General Garvock.

His Excellency the Commander in-Chief, Sir Hugh Rose, signified his entire approval of the gallantry of the regiment and of all the troops employed on this occasion. Casualties on the 20th of November 1863,—killed, 6 privates; wounded, Colonel W. Hope, C.B., 2 sergeants, 3 corporals, and 20 privates.

After his repulse with very heavy loss on the 20th, the enemy refrained from attacking any of our posts until the 15th of December, during which interval Major-General Garvock took command, and the 7th Fusiliers and the 93rd Highlanders having arrived, the duty became less severe. Previous to the arrival of these regiments no soldier in camp could be said to be off duty day or night. An exchange of posts from the upper camp to the lower was the only relief, the upper camp being much more exposed.

On the 15th December, the regiment being on picquet duty, did not accompany the portion of the force which, under the major-general, with Brigadiers Turner and Wilde commanding brigades, advanced and drove the enemy from all its posts in front, and from the village of Lalloo, but assisted in repulsing a very determined counter attack made by a strong force on the Craig picquet and upper camp generally.

On the 16th the major-general advanced and again defeated the enemy at the village of Umbeylah, which with Lalloo was burned. On the following morning the enemy sent into the major-general's camp and tendered submission, which was accepted. A small force was detached with a strong party of Boneyirs co-operating, to destroy Mulka. This was done without actual opposition, but this force was very critically situated for a short time.

The regiment returned to Nowa-Killa, and reached Nowshera on the 30th, whence it marched on the 4th of January 1864, reaching Peshawur on the 5th.

On the 21st the regiment was inspected by His Excellency, Sir Hugh Rose, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, who expressed himself in the most complimentary manner with reference to the conduct of the regiment in the late campaign. He called the three men whose names had appeared in General Orders—privates Malcolm, Clapperton, and Stewart—to the front, and addressed some words of approval and encouragement to them.

On the 28th of April the regiment was inspected by Major-General Garvock, who also spoke in high terms of its conduct and discipline.

On the 23rd of October, pursuant to orders from England, the regiment marched to Calcutta for embarkation. It arrived at Rawul Pindee on the 30th; and on the 1st of November the half-yearly inspection was made by Sir John Garvock, G.C.B.

The regiment having been called on to furnish volunteers to regiments serving in the Bengal Presidency, 200 men volunteered, and were transferred to other regiments.

On the 9th of November the regiment resumed its march by Lahore, Umritsur, and Loodiana to Umballa, where it arrived on the 13th of December; and on the following day was present at a general parade of the troops in the station, where medals for gallant service

in the field were presented by Major-General Lord George Paget to Sergeant-Major John Blackwood, and privates Macdonald, Malcolm, Clapperton, and Stewart, for distinguished conduct in the field. The Sergeant-Major was also granted a pension of £15 in addition to the medal.

The regiment arrived at Delhi on the 26th of December; and on the 4th of January 1865, one wing proceeded by rail to Allahabad, and was followed next day by the other wing.

On the 21st and 23d the regiment proceeded by rail to Chinsurah, 25 miles from Calcutta, where it remained until it embarked—the right wing and head-quarters, under the command of Colonel Hope, on the 4th of February, in the steamship "Mauritius," and the left wing, commanded by Major Gore, in the "Albert Victor," on the 14th of February. The right wing arrived and disembarked at Plymouth on the 29th of May, having touched at Madras, the Cape, and Fayal. It remained at Plymouth until the 7th of June, when it was sent to Leith in H.M.'s ship "Urgent," and arrived in Edinburgh on the 12th, where it occupied the Castle.

The left wing arrived at Gravesend on the 19th of June, where it landed, and was afterwards taken round to Leith by the "Urgent," and joined the head-quarters in Edinburgh Castle on the 25th of June.

The following General and Divisional Orders were published previous to the regiment quitting India :—

Extract of Divisional Order by Major-General Sir John Garvock, K.C.B., commanding Peshawur Division.

"Rawul Pindee, 1*st November* 1864.

"The 71st Highland Light Infantry being about to leave the Peshawur Division, *en route* to England, the Major-General commanding desires to offer them his best wishes on the occasion.

"He has known the regiment for a number of years. He was very intimately associated with it in the Mediterranean, and his interest in it is now naturally increased in no small degree by its having served under him in the field and done its part, and done it well, in obtaining for him those honours which Her Majesty has been pleased to confer.

"The Major-General had not assumed the command of the Yuzufzai Field Force when the 71st re-captured the Craig Picquet, but he well knows that it was a most gallant exploit.

"Sir John Garvock, K.C.B., begs Colonel Hope, C.B., and the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the 71st Highland Light Infantry, to believe that, although they will be soon no longer under his command, he will continue to take the liveliest interest in their career; and he now wishes them a speedy and prosperous voyage."

General Orders

By His Excellency the Commander-in-chief.

"Head-Quarters, Calcutta,
27*th January* 1865.

"The services of the 71st Highland Light Infantry in India entitle them, on their departure for England, to honourable mention in general orders.

"A wing of the regiment on their arrival in India in 1858 joined the Central India Field Force, and His Excellency is therefore enabled to bear testimony to the good services which they performed, and the excellent spirit which they displayed during that campaign.

"The regiment more recently distinguished itself under their commanding officer, Colonel Hope, C.B., in the late operations on the frontier.

"Sir Hugh Rose cannot, in justice to military merit, speak of the 71st in a General Order without reverting to an earlier period, when in two great campaigns in Europe they won a reputation which has earned them an honoured page in history.

"Sir Hugh Rose's best wishes attend this distinguished regiment on their leaving his command for home.

"By order of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief.

E. Haythorn,
"*Colonel, Adjutant-General.*"

The depot companies, commanded by Brevet-Major Lambton, joined the regiment in Edinburgh, and the establishment of the regiment was fixed at 12 companies, with 54 sergeants, 31 buglers and pipers, and 700 rank and file.

The autumn inspection was made by Major-General Walker, on the 4th of October 1865.

"HORSE-GUARDS, 13*th February* 1866.

"SIR,

"Referring to your confidential report on the 71st regiment, dated the 4th of October last, in which you represent that a sword is worn by the officers which is not regulation, I am directed by the Field-Marshal Commander-in-chief, to acquaint you that H.R.H. having seen the sword in question, has no objection to the continuance of its use, the 71st being a Light Infantry Regiment.

"For levees, &c., the basket hilt should be worn, which, it is understood, can be made removable, and the cross-bar substituted at pleasure.

"I have, &c.,

J. TROWBRIDGE, D.A.G.

"Major-General Walker, C.B.,
Commanding North Britain."

In October 1865, during the stay of the regiment in Edinburgh Castle, it sustained the loss by death of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, on which occasion the following Regimental Order was published by Colonel Hope:—

"The Commanding Officer regrets to have to announce to the regiment the demise of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, which occurred this morning at 8 A.M. Colonel Hope feels certain that the announcement will be received with the deepest regret for the loss sustained, as well by the regiment, as by Her Majesty's service generally. Lieutenant-Colonel Parker has departed after a service of twenty-three years in the regiment, many of which he passed in distant countries and in active services against the enemies of his country. On more than one occasion, and as recently as 1863, his services in the field met with such approbation from general officers under whom he served, as to induce them to name him in public despatches.

"Colonel Hope can only express his opinion that no officer more faithfully and ably sustained the honour and reputation of the regiment than did Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, and that none better merited the honours done him."

In February 1866, the regiment removed to Aldershot, where the spring inspection was made on the 2nd of May 1866; and also the autumn inspection by Brigadier-General Sir Alfred Horsford, K.C.B., who was pleased to comment highly on the appearance and discipline of the regiment.

In December the regiment removed to Ireland, and was distributed in Fermoy, Cork, and Ballincollig; head-quarters being at Fermoy.

On the 27th November 1867, Colonel Hope retired from the command of the regiment, which he had held for many years, and in which capacity he had gained alike the esteem and love both of officers and men. His retirement, which was forced upon him by his continued ill health, was felt to be an occasion upon which each individual member of the regiment lost a valued friend as well as a brave commander. On leaving he issued the following Order:—

"Colonel Hope has this day (18th of November 1867), relinquished the command of the regiment, which he has held for eight years, and handed it over to Major Macdonnell, who also will be his successor.

"Having served so many years—in fact, from his boyhood—in the regiment, and having commanded for the last eight years, he need hardly say that he quits the 71st with the greatest sorrow and regret.

"It has been his anxious wish at all times to maintain intact the reputation of the regiment as it was received by him; and this wish has, he believes, been gratified.

"Since the regiment was embodied, now 90 years ago, in all parts of the world,—in India, in the Cape of Good Hope, in South America, in Spain,—the 71st has been equally renowned for conduct and discipline—in the field before the enemy, during a long peace, and in quarters at home and abroad. It has also received the approbation of superior military authorities.

"Since the breaking out of the war with Russia, it has seen service in the Crimea, and the Indian Mutiny brought it once more to India, where its early laurels were won.

"In the Central Indian Campaign of 1858, the regiment served under Sir Hugh Rose, and received commendations from that distinguished officer (now Lord Strathnairn), as it did with other commanders, with whom that desultory campaign brought it into contact.

"1863 again saw the regiment in the Yuzufzai Hills, opposed to the warlike tribes of Central Asia. Colonel Hope can never forget the devotion of all officers and soldiers in the short but arduous campaign, nor the handsome terms in which Lord Strathnairn, then the Commander-in-Chief in India, acknowledged their services on its termination.

"Colonel Hope is well aware that this short recital of the regimental history is well known to all the older officers and soldiers, many of whom took part in the exploits of the 71st during the last twelve years, but he mentions them now that they may be known and remembered by the younger members, and with the confident hope that it will never be forgotten that the 71st has a reputation and a name in the British army, which must be maintained at all hazards.



Monument erected in Glasgow Cathedral.
WILLIAM BRODIE, R.S.A., Sculptor

"Colonel Hope now bids farewell to all his comrade officers and soldiers with every good wish for their prosperity and happiness."

The command of the regiment now devolved upon Major John Ignatius Macdonnell, who obtained his promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel by Colonel Hope's retirement. He took over the command with the good wishes and confidence of every one, having served in the regiment

from the date of his first commission, on the 26th of April 1844, and been with it during the Crimea, Central Indian, and Yuzufzai campaigns.

The detachment of the regiment at Tralee was inspected by Lord Strathnairn, Commander of the Forces in Ireland, October 28th, 1867, and favourably reported upon.

During the stay of the 71st in the south of Ireland, parts of it were on several occasions called out in aid of the civil authorities during the Fenian disturbances; and it was held to be greatly to the credit of the regiment, that during this trying time with the inhabitants of the south of Ireland in open revolt against Her Majesty's authority, there were no complaints of quarrels or other disturbances between any civilians and soldiers of the 71st.

The establishment of the regiment was increased from the 1st of April 1868 to the following standard:—12 companies; 1 colonel; 1 lieutenant-colonel; 2 majors; 12 captains; 14 lieutenants; 10 ensigns; 1 paymaster; 1 adjutant; 1 quarter-master; 1 surgeon; 1 assistant-surgeon; 57 sergeants; 31 buglers and pipers; and 800 rank and file.

On the 22nd of July 1868, the regiment removed from Dublin to the Curragh, where it remained during summer, employed exclusively in practising field manœuvring, and in taking part in movements on a large scale with the rest of the division.

General Lord Strathnairn inspected the regiment before leaving his command, and expressed his regret at losing it, while he still further complimented it on its steadiness and good behaviour.

Two depot companies having been formed, they proceeded on the 9th of October for Aberdeen, to join the 15th depot battalion there.

On the 17th of October the regiment left the Curragh, and embarked at Dublin on board H.M.S. "Simoom" for Gibraltar, where it arrived on the 22d, disembarked on the 23d, and encamped under canvas on the North Front Camping Ground until the 29th, whence it marched into quarters and was distributed between Europa and Buena Vista Barracks.

On the 13th of March 1870 the regiment sustained the loss by death, of its Colonel, General the Hon. Charles Grey, on which occasion the following Order was published by the commanding officer:—

"It is with the deepest regret that the commanding officer has to announce to the regiment the death of General the Hon. Charles Grey, Colonel of the 71st Highland Light Infantry. This officer has peculiar claims on the sympathy of the regiment, from the deep interest he has always taken in its welfare, and his warm attachment to a corps in which he served for upwards of ten years. On all occasions he had exerted his powerful interest to promote every measure required for the honour of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, and never did he cease to watch with the kindliest feelings the varied and honourable career in distant lands of his old regiment, which he had been so proud of commanding in his early life.

"The officers will wear regimental mourning for the period of one month."

The vacancy in the colonelcy was filled up by the appointment thereto of Lieutenant-General Robert Law, K.H., which was notified to the regiment by the commanding officer in the following terms:—

"The commanding officer has much pleasure in informing the regiment that Lieutenant-General Robert Law, K.H., has been appointed colonel of the regiment, as successor to the late General the Honourable Charles Grey.

The following account of General Law's services in the 71st will sufficiently inform the regiment how much he is entitled to their respect."

Lieutenant-General Law served with the 71st Light Infantry on Sir John Moore's retreat at the action of Lago and the battle of Corunna; the expedition to Walcheren, Liége, Ter Verre, and Flushing; subsequently in Portugal, Spain, and the south of France, from 1810 to 1814; the action of Sobraon; the entering of the lines of Torres Vedras; the pursuit of Massena through Portugal; the battle of Fuentes d'Onor, on the 3rd and 5th of May 1811 (where he was wounded in two places); the covering the two last sieges of Badajos; the surprise and defeat of Girard's corps at Arroyo del Molino; the storming and destruction of the enemy's tête-du-pont and other works at Almarez; the defence

of the Alba-de-Tormes; the battles in the Pyrenees, in July 1813, where, on the 30th, the command of an important post devolved upon him; the attack on Sorauren; the capture at Elizondo of the convoy of supplies destined for the relief of Pamplona; the battles of the Nivelle and the Nive; the action at the Bridge of Cambo; the affair at Hellette, St Palais, Arriverelle, and Garris; and the action at Aire. He was employed in command of an armed boat on night duties; in the affair with picquets on the river Adour; at the battle of St Pierre near Bayonne, on the 13th of December 1813; at the battle of Orthes; and the action at Tarbes, where he was wounded.

In the foregoing services he was long Adjutant of his regiment, and latterly acted as such to the light battalion of his brigade. He served also in the campaign of 1815, including the battle of Waterloo, where he was severely wounded by a cannon shot, which also killed his horse; he served also three years in the Army of Occupation in France, and received the war-medal with six clasps, and was made a K.H.

On the 1st of April the strength of the regiment was reduced to 10 companies (including 2 depot companies), consisting of 34 officers, 49 sergeants, 26 buglers and pipers, and 600 rank and file.

On the 5th of November 1869, the depot moved from Aberdeen to Fort-George; and on the 1st of April 1870, an order having been issued for the abolition of depot battalions, they proceeded to join the head-quarters of the 72d Highlanders at Buttevant, to which regiment they were attached and joined on the 7th of April 1870. On the 15th of August the establishment of the rank and file of the regiment was increased to 650, the other ranks remaining unaltered.

On the 24th of April 1873, the regiment embarked at Gibraltar for Malta. Previous to embarking, it was inspected by General Sir W. F. Williams, Bart., G.C.B., who, in his address, after his inspection, spoke of the appreciation in which the regiment was held by himself, and by the whole garrison and inhabitants of Gibraltar, for their soldier-like qualities, their smartness, and steadiness on duty, and their general good conduct, and added, "I myself personally regret your approaching departure, and I am certain that feeling is shared by every one in the place, but I also feel convinced that you will equally keep up the same good character in your new quarters. I wish you all health and happiness, and a good passage to your destination."

Under the new system the 71st Highland Light Infantry has been linked with the 78th (Ross-shire) Highlanders, forming the 55th Brigade, head-quarters at Fort-George.

We have much pleasure in being able to present our readers with authentic steel portraits of two of the most eminent Colonels of the 71st Highland Light Infantry. That of the first Colonel, John Lord Macleod, is from the original painting in the possession of the Duchess of Sutherland, at Tarbat House, Ross-shire; and that of Sir Thomas Reynell, Bart., from a painting in the possession of Mrs Reynell Pack, at Avisford House, Arundel, Sussex.

ARGYLE HIGHLANDERS,

OR

OLD SEVENTY-FOURTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

1778—1783.

Raising of the Regiment—America—Penobscot—Return home—Disbanded.

THIS regiment was raised by Colonel John Campbell of Barbreck, who had served as captain and major of Fraser's Highlanders in the Seven Years' War. To him letters of service were granted in December 1777, and the regiment was completed in May 1778, when it was inspected at Glasgow by General Skene. The lower orders in Argyleshire, from their proximity to the sea, being more addicted to the naval than to the land service, did not embrace the military profession with the same alacrity as the other Highlanders; and the result was, that only 590 Highlanders entered this regiment. The remainder were Lowlanders recruited in Glasgow and the western districts of Scotland. With the exception of 4, all the officers were Highlanders, of whom 3 field-officers, 6 captains, and 14 subalterns, were of the name of Campbell.

The 74th embarked at Greenock in August 1778, for Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where they were garrisoned along with the Edinburgh Regiment (the 80th) and the Duke of Hamilton's (the 82d), all under the command of Brigadier-General Francis Maclean. In spring, 1779, the grenadier company, commanded by Captain Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, and the light company by Captain Campbell of Balnabie, were sent to New York, and joined the army immediately before the siege of Charlestown.

The battalion companies, with a detachment of the 82d regiment, under the command of Brigadier-General Maclean, embarked at Halifax in June of the same year, and took possession of Penobscot. With the view of establishing himself there, the brigadier proceeded to erect defences; but before these were completed, a hostile fleet from Boston, with 2000 troops on board, under Brigadier-General Lovel, appeared in the bay, and on the 28th of July effected a landing on a peninsula, where the British were erecting a fort. The enemy immediately began to erect batteries for a siege; but their operations met with frequent interruption from parties that sallied from the fort. Meanwhile General Maclean proceeded with his works, and not only kept the enemy in complete check, but preserved the communication with the shipping, which they endeavoured to cut off. Both parties kept skirmishing till the 13th of August, on the morning of which day Commodore Sir George Collier entered the bay with a fleet to relieve the brigadier. The enemy immediately raised the siege, and retired to their ships, but a part only were able to escape. The remainder, along with the sailors of some of their ships which had grounded, formed themselves into a body, and attempted to penetrate through the woods; but running short of provisions, they afterwards quarrelled among themselves, and fired on each other till all their ammunition was spent. After upwards of 60 had been killed and wounded in this affray, the rest dispersed in the woods, where numbers perished. In this expedition, the 74th had 2 sergeants and 14 privates killed, and 17 rank and file wounded.

General Maclean returned to Halifax with the detachment of the 82d, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Campbell of Monzie with the 74th at Penobscot, where they remained till the termination of hostilities, when they embarked for England. They landed at Portsmouth, whence they marched for Stirling, and, after being joined by the flank companies, were reduced in the autumn of 1783.

MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

OLD SEVENTY-SIXTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

1777—1784.

Raising of the Regiment—Refusal to embark—America—Made prisoners—Return home—Disbanded.

LETTERS of service were granted in December 1777 to Lord Macdonald to raise a regiment in the Highlands and Isles, of which corps his lordship was offered the command; but he declined the commission, and at his recommendation, Major John Macdonell of Lochgarry was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the regiment. Lord Macdonald, however, exerted his influence in the formation of the corps, and as a good selection of officers was made from the families of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, Morar, Boisdale, and others of his own clan, and likewise from those of other clans, as Mackinnon, Fraser of Culduthel, Cameron of Callart, &c., a body of 750 Highlanders was soon raised. Nearly 200 men were raised in the Lowlands by Captains Cunningham of Craigends, and Montgomery Cunningham, and Lieutenant Samuel Graham. These were kept together in two companies, and another body of men, principally raised in Ireland by Captain Bruce, formed a third company, all of which were kept perfectly distinct from the Highlanders. The regiment was inspected at Inverness in March 1778 by General Skene, and amounted to 1086 men, including non-commissioned officers and drummers.

The regiment was then quartered in Fort-George, where it remained twelve months under the command of Major Donaldson, who,

from his long experience, was well calculated to train them properly.

Being removed to Perth in March 1779, the regiment was again reviewed by General Skene on the 10th, and, being reported complete, was ordered to march to Burntisland for the purpose of embarking for America. Shortly after their arrival at Burntisland, numbers of the Highlanders were observed in parties in earnest conversation together. The cause of this consultation was soon known. Each company, on the evening of the third day, gave in a written statement, complaining of non-performance of promises, of their bounty-money being withheld, &c., and accompanied by a declaration, that till their grievances were redressed, they would not embark. They demanded that Lord Macdonald should be sent for to see justice done to them. No satisfactory answer having been returned within the time expected, the Highlanders marched off in a body, and took possession of a hill above Burntisland. To show that these men had no other end in view but justice, they refused to allow some young soldiers, who had joined them in a frolic, to remain with them, telling them that as they had no ground for complaint, they ought not to disobey orders.

The Highlanders remained for several days on the hill without offering the least violence, and sent in parties regularly to the town for provisions, for which they paid punctually. During this interval, Major Donaldson, assisted by Lieutenant David Barclay the paymaster, investigated the claims of the men, and ascertained that they were well founded, and Lord Macdonald having arrived, his lordship and the major advanced the money, and paid off every demand at their own risk. On a subsequent investigation of the individual claims, when sent to the Isle of Skye, it was ascertained that all, without exception, were found to be just,[9] a circumstance as honourable to the claimants as it was disgraceful to those who had attempted to overreach them.

This disagreeable affair being fortunately settled, the regiment embarked on the 17th of March; but before their departure, all the men of Skye and Uist sent the money they had received home to their families and friends.[1]

[9] Stewart. [1] Ibid.

Major Donaldson being unable to accompany the regiment on account of the delicate state of his health, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell having been taken prisoner on his passage from America, where he had been serving with Fraser's Highlanders, the command of the regiment devolved on Major Lord Berridale.

The transports, with the 76th on board, touched at Portsmouth, and while lying at Spithead, the regiment was ordered to the relief of Jersey, which the enemy had attacked; but before reaching the island the French had been repulsed. They then proceeded on the voyage, and landed at New York in August. The flank companies were then attached to the battalion, composed of the flank companies of the other regiments, and the battalion companies were quartered between New York and Staten Island. In February 1781, these companies embarked for Virginia with a detachment of the army, commanded by Major-General Phillips. The light company, being in the second battalion of light infantry, also formed a part of the expedition.

Lord Berridale, who had, by the death of his father this year, become Earl of Caithness, having been severely wounded at the siege of Charlestown, returned to Scotland, and was succeeded in the command of the regiment by the Hon. Major Needham, afterwards Earl of Kilmorey, who had purchased Major Donaldson's commission.

General Phillips landed at Portsmouth, Virginia, in March, and having joined the detachment under General Arnold, the united detachments formed a junction with the army of Lord Cornwallis in May. The Macdonald Highlanders, on meeting with men who had braved the dangers of the field, considered themselves as an inferior race, and sighed for an opportunity of putting themselves on an equality with their companions in arms, and they did not wait long.

The celebrated Marquis de la Fayette, anxious to distinguish himself in the cause which he had espoused, determined to attack Lord Cornwallis's army, and in pursuance of this intention pushed forward a strong corps, which forced the British picquets. He then formed his line, and a warm contest immediately began, the

weight of which, on the side of the British, was sustained by the brigade of Colonel Thomas Dundas, consisting of the 76th and 80th regiments. These corps, which were on the left, were drawn up on an open field, while the right of the line was covered by woods. Coming up in the rear of the 76th, Lord Cornwallis gave the word to charge, which being responded to by the Highlanders, they rushed forward with great impetuosity upon the enemy, who, unable to stand the shock, turned their backs and fled, leaving their cannon and 300 men, killed and wounded, behind them.[2]

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis's army, the 76th was marched in detachments as prisoners to different parts of Virginia. During their confinement, many attempts were made by their emigrant countrymen, as well as by the Americans, to induce them to join the cause of American independence; but not one of them could be induced by any consideration to renounce his allegiance.

The regiment, on its return to Scotland, was disbanded in March 1784 at Stirling Castle.

ATHOLE HIGHLANDERS,

OR

OLD SEVENTY-SEVENTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

1778—1783.

Raising of the Regiment—Ireland—Mutiny—Disbanded.

On the application of the young Duke of Athole, government granted him authority to raise a regiment of 1000 men for the service of the State, with power to appoint officers. The command of this corps was given to Colonel James Murray, son of Lord George Murray.

The Athole Highlanders were embodied at Perth, and in June 1778 were marched to Port-Patrick, and embarked for Ireland, where they remained during the war. They were thus deprived of an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the field; but their presence in Ireland was attended with this advantage, that they supplied the place of other troops, who would probably have been less exemplary in their conduct amongst a people whose passions were excited by misgovernment.

The terms on which the men had enlisted were to serve for three years, or during the war. On the conclusion of hostilities, they, of course, expected to be disbanded; but instead of this they were transported to England, and marched to Portsmouth for embarkation to the East Indies. On the march they were made acquainted with the intentions of Government; and so far from objecting to a continuance of their service, they showed no disinclination to embark, and when they first saw the fleet at Spithead, as they crossed Portsdown-hill, they pulled off their bonnets, and gave three cheers for a brush with Hyder Ali. They had scarcely, however, taken up their quarters at Portsmouth, when the face of matters changed. The minds of the men, it is said, were wrought upon by emissaries from London, who represented the unfaithfulness of Government in sending them abroad after the term of their service had expired. It was even insinuated that they had been sold to the East India Company at a certain sum per man, and that the officers were to divide the money amongst themselves. These base misrepresentations had their intended effect, and the result was that the soldiers resolved not to embark. The authority of the officers was despised; and after a scene of uproar and confusion, which lasted several days, during which the Highlanders attempted to obtain possession of the main-guard and garrison parade, the order to embark was countermanded by Government.

[2] "At the moment Lord Cornwallis was giving the orders to charge, a Highland soldier rushed forward and placed himself in front of his officer, Lieutenant Simon Macdonald of Morar, afterwards major of the 92d regiment. Lieutenant Macdonald having asked what brought him there, the soldier answered, 'You know that when I engaged to be a soldier, I promised to be faithful to the king and to you. The French are coming, and while I stand here, neither bullet nor bayonet shall touch you, except through my body!'

"Major Macdonald had no particular claim to the generous devotion of this trusty follower, further than that which never failed to be binding on the true Highlander,—he was born on his officer's estate, where he and his forefathers had been treated with kindness,—he was descended of the same family (Clanranald),—and when he enlisted he promised to be a faithful soldier. He was of the branch of the Clanranald family, whose patronymic is Maccachen, or the sons of Hector; the same branch of which Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, is descended." —Stewart.

One account of this affair, dated at Portsmouth, and published in February 1783, contains the following details:—"The Duke of Athole, his uncle, Major-General Murray, and Lord George Lennox, have been down here, but the Athole Highlanders are still determined not to go to the East Indies. They have put up their arms and ammunition into one of the magazines, and placed a very strong guard over them, whilst the rest of the regiment sleep and refresh themselves. They come regularly and quietly to the grand parade, very cleanly dressed, twice a-day, their adjutant and other officers parading with them. One day it was proposed to turn the great guns of the rampart on the Highlanders; but this scheme was soon overruled. Another time it was suggested to send for some marching regiments quartered near the place, upon which the Highlanders drew up the draw-bridges, and placed sentinels at them."

"You may be assured," says another account, "I have had my perplexities since the mutiny commenced in the 77th regiment; but I must do the men the justice to confess, that excepting three or four drunken fellows, whose impudence to their officers could only be equalled by their brutality, the whole regiment have conducted themselves with a regularity that is surprising; for what might not have been expected from upwards of one thousand men let loose from all restraint? Matters would never have been carried to the point they have, but for the interference of some busy people, who love to be fishing in troubled waters. The men have opened a subscription for the relief of the widow of the poor invalid,[4] for whose death they express the greatest regret. On their being informed that two or three regiments were coming to force them to embark, they flew to their arms, and followed their comrade leaders through the town, with a fixed determination to give them battle; but on finding the report to be false, they returned in the same order to their quarters. The regiment is not to go to the East Indies contrary to their instructions, which has satisfied them, but will be attended with disagreeable consequences to the service; and since the debates in the House of Commons on the subject, I should not wonder if every man intended for foreign service refused going, for the reasons then given, which you may depend on it they are now well acquainted with."

Mr Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, secretary for Ireland, in the Parliamentary debates on the mutiny, bore honourable testimony to the exemplary conduct of the regiment in Ireland:—"He had happened," he said, "to have the 77th regiment immediately under his observation during sixteen months of their garrison duty in Dublin, and though it was not the most agreeable duty in the service, he must say that their conduct was most exemplary. Their officers were not only men of gentlemanly character, but peculiarly attentive to regimental discipline. He having once, upon the sudden alarm of invasion, sent an order for the immediate march of this regiment to Cork, they showed their alacrity by marching at an hour's notice, and completed their march with a despatch beyond any instance in modern times, and this too without leaving a single soldier behind."

This unfair and unworthy attempt on the part of Government created a just distrust of its integrity, and had a most pernicious effect on its subsequent endeavours to raise men in the Highlands. Alluding to this unfortunate affair, General Stewart observes, that "if Government had offered a small bounty when the Athole Highlanders were required to embark, there can be little doubt they would have obeyed their orders, and embarked as cheerfully as they marched into Portsmouth."

The fault resting entirely with Government, it wisely abstained from pushing matters further by bringing any of the men to trial. The regiment was immediately marched to Berwick, where it was disbanded in April 1783, in terms of the original agreement.

[4] He was killed when the Highlanders made the attempt to take possession of the main-guard and garrison parade.

SEAFORTH'S HIGHLANDERS,

FORMERLY

THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH,

NOW

THE SEVENTY-SECOND REGIMENT, OR DUKE OF ALBANY'S OWN HIGHLANDERS.

I.

1778—1858.

Raising the Regiment—First Officers—Disaffection at Leith—"The affair of the Macraes"—Embarkation for India—Death of Lord Seaforth—Effects of scurvy—Joining Sir Eyre Coote's army—Joining Major-General James Stuart's army—Led by Colonel Fullarton against Tippoo Sahib—Palghatcherri—Number of the Regiment changed to 72nd—Recruiting—War with Tippoo Sahib—Stuart's dilemma—Palghatcheri—Ordered home—Fort Dindigal—Stuart takes Palghatcheri—Lord Cornwallis—Bangalore—Ootradroog—Forlorn hope of Sergeant Williams—Valour of the 72nd—Siege of Seringapatam—Storming of Savendroog—Ootradroog—Sailing for India—The Mauritius—Landing at the Cape of Good Hope—Arrival at Calcutta—Lands again at Cape Town—Captain Gethin's death—Return home—Permitted to assume the name of the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders—The Cape of Good Hope again—Graham's Town—The Kaffir War in 1835—The Governor-General at the camp—The Kaffirs attack the Fingoes—End of the Kaffir War—Permitted to add "Cape of Good Hope" to the colours—At Graham's Town—At Cape Town—Home.



The late Duke of York's Cipher and Coronet.

HINDOOSTAN.
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.
SEVASTOPOL.
CENTRAL INDIA.

KENNETH MACKENZIE, grandson of the Earl of Seaforth, whose estate and title were forfeited in consequence of his concern in the rebellion of 1715, having purchased the family property from the Crown, was created an Irish peer, by the title of Lord Viscount Fortrose. In the year 1771, Government restored to him the family title of Earl of Seaforth. To evince his gratitude for this magnanimous act, the Earl, in the year 1778, offered to raise a regiment on his estate for general service. This offer being accepted by his Majesty, a corps of 1130 men was speedily raised, principally by gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, his lordship's clan.

Of these about 900 were Highlanders, 500 of whom were raised upon Lord Seaforth's own estate, and the remainder upon the estates of the Mackenzies of Scatwell, Kilcoy, Applecross, and Redcastle, all of whom had sons or brothers in the regiment. The remainder were raised in the Lowlands, of whom 43 were English and Irish.

The following is the first list of officers:—

Lieut.-Col.-Commandant—Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth.

Major—James Stuart (from Capt. 64th Regt.)

Captains.

T. F. M. Humberston.	George Mackenzie.
Robert Lumsdaine.	Hugh Frazer.
Peter Agnew.	Hon. Thos. Maitland.
Kenneth Mackenzie.[5]	Charles Halkett.[6]

Captain Lieutenant—Thomas Frazer.

Lieutenants.

Donald Moody.	George Mackenzie.
William Sutherland.	Charles Gladening.
Colin Mackenzie.	William Sinclair.
Kenneth Mackenzie.	Charles Mackenzie.
Patrick Haggard.	John Campbell.
Thomas Mackenzie.	James Stewart.
George Innes.	Robert Marshall.
Charles M'Gregor.	Philip Anstruther.
David Melville.	Kenneth Macrae.
George Gordon.	John M'Innes.
James Gualie.	

Ensigns.

James Stewart.	Robert Gordon.
James Finney.	John Mitchell.
Aulay M'Aulay.	Ewen M'Lennan.
Malcolm M'Pherson.	George Gordon.

Staff.

Chaplain.—Wm. Mackenzie.
Surgeon.—John Walters.
Adjutant.—James Finney.
Quarter-master.—George Gunn.

The regiment was embodied at Elgin, in May 1778, and was inspected by General Skene, when it was found so effective that not one man was rejected. In the month of August the regiment marched to Leith for embarkation to the East Indies; but they had not been quartered long in that town when symptoms of disaffection began to appear among them. They complained of an infringement of their engagements, and that part of their pay and bounty was in arrear. Being wrought upon by some emissaries, the men refused to embark, and, marching out of Leith with pipes

[5] From the Dutch Service.
[6] From the Austrian service.

playing, and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, they took up a position in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh on Arthur's Seat, on which they remained several days. During this time they were amply supplied with provisions and ammunition by the inhabitants of the capital, who had espoused their quarrel. The causes of complaint having been inquired into, after much negotiation, in which the Earls of Dunmore and Seaforth, Sir James Grant of Grant, and other gentlemen connected with the Highlands, took an active and prominent part, the grievances were removed, and the soldiers being satisfied, marched down the hill with pipes playing, with the Earls of Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene at their head, and returned to their quarters at Leith. From the great number of the clan Macrae that were in the regiment, the mutiny was called "The affair of the Macraes."

At Leith the regiment embarked with the greatest cheerfulness, accompanied by their colonel, the Earl of Seaforth. The intention of sending them to India being for the present abandoned, one half of the regiment was sent to Guernsey, and the other to Jersey. At the end of April 1781, however, both divisions assembled at Portsmouth, where, on the 12th of June, they embarked for the East Indies, being then 973 strong, rank and file. Though the men were all in excellent health, they suffered so severely from the effects of the voyage and the change of food, that before reaching Madras on the 2nd of April 1782, 247 of them had died of scurvy, and out of all that landed, only 369 were fit to carry arms. The death of Seaforth, their chief, who expired before the regiment reached St Helena, threw a damp over the spirits of the men, and it is said to have materially contributed to that prostration of mind which made them more readily the victims of disease.

As the service was pressing, such of the men as were able to march were immediately sent up the country under Major James Stuart; but many of them being still weak from the effects of scurvy, suffered greatly on the march. The men were sinewy and robust, and such as had escaped the scurvy were greatly injured by the violence of the sun's beams, the effects of which were not so injurious to men of more slender habits. They joined the army of Sir Eyre Coote at Chingleput in the beginning of May; but he found them so unfit for service that he ordered the corps into quarters, and put the few who remained healthy into the 73rd or Macleod's Highlanders, the only European corps then with the army.

The men gradually recovered, and in the month of October upwards of 600 were fit for duty. The colours of the regiment were again unfolded, and in April 1783 they joined the army destined to attack Cuddalore, under Major-General James Stuart (of the family of Torrance).

On the 25th of June, the enemy made a sally on the British lines, but were repulsed at every point, losing 150 men in killed and prisoners, including among the latter the Chevalier Dumas.

Notwithstanding the termination of hostilities with France in January 1783, the war with Tippoo Sahib was continued. Colonel Fullarton, who had marched on Cuddalore, finding he was no longer needed in that quarter, retraced his steps southward, reinforced by Seaforth's Highlanders and other troops, thus augmenting his force to upwards of 13,000 men. This army was employed several months in keeping down some turbulent chiefs; and in October Colonel Fullarton marched on Palghatcherri, after securing some intermediate forts. Lieutenant-Colonel Humberston Mackenzie, of the 100th regiment, who succeeded about this time to the command of the 78th, in consequence of the death of his cousin, the Earl of Seaforth, as well as to his title and estates, had intended to attack this place the preceding year, but he abandoned the attempt. After a fatiguing march through thick woods and a broken country, Colonel Fullarton reached the place early in November, and immediately laid siege to it. The garrison might have made a long and vigorous defence; but an event occurred which hastened the fall of Palghatcherri. The enemy having taken shelter from a shower of rain, the Hon. Captain Sir Thomas Maitland advanced unperceived with his flank corps, and drove the enemy through the first gateway, which he entered; but his progress was checked at the second, which was shut. Being immediately reinforced, he prepared to force an

entrance; but the enemy, afraid of an assault, immediately surrendered.

On the 30th of April this year the regiment lost their new colonel, who died of wounds received on board the "Ranger" sloop of war on the 7th of April 1783, in an action with a Mahratta fleet while on his return from Bombay. He was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Major-General James Murray, from the half-pay of the 77th regiment.

In consequence of the peace, Seaforth's regiment having been raised on the condition of serving for three years, or during the war,—those of the men that adhered to this agreement were allowed to embark for England; while those that preferred staying in the country received the same bounty as other volunteers. The number of men who claimed their discharge on the 10th of August 1784 reduced the regiment to 425 rank and file; but so many men volunteered into the corps from the different regiments ordered home (among whom was a considerable number of Highlanders who had formerly enlisted into the 100th Regiment with Colonel Humberston Mackenzie), that the strength was at once augmented to 700 men. At the end of the next year the regiment received 423 men from various regiments.

On the 12th of September 1786 the number of the regiment was changed to the 72nd, in consequence of the reduction of senior regiments.

On the 25th of December 1787 the establishment was reduced to the following numbers:—1 captain, 1 lieutenant-colonel and captain, 1 major and captain, 7 captains, 22 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 1 chaplain, 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaster, 1 surgeon, 2 mates, 30 sergeants, 40 corporals, 20 drummers, 2 fifers, 710 privates, including 40 contingent men.

It was soon found necessary, however, again to increase the strength of the regiment, and recruiting was carried on with success. A considerable detachment joined on the 18th of August 1789; so that in the following year, when war commenced with Tippoo, the 72nd was nearly 800 strong, while the men were healthy, seasoned to the climate, well-disciplined, and highly respectable in their moral conduct. In this highly-efficient state they formed part of the army under Major-General Meadows on the 23rd of July 1790.

The first service of the 72nd was under Colonel Stuart, being ordered along with other troops to attack Palghatcheri, which on a former occasion had been the scene of success to a corps now destined to sustain a disappointment. The detachment being overtaken by the rains which fell in almost unprecedented abundance, Colonel Stuart got so beset with the mountain streams that, for a short time, he could neither proceed nor retire; and when the waters abated he returned to headquarters. In this enterprise the 78th had Captain George Mackenzie and 23 rank and file killed, and 3 sergeants and 44 rank and file wounded.

After a short rest, the same officer, with the same troops under his command, was detached against Dindigul, before which he arrived on the 16th of August 1790. This is one of those granite rocks so common in that part of India. The fort on the summit had lately been repaired, and mounted with 14 guns, the precipice allowing of only one point of ascent. The means of attack, both in guns and ammunition, were very deficient. A small breach, however, was made on the 20th; and Colonel Stuart resolved to assault, small as the breach was, judging that more loss would be sustained by delay than by an immediate attack, since, in addition to other difficulties, he was short of ammunition. Accordingly, on the evening of the 21st of August, the attack was made. The defences were unusually complete, and the resistance more determined than had been experienced on any former occasion. Every man that reached the summit of the breach was met and forced down by triple rows of spikes from the interior of the rampart. After a bold but fruitless effort, they were repulsed with loss. But the enemy was so intimidated, and dreaded so much the consequence of a second and perhaps successful attack, that he surrendered next morning, ignorant of their opponent's want of ammunition, the real cause of the premature attack.

Colonel Stuart again proceeded against Palghatcherri, and on the 21st of September opened two batteries within five hundred yards of the place; and though the fortification had been greatly strengthened since the time the place

was taken by Colonel Fullarton, he succeeded the same day in making a practicable breach. Preparations were made for an assault the following morning; but before daylight the enemy offered to surrender on terms which were acceded to. Leaving a garrison in the place, Colonel Stuart joined the army in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore on the 15th of October, after which the regiment followed all the movements of the army till the 29th of January 1791, when Lord Cornwallis arrived and assumed the command.

The 72nd was engaged along with the 71st in the second attack on Bangalore, the first attack on Seringapatam, and the attack on Savendroog and Ootradroog. On the evening of March 7, 1791, the pettah of Bangalore was stormed, and the siege of the town was immediately commenced. During the night, the 72nd Highlanders were posted under the outer pettah wall, close to the gate. "The enemy kept up a sharp fire; their shots, which were many of them thirty-two pounders, came very close to the regiment, making a great rattling in the trees and bamboo hedge, near the line; but no casualties occurred."[7]

At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th of March, six companies of the regiment marched into the trenches; and on the evening of the following day the regiment was ordered to prepare to take part in storming the fortress. The grenadier company was to join the storming party appointed to advance by the left approach; the light company, that by the right approach; and the battalion companies were formed on the right of the parallel, to support the grenadiers. Three of the 72nd grenadiers joined the forlorn hope under Sergeant Williams of the 76th regiment. Lieutenant Campbell states in his Journal:—"The storming party primed and loaded, and sat down on their arms. Our batteries, both gun and mortar, kept firing frequently during the evening. At a quarter before eleven we got into motion; an opening was made in the centre of the second parallel; the signal for storming was given—three guns in quick succession—and out we rushed. The covered way instantly appeared as a sheet of fire, seconded from the fort, but with no aim or effect; our batteries answered with blank cartridge; and we were in the covered way in a moment, and on the breach as quick as thought. I pushed on, carried forward by a powerful impulse, and found myself at the top of the breach with the front files. The grenadiers immediately turned off to the right with a huzza; their progress was suddenly stopped by an opening; the fort was hung with blue lights; a heavy fire was opened upon us, but with little effect; the difficulty was overcome, and our troops ascended the ladders with every possible expedition. The grandest and most striking sight I ever beheld was the rushing up of the troops to the top of the breach, and the ascent of the grenadiers in crowds by the scaling-ladders. We now heard the grenadiers' march beating in every quarter; our soldiers shouted with joy, and we swept round the ramparts, with scarce anything to oppose us. Every enemy that appeared had a bayonet in him instantly. The regiments that supported us came in by the gateway, and cleared the town below, where numbers were killed. In two hours we were in thorough possession of the fort, and Lieutenant Duncan, of the 71st regiment, pulled down the flag and put his own sash in its place. The Union flag was afterwards hoisted, and the troops gave three cheers."

On this occasion the regiment had 6 rank and file killed, and 1 sergeant and 23 rank and file wounded. In the orders issued on the following day by Lord Cornwallis, the following passage occurs:—

"The conduct of all the regiments which happened, in their tour, to be on duty that evening did credit in every respect to their spirit and discipline; but his Lordship desires to offer the tribute of his particular and warmest praise to the European grenadiers and light infantry of the army, and to the 36th, 72nd, and 76th regiments, who led the attack and carried the fortress, and who by their behaviour on that occasion furnished a conspicuous proof that discipline and valour in soldiers, when directed by zeal and capacity in officers, are irresistible.

"Lieut.-Colonel Stuart (72nd Regiment)

[7] "Journal of Lieutenant Ronald Campbell, of the Grenadier Company, 72nd Regiment," 2 vols. folio, MS.

may be assured that Lord Cornwallis will ever retain the most grateful remembrance of the valuable and steady support which that officer afforded him, by his military experience and constant exertions to promote the public service."

The army advanced to the siege of Seringapatam on the 4th of May, and on the 15th as it approached the place, the Sultan's position was attacked by the 72nd, with other regiments. The enemy was driven from every post, and towards the close of the action the 72nd ascended an eminence and captured a round redoubt. The regiment had about 20 men killed and wounded, among the latter being Captain Braithwaite and Lieutenant Whitlie. The army, nearly all its provisions and other stores being exhausted, retreated to the vicinity of Bangalore.

On the morning of the 21st of December the 72nd took part in the storm of the strong fortress of Savendroog. The right attack was made by the light companies of the 71st and 72nd, supported by a battalion company of the 72nd; the left attack by the two flank companies of the 76th and grenadier company of the 52nd; the centre attack under Major Fraser of the 72nd, by the grenadiers and two battalion companies of the 72nd, two companies of the 52nd, the grenadiers of the 71st, and four companies of sepoys, supported by the sixth battalion of sepoys; the whole under Lieut.-Colonel Nisbitt, of the 52nd regiment. The storming-parties proceeded to their stations; the band of the 52nd took post near them, and suddenly striking up the tune *Britons, strike home*, the whole rushed forward with the most heroic ardour. The Mysoreans made a feeble defence, and in less than two hours the British were in possession of the fort, with the trifling loss of five men wounded. The troops were thanked in General Orders, for their very gallant conduct.

Two days afterwards the troops advanced against Ootradroog. On the 24th, two battalion companies of the 52nd and 72nd regiments, supported by the 26th sepoys, attacked the pettah by escalade, and were speedily in possession of the town. "Lieutenant M'Innes, senior officer of the two 72nd companies, applied to Captain Scott for liberty to follow the fugitives up the rock, saying he should be in time to enter the first gateway with them. The captain thought the enterprise impracticable. The soldiers of M'Innes's company heard the request made, and not doubting of consent being given, had rushed towards the first wall, and were followed by M'Innes. The gate was shut: but Lieutenant M'Pherson arrived with the pioneers and ladders, which were instantly applied, and our people were within the wall as quick as thought, when the gate was unbolted, and the two companies entered. The enemy, astonished at so unexpected an attempt, retreated with precipitation. M'Innes advanced to the second wall, the men forced open the gate with their shoulders, and not a moment was lost in pushing forward for the third wall; but the road, leading between two rocks, was so narrow that only two could advance abreast; the pathway was, in consequence, soon choked up, and those who carried the ladders were unable to proceed. At the same time, the enemy commenced throwing huge stones in numbers upon the assailants, who commenced a sharp fire of musketry, and Lieut.-Colonel Stuart, who had observed from a distance this astonishing enterprise, sent orders for the grenadiers not to attempt anything further. Lieutenant M'Pherson forced his way through the crowd, causing the ladders to be handed over the soldiers' heads, from one to another, and before the colonel's orders could be delivered, the gallant Highlanders were crowding over the third gateway. The enemy fled on all hands; the foremost of our men pursued them closely, and gained the two last walls without opposition—there were five walls to escalade. The garrison escaped by the south-east side of the fort, over rocks and precipices of immense depth and ruggedness, where many must have lost their lives. By one o'clock, our two companies were in possession of every part of the fort, and M'Innes had planted the colours on the highest pinnacle, without the loss of a single man. The Kiledar and two of his people were taken alive. Colonel Stuart declared the business to be brilliant and successful, beyond his most sanguine hopes."[8] Thus was the important fortress of Outra-Durgum captured by two

[8] Lieutenant Campbell's Journal.

companies of Highlanders (Major Petrie's, and Captain Hon. William M. Maitland's) of the 72nd regiment; the officers with the two companies were Lieutenants M'Innes, Robert Gordon, —— Getty, and Ensign Andrew Coghlan. Lieutenant M'Pherson conducted the pioneers. They all were thanked in General Orders by Earl Cornwallis, who expressed his admiration of the gallantry and steadiness of the officers and soldiers engaged in this service.

The rainy season being over, it was resolved to make a second attack on Seringapatam, to which place the army marched in the beginning of February 1792. The sultan had taken up a formidable position to cover his capital, and was attacked during the night of the 6th of February. The regiment formed part of the left division under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, which advanced to the attack in the following order:—Grenadier Company, 72nd; Light Company, 72nd, with scaling ladders; pioneers; 23rd native infantry; 72nd regiment; 1st and 6th native infantry. The share taken by the 72nd in the attack on the place we shall give in the words of the journal of Lieutenant Campbell of the 72nd, quoted several times already:—

"We (the 72nd) moved from the left along the north side of the ridge of hills extending from the Carrighaut pagoda to the Cappalair rocks; by ten at night we found ourselves near the base of the hill, where the officers were directed to dismount. When we were about two hundred yards from the lower entrenchment, our grenadiers filed off from the right with trailed arms, a serjeant and twelve men forming the forlorn hope. When about fifty yards from the works, the sentinel challenged us, and instantly fired his piece, which was followed by a scattered fire from the rest of their party. We rushed among them, and those who did not save themselves by immediate flight were shot or bayoneted. The greatest number of them ran down to the Carrighaut pagoda, where they made a stand, and kept up a smart fire until we were almost close to them; then retired under our fire to the foot of the hill, where they were joined by a strong body from the plain, and made a stand at a small choultry (or caravanserai), from which a flight of steps led to the bridge across the nulla. By this time the general attack on the enemy's lines had commenced, and there was an almost connected sheet of fire from right to left—musketry, guns, and rockets rending the air with their contending noise. We sat upon the brow of the hill a few minutes, while our men were recovering their breath, and had a commanding prospect of the whole attack, though nearly three miles in extent, as we contemplated the scene before us, the grandest, I suppose, that any person there had beheld. Being rested a little, Colonel Maxwell led us down the hill under a smart fire. We rushed forward and drove the enemy across the nulla in great haste, although they stood our approach wonderfully. We crossed the bridge under a constant fire, the enemy retreating as we advanced; we crossed the Lokany river, the opposite bank of which was well covered by a *bound-hedge*, and their fire did execution. A serjeant of grenadiers was killed, Captain Mackenzie mortally wounded, Major Fraser and Captain Maitland shot through their right arms, besides other casualties. After we had penetrated the *bound-hedge*, the enemy took post behind an extensive choultry; but nothing could stop the ardour of our men: we charged without loss of time, and soon dislodged the enemy, who retreated along the banks of the Cavery to a second choultry, where their numbers were reinforced. We had now got into their camp, upon the right flank of their lines; they retreated steadily before us, and our fire and bayonets did great execution among them, the road being strewed with their bodies. We charged and dislodged them from the second choultry; here Lieutenant M'Pherson of the grenadiers was wounded. We pursued the enemy to a large pagoda; they attempted to cross the river, but the place was so crowded with guns, tumbrils, bullocks, elephants, camels, followers, and Heaven knows what, that we were in the midst of them before they could escape, and for some minutes there was nothing but shooting and bayoneting. Colonel Maxwell came up with the 23rd native infantry; the sepoys of the 14th native battalions advanced; they took us for the enemy, and

fired, but their officers suppressed the fire before much injury was done. The 71st regiment also joined us, and preparations were made to cross the river and force the lines on the opposite side. Colonel Baird requested me to lead with twenty men; I instantly rushed into the stream, followed by twenty grenadiers of the 72nd regiment; we pushed on through holes, over rocks and stones, falling and stumbling at every step, the enemy's shot reducing our numbers; and myself, with about half a dozen grenadiers, arrived at a smooth part of the stream which proved beyond our depth; five of us, however, got over; but the regiments did not venture to follow and we returned with difficulty. An easy passage had been found out lower down; the 71st and 72nd regiments had got into the island; the flank companies of the 52nd, 71st, and 74th regiments forded higher up, and the enemy, seeing our troops on all sides of them, betook themselves to flight.

"About one o'clock in the morning the 71st and 72nd regiments advanced to the pettah, from which the inhabitants had fled, and we released a number of Europeans from prison. About seven o'clock the 72nd marched into the famous *Llal Baugh*, or, as I heard it translated, '*garden of pearls*,' and were posted in one of the walks during the day."



From a Painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.
General James Stuart, who died in 1815, after 54 years' service.

The loss of the regiment in this brilliant victory over Tippoo Sahib was Captain Thomas Mackenzie and 14 men killed; Major Hugh Fraser, Captain the Honourable William Maitland, Lieutenants M'Pherson and Ward, 1 serjeant, and 42 men wounded. This victory was the means of inducing the Sultan Tippoo to sue for peace, which he obtained on ceding half of his dominions, and paying £3,500,000, part of which was given as a gratuity to the troops, along with six months' batta or field allowance.

The 72nd returned to Wallahabad, where it remained till 1795, with a brief absence in August 1793, when it took part in an expedition against the French settlement of Pondicherry on the Coromandel coast.[9] The 72nd performed trench and other duty, and had only two men killed.

On the death of General Murray, the colonelcy of the regiment was conferred on Major-General Adam Williamson, March 19, 1794.

In 1795, the 72nd under their old commander-colonel, Major-General James Stuart, took part in the expedition against the Dutch

[9] On the 12th of August, as the grenadiers and Captain Gordon's company of the 72nd were on duty in the trenches, exposed to a burning sun, and a severe cannonade from the fortress, Colonel Campbell, field officer of the trenches, sent his orderly to Lieutenant Campbell of the grenadiers requesting that the piper of the grenadiers might be directed to play some *pibrachs*. This was considered a strange request to be made at so unsuitable a time; it was, however, immediately complied with; "but we were a good deal surprised to perceive that the moment the piper began, the fire from the enemy slackened, and soon after almost entirely ceased. The French all got upon the works, and seemed more astonished at hearing the bagpipe, than we with Colonel Campbell's request."—*Lieutenant Campbell's Journal.*

settlements of Ceylon, where the regiment remained from August 1795 till March 1797, taking part in various operations with but little loss of men. At the siege of Trincomalee, the 72nd had Ensign Benson, 2 serjeants, and 7 rank and file wounded. Major Fraser, who was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the regiment in September 1793, was detached against the fort of Batticaloa, which surrendered to him on the 18th of that month.

The 72nd was removed to Pondicherry preparatory to embarking for England in March 1797, previous to which the men who were fit for service were drafted into corps remaining in India. The skeleton of the regiment embarked at Madras on the 10th of February 1798, and on arriving in England, it was ordered to Perth, which it reached in August that year. For its distinguished services in India, it was authorised to bear "Hindoostan" on its colours.

In October of the same year, Major-General James Stuart succeeded General Adam Williamson as colonel.[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser died in May 1801; he was loved and respected by the regiment, with which he had been in many a hard-fought field. Some high ground near Seringapatam, the scene of his gallantry, was named "Fraser's Hill." He bequeathed £500 to the officers' mess, to be appropriated in such a manner as should best commemorate his attachment to the corps and his esteem for the officers.

In 1804, when a French invasion was feared, a second battalion was added to the regiment, formed of men raised in Aberdeen for limited service, under the "Limited Service Act." It was embodied at Peterhead, and remained in Scotland for some time.

In 1805 the 72nd, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Colquhoun Grant, embarked with the secret expedition under Major-General Sir David Baird, which sailed in August for the Cape of Good Hope, then possessed by the Dutch. The expedition anchored in Table Bay on the 4th of January 1806; and on the morning of the 6th, the Highland brigade, composed of the 71st, 72nd, and 93rd regiments, effected a landing, the light companies of the two former regiments driving the Dutch sharpshooters from the contiguous heights.[2] After gaining a complete victory, and pursuing the enemy three miles under a burning sun, the Highlanders were ordered to halt, and the first brigade continued the pursuit.[3] In Sir David Baird's despatch, he spoke as follows of the Highland brigade and of the 72nd:—

"The Highland brigade advanced steadily under a heavy fire of round shot, grape, and musketry. Nothing could resist the determined bravery of the troops, headed by their gallant leader, Brigadier-General Ferguson; and the number of the enemy, who swarmed the plain, served only to augment their ardour and confirm their discipline. The enemy received our fire and maintained his position obstinately; but in the moment of charging, the valour of British troops bore down all opposition, and forced him to a precipitate retreat.

"Your lordship will perceive the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Grant among the wounded; but the heroic spirit of this officer was not subdued by his misfortune, and he continued to lead his men to glory, as long as an enemy was opposed to His Majesty's 72nd regiment."

The regiment lost 2 rank and file killed; Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, Lieutenant Alexander Chisholm, 2 sergeants, and 34 rank and file wounded.

On the 10th of January, the regiment marched to Wineberg barracks; and on the 11th, Lieutenant M'Arthur of the 72nd was detached with thirty men of the regiment, to take possession of Hout's Bay. "After Lieutenant M'Arthur's departure, it was ascertained that the enemy had a strong garrison at Hout's

[1] Stewart's Sketches, ii. pp. 137–8.

[2] An account of the part taken by the Highland brigade in further operations at the Cape will be found under the 93rd regiment.

[3] "The soldiers suffered excessively from the heat of the sun, which was as intense as I ever felt it in India; though our fatigue was extreme, yet, for the momentary halt we made, the grenadier company (72nd) requested the pipers might play them their regimental quick step, CABAR FEIDH, to which they danced a Highland reel, to the utter astonishment of the 59th regiment, which was close in our rear."—*Journal of Captain Campbell, Grenadier Company, 72nd regiment.*

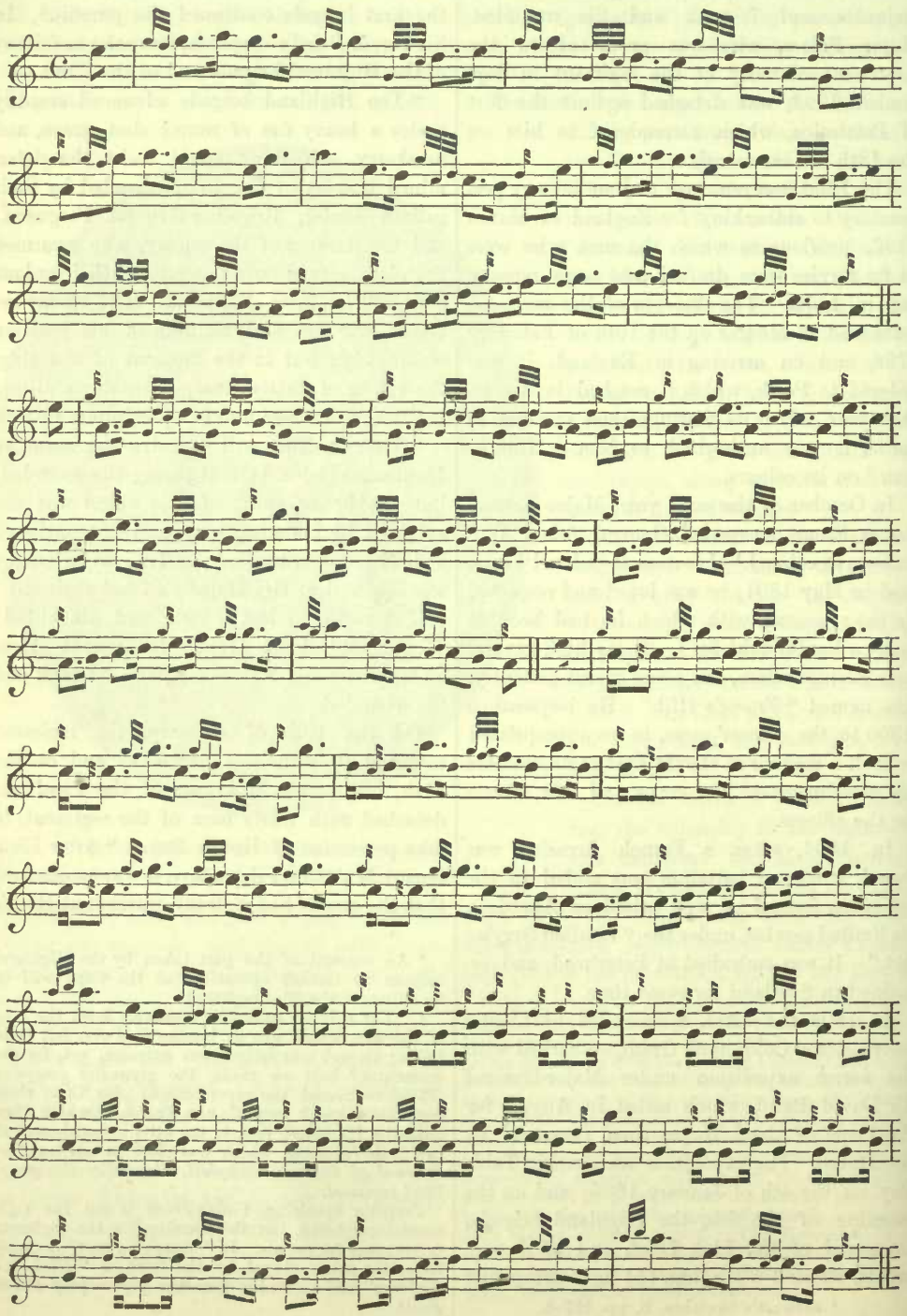
Properly speaking, *Cabar Feidh* is not the regimental quickstep, but the warning for the regiment to get ready for parade. In "marching past" in quick time, the tune played by the band is "*Highland Laddie;*" and in double time the pipers play *Calar Feidh.*

CABAR FEIDH;

OR,

GATHERING OF THE 72ND HIGHLANDERS.

ARRANGED FOR THE BAGPIPES.



Bay, and Major Tucker of the 72nd was sent after him on horseback, to detain him until a reinforcement should arrive; but the lieutenant had reached the vicinity of the place with much expedition, and finding how matters stood, showed his men rank entire, and only partially, but to the most advantage. Having procured pen, ink, and paper, he summoned the garrison to unconditional surrender, otherwise he would blow the place about their ears, assault the works, and give no quarter. The Dutch immediately surrendered at discretion, and when the major arrived, he found Lieutenant M'Arthur in full possession of the works, consisting of a strong block-house and two batteries."[4]

The 72nd remained about the Cape till 1810, when it embarked 800 men to take part with troops from India in the capture of Mauritius.

Having on the 3rd of December arrived well to windward of the Isle of France, it was ascertained that the Indian army had landed the previous morning at Point Cannonnière, and was menacing the enemy's position. The transports carrying the Cape brigade were in consequence ordered to proceed to the mouth of Port Louis Harbour, where the 72nd was held in momentary readiness to land in the rear of the enemy's lines, should he have attempted to defend them. The French captain-general, who affected to despise the Indian Sepoys, against whom he had declared he would defend himself, was by this movement afforded the opportunity of seeing that the Cape brigade was absolutely present and threatening to land. This circumstance, to use his own words, "determined the immediate surrender of the Mauritius." Accordingly, on the 5th of December 1810, the regiment landed and remained on that island, taking its tour of the detachment and garrison duties during upwards of three years, during which period it obtained the respect and approbation of the inhabitants in a very eminent degree; and the universal regret expressed by the latter on the departure of the corps was in terms that would leave no doubt of its sincerity.

In 1809 King George III. approved of the regiment discontinuing to wear the Highland costume, which, however, was restored to it in 1823, with the exception of the kilt, for which the trews were substituted. In September 1811 the strength of the first battalion was augmented to 1000 rank and file, and was completed by drafts from the 2nd battalion, then in Ireland.

In April 1815, Lieutenant-General Rowland, Lord Hill, was appointed colonel of the 72nd in room of the deceased General Stuart; and Lord Hill was succeeded, in February 1817, by Major-General Sir George Murray.

The regiment remained at the Cape till June 1815, when it embarked for India, bearing on its colours "Cape of Good Hope" for its eminent services in South Africa. The destination of the regiment was India; but when it arrived there in September 1814, the war against the Rajah of Nepaul had terminated, and it was ordered back to the Cape, landing at Cape Town in March 1816. The war in Europe having terminated, the second battalion of the regiment was disbanded at Londonderry, the men either volunteering into incomplete regiments or receiving their discharge.

In June 1817 four companies of the regiment removed to Graham's Town to relieve the 21st Light Dragoons. These companies were distributed along the Great Fish River, to carry on a line of posts intended to defend the frontiers against the depredations of the warlike tribes of Kaffirs, that were continually committing acts of hostility and aggression. Notwithstanding the arduous and toilsome nature of their duties, and their frequent exposure to the inclement weather, the men of the 72nd remained remarkably healthy.

On the 3rd of February 1819, the regiment had to regret the loss of Captain Gethin, who, with one sergeant and a private, was killed near the post of De Bruin's Drift, on an excursion against the Kaffirs. It appears those savages had entered the colony and taken off some cattle belonging to a boor in the neighbourhood of Gethin's post. On the circumstance being reported, he instantly set out with a patrol in pursuit, and, coming upon their traces, pushed forward in advance with some of the men and boors, who were mounted, and came up with the cattle in a thick part of the bush. Depending on the support of the boors, who

[4] Captain Campbell's Journal.

were well armed, in the event of an attack, he, with the few men that had accompanied him, fearlessly entered, and was proceeding to drive the cattle out, when they were attacked and surrounded by the Kaffirs; and though the cowardly boors were within hearing, and had among them the owner of the cattle, not one had the spirit to render the least assistance. Captain Gethin and his party behaved with the greatest bravery, fully determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. He defended himself with the butt of his gun till he fell, overpowered by numbers and exertion: his body was found afterwards, pierced with thirty-two wounds. By this unfortunate affair was lost to the regiment a highly respected and valuable soldier, and to the service a brave and intelligent officer, whose gallant conduct in the Peninsula, particularly at the capture of San Sebastian, had been rewarded by promotion.

The regiment remained at the Cape, always having a detachment on the frontiers, till December 1821, when it embarked for England. At its departure, it received the approbation of the Governor-General, Lord Charles Somerset, for the exemplary and steady conduct of the men during their residence at the Cape.

On its arrival in England, in March 1822, the 72nd proceeded to Fort Cumberland; and, after moving about among various stations, it took up its quarters in Jersey and Guernsey in May 1823, in which year Sir George Murray removed to the 42nd, and was succeeded in the colonelcy of the 72nd by Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope. In this same year, the conduct of the regiment having on all occasions been so soldierly and exemplary, on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York and Albany, George IV. was pleased to authorise that the 72nd should resume the Highland costume, with the exception of the kilt, trews being substituted. At the same time, as a special mark of royal favour, the regiment was authorised to assume the title of "The Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders;" and in June 1824 His Majesty approved of the 72nd using as a regimental badge the Duke of Albany's cipher and coronet, to be borne on the regimental colours.

The 72nd remained in the Channel Islands till April 1824, and on leaving was presented with addresses by the authorities and principal inhabitants, expressing their high admiration of its discipline, and of the peaceful and orderly behaviour of the men. After staying a short time at Plymouth, the regiment proceeded to Scotland, landing on the 13th of September at Newhaven, from which it marched to Edinburgh Castle, headed by its colonel, Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope. Detachments were sent to Stirling, Fort-William, and Dumbarton.

While in Edinburgh, in August 1825, the regiment received new colours, which were presented to the colonel, Sir John Hope, by Lady Hope. In presenting them to the regiment, Sir John addressed it as follows:—

"In delivering to your charge these colours, which have been presented to the 72nd regiment by Lady Hope, I am fully aware that I am not addressing a newly-raised corps, whose name and character have yet to be acquired. As it has pleased His Majesty to confer so distinguished an honour on the regiment as to permit the 72nd to assume the name of the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders, I cannot omit congratulating the corps on having received so flattering and honourable a mark of approbation, and expressing my conviction that this additional badge, which is now placed on these colours, will afford a new and powerful inducement for maintaining the high character which the 72nd regiment has so long and so deservedly possessed. I feel particularly gratified that the honour of delivering these colours has devolved on me, and that their presentation should also have taken place in the capital of the country where the regiment was first raised, and after its return from a long period of honourable and distinguished service. The country being now at peace, there is no opportunity for the 72nd to gain fresh honours by victories in the field; but the regiment may deserve and obtain almost equal honour and credit by setting an example of discipline and good conduct on home service, which becomes now particularly incumbent when so highly distinguished by being named after His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, to whom the whole army is indebted for the present state of order and discipline to

which it has attained. That the 72nd will ever continue to deserve the approbation of His Royal Highness I make no doubt: and I have now to offer my most sincere good wishes for the prosperity of the corps collectively, and of every individual officer, non-commissioned officer, and private soldier of the regiment."

The regiment left Edinburgh for Ireland during the same month, the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the city thanking the men for their exemplary conduct.

While in Ireland—where it was divided into detachments posted at various places—the regiment, in September 1827, was formed into six service and four depôt companies, the former proceeding to London, and taking duty at the Tower. In June 1828, it was inspected at Canterbury by Lord Hill, who complimented it by stating "that although it had been his lot to see and serve with most of the regiments in the service, he felt he should not be doing full justice to the 72nd Highlanders if he did not express his particular approbation of everything connected with them, and add, that he had never before seen a regiment their equal in movements, in appearance, and in steadiness under arms."

In the end of the same month the service companies of the regiment again embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, where its reputation had already been so well established, and reached it on the 11th October. On disembarking at the Cape of Good Hope, it was quartered in the main barracks at Cape Town until it was removed on the 1st of October 1832 to the Castle. During this period it furnished in its tour the detachments at Simon's Bay and Rotten Island. From the latter part of 1829 to the end of 1830 a company was employed in making a road through Hottentot Holland Kloof, since called "Sir Lowry's Pass." With this exception, nothing occurred to interrupt the usual routine of garrison duty, until the 31st of December 1834, when an express having arrived with the unexpected intelligence that a great part of the eastern frontier district was overrun and plundered by the Kaffirs, the Governor, Major-General D'Urban, immediately directed a wing of the regiment to be held in readiness for embarkation · and on the 2nd of January 1835 Nos. 3 and 5, with the Light Companies, under the command of Major Maclean, immediately sailed for Algoa Bay. On the 6th, the Grenadier Company marched to Simon's Bay, and embarked in His Majesty's 16-gun ship "Trinculo," in which the Governor took his passage to the frontier. Lieutenant-Colonel Peddie, K.H., with the remaining companies, proceeded, in four divisions, over land to Uitenhage, where the lieutenant-colonel with the first division arrived on the 16th, after a harassing journey of ten days, and was joined on the three succeeding days by the remaining divisions.

A detachment, consisting of Captain Sutherland, one subaltern, and forty rank and file, which rejoined the head-quarters at Grahamstown on the 12th of February, was left here for the protection of the town until a local force could be organised. Lieut.-Colonel Peddie, with the remainder, marched for Grahamstown on the 20th of January, arriving there on the 23rd, and finding at the Diodsty the three companies which had preceded them by sea, except the Light Company. With the latter and a small mounted force Captain Jervis had, on the 16th, been sent to re-occupy Fort Willshire. This, with all the military posts on the frontier, except Fort Beaufort and Hermann's Kraal, had been abandoned to the Kaffirs, and sacked by them.

At this time the Kaffirs had swept off nearly all the cattle in the colony, and were returning with their booty to the most distant and secure parts of their own country, while the Governor was at Grahamstown awaiting the arrival of armed boors and Hottentots, who hastened from the remote districts, and were collecting supplies for the prosecution of the war in Kaffirland. On the 27th of January, Major Cox, of the 75th regiment, had collected a force, of which Captain Jervis, with forty men of the Light Company, and the whole mounted force at Fort Willshire, formed part, for the purpose of bringing off the missionaries and traders, who were assembled at Burns Hill in Kaffirland: this service they successfully executed. During their absence, however, which had the effect of weakening the garrison of the fort, then under the orders of Lieutenant Bent, Royal Engineers, on the 29th of January the

Kaffirs, in overwhelming numbers, made a sudden attack on the cattle-guard. Although assistance was promptly afforded from the fort, which was not a thousand paces distant, and though the guard made a most gallant resistance, yet the Kaffirs succeeded in killing Corporal Davidson, and Privates Arnut, Webster, and Woods, of the Light Company, with two Hottentots of the new levies that composed it, and carried off all the cattle.

As it had been ascertained by Lieutenant-Colonel England, 75th regiment, that the Fish River Bush was occupied by the Kaffirs in great force, Captain Murray, with his company, marched, on the 31st of January, to Trompetter's Drift, to join a force collected there for the purpose of clearing the country; and Major Maclean, with 100 men of the 72nd, also marched thither on the 7th of February to reinforce this command, which was now under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, C.B., and which returned to Grahamstown on the 17th of February. The next day, the Commander-in-Chief in General Orders, congratulated the troops—"all of whom behaved admirably"—"upon the complete success which has crowned their recent operations, and by which the necessary and important object has been gained of driving the hostile tribes from the woods and fastnesses of the Great Fish River. The enterprise was one of no ordinary difficulty. The enemy was numerous, and well armed with muskets, and was determined to hold his ground, which, from the rugged and well-wooded ravines, was singularly adapted to his peculiar mode of fighting. The enemy was routed everywhere, and driven from his strongholds and over the Keiskamma, with a great loss in killed and wounded, and all his possessions in cattle, of which 4000 head, with large quantities of sheep and goats, fell into our hands."

During these operations there were lost altogether eleven killed and eleven wounded, of whom three killed and four wounded belonged to the 72nd regiment.

For some time after this the Kaffirs continued inactive, and made no more incursions, while the Governor confined himself to organising the new levies, and providing for the security of the country during the absence of the army.

On the 6th of February 1835 a patrol from Fort Willshire, which had been reinforced by the Albany Burger Force and the Bathurst Yeomanry, discovered that a large body of the Kaffirs, estimated at 3000, had passed into the Fish River Bush, and next day Captain Jervis, with 120 men, proceeded to "Breakfast Key," and following the *spoor* (foot-marks), soon saw the Kaffirs, who kept up a well-sustained fire on the patrol as it approached the Bush. On being reinforced, however, by the George Burghers from the camp at Somerset Mount, and a three-pounder, the patrol succeeded in taking all the cattle that the enemy had brought up for his subsistence, thus inflicting on him a very severe blow.

The Kaffirs, however, retreated lower down the Fish River Bush, and near Trompetter's Drift fell in with a party of the Port Elizabeth Yeomanry, and killed eight of their number, with a loss on their part of only nine men—relatively speaking, a very small proportion. On the 8th, the Grenadier Company of the 75th regiment relieved Captain Jervis and the Light Company at Fort Willshire, which was marched that night to Breakfast Key, and next day formed part of the Force under Colonel Smith, which, on the following day, cleared the Bush of the Kaffirs, who retreated across the Keiskamma. The Government notice reports the loss of the Kaffirs as 150 killed, and our loss as 9 killed and 11 wounded. Sergeant Burt was the only man of the 72nd that suffered at this time: he had somehow unaccountably fallen a few paces in the rear of his company, and was immediately overpowered. Colonel Smith pursued the Kaffirs with his whole force, and a camp was formed at Macomo's Old Kraal, to which, on the 11th of March, the Light Company proceeded; and on the 18th it was joined by the rest of the regiment.

The Governor, having confided the protection of the colony to Lieut.-Colonel England, and the 75th regiment, with some local corps arrived on the 28th at the camp on the Brak River to which the troops at Macomo's Kraal had moved on the 25th. On the day after the Governor's arrival he issued an order dis-

tributing the army in four divisions, as follows :—

1st Division—Lieut.-Colonel Peddie near Fort Willshire; two guns Royal Artillery, the gunners of which, as well as the guns attached to the 3rd division, were selected from the 72nd regiment; the 72nd Highlanders; a detachment of the Cape Mounted Rifles, under Major Lowen; the 1st battalion Provisional Infantry; and the Swellend Burgher Force.

2nd Division—Lieut.-Colonel Somerset on the Clusie; two guns Royal Artillery; Cape Mounted Riflemen; Burgher Force; George Burgher Force; Uitenhage Force; and Albany Force.

3rd Division—Major Cox, 75th Regiment, Block Drift; two guns Royal Artillery; detachment of Cape Mounted Rifles; 2d Battalion Colonial Infantry; Beaufort Burgher Force; and the Kat River Legion.

4th Division—Field-Commandant Wyk, at Tambookie Vley, consisted of the Cradock and Somerset Burgher Forces.

On the 30th of March, the first division, with the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief, broke up the camp at the Brak River, simultaneously with other divisions, at their various points, entered Kaffirland at Execution Drift, above Fort Willshire, and encamped that night on the Kebeca. The next day, April the 1st, this division encamped on the Debè Flats, and on the evening of the 2nd, Captain Jervis was despatched with the Light Company to the Upper Amatola, where he joined Major Cox, with the Kat River Legion, on the 3rd. These, with their combined force, succeeded in killing several Kaffirs, and taking 800 head of cattle, many horses, and immense flocks of goats, which were sent into the Debè Camp on the 4th, Major Cox following with his whole division. On the 3rd the first division left the Debè, penetrated to the fastnesses in rear of T'Slambie's Kop, and not meeting with the enemy in force, returned to the camp the same night, having succeeded in killing some stragglers, while the force sustained a loss of one man killed and one wounded. On the 6th the army left the Debè, and the third division entered the Keiskamma Hoek, while the baggage and supplies marched with the first division to the Buffalo.

The first division encamped on the left bank of the Buffalo, where Fort Berestord was afterwards built, and the second division encamped about three miles further down the river. Early on the morning of the 7th, Captain Murray, with 100 men of the regiment, and three companies of the First Provincial Battalion, was despatched to the principal ridge of Buffalo Mountain, with the view of intercepting any Kaffirs that might be retreating from the third division, which was advancing from the Keiskamma Hoek, and from the fourth, which was advancing from Klip Platts across the Bontebok to the rear of the mountains. About daybreak they came to a high, rugged cliff, called Murray's Krantz, and here found 600 chosen Kaffir warriors, under the guidance of Tyali, son of Dushanie, awaiting the attack, under the mistaken notion of the impregnability of their position.

On the 8th of April, Captain Murray, at the head of his company, gallantly climbed the cliff, although the Kaffirs, not content with the usual weapons, hurled down masses of rock on the attacking party. At length, however, the savage warriors fled, leaving a large number of killed on the ground, but not until Captain Murray and four of his men had been severely wounded by the assegais.[5] The result of this affair was the capture of 4000 head of cattle, the only loss on the British side being 1 sergeant of the Provincial Battalion, who was shot by a Hottentot deserter while driving the cattle out of the bush.

The patrol returned to the camp at night, and the Commander-in-Chief, in a General Order, thanked all the officers and troops employed in the affair. The conclusion of the General Order is in the following gratifying terms :—"The intrepid and determined perseverance of Captain Murray, who, though severely wounded, continued his exertions to the end of the day, with his company of the 72nd, was of the highest order, and deserves the especial thanks of the Commander-in-Chief."

On the evening of the 8th of April all the troops were assembled at their respective points of attack, and prepared for a concentrating movement on the mountains in which

[5] *Assegai*, a dart or javelin used by the Kaffirs.

the Keiskamma, Kaboosie, and Buffalo take their rise. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, with the second division and the mounted part of the first, was at the Posts of the Buffalo; Major Cox and the third division, at the head of the Keiskamma Hoek; Van Wyk, with the fourth, was on the plains to the northward; while Colonel Peddie, leaving the camp at midnight with four companies of the regiment and the First Provincial Battalion, ascended the Iseli-Berg; and having, early on the morning of the 9th, divided his forces into two columns, he penetrated the fastnesses of the Isidingi or Mount Kempt. The Kaffirs, now perceiving that they were attacked at every point, fled in the utmost dismay, and several thousand head of cattle became the reward of this movement; while on our side we had only to lament the loss of 1 man killed and 4 wounded, among whom was Field-Commander Van Wyk. This success is thus recorded in General Orders:—

"The hostile chiefs of the tribes of Tyali, Macomo, Bothina, Eno, and others, were at length compelled to assemble in the rocky woods near the sources of the Buffalo, with their followers, to the number of at least 7000 men, and had avowed their determination to defend themselves to the last. From these fastnesses, however, notwithstanding their impervious nature, they were immediately driven,—the troops penetrating them everywhere, each column in its ordered course; and they have scattered and dispersed in various directions, disheartened and dismayed, with a great loss of killed and wounded (among whom are some of the sons and relations of the chiefs), and in cattle to the number of ten thousand head. The Commander-in-Chief desires to express his warmest approbation of the conduct of all the troops; their excellent marching, their patient endurance of fatigue, and the brilliant gallantry with which they drove the enemy before them wherever they were to be found, alike deserve his praise and the thanks which he offers to Lieut.-Col. Peddie, commanding the first division; Lieut.-Col. Somerset, the second; Major Cox, the third; and Field-Commandant Van Wyk, the fourth; as well as the officers and soldiers of their respective divisions."

On the 11th of April Sir Benjamin D'Urban, leaving the third and fourth divisions to harass and pursue the now discomfited Kaffirs, advanced to the river Kei in person with the two remaining divisions, the first taking the more direct road, the second moving in a parallel direction, but nearer the sea.

The first division crossed the Kei on the 16th; and now, upon entering the territories of Hintza, an order was issued forbidding any unprovoked hostility, and directing that all pillage or ill-treatment of the inhabitants should be repressed with the utmost rigour.

The first division encamped at Butterworth on the 17th, and on the 19th were joined by the second division, which had captured 3000 head of cattle, which Colonel Somerset had sent to the rear.

The Governor, having been engaged in fruitless negotiations with Hintza for some days, at length had recourse to hostile measures; and war was accordingly formally proclaimed on the morning of the 21st, on which day Colonel Smith, with the mounted force of the first division, started in pursuit of Hintza, and the regiment, with the First Provisional Battalion, marching in the direction of the Izolo, where they encamped on the 25th. There they were joined by Colonel Smith, who had taken the 12,000 head of cattle, which were sent to be guarded by the second division, that still remained at Butterworth.

On the 26th, Colonel Smith, with a large patrol, of which Captain Murray and two companies of the regiment formed a part, marched to the T'Somo and returned to the camp on the 29th, when Colonel Smith reported the result of these two days' operations:—"Nearly 15,000 head of cattle have fallen into our hands, many of the enemy have been shot, whilst our loss has been trifling; and the savages have again been taught that neither woods, ravines, nor mountains can secure them from the pursuit of British troops. More difficult and fatiguing marches troops never encountered, and these happy results would not have been obtained without extraordinary exertions."

Meanwhile, these movements and their results had a dire effect on Hintza, and upon the Commander-in-Chief's assurance of a safe-conduct for himself and also that of other persons who would be admitted to treat for him,

he came into the camp on the 29th of April with his ordinary retinue of fifty followers, and had an immediate conference with the Commander in-Chief.

The next morning a treaty was formally agreed to, and hostilities suspended. Hintza, together with Krich, his principal son, and their followers, continued in the camp at their own desire; and on the 2nd of May they accompanied the troops, when the latter took their departure from the Izolo, and commenced their retrograde movement.

At a deserted trading station, where the division halted during the middle of the day, and where Bokoo, Hintza's brother, and a chief joined the party, an express was received by Colonel Somerset that the Kaffirs were massacring the Fingoes, who had placed themselves under British protection, and were preparing to accompany the retreat of the troops. Sir Benjamin d'Urban thereupon summoned to his presence Hintza and his suite, who up to this period had been under no restraint, and informed them that, after sufficient time had elapsed for the Kaffirs to be made aware of the perilous situation of the sovereign, for each Fingo who should be murdered two Kaffirs should be hanged, and that the first selected should be Hintza and his brother Bokoo. On the division moving and encamping on the Debakazi, the whole of the now captive guests and followers were disarmed, and most of them dismissed the camp. The few whom the chief Hintza was allowed to retain, together with Bokoo, Krieh, and the Hemraden, were placed under a guard of 1 captain, 2 subalterns, and 90 men of the regiment, who had orders to use extraordinary measures of precaution, and to shoot any of their prisoners except Krieh, should there be an attempt at escape or rescue.

The Governor remained here some days, and on the 9th Colonel Somerset, having previously marched towards the colony with the Fingoes and captured cattle, moved on with the division, now augmented by the greater part of the Cape corps, and encamped on the left bank of the Kei at Lapstone Drift. Here, on the morning of the 10th, the Commander-in-Chief declared, under a royal salute, and in presence of Hintza, who was marched a prisoner into the square for the purpose, that the Kei was to be the future boundary of the colony, and that the chiefs Macomo, Tyali, Eno, Bothina, T'Slambie, Dushani, &c., and their tribes, were for ever expelled from the new territory, and would be treated as enemies if found therein. The territory was named the province of Queen Adelaide. The Commander-in-Chief gave as his reason for taking this step, "the absolute necessity of providing for the future security of the colony against unprovoked aggression, which could only be done by removing these treacherous and irreclaimable savages to a safer distance."

After this, Hintza was informed by the Governor that he would retain Krieh and Bokoo as the hostages required by the treaty entered into at the Izolo, and that he had a right to send him to Cape Town as a prisoner of war, but would refrain from doing so on his accompanying Colonel Smith through the country, and exerting his authority to collect the horses and cattle due. Upon Hintza engaging to do so, he was marched back to the guard, and his arms restored to him. He was shortly after handed over by the 72nd to a party of the corps of Guides, and proceeded with Colonel Smith accordingly. As soon as the party, with which was Captain Murray with two companies of the regiment, amounting in all to 500 men, had marched on the destined service, the Governor broke up his camp and marched to the Impotshane, where a Post named "Wardens" was immediately commenced.

On the morning of the 17th the party under Colonel Smith rejoined headquarters, having, in the words of the General Order, "marched 218 miles in seven days." They had crossed the Bashee, taken 3000 head of cattle, and succeeded in bringing off 1000 Fingoes, who from their remote situation had been unable before to join their countrymen, now under British protection. Major White, with a detachment of the Cape corps, was cut off whilst reconnoitring the country. This was the only loss on the British side. Hintza, however, met with his death while attempting to make his escape on the 14th, near the N'gabaxa. Although he had already received two severe wounds, he was shot by one of the corps of Guides, formerly a Kaffir trader,

of the name of Southey. Even those who attempt to justify the deed characterise it as an untoward event.

On the following day, the 18th of May, Sir Benjamin d'Urban entered into a treaty with Krieh, now the principal chief, who took upon himself his father's engagements, and was permitted to receive the border tribes: Bokoo and Vadanna being left as hostages, the young chief was escorted into his own country. During these transactions Major Cox had not been inactive, but had perpetually harassed the Kaffirs, now seeking individual safety, and was on the point of entering into negotiations with Macomo and Tyali, who on the 13th were prepared to come into his camp, when they received a message from Hintza that he was a prisoner, and advising them to take care of themselves. This advice they followed, although they did not retaliate by detaining Major Cox, who was in their power, without the means of resistance.

On the 20th of May, the work being finished, and a force of 2 subalterns and 80 rank and file of the regiment being left behind to garrison the place, the remainder marched to the Komga, and halting there, constructed a Post, called Fort Wellington. Having left 1 subaltern and 25 rank and file of the regiment, and some provisional troops, to garrison it, the division marched to Brownlie's missionary station, on the Buffalo, which it reached on the 23rd. Here the Governor determined on fixing the future capital of the province, which was named King William's Town; a fort, named "Fort Hill," being completed and garrisoned, the plan of the town was laid out, and the troops commenced hutting themselves.

On the 10th of June the Governor left King William's Town, and, the division being broken up, gave over the command of the troops to Colonel Smith. On the 12th the Light Company marched to join Captain Jervis at the sources of the Buffalo, where a Post called Fort Beresford was constructed; and on the same day, Captain Lacy, with 30 men of his company and some provisional troops, marched to form a Post at Mount Coke, called Fort Murray. The exertions of the troops continued unremitting, not only in completing the works of the different Posts, but also in patrolling the country. For their success in these duties they were repeatedly thanked in General Orders.

On the 9th of July a new Post, named Fort Cox, was established at Burn's Hill by Major Cox, and garrisoned by a detachment of the 75th Regiment. During the whole of this month patrolling was continued with unabated activity, but the Kaffirs, now become desperate, were successful in their efforts at Keiskamma. Lieutenant Baillie and a patrol of 30 men of the 1st Provisional Battalion were overpowered and killed to a man on the Commity flats, whilst retreating from the Keiskamma Hoek. Fifteen men of a foraging party from King William's Town were killed at the Kamka, or Yellow Wood Trees; and on the 20th, Gazela made a vigorous but unsuccessful attack upon Fort Wellington, when Private Storey of the 72nd was killed.

On the 8th of August the Kaffirs made a successful attack on the Fingoes in the Cedul Territory, carrying off all their cattle; and on intelligence being received at King William's Town, a large patrol of the regiment under Major Maclean was sent in pursuit. Their rations having, however, been expended, they were compelled to return without being able to retake the cattle or attack the Kaffirs with effect, although the latter hovered about with loud shouting and cheers during the march, and kept up a desultory fire on the detachment. In consequence of the report made by Major Maclean, and intelligence obtained that Macomo and Tyali were in great force on the Amatola and Izinuka mountains during the night of the 11th of July, Major Maclean and 40 men of the regiment, and 150 Provisionals from King William's Town, and 1 officer and 40 men of the 72nd, with 40 of the Provisionals from Fort Beresford, and the Kat River legion from Camp Adelaide, were assembled at Fort Cox. At no period since the commencement of hostilities did affairs wear a more unsatisfactory aspect. The Kaffirs, emboldened by success, watched from their fastnesse. the movements of the troops, and took advantage of every circumstance

to harass them and cut off stragglers. They made frequent and incessant forays within the colony: the difficulty and expense of providing for the large force necessarily kept up increased every day: the Dutch Burgher force had been allowed to return to their homes; and among the now dispirited Hottentot levies, discontent and insubordination were making rapid progress. Under such circumstances Sir Benjamin D'Urban took the most effectual means to put a speedy end to the war. He again called out a large proportion of the Burgher force, whom he now ordered to receive a fixed rate of pay; and at the same time he despatched Brigade-Major Warden to Fort Cox to treat with the frontier Kaffirs, on condition of their becoming British subjects. An opportunity soon offered. Major Cox, having barely sufficient garrison in Fort Cox, divided the remainder and the reinforcement that were concentrated at his Post into three divisions, which, sallying from the fort, were everywhere successful, occasioning considerable loss to the enemy. They reassembled at the Gwali, where, a communication having been opened with the chiefs, Major Cox bivouacked.

The next day Major Warden having arrived from Fort Cox, he with Major Cox and an interpreter, all unarmed, proceeded about two miles from the camp to meet the chiefs, who had assembled with a body guard of 800 men, 300 of whom had firearms. Their conference came to a happy conclusion, Macomo and Tyali each sending an assegai to the Governor in token of submission and readiness to pass under the English rule.

A suspension of hostilities was mutually agreed upon, and the camp was soon filled with unarmed Kaffirs, who expressed the greatest delight at the event. On the 21st of August a second conference was held below Fort Cox, and on this occasion the Kaffirs, to the number of 4000, of whom a great part were mounted, and upwards of 400 of them armed with guns, drew up with an evident attempt at display, and considerable pretension to military regularity. They received the overtures of Major Warden with but slight attention, and took little pains to conceal that they were not indisposed to a renewal of the contest. This altered feeling was no doubt in a great measure produced by the circumstance that 2000 head of cattle had during the few preceding days fallen a prey to their marauding parties, which Macomo pretended had been sent out in ignorance of the truce. In consequence of this display, and in the event of the necessity of recommencing hostilities, Fort Cox was reinforced from King William's Town and Fort Beresford.

On the 2nd of September H.M.S. "Romney" had arrived in Algoa Bay with the 27th regiment and drafts for the 72nd and 75th. It is a curious circumstance, and shows how readily the Kaffirs obtain information, that the officers at Fort Cox knew of the arrival of troops in the bay from the Kaffir messenger Platjè, long before they received the intelligence through the usual channel of the post. To the exaggerated accounts which the Kaffirs had received of the additional force may with great probability be ascribed their changed demeanour on the 7th, when Macomo and Tyali accepted the terms offered by Colonel Smith, and, as a proof of their sincerity, returned with him to Fort Cox.

On the 8th of September Sir Benjamin D'Urban arrived at Fort Willshire for the purpose of negotiating with the chiefs, and shortly after a treaty of peace was concluded, and hostilities finally brought to a close.

During this contest, which had lasted nearly nine months, although the regiment had but little opportunity of distinguishing itself, it invariably maintained a high character for good conduct, not a single instance of crime of any description having occurred in the corps during the whole campaign. It repeatedly received the praise of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and had the satisfaction of seeing the approbation of His Majesty William IV. recorded in the following words:—

"It affords His Majesty high gratification to observe that in this new form of warfare His Majesty's forces have exhibited their characteristic courage, discipline, and cheerful endurance of fatigue and privation."

During the month of October the detachments of the regiment at Forts Warden and Wellington were relieved by the 75th regi-

ment, whose headquarters were now at Fort Cox; and upon the 18th, the headquarters having been relieved by the 75th regiment at King William's Town, marched for Grahamstown, where they arrived on the 26th, consisting of only two companies, the others being distributed in Forts Cox, Beresford, and Murray.

Government having at the end of 1836 given up the new province of Queen Adelaide, it was evacuated by the troops, when the regiment, having its headquarters at Grahamstown, furnished detachments to various forts.

On the 17th of March 1836 the regiment was permitted to bear on its colours and appointments the words "Cape of Good Hope," in commemoration (as the order from the Horse Guards expresses it) of the distinguished gallantry displayed by the 72nd regiment at the capture of the town and garrison of the Cape of Good Hope, on the 8th of January 1806, when it formed part of the second or Highland brigade employed on that occasion. On the 20th of January 1837, by an order from the Horse Guards, His Majesty was also graciously pleased to allow the regiment to bear on its colours and appointments the word "Hindoostan," in commemoration of the meritorious services of the regiment while in India from 1782 to 1798.

The regiment remained with the headquarters at Grahamstown, furnishing detachments to the different outposts until the month of October 1838, when orders were received for the corps to be held in readiness to proceed to Cape Town, on being relieved by the 27th regiment. The regiment, on its arrival at Cape Town, occupied quarters in the castle and main barracks, and furnished detachments to Simon's Town and Rotten Island. A detachment of troops having been ordered to proceed to Port Natal on the east coast of Africa, and take possession of it in the name of Her Majesty, the 72nd Highlanders furnished for this duty 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 1 assistant surgeon, 4 sergeants, 2 drummers, and the Light Company completed to 86 rank and file. This detachment, under the command of Major Charteris, military secretary to His Excellency Major-General Sir G. Napier, K.C.B., embarked on the 19th of November 1838, landing at Port Natal on the 3d of December, and were immediately employed in the erection of buildings for the protection of stores, and the construction of works for the defence of the Post.

The regiment remained during the year 1839 at Cape Town, and in that period received two drafts from the depot companies, consisting in all of 1 major, 1 captain, 3 subalterns, 3 sergeants, and about 170 rank and file. The detachment from Port Natal returned to Cape Town under Captain Jervis of the 72nd on the 2nd of January 1840, when His Excellency Major-General Sir George Napier, K.C.B., was pleased to express in General Orders his entire satisfaction with their conduct during absence from headquarters. The regiment had in September 1839 received orders to be held in readiness to embark for England, on being relieved from home by the 25th regiment, and the latter troops landed at the Cape in the month of March 1840. Previous to the regiment embarking for England the following address was presented to it, signed by all the principal inhabitants of Cape Town and its vicinity:—

"*To the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers of H.M. 72nd Highlanders.*

"We, the undersigned merchants and other inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, cannot permit the embarkation of the 72nd from the shores of this colony to take place without recording some expression of the sense we entertain of the general deportment and estimable conduct of the regiment during the twenty-five years it has been stationed in this garrison. The character of the 72nd Highlanders throughout that period has been uniformly and permanently marked towards the public by good order, sobriety, and discipline; while on every occasion on which its assistance has been sought, its services have been promptly, cheerfully, and effectively rendered. In parting with a regiment whose conduct has been so exemplary, and in which many of us have found personal friends, to whom we have been long and faithfully attached, we are anxious to express, however feebly, before you quit the colony, an acknowledgment of our regret

at your departure, and to convey to you, however inadequately, our cordial wishes for your happiness wherever you may be stationed, and that you may long continue to enjoy that distinguished renown which the 72nd Highlanders have so honourably achieved in the service of their country."

On the embarkation of the 72nd, the following General Order was issued by Major-General Sir George Napier, commanding the forces at the Cape :—

"His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief cannot permit the 72nd Highlanders to embark for England, from the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in which they have been stationed for the long period of twelve years, without his expressing his marked approbation of the conduct of this highly-disciplined and exemplary corps while under his immediate command; and from the reports His Excellency has received from Colonel Smith, the Deputy-Quartermaster-General, under whose orders this regiment has been during the greater part of the above period, including a very arduous and active service in the field, His Excellency is enabled to record, which he does with great satisfaction, the very meritorious services of the 72nd Highlanders in whatever duty they have been engaged, whether in the field or in quarters.

"His Excellency begs to assure Major Hope, the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the 72nd regiment, that he will ever feel a lively interest in their welfare."

On the 11th of April 1840 the regiment embarked in two divisions for England. The headquarters landed at Portsmouth on the 8th of the following June, and marched immediately to Fort Cumberland. The second division landed also at Portsmouth on the 18th of the same month, and proceeded to the same place.

On the 1st of July Colonel Arbuthnot joined and assumed the command; and by a regimental order of the same date, the ten companies were consolidated, the depôt companies being stationed in Portsmouth at the period of the arrival of headquarters from the Cape. On the 6th of July the headquarters marched into Portsmouth, and occupied quarters in that garrison.

On the death of Sir John Hope, the colonelcy of the regiment was conferred upon Major-General Sir Colin Campbell (*not* Lord Clyde) in August 1836.

II.

1841—1873.

The Duke of Wellington presents new colours to the 72nd — Gibraltar — Barbadoes — Trinidad — Nova Scotia—Return to Europe—Embark for Malta—To the Crimea—Home—Channel Islands—Shorncliffe —Presentation of colours—Arrive in India in 1857—Shorncliffe—New Colours—Old Colours destination —To Portsmouth — Bombay — Calaba — Guzerat—Tankaria—Baroda—Ahmedabad—Deesa — Nusseerabad—Mount Aboo—Death of Major Mackenzie of Glacket at Burra—The 72nd joins Major-General Roberts—Operations against Kotah—Strength of the Force—Major Thellusson—Sawah—Jehaspoor — Bhoondee—The Chumbul—The Rajah of Kotah—Major Burton and his Sons murdered—Kotah taken—Its immense strength—Lieutenant Cameron's gallantry — Lala—Fall of Kotah—Cavalry pursuit of the Rebels—Leave Kotah for Neemuch—Mokundurra Pass—Neemuch again—Colonel Parke commands this Station—Nusseerabad—Mutiny of the Army of Sindiah at Gwalior—The Bunnas—Kotaria — Brigadier-General Parke — Oodeypoor—Jhalra Patun — Soosneer — Rajgurgh — Sironj—Sarungpoor—Indore—Bhopal—Beoar—Mungowlee —The Betwah—Borassa—Bhopal saved — Rao Sahib —Tantea Topee—The Nerbudda crossed by the Rebels — Hooshungabad — Churwah — Chicalda—Mhow—Indore—Chapeira—Augur—Palace of Chotah Oodeypoor—Pertabghur—Operations in the Jeysulmeer Districts on the Indus—Brigadier-General Parke's Operations north of Kotah—Tantea Topee captured and executed—Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah, Prince of Delhi — Major-General Michel's wonderful Marches—Lieutenant Vesey's March of 3000 Miles—The 72nd Medal for the Suppression of the Indian Mutiny—Victoria Cross conferred on Lieutenant Cameron—Mhow—Indore —Inspections — Leave Mhow—Nargaon — Leave Poonah—Return Home—Edinburgh—Prince Alfred opens the Museum of Arts and Sciences—The 72nd as a Guard of Honour—Inspection by General F. W. Hamilton, C.B.—Colonel Payn, C.B., commands—Aldershot—Inspection—Major Hunter in command—Manchester—Dublin—Limerick—Buttevant—Ordered to India—Proceed to Cork—Appointment of General Arbuthnot as Colonel of the 72nd—Arrive at Alexandria—Umballah—Lieutenant Thomson's Death—Reviewed by General Lord Napier of Magdála—Inspected by Major-General Fraser Tytler, C.B., at Umballah—Kussowlee and Dugshai.

In July 1841 the regiment, now joined by the depôt companies, proceeded from Portsmouth to Windsor, where, in January 1842, it was presented with new colours by Field-Marshal His Grace the Duke of Wellington, in the quadrangle of the castle, and in presence of Her Majesty the Queen, Prince Albert, and the King of Prussia. The Duke addressed the 72nd as follows : —

"Colonel Arbuthnot, and you, gentlemen officers, and you, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the 72nd Highland Regiment, I have attended here this day, in compliance with the wish of your commanding officer, and by permission of Her Majesty, to present to you your new colours.

"These colours have been consecrated by one of the highest dignitaries of our Church, and are presented to you in the presence of Her Majesty, and of her illustrious and royal guest, the King of Prussia, of Prince Albert, and of a number of the most distinguished personages. They are composed of the colours of the three nations, and bear the cipher of Her Majesty; and I have no doubt, from your previous character and your present high state of discipline, that you will guard them under every circumstance to the utmost of your power.

"These colours you are henceforth to consider as your head-quarters, and in every circumstance, in all times of privation and distress, you will look to them as your rallying point; and I would again remind you that their presentation is witnessed by the monarch of one of the most powerful nations in Europe —a nation which boasts of an army which has heretofore been a pattern for all modern troops, and which has done so much towards contributing to the general pacification of Europe. And I am happy to be able to show His Majesty a regiment in such high order. I have long known the 72nd Highland Regiment. Half a century has now nearly elapsed since I had the pleasure of serving in the same army with them on the plains of Hindoostan, and then they were famous for their high order and discipline. Since that period they have been engaged in the conquest of some of the most valuable colonies of the British Crown, and latterly in performing most distinguished services at the Cape of Good Hope. Fourteen years out of the last sixteen they have spent in foreign service, and, with only eighteen months at home for their re-formation and their redisciplining, appear in their present high state of regularity and order. The best part of a long life has been spent by me in barracks, camps, and cantonments; and it has been my duty as well as my inclination always to study how best to promote the health and discipline of the troops; and I have always found it to be done only by paying the strictest regard to regularity and good order, with the greatest attention to the orders of their superiors. I address myself now particularly to the older soldiers, and wish them to understand that their strict attention to their discipline and respect to their officers will often have the best effect upon the younger soldiers; and it is, therefore, their duty to set a good example to their juniors by so doing. By these means alone can they expect to command the respect and regard of the community among whom they are employed. And I have made it my business to inquire particularly, and am rejoiced to find that the 72nd has always commanded that respect and regard, wherever it has been stationed, to which its high state of discipline and order so justly entitles it.

"You will, I am sure, always recollect the circumstances under which these colours are now committed to your charge, having been consecrated by one of the highest dignitaries of the Church, in the presence of Her Majesty, who now looks down upon you, and of her royal visitors. I give them into your charge, confident that at all times, under all circumstances, whether at home or abroad, and in all trials and privations, you will rally round them, and protect them to the utmost of your power."

To this address Colonel Arbuthnot made the following reply:—

"My Lord Duke, it would be highly presumptuous in me if I were to make any reply to the address which your Grace has delivered to us; but I cannot avoid stating that it is impossible for me, and indeed, I may add, out of the power of any one, to express how deeply I, my officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, feel the high honour which has been conferred on us by having had our colours presented to us by the greatest soldier the world has ever seen, and that in the presence of our Sovereign, His Majesty the King of Prussia, and Field-Marshal His Royal Highness Prince Albert."

In 1843 the regiment removed to Ireland, where it remained till November 1844, when

it embarked from Cork for Gibraltar. The depôt companies remained in Ireland till September 1847, when they removed to Paisley in Scotland.

After the decease of Lieutenant-General Sir Colin Campbell, on the 13th of June 1847, Lieut.-General Sir Neil Douglas, K.C.B., K.C.H., was appointed Colonel of the regiment on the 12th of the following July.

During the whole of its service at Gibraltar, the regiment was constantly employed in furnishing working parties and artificers to assist in the construction of the new line of fortifications extending from the Light House at Europa Point to Little Bay, and from the New Mole to Chatham Counter-Guard. This magnificent work was proceeding with wonderful rapidity when the regiment left Gibraltar.

On the 14th of June 1847 it had been notified in garrison orders that the 72nd would re-embark, in the coming autumn, for the West Indies; and on the arrival of the reserve battalion of the 67th Regiment, the service companies embarked on the 15th of February 1848 on board the "Bombay," hired transport, and sailed on the 18th of February for Barbadoes. Previous to the embarkation, the following complimentary order was issued by his Excellency General Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces at Gibraltar:—

"GIBRALTAR, *February* 12, 1848.

"The eminently soldier-like qualities, the correct and zealous performance of all duties, and the general reputable conduct of the 72nd Highlanders during their service in Gibraltar, entitle them to the fullest encomiums of the General commanding. Wherever the regiment goes, the General commanding is confident that it will confer credit on the profession; and on quitting this station it leaves an impression of esteem on the garrison and the community that absence will neither impair nor efface."

After a favourable passage of twenty-three days, the regiment arrived in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, on the 12th of March 1848, landed on the 14th, and occupied quarters in the Brick Barracks, St Ann's. At this time the 66th regiment, which had arrived from Gibraltar about three weeks previously, occupied the Stone Barracks at St Ann's. These had been vacated in January by the 88th regiment, which encamped on the Savanna in consequence of its having been attacked with yellow fever, of which many died, during December and January, including the commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel Phibbs. But the regiment was now healthy, and had proceeded to relieve the detachments of the 19th regiment in the islands, which corps had assembled at Barbadoes, and thence proceeded to Canada. In April, however, some men of the 66th were admitted into hospital with yellow fever, and several deaths occurred. This continued until August, when the cases became so numerous, that early in September the regiment was moved into camp in rear of the Brick Barracks. In October, the men of the Royal Artillery were also encamped; and in this month the 72nd, which had hitherto been remarkably healthy, was visited by this terrible disease. On the 13th of October, the assistant-surgeon, Dr Irwin, died of it, and it spread very rapidly among the men. On the 15th of November, the regiment moved out of the Brick Barracks into tents, erected about a mile distant, on the site of a former naval hospital, which had been destroyed by the hurricane of 1831. Nevertheless, the disease continued to spread until the end of December; and within the three months, 12 out of 14 officers, 26 non-commissioned officers, and 177 men, were attacked; and of these 4 officers, 17 non-commissioned officers, and 42 men, died. After this, however, only one other case occurred, that of Captain Maylan, who was taken ill on the 21st of January, and expired on the 25th.

By circular memorandum, dated Horse Guards, the 29th of January 1849, the regiment, being in the colonies, was ordered to be reduced to 770 rank and file.

In consequence of riots at St Lucia, a detachment of the 72nd, consisting of 1 captain, 3 subalterns, and 100 rank and file, was sent off at a few hours' notice, on the 12th of March. When it arrived, however, order had been restored; but the detachment remained at St Lucia, being quartered at Pigeon Island, until it was relieved by a company of the 66th, on the 16th of June.

In consequence of a riot at Trinidad, the flank companies were sent off to that island at a few hours' notice, on the 10th of October, and were afterwards detached to St Joseph's and San Fernando.

On the 19th of December 1849, the head-quarters embarked at Barbadoes, on board the "Princess Royal" transport, for Trinidad, where they landed on the 24th of December, and occupied the barracks at St James's, thus relieving the head-quarters of the 88th Regiment. The flank companies joined and formed the head-quarters of the regiment in the commencement of January, having been relieved by No. 4 company.

The distribution of the regiment at this period was as follows:—

At Trinidad,	Grenadier, Light, and No. 4 Companies.
,, Demerara,	No. 1 and No. 2 Companies.
,, Grenada,	No. 3 Company.
,, Tobago,	Detachment of 30 men.

The regiment continued detached as above until the 12th of May 1851, when the head-quarters, having been relieved by the head-quarters of the 34th Regiment, embarked at Trinidad for Barbadoes, where they landed on the 23rd and again occupied the Brick Barracks; the several detachments above mentioned having previously been conveyed there under the command of Major Gaisford. On the 8th of July, the regiment having been relieved by the 69th regiment from Malta, embarked on board H.M.S. "Hercules" for Halifax, Nova Scotia; and on its arrival, on the 30th, marched into the South Barracks.

On the 8th of September the 72nd commenced its march for New Brunswick to relieve the 97th, and on the 26th of the same month the head-quarters arrived at Fredericton, relieving the head-quarters of the 97th.

On the 1st of March 1854, 132 men were transferred from the depôt to the 42nd and 79th Highlanders, which corps had been ordered to form part of the expedition sent to the East against Russia. At the same time an order was given that the recruiting parties of the regiment should raise men for the corps sent on service, so that at this time the 72nd was about 330 rank and file under the establishment, and with little prospect of being recruited up to it.

On the 5th of May 1854, Lieut.-Colonel Freeman Murray retired from the command of the regiment, having exchanged with Lieut.-Colonel William Raikes Faber. This officer, however, never joined, but on the 23rd of June 1854 he exchanged with Lieut.-Colonel James Fraser of the 35th Regiment.

On the 7th of October 1854, the service companies stationed at Halifax, Nova Scotia, under command of Major R. P. Sharp, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Europe on the shortest notice. On the 12th of the same month they embarked on board the steamer "Alps" for conveyance to Dublin, and landed at Kingston on the 24th, proceeding at once by railway to Limerick, where they occupied the New Barracks, the depôt, under the command of Major J. W. Gaisford, having arrived there a few days previously.

On the 1st of November 1854, Lieut.-Colonel James Fraser assumed the command of the regiment, which was at once formed into twelve companies, while the depôt and service companies were amalgamated. On the 23rd a letter was received from the Horse Guards desiring that the regiment should be held in readiness to embark for Malta.

On the 1st of December 1854, Lieut.-Colonel James Fraser retired from the command of the 72nd, by the sale of his commission, and was succeeded by Major R. P. Sharp, this being the first occasion on which the Lieutenant-Colonelcy had been given in this regiment for many years. On this day also the regiment was again formed into eight service and four depôt companies, the latter being under the command of Major J. W. Gaisford. On the 9th the service companies left Limerick by railway for Buttevant, and shortly afterwards proceeded to Cork, where they embarked on board H.M.S. "Neptune," for Malta, where they arrived on the 4th of January 1855, occupying the Floriana Barracks.

On the 22nd of May the regiment embarked, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel R. P. Sharp, on board the "Alma" steamship, and sailed from Malta for service in the Crimea. The full strength of the regiment was, on embarking—2 field-officers, 8 captains, 10 lieutenants, 5 ensigns, 5 staff-officers, 40 sergeants,

36 corporals, 17 drummers, and 514 privates. The regiment arrived at Balaklava on the 29th of May, and remained at anchor outside the harbour until the 31st, when it sailed to join the expedition at Kertch, under Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown. It reached Kertch on the following day, and remained on board ship until the 10th. While the regiment was at Kertch, cholera broke out in a most malignant form, and during the last six days it carried off 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 19 privates. It ceased, however, as soon as the ship left.

On the same day (the 10th of June) the 72nd arrived at Balaklava, disembarked on the 13th, encamped that night on the plain, and marched to the front of Sebastopol on the following day, where it was attached to a brigade composed of the 3rd and 31st Regiments, under the command of Colonel Van Straubenzee of the 3rd. On the 15th the 72nd commenced doing duty in the trenches of the right attack. On the 30th of this month it was appointed to the Highland brigade, composed of the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders, under the command of Brigadier-General Cameron of the 42nd. This brigade was the 2nd of the 1st division; the other brigade was that of the Guards; the whole being under Major-General Sir Colin Campbell, who had the local rank of lieutenant-general. The 72nd continued doing duty in the trenches until the 26th of August, on which day the Highland brigade was moved to Kamara in support of the Sardinian outposts, an attack being expected in that direction, notwithstanding the repulse which the enemy had received from the French and Sardinian troops at the Traktir[6] Bridge, on the Tchernaya River, on the 16th of August 1855.

On the 18th of June the greater part of the regiment was in the trenches under the command of Major William Parke, while the remaining few were stationed under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Sharp, in rear of the 21-gun battery. In the beginning of July, however, Lieut.-Colonel Sharp, having obtained sick-leave of absence to England, handed over the command of the 72nd to Major Parke.

[6] TRAKTIR, a frequent name of villages and towns in the Crimea, simply means *village*. KUTOR is a *farm*.

It should be mentioned that, on the 22nd of June, a second lieutenant-colonel and 4 captains, with the proportionate number of subalterns, were added to the establishment of the regiment, which, by a War-Office circular of the 20th of August, was now fixed at 16 companies, consisting of 1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 16 captains, 26 lieutenants, 14 ensigns, 7 staff-officers, 109 sergeants, 100 corporals, 47 drummers and pipers, and 1900 privates.

On the 16th of July, a draft, under the command of Captain Cecil Rice, composed of 3 subalterns, 1 staff-officer, 3 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 245 rank and file, joined from the depôt of the regiment, among whom was a large proportion of volunteers from other corps. After these had been in camp and done duty in the trenches for about a fortnight, cholera broke out again in the regiment, and carried off 35 men belonging, with only one exception, to the last draft. This terrible disease lasted about six weeks.

The brigade marched from the camp at Kamara, on the 8th of September, to the trenches, and occupied the 3rd parallel during the time the French stormed and took the Malakoff Tower and works, and during the unsuccessful attempt of the English to take the Redan. Between 4 and 5 o'clock that afternoon, the 72nd was ordered to the 5th parallel, holding the part of it situated in front of the Redan, and was to have led the storming party in another attack on the Redan at daylight on the 9th of September, had not the Russians evacuated the south side of Sevastopol during the night. How masterly their retreat was is well known.

The Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant-General Simpson, soon afterwards resigned. He had been appointed to the supreme command on the death of Lord Raglan, in June 1855, and soon after the fall of Sevastopol was succeeded by Major-General Codrington.

Quarter-Master John Macdonald, of the 72nd, was wounded by a Minié bullet on the 8th, soon after the regiment entered the trenches, and died from the effects of the wound on the 16th of September. In him the regiment lost a most useful, active, and intelligent officer. The losses of the regiment on the 8th were

slight—1 private killed, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, and 16 privates wounded.

On the 15th of September, Lieut.-Colonel Gaisford arrived from England, and assumed command of the regiment from Major Parke. Lieut.-Colonel Gaisford returned to England, however, at the end of October, having retired from the service by the sale of his commission, and was succeeded by Lieut.-Colonel William Parke, who again assumed the command of the regiment. From this time the 72nd was constantly employed on fatigue duty, carrying up wooden huts from Balaklava, as it had been decided that the Highland brigade,—which had been joined by the 1st and 2nd battalions of the Royal Regiment, and the 92nd Highlanders from Gibraltar,—should now be made into the Highland division. The 2nd brigade consisted of the Royal Regiment, the 71st Highland Light Infantry (at Kertch), and the 72nd Highlanders, under Brigadier-General Home, C.B., of the 20th Regiment, and was quartered near Kamara during the winter.

On the 3d of October 1855, Sir Colin Campbell suddenly left for England, the command of the division devolving on Brigadier-General Cameron, C.B., of the 1st brigade, who obtained the local rank of major-general on being confirmed in the command. Temporarily, he was succeeded in the command of the 1st brigade by Colonel M. Atherley of the 92d Highlanders.

On the 11th of November 1855, Sir William Codrington, K.C.B., succeeded General Simpson in command of the army, with the local rank of lieutenant-general.

On the 12th of October the regiment had moved into huts in their new encampment for the winter, the situation being most favourable, well sheltered, with good water, and plenty of wood for fuel. This spot had been occupied by Turkish troops during the summer. The winter, during part of December, January, and February, was severe, with unusually rapid variations of temperature. The regiment, nevertheless, continued remarkably healthy, being well fed and admirably clothed, besides having received a field allowance of 6d. *per diem* of extra pay.

The first issue of silver medals for the Crimea took place on the 12th of December 1855. A large number of officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers, received distinctions.

Sir Colin Campbell returned to the Crimea on the 15th of February 1856, and was appointed to the command of a corps d'armée, which, however, was never collected or embodied.

On the 1st of March, it appeared in general orders that an armistice had been signed, the conditions of which were: a suspension of arms; that the river Tchernaya, from the ruins of the village of Tchernaya to Sevastopol, should be the boundary line, and that no one should be allowed to cross the river. On the 30th, a treaty of peace was signed in Paris; and on the 2nd of April salutes were fired to announce and commemorate the peace of the allied armies in the Crimea. The communication with the interior of the country was soon opened, and the great majority of the officers of the British army took advantage of the permission.

On the 17th of April a review of the British army was held on the heights in front of Sevastopol in honour of General Lüders, the Russian Commander-in-Chief at that time. Marshal Pelissier, Le Duc de Malakoff, and the Sardinian Commander-in-Chief, were present. The British cavalry were all at Scutari, with the exception of the 11th Hussars, who had wintered there.

In the beginning of June the army began to embark from the Crimea; and on the 15th the 72nd was ordered from the camp near the mountain gorge leading into the valley of Vernutka, which extends in the direction of Baidar into Kadikoi, the other regiments of the Highland division having embarked for England. On the 16th of June the 72nd marched into Kadikoi, and occupied huts, being attached to the brigade under Brigadier-General Warren. It was employed on fatigues, shipping stores, &c., from Balaklava, until it embarked and sailed for England in H.M.S. "Sanspareil." After a most favourable passage, the "Sanspareil" anchored off Spithead on the 29th of July.

The 72nd disembarked on the 31st of July, at Portsmouth, proceeding on the same day to the camp at Aldershot: and on the 1st of

August, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Parke, it was inspected by Her Majesty the Queen. The regiment paraded in the grounds attached to the Royal Pavilion, and Her Majesty was graciously pleased to express her entire approbation of its appearance, and the steadiness of the men under arms.

On the 16th of August the 72nd Highlanders were inspected by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, the General Commanding in Chief, who expressed himself as thoroughly satisfied with the appearance and soldierlike bearing of the men.

On the 27th of the same month, the headquarters of this regiment, consisting of the flank companies, Nos. 3, 4, and 5, left Aldershot by railroad for Portsmouth, and embarked that afternoon for Guernsey, disembarking on the 28th. The men were dispersed in detachments over the whole island. The regiment was thus in a most unsatisfactory position, being divided into so many small detachments after a lengthened period of nearly twelve years' foreign service, during a great part of which they had been similarly dispersed. A new system, however, was adopted of consolidating the depôts of all regiments, whether at home or abroad, into battalions, under lieutenant-colonels or colonels. In accordance with this regulation, the four companies of the 72nd were ordered from Paisley to Fort George, to be formed into a battalion with those of the 71st and the 92nd Highlanders, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, late second lieutenant-colonel of the 79th Highlanders.

On the 22nd of April 1857, the headquarters, with grenadier and light companies of the regiment, left Guernsey, and arrived at Portsmouth the following morning; thence proceeding direct to Shorncliffe Camp. The detachment from Alderney, under Major Mackenzie, had arrived on the 21st, and the remainder of the regiment arrived on the 27th, under Major Thellusson. Before leaving the island of Guernsey, however, the following address was presented to the regiment from the Bailiff, on behalf of the Royal Court of the island:—

"GUERNSEY, *April* 22, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour, on behalf of the Royal Court of the island, to express the regret that it feels at the departure of the 72nd Highlanders. The inhabitants of Guernsey rejoiced at receiving on their shores a corps which had borne its part in maintaining in the Crimea the glory of the British arms. The soldierlike bearing of the men, and the friendly dispositions that they have so generally evinced, will long be borne in mind by all classes of society. To the officers the acknowledgments of the Royal Court are more especially due, for their ready co-operation with the civil power, and their constant endeavour to promote a good understanding with the inhabitants. In giving expression to the feelings of consideration and esteem entertained by the Royal Court towards yourself and the corps under your command, I have the further gratification of adding that wherever the service of their country may call them, in peace or in war, the 72nd Highlanders may feel assured that the best wishes of the people of Guernsey will ever attend them.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"PETER STAFFORD CASEY,
"*Bailiff of Guernsey.*

"To Lieutenant-Colonel Parke,
"Commanding 72nd Highlanders."

The 72nd regiment remained in camp at Shorncliffe during the summer of 1857. On the 5th of August an order of readiness was received for the immediate embarkation of the regiment for India, the establishment of the regiment to be augmented to 1200 rank and file. On the 24th the 72nd were inspected at Shorncliffe by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, General Commanding in Chief, who was graciously pleased to present the regiment with new colours. The regiment received H.R.H. in line, with the usual royal salute. The new colours, placed in front of the centre of the line, were then consecrated by the chaplain of the brigade, the Rev. J. Parker, and were received from the hands of H.R.H. by Lieutenants Brownlow and Richardson, who then, accompanied by the grenadier company, under Captain Rice, trooped the new colours up and down the line, the old colours having been cased and carried off with the usual

honours.[7] The regiment was then formed into three sides of a square, and addressed by H.R.H., who passed the highest encomiums upon its conduct, discipline, and appearance. The regiment then marched past in slow and quick time, and went through several manœuvres under the personal superintendence of H.R.H., who was again pleased to express to Lieut.-Colonel Parke, in command of the regiment, his entire and unqualified approbation.

On the 26th, the first detachment of the 72nd, consisting of 296 men and 14 officers, under the command of Major Thellusson, left Shorncliffe for Portsmouth, and the same day embarked in the "Matilda Atheling," for Bombay. On the 4th of September, the head-quarters of the regiment, consisting of the grenadier, No. 4, and the light companies, under Lieut.-Colonel Parke, left Shorncliffe for Portsmouth, and embarked in the screw steamer "Scotia" for Bombay also, sailing on the 8th of the same month. The "Scotia" anchored in Bombay harbour on the 9th of December, head-quarters landing the next day, and occupying the barracks at Calaba.

On the 28th of December the steamer "Prince Albert," with a detachment of three companies of this regiment, under Major Mackenzie, and on the 5th of January 1858 the "Matilda Atheling" arrived. The whole regiment was now together in Calaba, four companies being encamped under the command of Lieut.-Colonel William Parke.

The strength of the regiment in January 1858 was—3 field officers, 10 captains, 19 subalterns, 8 staff-officers, 58 sergeants, 18 drummers and fifers, 41 corporals, and 766 privates, making a total of 923.

On the 31st of December the regiment was placed under orders for Goojerat, and on the 14th of January 1858 it embarked on board the East India Company's steamers "Auckland" and "Berenice" for the Bay of Cambay, and disembarked at Tankaria, Bunder, on the 17th. On the following day it left Tankaria for Baroda, which it reached on the 23rd, where 200 men were detained by the British resident at the court of the Guicowar of Baroda and Goojerat, in case of force being required in the disarming of the people. Notwithstanding the constant exposure and severe marching to which these detachments were subjected, the men throughout the whole regiment continued very healthy.

The two companies of the regiment which had been left in Bombay soon joined the others at Baroda, although they were not kept together, but were moved by companies from village to village, collecting arms and carrying out executions. The remaining six companies of the regiment left Baroda on the 23rd of January, and reached Ahmedabad on the 31st, and Deesa on the 13th of February. The climate at this season is favourable to marching, the nights and early mornings being cold; so that the men suffered little from fatigue, and remained in excellent health, although recently landed after a long voyage. On the 15th of this month, the regiment left Deesa for Nusseerabad; and on the 18th a few delicate men of the regiment were left at Mount Aboo, the sanitarium station for European troops in this command; these were to rejoin as soon as the regiment should return into quarters.

On the 5th of March 1858, at a village called Beawr, the regiment sustained a great loss by the death, from small-pox, of Major Mackenzie, the senior major of the regiment, and an officer held in universal esteem. After this depressing incident, every precautionary measure was taken, and this dreadful disease did not spread. The regiment reached Nusseerabad on the 8th, where it joined the division under Major-General Roberts, of the East India Company's Service, destined for the field-service in Rajpootanah, but more especially for operations against the city of Kotah. The cantonment of Nusseerabad no longer remained, having been laid in ruins by the mutineers. The force here collected consisted of one troop of Horse Artillery (Bombay), two batteries Bombay Artillery, 18 heavy siege-train guns of different calibres, one company R.E., one company Bombay Sappers, four small mountain-train guns (mortars), 1st regiment of Bombay Lancers, a strong detachment of Sind irregular horse (Jacob's), a detachment of Goojerat irregular

[7] These old colours were sent to Keith Stewart Mackenzie, Esq., of Brahan Castle, near Dingwall, Ross-shire.

horse, H.M.'s 72nd Highlanders, the 83rd and 95th regiments, the 10th and 12th Native Infantry. This force was divided into one cavalry and two infantry brigades, the cavalry under Colonel Smith, 3rd Dragoon Guards, who had not joined. The first infantry brigade was under Colonel Macan of the Company's service, and consisted of H.M.'s 95th Regiment, a wing of H.M.'s 83rd, with the 10th and 12th Native Infantry. The second Infantry Brigade, under Lieut.-Colonel Parke of the 72nd Highlanders, consisted of Her Majesty's 72nd, a wing of the 83rd, and the 13th regiment native infantry, which latter regiment joined on the march to Kotah, having marched from Hyderabad in Sind. A second troop of Bombay Horse Artillery likewise joined the division from Sind after its departure from Nusseerabad. All the artillery of the force was under Lieut.-Colonel Price, R.A.

The cavalry was placed temporarily under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Owen, of the 1st Bombay Lancers. This force was soon increased by the arrival of Her Majesty's 8th Hussars and two squadrons of the 2nd Bombay Cavalry.

On the 11th of March, the 72nd, under the command of Major Thellusson, who had succeeded Lieut.-Colonel Parke, the first being one day in advance, left Nusseerabad with the second brigade, *en route* to Kotah, a distance of 112 miles. The principal places passed through were Sawoor, strongly fortified; Jhajpoor, a straggling, ill-defended town; and Bhoondee. This last was a very strong position, situated on the face of a ridge of mountains, approached on one side through a narrow winding gorge, capable of being defended with ease. This gorge or narrow valley runs below the city of Bhoondee, and opens out into a vast plain overlooked by the city and castle. Bhoondee is surrounded by substantially-built irregular walls, bastions and defences extending to the summit of the mountain, on whose side this curious, interesting, and beautiful city is built. Here the second brigade joined the first, only two days' march from Kotah.

On the 22nd of March, the division reached Kotah, and encamped on the left bank of the river Chumbul, opposite the city; but it was subsequently forced to shift its position more to the rear, to avoid the enemy's artillery, the round-shot from which reached the camp. The 72nd was on the extreme right of the line of the encampment, and the cavalry on the extreme left, the whole army being exactly opposite the city, and parallel with the river.

The immediate cause of these operations against Kotah was as follows:—The Rajah of Kotah had always professed himself an ally of the British Government, and for many years a British Resident had been attached to his court; but when the mutiny at Neemuch broke out among the Bengal troops, the British Resident, Major Burton, had left Kotah for a short time for some purpose. During his absence, however, the Rajah warned Major Burton against returning to Kotah, as the inhabitants had joined the rebellion, and considerable numbers of mutineers from Nusseerabad, Mundesoor, and Neemuch, had taken up their quarters in the city. Nevertheless, Major Burton returned to Kotah, and with his two sons was barbarously murdered. The Rajah refused to join his subjects against the British Government, shut himself up in his palace, which was situated in one of the strongly fortified quarters of the city, and was regularly besieged by his own subjects, now aided by their fellow rebels, from the neighbouring states of Rajpootanah. To avenge the murder of the British Resident, and to inquire into, and if necessary punish, the conduct of the Rajah, were the primary objects of the expedition, of which the 72nd regiment now formed a part.

On the 24th of March, two batteries were erected on the banks of the Chumbul, one on the right and the other on the left of the British position. On these the enemy opened a steady and well-directed fire. On the 26th, at the invitation of the Rajah, Major-General Roberts placed a body of troops in the entrenched quarter of the city, which was still in the Rajah's possession; while 200 men of Her Majesty's 83rd regiment and the rifle company of the 13th Native Infantry crossed over the river. On the 27th, 28th, and 29th, preparations were made for bringing over some

of the heavy ordnance and mortars to be placed in position within the Rajah's quarters, as it had been decided by the Major-General to assault the enemy's portion of the city on the 30th, after a few hours' heavy fire from all the guns and mortars. Accordingly, at two o'clock A.M. of that day, three columns of 500 men each passed over in large, square, flat-bottomed boats into the Rajah's city; the reserve was under Colonel Macan. The leading column of the assault, under Lieutenant-Colonel Raimes, of the 95th, was composed of 260 men of the 72nd and 250 of the 13th Native Infantry; the second column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, of the 12th Native Infantry, of a similar number of Her Majesty's 95th regiment, with the 10th regiment of Native Infantry; the third column, of 200 of the 83rd, with the 12th Native Infantry.

The column to which the 72nd belonged took up its position in the rear of a wall which separated the Rajah's quarters from that part of the city held by the rebels, close to the Hunnyman Bastion. The design was to blow open a gap in the wall sufficiently large to admit of the 72nd making a rush through it upon the enemy; the engineers, however, found the wall too solid to admit of a successful result, and at eleven o'clock A.M., the regiment was ordered to the Kittenpole Gate, which had been strongly built up. This was instantly blown out by the engineers, and the column, headed by the 72nd under Major Thellusson, rushed through, and turned immediately to the right, under cover of a party placed on the walls of the fortifications of the Rajah's quarters. But little resistance was offered, and the advance of the column was rapid, the principal object of attack being a bastion called the Zooraivoor, on the outer walls of the city. On the approach of the column, a few shots were fired by matchlockmen, but Enfield rifles cleared the way; and on the 72nd reaching the bastion, most of the enemy had fled, while some, throwing themselves from the ramparts, were dashed to pieces at the bottom. The column then proceeded along the top of the outer wall of the city as far as the Soorjpole Gate, one of the principal entrances, through which a considerable body of the enemy was making a precipitate retreat; the gateway was at once taken possession of, and the column rushed into the city itself. No sooner, however, had the regiment left the walls than the matchlock-men opened fire from a strongly-built stone house, facing the gateway, an entrance into which was attempted by Lieutenant Cameron of the 72nd with a small party of men. This officer in a very gallant manner dashed up a narrow passage and stair-case leading into the upper part of the building, when he was met by a determined band of rebels, headed by "THE LALLA," the commander-in-chief of the rebels. Lieutenant Cameron was cut down and severely wounded, while one man of the Royal Engineers, and one of the 83rd, who happened to be with the party, were killed, and one of the 72nd was wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Parke deemed it expedient not to risk more lives in the narrow, dark, and intricate passages of the building; and accordingly he ordered the company of Royal Engineers to lay powder-bags and effect an opening by that means; this was immediately done, and some of these determined fanatics were destroyed by the explosion, the remainder being slain by the troops. A few other instances of desperate resistance occurred, but anything like united, determined opposition was nowhere encountered.

The other two columns had been equally successful, and by the evening of the 30th of March 1858 the city of Kotah, one of the strongest positions in India, was in possession of the British. Upwards of 70 guns of various calibres, some very heavy, besides a vast amount of powder and war material, fell into the hands of the captors. The escape of the rebels was unfortunately not intercepted by the cavalry. On the 31st, the detachment of the 72nd was relieved by a party of the regiment which had remained in camp.

The casualties of the 72nd on the 30th were few, considering the importance of the victory. One officer, Lieutenant Cameron, was wounded, and one private killed and eight wounded. The victory was gained by a clever flank movement, which turned the enemy's position and rendered their defences useless. This point in tactics, the rebels never sufficiently attended to, and consequently repeatedly

lost battles by allowing their flanks to be turned.

On the 18th of April the 72nd left Kotah, and on the 2nd of May the regiment reached Neemuch, having on the march from Kotah passed through the Mokundurra Pass, a long narrow valley between two ranges of hills, easily rendered formidable by a small number of men, and unfortunately known in Indian history for Colonel Monson's disastrous retreat thence. At Neemuch, new barracks were nearly completed for the men, but no accommodation of any kind for officers. Nothing but a mass of ruins remained of this once extensive cantonment, which had been completely destroyed by the mutineers of the Bengal Army, who had been quartered here.

The force at Neemuch now consisted of a wing of the 2nd Bombay Cavalry, six guns of Bombay field artillery, one company of Royal Engineers, one company of Royal Artillery without guns, the 72nd Highlanders, one company of Her Majesty's 95th regiment, and one wing of the Bombay Native Infantry. The remainder of the division was at Nusseerabad, with the exception of a column under Colonel Smith of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, consisting of a wing of the 8th Hussars, a wing of the 1st Bombay Lancers, one troop Bombay Horse Artillery (Lieutenant-Colonel Blake's), Her Majesty's 95th Regiment, and a Native Infantry Regiment, which had been detached to Goonah, to keep open the communications between Jhansee and Indoor in the rear of Sir Hugh Rose's division.

The 72nd was now once more in quarters. The conduct, discipline, and health of the men from the time of their landing in India was quite unexceptionable, the regiment remaining perfectly efficient in every sense, though considerably under the proper number of its establishment. The recruiting, however, at the dépôt quarters at Aberdeen proved most satisfactory.

The regiment continued under the command of Major Thellusson, Lieutenant-Colonel Parke having been appointed to command the station at Neemuch.

On the 6th of June, four companies of the regiment were suddenly ordered to Nusseerabad under Major Rocke, in consequence of the mutiny of the main body of the army belonging to Sindhiah of Gwalior. On the 20th of June this detachment of the regiment reached Nusseerabad, and immediately took the field with a strong column under the command of Major-General Roberts. This force consisted of one troop Bombay Horse Artillery, a wing of Her Majesty's 8th Hussars, a wing of the 1st Bombay Cavalry, and some Belooch Horse, a detachment of Her Majesty's 72nd Highlanders, Her Majesty's 83rd regiment, a regiment of native infantry, four 9-pounder guns Bombay Artillery, and a small siege train.

Major-General Roberts proceeded with the column in the direction of Jeypoor to cover and protect that city, which was threatened by a large army of rebels under the Rao Sahib and Tantea Topee. These two noted leaders, after the capture of Gwalior in June by Sir Hugh Rose, crossed the river Chumbul at the northern extremity of Kerowlee District, at the head of ten or twelve thousand men, and entered the Jeypoor territory. On the advance, however, of Major-General Roberts, the enemy turned south, marched on the city of Tonk, pillaged the suburbs, capturing four field-pieces, and in good order, on the approach of the British troops, made a rapid retreat in a south-easterly direction to Bhoondee.

Major-General Roberts now detached a small force, composed of horse-artillery, cavalry, and the four companies of 72nd Highlanders, besides some native infantry, to take up the pursuit; but owing to excessive rains, this service was one of great difficulty, and the men were exposed to unusual hardships and privations. Such was the state of the weather that, for several days consecutively, not even the rebels could move.

On the 14th of August, Major General Roberts, after a rapid succession of forced marches, came up with the enemy near the village of Kattara on the Bunas river, a few miles north of the city of Oodeypoor, where the rebels had taken up a good position. On the advance of the hussars and horse artillery, they abandoned their guns and fled; their loss, it was calculated, having exceeded 1000 men killed.

Simultaneously with these operations, a

column, including 330 rank and file of the regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Parke, recently appointed Brigadier of the 1st Class, moved out from Neemuch to co-operate with Major-General Roberts in the direction of Odeypoor, the head-quarters. On the 18th of this month, the column under Brigadier Parke received orders to pursue the scattered and fugitive rebel forces, and was reinforced by the head-quarters and a wing of the 13th Regiment Native Infantry, a wing of H.M. 8th Hussars, 250 Belooch horse, and a detachment of Goojerat irregular cavalry. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts on the part of the pursuing column, the enemy completely outstripped it by the extraordinary rapidity of their flight. They took a direct easterly course between the rivers Bunas and Bairas, retreating into the mountains and rocky fastnesses to the north of Chittoor, proceeding as far as the Chumbul river, which they crossed on the 23rd of August, without being intercepted by the pursuing column. This, probably, would not have happened had not the information supplied by the political authorities been incorrect. On the evening of the 23rd, Brigadier Parke reached the Chumbul; but he was unable to cross on account of the rapid swelling of the stream and the completely worn-out condition of the cavalry that had been detached from Major-General Roberts's column for the pursuit. The force accordingly returned, reaching Neemuch on the 28th, the infantry having marched upwards of 220 miles between the 11th and 23rd of August.

On the 5th of September, the Neemuch or 2nd Brigade of the Rajpootanah Field Force was again ordered to take the field, under the command of Brigadier Parke. This force consisted of 200 men of the 2nd Bombay Light Cavalry; one troop 8th Hussars; one company 11th Royal Engineers; 500 of the 72nd Highlanders, under Major Thellusson; four 9-pounder guns, Bombay Artillery; two mountain-train mortars; two siege-train mortars; and 450 of the 15th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry.

The object of this expedition was to attack the rebels, who were reported as being in position at Jhalra Patoon, having obtained possession of the Fort, containing upwards of 40 pieces of artillery, and a great amount of treasure. Here they had been joined by the Rajah's troops, who opened the gates of the city as well as those of the Fort, which is distant about 3 miles; the Rajah fled for protection to the nearest British force at Soosneer.

The rebels, now considerably augmented in numbers and completely re-equipped, hearing of the advance of the force from Neemuch, left Jhalra Patoon and moved south towards Soosneer, as if intending to attack a small body of British troops, detached from Mhow and encamped at Soosneer under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lockhart, of the 92nd Highlanders. The 2nd Brigade Rajpootanah Field Force accordingly marched to Sakoondai Ford, crossed the Chumbul river, and went direct to Soosneer. The rebels, however, did not attack Lieutenant-Colonel Lockhart, who was joined shortly afterwards by Major-General Michel, commanding the Malwah Division, together with reinforcements.

On the morning of the 15th of September, the 2nd Brigade Rajpootanah Field Force left Soosneer, heavy artillery firing having been heard to the eastward. The brigade accordingly marched in that direction to Mulkeera on the Sind river, a branch of the Kalli-Sind. It was ascertained that Major-General Michel had overtaken the rebels near Rajgurh, attacked, defeated, and captured all their guns, in number twenty-seven. The rebel forces, computed at 10,000 to 12,000 men, fled in hot haste and re-assembled at Sironj, a small state and large Mohammedan city in Rajpootanah.

Major-General Michel now directed the 2nd Brigade Rajpootanah Field Force to take up a position at Sarungpoor on the Bombay and Agra grand trunk road, the object being to cover Indore, the head-quarters of the Maharajah Holkar, and containing a numerous and most disaffected population. It was therefore a matter of paramount importance to frustrate any endeavour on the part of the rebels even to appear in that immediate neighbourhood. The Major-General, after the action at Rajgurh, likewise took a south

easterly course in order to attack the rebels, covering at the same time the state and city of Bhopal.

A few days afterwards, the brigade was transferred, as a temporary arrangement, to the Malwah Division, and placed under the orders of Major-General Michel. At end of September, when it marched to Beawr on the grand trunk road. The 72nd, as part of the brigade, was now employed in keeping open the communications with the rear and covering the advance of the column under the Major-General through Sironj to the eastward towards the river Betwah.

The enemy having been again attacked by the Major-General, on the 9th of October, near a place called Mungowlee, sought refuge in the Chundairee jungles, and the 2nd Brigade Rajpootanah Field Force received orders to march by Sironj to these jungles. The rebels, however, crossed the Betwah and took a more easterly course, thus causing change in the intended movements of the brigade, which, after a few days' halt at Sironj, was ordered to Bhorasso on the Betwah river.

On the 25th of October information was received that the rebels had been again attacked by the Major-General and driven south, as if intending to make a descent on the city of Bhopal.

The 2nd brigade Rajpootanah Field Force accordingly left Bhorasso on the night of the 25th of October, marched direct on Bhopal, and bivouacked near that city on the evening of the 28th, thus having accomplished a distance of about 110 miles in 74 hours. The important and wealthy city of Bhopal was thus saved from falling into the hands of the Rao Sahib and Tantéa Topee; for there was no doubt whatever that the Begum's troops would have joined the rebels. For this service, the thanks of the Governor in Council (Bombay) and of Sir Henry Somerset, the Commander-in-Chief of the Presidency, were received.

Soon after the arrival of the brigade in Bhopal, the rebel forces crossed the river Nerbudda about 40 miles to the eastward of Hoosungabad, and proceeded due south through the Poochpoonah range of mountains to the banks of the Taptee river. Major-General Michel, C.B., with a column composed of cavalry and horse artillery, followed rapidly to Hoosungabad, and ordered the 2nd brigade Rajpootanah Field Force to do likewise. On the 9th of November the brigade reached Hoosungabad, crossed the Nerbudda on the 11th, and remained on the south side till the 14th. One wing of the regiment, under Major Norman, was now ordered to remain with a portion of the brigade at Hoosungabad, whence the headquarters of the regiment and the brigade marched *en route* to Charwah in a south-west direction. At Charwah another change was made in the disposing of this regiment. Brigadier Parke was ordered by the major-general to assume command of a column composed of light and irregular cavalry, with 100 men of the 72nd Highlanders mounted on riding camels, to pursue with the utmost speed the rebels, who had entirely changed their course, having turned north-west, making for the fords of the Nerbudda in the vicinity of Chicoolda. This last-named detachment of the regiment was composed of the light and No. 4 companies, under Lieutenant Vesey. The headquarters of the regiment and the wing under Major Thellusson were shortly afterwards ordered up to Mhow, which they reached on the 5th of December 1858, and on the 8th they were ordered to Indore, where they remained until the 5th of January 1859, on which day they returned to Mhow, and went into quarters. The detachment which had remained under Major Norman in November at Hoosungabad recrossed the Nerbudda, and was ordered north through Sehoor to Chapeira, and thence south again to Angoor.

The detachment under Lieutenant Vesey continued with the pursuing column under Brigadier Parke. The operations of this small force commenced on the 23rd of November 1858, and on the 1st of December, after having marched 250 miles in nine days, including the passage of the Nerbudda near Chicoolda, it came up with the enemy at daylight, and attacked him near the town and palace of Chhota Oodepoor, on the road to Baroda, the capital of Goojerat. The rebel forces were under the Rao Sahib and Tantéa Topee. These were completely dispersed, and suffered considerable loss; but it was impos-

sible to obtain satisfactory accounts of the results, or to strike a heavy blow on these rebel hordes, who scattered themselves in all directions. In the course of ten days, however, the rebels again collected their forces, and marched through dense jungles due north by Banswarra to Sulumboor, a large and important city, strongly fortified, belonging to an independent but disaffected Rajah, who secretly gave all the aid in his power to the rebels, furnishing supplies in a country both barren and very thinly inhabited—the only inhabitants of these vast forest and mountainous districts being the aboriginal Bheels.

The rebels, however, being closely pressed by the pursuing column under Brigadier Parke, entered the open country again near Pertabgurh. Here they were met by a small force from Neemuch, under Major Rocke, 72nd Highlanders. This force consisted of 150 men of the 72nd, a small detachment of H.M.'s 95th Regiment, a few native infantry and cavalry, and two 9-pounder guns Royal Artillery. The rebels advanced late in the evening, but he was well and steadily received by Major Rocke's small detachment. For a considerable time a heavy fire was kept up; but the object of the rebels being to gain the open country, and rid themselves as rapidly as possible of the presence of the numerous small columns of British troops which had been stationed to watch the Banswarra and Sulumboor jungles, they availed themselves of the night, and effected their escape to the eastwards to Soosneer, crossing the Chumbul and the Kolli-Sind rivers. From the want of cavalry, Major Rocke's column could not take up the pursuit, and therefore shortly afterwards returned to Neemuch.

The detachment under Lieutenant Vesey, with the column of pursuit, now followed the course taken by the enemy, keeping to the westward, but nearly parallel to it, there being several other fresh columns in closer pursuit. Towards the middle of January, Brigadier Parke's column passed through the Mokundurrah Pass, and thence to the Gamootch Ford, near Kotah, to Jeypoor, by Bhoondee, the rebels with extraordinary rapidity having crossed the Chumbul near Indoorgurh, and again entered the Jeypoor territory. They were attacked by a column from Agra, under Brigadier Showers, and driven westward towards the borders of the Jeysoolmeer sandy districts bordering upon the deserts that extend to the Indus. Major-General Michel, with a strong column, entered Rajpootanah, and took a position on the highroad between Nusseerabad and Neemuch, ordering Colonel Somerset to watch the mountain passes south of Nusseerabad in the range of mountains separating Marwar and Jeypoor. Two other columns were also out from Nusseerabad, all trying to intercept the rebel forces. Brigadier Parke held the country between Samboor Lake and Jeypoor to the north, and extending south to Kishengurh, near Ajmeer. After several skirmishes with the British forces, the rebels marched due south, and, in the middle of February, crossed the Aravulli range of mountains at or near the Chutsebooj Pass, within a few "coss"[8] of Colonel Somerset, who, with a fine brigade of fresh cavalry and mounted infantry, took up the pursuit, but was unable to overtake his flying foe. The rebels had now recourse to stratagem, and feeling at last much distressed, they pretended to sue for truces. About 200 of the Feroze-shah's followers surrendered. The British columns were halted, and the rebel leaders availed themselves of the opportunity, to return eastward with their now (as rumour had it) disheartened followers greatly reduced in numbers, and sought refuge in the Sironj and Shahabad jungles.

In March 1859 the pursuing column under Brigadier Parke was ordered to Jhalra Patoon, there to halt and watch the country lying to the south as far as Booragoon, and north to the Kotah district.

In the beginning of April the rebel leader Tantéa Topee, who had separated from the main body of the rebels, was captured by means of treachery on the part of a surrendered rebel chief, Maun Singh, and executed at Sippree. The two remaining rebel leaders now were Rao Sahib and Ferozeshah, Prince of Delhi, son of the late king; the latter having managed to escape from Oude with

[8] Forty-one "coss" are equal to a degree, or 69 English miles. One coss (or kos) is thus nearly equal to one mile and seven-tenths. It varies, however, in different parts of the country.

about 2000 followers, joined the Rao Sahib in January 1859, before crossing the Chumbul into the Kerowlee and Jeypoor territories.

The rebel forces were now so much scattered, and such numbers had been slain, that it was deemed advisable to order as many European troops as possible into quarters. The detachment under Lieutenant Vesey accordingly left Jhalra Patoon, and regained headquarters at Mhow on the 21st of April. Brigadier Parke, with Captain Rice, of the 72nd (his orderly officer), and some irregular cavalry, remained in the field until 16th June 1859, on which day they returned into head-quarters at Mhow, and the regiment was again in cantonments.

To enter into the details of the extraordinary pursuit and campaign of the division under Major-General Michel, C.B., in Central India and Rajpootanah, would be out of place. Suffice it to say that the regiment under the command of Major Thellusson, from July 1858 to May 1859, was constantly in the field, engaged in perhaps the most arduous and trying service which has ever fallen to the lot of British soldiers in India. Disastrous marches, unsuccessful campaigns, attended by all the miseries of war, have occurred undoubtedly in India; but, for a constant unceasing series of forced marches, frequently without excitement, the campaign under Major-General Michel stands unsurpassed. The results were most satisfactory. The pacification and restoration of order and confidence in Central India were the completion of Sir Hugh Rose's brilliant campaign in 1858.

The thanks of both houses of Parliament were offered to Major-General Sir John Michel, K.C.B., and the troops under his command, being included in the general thanks to the whole army under Lord Clyde.

The conduct, discipline, and health of the regiment during all the operations in 1858–9 were excellent. The detachment of the regiment under Lieutenant Vesey, on its arrival at headquarters at Mhow, had been under canvas in the field since January 1858, with the exception of five weeks at Neemuch, and had marched over 3000 miles. The headquarters of the regiment were in Neemuch during May, June, and July 1858; with the exception of this period, they likewise were in the field from January 1858 to January 1859.

In consequence of the services of the regiment, above enumerated, it became entitled to a medal, granted for the suppression of the Indian Mutiny of 1857–8.

Brigadier Parke returned from field service on the 16th of June, and took over the command of the regiment from Lieutenant-Colonel Thellusson.



Major-General William Parke, C.B.

From a Photograph by Mayall.

The following promotions and appointments were made in the regiment in 1858–9. Lieutenant-Colonel Parke was nominated a Companion of the Bath on March 22, 1859, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the Queen, with the rank of colonel in the army, on April 26, of the same year. Major Thellusson was promoted to the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel

in the army on July 20, 1858. Captain Norman was promoted to the rank of brevet-major on July 20, 1858. Sergeant-major James Thomson was promoted to the rank of ensign on October 15, and appointed adjutant to the regiment on December 31, 1858.

The Victoria Cross was conferred on Lieutenant A. S. Cameron of the 72nd, on November 11, 1859, for conspicuous bravery at Kotah on March 30, 1858.

The field force under Major Rocke returned to Mhow on January 5, 1860, having marched through India to the confines of the Bengal Presidency, a distance of 400 miles, and ensured the peace of the territories of Sindiah, Holkar, and other minor chiefs, and prevented the outbreak which had been expected to take place during the late cold season.

Brigadier Horner, C.B., concluded the half-yearly inspection of the regiment on May 3, and found the state of discipline so admirable, that he was pleased to remit the unexpired term of imprisonment of men under sentence of court-martial.

In December 1863, His Excellency Sir William Mansfield, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, Bombay Presidency, inspected the regiment, and addressed it in nearly the following words:—"SEVENTY-SECOND, I have long wished to see you. Before I came to this Presidency, I had often heard from one who was a great friend of yours, as well as of my own, Sir Colin Campbell, now Lord Clyde, that of all the regiments he had known in the course of his long service, he had not met with one in which discipline and steadiness in the field, as well as the most minute matters of interior economy, all the qualities, in fact, which contribute to make a good regiment, were united in so eminent a degree as in the 72nd Highlanders, when serving in his division in the Crimea, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Parke. I have never met Colonel Parke, but I have heard of the reputation he made at your head. It will afford me very great satisfaction to report to His Royal Highness Commanding-in-Chief, and to write as I shall do to Lord Clyde, that from the reports of all the general officers you have served under in India, and now, from my own personal observation, the 72nd Highlanders have in no way deteriorated during their service in India, but are now under my old friend and brother officer, Colonel Payn, in every respect, on the plains of Hindoostan, the same regiment that, when serving under Sir Colin Campbell on the shores of the Crimea, was considered by him a pattern to the British army." After the inspection, his Excellency requested Lieutenant-Colonel Payn, C.B., to express to Lieutenant and Adjutant J. Thomson, and Quarter-master D. Munro, his sense of the zeal and ability which they had displayed in assisting their commanding officer to carry out the institutions that were now in full working order in the regiment.

By a General Order, dated 3d September 1863, the Queen, in commemoration of the services of the 72nd Highlanders in Her Majesty's Indian dominions, was graciously pleased to command that the words "Central India" be worn on the colours, &c., of the regiment.

In October 1864 the regiment was inspected by Major-General Edward Green, C.B., when he forwarded a letter to Colonel Payn, from which we give the following extract:—

"The regiment under your command being about to leave this division, I desire to express to you my entire satisfaction with the manner in which duty has been performed by the officers and soldiers during eighteen months that I have been associated with them as commander of the division. The perfect steadiness under arms, the neat and clean appearance of the soldiers at all times, the small amount of any serious crimes, the order in which everything is conducted as regards the interior economy, makes the 72nd Highlanders quite a pattern corps, and a source of pride to a general officer to have such a regiment under his command. . . . .

"As senior regimental officer in this brigade, you have assisted and supported me with a readiness and goodwill most advantageous to the public service, and as, in all probability, I may never again have any official communication with the 72nd Regiment, I have to beg that you will accept my hearty acknowledgements. Read this letter at the head of the regiment at a convenient opportunity, and permit it to be placed among the records of the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders."

The regiment being under orders to leave Central India, three companies marched from Mhow on the 26th of October for Sattarah, and two companies for Asseergurh. On the 11th of February 1865, the headquarters and five companies left Mhow for Poonah. The regiment had been stationed there since January 1859.

On the 1st of March the regiment was distributed as under :—

Headquarters, with two companies, Nos 4 and 6, Poonah—Colonel Payn, C.B. Detachment of three companies, Nos. 5, 7, and 10, Sattarah—Lieutenant-Colonel Rocke. Detachment of three companies, Nos. 1, 3, and 9, Khandallah—Major Rice. Detachment of two companies, Nos. 2 and 8, Asseergurh—Captain Ffrench. Nothing requiring record occurred until the 15th of July, when the regiment was placed under orders to proceed to Great Britain.

The order to volunteer into other regiments serving in India (usually given to corps on departure from that country) was issued on the 6th of September. The volunteering commenced on the 14th, and continued till the 17th, during which time 272 men left the 72nd Highlanders to join various other regiments.

On the 13th of October, a detachment, consisting of 1 captain, 5 subalterns, 1 assistant surgeon, 5 sergeants, 6 corporals, 2 drummers, and 72 rank and file, went by railroad to Bombay, and embarked on the same day on board the freight ship "Talbot." After a prosperous though somewhat lengthened voyage of 108 days, this detachment landed at Portsmouth on the 31st of January 1866, and proceeded to Greenlaw, near Edinburgh, where it awaited the arrival of the headquarters of the regiment.

On the 6th of November Brigadier-General J. C. Heath, inspected the headquarters at Poonah, and expressed his satisfaction at the steady and soldier-like manner in which it moved upon parade, commending the good behaviour of the men, and the "particularly advanced system of interior economy existing in the regiment."

The detachments from Sattarah and Asseergurh, having joined headquarters, the regiment left Poonah, under command of Major Hunter (Major Crombie being at Bombay on duty, and the other field-officers on leave), and proceeded by rail to Bombay, embarking on the 16th on board the freight ship, the "Tweed."

On afternoon of the 18th of November, the "Tweed" weighed anchor, and on the evening of February 10, having passed the Needles, she reached Spithead, and there, at her anchorage, rode through a terrible hurricane which lasted twenty-four hours, during which many vessels near her were lost, dismasted, or wrecked. Proceeding to Gravesend, the regiment disembarked there on February 15th, and proceeded by rail to Edinburgh Castle on the 21st, and released the 71st Highland Light Infantry. The strength of the regiment on arriving in Great Britain, including the depot companies at Stirling, was :—

Field Officers,	3	
Captains,	12	
Lieutenants,	14	
Ensigns,	10	
Staff,	5	
Total Officers,		— 44
Sergeants,	42	
Drummers and Pipers,	21	
Corporals,	36	
Privates,	578	
Total Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates,		—677
Grand Total,		721

The depot, under command of Captain Beresford, joined the headquarters shortly after their arrival at Edinburgh.

During the stay of the 72nd in Edinburgh no event of importance occurred, and the conduct of the men was highly satisfactory. At the various half-yearly inspections, Major-General F. W. Hamilton, commanding in North Britain, expressed himself as thoroughly satisfied with the discipline and appearance of the regiment, as well as with its interior economy, which, as will have been noticed, also elicited the commendation of the officers who inspected the regiment in India.

On May 9th, the regiment embarked on board H.M.S. "Tamar" at Granton, and landing on the 13th went by rail to Aldershott, where it was placed in camp under canvas.

On October 7th, Major-General Renny, commanding the 1st Brigade of Infantry at

Aldershott, inspected the regiment under Major Cecil Rice, and subsequently thus expressed himself to the latter officer :—"I could see at a glance the regiment was beautifully turned out, and, indeed, everything is as good as it is possible to be. Such a regiment is seldom seen, and I will send the most favourable report I am able to make to the Horse Guards."

Of the 72nd, as of other regiments during time of peace, and especially when stationed at home, there is but little that is eventful to record. The regiment was kept moving at intervals from one place to another, and wherever it was stationed, and whatever duties it was called upon to perform, it invariably received the commendation of the military officials who were appointed to inspect it, as well as the hearty good-will of the citizens among whom it was stationed. We shall conclude our account of the brave 72nd, which, as will have been seen, has all along done much to ward off the blows of Britain's enemies, and enable her to maintain her high position among the nations of the world, by noticing briefly its movements up to the present time.

On October 24th, the regiment, now commanded by Major Hunter, left Aldershot by rail for Manchester, taking with it every one belonging to the regiment on its effective strength. The regiment remained at Manchester till February 1st, 1868, when it proceeded, under the command of Major Cecil Rice, to Ireland, arriving at Kingston on the 5th, and marching to Richmond barracks, Dublin.

A detachment under command of Captain F. G. Sherlock, consisting of 1 captain, 2 subalterns, and 2 companies, proceeded on the 25th by rail to Sligo, in aid of the civil power, returning to Dublin on March 6th. Major C. Rice commended the good behaviour of the detachment while on duty at Sligo. "It is by such conduct," he said, "that the credit and good name of a regiment are upheld."

Colonel W. Payn, C.B., rejoined from leave of absence on the 12th of March, and resumed command of the regiment.

In April, their Royal Highnesses the Prince and the Princess of Wales visited Dublin ; and on the 18th, the installation of His Royal Highness as a Knight of the Order of St Patrick took place at a special chapter of the order, held in St Patrick's Cathedral, His Excellency the Duke of Abercorn, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, presiding as Grand-Master. The regiment, under Colonel Payn, C.B., was on that day on duty in York Street.

On the 20th of April the whole of the troops in Dublin were paraded in the Phœnix Park, in review order, in presence of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, the Princess of Wales, and H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, Field-Marshal, commanding-in-chief.

On September 16th the 72nd was ordered to Limerick, where it remained till the end of October 1869. On the 21st the headquarters and three companies, under the command of Major Beresford, proceeded by rail to Buttevant in county Cork. On the 22nd, five companies proceeded by rail to the Cove of Cork, viz, three companies under command of Captain Sherlock to Cambden Fort, and two companies under the command of Captain Tanner to Carlisle Fort. On the 25th, "F" (Captain Guinness's) company proceeded from Clare Castle to Tipperary to join "A" (Captain Fordyce's) company at the latter place.

On June 27th, 1870, orders were received for the embarkation of the regiment for India on or about February 19th, 1871. In the months of June and July 276 volunteers were received from various corps on the home establishment, and 191 recruits joined in June, July, and August. On October 4th, orders were received for the regiment to proceed to Cork.

On the transfer of General Sir John Aitchison, G.C.B., to the Colonelcy of the Scots Fusilier Guards, General Charles G. J. Arbuthnot, from the 91st Foot, was appointed colonel of the regiment, under date August 27, 1870. On the decease of General C. G. J. Arbuthnot in 1870, Lieutenant-General Charles Gascoyne was appointed colonel of the regiment, under date October 22, 1870.

On January 16th, 1871, the depot of the regiment was formed at Cork, and on the 21st the headquarters and the various companies, with the whole of the women, and children, and heavy baggage of the regiment, under the command of Captain Payn, sailed from Queens-

town on board H.M. troop-ship "Crocodile" for India, where the 72nd had so recently won high and well-deserved honours. The regiment arrived at Alexandria on March 7th, and proceeded overland, to Suez, from which, on the 9th, it sailed in the "Jumna" for Bombay. The regiment arrived at Bombay on March 24th, embarked next morning, and proceede in three divisions by rail to Deoleea, where it remained till the 28th. On that and the two following days the regiment proceeded in detachments to Umballah, where it was to be stationed, and where it arrived in the beginning of April.

On May 3rd the regiment paraded for inspection by H.E. the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Napier of Magdala, but owing to the lamentable death of Lieutenant and Adjutant James Thomson—who, it will be remembered, was promoted from the rank of sergeant-major in 1858, for distinguished service in India—who was killed by a fall from his horse on parade, the regiment was dismissed to its quarters. On the evening of that date the remains of the late Lieutenant Thomson were interred in the cemetery, his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and staff-officers of the garrison, and all the officers and men of the regiment off duty, attending the funeral.

The following regimental mourning order was published by Colonel Payn, C.B., on the occasion of this melancholy occurrence :—"A good and gallant soldier has passed from amongst us, and Colonel Payn is assured that there is no officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier in the 72nd Highlanders, but feels that in the death of Lieutenant and Adjutant Thomson the regiment has suffered an irretrievable loss. He was endeared to every one from the highest to the lowest for his many estimable qualities, and nobody appreciated his worth and value more than Colonel Payn himself. He had served thirty years as soldier and officer in the 72nd, and was the oldest soldier in it; and the welfare of the regiment was invariably his first thought, his chief desire. He was just and impartial in carrying out every duty connected with the regiment. His zeal and abilities as an officer were unequalled, and he was killed in the actual performance of his duties on parade, in front of the regiment that he dearly loved, and it will be long before he is forgotten by those whose interests were his chief study."

On December 20th and 21st, the regiment proceeded to the camp of exercise, Delhi, under command of Major Beresford. It was attached to the 1st Brigade 3rd Division, which was commanded by Colonel Payn, the division being under the orders of Major-General Sir Henry Tombs, K.C.B., V.C.

On January 17th, 1872, the regiment was suddenly recalled to Umballah, owing to an outbreak among the Kukah Sikhs. The regiment was highly complimented by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Napier of Magdála, and Major-General Sir Henry Tombs, for the discipline and efficiency it displayed whilst serving at the camp. On February 9th, the regiment was inspected by Major-General Fraser-Tytler, C.B., at Umballah, when he expressed himself highly pleased with the general efficiency of the regiment.

Having received orders to move to Peshawur, the 72nd left Umballah on the 27th of October 1873, and marched the whole way, a distance of 476 miles, or 46 marches, although there is rail as far as Lahore.

We have much pleasure in being able to present our readers with authentic steel portraits of three of the gallant colonels of this famous regiment :—That of its first Colonel-Commandant, Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth, from a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds; that of Sir George Murray, G.C.B. and G.C.H., who was for some time also Colonel of the 42nd Royal Highlanders, which is given on the plate of colonels of that regiment; and that of Sir Neil Douglas, K.C.B. and K.C.H., appointed from the 81st Regiment on the 12th of July 1847. This portrait is from a painting by Sir John Watson Gordon, late president of the Royal Scottish Academy.

SUCCESSION LISTS OF COLONELS, FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS, &c., OF THE 72ND HIGHLANDERS.

COLONELS.

NAMES.	Date of Appointment to Regiment.	Country.	Remarks.
Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth....	29th Dec. 1777	Scotland	Lieut.-Col. Commandant 29th Dec. 1777. Died at sea Aug. 1781.
Thomas Frederick M. Humberston.....	13th Feb. 1782	England	Lieut.-Col. 13th Feb. 1782. Died 30th April 1783.
James Murray.....	1st Nov. 1783	Scotland	Lieut.-Col. 1st Nov. 1783; Col 1786; Lieut.-Gen. 1793. Died 19th March 1794.
Sir Adam Williamson, K.B.,	1st March 1794	Scotland	Lieut.-General 1797. Died 21st Oct. 1798.
James Stuart..... ...	23d Oct. 1798	Scotland	Lieut.-Col. Commandant Feb. 1782. Died in 1815.
Rowland, Lord Hill, G.C.B.	26th April 1815	England	Removed to 53d Foot 24th Feb. 1817.
Sir Geo. Murray, G.C.B., G.C.H.	24th Feb. 1817	Scotland	Removed to 42d Regiment 6th Sept. 1823.
Sir John Hope. G.C.H.....	6th Sept. 1823	Scotland	Died at Rothesay, 1st Aug. 1836.
Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B...	15th Aug. 1836	Scotland	Died in London, 13th June 1847.
Sir Neil Douglas, K.C.B....	12th July 1847	Scotland	Removed to 78th Regiment, 29th Dec. 1851.
John Aitchison.....	29th Dec. 1851	Scotland	Removed to Scots F. Guards, 27th Aug. 1870.
General C. G. J. Arbuthnot.	27th Aug. 1870	Scotland	From the 91st Foot, and died in Oct. 1870.
Charles Gascoyne.....	22d Oct. 1870	England	

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

H. Monckton.....	18th Jan. 1807	England	Appointed Major-General.
W. N. Leitch.....	29th Dec. 1814	England	Placed on Half-Pay on Reduction, 25th Dec. 1818.
Felix Calvert..... ...	9th Aug. 1821	England	Exchanged to Half-Pay, 25th Sept. 1826.
C. G. J. Arbuthnot.....	1st Oct. 1825	Scotland	Appointed to 90th, 17th May 1831.
Thomas Francis Wade.....	17th May 1831	Ireland	Retired upon Half-Pay, 20th April 1832.
John Peddie.....	28th Aug. 1837	Scotland	Appointed to 90th, 23d Feb. 1838.
C. G. J. Arbuthnot.....	23d Feb. 1838	Scotland	Appointed Col. in the Army, 28th June 1838.
Lord Arthur Lennox.....	14th April 1843	Scotland	Exchanged to Half-Pay, 25th Feb. 1845.
Charles Gascoyne.....	25th Feb. 1845	England	Exchanged to Half-Pay, 11th Sept. 1849.
Freeman Murray	11th Sept. 1849	Scotland	Exchanged to Half-Pay, 5th May 1854.
W. R. Faber.....	5th May 1854	England	Exchd. to 35th, 23d June 1854. Never joined.
James Fraser.....	23d June 1854	Scotland	Retired 1st Dec. 1854.
R. P. Sharp.....	1st Dec. 1854	Ireland	Placed on Half-Pay by Reduction, 10th Nov. 1856.
J. W. Gaisford	22d June 1855	England	Retired 23d Nov. 1855.
William Parke	23d Nov. 1855	England	Exchanged to 53d, 14th Aug. 1860.
C. H. Somerset.....	25th Aug. 1857	England	Retired 19th Aug. 1862.
William Payn.....	14th Aug. 1860	England	Appointed Brigadier-General in India 14th June 1872.
Richard Rocke.....	19th Aug. 1862	England	Placed on Half-Pay by Reduction, 15th Feb. 1866.
M. De la Poer Beresford.....	14th June 1872	England	Still serving in 1873.

MAJORS.

Benjamin Graves.....	24th Sept. 1812	England	Exchanged to 12th Regiment 5th May 1815.
John Carter.....	11th Dec. 1813	England	Exchanged to 7th Regiment 27th April 1823,
William Frith.....	5th May 1815	Ireland	Exchanged to 55th Regiment.
John Rolt.....	29th Aug. 1822	Ireland	Appointed Lieut.-Col. unattached.
T. G. Fitzgerald.....	27th April 1823	Ireland	Retired 26th Aug. 1824
M. H. Drummond	24th July 1823	Scotland	Appointed Lieut.-Col. unattached 16th June 1825. Died on passage to West Indies, 13th Jan. 1826.
Frederick Brownlow.....	26th Aug. 1824	Ireland	Exchanged to Half-Pay, 19th Nov. 1825.
W. L. Meberly.....	19th May 1825	England	Appointed Lieut.-Col. 96th Regiment.
Charles Middleton..... ...	16th June 1825	Scotland	Appointed Lieut.-Col. unattached 19th Nov. 1825.

MAJORS—*Continued.*

NAMES.	Date of Appointment to Regiment.	Country.	Remarks.
George Hall	19th Nov. 1825	England	Exchanged to Half-Pay, 7th Aug. 1835.
C. M. Maclean	1st Feb. 1827	Scotland	Promoted Lieut.-Col. 3d W. I. Regiment.
Frederick Hope	7th Aug. 1835	Scotland	Exchanged to Half-Pay, 27th Sept. 1842.
Henry Jervis	27th Sept. 1842	England	Appointed Lieut.-Col. Provisional Battalion, Chatham.
Richard P. Sharp	8th March 1850	England	Promoted Lieut.-Col. 72nd, 1st Dec. 1854.
J. W. Gaisford	19th July 1850	England	Promoted Lieut.-Col. 72nd, 22d June 1855.
William Parke	1st Dec. 1854	England	Promoted Lieut.-Col, 72nd, 23d Nov. 1855.
James Mackenzie	22d June 1855	Scotland	Died in the East Indies, 5th March 1858.
A. D. Thellusson	23d Nov. 1855	England	Retired 14th Aug. 1860.
Richard Rocke	6th March 1858	England	Promoted Lieut.-Col. 72nd, 19th Aug. 1862.
C. J. W. Norman	14th Aug. 1860	England	Retired 5th March 1861.
Alexander Crombie	5th March 1861	Scotland	Retired 9th Nov. 1866.
T. C. H. Best	19th Aug. 1862	England	Retired 20th Feb. 1863.
Cecil Rice	20th Feb. 1863	England	Promoted Lieut.-Col. Half-Pay, 28th May 1870.
Charles F. Hunter	9th Nov. 1866	Scotland	Retired 14th July 1869.
M. De la Poer Beresford	14th July 1869	England	Promoted Lieut.-Col. 72nd, 14th June 1872.
Francis Brownlow	28th May 1870	Ireland	Still serving in 1873.
W. H. Clarke	14th June 1872	England	Still serving in 1873.

PAYMASTERS.

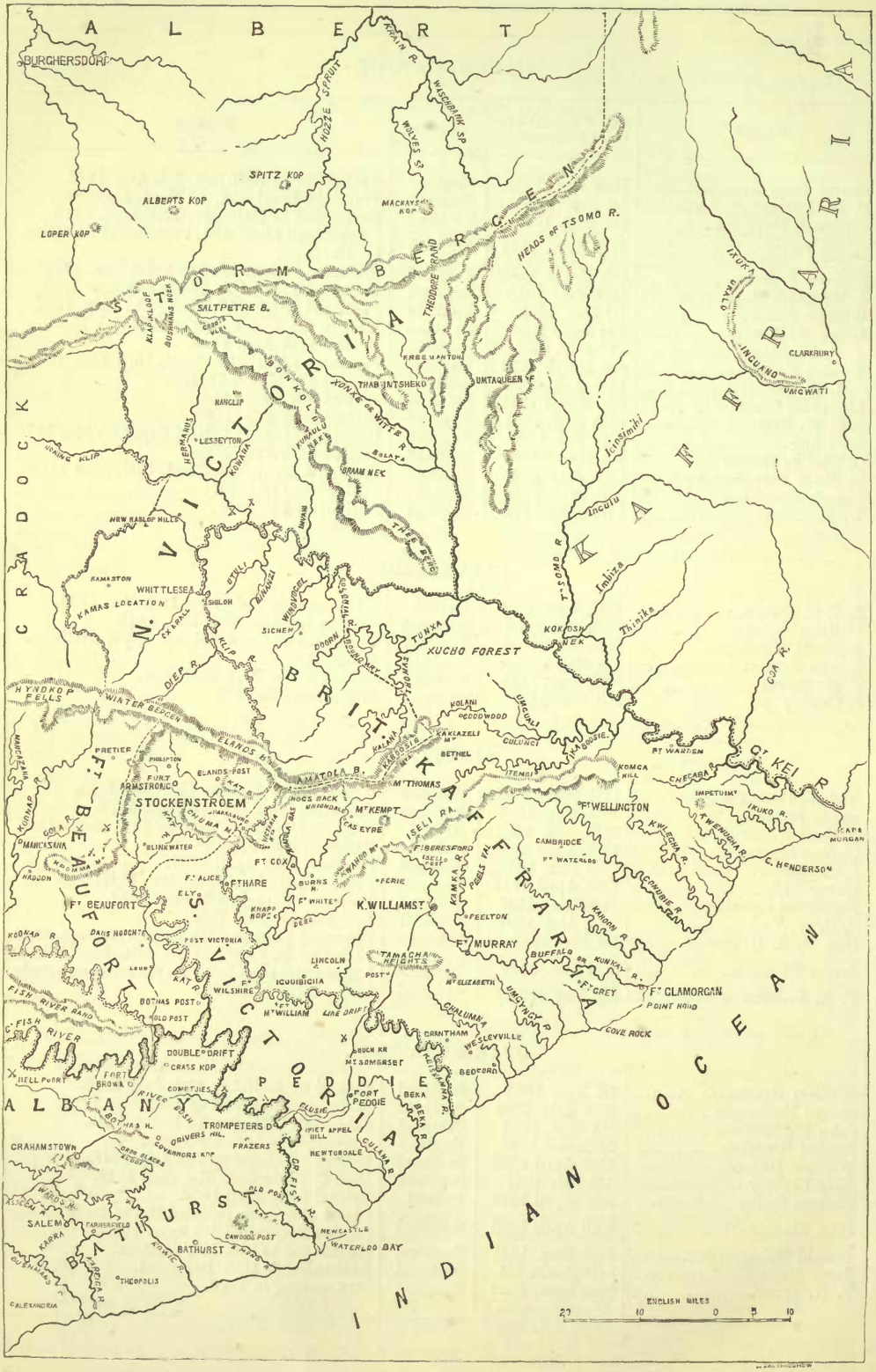
J. C. C. Irvine	27th Sept. 1810	Ireland	Exchanged to Half-Pay, 15th Oct. 1825.
William Graham	13th Oct. 1825	Scotland	Died in London, 30th Dec. 1848.
Rowland Webster	29th May 1849	England	Appointed to Coast Brigade Royal Artillery.
George Fowler	6th May 1862	England	Resigned.
C. M. Dawes	30th Aug. 1864	England	Exchanged to 30th Regiment.
J. Cassidy	22d Feb. 1871	Scotland	Still serving in 1873.

ADJUTANTS.

Richard Coventry	11th Jan. 1810	England	Appointed to Veteran Battalion 1819.
Henry Jervis	25th May 1819	England	Promoted Captain 19th Sept. 1826.
Michael Adair	19th Sept. 1826	Ireland	Promoted Captain Half-Pay 10th March 1837.
Charles Moylan	14th April 1837	Ireland	Resigned 26th June 1840.
J. T. Hope	26th June 1840	Scotland	Resigned 15th April 1842.
Henry Rice	15th April 1842	England	Promoted Captain 12th Nov. 1847.
Alexander Crombie	24th Dec. 1847	Scotland	Promoted Captain 6th June 1854.
C. C. W. Vesey	25th Aug. 1854	England	Resigned 1st May 1857.
Hon. S. R. H. Ward	1st May 1857	Ireland	Promoted Captain 17th Regt. 10th Sept. 1858
James Thomson	31st Dec. 1858	Scotland	Died 3d May 1871 at Umballa, East Indies: the cause was a fall from his horse, on parade.
T. A. A. Barstow	4th May 1871	Scotland	Still serving in 1873.

QUARTERMASTERS.

William Benton	1st Nov. 1804	Scotland	Retired on Half-Pay 25th July 1822.
George Mackenzie	25th July 1822	Scotland	Exchanged to Half-Pay 26th May 1825.
John Macpherson	9th Sept. 1823	Scotland	Retired on Half-Pay 2d March 1838.
Samuel Brodribb	2d March 1838	England	Appointed to 14th Dragoons.
William Hume	24th April 1838	Scotland	Retired on Half-Pay 23d July 1847.
John Lindsay	23d July 1847	Scotland	Died at Barbadoes, 21st Nov. 1848.
Michael Boden	20th April 1849	Ireland	Retired 30th April 1852.
John Macdonald	30th April 1852	Scotland	Died of wounds received in the trenches before Sevastopol 8th Sept. 1855.
Donald Munro	30th Nov. 1855	Scotland	Exchanged to 91st Highlanders.
Peter Murray	24th Jan. 1865	Scotland	Exchanged to 10th Regiment.
T. H. Smith	30th Sept. 1868	Scotland	Still serving in 1873.


ALBERT
BURGHERSDORP
SPITZ KOP
ALBERTS KOP
LOPER KOP
MACKAYS KOP
HEADS OF TSOMO R.
SOMERSET
SALTPETRE B.
THEODORE
BRAND
GREEN
KAFFRARIA
IXUKA
CLARKBURY
JINGUANO
UMGWATI
UMTAQUEEN
THABANTSHEKO
ERSE MANTONI
KANGLIP
LESSEYTON
KONXE OR WHITE R.
KUMALO
BOLATA
GRAAM NEK
THEE RIVER
CRADOCK
VICTORIA
N.
NEW KASLEY HILLS
WHITTLESEA
KAMASTON
KAMAS LOCATION
SHILOH
SICHEM
BRITISH
KAFFRARIA
XUCHO FOREST
KOKOTSH
TSOMO R.
Incutu
Imbiza
Thinka
Tsinsimihi
HYNDKOP FELLS
WINTER BERGEN
DEEP R.
KLIP R.
PRETIER
PHILIPTON
ELANDS POST
FORT ARMSTRONG
STOCKENSTROEM
MANCKSANA
BLINKWATER
MATOLA R.
M.T THOMAS
HOGS BACK
UNIONDALE
M.C KEMPT
CAS EYRE
ISELI R.
FIBERSFORD
KOLANI
GEDDWOOD
KAKIAZELI
GUILDREY
BETHEL
ITEMBU
KOMGA HILL
FT WARDEN
FT WELLINGTON
CHESARA
IMPETUM
KEI R.
IKUKO R.
KWENGHA R.
CAPE MORGAN
C. HENDERSON
CAMBRIDGE
FT WATERLOO
KWELEGA R.
CONVIBIE R.
KAHOM R.
FT BEAUFORT
FT ALICE
FT HARE
BURNS N.
FERIE
K. WILLIAMS T.
FT WHITE
KNAPP HOPE
PEELTON
FT MURRAY
BUFFALO
KONKA R.
FT GREY
FT CLAMORGAN
POINT HOOD
COVE ROCK
LINCOLN
TAMACHAS NECK
POST
M.C ELIZABETH
UMTHONA R.
CHALUMNA
WESLEYVILLE
BEDFORD
CRANTHAM
LOUGH KR
MESOMBRASET
KEISKAMMA R.
BEKA R.
FORT PEDDIE
PEDDIE
ALBANY
VICTORIA
FORT BROWN
HELL POORT
COMETJIES
DOUBLE DRIFT
CRASS KOP
BOTHAS POST
OLD POST
WILSHIRE
M.C WILLIAM
LINE DRIFT
ICUUIBICHIA
FISH RIVER
TROMPETERS D.
DRIVERS HILL
GOVERNORS KOP
FRAZERS
PIET APPEL HILL
NEWTONDALE
CULUMA R.
CRAHAMSTOWN
GRAHAMS BLACKS
KASSEL
WARREN N.
SALEM
FARNHEFIELD
KARRA
BATHURST
CAMDOCK POST
NEWCASTLE
WATERLOO BAY
THEOPOLIS
CALEXANDRIA
BATHURST
INDIAN OCEAN
ENGLISH MILES
20 10 0 5 10

ABERDEENSHIRE HIGHLAND REGIMENT,

OR

OLD EIGHTY-FIRST.

1777—1783.

THIS regiment was raised by the Honourable Colonel William Gordon, brother of the Earl of Aberdeen, to whom letters of service were granted for that purpose in December 1777. Of 980 men composing the regiment, 650 were from the Highlands of Aberdeenshire. The clan Ross mustered strongly under Major Ross; when embodied it was found that there were nine men of the name of John Ross in the regiment.

The corps was marched to Stirling, whence it was removed to Ireland, where the regiment continued three years. In the end of 1782 it was removed to England, and in March of the following year embarked at Portsmouth for the East Indies immediately after the preliminaries of peace were signed, notwithstanding the terms of agreement, which were the same as those made with the Athole Highlanders. The men, however, seemed satisfied with their destination, and it was not until they became acquainted with the conduct of the Athole men, that they refused to proceed. Government yielded to their demand to be discharged, and they were accordingly marched to Scotland, and disbanded at Edinburgh in April 1783. Their conduct during their existence was as exemplary as that of the other Highland regiments.

ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANT REGIMENT,

OR

OLD EIGHTY-FOURTH.

1775—1783.

Two Battalions—First Battalion—Quebec—Second Battalion—Settle in Canada and Nova Scotia.

THIS battalion was to be raised from the Highland emigrants in Canada, and the discharged men of the 42nd, of Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders, who had settled in North America after the peace of 1763. Lieutenant-Colonel Alan Maclean (son of Torloisk), of the late 104th Highland Regiment, was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the first battalion. Captain John Small, formerly of the 42nd, and then of the 21st Regiment, was appointed major-commandant of the second battalion, which was to be raised from emigrants and discharged Highland soldiers who had settled in Nova Scotia. Each battalion was to consist of 750 men, with officers in proportion. The commissions were dated the 14th of June 1775.

Great difficulty was experienced in conveying the recruits who had been raised in the back settlements to their respective destinations. A detachment from Carolina was obliged to relinquish an attempt to cross a bridge defended by cannon, in which Captain Macleod, its commander, and a number of the men were killed. Those who escaped reached their destination by different routes.

When assembled, the first battalion, consisting of 350 men, was detached up the River St Lawrence, but hearing that the American General Arnold intended to enter Canada with 3000 men, Colonel Maclean returned with his battalion by forced marches, and entered Quebec on the 13th of November 1776. The garrison of Quebec, previous to the arrival of Colonel Maclean, consisted of only 50 men of the Fusiliers and 700 militia and seamen. General Arnold, who had previously crossed the river, made a spirited attempt on the night of the 14th to get possession of the outworks of the city, but was repulsed with loss, and forced to retire to Point au Tremble.

Having obtained a reinforcement of troops under General Montgomery, Arnold resolved upon an assault. Accordingly, on the 31st of December he advanced towards the city, and attacked it in two places, but was completely repulsed at both points. In this affair General Montgomery, who led one of the points of attack, was killed, and Arnold wounded.

Foiled in this attempt, General Arnold took up a position on the heights of Abraham, and by intercepting all supplies, reduced the garrison to great straits. He next turned the blockade into a siege, and having erected batteries, made several attempts to get possession of the lower town; but Colonel Maclean, to whom the de-

fence of the place had been entrusted by General Guy Carlton, the commander-in-chief, defeated him at every point.[9] After these failures General Arnold raised the siege and evacuated Canada.

The battalion after this service was employed in various small enterprises during the war, in which they were generally successful. They remained so faithful to their trust, that notwithstanding that every inducement was held out to them to join the revolutionary standard, not one native Highlander deserted. Only one man was brought to the halberts during the time the regiment was embodied.

Major Small, being extremely popular with the Highlanders, was very successful in Nova Scotia, and his corps contained a greater proportion of them than the first battalion. Of ten companies which composed the second battalion, five remained in Nova Scotia and the neighbouring settlements during the war, and the other five, including the flank companies, joined the armies of General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis. The grenadier company was in the battalion, which at Eataw Springs "drove all before them," as stated in his despatches by Colonel Alexander Stuart of the 3d Regiment.

In the year 1778 the regiment, which had hitherto been known only as the Royal Highland Emigrants, was numbered the 84th, and orders were issued to augment the battalions to 1000 men each. Sir Henry Clinton was appointed colonel-in-chief. The uniform was the full Highland garb, with purse of racoon's skin. The officers wore the broad sword and dirk, and the men a half-basket sword. At the peace the officers and men received grants of land, in the proportion of 5000 acres to a field officer, 3000 to a captain, 500 to a subaltern, 200 to a sergeant, and 100 to a private soldier. The men of the first battalion settled in Canada, and those of the second in Nova Scotia, forming a settlement which they named Douglas. Many of the officers, however, returned home.

[9] Colonel Maclean, when a subaltern in the Scotch brigade in Holland, was particularly noticed by Count Lowendahl for his bravery at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1774. See the notice of Loudon's Highlanders.

FORTY-SECOND OR ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

SECOND BATTALION.

NOW THE SEVENTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

1780—1809.

Raising of the Regiment—First list of Officers—St Iago—India—Ponanee—Bednoor—Anantapoor—Mangalore—Tillycherry—Bombay—Dinapore—Cawnpore—Fort-William—Seringapatam—Pondicherry—Ceylon—Madras—Mysore—Home—Ceases to be a Highland Regiment.

ABOUT 1780 the situation of Great Britain was extremely critical, as she had not only to sustain a war in Europe, but also to defend her vast possessions in North America and the East Indies. In this emergency Government looked towards the north for aid, and although nearly 13,000 warriors had been drawn from the country north of the Tay, within the previous eighteen months, it determined again to draw upon the Highland population, by adding a second battalion to the 42nd regiment.

The following officers were appointed to the battalion:—

Colonel—Lord John Murray, died in 1787, the oldest General in the army.

Lieutenant-Colonel—Norman Macleod of Macleod, died in 1801, a Lieutenant-General.

Major—Patrick Græme, son of Inchbraco, died in 1781.

Captains.

Hay Macdowall, son of Garthland, a lieut.-gen., who was lost on his passage from India in 1809.
James Murray, died in 1781.
John Gregor.
James Drummond, afterwards Lord Perth, died in 1800.
John Macgregor.
Colin Campbell, son of Glenure.
Thomas Dalyell, killed at Mangalore in 1783.
David Lindsay.
John Grant, son of Glenormiston, died in 1801.

Lieutenants.

John Grant.
Alexander Macgregor of Balhaldy, died Major of the 65th regiment in 1795.
Dugald Campbell, retired in 1787.
James Spens, retired Lieutenant-Colonel of the 72d regiment in 1798.
John Wemyss, died in 1781.
Alexander Dunbar, died in 1783.
John Oswald.[1]
Æneas Fraser, died captain, 1784.
Alexander Maitland.
Alexander Ross, retired in 1784.

Ensigns.

Charles Sutherland.
John Murray Robertson
Alexander Macdonald.
Robert Robertson.
John Macdonald.
William White.
Charles Maclean.
John Macpherson, killed at Mangalore.

[1] This officer, the son of a goldsmith in Edinburgh, was very eccentric in his habits. He became a furious republican, and going to France on the breaking out of the revolution, was killed in 1793 in La Vendée, at the head of a regiment of which he had obtained the command

Chaplain.—John Stewart, died in 1781.
Surgeon.—Thomas Farquharson.
Adjutant.—Robert Leslie.
Mate.—Duncan Campbell.
Quarter-master.—Kenneth Mackenzie, killed at Mangalore.

The name of the 42nd Regiment was a sufficient inducement to the Highlanders to enter the service, and on the 21st of March 1780, only about three months after the appointment of the officers, the battalion was raised, and soon afterwards embodied at Perth.

In December the regiment embarked at Queensferry, to join an expedition then fitting out at Portsmouth, against the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Major-General William Meadows and Commodore Johnstone. The expedition sailed on the 12th of March 1781, and falling in with the French squadron under Admiral Suffrein at St Iago, was there attacked by the enemy, who were repulsed. Suffrein, however, got the start of the expedition, and the commander, finding that he had reached the Cape before them, proceeded to India, having previously captured a valuable convoy of Dutch East Indiamen, which had taken shelter in Saldanha Bay. As the troops had not landed, their right to a share of the prize-money was disputed by the commodore, but after a lapse of many years the objection was overruled.

The expedition, with the exception of the "Myrtle" transport, which separated from the fleet in a gale of wind off the Cape, arrived at Bombay on the 5th of March 1782, after a twelve months' voyage, and on the 13th of April sailed for Madras. The regiment suffered considerably on the passage from the scurvy, and from a fever caught in the island of Joanna; and on reaching Calcutta, 5 officers, including Major Patrick Græme, and 116 non-commissioned officers and privates had died.

Some time after the arrival of the expedition, a part of the troops, with some native corps, were detached against Palghatcheri, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Humberston of the 100th Regiment, in absence of Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, who, being on board the Myrtle, had not yet arrived. The troops in this expedition, of which seven companies of the Highlanders formed a part, took the field on the 2nd of September 1782, and after taking several small forts on their march, arrived before Palaghatcheri on the 19th of October. Finding the place much stronger than he expected, and ascertaining that Tippoo Sahib was advancing with a large force to its relief, Colonel Humberston retired towards Ponanee, closely pursued by the enemy, and blew up the forts of Mangaracotah and Ramgurh in the retreat.

At Ponanee the command was assumed by Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod. The effective force was reduced by sickness to 380 Europeans, and 2200 English and Travancore sepoys, and in this situation the British commander found himself surrounded by 10,000 cavalry and 14,000 infantry, including two corps of Europeans, under the French General Lally. Colonel Macleod attempted to improve by art the defences of a position strong by nature, but before his works were completed, General Lally made a spirited attack on the post on the morning of the 29th of November, at the head of the European troops: after a warm contest he was repulsed.

The conduct of the Highlanders, against whom Lally directed his chief attack, is thus noticed in the general orders issued on the occasion:—"The intrepidity with which Major Campbell and the Highlanders repeatedly charged the enemy, was most honourable to their character." In this affair the 42nd had 3 sergeants and 19 rank and file killed, and Major John Campbell, Captains Colin Campbell and Thomas Dalyell, Lieutenant Charles Sutherland, 2 sergeants, and 31 rank and file wounded.

After this service, Colonel Macleod with his battalion embarked for Bombay, and joined the army under Brigadier-General Matthews at Cundapoor, on the 9th of January 1793. On the 23rd General Matthews moved forward to attack Bednoor, from which the Sultan drew most of his supplies for his army. General Matthews was greatly harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy, and in crossing the mountains was much impeded by the nature of the country, and by a succession of field-works erected on the face of these mountains. On the 26th of February, the 42nd, led by Colonel Macleod, and followed by a corps of sepoys, attacked these positions with the

bayonet, and were in the breastwork before the enemy were aware of it. Four hundred of the enemy were bayonetted, and the rest were pursued to the walls of the fort. Seven forts were attacked and taken in this manner in succession. The principal redoubt, distinguished by the appellation of Hyder Gurh, situated on the summit of the highest ghaut or precipice, presented a more formidable appearance. It had a dry ditch in front, mounted with twenty pieces of cannon, and might have offered considerable resistance to the advance of the army, if well defended; but the loss of their seven batteries had so terrified the enemy, that they abandoned their last and strongest position in the course of the night, leaving behind them eight thousand stand of new arms, and a considerable quantity of powder, shot, and military stores. The army took possession of Bednoor the following day, but this triumph was of short duration, as the enemy soon recaptured the place, and took General Matthews and the greater part of his army prisoners.

Meanwhile the other companies were employed with a detachment under Major Campbell, in an enterprise against the fort of Anantapoor, which was attacked and carried on the 15th of February with little loss. Major Campbell returned his thanks to the troops for their spirited behaviour on this occasion, "and his particular acknowledgments to Captain Dalyell, and the officers and men of the flank companies of the 42nd regiment, who headed the storm." As the Highlanders on this occasion had trusted more to their fire than to the bayonet, the major strongly recommended to them in future never to fire a shot when the bayonet could be used.

The Highlanders remained at Anantapoor till the end of February, when they were sent under Major Campbell to occupy Carrical and Morebedery. They remained in these two small forts till the 12th of April, when they were marched first to Goorspoor and thence to Mangalore. Here the command of the troops, in consequence of the absence of Lieutenant-Colonels Macleod and Humberston devolved upon Major Campbell, now promoted to the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel. General Matthews having been suspended, Colonel Macleod, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, was appointed to succeed him.

Encouraged by the recapture of Bednoor, Tippoo detached a considerable force towards Mangalore, but it was attacked and defeated by Colonel Campbell, on the 6th of May. Little loss was sustained on either side, but the enemy left all their guns. The Highlanders had 7 privates killed, and Captain William Stewart and 16 rank and file wounded.

Tippoo, having now no force in the field to oppose him, advanced upon Mangalore with his whole army, consisting of 90,000 men, besides a corps of European infantry from the Isle of France, a troop of dismounted French cavalry from the Mauritius, and Lally's corps of Europeans and natives. This immense force was supported by eighty pieces of cannon. The garrison of Mangalore was in a very sickly state, there being only 21 sergeants, 12 drummers, and 210 rank and file of king's troops, and 1500 natives fit for duty.

With the exception of a strong outpost about a mile from Mangalore, the place was completely invested by the Sultan's army about the middle of May. The defence of the outpost was intrusted to some sepoys, but they were obliged to abandon it on the 23rd. The siege was now prosecuted with vigour, and many attacks were made, but the garrison, though suffering the severest privations, repulsed every attempt. Having succeeded at length in making large breaches in the walls, and reducing some parts of them to a mass of ruins, the enemy repeatedly attempted to enter the breaches and storm the place; but they were uniformly forced to retire, sustaining a greater loss by every successive attack. On the 20th of July a cessation of hostilities was agreed to, but on the 23rd the enemy violated the truce by springing a mine. Hostilities were then resumed, and continued till the 29th, when a regular armistice was entered into. Brigadier-General Macleod anchored in the bay on the 17th of August, with a small convoy of provisions and a reinforcement of troops; but on learning the terms of the armistice, the general, from a feeling of honour, ordered the ships back to Tellicherry, to the great disappointment of the half-famished garrison. Two reinforcements which arrived off the coast suc-

cessively on the 22nd of November, and the last day of December, also returned to the places whence they had come.

About this time, in consequence of the peace with France, Colonel Cossigny, the French commander, withdrew his troops, to the great displeasure of the Sultan, who encouraged the French soldiers to desert and join his standard. Some of them accordingly deserted, but Colonel Cossigny having recovered part of them, indicated his dissatisfaction with Tippoo's conduct, by ordering them to be shot in presence of two persons sent by the Sultan to intercede for their lives.

The misery of the garrison was now extreme. Nearly one-half of the troops had been carried off, and one-half of the survivors were in the hospital. The sepoys in particular were so exhausted that many of them dropped down in the act of shouldering their firelocks, whilst others became totally blind. Despairing of aid, and obliged to eat horses, frogs, dogs, crows, cat-fish, black grain, &c., the officers resolved, in a council of war, to surrender the place. The terms, which were highly honourable to the garrison, were acceded to by the Sultan, and the capitulation was signed on the 30th of January 1784, after a siege of nearly nine months. In the defence of Mangalore, the Highlanders had Captain Dalyell, Lieutenants Macpherson, Mackenzie, and Mackintyre, 1 piper and 18 soldiers killed; and Captains William Stewart, Robert John Napier, and Lieutenants Murray, Robertson, and Welsh, 3 sergeants, 1 piper, and 47 rank and file wounded. The corps also lost Mr Dennis the acting chaplain, who was shot in the forehead by a matchlock ball whilst standing behind a breastwork of sand-bags, and looking at the enemy through a small aperture.

Alluding to the siege of Mangalore, Colonel Fullarton says that the garrison, under its estimable commander, Colonel Campbell, "made a defence that has seldom been equalled, and never surpassed;" and Colonel Lindsay observes, in his Military Miscellany, that "the defence of Colberg in Pomerania, by Major Heiden and his small garrison, and that of Mangalore in the East Indies, by Colonel Campbell and the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders, now the 73rd regiment, are as noble examples as any in history." The East India Company showed a due sense of the services of the garrison, by ordering a monument to be erected to the memory of Colonel Campbell,[2] Captains Stewart and Dalyell, and those who fell at the siege, and giving a handsome gratuity to the survivors.

The battalion embarked for Tellicherri on the 4th of February 1784, where it remained till April, when it departed for Bombay. It was afterwards stationed at Dinapoor in Bengal, when, on the 18th of April 1786, the battalion was formed into a separate corps, with green facings, under the denomination of the 73rd regiment, the command of which was given to Sir George Osborne. It was at first intended to reduce the junior officers of both battalions, instead of putting all the officers of the second on half-pay; but on representations being made by the officers of both battalions, the arrangement alluded to was made to save the necessity of putting any of the officers on half-pay.

In December 1787, the 73rd removed to Cawnpore, where it remained till March 1790, when it was sent to Fort William in Bengal. Next year the regiment joined the army in Malabar, under the command of Major-General Robert Abercromby. Major Macdowall being about this time promoted to the 57th, was succeeded by Captain James Spens.

With the view of attacking Seringapatam, Lord Cornwallis directed General Abercromby to join him with all his disposable force, consisting of the 73rd, 75th, and 77th British, and seven native regiments. He accordingly began his march on the 5th of December 1791, but owing to various causes he did not join the main army till the 16th of February following. The enemy having been repulsed before Seringapatam on the 22nd, entered into preliminaries of peace on the 24th, when the war ended.

[2] Colonel Campbell died at Bombay. His father, Lord Stonefield, a lord of session, had seven sons, and the colonel was the eldest. After the surrender of Mangalore the Sultan showed him great courtesy, and, after deservedly complimenting him upon his gallant defence, presented him with an Arabian charger and sabre. Tippoo had, however, little true generosity of disposition, and the cruelties which he inflicted on General Matthews and his army show that he was as cruel as his father Hyder.

The 73rd was employed in the expedition against Pondicherry in 1793, when it formed part of Colonel David Baird's brigade. The regiment, though much reduced by sickness, had received from time to time several detachments of recruits from Scotland, and at this period it was 800 strong. In the enterprise against Pondicherry, Captain Galpine, Lieutenant Donald Macgregor, and Ensign Tod were killed.

The 73rd formed part of the force sent against Ceylon in the year 1793, under Major-General James Stuart. It remained in the island till 1797, when it returned to Madras, and was quartered in various parts of that presidency till 1799, when it joined the army under General Harris.

This army encamped at Mallavelly on the 27th of March, on which day a battle took place with the Sultan, Tippoo, whose army was totally routed, with the loss of 1000 men, whilst that of the British was only 69 men killed and wounded. Advancing slowly, the British army arrived in the neighbourhood of the Mysore capital, Seringapatam, on the 5th of April, and took up a position preparatory to a siege, the third within the space of a few years. The enemy's advanced troops and rocket-men gave some annoyance to the picquets the same evening, but they were driven back next morning by two columns under the Hon. Colonel Arthur Wellesley and Colonel Shaw; an attempt made by the same officers the previous evening having miscarried, in consequence of the darkness of the night and some unexpected obstructions. The Bombay army joined on the 30th, and took up a position in the line, the advanced posts being within a thousand yards of the garrison. A party of the 75th, under Colonel Hart, having dislodged the enemy on the 17th, established themselves under cover within a thousand yards of the fort; whilst at the same time, Major Macdonald of the 73rd, with a detachment of his own and other regiments, took possession of a post at the same distance from the fort on the south. On the evening of the 20th, another detachment, under Colonels Sherbrooke, St John, and Monypenny, drove 2000 of the enemy from an entrenched position within eight hundred yards of the place, with the loss of only 5 killed and wounded, whilst that of the enemy was 250 men. On the 22nd the enemy made a vigorous though unsuccessful sortie on all the advanced posts. They renewed the attempt several times, but were as often repulsed with great loss. Next day the batteries opened with such effect that all the guns opposed to them were silenced in the course of a few hours. The siege was continued with unabated vigour till the morning of the 4th of May, when it was resolved to attempt an assault. Major-General Baird, who, twenty years before, had been kept a prisoner in chains in the city he was now to storm, was appointed to command the assailants, who were to advance in two columns under Colonels Dunlop and Sherbrooke; the Hon. Colonel Arthur Wellesley commanding the reserve. The whole force amounted to 4376 firelocks. Everything being in readiness, at one o'clock in the afternoon the troops waited the signal, and on its being given they rushed impetuously forward, and in less than two hours Seringapatam was in possession of the British. The Sultan and a number of his chief officers fell whilst defending the capital. In this gallant assault, Lieutenant Lalor of the 73rd was killed, and Captain William Macleod, Lieutenant Thomas, and Ensigns Antill and Guthrie of the same regiment, were wounded.

Nothing now remained to complete the subjugation of Mysore but to subdue a warlike chief who had taken up arms in support of the Sultan. Colonel Wellesley was detached against him with the 73rd and some other troops, when his army was dispersed, and the chief himself killed in a charge of cavalry.

In 1805 the regiment was ordered home, but such of the men as were inclined to remain in India were offered a bounty. The result was that most of them volunteered, and the few that remained embarked at Madras for England, and arrived at Gravesend in July 1806. The remains of the regiment arrived at Perth in 1807, and in 1809 the ranks were filled up to 800 men, and a second battalion was added. The uniform and designation of the corps was then changed, and it ceased to be a Highland regiment.

74th HIGHLANDERS.

1787–1846.

I.

Raising of Four new Regiments—Original establishment of Officers of 74th—Goes to India—Mysore—Kistnagherry—Seringapatam—Incident at Pondicherry—Patriotic Liberality of the 74th—Seringapatam again—Storming of Ahmednuggur—Battle of Assaye—Battle of Argaum—Return home—Captain Cargill's recollections—Highland dress laid aside—The Peninsula—Busaco—Various skirmishes—Fuentes d'Onor—Badajoz—Cindad Rodrigo—Badajoz—Salamanca—Vitoria—Roncesvalles—Nivelle—Nive—Orthes—Toulouse—Home—Medals—Burning of the old colours—Nova Scotia—The Bermudas—Ireland—Barbadoes—West Indies—North America—England—Highland garb restored.



Assaye (with the elephant).	Salamanca.
Seringapatam.	Vitoria.
Busaco.	Pyrenees.
Fuentes d'Onor.	Nivelle.
Ciudad Rodrigo.	Orthes.
Badajos.	Toulouse.
	Peninsula.

In the year 1787 four new regiments were ordered to be raised for the service of the state, to be numbered the 74th, 75th, 76th, and 77th. The first two were directed to be raised in the north of Scotland, and were to be Highland regiments. The regimental establishment of each was to consist of ten companies of 75 men each, with the customary number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B., from the half-pay of Fraser's Highlanders, was appointed colonel of the 74th regiment.[1]

The establishment of the regiment was fixed at ten companies, consisting of—

1 Colonel and Captain.	1 Adjutant.
1 Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain.	1 Quartermaster.
	1 Surgeon.
1 Major and Captain.	2 Surgeon's Mates.
7 Captains.	30 Sergeants.
1 Captain-Lieutenant.	40 Corporals.
21 Lieutenants.	20 Drummers.
8 Ensigns.	2 Fifers, and
1 Chaplain.	710 Privates.

A recruiting company was afterwards added, which consisted of—

1 Captain.	8 Corporals.
2 Lieutenants.	4 Drummers.
1 Ensign.	30 Privates.
8 Sergeants.	

Total of Officers and Men of all ranks, 902.

The regiment was styled "The 74th Highland Regiment of Foot." The uniform was the full Highland garb of kilt and feathered bonnet, the tartan being similar to that of the 42nd regiment, and the facings white; the use of the kilt was, however, discontinued in the East Indies, as being unsuited to the climate.

The following were the officers first appointed to the regiment:—

Colonel—Archibald Campbell, K.B.
Lieutenant-Colonel—Gordon Forbes.

Captains.

Dugald Campbell.	William Wallace.
Alexander Campbell.	Robert Wood.
Archibald Campbell.	

Captain-Lieutenant and Captain—Heneage Twysden.

Lieutenants.

James Clark.	John Alexander.
Charles Campbell.	Samuel Swinton.
John Campbell.	John Campbell.
Thomas Carnie.	Charles Campbell.
W. Coningsby Davies.	George Henry Vansittart.
Dugald Lamont.	Archibald Campbell.

Ensigns.

John Forbes.	John Wallace.
Alexander Stewart.	Hugh M'Pherson.
James Campbell.	

Chaplain—John Ferguson.
Adjutant—Samuel Swinton.
Quartermaster—James Clark.
Surgeon—William Henderson.

As the state of affairs in India required that reinforcements should be immediately despatched to that country, all the men who had been embodied previous to January 1788 were ordered for embarkation, without waiting for the full complement. In consequence of these orders, 400 men, about one-half Highlanders, embarked at Grangemouth, and sailed from Chatham for the East Indies, under the command of Captain William Wallace. The regiment having been completed in autumn, the recruits followed in February 1789, and ar-

[1] Portrait on the next page.

rived at Madras in June in perfect health. They joined the first detachment at the cantonments of Poonamallee, and thus united, the corps amounted to 750 men. These were now trained under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, who had succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes in the command, and who had acquired some experience in the training of soldiers as captain in Fraser's Highlanders.

In connection with the main army under Lord Cornwallis, the Madras army under General Meadows, of which the 74th formed a part, began a series of movements in the spring of 1790. The defence of the passes leading into the Carnatic from Mysore was intrusted to Colonel Kelly, who, besides his own corps, had under him the 74th; but he dying in September, Colonel Maxwell [2] succeeded to the command.



Major General Sir Archibald Campbell, Bart., K.C.B.
From a painting by J. C. Wood.

The 74th was put in brigade with the 71st and 72nd Highland regiments. The regiment suffered no loss in the different movements which took place till the storming of Bangalore, on the 21st of March 1791. The whole loss of the British, however, was only 5 men. After the defeat of Tippoo Sahib at Seringapatam, on the 15th of May 1791, the army, in consequence of bad weather and scarcity of provisions, retreated upon Bangalore, reaching that place in July.

The 74th was detached from the army at Nundeedroog on the 21st of October, with three Sepoy battalions and some field artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, into the Baramahal country, which this column was ordered to clear of the enemy. They reached the south end of the valley by forced marches, and took the strong fort of Penagurh by escalade on the 31st of October, and after scouring the whole of the Baramahal to the southward, returned towards Caverypooram, and encamped within five miles of the strong fort of Kistnagherry, 50 miles S.E. of Bangalore, on the 7th of November. Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell determined on attacking the lower fort and town immediately, and the column advanced from the camp to the attack in three divisions at ten o'clock on that night; two of these were sent to the right and left to attack the lower fort on the western and eastern sides, while the centre division advanced directly towards the front wall. The divisions approached close to the walls before they were discovered, succeeded in escalading them, and got possession of the gates. The enemy fled to the upper fort without making much resistance, and the original object of the attack was thus gained. But a most gallant attempt was made by Captain Wallace of the 74th, who commanded the right division, to carry the almost inaccessible upper fort also. His division rushed up in pursuit of the fugitives; and notwithstanding the length and steepness of the ascent, his advanced party followed the enemy so closely that they had barely time to shut the gates. Their standard

[2] This able officer was son of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith, and brother of the Duchess of Gordon. He died at Cuddalore in 1783.

was taken on the steps of the gateway; but as the ladders had not been brought forward in time, it was impossible to escalade before the enemy recovered from their panic.

During two hours, repeated trials were made to get the ladders up, but the enemy hurling down showers of rocks and stones into the road, broke the ladders, and crushed those who carried them. Unluckily, a clear moonlight discovered every movement, and at length, the ladders being all destroyed, and many officers and men disabled in carrying them, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell found it necessary to order a discontinuance of the assault.

The retreat of the men who had reached the gate, and of the rest of the troops, was conducted with such regularity, that a party which sallied from the fort in pursuit of them was immediately driven back. The pettah, or lower town, was set fire to, and the troops withdrawn to their camp before daylight on the 8th of November.

The following were the casualties in the regiment on this occasion :—Killed, 2 officers, 1 sergeant, 5 rank and file; wounded, 3 officers, 47 non-commissioned officers and men. The officers killed were Lieutenants Forbes and Lamont; those wounded, Captain Wallace, Lieutenants M'Kenzie and Aytone.

The column having also reduced several small forts in the district of Ossoor, rejoined the army on the 30th of November.

In the second attempt on Seringapatam, on the 6th of February 1792, the 74th, with the 52nd regiment and 71st Highlanders, formed the centre under the immediate orders of the Commander-in-Chief. Details of these operations, and others elsewhere in India, in which the 74th took part at this time, have already been given in our accounts of the 71st and 72nd regiments. The 74th on this occasion had 2 men killed, and Lieutenant Farquhar, Ensign Hamilton, and 17 men wounded.

On the termination of hostilities this regiment returned to the coast. In July 1793 the flank companies were embodied with those of the 71st in the expedition against Pondicherry. The following interesting episode, as related in Cannon's account of the regiment, occurred after the capture of Pondicherry :—

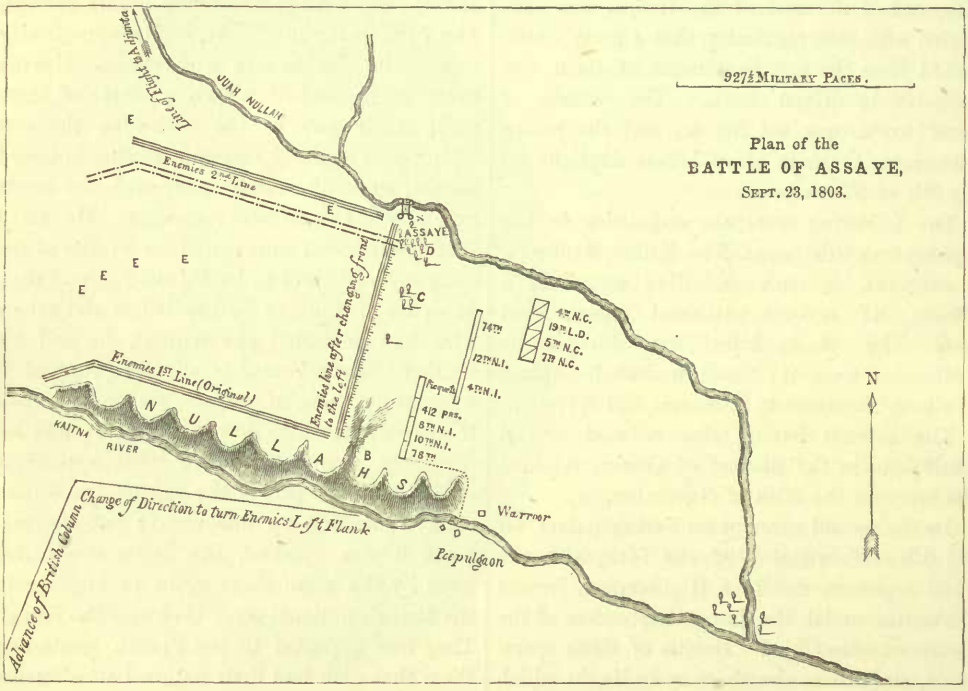
The 74th formed part of the garrison, and the French troops remained in the place as prisoners of war. Their officers were of the old *régime*, and were by birth and in manners gentlemen, to whom it was incumbent to show every kindness and hospitality. It was found, however, that both officers and men, and the French population generally, were strongly tinctured with the revolutionary mania, and some uneasiness was felt lest the same should be in any degree imbibed by the British soldiers. It happened that the officers of the 74th were in the theatre, when a French officer called for the revolutionary air, "*Ça Ira;*" this was opposed by some of the British, and there was every appearance of a serious disturbance, both parties being highly excited. The 74th, being in a body, had an opportunity to consult, and to act with effect. Having taken their resolution, two or three of them made their way to the orchestra, the rest taking post at the doors, and, having obtained silence, the senior officer addressed the house in a firm but conciliatory manner. He stated that the national tune called for by one of the company ought not to be objected to, and that, as an act of courtesy to the ladies and others who had seconded the request, he and his brother officers were determined to support it with every mark of respect, and called upon their countrymen to do the same. It was accordingly played with the most uproarious applause on the part of the French, the British officers standing up uncovered; but the moment it was finished, the house was called upon by the same party again to uncover to the British national air, "God save the King." They now appealed to the French, reminding them that each had their national attachments and recollections of home; that love of country was an honourable principle, and should be respected in each other; and that they felt assured their respected friends would not be behind in that courtesy which had just been shown by the British. Bravo! Bravo! resounded from every part of the house, and from that moment all rankling was at an end. They lived in perfect harmony till the French embarked, and each party retained their sentiments as a thing peculiar to their own country, but without the slightest offence on either side, or expectation that they should assimi-

late, more than if they related to the colour of their uniforms.

As a set-off to this, it is worth recording that in 1798, when voluntary contributions for the support of the war with France were being offered to Government from various parts of the British dominions, the privates of the 74th, of their own accord, handsomely and patriotically contributed eight days' pay to assist in carrying on the war,—"a war," they said, "unprovoked on our part, and justified by the noblest of motives, the preservation of our individual constitution." The sergeants and corporals, animated by similar sentiments, subscribed a fortnight's, and the officers a month's pay each.

of this campaign, and had its full share in the storming of Seringapatam on the 4th of May 1799.

The troops for the assault, commanded by Major-General Baird, were divided into two columns of attack.[3] The 74th, with the 73rd regiment, 4 European flank companies, 14 Sepoy flank companies, with 50 artillerymen, formed the right column, under Colonel Sherbroke. Each column was preceded by 1 sergeant and 12 men, volunteers, supported by an advanced party of 1 subaltern and 25 men. Lieutenant Hill, of the 74th, commanded the advanced party of the right column. After the successful storm and cap-



A, the ford from Peepulgaon to Warroor; B, the rising ground which protected the advance; C, four old mangoes; D, screen of prickly pear, covering Assaye; E E E E 30,000 of the enemy's cavalry.

Besides reinforcements of recruits from Scotland fully sufficient to compensate all casualties, the regiment received, on the occasion of the 71st being ordered home to Europe, upwards of 200 men from that regiment. By these additions the strength of the 74th was kept up, and the regiment, as well in the previous campaign as in the subsequent one under General Harris, was one of the most effective in the field.

The 74th was concerned in all the operations

ture of the fortress, the 74th was the first regiment that entered the palace.

The casualties of the regiment during the siege were:—Killed, 5 officers, and 45 non-commissioned officers and men. Wounded, 4 officers, and 111 non-commissioned officers and men. Officers killed, Lieutenants Irvine, Farquhar, Hill, Shaw, Prendergast. Officers

[3] For further details see the history of the 73rd regiment, page 570, vol. ii.

wounded, Lieutenants Fletcher, Aytone, Maxwell, Carrington.

The regiment received the royal authority to bear the word "Seringapatam" on its regimental colour and appointments in commemoration of its services at this siege.

The 74th had not another opportunity of distinguishing itself till the year 1803, when three occasions occurred. The first was on the 8th of August, when the fortress of Ahmednuggur, then in possession of Sindiah, the Mahratta chief, was attacked, and carried by assault by the army detached under the Hon. Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley. In this affair the 74th, which formed a part of the brigade commanded by Colonel Wallace, bore a distinguished part, and gained the special thanks of the Major-General and the Governor-General.

The next was the battle of Assaye, fought on the 23rd of September. On that day Major-General the Hon. Arthur Wellesley attacked the whole combined Mahratta army of Sindiah and the Rajah of Berar, at ASSAYE, on the banks of the Kaitna river. The Mahratta force, of 40,000 men, was completely defeated by a force of 5000, of which not more than 2000 were Europeans, losing 98 pieces of cannon, 7 standards, and leaving 1200 killed, and about four times that number wounded on the field. The conduct of the 74th in this memorable battle was most gallant and distinguished; but from having been prematurely led against the village of Assaye on the left of the enemy's line, the regiment was exposed, unsupported, to a most terrible cannonade, and being afterwards charged by cavalry, sustained a tremendous loss.

In this action, the keenest ever fought in India, the 74th had Captains D. Aytone, Andrew Dyce, Roderick Macleod, John Maxwell; Lieutenants John Campbell, John Morshead Campbell, Lorn Campbell, James Grant, J. Morris, Robert Neilson, Volunteer Tew, 9 sergeants, and 127 rank and file killed; and Major Samuel Swinton, Captains Norman Moore, Matthew Shawe, John Alexander Main, Robert Macmurdo, J. Longland, Ensign Kearnon, 11 sergeants, 7 drummers, and 270 rank and file wounded. "Every officer present," says Cannon, "with the regiment was either killed or wounded, except Quartermaster James Grant, who, when he saw so many of his friends fall in the battle, resolved to share their fate, and, though a non-combatant, joined the ranks and fought to the termination of the action." Besides expressing his indebtedness to the 74th in his despatch to the Governor-General, Major-General Wellesley added the following to his memorandum on the battle:—

"However, by one of those unlucky accidents which frequently happen, the officer commanding the piquets which were upon the right led immediately up to the village of Assaye. The 74th regiment, which was on the right of the second line, and was ordered to support the piquets, followed them. There was a large break in our line between these corps and those on our left. They were exposed to a most terrible cannonade from Assaye, and were charged by the cavalry belonging to the Campoos; consequently in the piquets and the 74th regiment we sustained the greatest part of our loss.

"Another bad consequence resulting from this mistake was the necessity of introducing the cavalry into the action at too early a period. I had ordered it to watch the motions of the enemy's cavalry hanging upon our right, and luckily it charged in time to save the remains of the 74th and the piquets."

The names especially of Lieutenants-Colonel Harness and Wallace were mentioned with high approbation both by Wellesley and the Governor-General. The Governor-General ordered that special honorary colours be presented to the 74th and 78th, who were the only European infantry employed "on that glorious occasion," with a device suited to commemorate the signal and splendid victory.

The device on the special colour awarded to the 74th appears at the head of this account. The 78th for some reason ceased to make use of its third colour after it left India, so that the 74th is now probably the only regiment in the British army that possesses such a colour, an honour of which it may well be proud.

Captain A. B. Campbell of the 74th, who had on a former occasion lost an arm, and had afterwards had the remaining one broken at

the wrist by a fall in hunting, was seen in the thickest of the action with his bridle in his teeth, and a sword in his mutilated hand, dealing destruction around him. He came off unhurt, though one of the enemy in the charge very nearly transfixed him with a bayonet, which actually pierced his saddle.[4]

The third occasion in 1803 in which the 74th was engaged was the battle of Argaum, which was gained with little loss, and which fell chiefly on the 74th and 78th regiments, both of which were specially thanked by Wellesley. The 74th had 1 sergeant and 3 rank and file killed, and 1 officer, Lieutenant Langlands,[5] 5 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 41 rank and file wounded.

Further details of these three important affairs will be found in the history of the 78th regiment.

In September 1805, the regiment, having served for sixteen years in India, embarked for England, all the men fit for duty remaining in India.

The following Order in Council was issued on the occasion by the Governor, Lord William Bentinck :—

"*Fort St George, 5th Sept.* 1805.

"The Right Honourable the Governor in Council, on the intended embarkation of the remaining officers and men of His Majesty's 74th regiment, discharges a duty of the highest satisfaction to his Lordship in Council in bestowing on that distinguished corps a public testimony of his Lordship's warmest respect and approbation. During a long and eventful period of residence in India, the conduct of His Majesty's 74th regiment, whether in peace or war, has been equally exemplary and conspicuous, having been not less remarkable for the general tenor of its discipline than for the most glorious achievements in the field.

"Impressed with these sentiments, his Lordship in Council is pleased to direct that His Majesty's 74th regiment be held forth as an object of imitation for the military establishment of this Presidency, as his Lordship will ever reflect with pride and gratification, that in the actions which have led to the present pre-eminence of the British Empire in India, the part so nobly sustained by that corps will add lustre to the military annals of the country, and crown the name of His Majesty's 74th regiment with immortal reputation.

"It having been ascertained, to the satisfaction of the Governor in Council, that the officers of His Majesty's 74th regiment were, during the late campaign in the Deccan, subjected to extraordinary expenses, which have been aggravated by the arrangements connected with their embarkation for Europe, his Lordship in Council has been pleased to resolve that those officers shall receive a gratuity equal to three months' batta, as a further testimony of his Lordship's approbation of their eminent services.

"By order of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

"J. H. Webb,
"*Secretary to the Government.*

Besides the important engagements in which the 74th took part during its long stay in India, there were many smaller conflicts and arduous services which devolved upon the regiment, but of which no record has been preserved. Some details illustrative of these services are contained in Cannon's history of the 74th, communicated by officers who served with it in India, and afterwards throughout the Peninsular War. Captain Cargill, who served in the regiment, writes as follows :—

"The 74th lives in my recollection under two aspects, and during two distinct epochs.

"The first is the history and character of the regiment, from its formation to its return as a skeleton from India ; and the second is that of the regiment as it now exists, from its being embarked for the Peninsula in January 1810.

"So far as field service is concerned, it has been the good fortune of the corps to serve

[4] Welsh's "Military Reminiscences," vol. i. p. 178.

[5] A powerful Arab threw a spear at him, and, drawing his sword, rushed forward to finish the lieutenant. But the spear having entered Langland's leg, cut its way out again, and stuck in the ground behind him. Langlands grasped it, and, turning the point, threw it with so true an aim, that it went right through his opponent's body, and transfixed him within three or four yards of his intended victim. All eyes were for an instant turned on these two combatants, when a Sepoy rushed out of the ranks, and patting the lieutenant on the back, exclaimed, "Atcha Sahib! Chote atcha kecah!" "Well Sir! very well done." Such a ludicrous circumstance, even in a moment of such extreme peril, raised a very hearty laugh among the soldiers.—Welsh's "Military Reminiscences," vol. i. p. 194.

during both periods, on the more conspicuous occasions, under the great captain of the age; under him also, during the latter period, it received the impress of that character which attaches to most regiments that were placed in the same circumstances, which arose from the regulations introduced by His Royal Highness the Duke of York, and the practical application of them by a master mind in the great school of the Peninsular War. Uniformity was thus given; and the 74th, like every other corps that has had the same training, must acknowledge the hand under which its present character was mainly impressed. But it was not so with the 74th in India. At that time every regiment had its distinctive character and system broadly marked, and this was generally found to have arisen from the materials of which it had been originally composed, and the tact of the officer by whom it had been embodied and trained. The 74th, in these respects, had been fortunate, and the tone and discipline introduced by the late Sir Archibald Campbell, together with the chivalrous spirit and noble emulation imbibed by the corps in these earlier days of Eastern conquest, had impressed upon the officers the most correct perception of their duties, not only as regards internal economy and the gradation of military rank, but also as regards the Government under which they served. It was, perhaps, the most perfect that could well exist. It was participated in by the men, and certainly characterised the regiment in a strong degree.

"It was an established principle in the old 74th, that whatever was required of the soldier should be strikingly set before him by his officers, and hence the most minute point of ordinary duty was regarded by the latter as a matter in which his honour was implicated. The duty of the officer of the day was most rigidly attended to, the officer on duty remaining in full uniform, and without parting with his sword even in the hottest weather, and under all circumstances, and frequently going the rounds of the cantonments during the night. An exchange of duty was almost never heard of, and the same system was carried into every duty and department, with the most advantageous effect upon the spirit and habits of the men.

"Intemperance was an evil habit fostered by climate and the great facility of indulgence; but it was a point of honour among the men never to indulge when near an enemy, and I often heard it observed, that this rule was never known to be broken, even under the protracted operations of a siege. On such occasions the officers had no trouble with it, the principle being upheld by the men themselves.

"On one occasion, while the 74th was in garrison at Madras, and had received a route to march up the country, there was a mutiny among the Company's artillery at the Mount. The evening before the regiment set out it was reported that they had some kind of leaning towards the mutineers; the whole corps felt most indignant at the calumny, but no notice was taken of it by the commanding officer. In the morning, however, he marched early, and made direct for the Mount, where he unfurled the colours, and marched through the cantonments with fixed bayonets. By a forced march he reached his proper destination before midnight, and before dismissing the men, he read them a short but pithy despatch, which he sent off to the Government, stating the indignation of every man of the corps at the libellous rumour, and that he had taken the liberty of gratifying his men by showing to the mutineers those colours which were ever faithfully devoted to the service of the Government. The circumstance had also a happy effect upon the mutineers who had heard the report, but the stern aspect of the regiment dispelled the illusion, and they submitted to their officers."

The losses sustained by the regiment in officers and men, on many occasions, of which no account has been kept, were very great, particularly during the last six years of its Indian service.

That gallant veteran, Quarter-master Grant, who had been in the regiment from the time it was raised, fought at Assaye, and returned with it to England, used to say that he had seen nearly three different sets of officers during the period, the greater part of whom had fallen in battle or died of wounds, the regiment having been always very healthy.

Before the 74th left India, nearly all the men who were fit for duty volunteered into

other regiments that remained on service in that country. One of these men, of the grenadier company, is said to have volunteered on nine forlorn hopes, including Seringapatam.

The regiment embarked at Madras in September 1805, a mere skeleton so far as numbers were concerned, landed at Portsmouth in February 1806, and proceeded to Scotland to recruit, having resumed the kilt, which had been laid aside in India. The regiment was stationed in Scotland (Dumbarton Castle, Glasgow, and Fort-George), till January 1809, but did not manage to recruit to within 400 men of its complement, which was ordered to be completed by volunteers from English and Irish, as well as Scotch regiments of militia. The regiment left Scotland for Ireland in January 1809, and in May of that year it was ordered that the Highland dress of the regiment should be discontinued, and its uniform assimilated to that of English regiments of the line; it however retained the designation *Highland* until the year 1816, and, as will be seen, in 1846 it was permitted to resume the national garb, and recruit only in Scotland. For these reasons we are justified in continuing its history to the present time.

It was while in Ireland, in September 1809, that Lieutenant-Colonel Le Poer Trench, whose name will ever be remembered in connection with the 74th, was appointed to the command of the regiment, from Inspecting Field-Officer in Canada, by exchange with Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm Macpherson; the latter having succeeded that brave officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Swinton, in 1805.

In January 1810 the regiment sailed from Cork for the Peninsula, to take its share in the warlike operations going on there, landing at Lisbon on February 10. On the 27th the 74th set out to join the army under Wellington, and reached Vizeu on the 6th of March. While at Vizeu, Wellington inquired at Colonel Trench how many of the men who fought at Assaye still remained in the regiment, remarking that if the 74th would behave in the Peninsula as they had done in India, he ought to be proud to command such a regiment. Indeed the "Great Duke" seems to have had an exceedingly high estimate of this regiment, which he took occasion to show more than once. It is a curious fact that the 74th had never more than one battalion; and when, some time before the Duke's death, "Reserve Battalions" were formed to a few regiments. He decided "that the 74th should not have one, as they got through the Peninsula with one battalion, and their services were second to none in the army."

The regiment was placed in the 1st brigade of the 3rd division, under Major-General Picton, along with the 45th, the 88th, and part of the 60th Regiment. This division performed such a distinguished part in all the Peninsular operations, that it earned the appellation of the "Fighting Division." We of course cannot enter into the general details of the Peninsular war, as much of the history of which as is necessary for our purpose having been already given in our account of the 42nd regiment.

The first action in which the 74th had a chance of taking part was the battle of Busaco, September 27, 1810. The allied English and Portuguese army numbered 50,000, as opposed to Marshal Massena's 70,000 men. The two armies were drawn upon opposite ridges, the position of the 74th being across the road leading from St Antonio de Cantara to Coimbra. The first attack on the right was made at six o'clock in the morning by two columns of the French, under General Regnier, both of which were directed with the usual impetuous rush of French troops against the position held by the 3rd division, which was of comparatively easy ascent. One of these columns advanced by the road just alluded to, and was repulsed by the fire of the 74th, with the assistance of the 9th and 21st Portuguese regiments, before it reached the ridge. The advance of this column was preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, who came up close to the British position, and were picking off men, when the two right companies of the regiment were detached, with the rifle companies belonging to the brigade, and drove back the enemy's skirmishers with great vigour nearly to the foot of the sierra. The French, however, renewed the attack in greater force, and the Portuguese regiment on the left being thrown into confusion, the 74th was

placed in a most critical position, with its left flank exposed to the overwhelming force of the enemy. Fortunately, General Leith, stationed on another ridge, saw the danger of the 74th, and sent the 9th and 38th regiments to its support. These advanced along the rear of the 74th in double quick time, met the head of the French column as it crowned the ridge, and drove them irresistibly down the precipice. The 74th then advanced with the 9th, and kept up a fire upon the enemy as long as they could be reached. The enemy having relied greatly upon this attack, their repulse contributed considerably to their defeat. The 74th had Ensign Williams and 7 rank and file killed, Lieutenant Cargill and 19 rank and file wounded. The enemy lost 5000 killed and wounded.

The allies, however, retreated from their position at Busaco upon the lines of Torres Vedras, an admirable series of fortifications contrived for the defence of Lisbon, and extending from the Tagus to the sea. The 74th arrived there on the 8th of October, and remained till the middle of December, living comfortably, and having plenty of time for amusement. The French, however, having taken up a strong position at Santarem, an advanced movement was made by the allied army, the 74th marching to the village of Togarro about the middle of December, where it remained till the beginning of March 1811, suffering much discomfort and hardship from the heavy rains, want of provisions, and bad quarters. The French broke up their position at Santarem on the 5th of March, and retired towards Mondego, pursued by the allies. On the 12th, a division under Ney was found posted in front of the village of Redinha, its flank protected by wooded heights. The light division attacked the height on the right of the enemy, while the third division attacked those on the left, and after a sharp skirmish the enemy retired across the Redinha river. The 74th had 1 private killed, and Lieutenant Crabbie and 6 rank and file wounded. On the afternoon of the 15th of March the third and light divisions attacked the French posted a Foz de Arouce, and dispersed their left and centre, inflicting great loss. Captain Thomson and 11 rank and file of the 74th were wounded in this affair.

The third division was constantly in advance of the allied forces in pursuit of the enemy, and often suffered great privations from want of provisions, those intended for it being appropriated by some of the troops in the rear. During the siege of Almeida the 74th was continued at Nave de Aver, removing on the 2nd of May to the rear of the village of Fuentes d'Onor, and taking post on the right of the position occupied by the allied army, which extended for about five miles along the Dos Casas river. On the morning of the 3rd of May the first and third divisions were concentrated on a gentle rise, a cannon-shot in rear of Fuentes d'Onor. Various attacks and skirmishes occurred on the 3rd and 4th, and several attempts to occupy the village were made by the French, who renewed their attack with increased force on the morning of the 5th May. After a hard fight for the possession of the village, the defenders, hardly pressed, were nearly driven out by the superior numbers of the enemy, when the 74th were ordered up to assist. The left wing, which advanced first, on approaching the village, narrowly escaped being cut off by a heavy column of the enemy, which was concealed in a lane, and was observed only in time to allow the wing to take cover behind some walls, where it maintained itself till about noon. The right wing then joined the left, and with the 71st, 79th, and other regiments, charged through and drove the enemy from the village, which the latter never afterwards recovered. The 74th on this day lost Ensign Johnston, 1 sergeant, and 4 rank and file, killed; and Captains Shawe, M'Queen, and Adjutant White, and 64 rank and file, wounded.

The 74th was next sent to take part in the siege of Badajos, where it remained from May 28 till the middle of July, when it marched for Albergaria, where it remained till the middle of September, the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo in the meantime being carried on by the allied army. On the 17th of September the 74th advanced to El Bodon on the Agueda, and on the 22nd to Pastores, within three miles of Ciudad Rodrigo, forming, with the three companies of the 60th, the advanced guard of the third division. On the 25th, the French, under General Montbrun,

advanced thirty squadrons of cavalry, fourteen battalions of infantry, and twelve guns, direct upon the main body of the third division at El Bodon, and caused it to retire, surrounded and continually threatened by overwhelming numbers of cavalry, over a plain of six miles, to Guinaldo.

The 74th, and the companies of the 60th, under Lieut.-Colonel Trench, at Pastores, were completely cut off from the rest of the division by the French advance, and were left without orders; but they succeeded in passing the Agueda by a ford, and making a very long detour through Robledo, where they captured a party of French cavalry, recrossed the Agueda, and joined the division in bivouac near Fuente Guinaldo, at about two o'clock on the morning of the 26th. It was believed at headquarters that this detachment had been all captured, although Major-General Picton, much pleased at their safe return, said he thought he must have heard more firing before the 74th could be taken. After a rest of an hour or two, the regiment was again under arms, and drawn up in position at Guinaldo before daybreak, with the remainder of the third and the fourth division. The French army, 60,000 strong, being united in their front, they retired at night about twelve miles to Alfayates. The regiment was again under arms at Alfayates throughout the 27th, during the skirmish in which the fourth division was engaged at Aldea de Ponte. On this occasion the men were so much exhausted by the continued exertions of the two preceding days, that 125 of them were unable to remain in the ranks, and were ordered to a village across the Coa, where 80 died of fatigue. This disaster reduced the effective strength of the regiment below that of 1200, required to form a second battalion, which had been ordered during the previous month, and the requisite strength was not again reached during the war.

The 74th was from the beginning of October mainly cantoned at Aldea de Ponte, which it left on the 4th of January 1812, to take part in the siege of Rodrigo. The third division reached Zamora on the 7th, five miles from Rodrigo, where it remained during the siege. The work of the siege was most laborious and trying, and the 74th had its own share of trench-work. The assault was ordered for the 19th of January, when two breaches were reported practicable.

The assault of the great breach was confided to Major-General M'Kinnon's brigade, with a storming party of 500 volunteers under Major Manners of the 74th, with a forlorn hope under Lieutenant Mackie of the 88th regiment. There were two columns formed of the 5th and 94th regiments ordered to attack and clear the ditch and *fausse-braie* on the right of the great breach, and cover the advance of the main attack by General M'Kinnon's brigade. The light division was to storm the small breach on the left, and a false attack on the gate at the opposite side of the town was to be made by Major-General Pack's Portuguese brigade.

Immediately after dark, Major-General Picton formed the third division in the first parallel and approaches, and lined the parapet of the second parallel with the 83rd Regiment, in readiness to open the defences. At the appointed hour the attack commenced on the side of the place next the bridge, and immediately a heavy discharge of musketry was opened from the trenches, under cover of which 150 sappers, directed by two engineer officers, and Captain Thomson of the 74th Regiment, advanced from the second parallel to the crest of the glacis, carrying bags filled with hay, which they threw down the counterscarp into the ditch, and thus reduced its depth from 13½ to 8 feet. They then fixed the ladders, and General M'Kinnon's brigade, in conjunction with the 5th and 94th Regiments, which arrived at the same moment along the ditch from the right, pushed up the breach, and after a sharp struggle of some minutes with the bayonet, gained the summit. The defenders then concentrated behind the retrenchment, which they obstinately retained, and a second severe struggle commenced. Bags of hay were thrown into the ditch, and as the counterscarp did not exceed 11 feet in depth, the men readily jumped upon the bags, and without much difficulty carried the little breach. The division, on gaining the summit, immediately began to form with great regularity, in order to advance in a compact body and fall on the rear of the garrison, who were still nobly defending the retrenchment of the great breach. The

contest was short but severe; officers and men fell in heaps, as Cannon puts it, killed and wounded, and many were thrown down the scarp into the main ditch, a depth of 30 feet; but by desperate efforts directed along the parapet on both flanks, the assailants succeeded in turning the retrenchments. The garrison then abandoned the rampart, having first exploded a mine in the ditch of the retrenchment, by which Major-General M'Kinnon and many of the bravest and most forward perished in the moment of victory. General Vandeleur's brigade of the light division had advanced at the same time to the attack of the lesser breach on the left, which, being without interior defence, was not so obstinately disputed, and the fortress was won.

In his subsequent despatch Wellington mentioned the regiment with particular commendation, especially naming Major Manners and Captain Thomson of the 74th, the former receiving the brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel for his services on this occasion.

During the siege the regiment lost 6 rank and file killed, and Captains Langlands and Collins, Lieutenants Tew and Ramadge, and Ensign Atkinson, 2 sergeants, and 24 rank and file, killed.

Preparations having been made for the siege of Badajos, the 74th was sent to that place, which it reached on the 16th of March (1812), taking its position along with the other regiments on the south-east side of the town. On the 19th the garrison made a sortie from behind the Picurina with 1500 infantry and a party of cavalry, penetrating as far as the engineers' park, cutting down some men, and carrying off several hundred entrenching tools. The 74th, however, which was the first regiment under arms, advanced under Major-General Kempt in double quick time, and, with the assistance of the guard of the trenches, drove back the enemy, who lost 300 officers and men. The work of preparing for the siege and assault went on under the continuance of very heavy rain, which rendered the work in the trenches extremely laborious, until the 25th of March, when the batteries opened fire against the hitherto impregnable fortress; and on that night Fort Picurina was assaulted and carried by 500 men of the third division, among whom were 200 men of the 74th under Major Shawe. The fort was very strong, the front well covered by the glacis, the flanks deep, and the rampart, 14 feet perpendicular from the bottom of the ditch, was guarded with thick slanting palings above; and from thence to the top there were 16 feet of an earthen slope.[6] Seven guns were mounted on the works, the entrance to which by the rear was protected with three rows of thick paling. The garrison was about 300 strong, and every man had two muskets. The top of the rampart was garnished with loaded shells to push over, and a retrenched guard-house formed a second internal defence. The detachment advanced about ten o'clock, and immediately alarms were sounded, and a fire opened from all the ramparts of the work. After a fierce conflict, in which the English lost many men and officers, and the enemy more than half of the garrison, the commandant, with 86 men, surrendered. The 74th lost Captain Collins and Lieutenant Ramadge killed, and Major Shawe dangerously wounded.

The operations of trench-cutting and opening batteries went on till the 6th of April, on the night of which the assault was ordered to take place. "The besiegers' guns being all turned against the curtain, the bad masonry crumbled rapidly away; in two hours a yawning breach appeared, and Wellington, in person, having again examined the points of attack, renewed the order for assault.

"Then the soldiers eagerly made themselves ready for a combat, so furiously fought, so terribly won, so dreadful in all its circumstances, that posterity can scarcely be expected to credit the tale, but many are still alive who know that it is true."[7]

It was ordered, that on the right the third division was to file out of the trenches, to cross the Rivillas rivulet, and to scale the castle walls, which were from 18 to 24 feet high, furnished with all means of destruction, and so narrow at the top, that the defenders could easily reach and overturn the ladders.

The assault was to commence at ten o'clock, and the third division was drawn up close to the Rivillas, ready to advance, when a lighted

[6] Napier's *Peninsular War*. [7] Ibid.

carcass, thrown from the castle close to where it was posted, discovered the array of the men, and obliged them to anticipate the signal by half an hour. "A sudden blaze of light and the rattling of musketry indicated the commencement of a most vehement contest at the castle. Then General Kempt,—for Picton, hurt by a fall in the camp, and expecting no change in the hour, was not present,—then General Kempt, I say, led the third division. He had passed the Rivillas in single files by a narrow bridge, under a terrible musketry, and then reforming, and running up the rugged hill, had reached the foot of the castle, when he fell severely wounded, and being carried back to the trenches met Picton, who hastened forward to take the command. Meanwhile his troops, spreading along the front, reared their heavy ladders, some against the lofty castle, some against the adjoining front on the left, and with incredible courage ascended amidst showers of heavy stones, logs of wood, and burning shells rolled off the parapet; while from the flanks the enemy plied his musketry with a fearful rapidity, and in front with pikes and bayonets stabbed the leading assailants, or pushed the ladders from the walls; and all this attended with deafening shouts, and the crash of breaking ladders, and the shrieks of crushed soldiers, answering to the sullen stroke of the falling weights."[8]

The British, somewhat baffled, were compelled to fall back a few paces, and take shelter under the rugged edges of the hill. But by the perseverance of Picton and the officers of the division, fresh men were brought, the division reformed, and the assault renewed amid dreadful carnage, until at last an entrance was forced by one ladder, when the resistance slackened, and the remaining ladders were quickly reared, by which the men ascended, and established themselves on the ramparts.

Lieutenant Alexander Grant of the 74th led the advance at the escalade, and went with a few men through the gate of the castle into the town, but was driven back by superior numbers. On his return he was fired at by a French soldier lurking in the gateway, and mortally wounded in the back of the head. He was able, however, to descend the ladder, and was carried to the bivouac, and trepanned, but died two days afterwards, and was buried in the heights looking towards the castle. Among the foremost in the escalade was John M'Lauchlan, the regimental piper, who, the instant he mounted the castle wall, began playing on his pipes the regimental quick step, "The Campbells are comin'," as coolly as if on a common parade, until his music was stopped by a shot through the bag; he was afterwards seen by an officer of the regiment seated on a gun-carriage, quietly repairing the damage, while the shot was flying about him. After he had repaired his bag, he recommenced his stirring tune.

After capturing the castle, the third division kept possession of it all night, repelling the attempts of the enemy to force an entrance. About midnight Wellington sent orders to Picton to blow down the gates, but to remain quiet till morning, when he should sally out with 1000 men to renew the general assault. This, however, was unnecessary, as the capture of the castle, and the slaughtering escalade of the Bastion St. Vincente by the fifth division, having turned the retrenchments, there was no further resistance, and the fourth and light divisions marched into the town by the breaches. In the morning the gate was opened, and permission given to enter the town.

Napier says, "5000 men and officers fell during the siege, and of these, including 700 Portuguese, 3500 had been stricken in the assault, 60 officers and more than 700 men being slain on the spot. The five generals, Kempt, Harvey, Bowes, Colville, and Picton were wounded, the first three severely." At the escalade of the castle alone 600 officers and men fell. "When the extent of the night's havoc was made known to Lord Wellington, the firmness of his nature gave way for a moment, and the pride of conquest yielded to a passionate burst of grief for the loss of the gallant soldiers." Wellington in his despatch noticed particularly the distinguished conduct of the third division, and especially that of Lieutenant-Colonels Le Poer Trench and Manners of the 74th.

The casualties in the regiment during the siege were:—Killed—3 officers, Captain

[8] Napier's *Peninsular War*.

Collins, Lieutenants Ramadge and Grant, 1 sergeant, and 22 rank and file. Wounded, 10 officers, Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. R. Le Poer Trench, Captain Langlands, Brevet-Major Shawe, Captains Thomson and Wingate, Lieutenants Lister, Pattison, King, and Ironside, Ensign Atkinson, 7 sergeants, and 91 rank and file.

The 74th left Badajoz on the 11th of April, and marched to Pinedono, on the frontiers of Beira, where it was encamped till the beginning of June, when it proceeded to Salamanca. Along with a large portion of the allied army, the 74th was drawn up in order of battle on the heights of San Christoval, in front of Salamanca, from the 20th to the 28th of June, to meet Marshal Marmont, who advanced with 40,000 men to relieve the forts, which, however, were captured on the 27th. Brevet-Major Thomson of the 74th was wounded at the siege of the forts, during which he had been employed as acting engineer.

On the 27th Picton having left on leave of absence, the command of the third division was entrusted to Major-General the Hon. Edward Pakenham.

After the surrender of Salamanca the army advanced in pursuit of Marmont, who retired across the Douro.[1] Marmont, having been reinforced, recrossed the Douro, and the allies returned to their former ground on the heights of San Christoval in front of Salamanca, which they reached on the 21st of July. In the evening the third division and some Portuguese cavalry bivouacked on the right bank of the Tormes, over which the rest of the army had crossed, and was placed in position covering Salamanca, with the right upon one of the two rocky hills called the Arapiles, and the left on the Tormes, which position, however, was afterwards changed to one at right angles with it. On the morning of the 22nd the third division crossed the Tormes, and was placed in advance of the extreme right of the last-mentioned position of the allied army. About five o'clock the third division, led by Pakenham, advanced in four columns, supported by cavalry, to turn the French left, which had been much extended by the advance of the division of General Thomières, to cut off the right of the allies from the Ciudad Rodrigo road. Thomières was confounded when first he saw the third division, for he expected to see the allies in full retreat towards the Ciudad Rodrigo road. The British columns



Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Sir Robert Le Poer Trench.

From a bust in possession of his daughter, Mrs Burrowes.

formed line as they marched, and the French gunners sent showers of grape into the advancing masses, while a crowd of light troops poured in a fire of musketry.

"But bearing on through the skirmishers with the might of a giant, Pakenham broke the half formed line into fragments, and sent

[1] The two opposing armies were encamped for some time on the opposite side of the Douro, and parties of the officers and men of both armies used to meet daily, bathing in the river, and became so familiar and friendly that the practice was forbidden in a general order.

the whole in confusion upon the advancing supports."[1] Some squadrons of light cavalry fell upon the right of the third division, but the 5th Regiment repulsed them. Pakenham continued his "tempestuous course" for upwards of three miles, until the French were "pierced, broken, and discomfited." The advance in line of the 74th attracted particular notice, and was much applauded by Major-General Pakenham, who frequently exclaimed, "Beautifully done, 74th; beautiful, 74th!"

Lord Londonderry says, in his Story of the Peninsular War:—

"The attack of the third division was not only the most spirited, but the most perfect thing of the kind that modern times have witnessed.

"Regardless alike of a charge of cavalry and of the murderous fire which the enemy's batteries opened, on went these fearless warriors, horse and foot, without check or pause, until they won the ridge, and then the infantry giving their volley, and the cavalry falling on, sword in hand, the French were pierced, broken, and discomfited. So close indeed was the struggle, that in several instances the British colours were seen waving over the heads of the enemy's battalions."

Of the division of Thomières, originally 7000 strong, 2000 had been taken prisoners, with two eagles and eleven pieces of cannon. The French right resisted till dark, when they were finally driven from the field, and having sustained a heavy loss, retreated through the woods across the Tormes.

The casualties in the regiment at the battle of Salamanca were:—Killed, 3 rank and file. Wounded, 2 officers, Brevet-Major Thomson and Lieutenant Ewing, both severely; 2 sergeants, and 42 rank and file.

After this the 74th, with the other allied regiments, proceeded to Madrid, where it remained till October 20, the men passing their time most agreeably. But, although there was plenty of gaiety, Madrid exhibited a sad combination of luxury and desolation; there was no money, the people were starving, and even noble families secretly sought charity.

In the end of September, when the distress was very great, Lieutenant-Colonel Trench and the officers of the 74th and 45th Regiments, having witnessed the distress, and feeling the utmost compassion for numbers of miserable objects, commenced giving a daily dinner to about 200 of them, among whom were some persons of high distinction, who without this resource must have perished. Napier says on this subject, that "the Madrilenos discovered a deep and unaffected gratitude for kindness received at the hands of the British officers, who contributed, not much, for they had it not, but enough of money to form soup charities, by which hundreds were succoured. Surely this is not the least of the many honourable distinctions those brave men have earned."

During the latter part of October and the month of November, the 74th, which had joined Lieutenant-General Hill, in order to check the movement of Soult and King Joseph, performed many fatiguing marches and counter marches, enduring many great hardships and privations, marching over impassable roads and marshy plains, under a continued deluge of rain, provisions deficient, and no shelter procurable. On the 14th of November the allied army commenced its retreat from Alba de Tormes towards Ciudad Rodrigo, and the following extract from the graphic journal of Major Alves of the 74th will give the reader some idea of the hardships which these poor soldiers had to undergo at this time:—"From the time we left the Arapeiles, on the 15th, until our arrival at Ciudad Rodrigo, a distance of only about 15 leagues, we were under arms every morning an hour before daylight, and never got to our barrack until about sunset, the roads being almost unpassable, particularly for artillery, and with us generally ankle deep. It scarcely ceased to rain during the retreat. Our first endeavour after our arrival at our watery bivouack, was to make it as comfortable as circumstances would admit; and as exertion was our best assistance, we immediately set to and cut down as many trees as would make a good fire, and then as many as would keep us from the wet underneath. If we succeeded in making a good enough fire to keep the feet warm, I generally managed to have a tolerably good sleep, although during the period I had scarcely ever a dry shirt. To add to our

[1] Napier.

misery, during the retreat we were deficient in provisions, and had rum only on two days. The loss of men by death from the wet and cold during this period was very great. Our regiment alone was deficient about thirty out of thirty-four who had only joined us from England on the 14th, the evening before we retreated from the Arapiles."

The 74th went into winter quarters, and was cantoned at Sarzedas, in the province of Beira, from December 6, 1812, till May 15, 1813.

During this time many preparations were made, and the comfort and convenience of the soldiers maintained, preparatory to Wellington's great attempt to expel the French from the Peninsula.

The army crossed the Douro in separate divisions, and reunited at Toro, the 74th proceeding with the left column. Lieutenant-General Picton had rejoined from England on the 20th May.

On the 4th of June the allies advanced, following the French army under King Joseph, who entered upon the position at Vittoria on the 19th of June by the narrow mountain defile of Puebla, through which the river Zadorra, after passing the city of Vittoria, runs through the valley towards the Ebro with many windings, and divides the basin unequally. To give an idea of the part taken by the 74th in the important battle of Vittoria, we cannot do better than quote from a letter of Sir Thomas Picton dated July 1, 1813.

"On the 16th of May the division was put in movement; on the 18th we crossed the Douro, on the 15th of June the Ebro, and on the 21st fought the battle of Vittoria. The third division had, as usual, a very distinguished share in this decisive action. The enemy's left rested on an elevated chain of craggy mountains, and their right on a rapid river, with commanding heights in the centre, and a succession of undulating grounds, which afforded excellent situations for artillery, and several good positions in front of Vittoria, where King Joseph had his headquarters. The battle began early in the morning, between our right and the enemy's left, on the high craggy heights, and continued with various success for several hours. About twelve o'clock the third division was ordered to force the passage of the river and carry the heights in the centre, which service was executed with so much rapidity, that we got possession of the commanding ground before the enemy were aware of our intention. The enemy attempted to dislodge us with great superiority of force, and with forty or fifty pieces of cannon. At that period the troops on our right had not made sufficient progress to cover our right flank, in consequence of which we suffered a momentary check, and were driven out of a village whence we had dislodged the enemy, but it was quickly recovered; and on Sir Rowland Hill's (the second) division, with a Portuguese and Spanish division, forcing the enemy to abandon the heights, and advancing to protect our flanks, we pushed the enemy rapidly from all his positions, forced him to abandon his cannon, and drove his cavalry and infantry in confusion beyond the city of Vittoria. We took 152 pieces of cannon, the military chest, ammunition and baggage, besides an immense treasure, the property of the French generals amassed in Spain.

"The third division was the most severely and permanently engaged of any part of the army; and we in consequence sustained a loss of nearly 1800 killed and wounded, which is more than a third of the total loss of the whole army."

The 74th received particular praise from both Lieutenant-General Picton and Major-General Brisbane, commanding the division and brigade, for its alacrity in advancing and charging through the village of Arinez.

The attack on and advance from Arinez seems to have been a very brilliant episode indeed, and the one in which the 74th was most particularly engaged. The right wing, under Captain M'Queen, went off at double quick and drove the enemy outside the village, where they again formed in line opposite their pursuers. The French, however, soon after fled, leaving behind them a battery of seven guns.

Captain M'Queen's own account of the battle is exceedingly graphic. "At Vittoria," he says, "I had the command of three companies for the purpose of driving the French out of the village of Arinez, where they were strongly posted; we charged through the

village and the enemy retired in great confusion. Lieutenants Alves and Ewing commanded the companies which accompanied me. I received three wounds that day, but remained with the regiment during the whole action; and next day I was sent to the rear with the other wounded. Davis (Lieutenant) carried the colours that day, and it was one of the finest things you can conceive to see the 74th advancing in line, with the enemy in front, on very broken ground full of ravines, as regularly, and in as good line as if on parade. This is in a great measure to be attributed to Davis, whose coolness and gallantry were conspicuous; whenever we got into broken ground, he with the colours was first on the bank, and stood there until the regiment formed on his right and left."

Captain M'Queen, who became Major of the 74th in 1830, and who died only a year or two ago, was rather a remarkable man; we shall refer to him again. Adjutant Alves tells us in his journal, that in this advance upon the village of Arinez, he came upon Captain M'Queen lying, as he thought, mortally wounded. Alves ordered two of the grenadiers to lift M'Queen and lay him behind a bank out of reach of the firing, and there leave him. About an hour afterwards, however, Alves was very much astonished to see the indomitable Captain at the head of his company; the shot that had struck him in the breast having probably been a spent one, which did not do him much injury.

Major White (then Adjutant) thus narrates an occurrence which took place during the contest at Arinez:— "At the battle of Vittoria, after we had forced the enemy's centre, and taken the strong heights, we found ourselves in front of a village (I think Arinez) whence the French had been driven in a confused mass, too numerous for our line to advance against; and whilst we were halted for reinforcements, the 88th Regiment on our left advanced with their usual impetuosity against the superior numbers I have spoken of, and met with a repulse. The left of our regiment, seeing this, ran from the ranks to the assistance of the 88th; and I, seeing them fall uselessly, rode from some houses which sheltered us to rally them and bring them back. The piper (M'Laughlan, mentioned before) seeing that I could not collect them, came to my horse's side and played the 'Assembly,' on which most of them that were not shot collected round me. I was so pleased with this act of the piper in coming into danger to save the lives of his comrades, and with the good effect of the pipes in the moment of danger, that I told M'Laughlan that I would not fail to mention his gallant and useful conduct. But at the same time, as I turned my horse to the right to conduct the men towards our regiment, a musket ball entered the point of my left shoulder, to near my back bone, which stopped my career in the field. The piper ceased to play, and I was told he was shot through the breast; at all events he was killed, and his timely assistance and the utility of the pipes deserves to be recorded." It was indeed too true about poor brave M'Laughlan, whose pipes were more potent than the Adjutant's command; a nine-pound shot went right through his breast, when, according to the journal of Major Alves, he was playing "The Campbell's are comin'" in rear of the column. It is a curious circumstance, however, that the piper's body lay on the field for several days after the battle without being stripped of anything but the shoes. This was very unusual, as men were generally stripped of everything as soon as they were dead.

When the village was captured and the great road gained, the French troops on the extreme left were thereby turned, and being hardly pressed by Sir Rowland Hill's attack on their front, retreated in confusion before the advancing lines towards Vittoria.

The road to Bayonne being completely blocked up by thousands of carriages and animals, and a confused mass of men, women, and children, thereby rendered impassable for artillery, the French retreated by the road to Salvatierra and Pamplona, the British infantry following in pursuit. But this road being also choked up with carriages and fugitives, all became confusion and disorder. The French were compelled to abandon everything, officers and men taking with them only the clothes they wore, and most of them being barefooted. Their loss in men did not, however, exceed 6000, and that of the allies was nearly as

great. That of the British, however, was more than twice as great as that of the Spanish and Portuguese together, and yet both are said to have fought well; but as Napier says, "British troops are the soldiers of battle."

The French regiments which effected their escape arrived at Pamplona and took shelter in the defile beyond it, in a state of complete disorganisation. Darkness, and the nature of the ground unfavourable for the action of cavalry, alone permitted their escape; at the distance of two leagues from Vittoria the pursuit was given up.

The following Brigade Order was issued the day after the battle:—

"Major-General Brisbane has reason to be highly pleased with the conduct of the brigade in the action of yesterday, but he is at a loss to express his admiration of the conduct of the Honourable Colonel Le Poer Trench and the 74th Regiment, which he considers contributed much to the success of the day."

The casualties in the 74th at the battle of Vittoria were:—Killed, 7 rank and file; wounded, 5 officers, Captains M'Queen and Ovens, Adjutant White, and Ensigns Hamilton and Shore, 4 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 31 rank and file.

The army followed the retreating French into the Pyrenees by the valley of Roncesvalles.

Of the various actions that took place among these mountains we have already given somewhat detailed accounts when speaking of the 42nd. The 74th was engaged in the blockade of Pamplona, and while thus employed, on the 15th of July, its pickets drove in a reconnoitring party of the garrison, the regiment sustaining a loss of 3 rank and file killed, and 1 sergeant and 6 rank and file wounded. On the 17th the blockade of Pamplona was entrusted to the Spaniards, and the third, fourth, and second divisions covered the blockade, as well as the siege of San Sebastian, then going on under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham.

Marshal Soult, with 60,000 men, advanced on the 25th to force the pass of Roncesvalles, and compelled the fourth division, which had been moved up to support the front line of the allies, to retire; on the 26th it was joined by the third division in advance of Zubiri. Both divisions, under Sir Thomas Picton, took up a position on the morning of the 27th July, in front of Pamplona, across the mouth of the Zubiri and Lanz valleys. At daylight on the 30th, in accordance with Wellington's orders, the third division, with two squadrons of cavalry and a battery of artillery, advanced rapidly up the valley of the Zubiri, skirmishing on the flank of the French who were retiring under General Foy. About eleven o'clock, the 74th being in the valley, and the enemy moving in retreat parallel with the allies along the mountain ridge to the left of the British, Lieut.-Colonel Trench obtained permission from Sir Thomas Picton to advance with the 74th and cut off their retreat. The regiment then ascended the ridge in view of the remainder of the division, which continued its advance up the valley. On approaching the summit, two companies, which were extended as skirmishers, were overpowered in passing through a wood, and driven back upon the main body. Though the regiment was exposed to a most destructive fire, it continued its advance, without returning a shot, until it reached the upper skirt of the wood, close upon the flank of the enemy, and then at once opened its whole fire upon them.

A column of 1500 or 1600 men was separated from the main body, driven down the other side of the ridge, and a number taken prisoners; most of those who escaped were intercepted by the sixth division, which was further in advance on another line. After the 74th had gained the ridge, another regiment from the third division was sent to support it, and pursued the remainder of the column until it had surrendered to the sixth division. Sir Frederick Stoven, Adjutant-General of the third division, who, along with some of the staff came up at this moment, said he never saw a regiment behave in such a gallant manner.

The regiment was highly complimented by the staff of the division for its conspicuous gallantry on this occasion, which was noticed as follows by Lord Wellington, who said in his despatch,—

"I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of all the general officers, officers, and troops, throughout these operations, &c.

"The movement made by Sir Thomas Picton merited my highest commendation; the latter officer co-operated in the attack of the mountain by detaching troops to his left, in which Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Robert Trench was wounded, but I hope not seriously."

The regiment on this occasion sustained a loss of 1 officer, Captain Whitting, 1 sergeant, and 4 rank and file killed, and 5 officers, Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Robert Le Poer Trench, Captain (Brevet-Major) Moore, and Lieutenants Pattison, Duncomb, and Tew, 4 sergeants, and 36 rank and file wounded.

The French were finally driven across the Bidasoa into France in the beginning of August.

At the successful assault of the fortress of San Sebastian by the force under Sir Thomas Graham, and which was witnessed by the 74th from the summit of one of the neighbouring mountains, Brevet Major Thomson of the 74th, was employed as an acting engineer, and received the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel for his services.

After various movements the third division advanced up the pass of Zagaramurdi, and on the 6th October encamped on the summit of a mountain in front of the pass of Echalar; and in the middle of that month, Sir Thomas Picton having gone to England, the command of the third division devolved upon Major-General Sir Charles Colville. The 74th remained encamped on the summit of this bare mountain till the 9th of November, suffering greatly from the exposure to cold and wet weather, want of shelter, and scarcity of provisions, as well as from the harassing piquet and night duties which the men had to perform. Major Alves[2] says in his journal that the French picquets opposite to the position of the 74th were very kind and generous in getting the soldiers' canteens filled with brandy,—for payment of course.

Pamplona having capitulated on the 31st of October, an attack was made upon the French position at the Nivelle on the 10th of November, a detailed description of which has been given in the history of the 42nd. The third, along with the fourth and seventh divisions, under the command of Marshal Beresford, were dispersed about Zagaramurdi, the Puerto de Echellar, and the lower parts of these slopes of the greater Rhune, which descended upon the Sarre. On the morning of the 10th, the third division, under General Colville, descending from Zagaramurdi, moved against the unfinished redoubts and entrenchments covering the approaches to the bridge of Amotz on the left bank of the Nivelle, and formed in conjunction with the sixth division the narrow end of a wedge. The French made a vigorous resistance, but were driven from the bridge, by the third division, which established itself on the heights between that structure and the unfinished redoubts of Louis XIV. The third division then attacked the left flank of the French centre, while the fourth and seventh divisions assailed them in front. The attacks on other parts of the French position having been successful, their centre was driven across the river in great confusion, pursued by the skirmishers of the third division, which crossed by the bridge of Amotz. The allied troops then took possession of the heights on the right bank of the Nivelle, and the French were compelled to abandon all the works which for the previous three months they had been constructing for the defence of the other parts of the position.

The 74th was authorised to bear the word "Nivelle" on its regimental colour, in commemoration of its services in this battle; indeed it will be seen that it bears on its colours the names of nearly every engagement that took place during the Peninsular War. The French had lost 51 pieces of artillery, and about 4300 men and officers killed, wounded, and prisoners, during the battle of the Nivelle; the loss of the allies was about 2700 men and officers.

On the 9th of December the passage of the Nive at Cambo having been forced by Sir Rowland Hill, the third division remained in possession of the bridge at Ustariz. On the 13th the French having attacked the right between the Nive and the Adour at St Pierre, were repulsed by Sir Rowland Hill after a very severe battle, and the fourth, sixth, and two

[2] This officer was present with the 74th during the whole of its service in the Peninsula, and kept an accurate daily journal of all the events in which he was concerned. He was afterwards Major of the depôt battalion in the Isle of Wight.

brigades of the third division were moved across the Nive in support of the right.

The 74th, after this, remained cantoned in farm-houses between the Nive and the Adour until the middle of February 1814.

Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton having rejoined the army, resumed the command of the third division in the end of December 1813. Many acts of outrage and plunder had been committed by the troops, on first entering France, and Sir Thomas Picton took an opportunity of publicly reprimanding some of the regiments of his division for such offences, when he thus addressed the 74th:—"As for you, 74th, I have nothing to say against you, your conduct is gallant in the field and orderly in quarters.' And, addressing Colonel Trench in front of the regiment, he told him that he would write to the colonel at home (General Sir Alexander Hope) his report of their good conduct. As Lieutenant-General Picton was not habitually lavish of complimentary language, this public expression of the good opinion of so competent a judge was much valued by the regiment.

The next engagement in which the 74th took part was that of Orthes, February 27, 1814. On the 24th the French had concentrated at Orthes, with their front to the river Gave de Pau, while the third division was at the broken bridge of Bereaux, five miles lower down the river, on the 25th, crossing to the other side next day. On the 27th, when the sixth and light divisions crossed, the third, and Lord Edward Somerset's cavalry, were already established in columns of march, with skirmishers pushed forward close upon the left centre of the French position. During the whole morning of the 27th a slight skirmish, with now and then a cannon shot, had been going on with the third division, but at nine o'clock Wellington commenced the real attack. The third and sixth divisions took without difficulty the lower part of the ridges opposed to them, and endeavoured to extend their left along the French front with a sharp fire of musketry. But after three hours' hard fighting, during which the victory seemed to be going with the French, Wellington changed his plan of attack, and ordered the third and sixth divisions to be thrown *en masse* on the left centre of the French position, which they carried, and established a battery of guns upon a knoll, from whence their shot ploughed through the French masses from one flank to another.[9] Meantime Hill had crossed the river above Orthes, and nearly cut off the French line of retreat, after which the French began to retire, step by step, without confusion. The allies advanced, firing incessantly, yet losing many men, especially of the third division, whose advance was most strongly opposed. The retreat of the French, however, shortly became a rout, the men flying in every direction in scattered bands, pursued by the British cavalry, who cut down many of the fugitives.

During the first advance Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton particularly remarked to Major-General Brisbane the steady movement of his brigade; and the latter reported to him the notice he had taken of the gallantry of Sergeant-Major Macpherson, of the 74th, upon which Sir Thomas Picton expressed to the sergeant-major his pleasure to hear such a good report of him, and on the following day, during a short halt on the march, desired Lieutenant-Colonel Manners, who commanded the regiment in the absence of Lieutenant-Colonel Trench, to write his recommendation, which he did on a drum-head; the sergeant-major was consequently promoted to a commission on the 31st of March following, and was afterwards a captain in the regiment.

The casualties in the regiment at the battle of Orthes were—1 sergeant and 7 rank and file killed; and 5 officers, Captain Lyster, Lieutenant Ewing (mortally—dying shortly afterwards), Lieutenant Ironside, Ensigns Shore and Luttrell, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 17 rank and file wounded.

The 74th, along with the other regiments of the third division, was kept moving about until the 7th of March, when it was cantoned at Aire, on the left bank of the Adour. On the 18th the whole allied army advanced up both sides of the Adour, the French falling back before them. The third division was in the centre column, which on the 19th came up with a division of the French, strongly posted amongst some vineyards, two miles in front of the village of Vic-en-Bigorre. The third divi-

[9] Napier.

sion attacked the French and drove them before it, and encamped in the evening about three miles beyond the town of Vic-en-Bigorre.

The Marquis of Wellington stated in his despatch.—"On the following day (the 19th) the enemy held a strong rear guard in the vineyards in front of the town of Vic-en-Bigorre; Lieutenant-General Picton, with the third division and Major-General Rock's brigade, made a very handsome movement upon this rear-guard, and drove them through the vineyards and town."

Two officers of the regiment, Lieutenant Atkinson and Ensign Flood, were wounded in this affair.

On the 20th, after some sharp fighting, in which the 74th lost a few men, the right column of the allies crossed the Adour at Tarbes, and was encamped with the rest of the army upon the Larret and Arros rivers. The French retreated towards Toulouse, and on the 26th the allied army came in sight of the enemy posted behind the Touch river, and covering that city. Details having already been given, in our account of the 42nd Regiment, concerning this last move of Soult, we need only mention here that the third, fourth, and sixth divisions passed over the Garonne by a pontoon bridge fifteen miles below Toulouse on the 3d of April. On the 10th about six o'clock in the morning, the various divisions of the British army advanced according to Wellington's previously arranged plan. The part taken in the battle of Toulouse by the 74th is thus narrated by Major Alves in his journal:—

"Shortly after daylight the division was put in motion, with orders to drive all the enemy's outposts before us, and although acting as adjutant, I was permitted by Colonel Trench to accompany the skirmishers. With but feeble opposition we drove them before us, until they reached the tête-de-pont on the canal leading into Toulouse, on the right bank of the Garonne; on arriving there I mentioned to Captain Andrews of the 74th, that I thought we had gone far enough, and reconnoitered very attentively the manner in which it was defended by strong palisades, &c. I then returned to where the regiment was halted, and mentioned my observations to Colonel Trench, and that nothing further could possibly be done without artillery to break down the palisades. He immediately brought me to General Brisbane, to whom I also related my observations as above, who directed me to ride to the left and find out Sir Thomas Picton, who was with the other brigade, and to tell him my observations. After riding about two miles to the left I found Sir Thomas, and told him as above stated, who immediately said, in presence of all his staff, 'Go back, sir, and tell them to move on.' This I did with a very heavy heart, as I dreaded what the result must be, but I had no alternative. About a quarter of an hour afterwards the regiment moved from where it was halted. We experienced a loss of 30 killed and 100 wounded, out of 350, in the attempt to get possession of the tête-de-pont; and were obliged to retire without gaining any advantage. The attack was the more to be regretted, as Lord Wellington's orders were that it was only to be a diversion, and not a real attack."

The casualties in the regiment at the battle of Toulouse were 4 officers, Captains Thomas Andrews and William Tew, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Ensign John Parkinson, 1 sergeant, and 32 rank and file killed; and 5 officers, Brevet-Major Miller, Captain Donald M'Queen,[1] and Lieutenants Jason Hassard, William Gra-

[1] This brave officer, who died only quite recently, and who had been made a Military Knight of Windsor only a few months before his death, was severely wounded through the lungs. He had been in almost every battle fought during the Peninsular War, and seldom came out without a wound, yet he became Major of his regiment only in 1830, though for his conduct in the Peninsula he received the silver war medal with nine clasps. For some years he was barrack-master at Dundee and Perth. In 1835, as a recognition of his meritorious services in the Peninsula, he was made a Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order. The following incident in which he was concerned at Toulouse is worth narrating:—When left for dead on the field, and his regiment had moved on, a soldier, his foster-brother, named John Gillanders, whom he had taken with him from his native parish as a recruit, missed his captain, and hurried back through a heavy fire, searched for and found him, and carried him to the rear. There were few places for shelter, and the faithful soldier, loaded with his almost insensible burden, pushed his way into a house which was filled with officers, and called out for a bed. In the room there was a bed, and on it lay a wounded officer. He heard the entreaty of the soldier, and saw the desperate condition of the officer he carried, and at once exclaimed, "That poor fellow needs the bed more than I do," and rose and gave it up. That officer was the gallant Sir Thomas Brisbane.

ham, and E. J. Crabbe, 4 sergeants, and 94 rank and file wounded.

The French abandoned the city during the night of the 11th of April, and the allies entered it in triumph on the 12th, on the forenoon of which day intelligence arrived of the abdication of Napoleon and the termination of the war. The officers charged with the intelligence had been detained near Blois "by the officiousness of the police, and the blood of 8000 men had overflowed the Mount Rhune in consequence."[2]

After remaining in France for some time the 74th embarked in the beginning of July, and arrived at Cork on the 25th of that month.

The record of the services of the 74th during these eventful years will be sufficient to prove how well the corps maintained the high character it had at first acquired in the East Indies, and how well it earned the distinction for gallantry in the field and good conduct in quarters.

In consideration of the meritorious conduct of the non-commissioned officers and men of the regiment during the war, Colonel Trench applied to the Commander-in-Chief to authorise those most distinguished among them to wear silver medals in commemoration of their services. The sanction of the Commander-in-Chief was conveyed to Colonel Trench in a letter from the Adjutant-General, bearing date "Horse Guards, 30th June 1814."



Facsimile of the Medal.
From the collection of Surgeon-Major Fleming, late of the 4th Dragoon Guards.

Medals were accordingly granted to the deserving survivors of the campaign, who were divided into three classes: first class, men who had served in eight or nine general actions; second class, in six or seven general actions; third class, in four or five general actions.

The regiment remained in Ireland till May 1818, not having had a chance of distinguishing itself at the crowning victory of Waterloo, although it was on its way to embark for Belgium when news of that decisive battle arrived. While at Fermoy, on the 6th of April 1818, the regiment was presented with new colours. The colours which had waved over the regiment in many a hard-fought field, and which had been received in 1802, were burned, and the ashes deposited in the lid of a gold sarcophagus snuff-box, inlaid with part of the wood of the colour-staves, on which the following inscription was engraved:—"This box, composed of the old standards of the Seventy-fourth regiment, was formed as a tribute of respect to the memory of those who fell, and of esteem for those who survived the many glorious and arduous services on which they were always victoriously carried, during a period of sixteen years, in India, the Peninsula, and France. They were presented to the regiment at Wallajahbad in 1802, and the shattered remains were burned at Fermoy on the 6th of April 1818."

The 74th embarked at Cork for Halifax, Nova Scotia, on the 13th of May, leaving one depôt company, which was sent to the Isle of Wight. The companies were divided between St John's, Newfoundland, St John's, New Brunswick, and Frederickton, where were headquarters and five companies. The regiment remained in North America till 1828, in August of which year proceeding to Bermudas, which it left at the end of the next year for Ireland, where it arrived in the beginning of 1830. In 1818 the regiment had been reduced to ten companies of 65 rank and file each, and in 1821 it was further reduced to eight companies of 72 rank and file. In 1825, however, the strength was augmented to ten companies—six service companies of 86 rank and file, and four depôt companies of 56 rank and file each.

The regiment remained in Ireland till 1834, during part of which time it was actively employed in suppressing the outrages consequent on the disturbed state of the country. In the latter part of 1834 the regiment was divided

[2] Napier.

into four depot and six service companies; three of the latter were sent to Barbadoes, while the headquarter division, consisting of the three remaining companies, was sent to the island of Grenada. In November 1835 the two service divisions were sent to Antigua, where they remained till February 1837. From thence the headquarter division proceeded to St Lucia, and the other three companies to Demerara, both divisions being sent to St Vincent in June of the same year. The regiment was kept moving about among these western islands till May 1841, when it proceeded to Canada, arriving at Quebec at the end of the month. While the regiment was stationed at Trinidad it was attacked by fever and dysentery, which caused great mortality; and fever continued to prevail among the men until the regiment removed to Trinidad. With this exception the 74th remained remarkably healthy during the whole of its residence in the West Indies.

The 74th remained in the North American colonies till 1845, being removed from Canada to Nova Scotia in May 1844, and embarking at Halifax for England in March 1845. On arriving in England in the end of that month, the service companies joined the depot at Canterbury.

While the regiment was stationed in Canterbury, Lieutenant-Colonel Crabbe, commanding the regiment, submitted to the Commander-in-Chief, through the colonel (Lieutenant-General Sir Phineas Ryall), the earnest desire of the officers and men to be permitted to resume the national garb and designation of a Highland regiment, under which the 74th had been originally embodied.

The lieutenant-colonel having himself first joined the regiment as a Highland corps in the year 1807, and having served with it continuously during the intervening period, knew by his own experience, and was able to certify to the Commander-in-Chief, how powerfully and favourably its character had been influenced by its original organisation; and also that throughout the varied services and changes of so many years, a strong national feeling, and a connection with Scotland by recruiting, had been constantly maintained. Various considerations, however, induced an application for permission to modify the original dress of kilt and feathered bonnet, and with the resumed designation of a Highland corps, to adopt the trews and bonnet as established for the 71st regiment.

His Grace the Duke of Wellington was pleased to return a favourable answer to the application, in such terms as to render his consent doubly acceptable to the corps, causing it to be intimated to the colonel, by a letter from the adjutant-general, bearing date 'Horse Guards, 13th August 1845,' that he would recommend to Her Majesty that the 74th Regiment should be permitted to resume the appellation of a Highland regiment, and to be clothed "accordingly in compliment to the services of that regiment so well known to his Grace in India and in Europe."

In the "Gazette" of the 14th November 1845 the following announcement was published:—

"War Office, *8th November* 1845.

"Memorandum,—Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of the 74th foot resuming the appellation of the 74th (Highland) Regiment of foot, and of its being clothed accordingly; that is, to wear the tartan trews instead of the Oxford mixture; plaid cap instead of the black chaco; and the plaid scarf as worn by the 71st Regiment. The alteration of the dress is to take place on the next issue of clothing, on the 1st of April 1846."

The national designation of the regiment was of course immediately resumed, and the recruiting has been since carried on solely in Scotland with uniform success.

It was directed by the Adjutant-General that the tartan now to be worn by the 74th should not be of the old regimental pattern, that being already in use by two other regiments (the 42nd and 93rd), but that it should be distinguished by the introduction of a white stripe. The alteration of the regimental dress took place as ordered, on the 1st of April 1846.

In May 1846, Lieutenant-Colonel Crabbe, who had been connected with the regiment for forty years, retired on full pay, and took leave of the regiment in a feeling order. Major Crawley was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy in his place.



JOHN, LORD MACLEOD.
Col. of 71st Highrs 13th Dec. 1777 — 2nd April 1783.
First Colonel.



SIR THOMAS REYNELL, Bt. K.C.B.
Col. of 71st Highrs 15th March 1841 — 10th Feb. 1848.



KENNETH, EARL OF SEAFORTH.
Col. of 72nd Highrs 28th Dec. 1777. — Aug. 1781.
First Colonel.



SIR NEIL DOUGLAS, K.C.B. K.C.H.
Col. of 72nd Highrs 12th July 1847 — 28th Dec. 1851.
Also Col. of 79th Highrs 29th Dec. 1851 — 1st Sept. 1863.

A. Fullarton & Co. London & Edinburgh.



F. H. MACKENZIE OF SEAFORTH, LORD SEAFORTH.
Col. of 78th Highlrs 7th March 1793.—May 1796
First Colonel



SIR PATRICK GRANT, G.C.B. G.C.M.G.
Col. of 78th Highlrs 23rd Oct. 1863.—



SIR RONALD CRAUFURD FERGUSON, G.C.B.
Col. of 73th Highlrs 24th March 1826.—10th April 1841



SIR JAMES MACDONELL, K.C.B. K.C.R.
Col. of 79th Highlrs 14th July 1842.—8th Feb. 1846.
Also Col. of 71st Highlrs 9th N.B. 1843.—18th May 1857

A. Fullarton & Co. London & Edinburgh.



GEN.L DUNCAN CAMPBELL OF LOCHNELL.
Col. of 91st Highlrs 10th Feb. 1794 — 9th April 1837.
First Colonel.



GEORGE, MARQUIS OF HUNTLY.
Col. of 92nd Highlrs 8th May 1798 — 8th Jan. 1806.
Also Col. of 97th Highlrs 8th Dec. 1804 — 8th Jan. 1806.

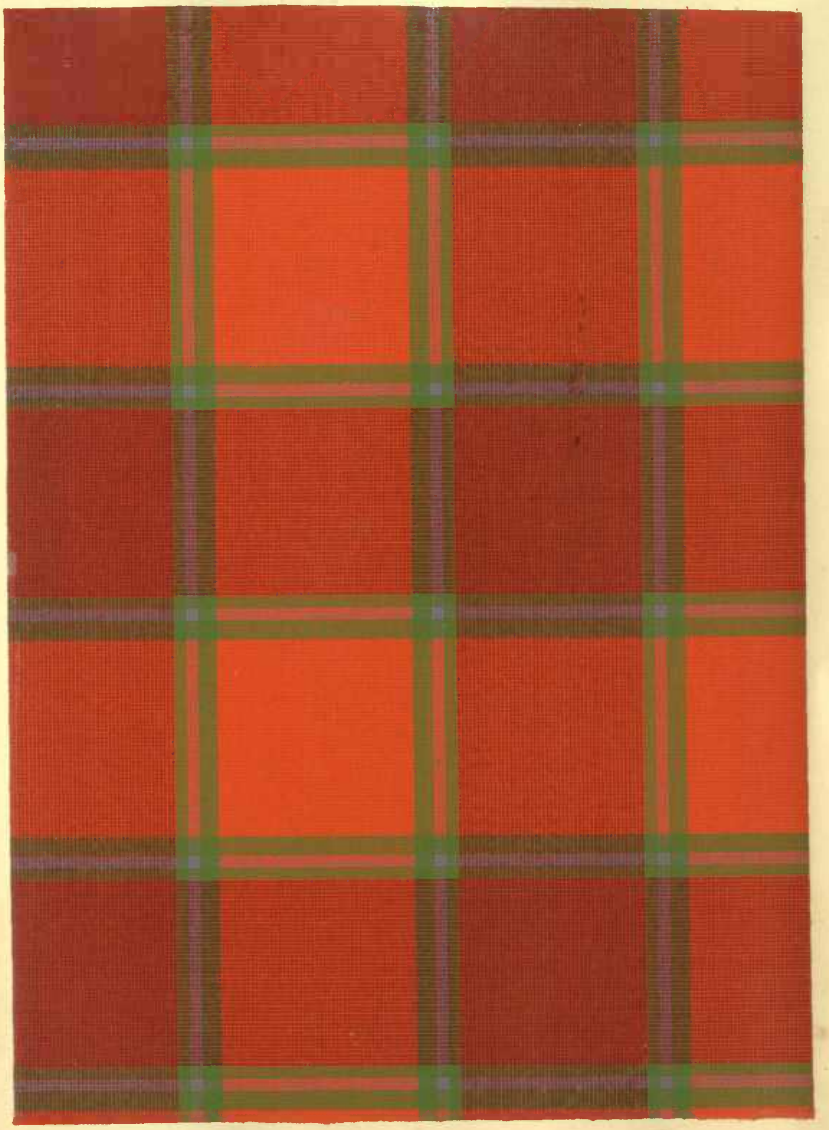


MAJOR GEN.L W. WEMYSS OF WEMYSS.
Col. of 93rd Highlrs 25th Aug.t 1800 — Feb. 1822.
First Colonel.

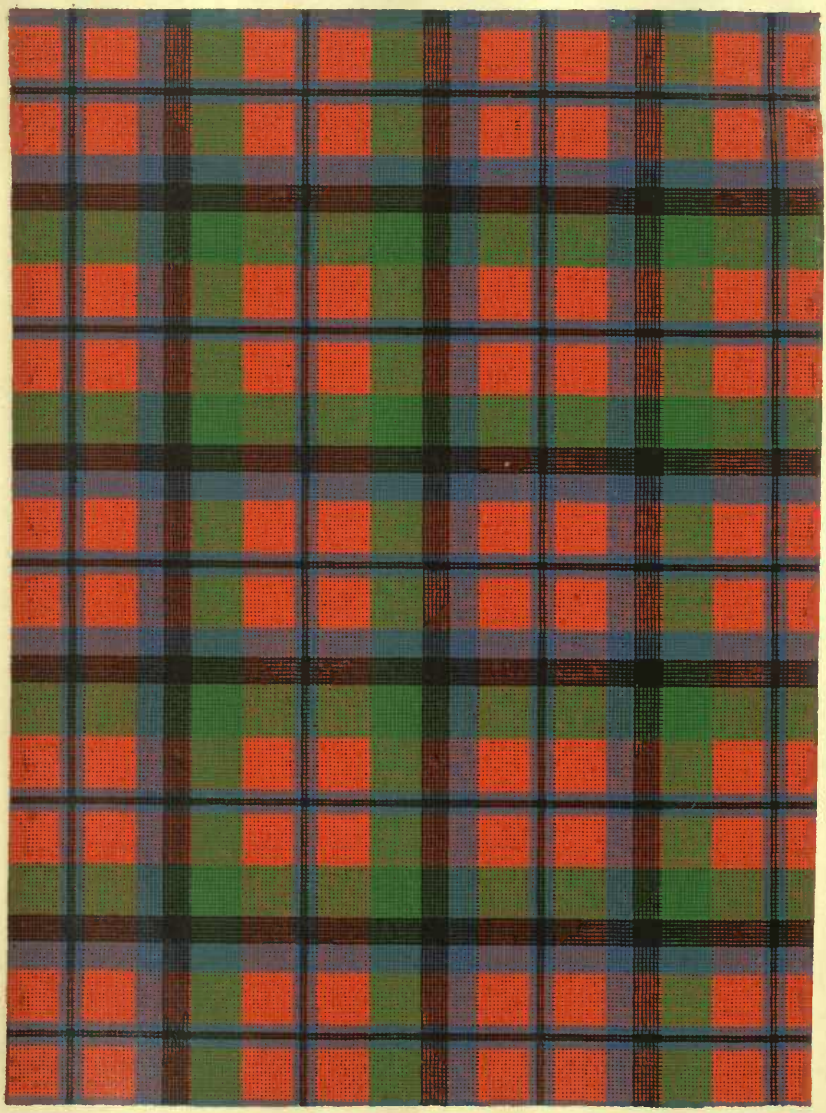


SIR H. W. STISTED, K.C.B.
Col. of 93rd Highlrs 28th Sep.t 1873.—

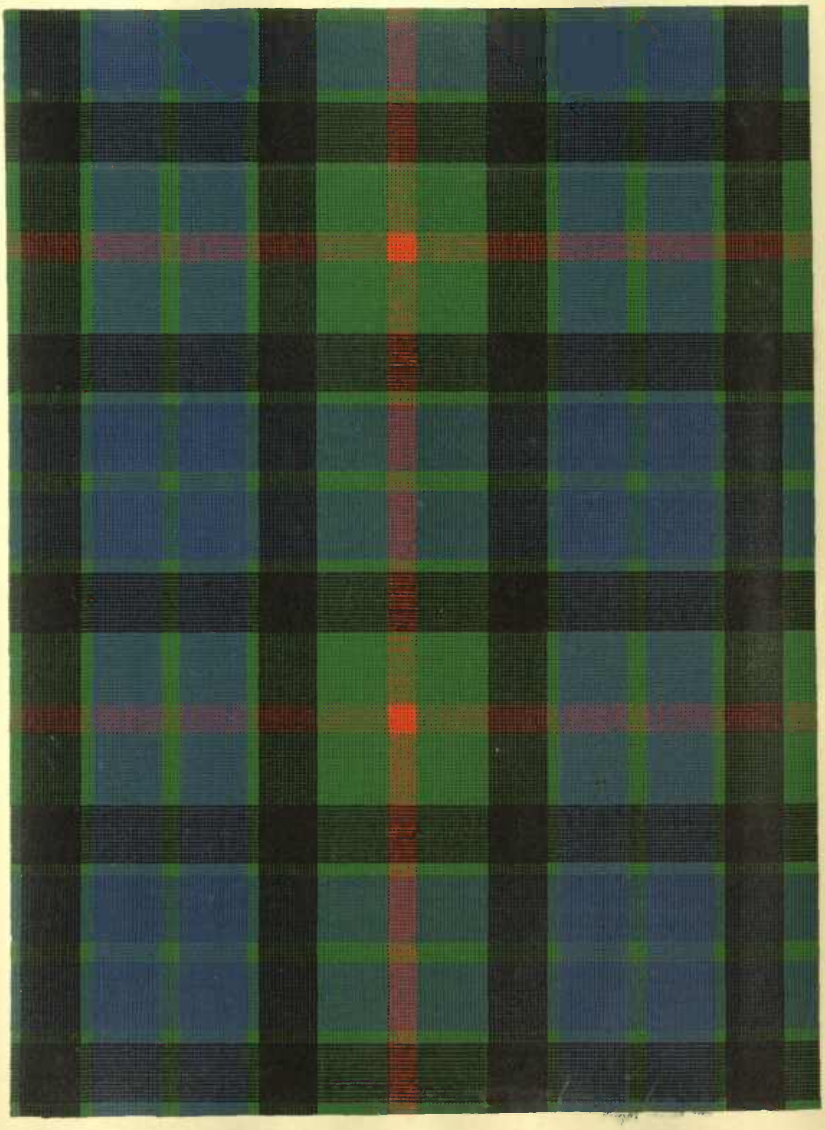
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MACNAB.



MACNAUGHTON.



GUNN.



MACPHERSON. FULL DRESS



MACKAY.

II.

1846–1853.

Return to Scotland—United at Glasgow—Ireland—South Africa—Hottentot outbreak—Change of dress of the Regiment—Field operations—At the Quesana—The Amatola Heights—Hottentots repulsed—Another engagement—Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce left in command at Riet Fontein—The Kaffirs at Fort Beaufort—Captain Thackeray's testimony—Movements of Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce—His death—Major-General Somerset's Movements in the Amatolas—Loss of the "Birkenhead."

After being stationed a short time at Canterbury and Gosport, the 74th removed to Scotland in detachments in the months of August and September 1846, two companies being sent to Dundee, three to Paisley, one to Perth, headquarters and three companies to Aberdeen, and detachments to Stirling and Dunfermline. In November of the same year, all the companies united at Glasgow, and in July 1847 the regiment proceeded to Ireland. While stationed at Dublin, the 74th, in consequence of the disturbed state of Tipperary, was sent to that county on July 29th, to be employed as part of a movable column under Major-General Macdonald. The regiment, along with the 75th and 85th, a half battery of Artillery, a detachment of Sappers, and three companies of the 60th Rifles, the whole forming a movable column, was kept moving about in the neighbourhood of Thurles and Ballingarry during the month of August. Happily, however, the column had none of the stern duties of war to perform, and returned to Dublin in the beginning of September, after having suffered much discomfort from the almost incessant rain which prevailed during the time the men were under canvas.

The 74th remained in Ireland till March 1851, on the 16th of which month it sailed in the "Vulcan" from Queenstown, having been ordered to South Africa to take part in the sanguinary Kaffir War of that period, in which, as will be seen, the regiment maintained its well-won reputation for valour in the faithful performance of its duty. The 74th arrived in Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope, on the 11th of May, when it was ordered to proceed to Algoa Bay to join the first division at Fort Hare, under Major-General Somerset, who was engaged in active operations against the Kaffirs and Hottentots. Having arrived at Algoa Bay on the 16th, the regiment disembarked at Port Elizabeth, where, owing to the want of transport for the camp equipage, it remained for a few days before proceeding to Grahamstown, which, from want of grass and the consequent weak condition of the oxen, it did not reach till the 27th of May.[1]

While the 74th was at Grahamstown, a sudden outbreak of the Hottentots at the mission station of Theopolis occurred. Four companies of the regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, together with a few native levies, proceeded to the scene of disturbance, and succeeded in destroying the rebel camp, and capturing about 600 head of cattle: the Hottentots, however, made their escape.

The regiment having resumed its march for Fort Hare, arrived at that place on June 12th, and encamped near the fort. Though but a few days in the country, Colonel Fordyce saw that the ordinary equipment of the British soldier was in no way suited to African campaigning, and while at Fort Hare he made a complete change in the appearance of the regiment. The dress bonnets, scarlet tunics, black pouches, and pipe-clayed cross belts, were put away in the quartermaster's stores. Common brown leather pouches and belts were issued, while an admirable substitute for the tunic was found in the stout canvas frocks of which a couple are served out to each soldier proceeding on a long sea voyage. These had been carefully preserved when the regiment landed, and now, with the aid of copperas and the bark of the mimosa bush, were dyed a deep olive brown colour, which corresponded admirably with that of the bush, and was the least conspicuous dress of any regiment in the field, not excepting the Rifle Brigade and 60th, both of which corps had a battalion engaged. The cuffs and shoulders were strapped with leather, and this rough-looking but most serviceable tunic was worn by both officers and men as long as they were actively employed in the field. The forage cap, with a leather peak, completed the costume.

[1] On its arrival in South Africa, the 74th, with the exception of about 80, mainly Irishmen, consisted of men raised in the northern counties of Scotland.

On the 18th of June Major-General Somerset ordered the following troops, divided into brigades, to form a camp in advance for field operations:—

First Brigade—Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, 74th Highlanders: the 74th Highlanders; the 91st Regiment; the 1st European Levy; and the Alice European Levy.

Second Brigade—Lieutenant-Colonel Sutton, Cape Mounted Riflemen: the George Levy, the Graaff Reynett Levy, the Kat River Levy, and the Fingo Levies.

Cavalry Brigade—Major Somerset, Cape Mounted Riflemen: the Royal Artillery, the Cape Mounted Riflemen, the George Mounted Levy, and Blakeway's Horse; and besides, a detachment of Royal Sappers and Miners, under the orders of Lieutenant Jesse, R.E., Deputy Quartermaster-General.

These troops marched from Fort Hare on the 24th for the Quesana River, near the base of the Amatola Mountains, where a standing camp was formed.

The division moved before daylight on the 26th of June, and ascended in two columns the western range of the Amatola heights, halting on the ridge while Major-General Somerset reconnoitered the position of the enemy. While doing so, his escort was attacked, but on the arrival of a reinforcement the enemy was driven from his position, and forced into the valley below. While these operations were in progress, the 74th Highlanders, Cape Mounted Rifles, European and Kat River Levies, with the Alice and Port Elizabeth Fingoes, were moved into the Amatola basin. A formidable body of the enemy, chiefly Hottentots, were now seen strongly posted on the extreme point of the ridge of the northern range of the Amatolas, partly concealed and well covered by large stones and detached masses of rock; these the 74th, flanked by the Alice and Port Elizabeth Fingoes, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, was ordered to dislodge. The enemy opened a galling fire upon the advancing troops, but the 74th deployed into extended line, and having opened fire, drove the Hottentots from their position and gained the summit. After moving along the ridge, which was intersected by a narrow strip of forest bush, the troops were again attacked, and three men of the 74th killed. Having halted for a short time to refresh themselves, the 74th, flanked by the Fort Beaufort Fingoes, was again moved on the enemy's position, when some sharp firing took place, and the enemy was compelled to abandon his position altogether, retiring into the forest and mountains. The division descended into the Amatola basin, and at 5 P.M. bivouacked for the night. It was reported that some Gaika chiefs and a considerable number of the enemy were killed on this occasion; while the casualties in the 74th were one corporal and two privates killed, and one officer, Lieutenant W. W. Bruce, and nine men wounded. Nothing of importance occurred during the next two days, and on the 29th the division marched to the camp on the Quesana.

The conduct of the 74th in the above services was highly spoken of in various orders, but we need only quote from a general order by Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith, Bart., dated "Headquarters, King William's Town, 3rd of July, 1851:—

"Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce and the 74th Highlanders seized every opportunity of assailing them and driving them before them, and the Major-General reports in the strongest terms of admiration the gallantry and the discipline of the corps."

On the 2nd of July the division again ascended the Amatolas, and its operations were thus detailed by Major-General Somerset in the following letter to the Deputy Quartermaster-General:—

"CAMP ON THE KAMKA OR YELLOW WOODS,
"*3d July* 1851.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that I proceeded with my division yesterday morning, and ascended the Amatola, with the view of clearing the eastern range of the Victoria Heights, and also of again attacking the enemy's fastnesses in the forest, at the southern point of Hogg's Back Ridge. This latter point was thoroughly cleared by the European Levy and a company of the 91st under Lieutenant Mainwaring. The enemy abandoned the forest when their huts were destroyed, and took refuge in the extreme and highest points of the Chumie Mountains. I

then directed my attention to the southern point of the Victoria Heights, placing a gun under Lieutenant Field; the 74th Highlanders, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce; and the Cape Mounted Rifles, under Major Somerset, in position on the middle ridge. I detached the Graaff Reynett Levy, under Captain Heathcote, senior, the Fort Beaufort Fingoes, under Captain Verity, and destroyed all the kraals east of the Victoria range. While this movement was going on, I detached Captains Cumbers and Ayliff with their levies, and Captain Hobbs with the Kat River Levy, down the valley of the Amatola, destroying all the kraals at the base of the middle ridge, and nearly succeeded in capturing the Kaffir chief Oba or Waba, Tyali's son, whom I saw lately with the Commander-in-Chief at Fort Cox, as it was his kraal that was surprised by the Kat River Levy under Captain Hobbs, and his wives and family, with all their household property, were captured, including the chief's crane feathers for his tribe, his smart forage cap and jacket, given to him by his Excellency, and much other property; and distinctly saw the chief ride off from his kraal just before the patrol got there. The enemy was completely routed, and made off in every direction. In my attack on the Amatola position on the 26th instant, the chiefs Beta and Pitoi, the son of Vongya (brother of the late Tyali), were killed, and many others of less note. This information I have received from the Kaffir Dakana, residing at the Quilli station."

In a despatch from the Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith, Bart., to Earl Grey, the regiment is mentioned as follows:—

"Major-General Somerset speaks in the highest terms of Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce and the 74th Regiment, recently arrived from England, upon whom the brunt of these operations fell in the first division."

During the next month the standing camp of the division was moved about from place to place, and patrolling parties were constantly sent out to check the depredations of the enemy. About the middle of August, when the standing camp was fixed at Riet Fontein, Major-General Somerset proceeded to Lower Albany with a large portion of the division, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, of the 74th Highlanders, in command of the troops remaining in camp.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sutton, Cape Mounted Rifles, commanding at Fort Beaufort, communicated with Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, about the beginning of September, regarding many bold and frequently successful attempts at the robbery of cattle made by the hordes of Kaffirs in the neighbourhood of that post, which it became necessary, if possible, to check. A force, consisting of 11 officers and 245 men of the 74th Highlanders, 3 officers and 36 men of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and 22 officers and 372 men of the various levies in camp and at Fort Beaufort, were assembled at Gilbert's farm, on the Klu Klu, on the night of the 7th of September, and marched about 2 o'clock A.M. on the 8th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, to the lower edge of the Kroome, where they arrived at dawn, but found none of the enemy in that locality. The force ascended the Kroome heights by the steep and difficult ridge called the Wolf's Head. It being well known that the enemy, under the Gaika chief Macomo, were in great force in the adjacent valleys of the Waterkloof, Fuller's Hoek, and Blinkwater, it was determined to halt in a hollow, where there was good water, until future operations were determined upon. Strong picquets were posted on the surrounding ridges, and the usual precautions taken to guard against surprise. Some large bodies of the enemy were seen collecting at various points, and about 3 P.M. the alarm was given that the Kaffirs were approaching in great force. They ran almost with the speed of greyhounds, but the troops, many of whom had to toss away their half-cooked dinners, got under arms with the utmost promptitude, and were soon posted in extended order on the ridges surrounding the bivouac, reinforcing the picquets. The enemy approached in swarms from all quarters of the contiguous bush, and as soon as they were within range, opened fire, which they kept up without intermission for about half an hour. Their force, at the lowest computation, was about 2000 men, and was led by Macomo in person, who was seen riding about on a white charger, well out of range. The troops being posted behind a ridge, were enabled to keep up a sharp fire without much danger to them-

selves, and the enemy were soon compelled to withdraw to the bush. Nearly half of the ammunition being now expended, the troops were ordered to retire; and Lieutenant-Colonel Sutton, with a few mounted men, was directed to occupy the pass leading from Kroome heights to Niland's farm. Between two and three hundred mounted Kaffirs were now seen endeavouring to turn the left flank, but they were kept in check, and all the troops were enabled to gain the pass—a narrow defile, in many parts of which not more than four or five men could walk abreast. The retreat was going on with perfect regularity, when a strong force of the enemy opened fire from the bush, and a detachment of the Fort Beaufort Fingoes became panic-stricken, rushing among the regular troops in great disorder, and thereby preventing them from using their arms with effect against the enemy. This no doubt encouraged the Kaffirs, who, seizing the advantage, rushed from the bush and stabbed many of the men with their assegais. The enemy continued their fire until the troops cleared the bush, but they scarcely showed themselves beyond it. The ammunition being nearly expended, the retreat was continued until the force arrived at Gilbert's farm, which they did shortly after dark, and bivouacked there for the night, sending an express to Riet Fontein for waggons to convey the wounded to camp. The casualties in the regiment on this occasion were 8 privates killed, and 1 officer, Lieutenant John Joseph Corrigan, 1 corporal, and 8 privates wounded. Hans Hartung, who had for many years been bandmaster of the regiment, and was much respected by all ranks, lost his life on this occasion; he had accompanied the force as a volunteer.

The troops returned to Riet Fontein and Fort Beaufort on the following day.

An officer,[2] who was with the regiment during the whole of this war, states that this was the only instance in which the 74th really met the Kaffirs face to face, and the latter even then had the advantage of possessing a thorough knowledge of the intricacies of the bush, and were in overwhelming numbers. There were numerous hand-to-hand conflicts, and several of the enemy were killed with the bayonet.

Major-General Somerset having arrived at Riet Fontein in September, the division marched on the 3rd of October to Fort Beaufort and encamped there, awaiting the arrival of reinforcements from the second division, under Lieutenant-Colonel Michel, of the 6th Regiment, intended to act with the first division in a combined attack on the Waterkloof, Kroome Heights, and Fuller's Hoek.

The necessary preparations having been made, Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce marched on the 13th of October with the Reserve Battalion 12th Regiment, Beaufort West Levy, Graaf Reynett Mounted Levy, and Fort Beaufort Mounted Troop. The Major-General had previously proceeded with the Cape Mounted Riflemen and Fort Beaufort Fingo Levy to meet Lieutenant-Colonel Michel on his march from King William's Town.

The force under Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce arrived at the Gola River on the afternoon of the 13th, and on the southern point of the Kroome Heights about sunrise next morning. The Waterkloof and Kroome Heights were that morning enveloped in a dense fog, which for a time prevented Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce from acting in concert with the Major-General, according to previous arrangement; but about noon the fog cleared away, and the Major-General was then seen to be engaged with the enemy at the head of the Waterkloof. Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce joined him with his brigade, and the enemy having been dispersed, they all marched to Mandell's farm, where they remained until the morning of the 16th.

The force was now divided. Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce's brigade, reinforced by the Reserve Battalion 91st Regiment, marching by the Bush Nek to the entrance of the Waterkloof; while the remainder of the division, under the personal command of the Major-General, proceeded to the head of the Waterkloof. Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, on his arrival at the entrance of the Waterkloof, extended a line of skirmishers across the valley, seeing but few of the enemy, and meeting with

[2] Captain Thackeray, who is intimately acquainted with the history of his old regiment, and to whom we are greatly indebted for having carefully revised this history of the 74th Highlanders, and otherwise lent us valuable assistance and advice.

no opposition until they emerged from the bush at the head of the Waterkloof, when a brisk fire was opened upon them; fresh skirmishers were thrown out, and the enemy dispersed. The force then joined the Major-General near Mount Misery, and the division marched to Eastland's Farm and bivouacked. The casualties in the regiment on this occasion were 2 privates killed, and 1 lance-corporal and 1 private wounded.

In another skirmish at the head of the Waterkloof, on the 23rd, 2 privates were killed and 2 wounded.

Various operations were carried on at the head of the Waterkloof and Kroome heights until the 28th, when Lieut.-Colonel Fordyce's brigade was ordered to the Blinkwater, where it arrived the same day, having been in the field exposed to heavy rains, and frequently with only one blanket per man, and since the 13th without tents.

The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Harry Smith, spoke, in his general order of October 31, in deservedly high terms of the conduct of the officers and men in these most trying duties; for this kind of desultory warfare, entailing constant marches from place to place without shelter, amid almost constant frost, snow, wind, and rain, and frequently with short supplies of food, and even of ammunition, against an immense number of savages, with whom it is impossible to come to close quarters, is far more trying to the temper and endurance of soldiers than a series of pitched battles with a powerful, well-disciplined, and well-equipped enemy.

This particular post of the enemy, at the head of the Waterkloof, was one which seemed almost impregnable, although it was held by only a few hundred Hottentots. The rebels had taken up a position near the summit of the Kloof, which they had fortified with a breastwall of detached rocks, from behind which they long bade defiance to all efforts to eject them. Occasionally, when the British soldiers were receding from the bush, the enemy would appear in the open ground, firing at the former with fatal precision, and seeming as if to invite them to open combat. Our brave soldiers accepting the challenge, and returning towards the Hottentots, or "Totties," as they were facetiously called, the latter would precipitately retreat to their stronghold, reappearing when their opponents' backs were turned, sending death to many a poor fellow, whose brave comrades could never get a chance to avenge him. Such a mode of warfare is harassing in the highest degree. It was at the deathful Waterkloof that the 74th sustained the loss of one of its bravest and best-beloved officers.

The troops belonging to the second division having marched to King William's Town, and the Major-General having assembled at the Blinkwater all the available force of the first division, he ascended the Blinkwater Hill on the 4th of November, and bivouacked at Eastland's Farm, leaving the tents and baggage at the Blinkwater under a guard.

On the morning of the 6th of November the infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce marched about two hours before daylight, the cavalry under the Major-General following at dawn, to the head of the Waterkloof, where, as we have said, a considerable party of the enemy was seen posted in strong positions. The infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, were ordered to attack the position. The Colonel led his men in column into the Waterkloof, when suddenly his march was arrested by a rocky precipice which flanked him in the form of a semicircle, where he found the enemy in considerable force, and these knew too well the rules of military tactics to let so favourable an opportunity escape for inflicting a penalty. Though the bayonets of our brave soldiers seemed powerless in such a position—for they had to contend against an enemy concealed among inaccessible rocks—yet Colonel Fordyce placed his men in position for an assault, and it was while calmly surveying them to see that all was ready for the desperate work, that he was struck in the side by a ball, which proved fatal to him in a quarter of an hour. His last words, it is said, were, "What will become of my poor regiment?" He was indeed the father of his regiment, looking with parental solicitude after the comforts of men, women, and children, and by all he was lamented with unfeigned sorrow.[3] His men, notwithstanding their irre-

[3] We regret very much that, after making all possibl

parable loss, stood firm against the enemy, and the Major-General having arrived and assumed the command, the enemy was driven from his position, and the troops bivouacked for the night on Mount Misery, near the scene of the day's operations.

The casualties in the regiment on this occasion were 2 officers (Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce and Lieutenant Carey), 2 sergeants, and 2 privates killed; and 1 officer, Lieutenant Gordon (who died shortly afterwards), and 8 men wounded. The greater number of the casualties on this occasion occurred in No. 2 company, under the command of Lieutenant Carey, until he was mortally wounded, and then of Lieutenant Philpot. They were opposed to a strong body of the enemy posted behind rocks, but being assisted by the light company, they succeeded in dislodging it.

The bodies of the dead were next day carried in a mule waggon for burial at Post Retief—15 miles across the table-land. "The funeral will never be forgotten by those who were present. The thunder, mingled with the booming artillery, rolled grandly and solemnly among the mountains. As the rough deal coffins were borne



Death of Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce.

From "Campaigning in Kaffirland," by Captain Wm. Ross King, 74th Highlanders (now Lieut.-Colonel Unattached).

out, the 'firing party,' dripping wet, and covered with mud, presented arms, the officers uncovered, and we marched in slow time out of the gate and down the road—the pipers playing the mournful and touching 'Highland Lament'—to where the graves had been dug, a few hundred yards from the Post."

The following division order by Major-General Somerset by no means exaggerates the soldierly merits of Colonel Fordyce :—

"Camp Blinkwater,
"*Nov. 9th*, 1851.

"It is with the deepest regret that Major-General Somerset announces to the division the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, commanding the 74th Highlanders. He fell, mortally wounded, in action with the enemy, on the morning of the 6th, and died on the field.

"From the period of the 74th Highlanders having joined the first division, their high state of discipline and efficiency at once showed to the Major-General the value of Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce as a commanding officer; the subsequent period, during which the Major-General had been in daily intercourse with Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce, so constantly engaged against the enemy in the field, had tended to increase in the highest degree the opinion which the Major-General had formed of Lieutenant-Colonel Fordyce as a commander of the highest order, and one of Her Majesty's

inquiries, we have been unable to obtain a portrait of this distinguished officer; indeed, his brother, General Fordyce, informs us that no good portrait of the Colonel exists.

ablest officers, and whom he now so deeply laments (while he truly sympathises with the 74th Highlanders in their irreparable loss), as an esteemed brother soldier."

Small parties of the enemy having again taken up positions near the head of Fuller's Hoek, they were attacked and dislodged on the 7th; and on the following day the division marched to its camp at the Blinkwater.

The 74th was engaged in no enterprise of importance for the next two months, headquarters having meantime been removed to Fort Beaufort. In January 1852 preparations were made under Major-General Somerset, by the first and second divisions, for a combined movement to destroy the enemy's crops in the Chumie Hoek, Amatolas, and on the left bank of the Keiskamma River. The Major-General marched from Fort Beaufort on the 26th of January 1852 for that purpose, with a force which included upwards of 250 of all ranks of the 74th. Detachments of the regiment were left at Post Retief, Blinkwater, Riet Fontein, and Fort Beaufort.

The Major-General, with the force under his command, arrived at the Amatolas on the 27th, and on the 28th commenced the destruction of the enemy's crops, which was carried on at the Amatolas, Chumie Hoek, and near the Gwali Mission Station, up to the 24th of February, with little interruption from the enemy and no loss to the regiment.

The destruction of that part of the crops allotted to the first division having been completed, the Major-General marched on the 25th *en route* for Haddon on the Koonap River, where he arrived on the 29th, and formed a standing camp.

At about two o'clock on the morning of the 4th of March, a patrol under Lieutenant-Colonel Yarborough, 91st Regiment, consisting of all the available men of that corps and of the 74th Highlanders, together with a troop of the Cape Mounted Riflemen, marched to the Waterkloof to destroy a number of kraals belonging to a party of the enemy who had located themselves on the sides of the mountain near Browne's Farm. This force arrived at the scene of operations about sunrise, and immediately attacked the kraals, which they completely destroyed, and captured a number of horses and cattle which were concealed in a dense bush in an adjacent kloof. These kraals were well defended by the enemy, and the time necessarily occupied in securing the horses and cattle allowed the enemy to collect in large numbers from every part of the Waterkloof. They kept up an incessant fire upon the troops until their arrival at Nel's Farm, where a position was taken up by the 74th and 91st Regiments, which kept the enemy in check until the horses and cattle were driven beyond their reach, after which the enemy dispersed, and the troops returned to camp. The casualties in the regiment on this occasion were 1 private killed and 4 wounded.

On the 7th of March the Commander-in-Chief arrived at the Blinkwater with all the available force of the 2nd division, for the purpose of carrying out, in connection with the 1st division, a combined movement against the Fuller's Hoek, the Waterkloof, and Kroome Heights, which were still occupied by Macomo and his best warriors. These operations were carried on between the 10th and the 16th of the month, and the regiment was engaged with the enemy on several occasions during that time, but happily without sustaining any loss. 410 women, among whom was Macomo's great wife, many children, 130 horses, 1000 head of cattle, and a number of goats were captured, together with some arms and ammunition, and all the property in Macomo's Den.

The Commander-in-Chief, in referring to these six days' operations in a general order, spoke of them as a success which may well be expected to lead to a permanent and lasting peace. "The Kaffir tribes," he said, "have never been previously thus punished, and the expulsion over the Kei being effected, tranquillity on a permanent basis may be hoped for. No soldiers ever endured greater fatigues, or ever encountered them with more constant cheerfulness and devotion to their sovereign and country."

On the 16th of March the 1st division returned to its standing camp, which had been removed on the 13th to the Gola River, near the entrance of the Waterkloof; and the troops belonging to the 2nd division returned to their stations.

The Waterkloof, Fuller's Hoek, and Blinkwater being now considered cleared of the enemy, the Commander-in-Chief ordered a combined movement to take place against large bodies of the enemy that had established themselves between the Kaboosie Mountains and the Kei River. To effect this, the 1st division marched on the morning of the 18th of March; and having been joined on the 26th at the Thorn River by a burgher force, which was to co-operate with the troops, reached the Thomas River on the 29th, where a standing camp was formed. The 2nd division, at the same time, sent patrols to the Kaboosie Nek, Keiskamma Hoek, and the banks of the Kei River, and a large number of burghers was in the field co-operating with the troops.

On the 5th of April a patrol, under Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, Cape Mounted Riflemen, consisting of 162 men, from the headquarters of the 74th, along with detachments of the various other corps, marched for the junction of the Thomas and the Kei Rivers, where it was supposed large numbers of the enemy's cattle were concealed.

This force arrived at and bivouacked on the Quantine, a branch of the Thomas River, on the evening of the 5th, and on the following morning resumed their march in three separate columns. Large herds of cattle were seen about ten o'clock in the morning near the junction of the Thomas and the Kei Rivers, and signal fires were lighted up by the enemy in various directions. After a successful contest of several hours' duration, in which 100 of the enemy were supposed to have been killed, this force captured, with little loss, large numbers of cattle, horses, and goats, with which they returned to the standing camp on the Thomas River. The Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith, Bart., in a general order, spoke in the highest terms of these services, as being of such a character that a speedy termination of the war might be looked for, which must lead to the establishment of permanent peace to the country.

The standing camp was moved on the 10th of April to the Windvogel, a branch of the Kei River. Lieutenant-General the Hon. George Cathcart, appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope in succession to Sir Harry Smith, who was recalled, having assumed the command and arrived at King William's Town, Major-General Somerset proceeded to that town to receive instructions regarding future operations.

Lieutenant-General Sir Harry George Wakelyn Smith, G.C.B., Bart., on resigning the command, bade farewell to the army which he had so efficiently commanded in a general order, in which he said:—

"I have served my Queen and country many years; and, attached as I have ever been to gallant soldiers, none were ever more endeared to me than those serving in the arduous campaign of 1851 and 1852 in South Africa. The unceasing labours of night marches, the burning sun, the torrents of rain, have been encountered with a cheerfulness as conspicuous as the intrepidity with which you have met the enemy in so many enterprising fights and skirmishes in his own mountain fastnesses and strongholds, and from which you have always driven him victoriously."[4]

During the next few months the 74th was kept incessantly moving about in detachments from one post to another, the bare recital of which movements would only fatigue the reader. The regiment was constantly employed either on patrol, in waylaying parties, or on escort duties, the work involved in such movements being, as we have already said, far more trying and fatiguing to the soldier

[4] There is no doubt that the energetic Sir Harry Smith was made the scape-goat of the shortcomings of the Government at home. Among other things, he had been accused "of using the language of hyperbole in describing the numerous rencontres which have occurred, and of giving praise to the gallant officers and troops as well as burghers." Possessing, however, some experience in war, he says, in his spirited despatch to Earl Grey, dated Camp, Blinkwater, March 17, 1852, "I must maintain that such is not the case. Troops acting in the open field expect not the stimulus of praise; the soldier sees his foe, and his British courage rises at each step; but he who, after perhaps a night-march of great length, has to ascend mountains, or penetrate dense bush and ravines, filled probably with a daring and intrepid enemy, as resolute as athletic, ready to murder any one who may fall into his hands, and when warfare is of the most stealthy and enterprising kind, appreciates the praise of his commander, because, when his acts are conspicuously daring, he is conscious he deserves it. He does his duty; but human nature renders even the soldier's intrepid heart sensible of the approbation of his superior, which he is proud to know may reach the eye of his parents and friends."

than a regular series of field operations against a large and thoroughly disciplined army. The high value of these irritating duties could only be fully appreciated by the superior officers who were watching the progress of the operations from day to day, and by the terrified colonists, whose lives and property the brave soldiers were doing their best, under great hardship, to protect. That the 74th, as well as the other regiments, really were the protectors of the colonists in South Africa, and performed their duties as such with honour and credit to themselves, all who were in a position to form an opinion concur in admitting. We have only heard of one instance in which an attempt was made to sully the honour and honesty of the 74th; that was by the Rev. Henry Renton, a Scotch missionary, who at a public meeting in Glasgow made some remarks reflecting on the conduct of the 74th Highlanders. We cannot believe that a Scotchman would maliciously attempt to sully the honour of a Highland regiment; and, of course, a Christian minister never so far should forget himself as to give utterance to a statement which he does not believe has a foundation in truth, especially when that statement, as in the present case, involves the reputation of so many of his fellow-countrymen, and, it is to be presumed, fellow-Christians. That the Rev. Henry Renton, whose honesty of intention, then, we cannot doubt, was under a misapprehension when he rashly—perhaps in a gush of "holy rapture," as Burns puts it—made this statement at the public meeting in Glasgow, is clear from the following letter written on the subject by Major-General Somerset:—

"GRAHAMSTOWN, *August* 18, 1852.

"SIR,—Having observed in several of the public journals that, at a recent public meeting, Mr Renton, a Scotch minister, took occasion to attack the character of the 74th Highlanders for their conduct when encamped at the Gwali Station on the Chumie River, in the month of February last, stating that the men of that corps had plundered and destroyed the garden of the widow Chalmers while the savage enemies had always spared her property; I desire to state, in justice to the 74th Highlanders under your command, that the statement is a false and gratuitous attack on your gallant regiment, whose unvaried discipline and excellent conduct have ever met my fullest approbation.

"Shortly after the troops arrived in camp at Gwali, a guard was detached to afford Mrs Chalmers protection, and if any produce was taken out of her garden, it must have been in total ignorance that any person was residing on the property—the Kaffirs who had been residing on the grounds having all fled into the bush.

"I consider the attack of Mr Renton, whose character is so well known on the frontier, to be an attempt to enhance the value of his statements in favour of those barbarians whose atrocities he has attempted to palliate, and whose cause he so earnestly patronises.

"You will be good enough to make this expression of my sentiments known to the 74th Highlanders under your command.

"I have the honour to be, &c,

"H. SOMERSET,
"Major-General.

"To Major Patton,
"Commanding 74th Highlanders."

Major-General Somerset having been appointed to the Staff in India, Colonel Buller, C.B., Rifle Brigade, assumed the command of the 1st division on the 27th of August 1852.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Macduff, from the St Helena Regiment, having been appointed to the 74th Highlanders, joined at Fort Beaufort on the 17th of October 1852, and assumed the command of the regiment.

The Commander-in-Chief having determined upon sending an expedition into the Abasutus country against Moshesh, to enforce the payment of a fine of cattle and horses imposed upon that chief, the detachments from Fort Browne, Koonap Port, Riet Fontein, Post Retief, joined headquarters at Fort Beaufort in the beginning of November, and on the 10th of that month the headquarters, under Lieutenant-Colonel Macduff—strength, 2 captains, 5 subalterns, 3 staff, 12 sergeants, 5 buglers, and 244 rank and file—marched for Burghersdorp, where the forces intended for the expedition were to assemble under the

personal command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. A detachment was left at Fort Beaufort under Major Patton, consisting of 2 captains, 1 subaltern, 2 staff, 11 sergeants, 4 buglers, and 141 rank and file.

On the 11th of November, the force was joined by a detachment of artillery and 2 guns under Captain Robinson, and a detachment of the Cape Mounted Rifles, under Major Somerset, the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Macduff. Proceeding by stages towards its destination, the force was joined on the 16th by Captain Brydon's company from Whittlesea, consisting of about 150 men, increasing the strength to 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 6 subalterns, 3 staff, 17 sergeants, 7 buglers, and 404 rank and file; on the 17th to the Honey Klip River; on the 18th to Klaas Smidts River; on the 19th to the Vleys on the Stormberg Mountains; on the 20th to the Stormberg River, on the 22nd it reached Burghersdorp, and joined the troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre of the 73rd regiment, who had arrived at Burghersdorp on the previous day.

On the 23rd, the headquarters of the Cape Mounted Rifles joined the force, and on the 28th, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief arrived, and the troops were divided into brigades, the 74th Highlanders, the 2nd (Queen's Regiment), and one Rocket Battery, forming the first brigade of infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Macduff, 74th Highlanders.

On the 28th of November, the march was recommenced by brigades, and the village of Plaatberg was reached on the 13th.

Moshesh's sons, Nehemiah and David, arrived in camp the same evening, and on the 15th, that chief himself appeared and had an interview with the governor, who informed him that if his fine of horses and cattle was not paid within three days, he would be obliged to go and take them.

On the 18th, Nehemiah arrived with 3450 head of cattle; but the remainder not having been sent within the stipulated time, the cavalry and 2nd brigade advanced on the 19th to the Drift on the Caledon River, leaving the camp and cattle at Plaatberg in charge of the 1st brigade. This force moved against Moshesh on the morning of the 20th, and after a sanguinary contest on the Berea Mountain, which lasted during the day, captured 4500 head of cattle, and some horses and goats. During that night Moshesh sent a letter to the Governor, saying that he had been severely punished, and suing for peace, which the Governor granted on the 21st, and the troops returned to camp on the 22nd.

One company of the 2nd, or Queen's, and one of the 74th, under Captain Bruce, marched for Plaatberg on the afternoon of the 19th, and reinforced the troops engaged. The cattle were sent for distribution to Bloem Fontein, and the troops commenced their march on their return to the colony on the 24th of December. On their arrival at the Orange River, it was found so swollen from recent rains that the troops, waggons, and baggage had to be conveyed across on two pontoons, which operation occupied six days.

The troops marched on their return to the colony by nearly the same route by which they had advanced, a detachment of the regiment, under Captain Bruce, of 2 sergeants, 1 bugler, and 40 rank and file, being left at Whittlesea.

The Governor and Commander-in-Chief took his leave of the troops in a general order dated "Camp Boole Poort, 26th December 1852," in which he spoke in the highest terms of their conduct during the expedition.

Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre also, on resigning command of the division, published a division order, in which he spoke of the general character of all non-commissioned officers and soldiers as having been most exemplary. "To the officers generally he feels that his thanks are especially due; their example and exertions have rendered his task of commanding very easy." Among the officers particularly named by Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre were,—Lieutenant-Colonel Macduff of the 74th Highlanders, commanding the 1st brigade, from whose judgment and experience he derived great assistance; Captain Hancock, 74th Highlanders; Lieutenant and Adjutant Falconer, 74th Highlanders, acting Brigade-Major, and Dr Fraser, 74th Highlanders, &c.

The first brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Macduff, arrived at Bryce's Farm, on the Kat River, on the 19th of January, 1853. On the

following day the regiments composing the brigade returned to their stations; the 74th proceeding to Fort Beaufort, where it arrived on the 21st, and where, on the 20th, a small detachment from the regimental depôt had joined.

In the beginning of February orders were received for the regiment to proceed to King William's Town to reinforce the 2nd division. It accordingly marched from Fort Beaufort on the 3rd, under Lieutenant-Colonel Macduff, leaving a small detachment at Fort Beaufort. The regiment arrived at King William's Town on the 7th, and was ordered to proceed to the Duhne or Itembi Mission Station, accompanied by detachments from the 12th Royal Lancers, the Royal Artillery, and the Cape Mounted Riflemen; the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Macduff, of the 74th Highlanders, the intention being to form a connecting link in a chain of posts surrounding the Amatolas. Numerous patrols were sent out to keep up a communication with the post at Kaboosie Nek, and to examine the country near the sources of the Kaboosie and the Buffalo rivers, and the valley between the Iseli range and Murray's Krantz.

Peace, however, having been established in March, the regiment marched from the Duhne Station to Fort Beaufort, arriving there on the 26th.

On the termination of the war, His Excellency published a general order, which we shall give at length, as serving to convey the idea formed by a competent judge of the urgent nature of the duties which the soldiers engaged in the Kaffir War had to perform, and also showing the important results of the operations in which the 74th bore so conspicuous a part.

"HEADQUARTERS, GRAHAMSTOWN,
"*March* 14, 1853.

"The Commander of the Forces congratulates the army under his command on the termination of the war of rebellion which has troubled the eastern frontier of Her Majesty's South African Dominions for more than two years, and which at one time assuming the character of a war of races, had it not been arrested by their gallantry, perseverance, and unparalleled exertions, must have overwhelmed the inhabitants of the eastern district of the colony. And indeed it is impossible to calculate the extent to which it might have reached.

"In conveying his thanks to the army for their meritorious services, His Excellency desires to include those of the Colonial service, Europeans, Fingoes, and Loyal Hottentots, who, under gallant leaders, nobly emulated the brilliant examples set them by Her Majesty's troops.

"The field of glory opened to them in a Kaffir war and Hottentot rebellion is possibly not so favourable and exciting as that which regular warfare with an open enemy in the field affords; yet the unremitting exertions called for in hunting well-armed yet skulking savages through the bush, and driving them from their innumerable strongholds, are perhaps more arduous than those required in regular warfare, and call more constantly for individual exertions and intelligence.

"The British soldier, always cheerfully obedient to the call, well knows that when he has done his duty, he is sure to obtain the thanks and good opinion of his gracious Queen.

"It is His Excellency's duty, and one which he has had the greatest pleasure in performing, to call Her Majesty's attention, not only on particular occasions, but generally, to the noble conduct of all officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of this army, throughout the arduous contest in which they have been engaged; and they may rest assured it will not pass unheeded.

"It cannot fail to be an additional gratification to them to reflect that the result of their exertions has been the total and final clearance of the Waterkloof, Fish River, and all the other strongholds of the enemy within the colony. The surrender of the rebel chiefs, Sandilli, Macomo, and the Gaika people, who have been expelled from all their former territories, including the Amatolas, which now remain in possession of Her Majesty's troops, and the removal of that hitherto troublesome race to the banks of the Kei; the complete submission of the Bassutus, the Sambookies, and the Anna-Galiekas, and the extinction of the Hottentot rebellion; and

that thus, thanks to their noble exertions, where all was war and rebellion two years ago, general and profound peace reigns in South Africa."

"A. J. CLOETE,
"Quartermaster-General."

Colonel Buller, C.B., Rifle Brigade, commanding 1st Division, made his inspection of the regiment on the 5th of May, when he expressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Macduff his entire satisfaction with the regiment in every respect.

Before concluding our account of the doings of the 74th Highlanders during the Kaffir War, we must tell the story of an action which sheds more glory upon those who took part in it than a hundred well-fought battles, or the taking of many cities; an action in which discipline and self-denial triumphed gloriously over the love of dear life itself.

On the 7th of January 1852, the iron paddle troopship "Birkenhead," of 1400 tons and 556 horse-power, commanded by Master Commanding Robert Salmond, sailed from the Cove of Cork, bound for the Cape of Good Hope, with detachments from the depôts of ten regiments, all under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Seton of the 74th Highlanders. Altogether there were on board about 631 persons, including a crew of 132, the rest being soldiers with their wives and children. Of the soldiers, besides Colonel Seton and Ensign Alexander Cumming Russell, 66 men belonged to the 74th.

The "Birkenhead" made a fair voyage out, and reached Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope, on the 23rd of February, when Captain Salmond was ordered to proceed eastward immediately, and land the troops at Algoa Bay and Buffalo River. The "Birkenhead" accordingly sailed again about six o'clock on the evening of the 25th; the night being almost perfectly calm, the sea smooth, and the stars out in the sky. Men, as usual, were told off to keep a look-out, and a leadsman was stationed on the paddle-box next the land, which was at a distance of about 3 miles on the port side. Shortly before two o'clock on the morning of the 26th, when all who were not on duty were sleeping peacefully below, the leadsman got soundings in 12 or 13 fathoms: ere he had time to get another cast of the lead, the "Birkenhead" was suddenly and rudely arrested in her course; she had struck on a sunken rock, surrounded by deep water, and was firmly fixed upon its jagged points. The water immediately rushed into the fore part of the ship, and drowned many soldiers who were sleeping on the lower troop deck.

It is easy to imagine the consternation and wild commotion with which the hundreds of men, women, and children would be seized on realising their dangerous situation. Captain Salmond, who had been in his cabin since ten o'clock of the previous night, at once appeared on deck with the other naval and military officers; the captain ordered the engine to be stopped, the small bower anchor to be let go, the paddle-box boats to be got out, and the quarter boats to be lowered, and to lie alongside the ship.

It might have been with the "Birkenhead" as with many other passenger-laden ships which have gone to the bottom, had there not been one on board with a clear head, perfect self-possession, a noble and chivalrous spirit, and a power of command over others which few men have the fortune to possess; this born "leader of men" was Lieutenant-Colonel Seton of the 74th Highlanders. On coming on deck he at once comprehended the situation, and without hesitation made up his mind what it was the duty of brave men and British soldiers to do under the circumstances. He impressed upon the other officers the necessity of preserving silence and discipline among the men. Colonel Seton then ordered the soldiers to draw up on both sides of the quarter-deck; the men obeyed as if on parade or about to undergo inspection. A party was told off to work the pumps, another to assist the sailors in lowering the boats, and a third to throw the poor horses overboard. "Every one did as he was directed," says Captain Wright of the 91st, who, with a number of men of that regiment, was on board. "All received their orders, and had them carried out, as if the men were embarking instead of going to the bottom; there was only this difference, that I never saw any embarkation conducted with so little noise and confusion."

Meanwhile Captain Salmond, thinking no doubt to get the ship safely afloat again and to steam her nearer to the shore, ordered the

engineer to give the paddles a few backward turns. This only hastened the destruction of the ship, which bumped again upon the rock, so that a great hole was torn in the bottom, letting the water rush in volumes into the engine-room, putting out the fires.

The situation was now more critical than ever; but the soldiers remained quietly in their places, while Colonel Seton stood in the gangway with his sword drawn, seeing the women and children safely passed down into the second cutter, which the captain had provided for them. This duty was speedily effected, and the cutter was ordered to lie off about 150 yards from the rapidly sinking ship. In about ten minutes after she first struck, she broke in two at the foremast—this mast and the funnel falling over to the starboard side, crushing many, and throwing into the water those who were endeavouring to clear the paddle-box boat. But the men kept their places, though many of them were mere lads, who had been in the service only a few months. An eye-witness, speaking of the captain and Colonel Seton at this time, has said—"Side by side they stood at the helm, providing for the safety of all that could be saved. They never tried to save themselves."

Besides the cutter into which the women and children had been put, only two small boats were got off, all the others having been stove in by the falling timbers or otherwise rendered useless. When the bows had broken off, the ship began rapidly to sink forward, and those who remained on board clustered on to the poop at the stern, all, however, without the least disorder. At last, Captain Salmond, seeing that nothing more could be done, advised all who could swim to jump overboard and make for the boats. But Colonel Seton told the men that if they did so, they would be sure to swamp the boats, and send the women and children to the bottom; he therefore asked them to keep their places, and they obeyed. The "Birkenhead" was now rapidly sinking; the officers shook hands and bade each other farewell; immediately after which the ship again broke in two abaft the mainmast, when the hundreds who had bravely stuck to their posts were plunged with the sinking wreck into the sea. "Until the vessel totally disappeared," says an eye-witness, "there was not a cry or murmur from soldiers or sailors." Those who could swim struck out for the shore, but few ever reached it; most of them either sank through exhaustion or were devoured by the sharks, or were dashed to death on the rugged shore near Point Danger, or entangled in the death-grip of the long arms of sea-weed that floated thickly near the coast. About twenty minutes after the "Birkenhead" first struck on the rock, all that remained visible were a few fragments of timber, and the main-topmast standing above the water. Of the 631 souls on board, 438 were drowned, only 193 being saved: not a single woman or child was lost. Those who did manage to land, exhausted as they were, had to make their way over a rugged and barren coast for fifteen miles, before they reached the residence of Captain Small, by whom they were treated with the greatest kindness until taken away by H.M. steamer "Rhadamanthus."

The three boats which were lying off near the ship when she went down picked up as many men as they safely could, and made for the shore, but found it impossible to land; they were therefore pulled away in the direction of Simon's Town. After a time they were descried by the coasting schooner "Lioness," the master of which, Thomas E. Ramsden, took the wretched survivors on board, his wife doing all in her power to comfort them, distributing what spare clothes were on board among the many men, who were almost naked. The "Lioness" made for the scene of the wreck, which she reached about half-past two in the afternoon, and picked up about forty-five men, who had managed to cling to the still standing mast of the "Birkenhead." The "Lioness," as well as the "Rhadamanthus," took the rescued remnant to Simon's Bay.

Of those who were drowned, 357, including 9 officers, belonged to the army; the remaining 81 formed part of the ship's company, including 7 naval officers. Besides the chivalrous Colonel Seton and Ensign Russell, 48 of the 66 men belonging to the 74th perished.

Any comment on this deathless deed of heroic self-denial, of this victory of moral power over the strongest impulse, would be imperti-

nent; no one needs to be told what to think of the simple story. The 74th and the other regiments who were represented on board of the "Birkenhead," as well as the whole British army, must feel prouder of this victory over the last enemy, than of all the great battles whose names adorn their regimental standards.

The only tangible memorial of the deed that exists is a monument erected by Her Majesty Queen Victoria in the colonnade of Chelsea Hospital; it bears the following inscription:—

"This monument is erected by command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, to record the heroic constancy and unbroken discipline shown by Lieutenant-Colonel Seton, 74th Highlanders, and the troops embarked under his command, on board the "Birkenhead," when that vessel was wrecked off the Cape of Good Hope, on the 26th of February 1852, and to preserve the memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men who perished on that occasion. Their names were as follows:—

"Lieutenant-Colonel ALEXANDER SETON, 74th Highlanders, commanding the troops; Cornet Rolt, Sergeant Straw, and 3 privates, 12th Lancers; Ensign Boylan, Corporal M'Manus, and 34 privates, 2nd Queen's Regiment; Ensign Metford and 47 privates, 6th Royals; 55 privates, 12th Regiment; Sergeant Hicks, Corporals Harrison and Cousins, and 26 privates, 43rd Light Infantry; 3 privates 45th Regiment; Corporal Curtis and 29 privates, 60th Rifles; Lieutenants Robinson and Booth, and 54 privates, 73rd Regiment; Ensign Russell, Corporals Mathison and William Laird, and 46 privates, 74th Highlanders; Sergeant Butler, Corporals Webber and Smith, and 41 privates, 91st Regiment; Staff-Surgeon Laing; Staff Assistant-Surgeon Robinson. In all, 357 officers and men. The names of the privates will be found inscribed on brass plates adjoining."

Lieutenant-Colonel Seton, whose high-mindedness, self-possession, and calm determination inspired all on board, was son and heir of the late Alexander Seton, Esq. of Mounie, Aberdeenshire, and represented the Mounie branch of the old and eminent Scottish house of Pitmedden. His death was undoubtedly a great loss to the British army, as all who knew him agree in stating that he was a man of high ability and varied attainments; he was distinguished both as a mathematician and a linguist. Lord Aberdare (formerly the Right Honourable H. A. Bruce) speaks of Colonel Seton, from personal knowledge, as "one of the most gifted and accomplished men in the British army."[5]

III.

1853—1874.

Embarkation for India—Ten years in India—Malabar—Canara—New stand of Colours—Mrs Anson—A desperate duel—Lieut.-General Shawe becomes Colonel of the 74th—Indian Rebellion—The Kaffir War Medals—Storm of Sholapoor—Kopal—Nargoond—Leave to be discharged in 1858—The 74th embarks for England in 1864—Captain Thackeray in command of the 74th—Edinburgh—Aldershot—Receives the special commendation of H.R.H. Commanding-in-Chief.

ORDERS having been received that the 74th should hold itself in readiness to proceed to India, all the outlying detachments joined headquarters at Fort Beaufort. The regiment set out on November 10, 1853, to march for Port Elizabeth, where it arrived on the 18th, and from which, on the 20th, the headquarters and right wing were conveyed to Cape Town, where they embarked on board the freight-ship "Queen."

The "Queen" sailed from Table Bay on the 25th of November, and arrived at Madras on the 12th of January 1854. The 74th was destined to remain in India for the next ten years, during which time the movements of its various detachments were exceedingly complicated, and are difficult to follow even with the aid of a good map. Indeed, few regiments, we are sure, have been more broken up into small detachments than was the 74th, during its services at the Cape, and for the greater part of the time that it remained in India; for eight years from 1850, when the regiment was at Fermoy, in Ireland, it was broken up into small detachments, and it was only on the repeated petition of the commanding-officer to the War Office authorities that, in 1858, all the companies once more found themselves to-

[5] We regret exceedingly that we have been unable to procure an authentic portrait of Colonel Seton.

gether: this was at Bellary, in the Madras Presidency, where headquarters had been stationed for some time.

After the arrival of headquarters and the right wing at Madras, the regiment was joined by a detachment from England, under Captain Jago. After headquarters had been about a week at Madras, it, along with four companies, re-embarked, on January 19, for Negapatam, about 180 miles further south, where it arrived next day, and remained till the 24th, when it set out to march for Trichinopoly, which it reached on the 2nd of February.

On the 7th of February a detachment, under Captain Brydon, consisting of 4 officers and 205 men, proceeded to Jackatalla (now Wellington, about ten miles south of Ootakemund, in the Neelgherri Hills), there to be stationed for the purpose of assisting in the building of barracks at that place.

Captain Jago, with the two companies which had been left at Madras, joined headquarters on the 13th, and a small detachment from England, under Lieutenant Davies, landed at Madras on the 13th, and arrived at Trichinopoly on the 27th of February.

The left wing of the service companies, which had left Cape Town some time after the rest of regiment, landed at Madras on the 19th of February, and embarked for Tranquebar. This detachment, on its march from Tranquebar to Trichinopoly, was unfortunately attacked by cholera, and lost 3 sergeants, 2 corporals, and 15 privates.

The headquarters marched for Jackatalla on the 15th of March, and arrived there on the 30th, having left a detachment at Trichinopoly, consisting of 2 captains, 5 subalterns, 1 assistant-surgeon, 10 sergeants, 4 drummers, and 220 rank and file, under command of Major Hancock, who was relieved of the command by Lieutenant-Colonel Monkland on the 3rd of April.

It would be tedious to follow the movements of the various detachments of the regiment in the performance of the ordinary routine duties which devolve on the British soldier when stationed in India. The headquarters remained at Jackatalla—where it was gradually joined by the various detachments which remained at Trichinopoly—till 1857. At frequent intervals during this time, and while the regiment remained in India, it was joined by detachments of recruits from the depôt companies at home, and by volunteers from other regiments in India—it being a common custom, when a regiment was ordered home, to allow those of the men who wished to remain in India to volunteer into other regiments. If we may judge from the large detachments which the 74th received in this way, it must have had a very high reputation among the other regiments of Her Majesty stationed in India. Among the other additions which the 74th received while at Jackatalla was one which was made by Her Majesty's gracious pleasure, much, no doubt, to the gratification of the regiment, and one which to a Highland regiment is of no mean importance. The addition we refer to consisted of 1 pipe-major and 5 pipers, who joined in May 1854, and whose strains, no doubt, served often to remind the many Highlanders in the regiment of their homes far away in dear old Scotland. This accession was in addition to a pipe-major and a piper for each company, which have always been maintained in the regiment, and dressed at the expense of the officers.

In November of the same year that the regiment received the above important addition, it was inspected by Major-General J. Wheeler Cleveland, commanding the Southern Division, who, in a division order afterwards issued, expressed himself in complimentary and justly merited terms towards this distinguished regiment.

Colonel Macduff, having been appointed a brigadier of the 2nd class, and ordered to assume the command of the provinces of Malabar and Canara, handed over command of the regiment to Captain Brydon on the 7th of February 1855,—Lieutenant-Colonel Monkland, the next senior officer, having proceeded to Bangalore on sick-leave. But Captain and Brevet-Major Robert Bruce having joined, from leave of absence, on the 28th of February, assumed command of the regiment, and was relieved on the 9th of April by Lieutenant-Colonel Monkland.

A wing of the regiment having been ordered to relieve the 25th (King's Own Borderers) Regiment—132 volunteers from which joined

the 74th—at Cannanoor, a detail of 8 officers, 1 surgeon, 13 sergeants, 16 corporals, 6 drummers, 3 pipers, and 304 privates, under command of Captain Jago, marched from headquarters on the 14th of February, and arrived at Cannanoor on the 1st of March, having *en route* detached No. 5 Company, under Captain Augustus Davies, to Malliapooram. The wing thus stationed at Cannanoor, on the Malabar coast, had to furnish so many strong detachments to the provinces of Malabar and Canara that it was necessary frequently to reinforce it from headquarters, as well as from England, so that very soon the number of companies at headquarters was reduced to four, the other six being with the left wing.

The 24th of May, being the anniversary of the birth of Her Most Gracious Majesty, was selected by the Hon. Mrs George Anson for presenting a stand of new colours to the regiment. His Excellency Lieutenant-General the Honourable George Anson, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, and the staff of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, the Marquis of Dalhousie, and a large concourse of spectators, were to be present, but the Governor-General was unfortunately prevented by illness from attending.

The new colours having been consecrated by the Rev. John Ruthven Macfarlane, the chaplain of the regiment, were handed to Lieutenants R. H. D. Lowe and H. R. Wolrige (the two senior subalterns present) by the Honourable Mrs Anson, who, in doing so, mentioned the various services of the regiment in a most complimentary manner; and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, after the review, was pleased to express himself in the most flattering terms with regard to the gallantry, efficiency, soldier-like bearing, and good conduct of the regiment.

In the month of September, the detachment stationed at Malliapooram, under the command of Captain Augustus Davies, was employed against some insurgent Moplahs in the neighbourhood, who had murdered Mr Conolly, Collector of Malabar, and in an affair on the 17th of that month 1 private was killed and 1 wounded.

During the performance of this duty a very remarkable incident occurred which is well worth putting on record. Captain Davies' company having been sent in quest of the Moplahs, came upon them, after a hot midday march of about eight or ten miles, at the house of a high caste Nair, which they had taken possession of after murdering the servant who had been left in charge. The house was no sooner surrounded by the soldiers than the Moplahs rushed forth, fired what arms they possessed at the 74th, killing a private; they then attacked the men with the Moplah war-knives. All the Moplahs were speedily despatched, not, however, before one of them had attacked Private Joseph Park, who transfixed the Moplah through the chest with his bayonet. The Moplah thereupon, although mortally wounded, seized the muzzle of Park's firelock—for the 74th was still armed with the old Brown Bess—and with a fierce blow of his war-knife, whilst still transfixed with the bayonet, cut Park's throat almost from ear to ear. Staggered with the blow, the firelock dropped from Park's hands, and the Moplah fell dead at his feet. After hovering between life and death for some weeks, Park ultimately recovered.

Colonel Macduff, having been relieved from the provinces of Malabar and Canara by the return of Brigadier Brown, rejoined headquarters, and assumed command of the regiment on the 31st of January 1856, and Lieutenant-Colonel Monkland proceeded to Cannanoor for the purpose of assuming command of the left wing. On the 14th of November, however, Colonel Macduff, as senior officer in the Presidency, having been ordered to proceed to Bellary as acting Brigadier in place of Colonel Brown of the 43d Foot, who had died, the command of the headquarters devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Monkland, who, however, retained it only a few weeks, as Colonel Macduff, having been relieved from the command of the Bellary Brigade by Colonel Pole, 12th Lancers, his senior, returned to headquarters at Jackatalla, and reassumed the command of the regiment on the 6th of February.

On the 16th of February 1857 notification of the appointment of Lieutenant-General Shawe to the colonelcy of the regiment, in

place of Lieutenant-General Thomson, was received by the regiment.

During all this time, of course, the regular half-yearly inspection was made by Major-General Cleveland, who on every occasion was able to express himself perfectly satisfied with the state of the regiment.

On the 12th of April 1857, Enfield rifles were first issued to a portion of the regiment in accordance with the instructions from home directing their partial introduction into the army as an experiment.

On the 22d of July, in accordance with instructions received, the right wing and headquarter companies proceeded *en route* to Bangalore by Mysore; but on arriving at the latter place, their destination having been changed to Bellary (with the exception of 150 men, who, under command of Captain Falconer, followed by marches in charge of the families and baggage), the regiment was pushed on by transit to that station, Government being apprehensive of a rising among the Rajah's zemindars in the Mahratta country. As the sequel shows, the services of the regiment were soon called into requisition. A movable column having been formed under the command of Brigadier Whitlock, the grenadier company, made up to 100 men immediately on its arrival, proceeded on the 12th of August to join the force by way of Kurnool; and as soon as the arrival of the detachment under Captain Falconer, above referred to, rejoined headquarters on the 30th, the light company, also made up to 100 men, proceeded to join the column. These companies were all armed with the Enfield rifle—the right wing, on passing through Bangalore, having been furnished with this weapon. These two companies being on field service, and a wing of six companies being at Cannanoor, the headquarters of the regiment at Bellary was reduced to a skeleton of two weak companies.

On the 16th of September, Colonel Macduff being appointed Brigadier of the 2nd class on the permanent establishment of the Presidency, the command of the corps again devolved upon Colonel Monkland, at this time in command of the left wing at Cannanoor, but who now assumed the command at headquarters. On the following day a letter, considerably augmenting the establishment of the regiment, was received; and on the 29th the headquarters, consisting of the two attenuated companies above referred to, was inspected by Major-General Donald Macleod,[6] commanding the ceded districts, who on the occasion expressed himself satisfied with everything that came under his notice.

Instructions having been received for the left wing at Cannanoor to join headquarters at Bellary, on the arrival of the 66th Foot at that station from England, the various detachments rejoined the wing, and the whole six companies marched, under the command of Captain Jago, on the 12th of January 1858, having all been furnished with the new Enfield rifle. The wing arrived at Bellary in daily batches by the 20th of February.

The regiment having been scattered in detachments, the medals which it had so honourably won in the Kaffir war of 1851-53 had not been presented to many of the men; therefore, upon the six companies joining headquarters, Lieutenant-Colonel Monkland took an early opportunity of distributing to the meritorious those rewards for their distinguished conduct during that trying campaign.

Intimation having been received that the Rajah of Sholapoor was in arms against the Government, the two companies of the regiment, with Brigadier Whitlock, previously referred to, were detached to Sholapoor, at the storm and capture of which, on the 8th and 9th of February, they were present and took a prominent part.

On the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of March, the regiment being, by good fortune, all together for a brief period, with the exception of two companies, Nos. 1 and 10, on field service, Major-General Donald Macleod again inspected it, and was pleased, as previously, to express himself much gratified with the discipline and interior economy of the regiment, as well as with its appearance on parade.

The day following the inspection, the 15th of March 1858, a detachment, under Captain Falconer, consisting of 2 captains, 4 subalterns, 1 staff-officer, 12 sergeants, 12 corporals, 3 pipers, and 280 privates, proceeded on field-

[6] This officer met his death by a sad mischance in 1873, at one of the London Metropolitan Railway Stations.

service to the southern Mahratta country, being placed at the disposal of the Bombay Government, and being ultimately stationed at Darwar.

On the 28th of May, a petty rajah or zemindar having taken possession of the Fort of Kopál, a field force from Bellary was immediately put in motion—No. 9 Company, under Captain Menzies, composing the European infantry with the force. Major Hughes, deeming it politic to nip in the bud this outbreak before it spread further in the Madras Presidency, pushed on the force as quickly as possible by forced marches, and arrived before Kopál on the 31st. The fort was stormed and recaptured on the 1st of June by No. 9 Company, which formed the storming party on the occasion, having 1 sergeant and 6 privates wounded, one of the latter dying on the 5th.

The same day on which the storm and capture of Kopál took place, Companies 2 and 6, under Captain Davies, having been, by direction of the Bombay Government, detached from the contingent stationed at Darwar, proceeded to Noorgoond, and stormed and captured the fort of that name, on which occasion only 1 private was wounded.

Government being apprehensive that the rebel leader, Tantéa Topee, was endeavouring to enter the Deccan and incite the Mahrattas, a field force under the command of Brigadier Spottiswood of the 1st Dragoon Guards, who had temporarily succeeded Brigadier Macduff in command of the Bellary Brigade, marched from Bellary on the 9th of November. The force consisted of the 74th Highlanders, 47th Regiment Native Infantry, one battery of Royal Artillery, 5th Light Cavalry, and one regiment of Mysore Horse. It proceeded by way of Kurnool to Hyderabad, arriving there on the 3rd of December. This force remained fully equipped and ready to move on any point until the 21st of January 1859, when it was broken up and taken on the strength of the Hyderabad subsidiary force. The 74th left Hyderabad on February 3rd, and reached Bellary on the 22nd of the same month.

Shortly before this, Major-General Macleod left his district, and it must be exceedingly gratifying to the 74th that an officer of his penetration, knowledge, and honesty of speech, felt himself able to issue an order so highly complimentary as the following, dated "Headquarters, Ceded Districts, October 8th, 1858:"—

"The Major-General thanks Colonel Monkland for the excellent state of discipline and good behaviour of the men of the 74th Highlanders while the regiment remained at Bellary. The conduct of the men has been strikingly correct. A single case of irregularity in any soldier's conduct out of quarters has never been observed. . . . As the Major-General thinks it probable that during his period of command he will not again have the troops composing the column under his orders, he deems it right to express his high opinion of those composing it, and feels confident that opportunity is only wanting to prove that the Bellary column is second to none on field-service."

It was at this time that, at the repeated request of the commanding officer, the whole regiment was reunited at Bellary, where the strength of the regiment was found to be as follows:—1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 10 captains, 14 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 6 staff, 55 sergeants, 44 corporals, 20 drummers, 6 pipers, 942 rank and file, being a total of 1067; and on the 14th of June a draft of 16 recruits joined headquarters from England.

The period of service, under the "Limited Service Act" (of June 1847), of many of the men having long expired, and the country being considered quiet, authority for the discharge of such as desired it having been received, the regiment lost a large number of its best soldiers, and by the end of 1859 was considerably reduced in numbers.

Colonel Macduff—the division under Major-General Whitlock, including the 2nd Infantry brigade which he commanded, having been broken up—returned to Bellary, and assumed the command of the brigade at that station, having been repeatedly, during his absence on field-service, successfully engaged against the rebels.

There is but little to record out of the even tenor of the regiment's way from this time until it embarked for England in 1864. The 74th was of course regularly inspected every half-year by the superior officer whose duty it was to do so; and invariably a good report was

given, not only of the discipline and bearing of the men, their knowledge of their business, and their smart and soldierly appearance, but also of their personal cleanliness, and the excellent interior economy of the regiment, and of the unanimity and good feeling that existed among all its ranks. Indeed, the terms in which Major-General Coffin, whose duty it was at this time frequently to inspect the regiment, spoke of the character and efficiency of the 74th, were such that Colonel Villiers seems to have been afraid that the men would be spoiled by so much praise, and in a regimental order of November 1860 sincerely hopes the high encomiums passed by the Major-General may not lead either officers or men to rest satisfied with the present state of the efficiency of their corps, but act as an additional incentive to renewed exertion on the part of every one concerned to render perfect what is now in their estimation considered good.

In a letter dated Horse Guards, 27th of March 1860, it is intimated that "the small amount of crime has been specially remarked by the Duke of Cambridge."

During this period some important changes took place among the superior officers of the regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Monkland, who had been with the regiment since first he entered the army, exchanged in November 1859 to half-pay, with Lieutenant-Colonel James Villiers, who joined regimental headquarters from England in February 1860. This latter officer, however, was not destined to be long connected with the regiment, as he had the misfortune to be cut off by brain fever at Ramdroog on May 10, 1862.

The senior Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment, Major-General (local rank) John Macduff, C.B., commanding the Oudh division of the Bengal Presidency, had been placed on half-pay on the 24th of January of this year, the date of his appointment to the Bengal staff, and the supernumerary Lieutenant-Colonelcy was thereby absorbed.

On the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Villiers, Major William Kelty Macleod, who had been in temporary command since that officer's departure on leave of absence on the 23rd of March, succeeded to the command, Colonel Patton being absent in command of a brigade at Thagetmyo in Burmah.

The depôt of the regiment was during this period stationed at Aberdeen, and sent out frequent detachments of recruits to supply the deficiencies created in the service companies by men who left on the expiry of their term, and by the numerous batches of invalids whom it was found necessary to send home for the sake of their health.

A pattern dress bonnet had been supplied to the companies at Aberdeen in 1861 on trial, but not having been found durable, a new pattern was designed by Captain Palmer, commanding the depôt, and submitted by him to the clothing department for the approval of His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief, who was pleased to direct a letter to be sent to Captain Palmer, thanking him for his suggestion, and directing the pattern to be sealed and adopted by the regiment as its future head-dress.

The Indian mutiny medals having been received for the officers and men of the regiment who were engaged at the capture of the forts of Shorapoor, Noorgoond, and Kopál in 1858, they were presented at Bellary, in presence of the division, on the 23rd of September (being the sixtieth anniversary of the victory of Assaye), by Major-General Armstrong, commanding the ceded districts. He addressed the regiment in the following terms:—

"Major Macleod, officers, and men of the 74th Highlanders,—This is the anniversary of a memorable day in the annals of your regiment, and consequently I have selected it to perform a duty most agreeable to myself; that is, to present in the presence of the assembled division the medals to so many officers and men of your distinguished regiment with which Her Most Gracious Majesty, our beloved Queen, has been pleased to reward the good and gallant services and conduct of her troops during the recent disturbances in Bengal and other parts of India. But before fulfilling this duty, I feel called upon to say a few words to you."

Major-General Armstrong then glanced rapidly at all the brilliant services performed by the 74th Highlanders, from Assaye to the Indian Mutiny, concluding as follows:—

"Bravery is the characteristic of the British

soldier, but the 74th Highlanders possesses also another claim to distinction, such as in all my long service I have never seen surpassed, and which has justly obtained for the regiment a high reputation—I mean that very best criterion of the good soldier, steady good conduct, obedience to orders, and the most perfect discipline at all times, whether in camp or quarters. You have now served in this division under my command for a year and a half, and it is particularly gratifying to me to be the medium of presenting so many of you with medals, honourable tokens of your service to your country, and the approbation of your Queen."

The medals were then fastened on the left breast of the officers and men by the General, assisted by several ladies, after which General Armstrong spoke again as follows:—

"I am quite sure there is not a man now wearing the decoration just fixed upon your breasts that will hereafter willingly be guilty of any act to tarnish this token of your Sovereign's favour. Long may you live, one and all, to wear the honours you have won! I greatly regret to think that the time is rapidly approaching when I shall lose the 74th Regiment from my command on its return to England. Many of you, no doubt, will volunteer for other regiments in India, and you may be assured that every well-conducted man will find a good recommendation to his new corps in his having served in a regiment possessing the high reputation of the 74th Highlanders. But others will be returning with the regiment to your native land, whither, if my life is spared, I may follow you at no distant period, when I hope to beat up the quarters of the regiment, and if so, I trust to see many of the medals I have this day presented to you still decorating the ranks of the corps. It will always be to me a proudly gratifying recollection that a regiment so gallant, so well behaved, and in every way distinguished, has served under my command.

"Major Macleod, and officers of the 74th, you may well feel a pride in your Highlanders. I trust that you, Major Macleod, will long be permitted to retain the command of them—a command which you have so ably and efficiently exercised for the advantage of the service, and the happiness and well being of all ranks during the whole period the regiment has been under my orders."

On the 1st of January 1864, 261 men who had volunteered to other corps in the Madras Presidency were struck off the strength of the regiment; and on the 4th of the same month the regiment marched from Bellary *en route* to Madras, where it arrived on the 13th of February, and was ordered to encamp till the vessels were ready to convey it to England.

While in camp cholera broke out, and several deaths having occurred, the camp was at once removed to Palaveram, where, happily, the disease disappeared.

On the 7th of March the regiment proceeded to Madras and embarked for England—the headquarters and right wing under Major Jago (Major Macleod having been permitted to proceed to England by the overland route), and the left wing under Captain Thackeray.

On the 19th of June, the headquarters reached Spithead, where orders were received for the vessel to proceed to Gravesend, on arrival at which place the wing was transhipped, without landing, to the "Princess Royal" steamer, and proceeded to Leith, disembarking at Granton Pier on the 24th of June, and marching to Edinburgh Castle, there to be stationed. The left wing did not reach Edinburgh till the 29th of July, having been delayed at St Helena by the illness of the commander of the "Hornet."

Brevet-Colonel Patton, who had gone home from India on sick leave some weeks previously, joined headquarters on the 25th of June, and assumed the command; but on the 9th of September he retired upon half-pay, and Major Macleod was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the regiment.

The movements of the regiment, from its arrival in Edinburgh up to the present time, may be very briefly recorded, as there is but little to tell except its movements from one quarter to another. Its stay in Edinburgh was very brief, for in less than a year after its arrival, on May 1, 1865, it re-embarked at Granton for Portsmouth *en route* for Aldershot, where it arrived on the evening of the 4th. The 74th left behind its old colours, which were deposited in the armoury of Edinburgh Castle.

After a stay at Aldershot of a few months, the regiment got short notice to proceed to Dover, which it did on February 20, 1866, the admirable manner in which it turned out eliciting the special commendation of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief. On its arrival at home, the strength of the regiment was of course considerably reduced, and in April 1866 it was still further reduced by two companies, the new establishment consisting of only 640 privates, with a proportionate number of officers and non-commissioned officers.

After a stay of six months at Dover, the 74th was ordered to Ireland, arriving at Cork, whence it proceeded to Limerick, where it stayed till September 26, 1867, on which day it went by rail to Dublin, where it occupied Richmond barracks. While at Limerick, detachments had been told off to do duty at Clare Castle and Nenagh. In consequence of Fenian riots, flying columns were sent out on several occasions, of which various companies of the 74th formed a part.

In November 1867, orders had been received for the regiment to hold itself in readiness to proceed to New Brunswick; its destination was, however, changed about a month later, when it received orders to make ready to proceed to Gibraltar; the depôt companies, consisting of 92 men, under Captain Thackeray and 3 subalterns, having, on January 27, 1868, sailed for Greenock in order to proceed to Fort-George, where it was to be stationed. The regiment sailed from Kingstown on February 2nd, on board H.M. ship "Himalaya," for Gibraltar, where it arrived on February 7th, disembarked on the 8th, and encamped on the North Front until the 13th, when it was removed to the South Barracks.

The 74th remained at Gibraltar till February 1872, on the 17th of which month headquarters and four companies under Colonel Macleod sailed for Malta, where it arrived on the 22nd. The left wing, under Major Jago, followed on the 7th of March, arriving at Malta on the 12th.

SUCCESSION LISTS OF COLONELS AND FIELD OFFICERS OF THE 74TH HIGHLANDERS.

COLONELS.

Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B., Oct. 12, 1787.

He was a Major-General, and the first Colonel of the 74th, which he raised. He died on the 31st of March 1791, and a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

Charles O'Hara, ... April 1, 1791.
From the 22nd Regiment in . . 1791.
Appointed Lieut.-General in . . 1793.
Governor of Gibraltar in 1798, and promoted to the rank of General. He died at Gibraltar, Feb. 21, 1802.

John, Lord Hutchinson, K.B., March 21, 1802.
M.P. for Cork in . . . . 1777.
Lieut.-Colonel of the Athole Highlanders in 1783.
Colonel of the 94th in . . . 1794.
Major-General in . . . . 1796.
Second in command in Egypt.
Chief in Egypt on the death of Abercromby, 1801.
Baron Hutchinson, . . . Dec. 5, 1801.
Governor of Stirling Castle in . . 1803.
Lieut.-General in . . . . 1803.
Colonel of the 57th in . . . 1806.
Colonel of the 18th Royal Irish in . 1811.
General in . . . . . 1813.
In 1825 became Earl of Donoughmore; and died June 29, 1832.

Sir John Stuart, K.B., Count of Maida, Sept 8, 1806.
Ensign 3d Foot Guards, . . . 1779.
Lieut.-Colonel, ... 1793.
Colonel in . . . . . 1796.
Brigadier-General in . . . . 1800.
Major-General in . . . . 1802.
Gained the victory over the French at Maida, July 4, 1806; received the freedom of the city of London, and was appointed Colonel of the 74th, Sept. 8, 1806; Lieut.-General, April 25, 1808; Colonel of the 20th Dec. 29, 1808; Commander of the Western District of Great Britain, June 10, 1813; and died in 1815.

The Hon. Sir Alexander Hope, G.C.B., Dec. 29, 1809.
Ensign in the 63d Regiment. . March 6, 1786.
Lieut.-Colonel of the 14th, . Aug. 27, 1794.
Governor of Tynemouth and Glifford's Fort, 1797.
Lieut.-Governor of Edinburgh Castle, 1798.
Deputy Adjutant-General, . . 1799.
Colonel in the Army, . . . Jan. 1, 1800.
Colonel of 5th West India Regiment, Oct. 30, 1806.
Major-General, ... 1808.
Colonel of the 74th, . . Dec. 29, 1809.
Colonel of the 47th, . . . April 1813.
Lieut.-General, . . . June 1813.
General, ... July 22, 1830.
Colonel of the 14th, ... 1835.
G.C.B. and Lieut.-Governor of Chelsea Hospital. He died on the 19th of May 1837.

James Montgomerie, . . . April 26, 1813.
Ensign in the 51st, . . . Sept. 13, 1773.
Exchanged into the 13th Foot, . . 1775.
Lieutenant, ... 1779.
Promoted to the late 93rd, . . . 1780.
To the 10th Foot, ... 1786.
Brigade-Major, ... 1794.
Brevet-Major and Lieut.-Colonel of 6th West India Regiment, ... 1795.
Volunteered with Sir Ralph Abercromby, 1796.
Commander of the troops at St Kitt's till 1798, when he exchanged into the 45th Regiment.
Brevet-Colonel, . . . April 29, 1802.
Lieut.-Colonel of the 64th, . . . 1804.
Brigadier-General in the West Indies, 1804.
Governor of these Colonies till . . 1808.
Major-General, . . . Oct. 25, 1809.
Colonel of the 74th, . . . April 26, 1813.
Lieut.-General, . . . June 4, 1814.
Colonel of the 30th Regiment, . June 13, 1823.
Which he retained till his death in 1829.

The Hon. Sir Charles Colville, G.C.B., G.C.H., ... June 13, 1823.
Ensign in the 28th, . . . Dec. 26, 1781.
Lieutenant, ... 1787.
Major in the 13th, . . . 1795.
Lieut.-Colonel, . . . Aug. 26, 1796.
Brevet-Colonel, . . . Jan. 1, 1805.
Brigadier-General, . . . Dec. 25, 1809.
Major-General, . . . July 25, 1810.
Col. of the 5th Garrison Battalion, Oct. 10, 1812.
Colonel of the 94th, . . . April 29, 1815.
Lieut.-General, . . . Aug. 12, 1819.
Colonel of the 74th, . . . June 13, 1823.
Governor of the Mauritius, . Jan. 1828.
Removed to the 14th Regiment of Foot, 1834.
Col. of the 5th Regiment of Foot, March 25, 1835.
General, ... Jan. 10, 1837.
Died March 27, 1843.

Sir James Campbell, K.C.B., K.C.H. Dec. 12, 1834.
Ensign 1st Royal Regiment of Foot, March 30, 1791.
Lieutenant, ... March 20, 1794.
Half-pay, ... Jan. 1790.
42nd Highland Regiment, . Dec. 1797.
Major in the Argyll Fencibles, . June 1799.
Removed to the 94th, . . April 7, 1802.
Lieutenant in the 94th, . . Sept. 27, 1804.
Brevet-Colonel, ... June 4, 1813.
Major-General, ... Aug. 12, 1819.
K.C.B., ... Dec. 3, 1822.
Colonel of the 94th, . . . April 13, 1831.
Removed to the 74th Regiment, Dec. 12, 1834.
Died in Paris, May 6, 1835.

Sir Phineas Riall, K.C.H. . . May 20, 1835.
Ensign, ... Jan. 31, 1792.
Lieutenant, ... Feb. 28, 1794.
Captain, ... May 31, 1794.
Major, ... Dec. 8, 1794.
Lieut.-Colonel, . . . Jan. 1, 1800.
Colonel, ... July 25, 1810.
Major-General, ... June 4, 1813.
Lieut.-General, ... May 27, 1825.
Colonel of the 74th Regiment, . May 20, 1835.
General, ... Nov. 23, 1841.

Sir Phineas Riall received a medal and one clasp for Martinique and Guadaloupe; served in America in 1813, and was severely wounded at the battle of Chippawa.

Sir Alexander Cameron, K.C.H., April 24, 1846.
Ensign, ... Oct. 22, 1799
Lieutenant, ... Sept. 6, 1800.
Captain, ... May 6, 1805.
Major, ... May 30, 1811.
Lieut.-Colonel, ... April 27, 1812.
Colonel, ... July 22, 1830.
Major-General, ... June 28, 1838.
Died at Inverailort, Fort-William, July 26, 1850.

Served in Holland, 1799; expedition to Ferrol, 1800; Egypt, 1801 (severely wounded at the battle of Alexandria); expedition to Germany, 1805; Copenhagen and battle of Kiöge, 1807; Portugal in 1808; battles of Vimeiro and Corunna; Peninsula in 1809; present at Busaco, Torres Vedras, Coa, Almeida,, Fuentes d'Onor, &c., till severely wounded at Vittoria and obliged to return to England; served in the campaign of 1814 and 1815, including Quatre Bras and Waterloo (severely wounded).

Alexander Thomson, C.B., . . Aug. 15, 1850.
Ensign, ... Sept. 23, 1803.
Lieutenant, ... Feb. 29, 1804.
Captain, ... May 14, 1807.
Major, ... April 9, 1812.
Lieut.-Colonel, ... Sept. 21, 1813.
Colonel, ... July 22, 1830.
Major-General, ... Nov. 23, 1841.
Lieut.-General, ... Nov. 11, 1851.
Colonel 74th Regiment, . . Aug. 15, 1850.
Died 1856.

Lieut.-General Thomson accompanied the 74th to the Peninsula, landing at Lisbon in Jan. 1810, and was present at the battle of Busaco, retreat to the lines of Torres Vedras, advance of the army on Massena's retreat therefrom, action at Foz d'Arouce (wounded), battle of Fuentes d'Onor, siege and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, where he served as assistant engineer, and for his services was promoted to the rank of Brevet-Major; siege and capture of Badajoz, where he served as assistant engineer, and was slightly wounded when leading about 300 men of the party that stormed and took the raveline of St Roque to reinforce the 3rd division of the army which had taken the castle; siege and capture of the forts of Salamanca, where he served as assistant engineer, and was slightly wounded; battle of Salamanca (severely wounded); siege of Burgos and retreat therefrom; served as assistant engineer, and had the blowing-up of the bridge of Villa Muriel and the bridge at Cabezon entrusted to him; battle of Vittoria, as second in command of the 74th; siege of St Sebastian, where he served as assistant engineer, and for his conduct was promoted to the brevet rank of Lieut.-Colonel; battles of the Nivelle and the Nive, passage of the Bidassoa, and battle of Orthes, besides several skirmishes with his regiment at Alfayates, Villa de Pastores Albidos, and other places. He received the gold medal for St Sebastian, and the silver war medal with nine clasps for the other battles and sieges.

Charles Augustus Shawe, . . Nov. 24, 1856.
Ensign, ... May 26, 1808.
Lieutenant and Captain, . . April 23, 1812.
Captain and Lieut.-Colonel, . April 28, 1825.
Major and Colonel, . . . Aug. 8, 1837.
Major-General, ... Nov. 9, 1846.
Lieut.-General, ... June 20, 1854.
General, ... March 6, 1863.
Colonel 74th Foot, . . . Nov 24, 1856.

General Shawe served in the campaigns of 1810 and 1811, and part of 1812, in the Peninsula, including the battle of Busaco. Served also in Holland and Belgium from Nov. 1813 to 1814, and was severely wounded at Bergen-op-Zoom. He received the war medal, with three clasps, for Busaco, Fuentes d'Onor, and Ciudad Rodrigo.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

NAMES.	Date of Appointment to Regiment.	Date of Removal.	Remarks.
George Forbes	Oct. 12, 1787	Dec. 14, 1788	Died.
Hamilton Maxwell	Dec. 15, 1788	June 8, 1794	Died.
Marlborough Parsons Sterling	June 9, 1794	Dec. 4, 1795	Died.
Alexander Ross	Dec. 5, 1795	Dec. 3, 1796	Died.
Robert Shaw	Sept. 1, 1795	Dec. 24, 1798	Exchanged to 12th Foot.
Alexander Campbell	Dec. 4, 1796	July 25, 1810	Promoted Major-General.
William Harness	Dec. 24, 1798	June 7, 1800	Returned to 18th Foot, 7th June 1800.
Robert Shawe	June 7, 1800	Dec. 1, 1803	Resumed his situation in the Regiment 7th June 1800. Retired 1st Dec. 1803.
Samuel Swinton	Dec. 1, 1803	May 13, 1805	Promoted in 75th Regiment.
Malcolm M'Pherson	May 14, 1807	Sept. 21, 1809	Exchanged to Inspecting Field Officer, Canada.
Hon. Sir Robt. Le Poer Trench	Sept. 21, 1809	Mar. 14, 1823	Died.[1]
John Alexander Mein	Mar. 20, 1823	Nov. 5, 1841	Died.
Eyre John Crabbe	Nov. 6, 1841	May 1, 1846	Retired on Full-pay.
William White Crawley	May 1, 1846	July 10, 1846	Retired.
John Fordyce	July 10, 1846	Nov. 6, 1851	Killed in action, 6th of Nov. 1851, at Waterkloof, Cape of Good Hope.
Alexander Seton	Nov. 7, 1851	Feb. 26, 1852	Drowned in the wreck of the Birkenhead.
G. W. Fordyce	Feb. 27, 1852	July 30, 1852	Retired.
John MacDuff	July 30, 1852	Jan. 24, 1862	Promoted Major-General; since dead.
George Monkland	July 29, 1853	Nov. 4, 1859	Exchanged to Half-pay.
James Villiers	Nov. 4, 1859	May 10, 1862	Died.
W. D. P. Patton	May 11, 1862	Sept. 9, 1864	Retired on Half-pay.
William Kelty M'Leod	Sept. 9, 1864		Now (1874) commanding.

MAJORS.

Francis Skelly	Nov. 5, 1788	Nov. 30, 1793	Died.
Robert Shawe	Dec. 1, 1793	Mar. 28, 1795	Exchanged to 76th Foot.
Alexander Ross	Mar. 28, 1795	Dec. 4, 1795	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
Alexander Campbell	Dec. 25, 1795	Dec. 4, 1796	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
William Wallace	Sept. 2, 1795	Nov. 22, 1803	Promoted in the 19th Dragoons.
William Douglas	Dec. 4, 1796	May 17, 1799	Promoted in 85th Foot.
Samuel Swinton	May 17, 1799	Dec. 1, 1803	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
James Robertson	Nov. 22, 1803	Nov. 14, 1804	Retired.
Francis R. West	Dec. 1, 1803	Nov. 15, 1804	Retired.
Malcolm M'Pherson	Nov. 14, 1804	May 13, 1807	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
Hon. M'Donnell Murray	Nov. 15, 1804	Mar. 10, 1808	Died.
Edward Broughton	May 14, 1807	April 14, 1810	Retired.
Russell Manners[2]	May 11, 1808	April 18, 1822	Retired
Allan William Campbell[3]	April 5, 1810	Nov. 10, 1813	Died of wounds.
John Alexander Mein	Nov. 11, 1813	Mar. 20, 1823	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
David Stewart	April 18, 1822	Dec. 4, 1828	Exchanged to 65th Foot.
William Moore[4]	Mar. 20, 1823	Jan. 31, 1828	Retired.
Eyre John Crabbe	Jan. 31, 1828	Nov. 6, 1841	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
John William Hutchinson	Dec. 4, 1828	Oct. 22, 1830	Died.
Donald John M'Queen	Oct. 23, 1830	Oct. 3, 1834	Retired.
Thomas Mannin	Oct. 3, 1834	Oct 12, 1839	Died at sea.
William White Crawley	Oct. 13, 1839	May 1, 1846	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
John Casamir Harold	Nov. 6, 1841	Oct. 22, 1844	Exchanged to 11th Foot.
John Fordyce	Oct. 22, 1844	July 10, 1846	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
Augustus Francis Ansell	May 1, 1846	May 24, 1850	Retired on Half-pay.
Hon. Thomas O'Grady	July 10, 1846	Mar. 14, 1851	Retired.
Alexander Seton	May 24, 1850	Nov. 7, 1851	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
G. W. Fordyce	Mar. 14, 1851	Feb. 27, 1852	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
G. Monkland	Nov. 7, 1851	July 29, 1853	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
W. D. P. Patton	Feb. 27, 1852	May 11, 1862	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
E. W. L. Hancock	July 29, 1853	Jan. 26, 1858	Died.
William Kelty M'Leod	Jan. 27, 1858	Sept. 9, 1864	Promoted Lieut.-Colonel.
John Jago[5]	May 11, 1862	...	...
H. W. Palmer	Sept. 9, 1864	Oct. 4, 1864	Exchanged to 90th.
L. H. L. Irby	Oct. 4, 1864	Feb. 4, 1871	Exchanged to Half-pay.
Robert F. Martin	Feb. 4, 1871	...	

[1] His bust is on page 583, vol. ii. [2] Brevet Lieut.-Colonel. [3] Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, 30th June 1813
[4] Brevet Major, 21st June 1813. [5] Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, 9th Dec. 1872

SEVENTY-FIFTH REGIMENT.

1787–1809.

Raising of the Regiment—India—Home—Ceases to be a Highland Regiment.

While Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell was appointed Colonel of the 74th, the colonelcy of its coeval regiment, the 75th, was conferred on Colonel Robert Abercromby of Tullibody. He had commanded a light infantry brigade during six campaigns in the American war; and as several companies of this brigade had been composed of the light infantry of the Highland regiments then in America, the colonel was well known to the Highlanders, and had acquired an influence among them rarely enjoyed by officers born south of the Grampians. There are instances, no doubt, such as those of the Marquis of Montrose and Viscount Dundee, and others of modern date, "where Highland corps have formed attachments to officers not natives of their country, and not less ardent than to the chiefs of old;"[8] and if the instances have been few, it must be attributed entirely to want of tact in officers themselves, who, from ignorance of the Highland character, or from some other cause, have failed to gain the attachment of the Highland soldiers.

From personal respect to Colonel Abercromby, many of the Highlanders, who had served under him in America, and had been discharged at the peace of 1783, enlisted anew, and with about 300 men who were recruited at Perth, and in the northern counties, constituted the Highland part of the regiment. According to a practice which then prevailed, of fixing the head-quarters of a regiment about to be raised in the neighbourhood of the colonel's residence, if a man of family, the town of Stirling was appointed for the embodying of the 75th; it was accordingly regimented here in June 1788, and being immediately ordered to England, embarked for India, where it arrived about the end of that year.

For eighteen months after its arrival in India, the regiment was subjected to extreme severity of discipline by one of the captains, who appears to have adopted the old Prussian model for his rule. A more unfortunate plan for destroying the morale of a Highland regiment could not have been devised, and the result was, that during the existence of this discipline, there were more punishments in the 75th than in any other corps of the same description. But as soon as the system was modified by the appointment of an officer who knew the dispositions and feelings of the Highlanders, the conduct of the men improved.

The regiment took the field in 1790, under the command of Colonel Hartley, and in the two subsequent years formed part of the force under Major-General Robert Abercromby, on his two marches to Seringapatam. The regiment was also employed in the assault on that capital in 1799, the flank companies having led the left columns.[9] From that period down to 1804, the regiment was employed in the provinces of Malabar, Goa, Goojerat, and elsewhere, and in 1805 was with General Lake's army in the disastrous attacks on Bhurtpoor.

The regiment was ordered home in 1806; but such of the men as were desirous of remaining in India were left behind. In 1809 there were not one hundred men in the regiment who had been born north of the Tay; on which account, it is believed, the designation of the regiment was at that time changed.

The regiment, however, still retains its old number, and is known as the "Stirlingshire Regiment." It has had a distinguished career, having been present in many of the engagements which we have had to notice in connection with the existing Highland regiments. As will be seen in our account of the 78th Highlanders, the 75th formed part of the force with which Sir Colin Campbell marched to the relief of Lucknow in November 1857, it having been left to guard the Alum Bagh while Sir Colin, with the rest of the force, made his way to the besieged garrison on the 14th of that month.

[8] Jackson's *Characteristics.*

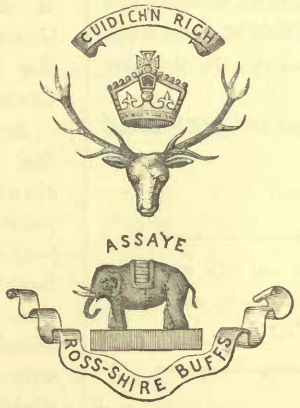
[9] See histories of the 71st, 72nd, 73rd, and 74th regiments in this volume.

THE 78th HIGHLANDERS, OR ROSS-SHIRE BUFFS.[1]

I.

1793 to 1796.

The Clan Mackenzie—The various Battalions of the 78th—Offers from F. H. Mackenzie, Esq. of Seaforth, to raise a Regiment for Government—Letter of service granted to F. H. Mackenzie, Esq., to raise a Regiment of Highlanders, to be numbered the 78th—The 1st Battalion—List of officers—Inspected and passed by Sir Hector Munro—Under Lord Moira in Guernsey—The Campaign of 1794–95 in Holland—The Regiment joins the Duke of York on the Waal — Nimeguen — Disastrous retreat on Deventer — The Regiment returns home — The Loyalist war in La Vendée—The Quiberon Expedition—Occupation of L'Ile Dieu—The Regiment returns home—Colonel F. H. Mackenzie's proposals to raise a 2nd Battalion for the 78th—Letter of Service granted to him for that purpose—List of Officers—Inspected and passed by Sir Hector Munro—Granted the title of the Ross-shire Buffs—Ordered to England—Difficulties prior to embarkation at Portsmouth—The Regiment sails on secret service—Capture of the Cape of Good Hope—The Regiment goes into quarters at Capetown, until the arrival of the 1st Battalion.



ASSAYE.	PERSIA.
MAIDA.	KOOSHAB.
JAVA.	LUCKNOW.

THE clan Mackenzie was, next to the Campbells, the most considerable in the Western Highlands, having built its greatness upon the fallen fortunes of the Macdonalds. Its military strength was estimated in 1704, at 1200 men; by Marshal Wade in 1715, at 3000 men; and by Lord President Forbes in 1745, at 2500 men; but probably all these conjectures were below the mark.[2]

[1] For this history of the 78th Highlanders up to the beginning of the Persian War, we are entirely indebted to Captain Colin Mackenzie, formerly an officer of the regiment, who is himself preparing a detailed history of the 78th.

[2] See page 238, vol. ii.

The clan Mackenzie furnished large contingents to the present 71st and 72nd Regiments when they were first raised.

In 1793, Francis Humberstone Mackenzie, heir-male of the family, and afterwards Lord Seaforth, raised the present 78th Highlanders, and a second battalion in the following year, when nearly all the men enlisted were from his own or his clansmen's estates in Ross-shire and the Lewis. Another second battalion was subsequently raised in 1804, when, Lord Seaforth being absent as Governor of Demerara, his personal influence was not of so much avail. However, again the greater part of the men were recruited on the estates of the clan by his brother-in-law, Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Belmaduthy (who afterwards adopted the additional surname of Fraser, on succeeding to the Castle Fraser estates in right of his mother) and Colonel J. R. Mackenzie of Suddie. Several Fencible, Militia, and local Volunteer regiments were also raised among the Mackenzies at the end of the last and beginning of the present century.

As the early history of the 78th is a little complicated, owing to its having been twice augmented with a 2nd battalion, it is as well to remember the following chronology :—

1st Battalion—Letter of Service dated 7th March 1793.
2nd Battalion—Letter of Service dated 10th February 1794.
Both Battalions amalgamated, June 1796.
2nd Battalion—Letter of Service, dated 17th April 1804.
Both Battalions amalgamated, July 1817.

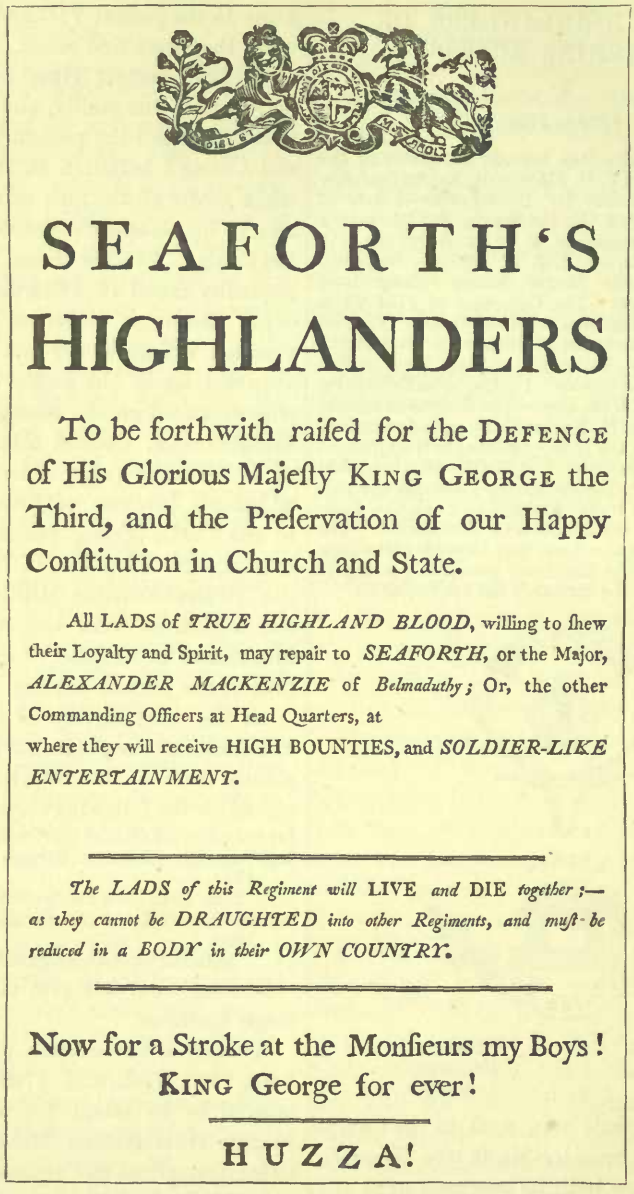
The regiment has ever since remained as a single battalion.

As early as the autumn of 1787 (when the 74th, 75th, 76th, and 77th Regiments were ordered to be raised for service in India), Francis Humberstone Mackenzie of Seaforth, lineal descendant and representative of the old earls of Seaforth, had made an offer to the King for the raising of a Highland corps on his estates in Ross-shire and the Isles, to be commanded by himself. As the Government, however, merely accepted his services in the matter of procuring recruits for the regiments of Sir Archibald Campbell and Colonel Abercromby (the 74th and 75th), he did not come prominently forward. On the 19th of May 1790, he again renewed his offer, but was informed that Government did not contemplate raising

fresh corps, the establishment of the army having been finally fixed at 77 regiments.

Undismayed, however, by the manner in which his offers had been hitherto shelved, he was the first to step forward, on the declaration of war, and place his great influence in the Highlands at the disposal of the Crown. Accordingly, a Letter of Service, dated 7th March, 1793, was granted to him, empowering him, as Lieut.-Colonel Commandant, to raise a Highland battalion, which, as the first to be embodied during the war, was to be numbered the 78th. The strength of the battalion was to be 1 company of grenadiers, 1 of light infantry, and 8 battalion companies. Seaforth immediately appointed as his major his brother-in-law, Alexander Mackenzie of Belmaduthy, son of Mackenzie of Kilcoy, a captain in the 73rd Regiment, and a man in every way fitted for the post. A notice was then posted through the counties of Ross and Cromarty, and the island of Lewis.

Applications for commissions now poured in upon Seaforth; and, besides his own personal friends, many who were but slightly known to him solicited favours for their relatives. The following is a list of those whose names were approved by the King:—



SEAFORTH'S HIGHLANDERS

To be forthwith raiſed for the DEFENCE of His Glorious Majeſty KING GEORGE the Third, and the Preſervation of our Happy Conſtitution in Church and State.

All LADS of *TRUE HIGHLAND BLOOD*, willing to ſhew their Loyalty and Spirit, may repair to *SEAFORTH*, or the Major, *ALEXANDER MACKENZIE* of *Belmaduthy*; Or, the other Commanding Officers at Head Quarters, at
where they will receive HIGH BOUNTIES, and *SOLDIER-LIKE ENTERTAINMENT.*

The LADS of this Regiment will LIVE *and* DIE *together;—as they cannot be DRAUGHTED into other Regiments, and muſt be reduced in a BODY in their OWN COUNTRY.*

Now for a Stroke at the Monſieurs my Boys!
KING George for ever!

HUZZA!

Notice posted throughout the Counties of Ross and Cromarty and the Island of Lewis.
Engraved from a photograph of the original poster.

FIRST LIST OF OFFICERS.

Lieut.-Colonel Commandant.—F. H. Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Seaforth, Lieut.-Gen. 1808. Died 1815. [His portrait is on the Plate of the Colonels of the 78th and 79th Regiments.]

Lieut.-Colonel.—Alexander Mackenzie of Belmaduthy, afterwards of Castle Fraser, when he assumed the name of Fraser. Lieut.-General 1808. Died 1809.

Majors.

George, Earl of Errol, died 1799.
Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, Lieut. General 1809.

Captains.

Alexander Malcolm, died 1798.
Thomas Fraser of Leadclune.
John Mackenzie (Gairloch).
Gabriel Murray, Brevet-Major, killed at Tuil, 1794.

Alexander Grant, died 1807.
J. R. Mackenzie of Suddie, Major-General, killed at Talavera 1809.
Alexander Adams, Major-General 1814.
Hon. Geo. Cochrane, son of the Earl of Dundonald.
Captain-Lieutenant—Duncan Munro of Culcairn.

Lieutenants.

Colin Mackenzie.
James Fraser, retired 1795.
Charles Rose.
Hugh Munro, Captain of Invalids.
Charles Adamson.
William Douglas, son of Brigton, Lieut.-Colonel 91st Regiment.
George Bayley, promoted to 44th.
Thomas, Lord Cochrane, Captain Royal Navy.

Ensigns.

Duncan Macrae.
John Macleod, Colonel 1813.
J. Mackenzie Scott, Captain 57th, killed at Albuera, 1811.
Charles Mackenzie (Kilcoy).
John Reid.
David Forbes, Lieut.-Colonel, H.P.
Alexander Rose, Major of Veterans.
John Fraser.

Chaplain—The Rev. Alexander Downie, D.D.
Adjutant—James Fraser.
Quarter-Master—Archibald Macdougall.
Surgeon—Thomas Baillie. He died in India.

The martial spirit of the nation was now so thoroughly roused, and recruits poured in so rapidly, that, on the 10th of July, 1793, only four months after the granting of the Letter of Service, the regiment was inspected at Fort George, and passed by Lieut.-General Sir Hector Munro. Orders were then issued to augment the corps to 1000 rank and file, and 5 companies, including the flank ones, under the command of Major Alexander Mackenzie, were embarked for Guernsey. In October of the same year the remaining 5 companies were ordered to join their comrades.

"This was an excellent body of men, healthy, vigorous, and efficient; attached and obedient to their officers, temperate and regular; in short, possessing those principles of integrity and moral conduct which constitute a valuable soldier. The duty of officers was easy with such men, who only required to be told what duty was expected of them. A young officer, endowed with sufficient judgment to direct them in the field, possessing energy and spirit to ensure the respect and confidence of soldiers, and prepared on every occasion *to show them the eye of the enemy*, need not desire a command that would sooner and more permanently establish his professional character, if employed on an active campaign, than that of 1000 such men as composed this regiment.

"Colonel Mackenzie knew his men, and the value which they attached to a good name, by tarnishing which they would bring shame on their country and kindred. In case of any misconduct, he had only to remonstrate, or threaten to transmit to their parents a report of their misbehaviour. This was, indeed, to them a grievous punishment, acting like the curse of Kehama, as a perpetual banishment from a country to which they could not return with a bad character."[3]

After being stationed a short time in Guernsey and the Isle of Wight, the 78th, in September 1794, embarked with the 80th to join Lord Mulgrave's force in Walcheren. While detained by contrary winds in the Downs, fever broke out on board the transports, which had recently brought back prisoners of war from the West Indies, and had not been properly purified; thus several men fell victims to the disease.

The British troops had landed in Holland, on the 5th of March, 1793, and since then the war had been progressing with varying success. Without, therefore, giving details of their operations during the first year and a half, we shall merely sketch the position they occupied when the 78th landed at Flushing.

On the 1st of July, 1794, the allies having decided to abandon the line of the Scheldt, the Duke of York retired behind the Dyle, and was there joined by Lord Moira and 8000 men. On the 22nd the Duke, having separated from the Austrians, established himself at Rosendaal, and there remained inactive in his camp the whole of August and the early part of September; but, on the 15th of September, Boxtel having fallen into the hands of General Pichegru, he was constrained to break camp and retire across the Meuse, and finally across the Waal, establishing his head-quarters at Nimeguen.

At this juncture the 78th and 80th reached Flushing, and found that Lord Mulgrave was ordered home. They therefore embarked with the 79th, 84th, and 85th, to join the Duke's army. Early in October the 78th landed at

[3] Stewart's *Sketches*.

Tuil, and proceeded to occupy the village of Rossem in the Bommeler-Waart, or Island of Bommel, where they first saw the enemy, scarcely one hundred yards distant, on the opposite side of the river. Here, through the negligence of a Dutch Emigrant Officer, a sad accident occured. This person hearing voices on the bank of the river, and dreading a surprise, ordered his gunners to fire an iron 12-pounder, loaded with case shot, by which discharge the officer of the day, Lieut. Archibald Christie, 78th, and a sergeant, were seriously wounded while visiting a sentry. They both recovered, but were unable to serve again; strange to say, the sentry escaped untouched. While quartered here, by a tacit understanding, the sentries exchanged no shots, but it was observed that the French frequently fired howitzers with effect when the troops were under arms, and that, before the fire commenced, the sails of a certain windmill were invariably put in motion. The owner was arrested, found guilty as a spy, and condemned to death, but was reprieved through the lenity of Lieut.-Colonel Mackenzie, the commandant, with the full understanding that, on a repetition of the offence, the last penalty would be enforced.

About the end of October the 78th proceeded to Arnheim, the Duke of York's headquarters, and thence, by a night march, to Nimeguen, against which place the French were erecting batteries. On the 4th of November a sortie was made, when the 78th was for the first time under fire, and did such execution with the bayonet, as to call forth the highest encomiums from experienced and veteran officers. The loss of the regiment in this engagement was Lieutenant Martin Cameron (died of his wounds) and seven men, killed; wounded, Major Malcolm, Captain Hugh Munro, Captain Colin Mackenzie, Lieutenant Bayley, 4 sergeants, and 56 rank and file.

On the 6th the regiment marched from Nimeguen to Arnheim, and finally to Dodewaart on the Waal, where they were brigaded with the 12th, the 33rd, under Lieut.-Colonel Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington), and the 42nd under Major Dickson. The General going home on leave, the command devolved on Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of the 78th, who, however, still remained with his regiment.

On the 2nd of December the Duke of York quitted Arnheim for England, and handed over his command to Lieut.-General Harcourt.

On the 29th of December General Daendels, having crossed the Waal on the ice and driven back the Dutch, Major-General Sir David Dundas was ordered to dislodge him. He, therefore, marched towards Thiel by Buren and Geldermalsen, and came up with the enemy at Tuil, which village he carried at the point of the bayonet with comparatively little loss, though Brevet Major Murray and three men of the light company, 78th, were killed by the bursting of a shell thrown from a distant battery. After the action the troops lay on their arms in the snow until the evening of the 31st, and the French recrossed the Waal.

On the 3rd of January 1795 the French repossessed themselves of Tuil, and on the 5th they drove in the British outposts at Meteren, capturing two three-pounders, which were, however, recovered later in the day. They then attacked Geldermalsen. The 78th were in advance, supported by the 42nd, when they were charged by a Republican cavalry corps, dressed in the same uniform as the French Emigrant Regiment of Choiseul. They advanced towards the Highlanders with loud cries of "Choiseul! Choiseul!" and the 78th, believing them to be that regiment, forbore to fire upon them until they were quite close, when, discovering the mistake, they gave them a warm reception, and those of the enemy who had penetrated beyond their line were destroyed by the 42nd. The infantry then came up, the officers shouting "Avançez, Carmagnoles!" but the 78th, reserving their fire till the foe had almost closed with them, poured in such a withering volley, that they were completely demoralised and retreated in great confusion. It was remarked that in this action the French were all half drunk, and one officer, who was wounded and taken, was completely tipsy. The loss of the 78th was four men killed, and Captain Duncan Munro and seven men wounded. It was on this occasion that a company of the 78th, commanded by Lieutenant Forbes, showed an example of steadiness

that would have done honour to the oldest soldiers, presenting and recovering arms without firing a shot upon the cavalry as they were coming down. The whole behaved with great coolness, and fired nearly 60 rounds per man.

On the night of the 5th the troops retired to Buren. On the 6th the British and Hanoverians retired across the Leck, with the exception of the 6th Brigade, Lord Cathcart's, which remained at Kuilenburg. On the 8th both parties assumed the offensive, but the British advance was countermanded on account of the severity of the weather. It happened, however, luckily for the picquet of the 4th Brigade, which was at Burenmalsen, opposite to Geldermalsen, that the order did not reach Lord Cathcart until he had arrived at Buren, as being driven in, it must otherwise have been taken. Here a long action took place, which ended in the repulse of the French. The 4th and a Hessian Brigade went into Buren, and the British into the castle.

The day the troops remained here, a man in the town was discovered selling gin to the soldiers at such a low price as must have caused him an obvious loss, and several of the men being already drunk, the liquor was seized, and ordered by General Dundas to be divided among the different corps, to be issued at the discretion of commanding officers. Thus what the French intended to be a means of destruction, turned out to be of the greatest comfort and assistance to the men during their fearful marches through ice and snow. During the afternoon a man was apprehended at the outposts, who had been sent to ascertain whether the trick had taken effect, and whether the troops were sufficiently drunk to be attacked with success.

Abercromby and Hammerstein having been unable to reach Thiel, were, with Wurmb's Hessians, united to Dundas at Buren. On the 10th the French crossed the Waal, and General Regnier crossing the Oeg, drove the British from Opheusden, back upon Wageningen and Arnheim, with a loss of fifty killed and wounded. Abercromby, therefore, withdrew, and the British retired across the Rhine at Rhenen. This sealed the fate of Holland, and on the 20th General Pichegru entered Amsterdam.

The inclemency of the season increased, and the rivers, estuaries, and inundations froze as they had never been known to do before, so that the whole country, land and water, was one unbroken sheet of ice.

The Rhine was thus crossed on the ice on the night of the 9th of February, and for two more nights the 78th lay upon their arms in the snow, and then marched for Wyk. On the 14th Rhenen was attacked by the French, who were repulsed by the Guards, with a loss of 20 men; however, the same night it was determined to abandon the Rhine, and thus Rhenen, the Grand Hospital of the army, fell into the hands of the French, who, nevertheless, treated the sick and wounded with consideration. After resting two hours in the snow during the night, the 78th resumed their march, passed through Amersfoort, and about 11 A.M. on the 15th lay down in some tobacco barns, having marched nearly 40 miles. It had been decided to occupy the line of the Yssel, and Deventer therefore became the destination. On the 16th at daybreak the regiment commenced its march across the horrible waste called the Veluwe. Food was not to be obtained, the inhabitants were inhospitable; with the enemy in their rear, the snow knee deep, and blown in swirls by the wind into their faces, until they were partially or entirely blinded, their plight was most pitiable.

They had now a new enemy to encounter. Not only was the weather still most severe, and the Republicans supposed to be in pursuit, but the British had, in consequence of French emissaries, a concealed enemy in every Dutch town and village through which they had to pass. Notwithstanding the severity of the climate,—the cold being so intense that brandy froze in bottles—the 78th, 79th (both young soldiers), and the recruits of the 42nd, wore their kilts, and yet the loss was incomparably less than that sustained by the other corps.

After halting at Loo to allow the officers and men to take off their accoutrements, which they had worn day and night since the 26th December, they on the 18th marched to Hattem on the Yssel. Finally, on the 28th of March the 78th entered Bremen, and the army being embarked, the fleet sailed on the 12th of April.

On the 9th of May, 1795, the shores of Old England brought tears into the eyes of the war-worn soldiers, and the first battalion of the Ross-shire Buffs landed at Harwich, and proceeded to Chelmsford, where they took over the barracks. After making up the returns, and striking off the names of all men supposed to be dead or prisoners, the regiment, which had embarked on the previous September 950 strong, and in excellent health, was found to be reduced to 600 men, which number included the disabled and sick who had not been yet invalided. The 78th remained three weeks at Chelmsford, and marched to Harwich, where it was brigaded with the 19th, under command of General Sir Ralph Abercromby. It then proceeded to Nutshalling (now Nursling) Common, where a force was assembling under the Earl of Moira, with a view to making a descent on the French coast.

On the 18th of August the 78th, in company with the 12th, 80th, and 90th Regiments, and some artillery, embarked under the command of Major-General W. Ellis Doyle, and sailed for Quiberon Bay; the design was to assist the French Royalists. They bore down on Noirmoutier, but finding the island strongly reinforced, and a landing impracticable, they made for L'Île Dieu, where they landed without opposition. Here they remained for some time, enduring the hardships entailed by continued wet weather and a want of proper accommodation, coupled with an almost total failure of the commissariat, but were unable to assist Charette or his royalist companions in any way. Finally, the expedition embarked in the middle of December, joined the grand fleet in Quiberon Bay, and proceeded with it to Spithead.

On the 13th of October 1793, Seaforth made an offer to Government to raise a second battalion for the 78th Highlanders; and on the 30th Lord Amherst signed the king's approval of his raising 500 additional men on his then existing letter of service. However, this was not what he wanted; and on the 28th of December he submitted three proposals for a second battalion to Government.

On the 7th of February 1794, the Government agreed to one battalion being raised, with eight battalion and two flank companies, each company to consist of "one hundred private men,"[4] with the usual complement of officers and non-commissioned officers. But Seaforth's services were ill requited by Government; for while he contemplated raising a second battalion to his regiment, Lord Amherst had issued orders that it was to be considered as a separate corps. The following is a copy of the letter addressed to Mr Secretary Dundas by Lieut.-Colonel Commandant F. H. Mackenzie[5]:—

"St Alban's Street,
'*8th Feb.* 1794.

"Sir,—I had sincerely hoped I should not be obliged to trouble you again; but on my going to-day to the War Office about my letter of service (having yesterday, as I thought, finally agreed with Lord Amherst), I was, to my amazement, told that Lord Amherst had ordered that the 1000 men I am to raise were not to be a second battalion of the 78th, but a separate corps. It will, I am sure, occur to you that should I undertake such a thing, it would destroy my influence among the people of my country entirely; and instead of appearing as a loyal honest chieftain calling out his friends to support their king and country, I should be gibbeted as a jobber of the attachment my neighbours bear to me. Recollecting what passed between you and me, I barely state this circumstance; and I am, with great respect and attachment, Sir, your most obliged and obedient servant,

"F. H. Mackenzie."

This argument had its weight; Lord Amherst's order was rescinded, and on the 10th February 1794, a letter of service was granted to Seaforth, empowering him, as Lieut.-Colonel Commandant, to add a second battalion to the 78th Highlanders, of which the strength was to be "one company of grenadiers, one of light infantry, and eight battalion companies."[6]

Stewart states that of this number 560 men were of the same country and character as the first, and 190 from different parts of Scotland; but he alludes to the first six companies, as the regiment was almost entirely composed of Highlanders.

[4] The corporals were included in this number, which should therefore have appeared as "rank and file" instead of "private men."—C.M.

[5] Private papers of the late Lord Seaforth.

[6] Extract from letter of service.

The following is a list of the officers appointed to the regiment :—

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.
F. H. Mackenzie of Seaforth.
Lieutenant-Colonel.
Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, from first battalion.
Majors.
J. R. Mackenzie of Suddie, from first battalion.
Michael Monypenny, promoted to 73d, dead.
Captains.
J. H. Brown, killed in a duel in India.
Simon Mackenzie.
William Campbell, Major, killed in Java, 1811.
John Mackenzie, Major-General, 1813.
Patrick M'Leod (Geanies), killed at El Hamet, 1807.
[His portrait will be found on page 650.]
Hercules Scott of Benholm, Lieut.-Colonel 103d Regiment, 1814, killed in Canada.
John Scott.
John Macleod, Colonel, 1813, from first battalion.
Lieutenants.
James Hanson.
Alexander Macneil.
Æneas Sutherland.
Murdoch Mackenzie.
Archd. C. B. Crawford.
Norman Macleod, Lieut.-Colonel Royal Scots.
Thomas Leslie.
Alexander Sutherland, sen.
Alexander Sutherland, jun.
P. Macintosh.
John Douglas.
George Macgregor.
B. G. Mackay.
Donald Cameron.
James Hay.
Thomas Davidson.
William Gordon.
Robert Johnstone.
Hon. W. D. Halyburton, Colonel, half-pay.
John Macneil.
John Dunbar.
Ensigns.
George Macgregor, Lieut.-Colonel 59th Regiment.
Donald Cameron.
John Macneil.
William Polson.
Alexander Wishart.
Chaplain.—The Rev. Charles Proby.
Adjutant.—James Hanson.
Quarter-Master.—Alexander Wishart.

The records of this battalion having been lost many years since, the only knowledge we can derive of its movements is to be obtained from the Seaforth papers. The regiment was inspected and passed at Fort-George by Sir Hector Munro in June 1794. In July his Majesty authorised the regiment to adopt the name of "The Ross-shire Buffs" as a distinctive title. In August six companies embarked for England, and proceeded to Netley Camp, where they were brigaded with the 90th, 97th, and 98th. The troops suffered much from fever, ague, and rheumatism, the situation being very unfavourable ; but here again the 78th was found to be more healthy than their neighbours. The young battalion was chafing at this enforced idleness, and longed to go on active service. On the 5th of November, the regiment marched from Netley, four companies proceeding to Poole, one to Wimborne, and one to Wareham, Corff Castle, &c.

In the end of February 1795, the second battalion of the 78th Highlanders, Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn in command, embarked, under Major-General Craig, with a secret expedition. Major J. R. Mackenzie of Suddie, writing to Seaforth under date "Portsmouth, 4th March 1795," narrates the following unpleasant circumstance which happened on the day previous to embarkation :—

"The orders for marching from Poole were so sudden that there was no time then for settling the men's arrears. They were perfectly satisfied then, and expressed the utmost confidence in their officers, which continued until they marched into this infernal place. Here the publicans and some of the invalids persuaded the men that they were to be embarked without their officers, and that they would be sold, as well as lose their arrears. This operated so far on men who had never behaved ill before in a single instance, that they desired to have their accounts settled before they embarked. Several publicans and other villains in this place were guilty of the most atrocious conduct even on the parade, urging on the men to demand their rights, as they called it. Fairburn having some intimation of what was passing, and unwilling that it should come to any height, addressed the men, told them it was impossible to settle their accounts in the short time previous to embarkation, but that he had ordered a sum to be paid to each man nearly equal to the amount of their credit. This was all the publicans wanted, among whom the greatest part of the money rested. Next morning the men embarked in the best and quietest manner possible, and I believe they were most thoroughly ashamed of their conduct. I passed a most miserable time from receiving Fairburn's letter in London till I came down here, when it had all ended so well ; for well as I knew the inclinations of the men to have been, it was impossible to say how far they might have been misled.

"There is little doubt of the expedition being intended for the East. It is said the fleet is to run down the coast of Guinea, proceed to the Cape, which they hope to take by negotiation; but if unsuccessful, to go on to the other Dutch possessions."

The fleet sailed on the morning of Sunday the 1st of March. 1 major, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 124 privates were left behind; and the most of them, with others, were incorporated with the first battalion, on its amalgamation with the second battalion.

Holland having entirely submitted to France, as detailed in the record of the first battalion, and Britain being fully aware that submission to France became equivalent to a compulsory declaration of war against her, it behoved her to turn her attention to the Dutch colonies, which, from their promixity to India, would prove of immense importance to an enemy.

In June 1795 a British fleet under Sir G. Elphinstone arrived off the Cape, having Major-General Craig and the 78th Highlanders (second battalion) on board; and the commanders immediately entered into negotiations with Governor Slugsken for the cession of the colony to Great Britain in trust for the Stadtholder. A determination to resist the force having been openly expressed, the commanders determined to disembark their troops and occupy a position. Accordingly, the 78th and the Marines were landed at Simon's Bay on the 14th, and proceeded to take possession of Simon's Town without opposition. The Dutch were strongly posted in their fortified camp at Muysenberg, six miles on this side of Capetown; and accordingly a force of 800 seamen having been sent to co-operate with the troops on shore, the whole body moved to its attack; while the ships of the fleet, covering them from the sea, opened such a terrific fire upon the colonists that they fled precipitately. Muysenberg was taken on the 7th of August, and on the 9th a detachment arrived from St Helena with some field-pieces; but it was not till the 3rd of September, when Sir A. Clarke, at the head of three regiments, put into the bay, that an advance became practicable. Accordingly, the Dutch position at Wineberg was forced on the 14th, and on the 15th Capetown capitulated, the garrison marching out with the honours of war. Thus, after a two months' campaign, during which they suffered severely from the unhealthiness of their situation, the scarcity of provisions, and the frequent night attacks of the enemy, this young battalion, whose conduct throughout had been exemplary in the highest degree, saw the object of the expedition accomplished, and the colony taken possession of in the name of his Britannic Majesty.

Under date "Cape of Good Hope, 19th September 1795," Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, commanding the second battalion of the 78th Higlanders, sends a long account of the transactions at the Cape to Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Mackenzie of Seaforth. We are sorry that our space permits us to give only the following extracts:—

"I think if you will not be inclined to allow that the hardships have been so great, you will at all events grant that the comforts have been few, when I assure you that I have not had my clothes off for nearly nine weeks, nor my boots, except when I could get a dry pair to put on.

". . . If the regiment is put on the East India establishment, which is supposed will be the case, it will be equally the same for you as if they were in India. I must observe it is fortunate for us that we are in a warm climate, as we are actually without a coat to put on; we are so naked that we can do no duty in town. . . .

"I cannot tell you how much I am puzzled about clothing. The other corps have all two years' clothing not made up, and I should not be surprised if this alone was to turn the scale with regard to their going to India. General Clarke advises mo to buy cloth, but I fear putting you to expense; however, if the clothing does not come out in the first ship I shall be obliged to do something, but what, I am sure I don't know. I hope your first battalion may come out, as there cannot be a more desirable quarter for the colonel or the regiment. We are getting into excellent barracks, and the regiment will soon get well of the dysentry and other complaints. They are now immensely rich, and I shall endeavour to lay out their money properly for them. I shall bid

you adieu by saying that I do not care how soon a good peace may be brought about. I think we have at last turned up a good trump card for you, and I daresay the Ministry will play the negotiating game well."

In Capetown the regiment remained quartered until the arrival of the first battalion in June 1796.

II.

1796–1817.

1st and 2d Battalions amalgamated—The Regiment sails for the Cape—The consolidation completed—Capture of a Dutch fleet—Ordered to India—Lucknow—Cession of Allahabad—Various changes of Quarters—Colonels Alexander Mackenzie and J. R. Mackenzie quit the Regiment—Ordered to Bombay—Join General Wellesley's Army—The Mahrattas—The Treaty of Bassein—Lake and Wellesley take the field—War between the British and the Mahrattas—Ahmednuggur taken—Battle of Assaye—Colours granted to the 74th and 78th—Wellesley's pursuit of the Enemy—Battle of Argaum—Gawilghur taken—The Regiment goes to Goojerat—From Bombay to Goa—Excellent conduct—Ordered to Madras and thence to Java—Landing near Batavia, which is invested—The Cantonment of Waltevreeden forced—The Fortification of Cornelis captured, when General Jansens flies—Colonel Gillespie defeats Jansens—The French army surrender and evacuate the Island—Rebellion of the Sultan of Djokjokarta—His Capital is taken, and he is deposed—Colonel Fraser and Captain Macpherson murdered by Banditti at Probolingo—Major Forbes defeats the Insurgents—Thanks of Government to the Regiment—Expeditions against the Islands of Bali and Celebes—The Regiment sails for Calcutta—Six Companies wrecked on the Island of Preparis—General Orders by the Indian Government—The Regiment lands at Portsmouth and proceeds to Aberdeen—Unfounded charge against the Highland Regiments.

On the 28th of November, 1795, the Duke of York had issued orders for the consolidation of both battalions, and accordingly, on the arrival of the 1st battalion from L'Ile Dieu, the work was commenced by the attachment to it of that part of the 2nd battalion which had been left behind. On the 26th of February, 1796, only seven weeks after its return from abroad, the battalion proceeded from Poole to Portsmouth, where it embarked for the Cape in two divisions under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Belmaduthy, and sailed on the 6th of March. On the 30th of May the 78th arrived in Simon's Bay, and on the 1st of June landed any commenced its march to Capetown. Here the work of consolidation was completed, and the supernumerary officers and men ordered home. The regiment now presented the appearance of a splendid body of men, and mustered 970 Highlanders, 129 Lowlanders, and 14 English and Irish, the last chiefly bandsmen. The Batavian Republic had formally declared war against England in May; and, accordingly, on the 3rd of August, apparently with the view of attempting the recapture of the Cape, a Dutch fleet under Admiral Lucas anchored in Saldanha Bay. General Craig, the commander of the troops, marched up a force, which included the grenadier and light battalions of the 78th. As the Dutch fleet, however, surrendered, the troops marched back to a place called Groenekloof, about half-way to Capetown, where they remained encamped for three or four weeks, when the 78th marched to Capetown, and occupied the hill near the Castle until the transports were ready to convey them to India.

On the 4th of November the regiment embarked, and sailed on the 10th; it had a long passage, during which scurvy made its appearance, but to no formidable extent. On the 10th of February 1797 the transports reached Calcutta, and the following day the regiment marched into Fort-William. Ten days later it embarked in boats on the Hoogly, and proceeded to Burhampoor, the voyage occupying fourteen days. About the 1st of August, on the embarkation of the 33rd Regiment with the expedition intended against Manilla, the 78th proceeded to Fort William. In the beginning of October six companies were again embarked in boats, and proceeded to Chunar. From Chunar, about the end of November, the division, having drawn camp equipment from the magazine, was ordered to drop down to Benares, there to land, and form part of a large escort to the Governor-General (Sir John Shore), and the Commander-in-Chief (Sir A. Clarke), about to proceed to Lucknow. The division accordingly landed at Benares on the 6th of December and marched to Sheopoor, six miles on the road, where it halted to complete its field equipment. In the beginning of November, the 33rd having returned to Fort William, the second division of the 78th embarked and proceeded to Chunar, where it was

landed and encamped until the following March.

On the 9th of December the first division was joined by a part of the 3rd Native Infantry, some artillery with field-pieces, and two russallahs or squadrons of Irregular Hindoostani Cavalry, formerly the body-guard of General De Boigne, a Savoyard in Sindiah's service, and marched forward, forming the escort above mentioned. The march was continued without halting for fifteen days, which brought the force to the race-course of Lucknow, where it was joined by the remainder of the 3rd Native Infantry. It is unnecessary to enter here into the complications of native Indian politics. It is enough to say that on the death, in 1797, of the troublesome Asoph-ud-Dowla, the Nawaub Vizir of Oudh, he was succeeded by his equally troublesome and weak-minded son, Mirza Ali.

The young prince had barely ascended the throne, however, ere reports were brought to the Governor-General of his incapacity, faithless character, and prodigality. It was on receiving these reports, therefore, that Sir John Shore determined to proceed to Lucknow in person, and, by actual observation, satisfy himself of the merits of the case. The narrative is resumed from the regimental records of the 78th.

"On the frontier of the Nawaub Vizir's dominions, we had been met by the new Nawaub Vizir, Ali, a young lad of known faithless principles, with a large force; and his intentions being considered very suspicious, each battalion furnished a captain's outlying picquet, for the security of the camp at night, which was continued until after his deposition and the elevation of his successor, Saadut Ali, on the 22nd January 1798."

By skilful management Vizir Ali was secured without violence, and his uncle, Saadut Ali, placed in his stead.

On the 23rd of February, the 78th, the 1st Battalion Native Infantry, and a company of Artillery, under the command of Colonel Mackenzie of the 78th, marched for the Fort of Allahabad, which had lately been ceded to the British by Saadut Ali.

After various movements, the 78th found itself in garrison at Fort William in December 1800. In the October of that year Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie had left for England, handing over his command to Lieut.-Colonel J. Randoll Mackenzie of Suddie.[7] And in the latter part of November Lieut.-Colonel Mackenzie also went to England, and was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Lieut.-Colonel Adams. The regiment remained in quarters at Fort William during the whole of 1801 and 1802.

In the middle of January, 1803, the 78th received orders to prepare for embarkation for Bombay, where head-quarters arrived on the 26th of March, and immediately received orders to prepare for field service. The regiment re-embarked on the 4th of April, and proceeded to Bassein, where it landed on the 7th, and marched at once to join the camp of Colonel Murray's detachment at Sachpara, 7 miles from the town; being formed as an escort to His Highness the Peshwah, who had been driven from his dominions by Holkar during the previous October.

The detachment set out on the 18th of April, and marched by Panwell and the Bhore Ghât. In the beginning of June the 78th joined at Poonah the army under General Wellesley, destined to act against Sindiah and the Mahrattas. The regiment was posted to the brigade commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Harness,

[7] "During six years' residence in different cantonments in Bengal no material event occurred. The corps sustained throughout a character every way exemplary. The commanding officer's system of discipline, and his substitution of censure for punishment, attracted much attention. The temperate habits of the soldiers, and Colonel Mackenzie's mode of punishment, by a threat to inform his parents of the misconduct of a delinquent, or to send a bad character of him to his native country, attracted the notice of all India. Their sobriety was such that it was necessary to restrict them from selling or giving away the usual allowance of liquor to other soldiers.

"There were in this battalion nearly 300 men from Lord Seaforth's estate in the Lewis. Several years elapsed before any of these men were charged with a crime deserving severe punishment. In 1799 a man was tried and punished. This so shocked his comrades that he was put out of their society as a degraded man, who brought shame on his kindred. The unfortunate outcast felt his own degradation so much that he became unhappy and desperate; and Colonel Mackenzie, to save him from destruction, applied and got him sent to England, where his disgrace would be unknown and unnoticed. It happened as Colonel Mackenzie had expected, for he quite recovered his character. By the humane consideration of his commander, a man was thus saved from that ruin which a repetition of severity would have rendered inevitable."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

80th Regiment, which was called the 4th brigade, with reference to the Grand Madras Army, from which General Wellesley was detached, but which formed the right of the General's force. Its post in line was the right of the centre, which was occupied by the park, and on the left of the park was the 74th Highlanders, in the brigade commanded by Colonel Wallace, 74th, and called the 5th Brigade. Besides these two brigades of infantry there was one of cavalry, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell, 19th Light Dragoons; each brigade consisted of 1 European and 3 native regiments. The train consisted of four iron and four brass 12-pounders, besides two 5½-inch howitzers, and some spare field-pieces.

A very few days after the army moved forward the rainy season commenced, but was by no means a severe one; the great want of forage, however, at the commencement of this campaign, destroyed much cattle, and the 78th Highlanders, who were by no means so well equipped as the other corps, were a good deal distressed at first. The movements of the army were slow, making long halts, and not keeping in a straight direction till the beginning of August, when it encamped about 8 miles south of Ahmednuggur, in which position it was when negotiations were broken off and war declared with Dowlut Rao Sindiah and the Rajah of Berar, Ragojee Bhoonslah.

On the 8th of August the advanced guard was reinforced by the flank companies of the 74th and 78th Highlanders, and the city of Ahmednuggur was attacked and carried by storm in three columns, of which the advanced guard formed one, the other two being led by battalion companies of the same regiments. "The fort of Ahmednuggur is one of the strongest in India, built of stone and a strong Indian cement called *chunam*. It is surrounded by a deep ditch, with large circular bastions at short intervals, and was armed with guns in case-mated embrasures, and with loopholes for musketry. The escarp was unusually lofty, but the casemates were too confined to admit of their being effectively employed, and the glacis was so abrupt that it offered good shelter to an enemy who could once succeed in getting close to the walls. The Pettah was a large and regular Indian town, surrounded by a wall of stone and mud 18 feet high, with small bastions at every hundred yards, but with no rampart broad enough for a man to stand upon. Here, both in the Pettah and the fort, the walls were perceived to be lined by men, whose appointments glittered in the sun. The Pettah was separated from the fort by a wide space, in which Sindiah had a palace and many valuables, surrounded with immense gardens, where the remains of aqueducts and many interesting ruins of Moorish architecture show the once flourishing condition of the Nizam's capital in the 16thc entury."[8] Having determined on taking the Pettah by escalade, General Wellesley ordered forward the stormers, who were led by the advanced guard. Unfortunately, on account of the height and narrowness of the walls, and the difficulty of obtaining footing, the men, having reached the top of the scaling ladders, were, one after the other as they came up, either killed or thrown down. At length, Captain Vesey, of the 1/3rd Native Infantry, having secured a bastion, a party of his men leaped down within the walls, and, opening a gate, admitted the remainder of the force; some skirmishing took place in the streets, but the enemy was speedily overcome, and though the fort continued to fire round-shot, it was with but little precision, and occasioned no damage.[9] The army lost 140 men, the casualties of the 78th being Captains F. Mackenzie Humberstone and Duncan Grant (a volunteer on this occasion), Lieut. Anderson of the Grenadier Company, and 12 men killed; and Lieut. Larkin of the Light Company, and 5 men wounded.

After the action the army encamped a long shot's distance from the fort, which was reconnoitred on the 9th, and a ravine having been discovered, not 300 yards from the wall, it was occupied, and a battery erected, which opened with four iron 12-pounders on the morning of the 10th. During that night the battery was enlarged, and two howitzers added to its arma-

[8] Cust's *Wars*.

[9] "A Mahratta chief, residing in the British camp, gave the following account of the action in a letter to his friends at Poonah:—'The English are a strange people, and their General a wonderful man. They came here in the morning, looked at the Pettah wall, walked over it, killed all the garrison, and then turned in to breakfast. Who can resist such men as these?'" —Cust's *Wars*.

ment, and the fire re-opened on the 11th, on the evening of which day the Killedar capitulated; and next morning the garrison, to the number of 1400 men having marched out, the grenadiers of the 78th and a battalion of Sepoys took possession. The victorious troops proceeded to the plunder of Sindiah's palace. Its treasures can have been surpassed only by those of the Summer Palace at Pekin. "There were found in it, besides many objects of European manufacture and luxury, the richest stuffs of India—gold and silver cloths, splendid armour, silks, satins, velvets, furs, shawls, plate, cash, &c."[1] Here, as afterwards, General Wellesley set his face against all such demoralising practices, but it was only after hanging a couple of Sepoys in the gateway, as a warning to the rest, that order could be restored and the native troops restrained.

Along with the fort and city of Ahmednuggur, a province of the same name became subject to British authority. This fortress, long regarded as the key of the Deccan, besides covering his communications with Poonah, afforded General Wellesley an invaluable depôt from which to draw supplies; and from its position overawed the surrounding population, and formed a bulwark of defence to the western territories of the Nizam.[2]

The army remained for some days in the neighbourhood of Ahmednuggur, and then marching down the Nimderrah Ghât, directed its route to Toka, on the Godavery. On the 24th it crossed the river in boats. On the 17th of September the army encamped at Goonjee, the junction of the Godavery and Galatty, and thence moved to Golah Pangree on the Doodna, which it reached on the 20th.

[1] Cust's *Wars*.

[2] "It may not be known to the public, and perhaps not to the 78th Regiment itself, that the handsome black granite slab inserted in the Pettah wall of Ahmednuggur, bearing an inscription that on this spot fell, at the storming of the fort, Captain Thomas Mackenzie-Humberstone (son of Colonel Mackenzie-Humberstone, who was killed at the close of the Mahratta War, 1783), also to the memory of Captain Grant, Lieutenant Anderson, the non-commissioned officers, and privates of that Regiment who fell on that occasion, was placed here as a memorial by the Honourable Mrs Stewart-Mackenzie (then Lady Hood), eldest daughter of Lord Seaforth (brother of Colonel Humberstone), when she visited this spot on her way from Poonah to Hyderabad, in March 1813."—*Memorandum found among the papers of the late Colonel C. Mackenzie-Fraser of Castle Fraser.*

On the 24th of August the united armies of Sindiah and the Rajah of Berar had entered the territories of the Nizam by the Adjunteh Ghât, and were known to be occupying the country between that pass and Jalnah. General Wellesley's plan of operations now was, if possible, to bring the enemy to a general action; but, if he failed in that object, at least to drive them out of the Nizam's country and secure the passes. On the 19th of September he wrote to Colonel Stevenson, directing that officer to march upon the Adjunteh Ghât, he himself moving by Jafferabad upon those of Bhaudoola and Laukenwarra. On the 21st, having obtained intelligence that the enemy lay at Bokerdun, he, after a personal interview with Colonel Stevenson at Budnapoor, arranged that their forces should separate, marching on the 22nd, and traversing two parallel roads about 12 miles apart. On the 22nd both officers broke camp, the General proceeding by the eastern route, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jalnah, and Colonel Stevenson moving to the westward. On the 23rd General Wellesley arrived at Naulniah, and found that, instead of being 12 or 14 miles distant from the enemy's camp, as he had calculated, he was within 6 miles of it. General Wellesley found himself unable to make a reconnaissance without employing his whole force, and to retire in the face of the enemy's numerous cavalry would have been a dangerous experiment; but the hircarrahs having reported that the cavalry had already moved off, and that the infantry were about to follow, the General determined to attack at once, without waiting for Colonel Stevenson. He, however, apprised Stevenson of his intention, and desired him to move up without delay. On coming in sight of the enemy he was rudely undeceived as to his intelligence, for, instead of the infantry alone, the whole force of the allied Rajahs was drawn up on the further bank of the river Kaitna, ready to receive him.

"The sight was enough to appal the stoutest heart: thirty thousand horse, in one magnificent mass, crowded the right; a dense array of infantry, powerfully supported by artillery, formed the centre and left; the gunners were beside their pieces, and a hundred pieces of cannon, in front of the line, stood ready to

vomit forth death upon the assailants. Wellington paused for a moment, impressed but not daunted by the sight. His whole force, as Colonel Stevenson had not come up, did not exceed 8000 men, of whom 1600 were cavalry; the effective native British were not above 1500, and he had only 17 pieces of cannon. But feeling at once that retreat in presence of so prodigious a force of cavalry was impossible, and that the most audacious course was, in such circumstances, the most prudent, he ordered an immediate attack."[3]

Before receiving intelligence of the enemy, the ground had been marked out for an encampment, and the cavalry had dismounted: General Wellesley ordered them to remount, and proceeded with them to the front. Of the infantry, the 1/2nd Native Infantry was ordered to cover the baggage on the marked ground, and to be reinforced by the rearguard as it came up. The 2/12th Native Infantry was ordered to join the left, in order to equalise the two brigades, which were to follow by the right, and the four brass light 12-pounders of the park were sent to the head of the line.

These dispositions did not cause above ten minutes' halt to the column of infantry, but the cavalry, moving on with the General, came first in sight of the enemy's position from a rising ground to the left of the road. This was within cannon-shot of the right of their encampment, which lay along the further bank of the river Kaitna, a stream of no magnitude, but with steep banks and a very deep channel, so as not to be passable except at particular places, chiefly near the villages. Sindiah's irregular cavalry formed the right; the troops of the Rajah of Berar, also irregulars, the centre; and Sindiah's regular infantry, the left. The latter was composed of 17 battalions, amounting to about 10,500 men, formed into 3 brigades, to each of which a body of regular cavalry and a corps of marksmen, called Allygoots, were attached. 102 pieces of their artillery were afterwards accounted for, but they probably had a few more.[4] The infantry were dressed, armed, and accoutred like British Sepoys; they were very fine bodies of men, and though the English officers had quitted them, they were in an admirable state of discipline, and many French and other European officers held command among them. Their guns were served by Gollundaze, exactly like those of the Bengal service, which had been disbanded some little time previously, and were probably the same men. It was soon found that they were extremely well trained, and their fire was both as quick and as well-directed as could be produced by the British artillery. What the total number of the enemy was cannot be ascertained, or even guessed at, with any degree of accuracy; but it is certainly calculated very low at 30,000 men, including the light troops who were out on a plundering excursion, but returned towards the close of the action. The two Rajahs were in the field in person, attended by their principal ministers, and, it being the day of the Dusserah feast, the Hindoos, of which the army was chiefly composed, had religious prejudices to make them fight with spirit and hope for victory.

The force of General Wellesley's army in action was nearly 4700 men, of whom about 1500 were Europeans (including artillery), with 26 field-pieces, of which only four 12 and eight 6-pounders were fired during the action; the rest, being the guns of the cavalry and the battalions of the second line, could not be used.

On General Wellesley's approaching the enemy for the purpose of reconnoitring, they commenced a cannonade, the first gun of which was fired at twenty minutes past one o'clock P.M., and killed one of his escort. The General, although he found himself in front of their right, determined to attack their left, in order to turn it, judging that the defeat of their infantry was most likely to prove effectual, and accordingly ordered his own infantry column to move in that direction. Meanwhile some of the staff looked out for a ford to enable the troops to pass the Kaitna and execute this movement, and found one, which the enemy had fortunately left undefended, scarcely half a mile beyond their left flank, near the old fort of Peepulgaon, where the ground, narrowing at the confluence of the Kaitna and Juah, would prevent them from attacking with overwhelming numbers. The whole of this march was performed considerably within range of

[3] Alison's *History of Europe.*

[4] "It is now said that they had in their camp 128 guns."—*General Wellesley to Major Shaw, 28th September* 1803.

their cannon, and the fire increased so fast that by the time the head of the column had reached Peepulgaon, it was tremendously heavy, and had already destroyed numbers.

For some time the enemy did not discover Major-General Wellesley's design; but as soon as they became aware of it, they threw their left up to Assaye, a village on the Juah, near the left of their second line, which did not change its position. Their first line was now formed across the ground between the Kaitna and the Juah, the right resting upon the Kaitna, where the left had been, and the left occupying the village of Assaye, which was garrisoned with infantry and surrounded with cannon. They also brought up many guns from their reserve and second line to their first.

The British being obliged to cross the ford in one column by sections, were long exposed to the cannonade. After passing the river, their first line was formed nearly parallel to that of the enemy, at about 500 yards distance, having marched down the alignment to its ground. The second line rather out-flanked the first to the right, as did the third (composed of the cavalry) the second. The left of the first line was opposite the right of the enemy during the formation, and their artillery fired round-shot with great precision and rapidity, the same shot often striking all three lines. It was answered with great spirit by the first British line, but the number of gun-bullocks killed soon hindered the advance of the artillery, with the exception of a few guns which were dragged by the men themselves. The British lines were formed from right to left as follows:—

First Line.

The picquets, four 12-pounders, the 1/8th and 1/10th Native Infantry, and the 78th Highlanders.

Second Line.

The 74th Highlanders and the 2/12th and 1/4th Native Infantry.

Third Line.

The 4th Native Cavalry, the 19th Light Dragoons, and the 5th and 7th Native Cavalry.

Orders were now given for each battalion to attach a company to the guns, to assist and protect them during the advance. These orders, though immediately afterwards countermanded, reached the 78th, and, consequently, the 8th battalion company, under Lieutenant Cameron, was attached to the guns.

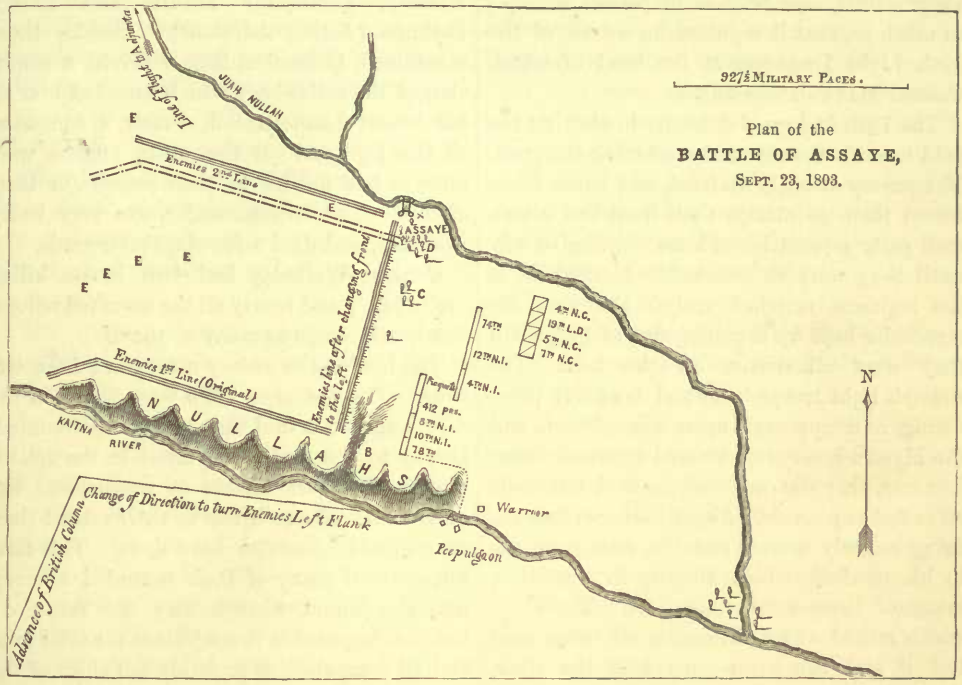
Major-General Wellesley then named the picquets as the battalion of direction, and ordered that the line should advance as quickly as possible consistent with order, and charge with the bayonet without firing a shot. At a quarter to three the word was given for the line to advance, and was received by Europeans and Natives with a cheer. Almost immediately, however, it was discovered that the picquets were not moving forward as directed, and the first line received the word to halt. This was a critical moment, for the troops had got to the ridge of a small swell in the ground that had somewhat sheltered them, particularly on the left; and the enemy, supposing them to be staggered by the fire, redoubled their efforts, discharging chain-shot and missiles of every kind. General Wellesley, dreading the consequences of this check in damping the ardour of the troops, rode up to one of the native corps of the first line, and, taking of his hat, cheered them on in their own language, and repeated the word "March!" Again the troops received the order with loud cheers, and the three battalions of the first line, followed by the 1/4th, advanced in quick time upon the enemy with the greatest coolness, order, and determination.

The 78th, on coming within 150 yards of the enemy's line, withdrew its advanced centre sergeant, and the men were cautioned to be ready to charge. Soon after the battalion opposed to them fired a volley, and about the same time some European officers in the enemy's service were observed to mount their horses and ride off. The 78th instantly ported arms, cheered, and redoubled its pace, and the enemy's infantry, deserted by its officers, broke and ran. The 78th pushed on and fired, and coming to the charge, overtook and bayonetted a few individuals. The gunners, however, held firm to their guns, many being killed in the acts of loading, priming, or pointing; and none quitted their posts until the bayonets were at their breasts. Almost at the same moment the 1/10th Native Infantry closed with the enemy in the most gallant style; but the smoke and dust (which, aided by a high wind, was very great) prevented the troops from seeing further to the right.

The 78th now halted for an instant to com-

plete their files and restore exact order, and then moved forward on the enemy's second line, making a complete wheel to the right, the pivot being the right of the army, near the village of Assaye. The picquets having failed to advance, the 74th pushed up, in doing which they were very much cut up by grape, and were charged by the Mahratta cavalry, led by Sindiah in person. They suffered dreadfully, as did also the picquets and 2/12th; and they were only saved by a brilliant charge, headed by Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell. This part of the British line, though it broke the enemy's first line, did not gain much ground; and the enemy still continued in possession of several guns about the village of Assaye, from which they flanked the British line when it arrived opposite their second line.

Several of the enemy also coming up from



A, the ford from Peepulgaon to Waroor; B, the rising ground which protected the advance; C, four old mangoes; D, screen of prickly pear, covering Assaye; E E E E, 30,000 of the enemy's cavalry.

the bed of the river and other ways, attacked and killed a good many of the British artillerymen. A considerable number also who, after the fashion of Eastern warfare, had thrown themselves on the ground as dead, regained possession of the guns of their first line, which had been taken and passed, and from them opened a fire of grape upon the British rear. The guns of the 78th, with the escort under Lieutenant Cameron, escaped, and joined the regiment as it halted opposite to the enemy's second line.

The British infantry was now in one line, the 78th on the left of the whole; and as it had the longest sweep to make in the wheel, it came up last. When the dust cleared a body of the enemy's best cavalry was seen a little in advance of the left flank, purposing to turn it, on which the left wing of the 78th was thrown back at a small angle, and preparations were made for opening the two guns, which at that moment came up. It is impossible to say too much for the behaviour of the infantry at this awful crisis. Deprived of the assistance of their own artillery, having the enemy's second line, untouched and perfectly fresh, firing steadily upon them, flanked by round-shot from the right, grape pouring upon their rear, and cavalry threatening their left, not a word was heard or a shot fired; all waited the orders of the General with the composure of a field-day, amidst a scene of

slaughter scarcely ever equalled. This, however, was not of long duration; for the British cavalry came up and drove off the body of horse which threatened the left, and which did not wait to be charged, and General Wellesley ordered the principal part of the line to attack the enemy in front, while the 78th and 7th Native Cavalry moved to the rear and charged the guns which were firing thence. The enemy's second line immediately retired, one brigade in perfect order—so much so, that it repulsed an attack of the 19th Light Dragoons, at the head of which Colonel Maxwell was killed.

The 78th had great difficulty in clearing the field towards the rear and recovering the guns. The enemy strongly resisted, and three times forced them to change their front and attack each party separately, as none would give way until they were so attacked. Meanwhile, as the regiment marched against the one, the remainder kept up a galling fire of grape, till they were all driven off the field. The enemy's light troops, who had been out plundering, now appeared upon the ground, and the Mysore horse were ordered to attack them; however, they did not wait for this, but made off as fast as possible. About half-past four the firing entirely ceased, and the enemy set fire to his tumbrils, which blew up in succession, many of them some time later. The corps which retired at first in such good order soon lost it, and threw its guns into the river, four of which were afterwards found, exclusive of ninety-eight taken on the field of battle. Seven stand of colours were taken from the enemy. After plundering their dead, their camp, and bazaar, they retreated along the Juah for about ten miles and made a halt, but on moving again the flight became general. Then casting away their material of every kind, they descended the Adjunteh Ghât into Candeish, and made for the city of Burhanpoor, when they were described as having no artillery, nor any body of men that looked like a battalion, while the roads were strewed with their wounded and their dying.

The loss of the British was most severe. No part of the Mysore or Mahratta allies was actually engaged. Their infantry was with the baggage, and their cavalry not being in uniform, the General was apprehensive of mistakes should any part of them come into action. Between one-half and one-third of the British actually in the field were either killed or wounded. The 78th was fortunate in having but a small proportion of the loss to bear. Lieutenant Douglas and 27 men were killed, and 4 officers, 4 sergeants, and 73 men were wounded. The officers wounded were Captain Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenant Kinloch, Lieutenant Larkin, and Ensign Bethune (Acting Adjutant). Besides those mentioned, Colonel Adams received a contusion of the collar-bone which knocked him off his horse; Lieutenant J. Fraser a contusion of the leg; and all the other officers were more or less touched in their persons or their clothes. The sergeant-major was very badly wounded, and died a few days afterwards.

General Wellesley had two horses killed under him; and nearly all the mounted officers lost horses, some as many as three.

The loss of the enemy must have been terrible. The bodies of 1200 were found on the field, and it was said that 3000 were wounded. Owing to the part they played in the action, the cavalry were unable to pursue, and the enemy suffered much less in their retreat than they should otherwise have done. This fact, too, enabled many of their wounded to creep into the jungle, whence very few returned; but it is impossible to conjecture the total loss, and all computations probably fall short of the actual amount. Jadoon Rao, Sindiah's first minister, and the chief instigator of the war, was severely wounded, and died a few days afterwards; and Colonel Dorsan, the principal French officer, was also killed.

Such was the battle of Assaye, one of the most decisive as well as the most desperate ever fought in India.

Major-General Wellesley and the troops under his command received the thanks of the Governor-general in Council for their important services. His Majesty was pleased to order that the corps engaged should bear upon their colours and appointments an elephant, superscribed "Assaye," in commemoration of the victory; and honorary colours were granted to the 19th Light Dragoons, and the 74th and 78th Highlanders, by the government of India

in a general order.[5] For some unknown reason the 78th ceased to use these special colours after leaving India, the 74th being the only one of the three regiments still possessing them.

After various independent movements, Colonel Stevenson, on the 29th of November, formed a junction with General Wellesley at Parterly, on which day the whole of the enemy's force was discovered drawn up on the plains of Argaum about six miles distant. Their line extended five miles, having in its rear the gardens and enclosures of Argaum, while in its front was the uncultivated plain, which was much cut up by watercourses. The Berar cavalry occupied the left, and the artillery and infantry the left centre. Sindiah's force, which occupied the right, consisted of one very heavy body of cavalry, with a number of pindarries or light troops on its right again.

The enemy, though nearly as numerous as at Assaye, were neither so well disciplined nor so well appointed, and they had besides only thirty-eight pieces of cannon. The British army, on the other hand, was more numerous than in the late engagement, having been reinforced by Colonel Stevenson's division. The British moved foward in one column to the edge of the plain. A small village lay between the head of the British columns and the line. The cavalry formed in close column behind this village; and the right brigade formed line in its front, the other corps following and forming in succession. The moment the leading picquet passed the village, the enemy, who was about 1200 yards distant, discharged 21 pieces of cannon in one volley. The native picquets and two battalions, alarmed by this noisy demonstration, which was attended with no injurious consequences, recoiled and took refuge behind the village, leaving the picquets of the 78th and the artillery alone in the field. By the exertions of the officers these battalions were again brought up into line,—not, however, till the 78th had joined and formed into line with the picquets and artillery.

The army was drawn up in one line of fifteen battalions, with the 78th on the right, having the 74th on its immediate left, and the 94th on the left of the line, supported by the Mysore horse. The cavalry formed a reserve or second line. In the advance, the 78th directed its march against a battery of nine guns, which supported the enemy's left. In the approach, a body of 800 infantry darted from behind the battery, and rushed forward with the apparent intention of passing through the interval between the 74th and 78th. To close the interval, and prevent the intended movement, the regiments obliqued their march, and with ported arms moved forward to meet the enemy; but they were prevented by a deep muddy ditch from coming into collision with the bayonet. The enemy, however, drew up alongside the ditch, and kept up the fire until his last man fell. Next morning upwards of 500 dead bodies were found lying by the ditch. Religious fanaticism had impelled these men to fight.

With the exception of an attack made by Sindiah's cavalry on the left of Colonel Stevenson's division, in which they were repulsed by the 6th Native Infantry, no other attempt of any moment was made by the enemy. After this attack the whole of the enemy's line instantly gave way, leaving all their artillery on the field. They were pursued by the cavalry by moonlight till nine o'clock.

The loss of the British was trifling; no European officer was killed, and only nine wounded, one of whom had his thigh broken. The number of killed and wounded was small, and fell principally upon the 78th, which had eight men killed and about forty wounded; but no officer among the number. In the orders thanking the army for its exertions on this day, General Wellesley particularised the 74th and 78th:—"The 74th and 78th regiments had a particular opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and have deserved and received my thanks." Colonel Harness being extremely ill, Lieut.-Colonel Adams of the 78th commanded the right brigade in the action; and Major Hercules Scott being in command of the picquets as field-officer of the day, the command of the 78th fell to Captain Fraser. In this action, as at the battle of Assaye, a scarcity of officers caused the colours of the 78th to be carried by sergeants; and it

[5] See History of the 74th, vol. ii. p. 575.

is noticeable that not a shot penetrated the colours in either action, probably owing to the high wind which prevailed and caused them to be carried wrapped closely round the poles. The names of the sergeants who carried the colours at Assaye were Sergeant Leavoch, paymaster's clerk, afterwards quarter-master; and Sergeant John Mackenzie, senior sergeant of the regiment, and immediately afterwards quarter-master's sergeant. At Argaum, Sergeant Leavoch, and Sergeant Grant, regimental clerk, afterwards an ensign, and now (1815, says the Record), a lieutenant in the regiment.

"At the battle of Assaye," General Stewart tells us, "the musicians were ordered to attend to the wounded, and carry them to the surgeons in the rear. One of the pipers, believing himself included in this order, laid aside his instrument and assisted the wounded. For this he was afterwards reproached by his comrades. Flutes and hautboys they thought could be well spared; but for the piper, who should always be in the heat of the battle, to go to the rear with the *whistlers* was a thing altogether unheard of. The unfortunate piper was quite humbled. However, he soon had an opportunity of playing off this stigma; for in the advance at Argaum, he played up with such animation, and influenced the men to such a degree, that they could hardly be restrained from rushing on to the charge too soon, and breaking the line. Colonel Adams was indeed obliged to silence the musician, who now in some manner regained his lost fame."

The next, and, as it turned out, the last exploit of General Wellesley's army, was against the strong fort of Gawilghur, which was taken by assault on the 13th of December. It, however, continued in the field, marching and counter-marching, till the 20th of July, 1804, when the 78th reached Bombay.

The regiment remained in quarters at Bombay till May, 1805, when five companies were ordered to Baroda in the Goojerat. The strength of the regiment was kept up by recruits, chiefly from the Scotch militia, and latterly by reinforcements from the second battalion, 800 strong, added to the regiment in 1804. In July, 1805, a detachment of 100 recruits arrived from Scotland. The regiment removed to Goa in 1807, whence it embarked for Madras in March, 1811.

"The numerical strength of this fine body of men was less to be estimated than their character, personal appearance, efficiency, and health. Upwards of 336 were volunteers from the Perthshire and other Scotch militia regiments, and 400 were drafts from the second battalion, which had been seasoned by a service of three years in the Mediterranean. Such was the stature of many of the men that, after the grenadier company was completed from the tallest men, the hundred next in height were found too tall and beyond the usual size of the light infantry. The harmony which so frequently subsisted between Highland corps and the inhabitants of the countries where they have been stationed, has been frequently observed. In Goa it appears to have been the same as elsewhere. The Condè de Surzecla, Viceroy of Portuguese India, on the departure of the regiment from under his command, embraced that opportunity 'to express his sentiments of praise and admiration of the regular, orderly, and honourable conduct of His Britannic Majesty's 78th Highland regiment during the four years they have been under his authority, equally and highly creditable to the exemplary discipline of the corps, and to the skill of the excellent commander; and his Excellency can never forget the inviolable harmony and friendship which has always subsisted between the subjects of the regent of Portugal and all classes of this honourable corps.'" [6]

On the 14th of March, 1811, the regiment embarked, and sailed in three transports for Madras. Very few men were left behind sick. The strength embarked was 1027, of whom 835 were Highlanders, 184 Lowlanders, and 8 English and Irish.

The transports arrived at Madras on the 10th of April, but the regiment was not landed, and sailed on the 30th with the last division of troops detailed for the expedition under the command of Lieut.-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, destined for the capture of Java.

On the 5th of June the last division of the

[6] Stewart's *Sketches.*

troops arrived at Malacca, when the army was formed into four brigades as follows :—The first or advanced brigade, under Colonel Gillespie, was composed of the flank battalions (formed by the rifle and light companies of the army), a wing of the 89th, a battalion of marines, of Bengal Light Infantry, and of volunteers, three squadrons of the 22nd Dragoons, and some Madras Horse Artillery. The left flank battalion was formed by the rifle and light companies of the 78th, the light company of the 69th, and a grenadier company of Bengal Native Infantry, and was commanded by Major Fraser of the 78th. The second brigade, commanded by Colonel Gibbs of the 59th, consisted of the 14th and 59th, and a battalion of Bengal Native Infantry. The third brigade, commanded by Colonel Adams of the 78th, was composed of the 69th and 78th, and a battalion of Bengal Native Infantry. The 78th was commanded by Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, and the light battalion by Major Forbes of the 78th. At Goa, a company of marksmen had been formed in the 78th, under the command of Captain T. Cameron, and at Madras they had received a rifle equipment and clothing. The reserve, under Colonel Wood, was composed entirely of Native Infantry. Attached to the army were detachments of Bengal and Madras Artillery and Engineers; and the whole force amounted to about 12,000 men, of whom about half were Europeans.

Early in June the fleet sailed from Malacca, and on the 4th of August came to anchor off the village of Chillingching, about twelve miles to the eastward of Batavia, and the troops landed without opposition. On the 7th the advance took up a position within two miles of Batavia, and on the 8th the magistrates surrendered the city at discretion.

It was understood that General Jumelle, with 3000 men, held the cantonment of Weltevreeden, about three miles from the city; and that about the same distance further on lay the strongly entrenched camp of Cornelis, where the greater portion of the French force, about 10,000 men, were posted under command of General Jansen, the governor.

Before daybreak, on the morning of the 10th, the advance marched against Weltevreeden, and the enemy was discovered strongly posted in the woods and villages. His right was defended by the canal called the Slokan; his left was exposed, but the approach in front and flank was defended by a marsh and pepper plantations, and the road rendered impassable by a strong abbatis of felled trees. The enemy's infantry, enforced by four field-pieces served with grape, was drawn up behind this barrier, and commenced a destructive fire upon the head of the column as it advanced. Captain Cameron, who was in advance with his rifle company, was severely wounded, and a number of his men killed or disabled while entangled in the abbatis. Captain Forbes, with the aid of the light company, was then ordered to charge the obstacle; but he met with such resistance, that, after losing 15 out of 37 men, Colonel Gillespie directed him to retire and cross the ditch to the enemy's left. Lieutenant Munro was killed here while in command of a party detailed to cover the British guns. An order was now given to turn the enemy's left, which after a little delay succeeded,—"the grenadier company of the 78th, as in every Eastern field of fame, heading the attack."[7] The grenadiers, in company with a detachment of the 89th, under Major Butler, carried the enemy's guns after a most obstinate resistance, the gunners being cut down or bayoneted almost to a man. The general wrote—"The flank companies of the 78th (commanded by Captains David Forbes and Thomas Cameron) and the detachment of the 89th, particularly distinguished themselves." The main body of the force shortly after came up, and the villages having been fired, the camp was occupied, and its war material, consisting of 300 guns, and a vast quantity of stores, taken possession of. The enemy's loss was said to be very heavy, and the Brigadier-General Alberti was dangerously wounded. The British loss fell principally upon the 78th and 89th, the former having 33 men killed and wounded, besides the officers mentioned. By the occupation of Weltevreeden, the army obtained a good communication with Batavia and the

[7] Alison's *History of Europe*.

fleet, a healthy situation, the command of the country and supplies, and a base of operations against the main position of Cornelis.

On the night of the 21st, when in company with the 69th, the 78th relieved Colonel Gillespie's brigade in the advance. Early on the morning of the 22nd, three English batteries being nearly completed, the enemy made a sortie from Cornelis, and obtained possession of two of them, whence they were driven by a party of the 78th, which happened, fortunately, to be in the trenches at the time, under Major Lindsay and Captain Macleod. The battery on the right was energetically defended by Lieutenant Hart and a company of the 78th, who repulsed the enemy's attack with considerable loss.

The camp of Cornelis was an oblong of 1600 by 900 yards. It was strongly entrenched: the river Jacatra or Liwong flowed along its west side, and the canal, called the Slokan, washed the east. Neither was fordable, and the banks of the river were steep and covered with jungle, while on the canal and beyond it powerful batteries were raised. The north and south faces were defended by deep ditches, which could be inundated at pleasure, and were strengthened with palisades, fraises, and chevaux de frise. These faces between the river and canal were further protected by seven formidable redoubts, constructed by General Daendels, and numerous batteries and entrenchments. A strong work also covered and protected the only bridge which communicated with the position, and which was thrown across the Slokan. The entire circumference of the works was about five miles; they were mounted with 280 pieces of cannon, and were garrisoned by over 10,000 men, of whom about 5000 were Europeans, and the remainder disciplined native regiments, commanded by French and Dutch officers.

Sir Samuel Auchmuty had broken ground on the 20th, at 600 yards distance from the works; and on the 24th, though no practicable breach had been made, the general being apprehensive of the danger of delay, determined upon an assault. The command of the principal attack was entrusted to Colonel Gillespie. The advance guard was formed by the rifle company of the 14th, while the grenadiers of the 78th led the column, to which the light and rifle companies also belonged. Immediately after midnight of the 25th Colonel Gillespie marched, but his advance was impeded by the darkness of the night and the intricacy of the country, which was parcelled out into pepper and betel gardens, and intersected with ravines, so that the troops were frequently obliged to move in single file. Towards daylight it was found that the rear division, under Colonel Gibbs, had strayed, but as it was impossible to remain long concealed, and to retreat would have been to abandon the enterprise, it was determined to assault without them. With the earliest streak of dawn the column was challenged, but the men, advancing with fixed bayonets at the double, speedily annihilated the enemy's picquets, and obtained possession of the protecting redoubt No. 3. At the same time the grenadiers of the 78th rushed up on the bamboo bridge over the Slokan, mingling with the fugitives, and thus prevented its destruction by them. Owing to the darkness still prevailing, many of the men fell over the bridge into the canal, and were with difficulty rescued; while everywhere the carnage was terrific, the road being enfiladed by numerous pieces of artillery. The left of the attack now stormed and carried a large redoubt, No. 4, to the left of the bridge, which was strongly palisaded, and mounted upwards of twenty 18-pounders, besides several 24 and 32-pounders. Colonel Gibbs also came up at this moment, and his force was joined by a portion of the 78th, under Captain Macleod and Lieut. Brodie, who carried the redoubt No. 1 to the right; but scarcely had his advance entered when it blew up with a tremendous explosion, by which many of both parties were killed. It was said that a train had been fired by some of the enemy's officers, but this has never been proved. Lieut.-Colonel Macleod's (69th) attack against redoubt No. 2 was also completely successful, though the army had to deplore the loss of that gallant officer in the moment of victory. "Major Yule's attack was equally spirited, but after routing the enemy's force at Campong Maylayo, and killing many of them, he found the bridge on fire, and was unable to penetrate further."[8] He therefore had to con-

[8] Sir Samuel Auchmuty's Despatch.

tent himself with firing across the river. The two attacks now joined, and, under Colonel Gillespie, advanced to attack a body of the enemy inforced by a regiment of cavalry, which was stationed on a rising ground above the fort, and protected their park of artillery. The fire was very heavy, and though the British actually reached the mouths of the enemy's guns, they were twice driven back, but rallying each time, they made a final charge and dislodged the enemy. Here Lieutenants Hart and Pennycuik of the 78th were wounded, the former having his thigh broken in two places by a grape-shot. The commander-in-chief now ordered a general attack upon the north face, which was led by Colonel Adams' brigade, and "the heroic 78th, which, though long opposed, now burst in with loud shouts in the front of the line, and successively carried the works on either hand."[9] The regiment, under Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, advanced along the high road, crossed the ditch and palisade under a very heavy fire of grape and musketry, and carried the enemy's work in that direction. Two companies, under Colonel Macpherson, proceeded along the bank of the Slokan and took possession of the dam-dyke, which kept back the water from the ditch, thus preventing the enemy from cutting it, and leaving the ditch dry for the main body of the regiment to cross. In this service "Captain Macpherson was wounded in a personal rencontre with a French officer."[1] The loss of the 78th in this part of the action was very heavy. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell had both his thighs shattered by a grape-shot, and died two days afterwards, and Captain William Mackenzie and Lieutenant Matheson were also wounded. The regiment was necessarily much broken up in crossing the ditch and palisades, but soon re-formed, and completed the rout of the enemy.

In the space of three hours from the commencement of the action, all the enemy's works were in the possession of the British.

The loss of the enemy in killed, during the attack and pursuit, was nearly 2000. The wounded were estimated at about 3000, while between 5000 and 6000 prisoners were taken, mostly Europeans, including a regiment of Voltigeurs lately arrived from France.

The main body of the 78th lost 1 field officer (Lieut.-Colonel Campbell) and 18 rank and file killed, and 3 sergeants and 62 rank and file wounded; its total of killed and wounded, including the three companies with Colonel Gillespie's attack, being 164.

A force, which had been sent by sea to Cheribon to intercept General Jansen's retreat into the eastern portion of the island, having arrived two days after he had passed, Sir Samuel Auchmuty determined to undertake the pursuit. Accordingly, on the 5th of September, he embarked at Batavia with the 14th and 78th Regiments, the grenadiers of the 3rd Volunteer Regiment, and some artillery and pioneers, less than 1000 men in all, with six field-pieces. The headquarters, grenadier, rifle, and one battalion company of the 78th sailed in the "Mysore," under Major Fraser, and the remaining seven companies, under Major Lindsay, in the "Lowjee Family." On the 12th the troops commanded by Major Lindsay landed at Samarang, and occupied the town without opposition, and learnt that a considerable body of the enemy, principally cavalry, was strongly posted upon the hills of Serondole, about 5 or 6 miles distant. On the 16th the whole force, under the command of Colonel Gibbs, advanced against Serondole at an early hour. Although the position of the enemy was most formidable, his troops gave way on all hands.

On the morning of the 18th a flag of truce arrived from General Jansen, accepting unconditionally any terms Sir Samuel Auchmuty might suggest. These were that the governor should surrender himself and his army prisoners of war, resign the sovereignty of Java and all the Dutch and French possessions in the East Indies into the hands of Great Britain, who should be left free with regard to the future administration of the island, the guarantee of the public debt, and the liquidation of paper money.

Thus the fertile island of Java and its rich dependencies, the last colonial possession of France, was wrested from her by British prowess.

The regiment remained in Java till Sep-

[9] Alison's *History of Europe.*
[1] Stewart's *Sketches.*

tember 1816, when it embarked for Calcutta. The only other enterprise we need mention in which the 78th was engaged while in Java was an expedition against the rebellious Sultan of Djokjokarta, when a great amount of treasure was captured, including two solid silver soup-tureens of antique design and exquisite finish, which the regiment still possesses. We must also mention the melancholy death, at Probolingo, on the 18th of May, 1813, of Lieut.-Colonel Fraser and Captain Macpherson at the hands of some fierce banditti, these officers being on a visit to a friend at Probolingo, when the banditti approached the place. Next day a detachment, consisting of 100 of the most active of the grenadier, rifle, and light companies, under Major Forbes of the 78th, marched against the banditti. After marching 64 miles in 18 hours the detachment came up with the main body of the banditti, and the commanding officers thought it advisable to make a halt, in order that the men might obtain some water before proceeding to the attack. The enemy seeing this, and mistaking the motive, advanced boldly and rapidly, headed by their chiefs. When within about 100 yards they halted for a moment, and again advanced to the charge at a run, in a close compact body, at the same time setting up a most dreadful yell. The men on this occasion showed a steadiness which could not be surpassed, not a shot being fired until the enemy was within a spear's length of their line, when they gave their fire with such effect that it immediately checked the advance, and forced the enemy to retreat with terrible loss. Upwards of 150 lay dead on the spot; one of their chiefs was killed, and two more, who were taken alive that afternoon, suffered the merited punishment of their rebellion. Only a few of the 78th were wounded. The detachment now moved on to Probolingo House, which it was supposed the insurgents would defend, but having lost their principal leaders they dispersed without making any further stand. Their force was estimated to have amounted to upwards of 2500 men. The same evening the bodies of Colonel Fraser and Captain Macpherson were brought in and interred in the square of Probolingo.

During the period of its residence in Java the men of the regiment had suffered extremely from the climate. Of that splendid body of men, which in 1811 had left Madras 1027 strong, about 400 only now remained, and strange to say, it had been observed that the stoutest and largest men fell the first victims to disease.

The headquarters, in the "Guildford," sailed from Batavia roads on the 18th of September, and arrived safely at Calcutta on the 29th of October.

The "Frances Charlotte," with the remaining six companies, under Major Macpherson, had a fine passage up the Bay of Bengal, until the night of the 5th of November, when the vessel struck upon a rock about 12 miles distance off the island of Preparis. Fortunately the weather was moderate, but the ship carrying full sail at the time, struck with such violence that she remained fast, and in fifteen minutes filled to her main-deck.

"Now was displayed one of those examples of firmness and self-command which are so necessary in the character of a soldier. Although the ship was in the last extremity, and momentarily expected to sink, there was no tumult, no clamorous eagerness to get into the boats: every man waited orders, and obeyed them when received. The ship rapidly filling, and appearing to be lodged in the water, and to be only prevented from sinking by the rock, all hope of saving her was given up. Except the provisions which had been brought up the preceding evening for the following day's consumption, nothing was saved. A few bags of rice and a few pieces of pork were thrown into the boats, along with the women, children, and sick, and sent to the island, which was so rocky, and the surf so heavy, that they had great difficulty in landing; and it was not until the following morning that the boats returned to the ship. In the meantime, a small part of the rock on which the ship lay was found dry at low water, and covered with little more than a foot of water at full tide. As many as this rock could admit of (140 men) were removed on a small raft, with ropes to fix themselves to the points of the rock, in order to prevent their being washed into the sea by the waves at high water. The highest part of the rock was about 150 yards from the ship. It was

not till the fourth day that the boats were able to carry all in the ship to the island, while those on the rock remained without sleep, and with very little food or water, till the third day, when water being discovered on the island, a supply was brought to them.

"During all this time the most perfect order and resignation prevailed, both on the island and on the rock. Providentially the weather continued favourable, or those on the rock must have been swept into the sea. In the evening of the fourth day the "Prince Blucher," Captain Weatherall, and the "Po," Captain Knox, appeared in sight, and immediately bore down to the wreck. They had scarcely taken the men from the rock, and begun to steer for the island, when it came on to blow a furious gale. This forced them out to sea. Being short of provisions, and the gale continuing with great violence, the commanders were afraid that they could not get back to the island in sufficient time to take the people on board [2] and reach a port before the stock was expended, and therefore bore away for Calcutta, where they arrived on the 23rd of November. Two fast-sailing vessels were instantly despatched with provisions and clothes, and, on the 6th of December, made the Island of Preparis. The people there were by that time nearly reduced to the last extremity. The allowance of provisions (a glass-full of rice and two ounces of beef for two days to each person) was expended, and they had now only to trust to the shell-fish which they picked up at low water. These soon became scarce, and they had neither lines to catch fish nor firearms to kill the birds and monkeys, the only inhabitants of the island, which is small and rocky, covered with low trees and brushwood. In this deplorable state the men continued as obedient, and the officers had the same authority, as on parade. Every privation was borne in common. Every man that picked up a live shell-fish carried it to the general stock, which was safe from the attempts of the half-famished sufferers. Nor was any guard required. However, to prevent any temptation, sentinels were placed over the small store. But the precaution was unnecessary. No attempt was made to break the regulations established, and no symptoms of dissatisfaction were shown, except when they saw several ships passing them without notice, and without paying any regard to their signals. These signals were large fires, which might have attracted notice when seen on an uninhabited island. Captain Weatherall required no signal. He met with some boards and other symptoms of a wreck, which had floated to sea out of sight of the island; and suspecting what had happened, immediately steered towards it. To his humanity the safety of the people on the rock may, under Providence, be ascribed; for, as the violence of the gale was such as to dash the ship to pieces, leaving no part visible in a few hours, the men must have been swept off the rock at its commencement.

"Five men died from weakness; several were drowned in falling off the kind of raft made to convey them from the ship to the rock; and some were drowned by the surf in going on shore; in all, fourteen soldiers and two Lascars were lost. Unfortunately, the gale that destroyed the ship blew off the island, so that no part of the wreck floated on shore. Had it been otherwise, some things might have been carried back to the island." [3]

Many men died subsequently, in consequence of their sufferings on this occasion. The officers and men lost the whole of their baggage, and upwards of £2000 of the funds of the regiment went down in the transport.

On the 9th the surviving officers and men were relieved; and, after a quick run to Calcutta, landed on the 12th of December. All were now assembled in Fort William, with the exception of one company in Java; and, having received orders to make preparations to embark for Europe, the following General Order was issued by his Excellency the Governor-General in Council:—

[2] "On the 10th, the 'Prince Blucher,' Captain Weatherall, came in sight, and took on board Major Macpherson, Lieutenants Mackenzie and M'Crummin, with a considerable number of men and *all the women and children*. He would have taken the whole, but was driven off during the night by a severe gale, and obliged to proceed to Calcutta, leaving Captain M'Queen, Lieutenants M'Rae, Macleod, Brodie, Macqueen, and Smith, and 109 non-commissioned officers and privates on the island, which is barren and uninhabited."—*Regimental Record.*

[3] Stewart's *Sketches.*

"Fort William,
"Saturday, 22*nd February* 1817.

"The embarkation of the 78th Regiment for Europe calls upon the Governor-General in Council to bear testimony to the conduct of that distinguished corps during its service in every part of India. It is most gratifying to this Government to pay to the regiment a tribute of unqualified applause; the zeal and gallantry so conspicuously manifested by the corps at Assaye, and so uniformly maintained throughout all its subsequent exertions in the field, not having been more exemplary than its admirable regularity and discipline on every other occasion. Such behaviour, while it must be reflected on by themselves with conscious pride, cannot fail to procure for the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the 78th Regiment, the high reward of their sovereign's approbation."

An equally complimentary order was issued by the Commander-in-Chief.

The regiment embarked for England on board the "Prince Blucher" transport, Captain Weatherall, to whom in a measure they owed their lives, and sailed from the Sandheads on the 1st of March 1817. On the 5th of July the regiment arrived at Portsmouth, and re-embarked in the "Abeona" transport for Aberdeen. A few weeks later the 78th was was ordered to Ireland.

In rebutting an unfounded report as to the disaffection of the three Highland regiments, the 42nd, 78th, and 92nd, General Stewart says:—"The honour of Highland soldiers has hitherto been well supported, and Ross-shire has to boast that the 78th has all along maintained the honourable character of their predecessors. All those who value the character of a brave and virtuous race may look with confidence to this corps, as one of the representatives of the military and moral character of the peasantry of the mountains. In this regiment, twenty-three have been promoted to the rank of officers during the war. Merit thus rewarded will undoubtedly have its due influence on those who succeed them in the ranks."[4]

[4] Stewart's *Sketches*.
[5] Records of 2nd Battalion.

III.

1804—1856.

Letter of Service granted to Major-General Mackenzie-Fraser to raise a 2nd Battalion—List of Officers—At Hythe under Sir John Moore—Ordered to Sicily—Sir John Stuart invades Calabria—Battle of Maida—The Regiment returns to Sicily—The Egyptian Expedition—Landing at Aboukir—Capture of Alexandria—Failure at Rosetta—Disastrous affair of El Hamet—Colonel M'Leod killed—Home—Sickness—Drafts to India—Walcheren Expedition—Death of General Mackenzie-Fraser—Operations against Napoleon in 1814—Holland—Brilliant affair of Merxem—Antwerp besieged—Various changes of Quarters—Napoleon returns from Elba—During the 100 Days, the Regiment garrisons Nieuwpoort—Sickness—Ordered to Brussels after Waterloo—Conduct of the Highlanders in the Netherlands—Home—Reduced—Effectives join the 1st Battalion, and the Dépôt proceeds to Aberdeen—Regiment is afterwards a single battalion—Ireland—Highland Society's Present—Reviewed by Sir David Baird—Sir Samuel Auchmuty's Death—Sir Edward Barnes appointed Colonel—Service Companies embark at Cork for Ceylon—Kandy—Trincomalee—Galle—Cholera—Colombo—Home—Nuwera Ellia—Limerick—Cork—Glasgow—Liverpool—Burnley—Manchester—Dublin—Regimental Elephant—Canterbury—India—Poonah—Sindh—Kurrâchee—Sukkur—Fever—Bombay—Kirkee—Poonah—Lt.-Col. Douglas's death—Belgaum—Aden—Arab outrages—Poonah—New Colours and Accoutrements—Highland Jacket.

On the 17th of April 1804, a letter of service was granted to Major-General Alexander Mackenzie-Fraser, Colonel of the 78th Highlanders, in which his Majesty was pleased to approve of a second battalion being added to that regiment, with a strength of 1000 men.

General Mackenzie-Fraser had been connected with the regiment ever since it was first raised in 1793, his brother-in-law, now Lord Seaforth, having appointed him its first Major; and it was chiefly owing to his unremitting zeal and attention at headquarters, in personally superintending and teaching the recruits, that its energy and discipline in the field became so early conspicuous. He therefore, when called upon to organise a young battalion, threw his whole soul into the task, and his vigorous mind rested not until he had collected around him a body of men in every way worthy of their predecessors.

"No officer could boast of circumstances more favourable to such an undertaking. Beloved by every one that had the good fortune of his acquaintance, he found no difficulty in selecting gentlemen possessed of various local interests in furtherance of his plan.

"The quality of the men, their youth and vigour, in short, we may say with confidence, the raw material was unexampled."[5]

LIST OF OFFICERS.

Colonel.

Major-General Alexander Mackenzie-Fraser of Castle Fraser, Colonel of 1st battalion.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Patrick M'Leod, younger of Geanies, from 1st Battalion.

Majors.

David Stewart of Garth (author of the *Sketches*), Colonel, half-pay.
James Macdonell of Glengarry, Colonel and Major, Coldstream Guards.

Captains.

Alexander Wishart, from first battalion.
Duncan Macpherson.
James Macvean.
Charles William Maclean, from 42nd.
Duncan Macgregor, Major, half-pay.
William Anderson.
Robert Henry Dick, from 42nd, and afterwards Lieut.-Colonel 42nd.[6]
Colin Campbell Mackay of Bighouse, Major, half-pay.
George Mackay.

Lieutenants.

William Balvaird, Major, Rifle Brigade.
Patrick Strachan.
James Macpherson, killed in Java, 1814.
William Mackenzie Dick, killed at El Hamet, 1807.
John Matheson, Captain, half-pay.
Cornwallis Bowen.
William Mackenzie, Captain, half-pay.
Malcolm Macgregor.
James Mackay, Captain, half-pay.
Thomas Hamilton.
Robert Nicholson.
Charles Grant, Captain, half-pay.
Horace St Paul, Lieut.-Colonel, half-pay.
George William Bowes.
William Matheson.
William Cameron, Captain, half-pay.

Ensigns.

John Mackenzie Stewart.
John Munro, killed in Java, 1811.
Christopher Macrae, killed at El Hamet, 1807.
Roderick Macqueen.
Neil Campbell, Captain, half-pay.
John L. Strachan.
Alexander Cameron.
Alexander Gallie.
Robert Burnet, Captain, 14th.

Paymaster.—James Ferguson.
Adjutant.—William Mackenzie, Captain.
Quarter-Master.—John Macpherson.
Surgeon.—Thomas Draper, D.I.

Assistant-Surgeon.

William Munro, Surgeon, half-pay.

On the 25th of February 1805 the regiment embarked at Fort George, and landed at Dover on the 9th of March, whence it marched into quarters at Hythe, then under the command of Major-General Sir John Moore.[7]

On the 19th of the same month they were inspected by their Colonel, Major-General Mackenzie-Fraser, who published an order expressive of his high approval of the condition in which he found the regiment.

On the 23rd of the same month they were inspected by Major-General Sir John Moore, who conveyed in an order his approval of their appearance.

"As one of the objects I have in view is to point out such characteristic traits of disposition, principle, and habits as may be in any way interesting, I shall notice the following circumstance which occurred while this regiment lay at Hythe. In the month of June orders were issued for one field-officer and four subalterns to join the first battalion in India. The day before the field-officer fixed on fo this purpose left the regiment, the soldiers held conferences with each other in the barracks, and in the evening several deputations were sent to him, entreating him, in the most earnest manner, to make application either to be allowed to remain with them or obtain permission for them to accompany him. He returned his acknowledgments for their attachment and for their spirited offer; but as duty required his presence in India, while their services were at present confined to this country, they must therefore separate for some time. The next evening, when he went from the barracks to the town of Hythe, to take his seat in the coach for London, two-thirds of the soldiers, and officers in the same proportion, accompanied him, all of them complaining of being left behind. They so crowded round the coach as to impede its progress for a considerable length of time, till at last the guard was obliged to desire the coachman to force his way through them. Upon this the soldiers, who hung by the wheels, horses, harness, and coach-doors, gave way, and allowed a passage. There was not a dry eye amongst the younger part of them. Such a scene as this, happening to more than 600 men, and in the streets

[6] His portrait will be found on page 396, vol. ii.

[7] Before launching out into its history, it may be as well to state that the uniform of this battalion was formed on the exact model of the original dress of the first battalion, viz., a Highland jacket, neck and cuffs of light buff, edging and frogs trimmed with a narrow stripe of green, the button bearing the number of the regiment beneath a crown, the breastplate engraved with a G. R. circumscribed with the regimental motto, "Cuidich 'n Righ" ("Aids of the King"); and in all other respects the full Highland uniform as established by his Majesty's regulations.

of a town, could not pass unnoticed, and was quickly reported to General Moore, whose mind was always alive to the advantages of mutual confidence and esteem between officers and soldiers. The circumstance was quite suited to his chivalrous mind. He laid the case before the Commander-in-Chief; and his Royal Highness, with that high feeling which he has always shown when a case has been properly represented, ordered that at present there should be no separation, and that the field-officer should return to the battalion in which he had so many friends ready to follow him to the cannon's mouth, and when brought in front of an enemy, either to compel them to fly or perish in the field." [8]



Major-General Alexander Mackenzie Fraser.
From Painting in possession of C. J. Mackenzie, Esq. of Portmore.

Having been ordered for foreign service, the regiment embarked at Portsmouth on the 28th of September 1805; but, hearing that the combined French and Spanish fleets had put to sea from Cadiz, the transports ran into the Tagus, where they remained until intelligence arrived of the total destruction of the enemies' flotilla at Trafalgar. They then proceeded to Gibraltar, where they disembarked the first battalion of the 42nd and the second battalion of the 78th.

On the 2nd of May, 1806, the regiment embarked for Sicily, and landed at Messina on the 25th. There it was inspected by Major-General Sir John Stuart,[9] who, at the earnest solicitation of the spirited Queen of Naples, had determined on an expedition to Calabria against the French, Napoleon having annexed to his empire the kingdom of Naples. On the 16th of June, the 78th marched and encamped in the vicinity of Milazzo, under command of Brigadier-General Auckland.

On the 27th of June the regiment embarked at Milazzo, and, on the 1st of July, landed in the Bay of St Euphemia in Calabria without opposition. The force at first numbered 4200, but, being further augmented by the arrival of the 20th Regiment, the total was 4790 men, as opposed to 7000 of the enemy, with the addition of 300 cavalry. General Stuart, who expected a large accession of Calabrian volunteers to his standard, remained at St Euphemia till the 3rd, with the mortification of finding nothing but apathetic indifference among the people, where he had been led to expect a chivalrous loyalty and effectual support. On the evening of that day news was brought to him that General Regnier lay near the village of Maida, about ten miles distant, with a force of 4000 infantry and 300 cavalry, and that he was merely waiting for a reinforcement of 3000 men to attack the British and drive them back upon the sea. Stuart, who had no further assistance to expect, immediately made up his

[8] Stewart's *Sketches*. In relating the above interesting anecdote, it is generally understood that Stewart alludes to an incident in his own career.

[9] It is said that Sir John Stuart was greatly disappointed to find the second battalion of the 78th a "corps of boys," he having expected the 42nd to be sent to his command, and calculated on their assistance in his projected descent on Calabria. However, this disappointment was of but short duration, as his order of the 6th of July, after the battle of Maida, will testify.

mind to attack the French before the arrival of their fresh troops, which course would at least equalise numbers in the first instance, and give him the chance of beating them in detail. Accordingly, he marched the same night and halted within a short distance of the French camp; and, renewing the march at daylight, he crossed the River Amato, which covered the front of the enemy's position, near its mouth, and sent forward his skirmishers to the attack. However, as he advanced further into the plain, the truth suddenly broke upon him. Like Wellesley at Assaye, he had expected to encounter merely one-half of his adversary's force; like him, he found himself deceived. The whole French army was before him.

Stuart was a man of action; his decision once formed, he proceeded to act upon it. He would advance. To retreat would be certain ruin to the expedition, as he should be forced to re-embark even if he escaped defeat; the morale of his troops would be destroyed; and Calabria would be left hopelessly in the hands of the French. He knew that he had the veterans of Napoleon before him in a proportion of nearly two to one; but he preferred to trust to a cool head, British pluck, and British steel. The following was the disposition of his force:—

The light brigade, Lieut.-Colonel James Kempt, was composed of the light infantry companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, and 81st Regiments, of two companies of Corsican Rangers under Lieut.-Colonel Hudson Lowe, and of 150 chosen men of the 35th Regiment under Major George Robertson. The first brigade, Brigadier-General Auckland, consisted of the 78th and 81st Regiments. The second, Brigadier-General Lowrie Cole, was formed of the grenadier companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, and 81st, under the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Calloghan, and the 27th Regiment. The reserve, Colonel John Oswald, consisted of the 58th and Watteville Regiment.

Stewart, in his admirable *Sketches*, gives a most spirited and circumstantial account of the battle; and as he himself fought on the occasion, it has been thought better to give his narrative entire rather than to collate from other sources, especially as the regimental records are very destitute of information:—

"The army was drawn up, having in its rear the head of the bay, and in its front a broad and extensive valley, level in the centre, and bounded on both sides by high, and in some places precipitous, hills, with woods covering their sides in many parts, and in others with corn-fields up to a considerable height. This valley, which is of unequal breadth, being in some places four miles and in others not more than two, runs across the Calabrian peninsula, from St Euphemia to Cortona on the Adriatic, intersected at intervals to nearly one-half its breadth by high ridges, which run out at right angles from the mountains, forming the lateral boundaries of the plain. . . On the summit of one of these ridges, at somewhat more than four miles distant, the army of General Regnier was seen drawn up in columns, apparently ready either to descend to the plains or to wait the attack of the British. General Stuart had now to come to an instant decision. Disappointed of the support of the Calabrese, of whom not more than 1000 had joined, and these badly armed and worse disciplined, and therefore of no use in the attack, and being also informed that a reinforcement of 3000 men was expected by the enemy on the following day, he had no alternative but an immediate advance or a retreat, either to the ships or to some strong position.

"To retreat was little congenial to the spirit of the commander; and accordingly, actuated by the same confidence in his little army which had encouraged him to engage in the enterprise, he resolved upon advancing, little aware that the expected addition to the enemy's force had already taken place. While General Stuart's ignorance of this fact confirmed his resolution to attempt the strong position of the enemy, the consciousness of superior numbers gave additional confidence to General Regnier, who, looking down upon his enemy from his elevated position, could now count every file below; and who, as it is said, called out to his troops to mark his confidence in their invincible courage, and his contempt for the English, whose presumption in landing with so small a force he was determined to punish by driving them into the sea. Accordingly,

giving orders to march, he descended the hill in three lines, through narrow paths in the woods, and formed on the plain below. His army consisted of more than 7000 men, with 300 cavalry, and a considerable train of field artillery. He drew up his troops in two parallel lines of equal numbers, with artillery and cavalry on both flanks, and with field-pieces placed in different parts of the line. To oppose this force, General Stuart placed in the front line the light brigade of Lieut.-Colonel Kempt on the right, the Highland regiment in the centre, and the 81st on the left.

"At eight o'clock in the morning, the corps composing the first line advanced, the enemy commencing his forward march (presenting a parallel front) nearly at the same moment. The distance between the armies was at the time nearly three miles, and the ground perfectly level, intersected only by drains, to carry off the water in the rainy season, but not so large as to intercept the advance of the field-pieces. When the first brigade moved forward, the second halted for a short time, and then proceeded, followed by the reserve. The forward movement of the opposing lines lessened the intervening distance in double ratio. The first brigade passed over several corn-fields with parties of reapers, who eagerly pointed out the advance of the enemy, then at a distance of less than a mile. On a nearer approach they opened their field-pieces; and, contrary to the usual practice of French artillery, with little effect, the greater part of the shot passing over the first line and not reaching the second.

"This was an interesting spectacle. Two armies in parallel lines, in march towards each other, on a smooth and clear plain, and in dead silence, only interrupted by the report of the enemy's guns; it was more like a chosen field fixed upon by a general officer for exercise, or to exhibit a sham fight, than, as it proved, an accidental encounter and a real battle. No two rival commanders could ever wish for a finer field for a trial of the courage and firmness of their respective combatants; and as there were some present who recollected the contempt with which General Regnier, in his account of the Egyptian expedition, had chosen to treat the British, there was as much feeling, mixed up with the usual excitements, as, perhaps, in any modern engagement, excepting that most important of all modern battles, where Buonaparte for the first, and perhaps the last time, met a British army in the field.

"To the young Highlanders, of whom nearly 600 were under age, the officers, with very few exceptions, being equally young and inexperienced, it was a critical moment. If we consider a formidable line, which, from numbers, greatly outflanked our first line, supported by an equally strong second line, the glancing of whose bayonets was seen over the heads of the first, the advance of so preponderating a force on the three regiments of the first brigade (the second being considerably in the rear was sufficiently trying, particularly for the young Highlanders. . . . I have already noticed that the enemy's guns were not well served, and pointed too high; not so the British. When our artillery opened, under the direction of Major Lemoine and Captain Dougal Campbell, no practice could be more perfect. Every shot told, and carried off a file of the enemy's line. When the shot struck the line, two or three files on the right and left of the men thrown down gave way, leaving a momentary opening before they recovered and closed up the vacancy. The inexperienced young Highlanders, believing that all the vacant spaces had been carried off, shouted with exultation at the evident superiority. It is not often that in this manner two hostile lines, in a reciprocally forward movement, at a slow but firm pace, can make their observations while advancing, with a seeming determination to conquer or perish on the spot. These criticisms were, however, to be soon checked by the mutual forward movement on which they were founded. The lines were fast closing, but with perfect regularity and firmness. They were now within 300 yards' distance, and a fire having commenced between the sharp-shooters on the right, it was time to prepare for an immediate shock. The enemy seemed to hesitate, halted, and fired a volley. Our line also halted and returned the salute; and when the men had reloaded, a second volley was thrown in. The precision with which these two volleys were

fired, and their effect, were quite remarkable. When the clearing-off of the smoke—there was hardly a breath of wind to dispel it—enabled us to see the French line, the breaks and vacancies caused by the men who had fallen by the fire appeared like a paling of which parts had been thrown down or broken. On our side it was so different, that, glancing along the rear of my regiment, I counted only 14 who had fallen by the enemy's fire. The smoke having cleared off so that the enemy could be seen, the line advanced at full charge. The enemy, with seeming resolution to stand the shock, kept perfectly steady, till, apparently intimidated by the advance, equally rapid and firm, of an enemy, too, who they were taught to believe would fly before them, their hearts failed, and they faced to the right-about, and fled with speed, but not in confusion. When they approached within a short distance of their second line, they halted, fronted, and opened a fire of musketry on our line, which did not follow up the charge to any distance, but halted to allow the men to draw breath, and to close up any small breaks in the line. They were soon ready, however, to advance again. A constant running fire was now kept up on the march, the enemy continuing the same, but retiring slowly as they fired, until they threw their first line on their second. They then seemed determined to make a resolute stand, thus giving our line the advantage of sooner closing upon them; but they would not stand the shock; they gave way in greater confusion than in the first instance. They had now lost a considerable number of men.

"At this period the enemy's cavalry attempted to charge, but either from the horses not being properly broke, or rather from the sharp running fire kept up in their faces, the dragoons could not, with all their exertions, bring them to the charge. At last, finding their efforts unavailing, they galloped round the flanks of their line to the rear, turned their horses loose, and fought on foot.

"Both lines of the enemy were now completely intermixed, and Regnier, who was seen riding about, and from his violent gesticulations seemingly in great agitation, seeing himself completely foiled in his attack on the front, and being driven back more than a mile, made an attempt to turn the left flank. For this purpose he brought some battalions by an oblique movement to the British left, and gained so much on that flank that the second line (the grenadier battalions and the 27th Regiment, which now came up under General Cole) could not form the line in continuation. Throwing back their left, they therefore formed an angle of about 60 degrees to the front line, and in this position opened a most admirably directed and destructive fire, which quickly drove back the enemy with great loss. While in this angular formation, the fire was incessantly and admirably sustained, till a circumstance occurred in the centre which gave the enemy a momentary advantage, but from which they afterwards suffered severely.

"On the side of the French there was a Swiss Regiment, commanded by an officer of the family of Watteville, a family which had also a regiment in our service, and in the field that day. The Watteville Regiment in the French service was dressed in a kind of light claret-coloured uniform, something like scarlet when much worn, and with hats so much resembling those of the band of our Watteville's, that when this corps was seen advancing from their second line, the Highlanders, in their inexperience, believed they were our own, who had in some manner got to the front; and a word passed quickly to cease firing. The fire had accordingly slackened, before the voice of the mounted officers, whose elevated position enabled them to distinguish more clearly, could be heard, and the enemy, believing this relaxation to proceed from a different cause, advanced with additional boldness. This brought them so close that when the men were undeceived and recommenced firing, it was with such effect that, in ten minutes, the front was cleared, and the enemy driven back with great precipitation. Indeed, the precision with which the men took their aim during the whole action was admirable, and clearly established the perfect self-possession and coolness of their minds.

"Unwilling to break the continuity of the narrative of the proceedings on the centre and the left, where the action was now nearly finished, I have delayed noticing the move-

ments of Lieut.-Colonel Kempt's light brigade. This corps had for some time been exercised in a uniform manner, under the training of that officer, and they now even exceeded the high expectations formed of them and their spirited commander. The party of the Corsican Rangers attached to the light infantry were on the right. When the line advanced within reach of musketry, they were sent out on the flank and in front to skirmish, but on the first fire from the enemy's sharpshooters, they retreated in great haste. This, in some cases, would have been an inauspicious, if not a fatal commencement to a battle, when so much was to be done, and so much superior a force to be opposed. But here this repulse did not extend beyond those who gave way to the panic, and the light company of the 20th Regiment, who had the right of the line, rushed forward, and in an instant drove off the party which had advanced on the Corsicans, but with the loss of Captain Maclean, the only officer killed on that day. In a few minutes after this the two hostile lines came within charge distance; and the left of the enemy pushing forward, both lines had nearly met, when at this momentous crisis the enemy became appalled, broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too late;—they were overtaken with most dreadful slaughter.

"I now return to the centre and left, which continued hotly engaged, always vigorously pushing the enemy, who still endeavoured to gain upon the flank. But in this he was frustrated by the continued advance of the British, who preserved the same angular formation, the first line moving directly on its original front, and the second in an oblique direction, with its right touching the left of the first.

"The fire now slackened, the enemy having lost much ground, being repulsed in every attempt, and having sustained an unusual, and, indeed, altogether an extraordinary loss of men. But General Regnier, despairing of success against Colonel Kempt's light corps on the right, and still pushed by the troops in the centre and left, prepared to make a desperate push in order to take our line in flank on the left. At this moment the 20th Regiment marched up, and formed on the left, nearly at right angles to General Cole's brigade. This regiment had that morning disembarked in the bay from Sicily (the scarcity of transports preventing their earlier arrival), and Lieut.-Colonel Ross having landed with great promptitude the moment he heard the firing, moved forward with such celerity, that he reached the left of the line as the enemy were pushing round to turn the flank. Colonel Ross formed his regiment with his right supported by the left of the 27th, and opposed a full front to the enemy. This reinforcement seemed to destroy all further hopes of the enemy. So feeble was this last attempt, that when Colonel Ross ordered out 80 men to act as sharpshooters in his front, they could not face even the small detachment.

"The battle was now over. The confidence which had animated the enemy during the greater part of the action appeared to have at last totally forsaken them; they gave way at all points in the greatest confusion, numbers, to assist their speed, throwing away their arms, accoutrements, and every encumbrance. . . .

"The disadvantage so frequently experienced in the transmarine expeditions of England, occasioned by the want of ships for the conveyance of a sufficient number of troops, was now severely felt; for though the field was most favourable for the operations of cavalry, that arm was, on the present occasion, totally wanting. As soon as the ships had landed the infantry at St. Euphemia, they were ordered back for the cavalry, who arrived the day after the battle. Few victories, however, have been more complete, and as under equal advantages of ground, of discipline in the troops, and ability in the commanders, a hard fought battle is the most honourable, if gained with little loss to the victors, and with great destruction to the vanquished, so that engagement must be particularly so, in which a greatly superior force is totally routed with a loss in killed of more than 30 to 1: that is, on the present occasion with a loss of 1300 killed of the French to 41 killed of the British.

"The disparity of numbers being so great, the proofs of courage and other military qualities, on the part of the victors, are conclusive. Equally decisive were the advantages on the side of the victors in regard to the subsequent

operations of the campaign; for while the English army was, on the following morning, but little diminished, and quite prepared to meet a fresh opponent, if such could have been brought against it, the enemy were so dispirited that on no after occasion did they attempt to make a stand, which indeed their reduced numbers rendered impossible. Their loss was 1300 killed and 1100 wounded, left on the field, besides the slightly wounded who retired to the rear. Upwards of 200 of the latter were taken afterwards in the hospital at Cotrone, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic.

"The loss of the Highlanders was 7 rank and file killed; Lieut.-Colonel Patrick M'Leod, Major David Stewart, Captains Duncan Macpherson and Duncan Macgregor, Lieutenant James Mackay, Ensigns Colin Mackenzie and Peter Macgregor, 4 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 69 rank and file wounded."

The British minister at the Sicilian court thus alluded to the battle in his despatch:—"There is not to be found in the annals of military transactions an enterprise prepared with more deliberate reflection or executed with greater decision, promptitude, and success, than the late invasion of Calabria by Sir John Stuart. I trust, therefore, you will not think me presumptuous for venturing to add my testimony of the high sense entertained by this court of the merits of the British General and of his gallant army, who, on the fertile plains of Maida, have added new trophies to those which the same troops had formerly earned, from the same enemy, on the sandy regions of Egypt."

The King of the Two Sicilies created Sir John Stuart, Count of Maida. In England he received the thanks of Parliament, a pension of £1000 per annum, the Order of the Bath, a sword of honour, and the freedom of the city of London.

In commemoration of this victory a gold medal was struck, and conferred upon all the superior officers who were present.

The troops were re-embarked on the 2nd of August, and on the night of the 9th the regiment made Messina harbour, and having been disembarked, was ordered to take over quarters in the town of Taormina, where it became subjected to the consequences of its fatigues and privations during the late campaign, frequently suffering from ill-health to the extent of from twenty to thirty men per month. On the 13th of October, however, it was ordered round to Syracuse, where it arrived on the 17th, and remained during the rest of its stay in Sicily, until it was ordered to embark and join the Egyptian expedition.

Early in 1807 an armament was fitted out in Sicily for the purpose of occupying Alexandria, Rosetta, and the adjoining coast of Egypt. The force on this occasion consisted of a detachment of artillery, the 20th Light Dragoons, the 31st, 35th, 78th, and De Rolle's regiment, and the corps of Chasseurs Britanniques, all under the command of Major-General Mackenzie-Fraser. The expedition sailed on the 6th of March, but, encountering bad weather, the "Apollo" frigate and nineteen transports were separated from the fleet. The remainder, with the commodore, anchored on the 16th off the Arab's Tower to the west of Alexandria. General Fraser, in consequence of the absence of so large a proportion of his force, hesitated about landing; but, being pressed by Major Misset, the British resident, who informed him that the inhabitants were favourably disposed, and that there were not more than 500 men in garrison, he disembarked his troops on the 17th and 18th. On the morning of the 19th took up a position on the same ground that the British army occupied in March 1801. The town, on being summoned, surrendered the next day, and in the evening the other transports anchored in Aboukir bay. Vice-Admiral Duckworth, with a fleet from the Dardanelles, arrived in the bay on the 22nd.

On the 27th of March a detachment, under Major-General Wauchope and Brigadier-General Meade, took possession, without opposition, of the forts and heights of Abûmandûr, a little above Rosetta. The capture of this place was the next object. General Wauchope, unconscious of danger, marched into the town at the head of the 31st Regiment. Not a human being was to be seen in the streets, nor was a sound to be heard. The troops wended their way through the narrow and deserted streets towards an open space or market-place in the centre of the town; but they had not

proceeded more than half-way when the portentous silence was broken by showers of musketry from every house, from the first floor to the roof. Cooped up in these narrow lanes, the troops were unable to return the fire with any effect, nor, amidst the smoke in which they were enveloped, could they see their assailants, and could only guess their position from the flashes of their guns. They had, therefore, no alternative but to retire as speedily as possible; but, before they had extricated themselves, General Wauchope was killed, and nearly 300 officers and soldiers were killed and wounded. General Meade was among the wounded.

After this repulse the troops returned to Alexandria; but General Fraser, resolved upon the capture of Rosetta, sent back a second detachment, consisting of the 35th, 78th, and De Rolle's regiment, under the command of Brigadier-General the Hon. William Stewart and Colonel Oswald. This detachment, after some skirmishing, took possession of Abûmandûr on the 7th of April, and on the following day Rosetta was summoned to surrender, but without effect. Batteries were therefore speedily erected, and a position was taken up between the Nile and the gate of Alexandria; but, from the paucity of the troops, it was found impossible to invest the town on all sides, or prevent a free communication across the Nile to the Delta. The batteries opened their fire; but with no other effect than damaging some of the houses.

The enemy having erected some batteries on the Delta for the purpose of taking the British batteries in flank, Major James Macdonell of the 78th, with 250 men, under Lieutenant John Robertson, and 40 seamen from the Tigre, were detached on the 16th across the river, opposite to Abûmandûr, to destroy these batteries. To conceal his movements, Major Macdonell made a considerable circuit, and coming upon the rear of the batteries at sunrise, attacked the enemy, and driving him from the batteries, turned the guns upon the town. But as the enemy soon collected in considerable force, he destroyed the batteries, and embarking the guns, recrossed the river with only four men wounded.

General Stewart had been daily looking for a reinforcement of Mamelukes from Upper Egypt; but he was disappointed in this expectation. While a detachment of De Rolle's, under Major Vogelsang of that regiment, occupied El Hamet, another detachment, consisting of five companies of the Highlanders, two of the 35th Regiment, and a few cavalry and artillery under Lieut.-Colonel Macleod, was sent on the 20th to occupy a broad dyke or embankment, which, with a dry canal, runs between the Nile and the Lake Etko, a distance of about two miles. On reaching his destination, Colonel Macleod stationed his men, amounting to 720, in three divisions, with an equal number of dragoons and artillery between each. One of these he disposed on the banks of the Nile, another in the centre, and the third upon the dry canal.

Meanwhile the enemy was meditating an attack on the position, and on the morning of the 21st, while numerous detached bodies of their cavalry began to assemble round the British posts, a flotilla of about 70 djerms or large boats full of troops was observed slowly descending the Nile. With the intention of concentrating his force, and of retreating if necessary to the camp at Rosetta, Colonel Macleod proceeded to the post on the right, occupied by a company of the 35th and the Highland grenadiers. He had not, however, sufficient time to accomplish this object, as the enemy left their boats with great rapidity; and while they advanced on the left and centre posts, their cavalry, with a body of Albanian infantry, surrounded the right of the position, and attacked it furiously at all points. Colonel Macleod formed his men into a square, which, for a long time, resisted every effort of the enemy. Had this handful of men been attacked in one or two points only, they might have charged the enemy; but they were so completely surrounded that they could not venture to charge to any front of the square, as they would have been assailed in the rear the moment they faced round. At every successive charge made by the cavalry, who attempted, at the point of the bayonets, to cut down the troops, the square was lessened, the soldiers closing in upon the vacancies as their comrades fell. These attacks, though irregular, were bold, and the dexterity with which the

assailants handled their swords proved fatal to the British.

This unequal contest continued till Colonel Macleod and all the officers and men were killed, with the exception of Captain Colin Mackay of the 78th and eleven Highlanders, and as many more of the 35th.[1] With this small band, Captain Mackay, who was severely wounded, determined to make a desperate push to join the centre, and several succeeded in the attempt; but the rest were either killed or wounded. Captain Mackay received two wounds, and was about reaching the post when an Arab horseman cut at his neck with such force that his head would have been severed from his body, had not the blow been in some measure neutralised by the cape of his coat and a stuffed neckcloth. The sabre, however, cut to the bone, and the captain fell flat on the ground, when he was taken up by Sergeant (afterwards Lieutenant) Waters, who alone escaped unhurt, and carried by him to the post.

During their contest with the right, the enemy made little exertions against the other posts; but when, by the destruction of the first, they had gained an accession of disposable force, they made a warm onset on the centre. An attempt was at first made to oppose them; but the commanding officer soon saw that resistance was hopeless, and desirous of saving the lives of his men, he hung out a white handkerchief as a signal of surrender. The firing accordingly ceased, and the left, following the example of the centre, also surrendered. A general scramble of a most extraordinary kind now ensued amongst the Turks for prisoners, who, according to their custom, became the private property of the captors. In this *melée* the British soldiers were pulled about with little ceremony, till the more active amongst the Turkish soldiery had secured their prey, after which they were marched a little distance up the river, where the captors were paid seven dollars for every prisoner they had taken. Some of the horsemen, less intent upon prize-money than their companions, amused themselves by galloping about, each with the head of a British soldier stuck upon the point of his lance.

When General Stewart was informed of the critical situation of Colonel Macleod's detachment, he marched towards Etko, expecting that it would retreat in that direction; but not falling in with it he proceeded to El Hamet, where, on his arrival, he learned its unfortunate fall. With a force so much reduced by the recent disaster, and in the face of an enemy emboldened by success and daily increasing in numbers, it was vain to think of reducing Rosetta, and therefore General Stewart determined to return to Alexandria. He accordingly commenced his retreat, followed by the enemy, who sallied out from Rosetta; but although the sandy plain over which he marched was peculiarly favourable to their cavalry, they were kept in effectual check by the 35th and the 78th. No further hostile operations were attempted; and the prisoners, who had been sent to Cairo, having been released by capitulation, the whole army embarked for Sicily on the 22nd of September.

The loss of the 78th at El Hamet was 159 men, with Lieut.-Colonel Patrick Macleod, younger of Geanies, Lieutenants William Mackenzie Dick, Christopher Macrae, and Archibald Christie, killed. The officers taken prisoners were Captain Colin Campbell Mackay (severely wounded), Lieutenants John Matheson, Malcolm Macgregor, Alexander Gallie, P. Ryrie

[1] "Sergeant John Macrae, a young man, about twenty-two years of age, but of good size and strength of arm, showed that the broadsword, in a firm hand, is as good a weapon in close fighting as the bayonet. If the first push of the bayonet misses its aim, or happens to be parried, it is not easy to recover the weapon and repeat the thrust, when the enemy is bold enough to stand firm; but it is not so with the sword, which may be readily withdrawn from its blow, wielded with celerity, and directed to any part of the body, particularly to the head and arms, whilst its motions defend the person using it. Macrae killed six men, cutting them down with his broadsword (of the kind usually worn by sergeants of Highland corps), when at last he made a dash out of the ranks on a Turk, whom he cut down; but as he was returning to the square he was killed by a blow from behind, his head being nearly split in two by the stroke of a sabre. Lieutenant Christopher Macrae, whom I have already mentioned as having brought eighteen men of his own name to the regiment as part of his quota of recruits, for an ensigncy, was killed in this affair, with six of his followers and namesakes, besides the sergeant. On the passage to Lisbon in October 1805, the same sergeant came to me one evening crying like a child, and complaining that the ship's cook had called him English names, which he did not understand, and thrown some fat in his face. Thus a lad who, in 1805, was so soft and so childish, displayed in 1807 a courage and vigour worthy a hero of Ossian."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

and Joseph Gregory (wounded), with Assistant-Surgeon Alexander Leslie.

"The death of Lieut.-Colonel Macleod was sincerely regetted by the battalion which he had hitherto commanded since its formation, and confirmed by his own example. He ever laboured to render the relative duties of officers and men merely habitual; his chief object was to establish a high character to his corps, and those common interests by which he found means to unite every individual.



Colonel Patrick Macleod of Geanies.
From the original Painting by Raeburn, in possession of Colin Mackenzie, Esq. of Portmore.

The regiment still embraces his memory, which, combined with every pleasing retrospect to our little history, shall long be cherished amongst us with feelings of fraternal attachment and sincere respect."[2]

After returning to Sicily, the 78th joined an expedition under Sir John Moore, intended for Lisbon; but the regiment was withdrawn, and ordered to England, where it landed, and was marched to Canterbury in the spring of 1808.

[2] *Records, 2d Battalion.* He was succeeded in the command by Lieut.-Colonel John Macleod.

About this time several changes took place amongst the field-officers of the regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Hercules Scott of the 1st battalion was removed to the 103d Regiment, and was succeeded by Major John Macleod from the 56th. Major David Stewart was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Royal West India Rangers, and was succeeded by Major Robert Hamilton from the 79th Highlanders.

Shortly after the return of the regiment to England, it obtained a considerable accession of recruits raised from several Scotch militia regiments, chiefly from that of Perthshire, by Major David Stewart, who, in consequence of a wound received at Maida, had been obliged to return to Scotland. A detachment of 400 men, including 350 of the newly-raised men (of whom 280 were six feet in height and upwards, and of a proportionate strength of limb and person), was drafted to reinforce the second battalion in India. The remainder of the second battalion was then removed from Little Hampton, in Sussex, where they had been for a short time quartered, to the Isle of Wight, where they remained till August 1809, when a detachment of 370 men, with officers and non-commissioned officers, was sent on the unfortunate expedition to Walcheren, being incorporated with a battalion commanded by the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cochrane. The men suffered greatly from fever and ague, which affected the rest of the troops, and were so emaciated that they did not recover their usual strength till the following year. Another draft of all the men fit for service in India was made in 1810, and joined the first battalion at Goa on the eve of the departure of the expedition against Batavia in 1811.

Lieut.-General Mackenzie-Fraser had had the command of a division in the Walcheren expedition, but the fever spared neither rank nor age, and the gallant and veteran colonel of the Ross-shire Buffs was struck down, and expired, to the inexpressible grief of the

regiment, with which he had been connected since it was first raised. "'Twas now that we were doomed to sustain a loss, which was keenly felt by every rank, in the death of Lieut.-General Mackenzie-Fraser, adored in our first battalion, to whom his virtues were more particularly known; the same manifest qualities could not fail to have endeared him to every member of the second, and to draw from it a genuine tribute of heart-felt regret, whilst it mingles with the public voice its filial homage to the memory of such uncommon worth. Individually we lament the departure of a father and a friend—as a regiment we would weep over the ashes of the most beloved of colonels! Although the undeviating advocate of discipline and good order, never did the star of rank impose a humiliating deference upon those whose affection and esteem he never failed to secure by his boundless benevolence and gentle manners. To indulge in this heart-felt eulogy is not peculiarly our province—his country has already weighed his value — and in its acknowledgments he has amply received what was ever the proudest meed of his soul."[3]

Lieut.-General Sir James Craig succeeded to the command of the regiment on the 15th of September 1809, and on his death, about eighteen months afterwards, the colonelcy was conferred on Sir Samuel Auchmuty.

On the 10th of January, the same day that it landed, the 78th marched to Oudenbosch, the head-quarters of Sir Thomas Graham,[4] and his force of 8000 men, and the following day proceeded to Rosendaal, and thence to Calmpthout. General Bülow had established his headquarters at Breda, and the object of the allied commanders was the investiture and reduction of Antwerp, and the destruction of the docks and shipping. On the 12th Colonel Macleod was ordered to march, so as to come up with the division of Major-General Kenneth Mackenzie, then moving upon Capelle, and arrived just before dark, when, notwithstanding a most fatiguing day's march, it was found that only three men had fallen out. On the 13th the division was under arms an hour before daylight, and on the arrival of Sir Thomas Graham, Colonel John Macleod was appointed to the command of a brigade, consisting of the 25th (2nd battalion), 33rd, 56th, and 78th, when the command of the latter regiment devolved on Lieut.-Colonel Lindsay. The divisions of Majors-General Kenneth Mackenzie and Cooke, with their guns, were put in motion about 8 o'clock, on the road to Eeckeren, with the intention of feeling the environs of Antwerp, and reconnoitring the position of the enemy's fleet, in conjunction with the advance of General Bülow's corps. It was deemed necessary for this purpose to dispossess the enemy of the village of Merxem, within a few hundred yards of the outworks, and this service was confided by Major-General Mackenzie to Colonel Macleod.

The 78th, previously the left centre battalion of the brigade, was now brought to the front, by the special order of Sir Thomas Graham; and its light company, together with that of the 95th (rifle regiment), commenced skirmishing with the enemy among the hedges and thick underwood in advance, and to the left of the road. The regiment then moved forward in oblique échelon through the fields on the right, and formed line on the leading division. In advancing it became exposed to the fire of the enemy's sharp-shooters, who were firing from behind the hedges in front, the light companies of the 78th and 95th, having uncovered to the left when the line moved forward. It, however, wisely reserved its fire, as it would have had but little effect from the formation of the ground, which was completely intersected with hedges and frozen ditches; but a full view of the enemy was shortly after obtained in a small field close to the village. They appeared to be numerous, but retired before the fire of the 78th, which now opened and appeared to gall them very much. Colonel Macleod, seeing the necessity of an immediate assault, ordered up the Highlanders, who, without a moment's hesitation, rushed forward at the charge, and falling upon the enemy, drove them through and beyond the village. The light company had crossed the Breda Chaussée (which intersected the advance of the battalion, and forms the principle street of the village), and making a detour round that part of the village beyond

[3] *Records, 2d Battalion.*
[4] The victor of Barossa, afterwards Lord Lynedoch.

it, swept everything before it, and came up on the flank of the battalion, which had arrived on the Antwerp side. "Every appearance at the time, and subsequent accounts from sources likely to be correct, give reason to believe that there were upwards of 3000 men (the French themselves admit of 4 battalions), put to the most shameful flight by the 78th, not quite 300 men, and about 40 riflemen; and it may be assumed that the panic struck that day into the garrison of Antwerp prevented any subsequent sortie from the garrison till the day it was given up."

In their determined and steady onslaught, the 78th was exposed on both flanks to the fire of the enemy who were posted in houses commanding the entrance to the village, and had the regiment hesitated in its movements, their loss must have been very severe; but the rapidity with which they carried out their orders ensured success with a comparatively small loss. The enemy left a large number of killed and wounded in the street, and the regiment took 25 prisoners. Among the dead was found the body of the French Général-de-division, Avy, said to have been an excellent officer. The loss of the regiment in killed was Ensign James Ormsby, who carried the regimental colour, with nine rank and file left on the field; Lieutenant William Mackenize, who was mortally wounded through the body, and died next morning upon the waggons, going to Calmpthout. Colonel Macleod was very severely wounded in the arm; and Captain Sime and Lieutenants Bath and Chisholm were also severely wounded. Lieutenant Mackenzie was extremely regretted by his brother officers, as he was a young man of a clear and strong mind, and a most promising officer.

His Excellency Sir Thomas Graham, in a general order of January 13th, spoke of the conduct of the 78th and other regiments engaged in the highest terms. "No veteran troops," he said, "ever behaved better than these men, who met the enemy the first time, and whose discipline and gallantry reflect great credit on themselves and their officers."

This was the only enterprise in which the Highlanders were engaged in the Netherlands. Their duties, until the return of the battalion to Scotland in 1816, were confined to the ordinary details of garrison duty at Brussels, Nieuwpoort, and other places.

In the month of March 1815, when in daily expectation of returning to England, accounts were received of the change of affairs in France. Napoleon had returned from Elba, the Bourbons had fled, and the hundred days had commenced. Orders were therefore issued immediately for the army to be in readiness to take the field.

Nieuwpoort, a garrison town, nine miles from Ostend, and regarded as a frontier fortress, had been suffered to fall into a state of dilapidation when in the hands of the French, and since it had come into the possession of the government of the Netherlands, they had done nothing towards placing it in an efficient state for defence. A company of German artillery, with some guns and stores, was sent there on the 19th of March, and the 2nd battalion of the 78th, mustering about 250 effective men, followed on the 22nd, when the garrison was placed under the command of Colonel Macleod. Little respite from duty or labour was to be expected until the place was put out of all danger of being taken by a coup-de-main. On the 24th the garrison was augmented by a Hanoverian battalion, of between 500 and 600 men, and the works progressed so quickly, that they were completed and inspected by His Grace the Duke of Wellington on the 17th of April. At this time the battalion was the least effective British regiment in the Netherlands in point of numbers, and when the army commenced its operations, it was so much further reduced by the unhealthiness of its station, as to have 70, 80, and finally 100 men totally disabled by ague. It was therefore, unhappily, condemned to the daily routine of garrison duty and labour, and did not share in that glorious campaign which culminated in the victory of Waterloo.

After repeated representations to the authorities of the extreme unhealthiness of their quarters, and the alarming increase of the numbers on the sick list, the matter happened to come to the ears of the commander of the forces, when His Grace ordered the immediate removal of the 78th to Brussels. Here it

remained for more than three months. During its former stay it had greatly ingratiated itself with the inhabitants, and on the present occasion, as soon as the rumour of its departure was circulated among them, they did all they could to have the order rescinded. Failing this, the Mayor of the city was called upon to make, in their name, the following declaration:—

"As Mayor of Brussels, I have pleasure in declaring that the Scotch Highlanders, who were garrisoned in the city during the years 1814 and 1815, called forth the attachment and esteem of all by the mildness and suavity of their manners and excellent conduct, insomuch that a representation was made to me by the inhabitants, requesting me to endeavour to detain the 78th regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by other troops."

Brussels was the last quarters of the battalion before its return home, but the same spirit as that breathed in the above testimony had been apparent in every part of the country. In no town was the regiment stationed where the inhabitants did not hail its advent with pleasure, and witness its departure with regret.

"This battalion was no more employed except on garrison duties, in the course of which the men conducted themselves so as to secure the esteem of the people of Flanders, as their countrymen of the Black Watch had done seventy years before. It is interesting to observe, at such distant periods, the similarity of character on the one hand, and of feelings of respect on the other. In examining the notices of what passed in 1744 and 1745, we find that an inhabitant of Flanders was happy to have a Highlander quartered in his house, as he was not only kind and peaceable in his own demeanour, but protected his host from the depredations and rudeness of others. We find also that in Germany, in 1761 and 1762, in regard to Keith's Highlanders, much was said of "the kindness of their dispositions in everything, for the boors were much better treated by those *savages*, than by the polished French and English." When such accounts are read and compared with those of what passed in 1814 and 1815, in which it is stated that "they were kind as well as brave"— "enfans de la famille" — "Lions in the field, and lambs in the house;" — when these accounts of remote and recent periods are compared, they display a steadiness of principle not proceeding from accidental occurrences, but the result of natural dispositions originally humane and honourable.

"It is only justice to mention, that it was the conduct of this battalion, for eighteen months previous to June 1815, that laid the foundation of that favourable impression in the Netherlands, which was confirmed by the 42nd, and the other Highland regiments who had arrived only just previous to the battle of Waterloo, so that little could have been known to the Flemish of what their conduct in quarters might prove. Enough was known, however, to cause a competition among the inhabitants who should receive them into their houses."[5]

On the 24th of December, orders had been received to reduce the regiment by four companies, and the supernumerary officers had proceeded home.

The six remaining companies marched from Brussels, on the 5th of February, 1816, to Ostend, where they embarked for England, three companies sailing on the 10th, and three on the 11th. The right wing landed at Ramsgate on the 12th, and was ordered to march immediately to Deal Barracks. The left wing arrived at Ramsgate on the 16th, and was forwarded to Canterbury, where it was joined by the right wing next day.

Major-General Sir George Cooke, K.C.B., having been ordered to inspect the regiment, and report upon the number of men fit for service in India, and those to be discharged or placed in veteran battalions, found 20 sergeants, 9 drummers, and 253 rank and file fit for Indian service; and this being reported to the Horse Guards, the men were ordered to be held in readiness for embarkation, to join the 1st battalion.

An order for reducing the 2nd battalion was received from the Horse Guards, and carried into effect on the 29th of February 1816, the effective non-commissioned officers and men being transferred to the 1st battalion.

The colours of the regiment were presented to Colonel Macleod by Sir Samuel Auchmuty,

[5] Stewart s *Sketches*.

the colonel of the regiment, to be by him preserved as "a pledge of the mutual attachment which subsisted between himself and the battalion."

To the records of the 2nd battalion Colonel Macleod appended the following remarks:—

"Colonel Macleod, in reading over the history of the 2nd battalion of the 78th Regiment, and considering its progress and termination under such happy circumstances, would do violence to his own feelings did he not subjoin his testimony to the interesting narrative in which he bore his share for nine years of the period. Were he capable of doing justice to his sentiments on a review of the proceedings of that period of his services in the battalion, those results from the grateful and best feelings of his heart must render the expression of them impracticable.

"To record the merits of all the officers that served under him would be unavailing, but he will sum up with an assertion, that no commanding officer in His Majesty's service has the pride to boast of never having for nine years found it necessary to place an officer under arrest; that no regulation for the discipline of the army had ever been violated, and that in every instance the rules of good breeding regulated the discharge of the duties of the officer and the gentleman; he never witnessed a dispute at the mess-table, nor ever heard of a quarrel from it: with what pleasure must he ever meet those who contributed so much to his personal comforts as a friend, and pride as an officer.

"To the conduct of the non-commissioned officers and men his exultation is equally due in their degree; their order and discipline on every occasion attracted the notice and approbation of general officers and inhabitants in quarters, and their marked admiration in the field. For their individual and collective attachment to him, he must ever consider them the dutiful children of a fond parent. . .

"As a lasting testimony of his approbation, and thanks to Lieut.-Colonel Lindsay, Major Macpherson, Major Colin Mackay, Lieut. and Adjutant Smith, Lieut. Chisholm, Quartermaster Gunn, and Surgeon Munro, the field officers and staff who so ably assisted him in the more immediate discharge of his duties at the concluding services of the battalion, he desires that their names, as well as that of every officer composing the battalion, may be inserted in this conclusion of the narrative. He will retain a copy of it to remind him of those who have been his faithful friends, his valuable associates, and sharers in his everlasting esteem."

The reduction having been carried into effect, and the claims of the men to be discharged settled, the dépôt proceeded to Aberdeen, where it remained quartered till July 1817, when it was joined by the 1st battalion newly returned from India, and the two battalions of the 78th were once more consolidated.

On the 13th of July 1817, the 1st battalion landed at Aberdeen, and marched into barracks occupied by the dépôt of the 2nd battalion, with which it was immediately amalgamated, and the regiment has since remained as a single battalion. The regiment, now consisting of 638 rank and file, maintained its headquarters at Aberdeen, with detachments at Perth, and Forts George, William, and Augustus.[6]

Having received a route for Ireland, the headquarters marched from Aberdeen on the 31st of October, embarked at Port Patrick on the 22nd of November, and a few hours later landed at Donaghadee. Thence the regiment proceeded to Belfast, and having there received orders for Mullingar, it marched thither, and arrived at its destination on the 3rd of December; headquarters and four companies remained at Mullingar, and the remaining five (the 5th company being still in India), under Lieut.-Colonel Lindsay, proceeded to Tullamore, two small detachments being sent to Ballymahon and Longford.

We need not follow the movements of the 78th during its stay in Ireland for nearly nine years, during which time it was broken up into numerous detachments, stationed at various small towns throughout the country, for the purpose of keeping in check the many disturbers of the peace with whom the country was at this period infested. Wherever the regiment was stationed while in Ireland at

[6] At these stations the regiment was inspected, and most favourably reported upon, by Major-General Hope.

this time, it invariably won the good-will and respect of the magistrates and people. When about to leave Mullingar, in June 1819, an extremely flattering series of resolutions was sent to Colonel Macleod by a meeting of magistrates and gentlemen held at Trim."

In October 1818 the Highland Society of London presented to the regiment twenty-five copies of the Poems of Ossian in Gaelic, "to be disposed of by the commanding officer of the regiment in such manner as he may judge most expedient, and as best calculated to promote the views of the Society." At the same time the secretary of the Highland Society conveyed the high respect which the Society entertained "for that national and distinguished corps and the wish on their part that it may long continue to cherish, as it now does, the noble sentiments of the patriotic Ossian." We need scarcely say that these sentiments were warmly reciprocated by Colonel Macleod, who then commanded the 78th. About a year after this, in September 1819, Colonel Macleod was promoted to the rank of major-general, and was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, who, on the reduction of the establishment of the regiment in September 1818, had been placed on half-pay.

The regiment was reviewed by the Right Honourable Sir David Baird, Commander of the Forces,[7] on the 24th of July, when its appearance and steadiness called forth his highest approbation.

On the 11th of August 1822, Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, G.C.B., colonel of the regiment, died in Dublin, having been, a short time previously, appointed to the command of the forces in Ireland. He was succeeded in the regiment by Major-General Sir Edward Barnes, K.C.B.

When the regiment left Kilkenny forDublin, in August 1824, a letter was received from the grand jury of the county Kilkenny, expressive of their high sense of the good conduct of the regiment during its stay of two years and a half in that county, and of their satisfaction at the unanimity which had at all times prevailed between them and the inhabitants. The regiment would have changed its station the preceding year, but was allowed to remain at the particular request of the gentlemen of the county. Lieut.-Colonel Lindsay was appointed a magistrate of the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow, and Captain Lardy a magistrate of Carlow.

On the 13th of January 1826, the regiment moved from Fermoy to Cork. Orders were received on the 26th of January for the regiment to hold itself in readiness to embark for Ceylon, in consequence of which four service companies and six dépôt companies were immediately formed. On the 7th of March new arms were issued to the six service companies, and a selection of the old ones made for the dépôt. The old arms had been in possession more than nine years, but not having been originally good, were considered unfit to be taken to a foreign station. Some of the arms issued as new had been previously for a short time in the possession of the 42nd Highlanders.

The service companies of the regiment embarked at the Cove of Cork on board three ships, which sailed together on the morning of the 23rd of April, and arrived at Colombo on the 9th, the 17th, and the 28th of August respectively, after a favourable passage.

The regiment remained in garrison at Colombo, from its disembarkation until the 2nd of October 1828, when the first division marched for Kandy.

"It was a great satisfaction to the officers of the regiment, to receive from the officers of the civil service their testimony to the good conduct of the men, that during nearly three years' residence in Kandy no complaint had ever been made of ill treatment or injustice by them to any of the natives."

On the 2nd of August 1831, the regiment received routes for four companies to Trincomalee, and to Galle. The companies for Trincomalee, with the headquarters, disembarked at their destination on the 22nd of August.

A year after its arrival the station was attacked by cholera in its most malignant form, and the regiment suffered severely.

The crisis of the disease, both in the fort and in the hulk, was from the night of the 22nd to that of the 24th; in these 48 hours

[7] His portrait will be found on page 482, vol. ii.

25 men died. The cases after that became gradually fewer and less virulent, and, by the 2nd of November, the disease may be said to have entirely left the fort, though it continued to rage among the natives outside for a month or six weeks longer. Altogether, in the 78th, there were attacked 132 men, 10 women, and 3 children, and of these there died 56 men, 2 women, and 1 child.

The regiment, after this lamentable visitation, became tolerably healthy, and continued so during the remainder of its stay at Trincomalee; it returned to Colombo in October and November 1834, and remained there until September 1835, when it was ordered to Kandy.

Colonel Lindsay having embarked on leave of absence to England on the 11th of April 1836, the command of the regiment devolved on Major Douglas, who eventually succeeded to the lieutenant-colonelcy, on Colonel Lindsay selling out in April 1837.

The regiment remained in Kandy, detaching a company to Nuwera Ellia, until the orders were received for its return to England on the 28th of March 1837; and on the 1st and 3rd of August it marched in two divisions to Colombo. At the different inspections, Sir John Wilson, the Major-General commanding, expressed his satisfaction with the general appearance and conduct of the regiment, and previous to the embarkation on its return to England, he issued an order conveying the high opinion he had formed of officers and men during their service in Ceylon.

Two companies had embarked on board the "Numa" transport on the 15th of May, and on the 2nd of September following the headquarters embarked on board the "Barossa" transport, and sailed next day.

The deaths which took place during the service of the regiment in Ceylon were—Captains Macleod and Lardy, Paymaster Chisholm, and Assistant-Surgeon Duncan, with 295 men. Detachments had been received at various periods, but of the original number embarked from England, 1 field officer, 2 captains, 1 subaltern, 2 regimental staff, 3 sergeants, 4 drummers, and 208 rank and file returned. The total strength of the regiment on embarkation for England was —1 lieutenant-colonel, 5 captains, 9 subalterns, 3 regimental staff, 30 sergeants, 10 drummers, and 363 rank and file.

The headquarters landed at Limerick on the 9th of February 1838. The division in the "Numa" transport had previously landed at the same place in November 1837, both vessels having been driven into the Shannon by stress of weather and shortness of provisions. In the headquarters' ship, owing to its being later in the season, the officers and men suffered more severely from the intense cold and wet.

The detachment in the "Numa" transport, after landing, had joined the dépôt at Cork, and the headquarters, after remaining three weeks in Limerick to recover from the general debility occasioned by their late sufferings, marched to Buttevant, where the service and dépôt companies were reunited.

The regiment brought home a young elephant (an elephant being the regimental badge), which had been presented to the officers in Kandy by Major Firebrace of the 58th, and which had been trained to march at the head of the band.

Orders having been given to permit volunteers to be transferred to the 71st, 85th, and 93rd Regiments, to complete these corps previous to their embarking for America, 23 men volunteered to the 71st, and 38 to the 85th; 28 men were discharged as unfit for further service, thus leaving the regiment 183 below its establishment.

The regiment having been ordered to Glasgow, embarked in steamers at Cork, and landed in two divisions on the 8th of June 1838. In Glasgow it remained until August 1839, when it was ordered to Edinburgh. The establishment had been completed in June, and in August the order for augmenting regiments to 800 rank and file was promulgated, when the regiment recommenced recruiting, and finally completed its number in January 1840.

On the 17th of July the regiment embarked at Glasgow for Liverpool, where it arrived on the 22nd. Headquarters were at Burnley, and detachments were sent out to various places.

The regiment remained thus detached, in consequence of disturbances which had taken place in the manufacturing towns of Lanca-

shire, until the 23rd of June 1841, when it was moved to Manchester. This was the first time the regiment had been together since its return from Ceylon. It left Manchester for Dublin on the 19th of November, and on the 1st of April 1842, it re-embarked for Liverpool, and proceeded by train to Canterbury, where it arrived on the 8th, having been ordered to hold itself in readiness for India. Volunteers were received from the 72nd, 79th, 92nd, and 93rd Highlanders, and from the 55th Regiment. The embarkation, on board six ships, was very hurried, owing to the disastrous news received from India.

The elephant, which had been brought from Ceylon, was presented to the Zoological Society of Edinburgh, previous to the regiment leaving Dublin.

The 78th sailed from Gravesend about the end of May, in various ships, and had arrived in Bombay by the 30th of July, with the exception of the "Lord Lynedoch," which did not arrive until a month after. The regiment landed at Panwel, *en route* for Poonah, marching by the same road that it took in 1803, when proceeding to reinstate the Peishwah on his musnud.

The regiment was quartered in Poonah until the 7th of April 1843, when it was ordered to Sindh. The right wing marched on the 7th. Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas being ordered on special duty to Sindh, the command of the regiment was taken over by Major Forbes. After several contradictory orders, a final order was received at Khandallah, to leave the families and heavy baggage, and embark immediately at Panwel for Kurrâchee. There the headquarters and five companies landed on the 20th of May. The left wing having joined from Bombay after the rains, the regiment marched for Sukhur in two divisions. There was no beaten track, and native guides were procured to lead the column, but even these frequently went astray. The march was sometimes through dreary wastes of heavy sand, dotted with the cactus and other bushes, and at other times through the dry bed of a river. Frequently, when the regiment halted, there was no sign of water to be seen, but by digging a few feet down, in certain spots, the water would suddenly well up, and in a short time form a little pond. The water would subside again after some hours, but men, camp followers, and cattle, received their supply, and the skins and other vessels would meanwhile be filled. The regiment marched into Sukhur apparently in excellent health, but disease must have been contracted on the way up, when passing through swampy tracts where the heat of the sun had engendered malaria.

"The excitement of the march kept the scourge from showing itself, but no sooner had the men settled in their barracks than a most virulent fever broke out, which continued, without cessation, throughout the stay of the regiment. Some lingered for weeks, some for days. It was not unfrequent to hear of the death of a man to whom one had spoken but half an hour previously. The hospital, a large one, was of course filled at once; some of the barrack-rooms were converted into wards, and at one time there were upwards of 800 men under treatment. Some hundreds of the less dangerously affected were marched about. a few paces, morning and evening, in hopes that by their being called 'convalescent,' the mind might act beneficially on the body, but as death called them away the group became less and less.

"Day after day we attended at the hospital for, in fact, funeral parade; for four or five, and then eight or nine, men died daily; you did not ask who had died, but how many. Firing parties were discontinued, not only that the sad volleys might not disturb the dying, but because there were no men for the duty. In the graveyard at Sukhur lie the bodies of hundreds of the regiment—officers, men, women, and children. Major-General Simpson, Sir Charles Napier's lieutenant (who afterwards commanded our armies in the Crimea), was at Sukhur at the time, and on his return to Hyderabad, caused to be erected there at his own expense a monument to the memory of all those who died, which feeling and tender act filled our hearts with the warmest gratitude. It was the spontaneous effusion of a truly noble mind. The remains of the regiment also erected a monument in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, to the memory of their comrades who died in Sindh.

"The regiment lost, between the 1st of September 1844 and 30th of April 1845, 3 officers, 532 men, 68 women, 134 children —total, 737 souls.

"The medical men attributed the sickness in a great degree to the improper time at which the regiment was moved, and the malaria engendered by the heat of the sun on the swampy plains which had been overflowed by the Indus. The deaths continued very frequent all the time we remained, and at last, on the 21st and 25th of December 1844, we embarked, or rather the men crawled, on board common country boats, which conveyed us to Hyderabad. These boats were very imperfectly chuppered, *i.e.*, straw, reed, or matting roofed. The sun struck through the thatching by day, and the very heavy dews penetrated it by night, when it was extremely cold. When we moored in the evening we used to bury our dead, and I sewed up many of the poor fellows in their blankets and rugs, the only substitutes for a coffin we had. We dug the graves deep, and with the bodies buried the boxes and everything else that had belonged to them. We put layers of thorns inside, round, and on the top of the graves, in hopes of preserving the remains of our poor comrades from the attacks of the troops of jackals swarming in the neighbourhood. There were no stones to be had, so thorns and bushes well beaten down were all the protection we could give. We were much pleased on learning afterwards that in many cases our efforts had been successful, and that the wild people who live near the river had respected the graves of the white men. The two divisions of the regiment buried between Sukhur and Hyderabad, nearly 100 men, besides women and children. After its arrival the mortality still continued very great, and it was not until the warm weather set in that the sickness began to abate. The miserable remains of as fine a regiment as ever was seen, left Hyderabad in two parties, on the 24th of February and 4th of March 1845, respectively, for the mouth of the river, whence they went by steamer to Bombay. Some of the officers of the regiment, myself among the number, were detained in Sindh on court-martial duty; when relieved some went to Bombay *via* Kurrâchee, and at the latter place heard reports to the effect that the mortality in the regiment was to be attributed to intemperance. Indignation at this cruel and false charge, which was reported to Major Twopeny, caused him to write to Sir Charles Napier's military secretary. Had not some of the officers of the regiment passed through Kurrâchee, these reports might have been believed, for every exertion was made at the time to persuade the public that climate had nothing to do with the disease. There was not a murmur heard in the regiment all the time of the plague, but the survivors were determined to relieve the memory of their dead from such a charge, and prove that the will of God, and not alcohol, had caused the mortality. The canteen returns showed how little liquor had been consumed, and the officers, who daily visited the hospital and the barracks, not only in the common course of duty, but to tend, comfort, and read to the men, could not fail to have observed any irregularity, had any existed. The poor dying men were not thinking of intoxicating liquors, but met death with the utmost firmness and resignation. It was an accursed charge, and cannot be too highly censured. When relieved from duty, the officers who had been detained joined the wreck of the regiment at Fort George, Bombay. Invaliding committees sat, and most of the survivors were sent home, so that but a very small remnant of that once splendid corps slowly took its way to Poonah, which, two years before, it had left full of health, strength, and hope. There the regiment got 100 volunteers from the 2nd Queen's, then going home, and between recruiting and volunteering, by December 1845, 700 had joined. These were afterwards always known as 'The 700.'"[8]

At Bombay 105 non-commissioned officers and men were invalided, and the regiment in one division, amounting in number to 313 (being reduced by sickness to less than one-third its strength), proceeded to Poonah on the 4th of April 1845, but did not arrive there until the 18th, being unable to march more than six or seven miles a day.

[8] Journal of Captain Keogh, late 78th Highlanders.

"FORT-WILLIAM, 15*th August* 1845.

"*To the Secretary to Government,*

"*Military Department, Bombay.*

"Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 3167, of the 14th ultimo, and in reply, to express to you, for the information of the Government of Bombay, the satisfaction with which the Governor-General in Council has perused the correspondence to which it gave cover, so clearly proving, as it does, to be utterly unfounded, the report that intemperance had occasioned the sickness by which Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders was prostrated in Sinde, and which, unhappily, proved so fatal to that fine corps.—I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) "J. STUART, *Lieut.-Col.*

"*Secretary to Government of India,*

"*Military Department.*"

The 78th left Goraporee lines, Poonah, on the 18th of December 1845, for Khirkee, six miles distant. The regiment returned to Poonah on the 14th of February 1846, and marched for Belgaum, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas, who died of fever at Hyderabad on the 1st of October 1849, while on staff employ, and was succeeded by Major Walter Hamilton.

After being stationed at Khirkee and Belgaum for some time, the regiment left Belgaum for Bombay and Aden, on the 6th and 7th of November 1849. The left wing, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. Hamilton, arrived at Aden on the 25th, and the right wing, under the command of Major H. Stisted, proceeded to Colabba, Bombay, where it arrived on the 16th of the same month. An exchange of wings took place in October 1850, the headquarters still remaining at Aden.

During the year 1851 the Arab tribes round Aden committed several outrages, in one of which, near Lahaj, in the month of March, Lieutenant Macpherson of the 78th was very dangerously wounded, having been stabbed in no fewer than seven places. About a fortnight after this affair, as Lieutenant Delisser of the regiment was riding to Steamer Point (about five miles distant from the barracks), at eight o'clock A.M., he was attacked by an Arab, armed with a crease or dagger, and wounded severely in the arm and slightly in the stomach. Lieutenant Delisser got off his horse, and, seizing the Arab, wrested the crease from his hand, and with one blow nearly severed his head from his body. The corpse was afterwards hung in chains at the entrance to the fortifications from the interior.

The regiment being ordered to Poonah, the left wing, consisting of the light and Nos. 5, 6, and 7 companies, under command of Major Colin Campbell M'Intyre, left Bombay for that station on the 10th of February 1853, and arrived on the 18th of the same month. The right wing left Aden for Poonah in three detachments in January and February; and thus, after a separation of upwards of three years, the regiment was once more united at Poonah on the 5th of March 1853.

In the month of May 1854 new accoutrements and colours were furnished to the regiment by the estate of the late General Paul Anderson. The alteration in the new accoutrements consisted in a waist and cross-belt, instead of double cross-belts.

The clothing of the whole army having been altered in the year 1856, the regiment was supplied with the Highland jacket.

IV.

1857.

War declared with Persia—Expedition despatched—Gen. Stalker takes Resheer and Bushcer—A second division despatched, of which the 78th forms part, and the whole placed under command of Sir James Outram—Expedition to Boorasjoon and destruction of the enemy's stores—Night attack and battle of KOOSHAB—General Havelock joins the second division—Naval and military expedition up the Euphrates—Mohammrah bombarded and taken—Flight of the Shah-zada, Prince Khander Meerza, and his army—The Persian camps occupied—Expedition to Ahwaz, on the Karoon—The Shah-zada and his troops fly from 300 men to Shuster—Total destruction of the Persian dépôts of provisions at Ahwaz—Return of the expedition—Peace signed—Havelock's opinion of the 78th—The 78th sail from Persia, and arrive safely at Calcutta.

THE Governor-General of India having declared war against Persia on the 1st of November 1856, an expedition was despatched the same month from Bombay to the Persian Gulf. The force consisted of one division only, comprising two infantry brigades, with cavalry, artillery, and engineers, the whole under the command

of Major-General Stalker. Its strength was 5670 fighting men, of whom 2270 were Europeans, with 3750 followers, 1150 horses, and 430 bullocks, and its equipment and embarkation were completed in an incredibly short space of time, chiefly owing to the manly exertions of Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay. On the 6th of December a sufficiently large portion of the fleet arrived off Busheer to commence operations, and on the 7th a landing was effected at Ras Hallila, about twelve or thirteen miles below Busheer. On the 9th the expedition advanced against Reshcer, which, after some resistance, was taken. Next day General Stalker formed his line of attack against Busheer, but after a bombardment of four hours, the Governor surrendered, and the garrison, to the number of about 2000 men, laid down their arms, and being conducted into the country, were set at liberty. Sixty-five pieces of artillery were found in the town, which now became the head-quarters of the army, an entrenched camp being formed, with a ditch 3 feet deep and 6 feet wide, and a parapet, about a mile beyond the walls.

This expedition was subsequently reinforced by a second division, of which the 78th Highlanders formed part. Early on the morning of the 7th of January 1857 the left wing, consisting of 12 officers and 388 men, commenced its march under the command of Major M'Intyre, and the head-quarters, consisting of 16 officers and 421 men, under the command of Colonel Stisted, started on the morning of the 8th. A dépôt, consisting of 1 officer and 89 men, was left at Poonah in charge of Lieutenant Gilmore. After staying a short time at Khandallah, the regiment arrived at Bombay on the 19th, and embarked in three ships, which sailed the same day. Headquarters arrived off Busheer on July 1st, and disembarked immediately in light marching order, with no baggage except bedding, consisting of a settzingee, or cotton padded rug, and a pair of blankets. The left wing having arrived on the previous day, had already landed in the same order, and marched into the entrenched camp, where the whole regiment was assembled, occupying an outwork near the lines of the 64th Regiment, in which tents had been pitched for officers and men. Owing, however, to the insufficient supply of these, 30 men, or 2 officers and their servants, had to find accommodation in a zowtee tent, 10 feet by 8. Both officers and men were received in camp with great hospitality, the men of the different companies of the 64th and 2d Bombay Europeans sending their rations of spirits and porter to the corresponding companies of the 78th.

It had come to the notice of Sir James Outram that the Persian Government were making vast preparations for the recovery of Busheer, and that Sooja-ool-Moolk, the Persian commander, and reputed to be the best general in the Persian army, had assembled a formidable force at the town of Boorasjoon, 46 miles from Busheer, where he had formed an entrenched camp. This force consisted of a total of 8450 cavalry and infantry.

The Persian force was well supplied with food and ammunition, and it had been intended that it should form the nucleus of a very large army assembling for the recovery of Busheer.

At six o'clock in the evening of the 3d of February the following force was drawn up, in two lines of contiguous columns at quarter-distance, outside the entrenched camp :—

Cavalry—3d Bombay Light Cavalry, 243; Poona Horse, 176. Infantry (Europeans)—H.M. 64th regiment, 780; H.M. 78th Highlanders, 739; 2d Bombay European Light Infantry, 693. Infantry, &c. (Natives)—Sappers, 118; 4th Bombay Rifle Regiment, 523; 20th Regiment Bombay N.I., 442; 26th Regiment Bombay N.I., 479; Beloochee Battalion, 460. Guns—3d Troop Horse Artillery, 6; 3d Light Field Battery, 6; 5th Light Field Battery, 6. Total sabres, 419; Europeans, 2212; Natives, 2022. Total men, 4653; guns, 18.

The force was not provided with tents or extra clothing of any kind; but every man carried his great coat, blanket, and two days' cooked provisions.

After a march of 46 miles in forty-one hours, during which the troops were exposed to the worst of weather—cold winds, deluging storms of rain and thunder, and clouds of driving sand, the greater part of the march lying through a reedy swamp—the force reached the enemy's entrenched position near the town of Boorasjoon, on the morning of the 5th, but was

only in time to find the enemy abandoning it. A smart brush, however, took place between their rearguard and the British cavalry, in which an officer and two or three troopers received some slight wounds. By two o'clock the force was in possession of the enemy's entrenched camp, and great quantities of ammunition of all kinds, together with grain and camp equipage, were captured, the enemy having gone off in a most hurried and disorderly manner

"The 6th and 7th of February were passed in the enemy's position, destroying stores and searching for buried guns, which were afterwards ascertained to have been thrown down wells; their carriages and wheels, being found by us, were burned. Some treasure was also discovered, and many horses and carriage cattle secured. During this time no annoyance was experienced from the enemy, though an alarm on the night of the 6th caused the whole of the troops to stand to arms. From information received afterwards, and their own despatch, this alarm was not altogether a groundless one, as they fell up to our outposts; but finding the troops under arms, and it being a bright moonlight night, they attempted nothing. Many jokes were, however, current in camp next day on the events of the night, the picket of one regiment having taken a *door* prisoner, which was leaning against a bush in a most suspicious manner; and those of two other gallant corps skirmished up to, and were very nearly having a battle of their own with a patrol of the Poonah Horse. However, all passed off without accident.

"Many spies were doubtless in our camp during the entire period of our stay, and the enemy were well informed of every movement; regardless of which, however, intercourse between the villagers and camp was encouraged, and such strict precautions enforced that they should not be pillaged or ill-treated, that they were civil if not friendly, and at any rate gave no trouble."[9]

The troops had been somewhat exhausted by their march of 46 miles through rain, mud, morass, and sand in forty-one hours; but being now recruited by their two days' rest, and Sir James Outram having heard that the enemy had succeeded in getting his guns through the difficult pass of Maak, considered it better to rest content with the moral effect produced by the capture and destruction of their stores, and accordingly ordered a return to Busheer.

"At eight o'clock on the evening of the 7th," Captain Hunt says, "the return march to Busheer was commenced, the column taking with it as much of the captured stores as carriage was procurable for, and the military Governor of Boorasjoon as a prisoner—this personage proving a double traitor. The General's intention that the return march should be a leisurely one had been so widely made known through the force, that the stirring events then so shortly to occur were little indeed expected by any one. . . . Shortly after midnight a sharp rattle of musketry in the rear, and the opening of two horse artillery guns, put every one on the *qui vive*, and that an attack in force upon the rearguard was taking place became apparent to all. The column at once halted, and then moved back to extricate the baggage and protecting troops. These, however, were so ably handled by Colonel Honnor (who was in command) as to need little assistance, save for the increasing numbers of the assailants.

"In about half an hour after the first shot was fired, not the rearguard only, but the entire force, was enveloped in a skirmishing fire. Horsemen galloped round on all sides, yelling and screaming like fiends, and with trumpets and bugles making as much noise as possible. One of their buglers had the audacity to go close to a skirmishing company of the Highlanders, and sound first the 'Cease fire,' and afterwards, 'Incline to the left,' escaping in the dark. Several English officers having, but a few years since, been employed in organising the Persian troops, accounted for the knowledge of our bugle-calls, now artfully used to create confusion. The silence and steadiness of the men were most admirable, and the manœuvring of regiments that followed, in taking up position for the remaining hours of darkness, was as steady as an ordinary parade, and this during a midnight attack, with an enemy's fire flashing in every direc-

[9] Captain Hunt's (78th Highlanders) *Persian Campaign.*

tion, and cavalry surrounding, ready to take advantage of the slightest momentary confusion. Pride may well be felt in the steadiness of any troops under such circumstances; and how much more so when, as on the present occasion, two-thirds had never before been under an enemy's fire. The horsemen of the enemy were at first very bold, dashing close up to the line, and on one occasion especially to the front of the 78th Highlanders; but finding that they could occasion no disorder, and having been in one or two instances roughly handled by the cavalry and horse artillery, this desultory system of attack gradually ceased, and the arrangement of the troops for the remainder of the night was effected under nothing more serious than a distant skirmishing fire. The formation adopted was an oblong, a brigade protecting each flank, and a demi-brigade the front and rear, field battery guns at intervals, and a thick line of skirmishers connecting and covering all; the horse artillery and cavalry on the flank of the face fronting the original line of march, the front and flanks of the oblong facing outwards; the baggage and followers being in the centre. When thus formed the troops lay down, waiting for daylight in perfect silence, and showing no fire or light of any kind.

"Scarcely was the formation completed when the enemy opened five heavy guns, and round shot were momentarily plunging through and over our position, the range of which they had obtained very accurately. Our batteries replied; and this cannonade continued, with occasional intervals, until near daylight, causing but few casualties, considering the duration of the fire."

It appears that, in abandoning their position at Boorasjoon, Sooja-ool-Moolk (reputed to be the best officer in the Persian army), with his force, had taken the direct road to Shiraz by the Maak Pass, and the Elkanee, with his horse, had retired to the one leading to the Haft Moola, and that they had planned a night attack on the British camp on the night that the troops marched. The explosion of the magazine at Boorasjoon gave the Persians the first intimation of the departure of the British force, when they hastened after it, in the expectation of being able to attack it on the line of march, and possibly create confusion and panic in the dark.

At daybreak on the 8th of February the Persian force, amounting to over 6000 infantry and 2000 horse, besides several guns, was discovered on the left rear of the British (north-east of the line of march) in order of battle. The Persians were drawn up in line, their right resting on the walled village of Kooshab and a date grove, and their left on a hamlet with a round fortalice tower. Two rising mounds were in front of their centre, which served as redoubts, behind which they placed their guns; and they had deep nullahs on their right front and flank, thickly lined with skirmishers. Their cavalry, in considerable bodies, were on both flanks, commanded by the here ditary chief of the tribes in person. The whole army was commanded by Sooja-ool-Moolk.

The British artillery and cavalry at once moved rapidly to the attack, supported by two lines of infantry, a third line protecting the baggage. The first line was composed of the 78th Highlanders under Major M'Intyre, a party of Sappers on the right, the 26th Regiment Native Infantry, the 2nd European Light Infantry, and the 4th Regiment Bombay Rifles on the left of all." The second line had H.M.'s 64th Regiment on its right, then the 20th Regiment Native Infantry, and the Belooch Battalion on its left. The light companies of battalions faced the enemy's skirmishers in the nullahs, and covered both flanks and rear of their own army. A detachment of the 3d Cavalry assisted in this duty, and as the enemy showed some bodies of horse, threatening a dash on the baggage or wounded men, these were of considerable service. They had also in their charge the Governor of Boorasjoon, who, endeavouring to attract attention by placing his black Persian cap on a stick, and waving it as a signal to his countrymen, was immediately, and very properly, knocked off his horse, and forced to remain on his knees until the fortune of the day was decided.

"The lines advanced directly the regiments had deployed, and so rapidly and steadily did the leading one move over the crest of a rising ground (for which the enemy's guns were laid) that it suffered but little, the Highlanders not having a single casualty, and the 26th Native

Infantry, their companion regiment in brigade, losing only one man killed, and having but four or five wounded. The 1st Brigade, 1st Division, fared worse, as the shot, passing over the regiments then in their front, struck the ranks, and occasioned the greatest loss of the day. The 2nd Brigade, 1st Division, suffered equally, but had more killed among their casualties especially in the 2nd European Light Infantry.

"During this time the cannonade had been continuous; but as the Persian fire in some degree slackened, our artillery advanced to closer action, making most beautiful practice, and almost silencing the opposing batteries. Some bodies of horse soon presented an opportunity for a charge, and the squadrons of the 3rd Cavalry and Tapp's Irregulars, who had hitherto been on the right front, dashed at them, accompanied by Blake's Horse Artillery, and made a most sweeping and brilliant charge, sabring gunners, and fairly driving the enemy's horse off the field. The infantry lines were still advancing rapidly, and in beautifully steady order, to sustain this attack, and were just getting into close action when the enemy lost heart, and his entire line at once broke and fled precipitately.

"More than 700 of their dead were left upon the field, with many horses; how many were slain in the pursuit, or died of their wounds, it was of course impossible to ascertain. No great number of prisoners (said to be about 100) fell into our hands; their own cowardly treachery in many instances, after having received quarter, enraged the men, and occasioned a free use of the bayonet. One or two men of consequence were, however, among those taken. These brilliant results were secured on our part with a loss of only 1 officer and 18 men killed, and 4 officers and 60 men wounded. Among the unfortunate camp-followers, however, crowded together during the preceding night attack, several were killed and wounded, and many not accounted for."[1]

The troops bivouacked for the day in the battlefield, and at night accomplished a march of twenty miles (by another route) over a country rendered almost impassable by the heavy rains which fell incessantly. Through sticky mud, half clay and sand, the column marched the whole night after the action. The guide misled the force, and at four o'clock in the morning of the 9th a halt was called to wait for daylight. In the midst of pelting rain, sunk knee-deep in mud, and exposed to a biting north-easterly wind, two hours were passed, without a tree even in sight, and the swamp around looking in the hazy light like a vast lake. Yet men and officers alike stretched themselves in the mire, endeavouring to snatch some sort of rest after their exhausting labours. The foot of Chah Gudack was at length reached by ten in the morning, whence, after a rest of six hours, the march was continued through deep swamps to Busheer, which was reached before midnight; the force having thus performed another most arduous march of forty-four miles, under incessant rain, besides fighting and defeating the enemy during its progress, within the short space of fifty hours. Though the men were tired and fagged, they were in excellent spirits.

In Sir James Outram's despatch to General Sir H. Somerset the name of Brigadier Stisted (78th) was particularly mentioned.

This wet march from Boorasjoon having completely destroyed the shoes of the men, Sir James Outram generously took upon himself to order that each man of the force should be supplied with a new pair free of expense, the cost of which was subsequently defrayed by Government. The marching hose of the 78th were all spoiled and rendered useless, and in many cases could only be taken off by being cut to pieces. A long gray stocking, procurable from the Government stores, was substituted, and continued to be worn until the adoption of the white spats in the following year.

On the return of the expedition it was the intention of General Outram immediately to proceed against the Fort of Mohammrah, situated at the junction of the Shut-el-Arab (the Euphrates) and the Karoon, but owing to the non-arrival of the requisite reinforcements from India, occasioned by tempestuous weather in the Gulf of Persia, and other causes, Sir James was unable to leave Busheer until the 18th of March. In the meantime the troops were

[1] Captain Hunt's *Persian Campaign.*

busily employed in erecting five formidable redoubts, four in front and one in rear of the entrenched camp. While lying before Busheer the light company of the 78th was supplied with Enfield rifles.

Brigadier-General Havelock[4] having arrived in February, took command of the Indian division, and Brigadier Walker Hamilton, of the 78th Highlanders, arriving from Kurrâchee, where he had been for some months



Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.

commanding the brigade, assumed command of the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, which had hitherto been commanded by Colonel Stisted of the 78th; the latter officer now resumed the command of the regiment.

In the beginning of March the embarkation of the troops destined for the bombardment of Mohammrah commenced, and continued at intervals as the weather permitted, until the departure of General Outram on the 18th.

[2] This portrait is copied, by the permission of John Clark Marshman, Esq., and the Messrs Longman, from that in Marshman's *Memoirs of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.*

The place of rendezvous for the expedition was about sixteen miles from the mouth of the Euphrates, opposite the village of Mohammrah. On the 16th of March the "Kingston" sailed from Busheer with 6 officers and 159 non-commissioned officers and rank and file, being No. 8 and the light company of the 78th, under Captain Hunt. These were followed on the 12th by headquarters, consisting of 9 officers and 228 men, under command of Colonel Stisted, accompanied by Brigadier-General Havelock; also by 6 officers and 231 men under Major M'Intyre. A few days previous to the attack on Mohammrah, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 companies, under Major Haliburton, joined the rest of the regiment.

All the ships comprising the expedition were assembled at the appointed rendezvous by the 21st of March, and the next two days were occupied in the arrangement of details for the attack.

For some months past the Persians had been strengthening their position at Mohammrah; batteries of great strength had been erected, consisting of solid earth, 20 feet thick and 18 feet high, with casemated embrasures on the northern and southern points of the banks of the Karoon and Shut-el-Arab, at the junction of the two rivers. These, with other earthworks, armed with heavy ordnance, completely commanded the passage of the latter river, and were so judiciously placed and so skilfully formed as to sweep the whole stream to the extent of the range of the guns down the river and across to the opposite shore. Indeed, everything that science could suggest and labour accomplish in the time appeared to have been done by the enemy, to prevent any vessel from passing up the river above their position. The banks, for many miles, were overgrown with dense date groves, affording a perfect cover for riflemen; and the opposite shore, being neutral (Turkish) territory, was not available for the erection of counter batteries.

The plan of action resolved upon was to attack the enemy's batteries with the armed

steamers and sloops of war, and when the fire was nearly silenced, to pass up rapidly with the troops in small steamers towing boats, land the force above the northern forts, and immediately advance upon and attack the entrenched camp.

The Persian army, numbering 13,000 men of all arms, with 30 guns, was commanded by the Shah-zada, Prince Khanler Meerza, in person. The strength of the British force was 4886 of all arms, together with five steamers of the Indian navy, and two sloops of war, the entire command of the expedition being committed to Commodore Young of that service; the 78th Highlanders numbered 830.

On the morning of the 24th of March the fleet of ships of war and transports got under weigh, and made up the river to within three miles of the southern battery, opposite the village of Harteh, where they anchored.

By nine o'clock on the morning of the 26th the fire of the heavy batteries was so reduced by the fire from a mortar raft, followed up by that from the vessels of war, that the rendezvous flag was hoisted by the "Feroze" as a signal for the advance of the troops in the small steamers and boats. This was accomplished in admirable order, although at the time the fire from the batteries was far from being silenced. The leading steamer was the "Berenice," carrying on her deck the whole of the 78th Highlanders and about 200 Sappers.

Passing under the shelter of the ships of war, the troopships were brought to the banks above the forts, the water being sufficiently deep for them to lie close alongside the bank, and skirmishers were at once thrown out to cover the disembarkation of the force. In the meantime, the artillery fire from the Persian forts gradually ceased, and musketry was opened from them and from breastworks in their vicinity, and maintained with spirit for some time, when storming parties were landed, that drove out the defenders and took possession of their works and guns.

By half-past one o'clock the troops were landed and formed, and advanced without delay in contiguous columns at quarter-distance, through the date groves and across the plain, upon the entrenched camp of the enemy, who, without waiting for the approach of the British, fled precipitately after exploding their largest magazine, leaving behind them tents and baggage and stores, with several magazines of ammunition and 16 guns. Their loss was estimated at about 200 killed.

For the next few days, while the tents and the baggage were being disembarked, the army bivouacked under the date trees on the river-bank by day, and removed to the sandy plain by night, to avoid the unhealthy miasma.

It having been ascertained that the enemy had retreated to the town of Ahwaz, about 100 miles distant up the river Karoon, where they had large magazines and supplies, Sir James Outram determined to despatch an armed flotilla to that place to effect a reconnaisance.

The expedition was placed under the command of Captain Rennie of the Indian navy, and consisted of three small armed steamers, towing three gunboats and three cutters, and carrying on board No. 5 and the light company of the 78th, with Captain M'Andrew, Lieutenants Cassidy, Finlay, and Barker, and the grenadiers of the 64th Regiment; in all 300 men, under command of Captain Hunt of the 78th. This force came in sight of Ahwaz on the morning of the 1st of April. The whole Persian army was here observed posted in a strong position on the right bank of the Karoon. It having been ascertained from some Arabs that the town itself, on the left bank, was nearly deserted, it was determined to land the party, advance upon Ahwaz, and, if possible, destroy the dépôt of guns and ammunition.

At eleven in the morning the little band of 300 landed and advanced at once in three columns, covered by skirmishers, the whole party being extended in such a way that it appeared like a large body of men. The left column consisted of the light company of the 78th, with its skirmishers and supports, both in one rank, the remainder of the company marching in columns of threes in single ranks, with three paces distance between each man. The grenadier company of the 64th and No. 5 company of the 78th formed the right and centre columns in the same order. The

gun-boats were sent off in advance up the river, and taking up a position within shell-range of the enemy's ridges, opened fire upon them.

The troops thus marched in a mimic brigade, advanced under cover of the gunboats' fire, and within an hour and a half Ahwaz was in their possession, and the Persian army, consisting of 6000 infantry, 5 guns, and a cloud of Bukhtyuri horsemen, numbering upwards of 2000, was in full retreat upon Dizful, leaving behind it 1 gun, 154 stand of new arms, a great number of mules and sheep, and an enormous quantity of grain.

Having remained at Ahwaz for two days, the plucky little force returned to Mohammrah, which it reached on the 5th of April, and where it received the hearty thanks of the General for the signal service which it had rendered.[3]

On the very same day news was received that peace with Persia had been concluded at Paris on the 4th of March; but the British forces were to remain encamped at Mohammrah until the ratification of the treaty.

On the 15th of April the regiment was inspected by Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., who expressed his extreme satisfaction at the highly efficient state in every respect in which he found it.[4]

[3] Captain Hunt, 78th Highlanders, "Persian Campaign." We may remark that Captain Hunt's conduct of the Ahwaz force was very highly praised. Sir James Outram says in his despatch to Sir Henry Somerset, "Great praise is also due to Captain Hunt, 78th Highlanders, who so successfully carried out the military operations," and Sir Henry acknowledges this by alluding to Captain Hunt, "whose excellent disposition of his small force I have remarked with much satisfaction." Captain Hunt also received the thanks of the Governor-General in Council. This very promising officer unfortunately fell a victim to cholera during the Mutiny, and thus, at an early age, terminated a career which must have done honour to himself and reflected credit upon his regiment.—C. M.

[4] "Of the 78th Highlanders Havelock had formed a very high estimate, and in his confidential report of that corps, made before leaving Persia, a copy of which was found among his papers, he had said:—"There is a fine spirit in the ranks of this regiment. I am given to understand that it behaved remarkably well in the affair at Kooshab, near Busheer, which took place before I reached the army; and during the naval action on the Euphrates, and its landing here, its steadiness, zeal, and activity, under my own observation, were conspicuous. The men have been subjected in this service to a good deal of exposure, to extremes of climate, and have had heavy work to execute with their entrenching tools, in constructing redoubts and making roads. They have been, while I have had the opportunity of watching them, most cheerful; and have never seemed to regret or complain of anything but that they had no further chance of meeting the enemy. I am convinced the regiment would be second to none in the service if its high military qualities were drawn forth. It is proud of its colours, its tartan, and its former achievements."—Marshman's *Memoirs of Havelock*.

At length, on the 9th of May, a field force order was issued, directing the Indian division to be broken up, and the several regiments composing it to be sent to their respective destinations. In this order Sir James Outram bade the troops farewell, and expressed in the very highest terms his admiration of their conduct in every respect.

Thus ended the Persian campaign, during which the 78th had the good fortune to mature its campaigning qualities under the auspices of Outram and Havelock, names which were shortly destined to render its own illustrious.

A medal was sanctioned to be worn by the troops engaged in the Persian campaign.

In the regiment, Colonel Stisted, who for a time acted as brigadier, and afterwards commanded the regiment, was made a Companion of the Bath; and Captains Drummond, Hay, and Bouverie, who acted as majors of brigade at Busheer and Mohammrah, respectively, received brevet majorities. The regiment received orders to place the words "Persia" and "Kooshab" upon its colours and appointments.

On the 10th of May 1857, the 78th sailed from Mohammrah *en route* for Bombay. Touching only at the port of Muscat, the vessels all arrived safe in Bombay harbour on the 22nd and 23rd, and there received the astounding intelligence that the entire Bengal army had mutinied, seized Delhi, and in many cases massacred all the Europeans. The 78th was ordered to proceed immediately to Calcutta, along with the 64th, its old comrades, who had also just arrived from Persia. Colonel Walter Hamilton, having arrived from Persia, took command of the regiment, which, numbering 28 officers and 828 men, was transferred to four ships, which arrived at Calcutta on the 9th and 10th of June.

V.

1857—1859.

The Indian Mutiny[5]—Barrackpoor—Benares—Allahabad—Havelock's force—March to Cawnpoor and Lucknow—Futtehpoor—Aong—Pandoo Nuddee—Nana Sahib's iniquities—The taking of Cawnpoor—Havelock's opinion of the 78th—His stirring Order—March to Lucknow—Onao—Buseerutgunge—Havelock retires to Munghowar—Reinforced—Commences second march—Buseerutgunge again—Bourbeake Chowkey—Bithoor—Force returns to Cawnpoor—Cholera—Sir James Outram and reinforcements arrive—Sir James resigns command of the army of relief to Havelock—Third march to Lucknow—Munghowar—Lucknow reached—The enemy encountered and repulsed—The Alum Bagh occupied—Position of the garrison—Advance from the Alum Bagh—Char Bagh—The road to the Residency—The 78th the rear-guard—Its fierce encounter with the enemy—Fights its way to the main body at the Furrah Buksh—The desperate advance led by the 78th—The Residency reached—"Martin's House"—Dangerous position of Surgeons Jee and Home and their wounded men—The guns brought in—The Victoria Cross—Sorties upon the enemy—Arrangements for holding out until relief comes—Position of the 78th—Arrival of Sir Colin Campbell—Preparations for a junction—The relief effected—Evacuation of the Residency—The 78th selected to cover the retreat—Rewards—The occupation of the Alum Bagh under Colonel M'Intyre—Sir James Outram occupies the Alum Bagh—Engagement with the enemy—Sir James Outram's opinion of the 78th—Capture of the city of Lucknow—The three field forces—The 78th occupy Bareilly—Ordered to England—Fêted at Bombay—Arrival at home.

On the 10th of June 1857 the 78th Highlanders proceeded to Chinsurah, where arrangements were made for their immediate transit to Benares. The grenadiers and No. 1 company started on the 11th and 12th. On the night of the 13th, at 11 P.M., an order was received by express from Calcutta for the 78th to march immediately to Barrackpoor, and if possible reach that place by daybreak. The regiment marched to Barrackpoor, and after assisting in disarming the native troops, it returned to Chinsurah on the 16th, and the daily departure of detachments to Benares was resumed.

After a short halt at Benares the detachments proceeded to Allahabad, at which place a moveable column was being formed under Brigadier-General Havelock to advance against the mutineers. On arrival at that place it was found that the whole of the country between it and Delhi was in the hands of the insurgents; that Cawnpoor and Lucknow were in a state of siege; and a rumour, which eventually proved to be too true, stated that the British garrison of the former place had been induced to surrender, and had been basely massacred.[6]

On the 7th of July General Havelock advanced from Allahabad with a small force of about 1000 British and a few Sikhs, with six guns, to endeavour to retake Cawnpoor and rescue Lucknow. His force consisted of a light field battery, a portion of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, the 64th Regiment, and 78th Highlanders; of the latter were the grenadiers, Nos. 3, 6, and the light companies, numbering 305 men, besides 13 officers, under Colonel Walter Hamilton. The heat was intense, and the monsoon having just set in, the rain fell in torrents, rendering the entire country one large morass.

Major Renaud had been sent on with a small force as an advanced guard, and on the 10th General Havelock set out after him, coming up with him at moonlight, after a hard and long march. The united forces continued their march to Khaga, five miles from Futtehpoor, where Havelock commenced to encamp. His force now amounted to about 1400 Europeans and 400 natives, with 8 guns. While the camp was being pitched, the enemy, numbering about 3500, with 12 guns, was observed in the

[5] This account of the part taken by the regiment in the suppression of the Indian mutiny is compiled mainly from the admirable narrative contained in the Regimental Record Book.

[6] The garrison at Cawnpoor, under the command of Sir Hugh Wheeler, was induced to surrender, after a most heroic defence of three weeks, on promise of a safe conduct to Allahabad, and on condition that the force should march out under arms, with 60 rounds of ammunition to every man; that carriages should be provided for the conveyance of the wounded, the women, and the children; and that boats, victualled with a sufficiency of flour, should be in readiness, at the Suttee Chowra Ghât, or landing-place (on the Ganges), which lay about a mile from the British entrenchment. On the morning of the 27th of June 1857 the garrison, numbering, with women and children, nearly 800, was marched down to the landing-place; but before the embarkation was completed, a fire of grape and musketry was opened upon the boats, and a fearful massacre took place. Only 125 women and children were spared from that day's massacre, and reserved for the more awful butchery of the 15th of July. Upwards of a hundred persons got away in a boat, but only four made good their escape, as within three days the boat was captured by the mutineers and taken back to Cawnpoor, where the sixty male occupants were shot, the women and children being put into custody with the 125 already mentioned.

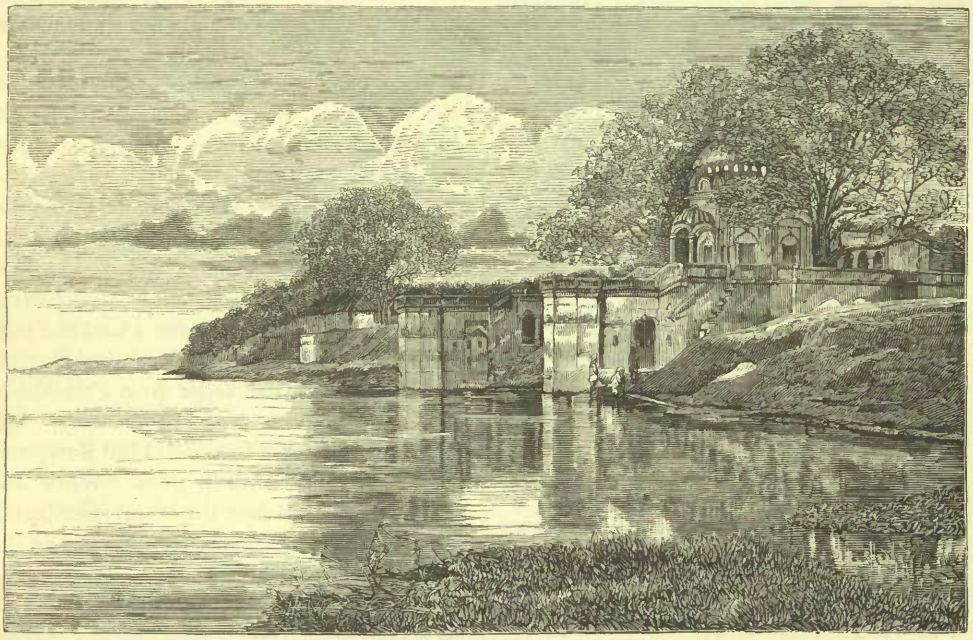
Our illustration is from a photograph, and shows the Fisherman's Temple. For full details of the Cawnpoor massacres, we may refer our readers to volume entitled *Cawnpore*, by G. O. Trevelyan.

distance bearing down upon a reconnoitering party which had been sent to the front under Colonel Tytler.

Futtehpoor constituted a strong position, and the enemy had already occupied the many advantageous positions, both natural and artificial. Among the rebel force was the 56th Bengal Native Infantry, the regiment which Havelock led on at Maharajpoor.

After the General had disposed his troops the action was soon decided. Captain Maude, pushing on his guns to point-blank range, electrified the enemy with his fire. The Madras Fusiliers gained possession of a hillock on the right, and struggled on through the inundation; the 78th, in extension, wading knee-deep in mud and water, kept up communication with the centre; the 64th gave strength to the centre and left; while on the left the 84th and Sikhs of Ferozepoor pressed back the enemy's right.

As the British force pressed forward, the rebel guns continued to fall into its hands; the rebels were driven by the skirmishers and



The Suttee Chowra Ghât, or Landing-Place. Scene of the Second Massacre, 27th June 1857.

columns from every point, one after the other, of which they held possession, into, through, and beyond the town, and were very soon put to a final flight. General Havelock then taking up his position in triumph, halted his weary men to breakfast, having marched 24 miles, and beaten the enemy so completely that all their ammunition, baggage, and guns (11 in number) fell into his hands. The loss on the British side was merely nominal; but the moral effect on the mutineers of this their first reverse was immense.

During the action the heat was excessive, and 12 men died from exposure to the sun and fatigue. Next day General Havelock issued a Field-force Order, highly and justly complimenting the force for its conduct, which he attributed to the fire of British artillery, to English rifles in British hands, to British pluck, "and to the blessing of Almighty God on a most righteous cause."

On the 14th the moveable column recommenced its march, and after dislodging the rebels from a strong position at Aong, pushed on for Pandoo Nuddee, at the bridge of which place the enemy had prepared another strong position. Here, also, by the promptitude and admirable tactics of General Havelock, the rebels were completely routed; both on this

occasion and at Aong they left behind them a number of heavy guns and a quantity of ammunition. It was on hearing the intelligence of the defeat of his troops at the Pandoo Nuddee that Nana Sahib put the finishing stroke to the atrocious conduct which has rendered his name an abhorrence to the whole civilized world, and which turned this warfare on the part of the English into "a most righteous cause" indeed. On the 15th of July this diabolical wretch filled up the measure of his iniquities; for it was on hearing that the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee had been forced and his army driven back, that he ordered the immediate massacre of all the English women and children still in his possession.

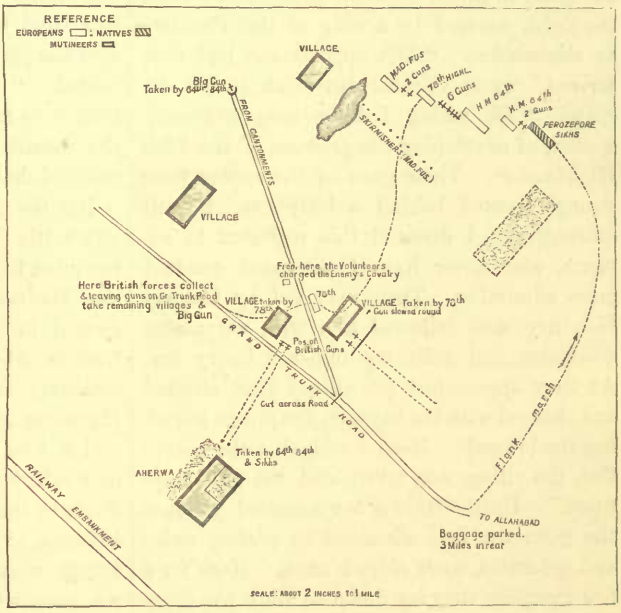
Between four in the afternoon of the 15th, and nine in the morning of the 16th of July, 206 persons, mostly women and children of gentle birth, comprising the survivors of the massacre of 27th June and the captured fugitives from Futteghur,—who had been confined for a fortnight in a small building which has since been known in India as the Beebeegur, or House of the Ladies, in England as the House of the Massacre,—were butchered with the most barbarous atrocity, and their bodies thrown into a dry well, situated behind some trees which grew hard by. Our illustration, taken from a photograph, shows the Mausoleum erected over the well, and part of the garden which covers the site of the House of Massacre. Just within the doorway, at top of the flight of steps, may be seen the carved pediment which closes the mouth of the well. Around this pediment are carved the words:—

> Sacred to the perpetual memory of a great Company of Christian people, chiefly women and children. XVI. day of July MDCCCLVII.

On the pediment has been erected, since our view was taken, an emblematical figure of an angel in front of a tall cross, carved in marble by Baron Marochetti.

At daybreak, on the 16th, Havelock's column again moved on, the troops being strongly in hope of being able to save the wives and children of the murdered garrison of Cawnpoor, being ignorant of their brutal massacre. After a march of 16 miles the army halted in a mango grove at the village of Maharajpoor, to take refreshment and a slight rest in the shade from the powerful sun, before engaging the Nana, who was strongly posted about two miles off.

The camp and baggage being left here under proper escort, the column again moved at 2 o'clock P.M. The Fusiliers led, followed by two



Action near Cawnpoor, on the Afternoon of the 16th of July 1857.

guns; then came the 78th Highlanders, in rear of whom was the central battery under Captain Maude; the 64th and 84th had two guns more in the rear, and the regiment of Ferozepoor closed the column.

Nana Sahib had taken up a strong position at the village of Aherwa, where the grand trunk road joined that which led to Cawnpoor. His entrenchments had cut and rendered impassable both roads, and his heavy guns, seven in number, were disposed along his position, which consisted of a series of villages. Behind these the infantry, consisting of mutinous troops and his own armed followers, numbering in all about 5000, was disposed for defence.

General Havelock resolved to take the position by a flank movement. Accordingly, after a short advance along the road, the column moved off to the right, and circled round the enemy's left. As soon as the Nana perceived Havelock's intention, he pushed forward on his left a large body of horse, and opened upon the British column a fire of shot and shell from all his guns.

Havelock's troops continued their progress until the enemy's left was entirely turned, and then forming line, the British guns opened fire upon the rebels' batteries, while the infantry advanced in direct échelon of regiments from the right, covered by a wing of the Fusiliers as skirmishers. "The opportunity had now arrived," wrote General Havelock in his despatch, "for which I have long anxiously waited, of developing the prowess of the 78th Highlanders. Three guns of the enemy were strongly posted behind a lofty hamlet, well entrenched. I directed this regiment to advance, and never have I witnessed conduct more admirable. They were led by Colonel Hamilton, and followed him with surpassing steadiness and gallantry under a heavy fire. As they approached the village they cheered and charged with the bayonet, the pipers sounding the pibroch. Need I add, that the enemy fled, the village was taken, and the guns captured." Until within a few hundred yards of the guns the line advanced in perfect order and quietness, with sloped arms. Here for a few moments they lay down to allow the fierce iron storm to pass over. At the word from the General, "Rise up, advance," they sprang to their feet, and with a cheer rushed upon the battery. General Havelock followed close in behind, and when the regiment was halted in rear of the village, exclaimed, "Well done, 78th, you shall be my own regiment! Another charge like that will win the day."

Having halted here for a few minutes to take breath, the regiment pushed on at the double march to a hamlet about 500 yards distant still held by the enemy, who were quickly dislodged from it. Meanwhile, the 64th and 84th regiments advanced on the left, and captured two guns strongly posted on the enemy's original right.

Nana Sahib having withdrawn his forces in the direction of Cawnpoor, and taken up a new position in rear of his first, the British infantry now changed line to the front and rear, while the guns were brought up. This was a work of great difficulty, the ground being very heavy and the bullocks worn out with fatigue. About this time the Nana sent some of his numerous cavalry to the British flanks and rear, which did some execution before they were repulsed. The rebel infantry appeared to be in full retreat when a reserve 24-pounder was opened on the Cawnpoor road which caused considerable loss to the British force; and under cover of its fire, at the same time two large bodies of cavalry riding insolently over the plain, and the rebel infantry once more rallied. "The beating of their drums and numerous mounted officers in front announced the definitive struggle of the Nana for his usurped dominion."

But the final crisis approached. The artillery cattle being tired out could not bring up the guns to the assistance of the British, and the Madras Fusiliers, 64th, 78th, and 84th formed in line were exposed to a heavy fire from the 24-pounder on the road, and from the musketry of the rebel skirmishers. Colonel Hamilton about this time had his horse shot under him by a musket ball. The General now called upon the infantry, who were lying down in line, to rise and make another steady advance. "It was irresistible," he wrote, "the enemy sent round shot into our ranks until we were within 300 yards, and then poured in grape with great precision." The gun was more immediately in front of the 64th, which regiment suffered severely by its fire; but the line advancing steadily upon the gun, at length charged with a cheer and captured it.

The enemy now lost all heart, and after a hurried fire of musketry gave way in total rout. Four of the British guns coming up by the road completed the discomfiture by a heavy cannonade; and as it grew dark the roofless artillery barracks were dimly descried in advance, and it was evident that Cawnpoor was once more in possession of the British.

The entire loss from the action of the day was about 100 killed and wounded—that of the 78th being 3 killed and 16 wounded. Many men also died from the effects of the sun and

extreme fatigue, the 78th alone losing 5 men from this cause.

An incident occurred about this time which is worth recording. By some mistake a bugler sounded the "officers' call" in rear of the 78th. The officers of the regiment immediately assembled near the general—who was standing close by—imagining that he wished to see them. On finding out the mistake, General Havelock addressed them as follows:—"Gentlemen, I am glad of having this opportunity of saying a few words to you which you may repeat to your men. I am now upwards of sixty years old; I have been forty years in the service: I have been engaged in action about seven-and-twenty times; but in the whole of my career I have never seen any



Sketch-Map to illustrate Brigadier-General Havelock's Military Operations during July and August 1857.
The numbers on the route are miles.

regiment behave better, nay more, I have never seen any one behave so well, as the 78th Highlanders this day. I am proud of you, and if ever I have the good luck to be made a major-general, the first thing I shall do, will be to go to the Duke of Cambridge and request that when my turn arrives for the colonelcy of a regiment, I may have the 78th Highlanders. And this, gentlemen, you hear from a man who is not in the habit of saying more than he means. I am not a Highlander, but I wish I was one."

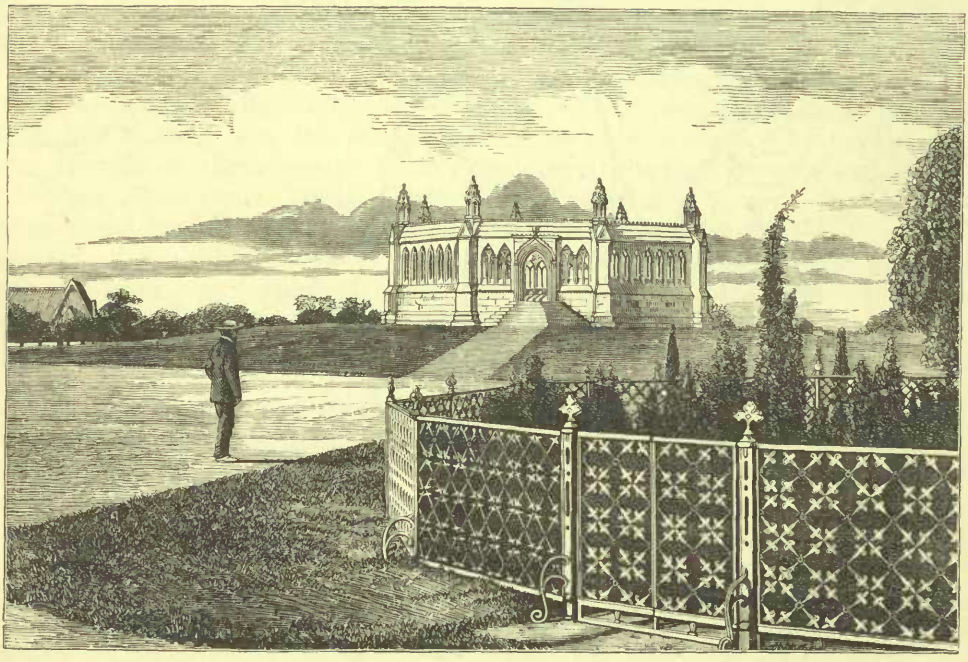
The wounded were now gathered together and cared for, and the tired troops lay down for the night, when a crash that shook the earth woke them; Nana Sahib had blown up the great Cawnpoor magazine and abandoned the place.

The next morning a few troops were sent into the town, which was found to be entirely evacuated. The sight presented by the house of murder, and the well into which were thrown the mangled bodies of upwards of 200 women and children as yet scarcely cold,

can never be effaced from the memories of those who witnessed it, and who, though fresh from the horrors of the battle-field, shuddered and wept at the revolting scene.

On the morning of the 17th, the force was joined by the camp and baggage, and encamped on the Cawnpoor parade-ground (where the 78th was last encamped in the year 1799), and on the 18th moved round to the western side of Cawnpoor, where General Havelock issued a stirring general order, his words burning with horror and righteous indignation at what had taken place at Cawnpoor. "Your comrades at Lucknow are in peril," the order said, "Agra is besieged, Delhi still the focus of mutiny and rebellion. . . . Highlanders! it was my earnest desire to afford you the opportunity of showing how your predecessors conquered at Maida. You have not degenerated. Assaye was not won by a more silent, compact, and resolute charge than was the village near Jansenvoor on the 16th instant."

On the 20th of July, Brigadier General Neill arrived from Allahabad with 270 men.



Mausoleum over the Well at Cawnpoor.

Thus reinforced, Havelock began to cross the Ganges; and on the 25th, with his band of 1500, commenced his first march to relieve Lucknow, leaving General Neill to command at Cawnpoor. Though the season was that of the monsoon, and the country in a deluge, the troops took the field without tentage of any kind, getting such shelter as could be afforded by the deserted and ruined hamlets.

The strength of the 78th was 16 officers and 293 men, being the grenadiers, Nos 3, 6, and light companies.

On the 26th, the force moved forward a few miles and took up its quarters at the village of Mungulwar, about six miles from Cawnpoor. On the morning of the 29th, it advanced to meet the rebels, who were stationed in great strength at the town of Oonao, and a small village close in front of it. The houses were surrounded by walled enclosures, every wall being loopholed, and a deep swamp protected the enemy's right.

The 78th and the 1st Madras Fusiliers, with two guns, began the attack. They drove the enemy from the gardens; but when they approached the village, where every house was loopholed, a destructive fire was opened upon them. From one house in particular the

line suffered a heavy musketry fire; Lieutenant Bogle with part of No 3 company was ordered to attack it. He gallantly led on the men through a narrow and strongly defended doorway (the only means of ingress), into a court filled with armed fanatics, but immediately on entering he fell severely wounded, together with nearly all who had entered with him. The defenders were ultimately overcome by shells thrown into the house by the artillery. After an obstinate resistance, the mutineers were driven beyond the town, where they rallied, but were soon put to flight, and their guns taken.

After a halt of three hours the column moved on, and in the afternoon came in sight of Buseerutgunge, where the rebels again made a stand. This town was walled, surrounded by deep ditches, and had been strengthened by earthworks. The gate in front was defended by a round tower, mounting four heavy guns. Behind the town was a wide nullah full of water, crossed by a narrow causeway and bridge.

The troops immediately deployed, the 64th being ordered to turn the town on the left, and penetrate between the bridge and the enemy. The 78th and the Fusiliers advancing on the front face, carried the earthworks and drove out the enemy, capturing their guns. It was now 6 P.M., and too dark, without cavalry, to pursue the enemy through the swamps beyond the causeway, over which the rebels succeeded in escaping.

These two actions had cost the little force 12 killed and 76 wounded, and cholera had, moreover, broken out. To send the sick and wounded, numbering nearly 300, back to Cawnpoor would have required an escort which could not be spared, and Lucknow was still 36 miles away. Without reinforcements General Havelock found the relief impossible, he therefore fell back to Mungulwar, which he reached on the morning of the 31st. Here he remained entrenched awaiting reinforcements from Cawnpoor, whither all the sick and wounded were sent.

Brigadier-General Neill having thrown up a strong entrenchment at Cawnpoor, sent over all the men whom he could spare to Havelock, who, with his force thus again increased to about 1400 men, commenced on the 4th of August his second march to relieve Lucknow. The enemy were found on the following day occupying their old position at Buseerutgunge. They were driven from the town in confusion and with severe loss, by Maude's battery, the 78th, and the Sikhs, and also from a position which they had taken up across the nullah. Their loss was supposed to be about 300, that of the British being 2 killed and 23 wounded; Colonel Hamilton's charger was killed under him.

The British force being again diminished by sickness and the sword, General Havelock was compelled to retire upon his old position at Mungulwar. It was the only course he could pursue, as to advance to Lucknow with the small force at his command was to court annihilation, and as a consequence the certain destruction of the British garrison at Lucknow. Preparations were therefore made to recross the river to Cawnpoor, which was now threatened on all sides by the Dinapoor mutineers, the Gwalior contingent, and Nana Sahib at Bithoor. Perceiving Havelock's intention a large force of the enemy assembled at Oonao, with the design of attacking the British position at Mungulwar, or of annoying the force during its passage of the Ganges. To obviate this the general moved out to meet the mutineers in the morning of the 11th of August, after sending his force, now reduced to about 1000 men, and all his baggage and stores across the river. On Havelock's force reaching Oonao, the enemy's advanced posts fell back, and it bivouacked during the night near the town.

On advancing the next day (July 29th) the enemy were descried drawn up at the village of Boorbeek Chowkey, about a mile from Buseerutgunge. Their centre rested on the village, and their guns were conveniently placed behind a series of high mounds, forming strong natural defences, which they had scarped and otherwise artificially improved. The British troops deployed, and, covered by artillery fire and skirmishers, advanced in direct échelon of battalions from the right, receiving, as they came within range of the enemy's batteries, a deadly fire of shell, grape, and round shot, which was aimed with greater precision than

had hitherto been manifested by their artillerymen anywhere. The British guns on the right having sufficiently advanced to get a flanking fire on the enemy's line, the 78th charged a battery of three guns on the enemy's left, captured two of the guns, and turning them on the retreating hosts, pounded them with their own shell and grape, putting them completely to rout. At the same time the Madras Fusiliers repulsed a strong demonstration made by the enemy's cavalry on the right. The loss of the British in the action was 140 killed and wounded.

Having rested for two hours on the field, the column slowly retired to Mungulwar, and on the following morning, August 13th, recrossed the Ganges to Cawnpoor, having been in the field, in an Indian monsoon, without tents, for twenty-three days, during which it had four times met and defeated the enemy.

In these four engagements the 78th lost 6 men killed and 2 officers, Lieutenant and Adjutant Macpherson and Lieutenant Bogle, and 6 men wounded. To Lieutenant Crowe of the 78th the Victoria Cross was subsequently awarded, as having been the first man to enter the battery at Boorbeek Chowkey, where the two guns were captured.

The regiment was joined at Cawnpoor by Colonel Stisted, Captain Archer, and No. 4 Company.

Early on the morning of the 16th of August the movable column marched against Bithoor, the residence of Nana Sahib, about 14 miles from Cawnpoor. About noon the column came in sight of the enemy, numbering in all, infantry and cavalry, about 4000, strongly posted. General Havelock called it "one of the strongest positions in India." The plain in front of the enemy's position was covered with thick sugar-cane plantations, which reached high above the heads of the men, and their batteries were defended by thick ramparts flanked by entrenched quadrangles. The whole position was again flanked by other villages and comprehended the town of Bithoor.

The enemy having opened upon the advancing British force a continued shower of shot and shell, and as the British guns made no impression upon them, it was resolved to have recourse to the bayonet, and a simultaneous advance of the line was ordered. While the Fusiliers moved upon the flanking villages, the 78th advanced upon the batteries, alternately lying down and moving on, as the volleys of grape issued from the enemy's guns. The rebels awaited the approach of the advancing men until the foremost entered the works, when they fled in confusion. The British troops pursued the enemy into and through the town, but being completely knocked up by exposure to the fierce sun, and by the great fatigue they had undergone, could follow the retreating rebels no further, and bivouacked on the ground they had won.

The 78th had in this affair only Captain Mackenzie and 10 men wounded, though several men died of cholera, which had again broken out.

The next morning the force returned to Cawnpoor, and took up a position on the plain of Subada, where General Havelock issued a commendatory and stirring note, in which he told the small force that it "would be acknowledged to have been the prop and stay of British India in the time of her severest trial."

During the next month the force rested at Cawnpoor, while reinforcements gradually arrived. Immediately on crossing the Ganges cholera broke out, and carried off a great number of the little band. The headquarters of the 78th lost from this cause alone 1 officer, Captain Campbell, and 43 men. The strength of the regiment was still further reduced by the departure of 1 officer and 56 men, sick and wounded, to Allahabad. At the end of the month, however, the five companies that had been left behind, and the detachment that came from Chinsurah by the steamer route, joined headquarters from Allahabad

In the middle of September the regiment was supplied with Enfield rifles, but there was little time left for giving the men any instruction in the use of that weapon.

The force despatched from England to assist in the Chinese war (the 23rd, 82nd, 90th, and 93rd Regiments) had been stopped at Singapore and brought to Calcutta. The 37th Regiment also arrived from Ceylon, and the 5th from Mauritius. Of these regiments, the 5th and 90th were immediately on arrival sent up the country, and reached Cawnpoor in the

beginning of September. Sir James Outram also arrived at this time, having been appointed to the military command of the Cawnpoor and Dinapoor divisions.

A bridge of boats was thrown across the Ganges, and every preparation made for another attempt to relieve Lucknow, the garrison of which was still successfully and heroically holding out. On the 16th of September, Sir James Outram issued a division order, in which he generously resigned to Major-General Havelock the honour of leading on the force intended to make a second attempt to relieve Lucknow. This Sir James did "in gratitude for, and in admiration of the brilliant deeds in arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops." Sir James was to accompany the force as a volunteer, and on the relief of Lucknow would resume his position at the head of the forces.

The army of relief was divided into two brigades of infantry and one of artillery, as follows:—First brigade of infantry, under Brigadier-General Neill, consisted of the 5th Fusiliers, 84th Regiment, 1st Madras Fusiliers, and 100 men of the 64th Regiment. Second brigade of infantry, under Colonel Walter Hamilton of the 78th, consisted of the 78th Highlanders under Colonel Stisted, 90th light infantry, and the Sikh regiment of Ferozepoor. The Artillery brigade, under Major Cooper, B.A., consisted of the batteries of Captain Maude, Captain Olphert, and Brevet-Major Eyre. The volunteer cavalry, a few irregulars, under Captain Barrow, and a small body of Engineers, accompanied the forces. The entire force was under the command of Brigadier-General Havelock, accompanied, as we have stated, by Major-General Outram as a volunteer.

The entrenchment at Cawnpoor having been completed was garrisoned by the 64th regiment under Colonel Wilson.

On the 18th of September an advance party, consisting of No. 8 and the Light Company of the 78th, the Sikh regiment, and four guns under Major M'Intyre of the 78th, was pushed across the river to form a *tête-de-pont* to enable the bridge to be completed on the enemy's side of the river. The men were exposed during the day to a skirmishing fire from the enemy, who also opened a few guns upon them from a distance, but with little effect. During the day these companies were relieved by Nos. 6 and 7 of the 78th, and Major Haliburton took command of the advanced party. Before daybreak on the 19th, this party, which was stationed all night on a dry sandbank in the middle of the Ganges, pushed quietly across the intervening islands to the mainland, in order to cover the advance of the force, which crossed with little opposition, the rebel army, after a slight show of resistance, retiring on their entrenched position about three miles off, towards Mungulwar.

The strength of the force amounted to about 3000, that of the 78th being 26 officers and 523 men; Colonel Walter Hamilton being Brigadier, Colonel Stisted commanded the regiment.

On the morning of September 21st, the advance on Lucknow commenced, and the enemy's position was soon reached near Mungulwar, which for some weeks they had been busily employed in fortifying. The position, however, was soon carried, the enemy rapidly pursued, and many of them cut up by the British cavalry; four guns and a colour were captured. The British loss was merely nominal.

Rain now commenced to pour in monsoon torrents, and hardly ceased for three days. Through it the force pushed in column of route over the well-known scenes of their former struggles, by Buseerutgunge and the village of Bunnee, when, about 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 23rd, the enemy were descried in a strong position in the neighbourhood of Lucknow. The head of the column at first suffered from the fire of the enemy's guns as it was compelled to pass along the trunk road between morasses; but these passed, the force quickly deployed into line, and the 2nd brigade advancing through a sheet of water drove back the right of the mutinous army, while the 1st Brigade attacked it in front. Victory soon declared for the British force, which captured five guns. The enemy's cavalry, however, 1500 strong, creeping through lofty cultivation, made a sudden irruption on the baggage in the rear of the relieving force, inflicting some loss on the detachment of the 90th that was guarding it. In this en-

gagement the 78th lost 1 man killed and 6 wounded.

The British passed the night of the 23rd on the ground they had won, exposed, however, to a cannonade from the enemy's guns. On the morning of the 24th, their fire inflicted such loss on the British force, especially the 78th, which had 4 men killed and 11 wounded by it, that the General, having determined to halt this day to obtain rest previous to the attack on the city, found it necessary to retire the left brigade out of reach of the guns.

The 24th was spent in removing all the baggage and tents, camp-followers, sick and wounded, into the Alum Bagh, which, on the advance being made next day, was left in charge of Major M'Intyre of the 78th, with a detachment of 280 Europeans, some Sikhs, and 4 guns. Of these, Major M'Intyre, Lieutenant Walsh, and 71 non-commissioned officers and men, besides 34 sick and wounded, belonged to the 78th.

A short description of the desperate position of those whom Havelock hoped to rescue may not be out of place here.

In the month of June (1857), most of the native regiments at Lucknow, as elsewhere, having broken out into open mutiny, the Residency and a strong fort in the city called Muchee Bhorwan, were put in a state of defence for the protection of the Europeans. On the 30th of June, the garrison, consisting of 300 of H.M.'s 32nd Regiment, and a few Native infantry, cavalry, and artillery, marched out to Chinhut to meet a rebel army which was marching upon Lucknow; but the native gunners proved traitors, overturned the guns, cut the traces, and then deserted to the enemy. The remainder of the force thus exposed to a vastly superior fire, and completely outflanked, was compelled to make a disastrous retreat, with the loss of 3 guns and a great number killed and wounded.

The force being thus diminished the Muchee Bhorwan had to be evacuated. On the night of the 1st of July it was blown up, and the troops marched into the Residency, the investment of which the enemy now completed; and for three months the brave garrison had to undergo a siege regarding which the Governor-General of India justly writes, "There does not stand in the annals of war an achievement more truly heroic than the defence of the Residency of Lucknow."

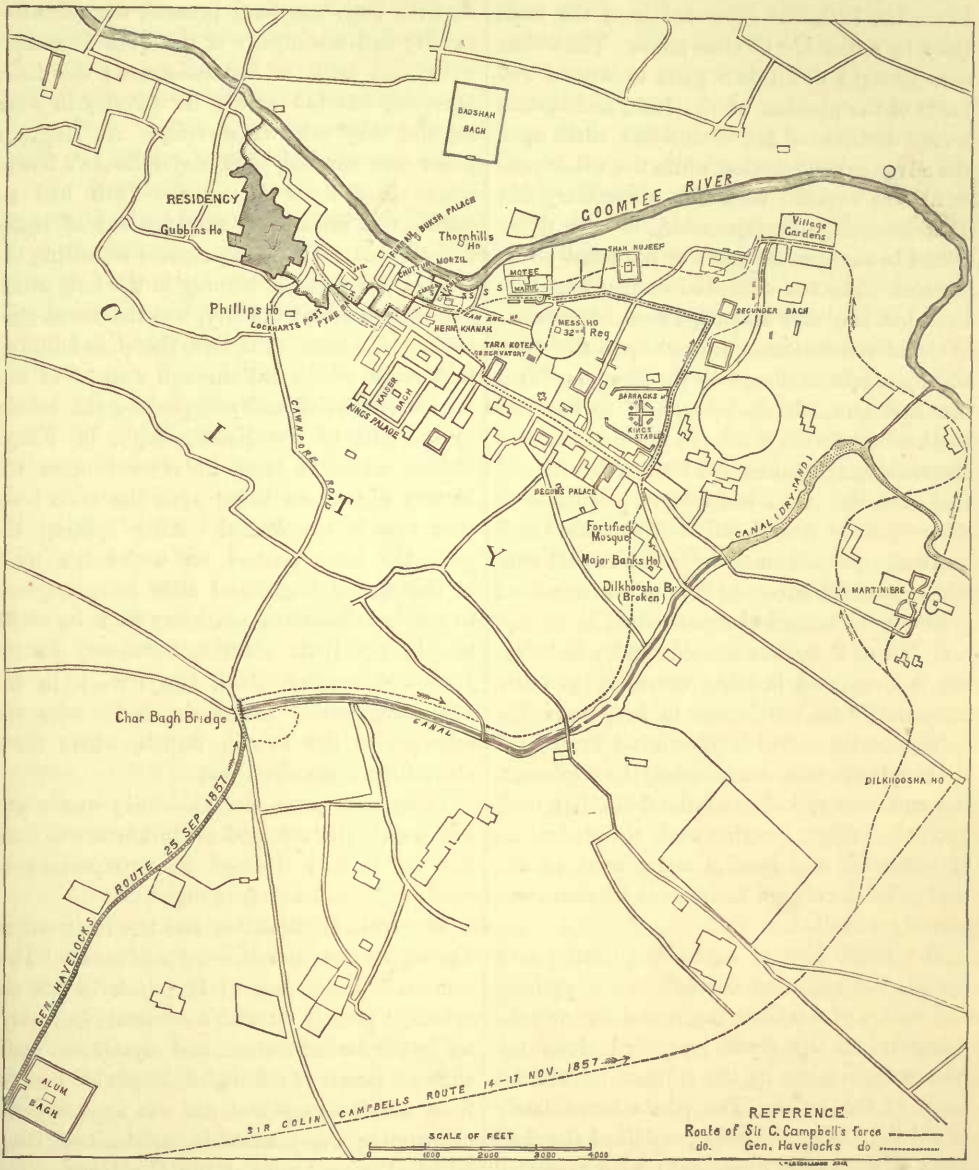
This brave handful had heard through spies of the frightful tragedy of Cawnpoor; the dangers multiplied; the provisions were failing; more than 300 of the men had been killed, and many more had succumbed to disease, when the joyful sound of the British guns at the Alum Bagh, on the 23d of September, announced to them that relief was at hand.

And now came the rescue. On the morning of the 25th of September, General Havelock's force advanced from the Alum Bagh.

The enemy had taken up an exceedingly strong position at the village of Char Bagh, on the city side of the canal, the bridge over which was defended by several guns in position; they also occupied in force numerous gardens and walled enclosures on one side of the canal, from which they poured a most destructive musketry fire on the advancing troops.

The 1st brigade led, accompanied by Captain Maude's battery, and after a desperate resistance, in which one-third of the British artillerymen fell, they succeeded in storming the bridge of Char Bagh and capturing the guns, supported by the 2nd brigade, which now moved to the front, and occupying the houses on both sides of the street, bayoneted the defenders, throwing the slain in heaps on the roadside.

From this point the direct road to the Residency through the city was something less than two miles; but it was known to have been cut by trenches and crossed by barricades at short intervals, all the houses, moreover, being loopholed. Progress in this direction was impossible; so, the 78th Highlanders being left to hold the position until the entire force, with ammunition, stores, &c., had passed, the united column pushed on, detouring to the right along a narrow road which skirted the left bank of the canal. The advance was not seriously impeded until the force came opposite the Kaiser Bagh, or King's Palace, where two guns and a body of mercenary troops were entrenched, who opened a heavy fire of grape and musketry. The artillery with the column had to pass a bridge exposed to this fire, but



Plan illustrative of the Operations for the Relief of Lucknow in September and November 1857.

they were then shrouded by the buildings adjacent to the palace of the Furrah Buksh.

In the meantime the 78th was engaged in a hot conflict. As soon as the enemy perceived the deviation made by the main body, and that only a small force was left at the bridge of the Char Bagh, they returned in countless numbers to annoy the Highlanders. Two companies, Nos. 7 and 8, under Captains Hay and Hastings, were sent to occupy the more advanced buildings of the village; four companies were sent out as skirmishers in the surrounding gardens; and the remainder, in reserve, were posted in the buildings near the bridge.

The lane out of which the force had marched was very narrow and much cut up by the passage of the heavy guns, so that it was a work of great difficulty to convey the line of com-

missariat carts and cattle along it, and in a few hours the 78th was separated from the main body by a distance of some miles. The enemy now brought down two guns to within 500 yards of the position of the 78th, and opened a very destructive fire of shot and shell upon the advanced companies, while the whole regiment was exposed to a heavy musketry fire. This becoming insupportable, it was determined to capture the guns at the point of the bayonet. The two advanced companies, under Captains Hay and Hastings, and Lieutenants Webster and Swanson, formed upon the road, and by a gallant charge up the street captured the first gun, which, being sent to the rear was hurled into the canal. In the meantime the skirmishing companies had been called in, and they, together with the reserve, advanced to the support of Nos. 7 and 8. The united regiment now pushed on towards the second gun, which was still annoying it from a more retired position. A second charge resulted in its capture, but as there was some difficulty in bringing it away, and it being necessary to retire immediately on the bridge to keep open the communications, which were being threatened by the hosts who surrounded the regiment, the gun was spiked, and the 78th fell back upon the bridge, carrying with them numbers of wounded, and leaving many dead on the road. In the charge Lieutenant Swanson was severely wounded.

The entire line of carts, &c., having now passed, the regiment evacuated the position and bridge of the Char Bagh, and forming the rear-guard of the force, proceeded along the narrow lane taken by the column on the left bank of the canal. The rebels immediately seized the bridge, crossed it, and lined the right bank of the canal, where they were protected by a wall, from behind which they poured a galling musketry fire, and placing a gun upon the bridge, enfiladed the road along which the route of the 78th lay; thus the regiment was almost completely surrounded, and had to stand and protect its rear at every step. Captain Hastings was severely wounded, while making a brave stand with No. 8 company against the advancing mass of rebels; Captain Lockhart and a large number of men were also wounded here.

A report having been sent to the general that the 78th was hard pressed, the volunteer cavalry and a company of the 90th Regiment were sent back to its assistance; the lane, however, was too narrow for cavalry to work in, and they suffered severely. At length a point was reached, near Major Banks's house, where four roads meet; the 78th had no guide, the main body was far out of sight, and all that could be ascertained regarding the locality was that the turning to the left, which evidently led into the city, was the direct road to the Residency. The force therefore followed that route, which led through a street of fine houses loopholed and occupied by the rebels, to the gate of the Kaiser Bagh, or King's Palace, where it came in reverse upon the battery which was firing upon the main body near the Motee Mahul. After spiking the guns, the force pushed on under the walls of the Kaiser Bagh, and after being exposed to another shower of musketry from its entire length, the little column, consisting of the 78th and cavalry, about four o'clock in the afternoon, joined the main body near the entrance to the Furrah Buksh, where for a short time it obtained rest.

From this point the Residency was about half a mile distant, and as darkness was coming on, it was deemed most important to reach the Residency that night.

The 78th Highlanders and the regiment of Ferozepore were now directed to advance. "This column," wrote General Havelock in his despatch, "pushed on with a desperate gallantry, led by Sir James Outram and myself and staff, through streets of flat-roofed, loopholed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up, and overcoming every obstacle, established itself within the enclosure of the Residency. The joy of the garrison may be more easily conceived than described. But it was not till the next evening that the whole of my troops, guns, tumbrils, and sick and wounded, continually exposed to the attacks of the enemy, could be brought step by step within the *enceinte* and the adjacent palace of the Furrah Buksh. To form an adequate idea of the obstacles overcome, reference must be made to the events that are known to have occurred at Buenos Ayres and Saragossa."

Lieutenant Kirby was mortally wounded in this advance, while gallantly waving the Queen's colour which he had carried throughout the action. On his fall, Sergeant Reid of the grenadier company seized the colour and carried it for some distance, when assistant-surgeon M'Master took it from him, and carried it up to near the Residency gate, where he handed it over to Colour-sergeant Christie, by whom it was brought into the Residency. The regimental colour was carried throughout the day by Ensign Tweedie, 4th Bengal Native Infantry, who was attached to the regiment. Lieutenant Webster was killed within 200 yards of the gate; Lieutenant Crowe and Lieutenant and Adjutant Macpherson were wounded, and 2 officers attached to the regiment—Lieutenant Joly of the 32nd Regiment, and Lieutenant Grant of the Bengal army—were also wounded, the former mortally.

Early the next morning a party was sent out under Captain R. Bogle, of the 78th, to assist in bringing in the wounded, who had been left with the 90th Regiment and heavy guns in the Motee Mahul. While performing this duty Captain Bogle received a severe wound, of which he died two months afterwards.

A request for reinforcements having been sent by Major Haliburton of the 78th, who now commanded the troops at the Motee Mahul (his two seniors having fallen), the 5th regiment and part of the Sikhs were sent to assist him. In the forenoon another party was sent, consisting of 50 men of the 78th, under Captain Lockhart and Lieutenant Barker, who occupied the house called "Martin's House," on the bank of the Goomtee, which secured the communication between the palaces and the Motee Mahul. Here they were exposed during the whole day to a hot cannonade, until towards evening the house was a complete ruin.

In the meantime the wounded men were conveyed from the Motee Mahul under charge of their medical officers, Surgeons Jee of the 78th, and Home of the 90th, who had gallantly remained with them under the heavy fire to which they had been exposed for many hours. Some of them, with the former officer, reached the Residency in safety, but those under charge of Surgeon Home were misled by a civilian, who had kindly volunteered to show the way. The enemy surrounded them; the doolie bearers fled, and the small escort, with a few wounded officers and men, took refuge in a neighbouring house, where during the whole day and night they were closely besieged by a large body of rebels, numbering from 500 to 1000, against whom the escort defended themselves and their wounded comrades in a most heroic manner. Those of the wounded, however, who were unable to leave their doolie, fell into the hands of the enemy, and were put to death with horrible tortures, some of them being burned alive. Lieutenant Swanson was one of the wounded of the 78th who were saved, but not until he had received two fresh wounds, one of which proved mortal. Privates James Halliwell, Richard Baker, and William Peddington of the 78th, were among those few gallant men who fought against such unequal odds. The first-named was rewarded with the Victoria Cross, as were also Surgeon Home of the 90th and two men of other regiments. The party was most fortunately saved from this perilous situation on the following morning, as will appear in the sequel.

After the wounded and commissariat stores had left the Motee Mahul by the river bank, it was found impossible to take the heavy guns by that way, and the only practicable route for them being the high road which ran through the enemy's position to the Furrah Buksh palace, it was resolved to attempt to bring them in by that route under cover of the night. The remainder of the 78th, under Colonel Stisted, was sent out from the Residency about sunset on the 26th to assist in this operation, together with two guns under Captain Olpherts, and some irregular cavalry. The 5th, and part of the Sikh Regiment had already been sent there in the early part of the day.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 27th the column was formed in perfect silence, the 78th leading, and the remainder following, with heavy guns and ammunition in the centre; the Sikhs covered each flank. Thus formed, the whole force proceeded undiscovered up to the enemy's posts. The leading division had nearly reached the palace when the alarm was given by the enemy's sentries, bugles sounded the

"assembly," and confusion reigned in the rebel camp. The British soldiers now raised a cheer, and rushed on the opposing force into their own line of works, losing only 1 officer and 2 men killed, and 1 officer and 9 men wounded—2 of the latter belonging to the 78th.

The route of this little force fortunately lay through the square where, as above mentioned, a few men were heroically defending their wounded comrades in a most critical situation, and they were thus saved at a most opportune moment.

The relief of the Lucknow garrison having been thus gloriously accomplished, Sir James Outram resumed his position as the commander of the troops, and in an Order (dated the 26th of September 1857) he bears just and high testimony to the bravery and heroism of the troops and their leader, who thus accomplished a feat unsurpassed in history. Among the regiments specially mentioned in the Order is "the 78th Highlanders, who led the advance on the Residency, headed by their brave commander, Colonel Stisted."

In effecting the relief the army lost 535 in killed, wounded, and missing. The loss fell heaviest on the 78th, which throughout the day was exposed to more fighting than the rest of the force. This regiment alone lost 122 killed and wounded; 2 officers and 39 men being killed, and 8 officers and 73 men wounded, out of 18 officers and 428 men who left the Alum Bagh on the 25th. Besides the officers already named, Lieutenant Crowe was wounded.

The Victoria Cross was subsequently awarded to Lieutenant and Adjutant Macpherson, for "distinguished conduct in setting an example of heroic gallantry to the men of the regiment at the period of the action in which they captured two brass 9-pounders at the point of the bayonet."

The Victoria Cross was also conferred upon the regiment as a body, which was required to nominate one individual to wear it as its representative. On a vote being taken, it was almost unanimously agreed that it should be given to Assistant-Surgeon M'Master, upon whom accordingly it was conferred, "for the intrepidity with which he exposed himself to the fire of the enemy in bringing in and attending to the wounded on the 25th of September at Lucknow."

In addition to these, a Victoria Cross was conferred upon Colour-sergeant Stewart Macpherson and Private Henry Ward of the light company.

On the 26th the enemy were cleared away from the rear of the position, and on the 27th the palace, extending along the line of the river from the Residency to near the Kaiser Bagh, was also cleared and taken possession of for the accommodation of the troops.

At daylight on the 29th three columns, aggregating 700 men, attacked the enemy's works at three different points, destroyed the guns, and blew up the houses which afforded positions to the enemy for musketry fire. One of the columns was composed of 20 men of the 32nd Regiment, 140 men of the 78th (under Captains Lockhart and Hay, and Lieutenants Cassidy and Barker), and the 1st Madras Fusiliers.

The column fell in and filed out of the breach in the Sikh Square at daybreak, the advance consisting of the 32nd and the 78th, the Madras Fusiliers being in reserve. They formed silently under cover of some broken ground, and made a sudden dash upon the first gun, which was taken by the 32nd with a cheer, and burst by an artilleryman. The 78th, led by Captain Lockhart, who was slightly wounded, then charged a gun up a street leading to the right; the covering party of the first gun and a considerable body of the enemy rallied round this gun, which was twice fired as the regiment advanced up the lane. Sergeant James Young, of the 78th, the first man at the gun, bayonetted one of the enemy's gunners while reloading for the third discharge, and was severely wounded by a sword-cut. The rest of the gunners were shot or cut down, and some who had taken refuge in an adjoining house were destroyed by means of hand-grenades thrown in by the windows. Proceeding further, the regiment captured a small gun and some wall-pieces, which were brought in, the large gun being blown up. The position was retained while the engineers made preparations for blowing up the houses which it was deemed advisable to destroy; these being ready, the columns retired into the entrenchment, and the explo-

sions took place. The loss of the 78th on this day was 1 man killed, and 1 officer and 8 men wounded.

Brigadier-General Neill having been killed on the 25th of September 1857, Colonel Stisted was appointed brigadier of the 1st brigade, and Major Haliburton assumed command of the regiment.

After the heavy loss sustained by the relieving force in pushing its way through the enemy, it was clearly impossible to carry off the sick, wounded, women, and children (amounting to not fewer than 1500) through five miles of disputed suburb; the want of carriage alone rendering it an impossibility. It was therefore necessary for the now considerably increased garrison to maintain itself in its present position on reduced rations until reinforcements should advance to its relief. Brigadier Inglis retained command of the old Lucknow garrison, reinforced by the volunteer cavalry, Madras Fusiliers, and a detachment of the 78th; while General Havelock commanded the field force that occupied the palaces and outposts.

One of the enemy's batteries, known as Phillip's Battery, still remained in a strong position close to the Residency, and continued to annoy the garrison by its fire; its capture, therefore, became necessary, and a force, consisting in all of 568 men, of which the 78th formed a part, was placed at the disposal of Colonel Napier, of the Bengal Engineers, on the 1st of October. On the afternoon of that day the column formed on the road leading to the Pyne Bagh, and advancing to some houses near the Jail, drove the enemy away from them and from a barricade, under a sharp musketry fire. The column having to work its way through strongly barricaded houses, it was late before a point was reached from which the enemy's position could be commanded. This having been obtained, and it being found, on reconnoitring, that the battery was in a high position, scarped, and quite inaccessible without ladders, it was determined to defer the assault till daylight. The position gained having been duly secured and loopholed, the men occupied the buildings for the night, and were subjected to a heavy fire from the battery.

On the morning of the 2nd the troops advanced, covered by a fire of artillery from the Residency entrenchment. A severe fire was opened from a barricade which flanked the battery on the right; but this being turned, the troops advanced and drove the enemy from the battery, capturing the guns, which had been withdrawn to some distance, and driving off the enemy, who defended them with musketry and grape. The guns having been destroyed, and Phillip's house blown up, the troops withdrew to their position of the previous night, the 78th having lost 1 man killed and 3 wounded.

The command of this sallying party now fell to Major Haliburton of the 78th, who, under instructions from the general, commenced on the 3rd of October to work from house to house with crowbar and pickaxe, with a view to the possibility of adapting the Cawnpoor road as the line of communication with the Alum Bagh. On the 4th, Major Haliburton was mortally wounded and his successor disabled. On the 6th the proceedings were relinquished, and the troops gradually withdrew to the post at the junction of the Cawnpoor road and Main Street, which was occupied by the 78th Highlanders, and retained by that regiment as a permanent outpost during the two months' blockade which ensued.

The regiment being greatly reduced, both in officers and men, the ten companies were told off into four divisions, each under the command of an officer—Captain Hay, Lieutenants Cassidy, Finlay, and Barker. The position was divided into three different posts, each defended by one of these divisions, the fourth being in reserve. By this arrangement, each man was on guard for three days and nights out of four, and on the fourth day was generally employed on a working party in erecting the defences.

Everything was now done by the garrison to strengthen its position; barricades were erected at all available points, the defences of the Residency were improved, and all the palaces and buildings occupied by the field force were put into a state of defence. One of the greatest dangers that the besieged had to apprehend was from the enemy's mines, which threatened the position of the British from every possible quarter, thus requiring the garrison to be continually on the alert, and to be

constantly employed in countermining. In this the garrison was very successful, the underground attempts of the besiegers being outwitted on almost every hand, and many of their mines frequently destroyed. The outpost of the 78th, under Captain Lockhart (who on the death of Major Haliburton took command of the regiment, and held it during the rest of the siege), was vigorously assailed by these means by the enemy; but they were completely outwitted by some of the soldiers of the 78th (who volunteered for this work, for which they received extra pay at the rate of 10s. per diem), directed by Lieutenant Hutchinson, of the Bengal Engineers, and Lieutenant Tulloch, Acting Engineer.

The enemy kept so persistently sinking shafts and driving galleries towards the position occupied by the 78th, that in order to countermine them five shafts were sunk at several angles of the position, from each of which numerous galleries were driven, of a total length of 600 feet. Indeed, in regard to the mining operations in connection with the siege of Lucknow, Sir James Outram wrote, "I am aware of no parallel to our series of mines in modern war; 21 shafts, aggregating 200 feet in depth, and 3291 feet of gallery, have been erected. The enemy advanced 20 mines against the palace and outposts."

The post of the 78th was all this time exposed by day and night to a ceaseless fire of shot, shell, and musketry, and scarcely a day passed in which some casualty did not occur. The outer walls of the houses forming the post were reduced to ruins by round shot, and sharpshooters occupied the houses around to within 50 yards, watching for their prey. All the other regiments were similarly situated during the two months' blockade.

The rations had now for some time been reduced to one-half, and the troops, having left everything behind them at the Alum Bagh, had nothing to wear but the clothes they wore on entering. At length, however, tidings of relief arrived.

Sir Colin Campbell arrived at the Alum Bagh on the 12th of November with about 700 cavalry, 2700 infantry, and some artillery (being chiefly troops which had been engaged in the siege of Delhi), after having a smart skirmish at Buntera, where Captain Mackenzie of the 78th was a second time wounded; that officer, with Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, Captain Archer, and several men of the 78th, having accompanied the relieving force. Changing the garrison of the Alum Bagh, where the 75th Regiment was left, Sir Colin Campbell formed a battalion of detachments of the 7th Fusiliers, the 64th and 78th Regiments, numbering in all about 400 men, of whom 118 belonged to the 78th, with Lieutenant-Colonel M'Intyre, Captain Archer, and Lieutenant Walsh, the battalion being commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Henry Hamilton of the 78th.

The commander-in-chief being further joined by a reinforcement of about 700 men (of the 23rd Fusiliers and 82nd Regiment), advanced from the Alum Bagh in the direction of Dilkhoosha Park, and after a running fight of about two hours, the enemy were driven through the park of the Martinière beyond the canal. The Dilkhoosha and Martinière were both occupied, and all baggage being left at the former place in charge of the regiment, the advance on Secundur Bagh commenced early on the 16th. This place, as well as the Shah Nujeef, was taken in the most gallant manner, the 93rd Highlanders forming part of the attacking force.

In the meantime Havelock's force had been employed in digging trenches and erecting batteries in a large garden held by the 90th Regiment; these were concealed by a lofty wall, under which several mines were driven for the purpose of blowing it down when the moment for action should arrive. It was determined by the general, that as soon as the commander-in-chief should reach Secundur Bagh, this wall should be blown in by the miners, and that the batteries should open on the insurgent defences in front, when the troops were to storm the three buildings known as the Hera Khanah, or Deer House, the Steam Engine House, and the King's Stables.

On the morning of the 16th, all the troops that could be spared from the defences were formed in the square of the Chuttur Munzil; at 11 A.M. the mines under the wall were sprung, and the batteries opened an overwhelming fire, which lasted for three hours, on the buildings beyond. When the breaches were declared

practicable, the troops were brought up to the front through the trenches, and lay down before the batteries until the firing should cease, and the signal be given to advance. The storming parties were five in number, with nearly 800 men in all, each accompanied by an engineer officer and a working party. A reserve of 200 men, part of whom belonged to the 78th, under Major Hay of that regiment, remained in the palace square. The 78th storming party, 150 strong, was commanded by Captain Lockhart, and the working party by Lieutenant Barker, accompanied by an engineer officer.

The guns having ceased firing at half-past three in the afternoon, the bugle sounded the advance. "It is impossible," wrote General Havelock, "to describe the enthusiasm with which the signal was received by the troops. Pent up, inactive, for upwards of six weeks, and subjected to constant attacks, they felt that the hour of retribution and glorious exertion had returned. Their cheers echoed through the courts of the palace, responsive to the bugle sound, and on they rushed to assured victory. The enemy could nowhere withstand them. In a few minutes the whole of their buildings were in our possession."

Guns were mounted on the newly-occupied post, and the force retired to its quarters. On the following day the newly-erected batteries opened fire upon the Tara Kotee (or Observatory) and the Mess House, while Sir Colin Campbell's artillery battered them from the opposite direction. In the afternoon these and the intermediate buildings were occupied by the relieving force, and the relief of the besieged garrison was accomplished.

All arrangements having been made for the silent and orderly evacuation of the Residency and palaces hitherto occupied by General Havelock's troops, the retreat commenced at midnight on the 22nd, and was carried out most successfully in perfect silence, the 78th Highlanders forming the rear-guard. When the 78th reached the last palace square, Sir James Outram, who was riding with it, halted the regiment for a few moments, and in a low but clear voice addressed to them a few words, saying that he had selected the 78th for the honour of covering the retirement of the force, as they had had the post of honour, in advance, on entering to relieve the garrison, and none were more worthy of the post of honour in leaving it. The evacuation was so successfully accomplished, and the enemy were so completely deceived by the movements of the British force, that they did not attempt to follow, but, on the contrary, kept firing on the old position many hours after its evacuation.

The entire force reached the Dilkhoosha Park at four o'clock on the morning of the 23rd. Here the army sustained a great loss by the death of the brave and noble-minded Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., who died of dysentery brought on by the severe privations of the campaign.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton's battalion of detachments was broken up, and that part of it belonging to the 78th joined the headquarters of the regiment, that officer assuming the command. For their services in Sir Colin Campbell's force, Lieutenants-Colonel H. Hamilton and M'Intyre received the thanks of the Governor-General, and were afterwards created Companions of the Bath.

Between the 26th of September and the 22nd of November, the 78th lost in the defence of Lucknow 9 men killed, and 5 officers and 42 men wounded; the names of the officers were, Major Haliburton, Captain Bogle, Assistant-Surgeon M'Master, Captain Lockhart, Lieutenant Swanson, and Lieutenant Barker. The two first mentioned and Lieutenant Swanson, besides 27 men, died of their wounds during these two months.

As might be expected, Sir James Outram in his despatches spoke in the very highest terms of the conduct of the troops during this trying period, and the Governor-General in Council offered his hearty thanks to Brigadiers Hamilton and Stisted, and Captains Bouverie and Lockhart of the 78th, for their efficient co-operation. General Havelock's force was rewarded by a donation of twelve months' batta, which reward was also conferred on the original garrison of Lucknow. Colonel Walter Hamilton and Surgeon Jee of the 78th were made C.B.'s, the former receiving the distinguished service pension of L.100 per annum, and the latter the Victoria

Cross; Captain Lockhart was made a Brevet-Major.

Mention should be made of the occupation and defence of the post at the Alum Bagh under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Intyre of the 78th, from the 25th of September until the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell's force. That officer, it may be remembered, was appointed to the command of the Alum Bagh, with detachments of regiments of about 200 Europeans, with some Sikhs, and foreigners. In it were placed the sick and wounded of the force, amounting to 128 (of whom 64 were wounded), the baggage, commissariat and ordnance stores. The native followers left them amounted to nearly 5000, and there was an enormous number of cattle of various descriptions. Though closely besieged by the enemy, and suffering greatly at first from scarcity of provisions, the small force held gallantly out until relieved, with a loss of only one European killed and two wounded during the 49 days' siege. For this service Lieutenant-Colonel M'Intyre received the special thanks of the Government.

On the afternoon of the 25th of November the whole force under Sir Colin Campbell encamped in the plain to the south of the Alum Bagh. On the 27th, the commander-in-chief moved off with General Grant's division in the direction of Cawnpoor, which was threatened by the Gwalior contingent, leaving Sir James Outram's division, now numbering 4000 men of all arms, to retain a defensive position at the Alum Bagh, with a view of keeping in check the masses of Lucknow rebels. Sir James took up a strong position, fortifications being erected at every possible point, and the force at his command being disposed in the most advantageous manner. The circuit of the entire position was nearly ten miles, and here the force remained for the next three months (December, January, and February), while Sir Colin Campbell, after retaking Cawnpoor, was engaged in recovering the Doab, and making preparations for a final assault upon the city of Lucknow. The numbers of the enemy daily increased in front of Sir James Outram's position, until they amounted to little less than 100,000. The unceasing activity of the enemy kept Outram's force continually on the alert.

Towards the end of December, Sir James learned that the enemy contemplated surrounding his position and cutting off supplies, and with that object had despatched to Guilee a force which took up a position between that village and Budroop, which places are about a mile distant from each other, and were about three miles to the right front of the British position. This force, on the evening of December 21st, amounted to about 4000 infantry, 400 cavalry, and 4 field guns.

Sir James moved out at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 22nd, with a force composed of 6 guns, 190 cavalry, 1227 infantry under Colonel Stisted of the 78th, including 156 of the 78th under Captain Lockhart. Notwithstanding the very unequal odds, the enemy were completely and brilliantly repulsed on all hands, 4 guns, and 12 waggons filled with ammunition being captured. In his Division Order of the next day Sir James Outram said, "The right column, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, 90th Regiment, consisting of detachments of the 78th and 90th Regiments and Sikhs, excited his admiration by the gallant way in which, with a cheer, they dashed at a strong position held by the enemy, and from which they were met by a heavy fire, regardless of the overwhelming numbers, and 6 guns reported to be posted there. The suddenness of the attack, and the spirited way in which it was executed, resulted in the immediate flight of the enemy, with hardly a casualty on our side." In the same order, Sir James thanked Lieutenant-Colonel H. Hamilton for the manner in which he commanded the reserve, and Brigadiers Hamilton (78th) and Eyre, who had charge of the camp, for the way in which they kept the enemy in check.

After this successful repulse the enemy did not again attempt to surround the position, but continued day after day to make attacks upon it from their position in front. Want of space forbids us to give details of these attacks, every one of which, notwithstanding the overwhelming numbers of the rebels, was most brilliantly repulsed with but little loss to the British.

"Thus was this position before Lucknow held for three months by Sir James Outram's

division, his troops being continually called on to repel threatened attacks, and frequently employed in defending the numerous picquets and outposts, all of which were exposed to the fire of the enemy's batteries."

The casualties of the 78th during this defence were only 8 men wounded.

On the 26th of January 1858, the 2nd brigade was paraded to witness the presentation of six good-conduct medals to men of the 78th Highlanders, on which occasion Sir James Outram addressed the regiment in terms in which, probably, no other regiment in the British army was ever addressed. Indeed, the Ross-shire Buffs may well be proud of the high opinion formed of them by Generals Havelock and Outram, neither of whom were given to speaking anything but the severe truth. So extremely complimentary were the terms in which Sir James Outram addressed the 78th, that he thought it advisable to record the substance of his address in writing, lest the 78th should attribute anything to the excitement of the moment. In a letter addressed to Brigadier Hamilton he wrote,—"What I did say is what *I really feel*, and what I am sure must be the sentiment of every Englishman who knows what the 78th have done during the past year, and I had fully weighed what I should say before I went to parade." We must give a few extracts from the address as Sir James wrote it:—

"Your exemplary conduct, 78th, in every respect, throughout the past eventful year, I can truly say, and *I do most emphatically declare*, has never been surpassed by any troops of any nation, in any age, whether for indomitable valour in the field or steady discipline in the camp, under an amount of fighting, hardship, and privation such as British troops have seldom, if ever, heretofore been exposed to. The cheerfulness with which you have gone through all this has excited my admiration as much as the undaunted pluck with which you always close with the enemy whenever you can get at him, no matter what his odds against you, or what the advantage of his position. . . . I am sure that you, 78th, who will have borne the brunt of the war so gloriously from first to last, when you return to old England, will be hailed and rewarded by your grateful and admiring countrymen as the band of heroes, as which you so well deserve to be regarded."

In the meantime Sir Colin Campbell having relieved Cawnpoor and retaken the Doab, and having received large reinforcements from England, had assembled a large army for the capture of the city of Lucknow. This army was composed of an artillery division, an engineer brigade, a cavalry division, and four infantry divisions. The 78th Highlanders, consisting of 18 officers and 501 men, under Colonel Stisted, formed with the 90th Light Infantry, and the regiment of Ferozepore, the 2nd Brigade, under Brigadier Wanklin of the 84th Regiment, of the 1st Division under Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B. In the 2nd Division were the 42nd and 93rd Highlanders, and in the 3rd Division, the 79th Highlanders. The whole army amounted to 1957 artillery, 2002 engineers, 4156 cavalry, and 17,549 infantry, or a grand total of 25,664 effective men, to which was added during the course of the siege the Ghoorka army, under the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, numbering about 9000 men and 24 guns.

We need not enter into the details of the siege of Lucknow, especially as the 78th was not engaged in the aggressive operations, particulars of which will be found in our histories of the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd. After nineteen days' incessant fighting, the city was taken complete possession of by the British, and the enemy put to utter route. During the siege operations the 78th was in position at the Alum Bagh, where the regiment sustained little more than the usual annoyance from the enemy, until the 16th, when the front and left of the position were threatened by large forces of the enemy's infantry and cavalry. Brigadier Wanklin had hardly time to dispose his troops in the best positions for supporting the outposts, when a determined advance of the enemy's line took place, their cavalry in myriads making a most brilliant charge on the front left picquets. A heavy fire from these, however, aided by that of the field artillery, who were detached to the left, caused them to turn and flee precipitately.

The 78th being thus not actively engaged during the siege, sustained a loss of only

1 officer, Captain Macpherson, and 2 men wounded.

The officers of the regiment honourably mentioned in the despatches were Colonel Stisted, C.B., Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel H. Hamilton, C.B., Brevet-Major Bouverie, on whom the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel was conferred, Captain Macpherson, on whom the brevet rank of Major was conferred, and Lieutenant Barker. The brevet rank of Major was also conferred on Captain Mackenzie.

On the 29th of March 1858 the divisions of the army were broken up, and three new forces of all arms combined were formed as follows:—the Azimgurh Field Force under General Lugard, the Lucknow Field Force under General Sir Hope Grant, and the Rohilcund Field Force under Brigadier-General Walpole.

After going to Cawnpoor the 78th joined, on the 26th of April, the Rohilcund Field Force, among the regiments composing which were the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders. On the same day Sir Colin Campbell arrived and took the command, moving on the following day to Bareilly, the enemy everywhere retiring before the advancing forces. Early on the morning of the 5th of May a movement was made upon Bareilly from Furreedpoor; but into the details of the hot work that took place here we need not enter: they will be found elsewhere. On the forenoon of the 7th, the 78th was sent to protect the heavy guns which were detached to the front for the purpose of shelling some large buildings intervening between the British force and the town, and which were supposed to be undermined.

On the morning of the 7th the town of Bareilly was finally reduced, and the Mussulman portion of it, where there were still detached parties of Ghazees remaining with the intention of selling their lives as dearly as possible, was cleared. In these affairs the 78th lost only 1 man killed and 1 officer, Lieutenant Walsh, and 1 man wounded.

The 42nd, 78th, and 93rd Highlanders were now left to garrison Bareilly, where the 78th remained till February 20th, 1859, having in the meantime received orders to prepare for embarkation to England; previous to which 176 of the men volunteered to join other corps remaining in India. Before leaving Bareilly, an order highly complimentary to the corps was issued by Brigadier-General (now Sir Robert) Walpole, K.C.B. We regret that space does not permit us to reproduce the order here, and for a similar reason we must pass over with as great brevity as possible the remaining history of the regiment; we have devoted considerable space to its periods of active service.

The regiment left Bareilly on the 20th of February, and on the 4th of March reached Agra, where a farewell order was received from the commander-in-chief to the regiment leaving India, in which he, as was to be expected, spoke in high terms of the 78th. The whole of the regiment was collected at Mhow on the 30th of March 1859, and here a banquet was given by the inhabitants of the station to the officers of the 64th and 78th, to welcome back to the Presidency of Bombay these two regiments which had been so distinguished in the late struggle.

On the 26th of March another complimentary order was received from Sir Henry Somerset, commander-in-chief of the Bombay army.

Finally, on the 28th of April, the whole regiment, which had been travelling in detachments, assembled at Bombay, and in honour of its arrival Commodore Wellesley, commander-in-chief of the Indian navy, ordered all H.M.'s ships to be dressed "rainbow-fashion."

On the evening of this day a grand entertainment was given to the 78th by the European inhabitants of Bombay, in the form of a banquet, to which were invited the non-commissioned officers, privates, women, and children of the regiment. A magnificent suite of tents was pitched on the glacis of the fort, and many days had been spent in preparing illuminations, transparencies, and other decorations, to add lustre to the scene. At half-past 7 o'clock P.M. the regiment entered the triumphal arch which led to the tents, where the men were received with the utmost enthusiasm by their hosts, who from the highest in rank to the lowest had assembled to do them honour. After a magnificent and tasteful banquet, speeches followed, in which the men of the Ross-shire Buffs were addressed in a style sufficient to turn the heads of men of less solid calibre.

The entertainment was described in a local paper as "one of the most successful demonstrations ever witnessed in Western India."

The depôt had a few days previous to this arrived from Poonah, and joined the regiment after a separation of two years and four months.

Finally, the regiment embarked on the morning of the 18th in two ships, under the distinguished honour of a royal salute from the battery. The two ships arrived at Gravesend about the middle of September, and the regiment having been transhipped, proceeded to Fort-George, where it once more rested from its hard labours, after an absence of seventeen years from home. The strength of the regiment on leaving India was 21 officers, 44 sergeants, 30 corporals, 11 drummers, 424 privates, 30 women, and 67 children; 59 men only being left of those who came out with the regiment in 1842.

We may mention here, that during this year an alteration was made in the clothing of the pipers, the colour of whose uniform was changed from buff to a dark green.

VI.

1859—1874.

Reception of the regiment in the Northern Counties—Banquet at Brahan Castle—Regiment fêted at Nairn and Inverness—Medals for Persia—Removed to Edinburgh—Officers and men fêted at Edinburgh and Hamilton—Abolition of Grenadiers and Light Companies—Medals for the Indian Mutiny—Removed to Aldershot—thence to Shorncliffe—thence to Dover—The Duke of Cambridge's opinion of the 78th—Additional year's service granted to Indian men—Inauguration of the Monument on the Castle Hill, Edinburgh—Presentation of Plate and Pipe-major's Flag by the Countess of Ross and Cromarty—Lucknow Prize-money—Gibraltar—Retirement of Colonel M'Intyre—Retirement of Colonel Lockhart—His farewell Address—Canada—Presentation of Colours—Nova Scotia—Internal changes—Lieutenant-General Sir C. H. Doyle's opinion of the 78th—Home—Belfast—Aids the civil power—Fort-George—Aldershot.

As we have devoted so much space to a narrative of the active service of this distinguished regiment, we shall be compelled to recount with brevity its remaining history; this, however, is the less to be regretted, as, like most regiments during a time of peace, the history of the Ross-shire Buffs since the Indian mutiny is comparatively uneventful.

On the 1st of June 1859 Colonel Walter Hamilton was appointed to be Inspecting Field Officer of a recruiting district, by which the command of the regiment fell to Colonel Stisted, who, on the 30th of the following September, exchanged to the 93rd Highlanders with Colonel J. A. Ewart, C.B., aide-de-camp to the Queen.

The regiment being once more assembled on the borders of Ross-shire (the county from which it received its name), after an absence of twenty years, was received on all sides with a most hearty and spontaneous and certainly thoroughly well-deserved welcome. The northern counties vied with each other in showing civility to the regiment by giving banquets to the men and balls to the officers. Into the details of these fêtes we cannot of course enter. One of the most characteristic of these entertainments was a banquet given at Brahan Castle, by the Honourable Mrs Stewart Mackenzie, daughter of the Earl of Seaforth who raised the regiment, when a large family gathering of the Mackenzies of Seaforth assembled to do honour to the corps raised by their ancestors, on its return from the Indian wars. The regiment as a body was fêted by the inhabitants of the town and county of Nairn, and by the noblemen and gentlemen of the northern countries and burgh of Inverness at the latter town. The freedom of the burgh of Nairn was also conferred on Lieutenant-Colonel M'Intyre, and in both cases addresses were presented to the regiment, showing a high and well-deserved appreciation of the noble work done by the "Saviours of India." On entering Inverness, Colonel M'Intyre halted the regiment in front of the house of General John Mackenzie, the oldest officer then in the British army, and who originally raised the light company of the 78th Highlanders. The men gave three cheers for the gallant veteran before proceeding along the streets appointed for the procession to the banqueting hall.

In the month of November a large meeting was held at Dingwall, for the purpose of considering the propriety of presenting some lasting testimonial from all classes in the county of Ross to the Ross-shire Buffs. The result of the meeting will appear in the sequel.

Shortly after this, Nos. 11 and 12 companies were formed into a dépôt, numbering 4 officers and 96 men, who, under Captain M'Andrew, proceeded to Aberdeen to join the 23rd dépôt battalion at that place.

The medals for the Persian campaign were received in February 1860, and on the 18th of that month were issued to the regiment. Out of the 36 officers and 866 men who served in Persia in the early part of the year 1857, only 15 officers and 445 men at this time remained on the strength of the regiment.

The 78th left Fort-George in two detachments, on the 21st and 24th of February, for Edinburgh, where its reception was most enthusiastic. The streets were rendered almost impassable by the people that thronged in thousands to witness the arrival of the famous 78th. In Edinburgh, as when at Fort-George, the people showed their appreciation of the services of the regiment by fêting officers and men. On the 23rd of March the officers were entertained at banquet given by the Royal Company of Archers, Queen's Body-Guard for Scotland; and on the 21st of April a grand banquet was given to the officers and men by the citizens of Edinburgh, in the Corn Exchange.

The 78th remained in Edinburgh till April 1861, furnishing detachments to Greenlaw and Hamilton. The detachment stationed at the latter place was duly banqueted, and the freedom of the borough conferred upon Lieutenant-Colonel M'Intyre, C.B.

While in Edinburgh, in accordance with a circular from the Horse-Guards, dated May 30th, 1860, directing that all distinction between flank and battalion companies be abolished, the grenadiers and light companies ceased to exist, as such; the green heckles, grenades, and bugles being done away with, together with all distinction as to the size of the men, &c. This step, though no doubt conducive to the greater efficiency of the service, was not a little grievous to old officers, who as a rule took considerable pride in the stalwart men of the grenadier companies.

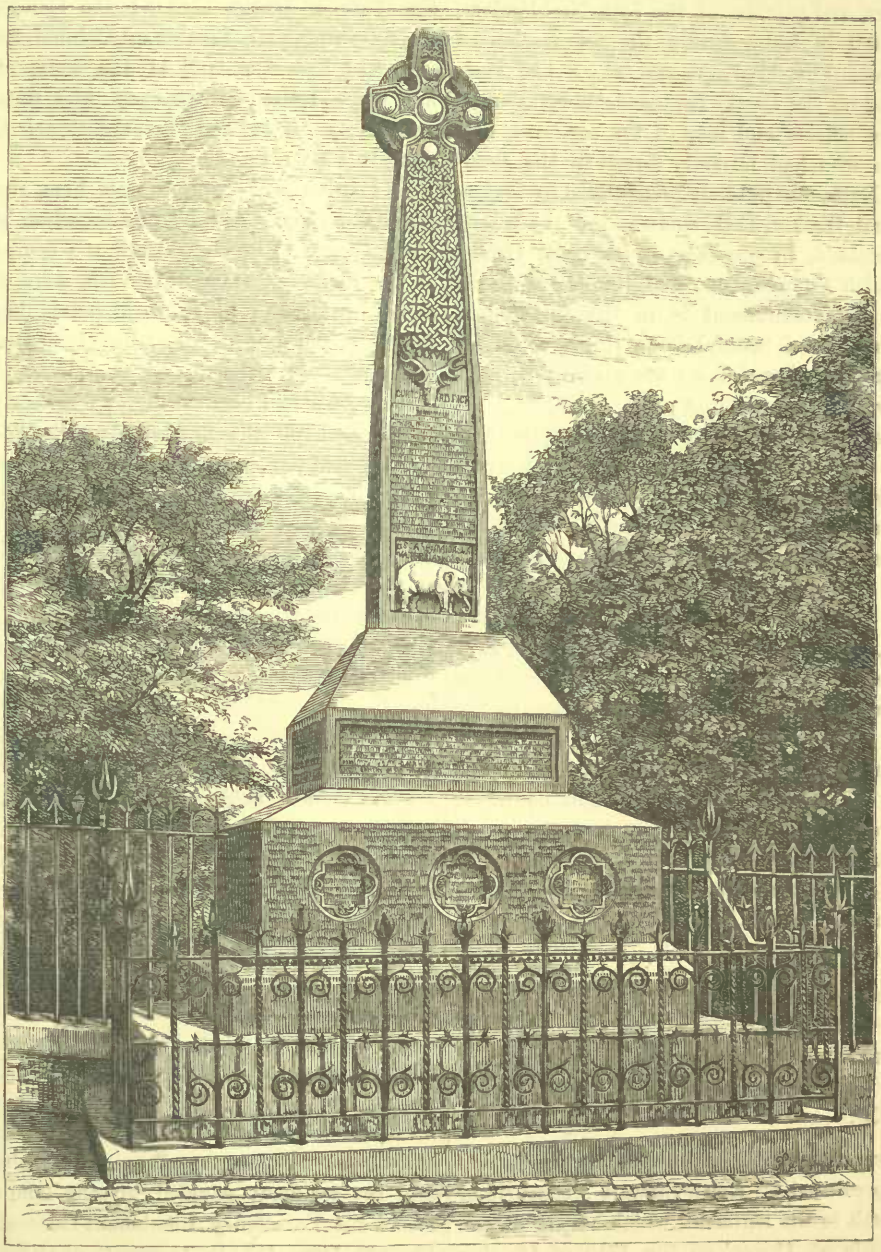
On the 2nd of June, General Sir William Chalmers, K.C.B., died at Dundee, and was succeeded in the colonelcy of the regiment by Lieutenant-General Roderick M'Neil, formerly an officer of the 78th Highlanders.

On the 9th of August the medals granted for the suppression of the Indian mutiny were presented to the regiment by Lady Havelock (widow of the late Sir Henry Havelock), who happened to be in Edinburgh at the time. Out of about 900 of all ranks, who commenced the Indian campaign with the 78th in May 1857, only 350 remained at this time in the strength of the service companies, a few also being at the depôt at Aberdeen.

The 78th left Edinburgh for Aldershot in detachments between April 27th and May 8th, 1861, remaining in huts till the end of August, when it removed into the permanent barracks. After staying a year at Aldershot it was removed on the 15th of May 1862 to Shorncliffe, where it spent about another year, removing to Dover on the 26th of May 1863. Here it was quartered on the Western Heights, furnishing detachments regularly to the Castle Hill Fort, to be employed as engineer working parties. After staying in Dover until August 1864, the 78th embarked on the 5th of that month, under command of Colonel J. A. Ewart, C.B., for Ireland, disembarking at Kingstown on the 8th, and proceeding to Dublin. Here the regiment remained for another year, when it received the route for Gibraltar. During this period there is little to record in connection with the peaceful career of the 78th.

Since the return of the regiment from India, it had, of course, been regularly inspected, the inspecting officers, as was naturally to be expected, having nothing but praise to bestow upon its appearance, discipline, and interior economy. Shortly after the arrival of the 78th at Aldershot, it was inspected by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, who spoke of it in terms of the highest praise; "it was a noble regiment and admirably drilled," the Duke said.

On the 19th of November 1861, an authority was received for an additional year's service to be granted to those officers and soldiers of the 78th Highlanders who formed part of the column that entered Lucknow under Sir Henry Havelock; and on the 6th of March, in the same year, a similar reward was granted to those who were left by Sir Henry Havelock in defence of the Alum Bagh post on the 25th of September 1857.



Monument on the Castle-Hill, Edinburgh.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF THE OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, AND PRIVATE SOLDIERS OF THE LXXVIII REGIMENT WHO FELL IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MUTINY OF THE NATIVE ARMY OF INDIA IN THE YEARS MDCCCLVII AND MDCCCLVIII, THIS MEMORIAL IS ERECTED AS A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT BY THEIR SURVIVING BROTHER OFFICERS AND COMRADES, AND BY MANY OFFICERS WHO FORMERLY BELONGED TO THE REGIMENT.—ANNO DOMINI MDCCCLXI.

On the 15th of April 1862, a monument to the memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the 78th Highlanders, who fell in India during the suppression of the mutiny in 1857–58, and which had been erected on the Castle Esplanade at Edinburgh by the officers and men of the regiment, and others who had formerly served in the Ross-shire Buffs, was publicly inaugurated by Major-General Walker, C.B., commanding the troops in Scotland, in presence of the Scots Greys, the 26th Cameronians, and the Royal Artillery. The monument is in the form of a handsome and tasteful large Runic cross, an illustration of which we are glad to be able to give on the preceding page.

We mentioned above that a meeting had been held at Dingwall, to consider the propriety of presenting some testimonial to the Ross-shire Buffs from the county which gives the regiment its distinctive name. The outcome of the meeting was that, while the regiment was at Shorncliffe, on the 26th of June 1862, two magnificent pieces of plate, subscribed for by the inhabitants of the counties of Ross and Cromarty, were presented to the 78th by a deputation consisting of Keith Stewart Mackenzie (a descendant of Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth, who raised and equipped the regiment), Macleod of Cadbol, Major F. Fraser, and Lord Ashburton. The plate consists of a Centre Piece for the officers' mess, and a cup for the sergeants' mess, and bears the following inscription :—

Presented by the Counties of Ross and Cromarty to the 78th Highlanders or Ross-shire Buffs, in admiration of the gallantry of the regiment and of its uniform devotion to the service of the country. —1859.

A very handsome flag for the pipe-major was also presented by Keith Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth to the regiment, which has six pipers.

While at Dover, on the 17th of October 1863, the first issue of the Lucknow prize-money was made, a private's share amounting to £1, 14s.; that of the various other ranks, from a corporal upwards, increasing in regular proportion, up to the Lieutenant-Colonel, who received 17 shares, amounting to £28, 18s.

On the 22nd of this month died the colonel of the 78th, General Roderick Macneil (of Barra), to whom succeeded Lieutenant-General Sir Patrick Grant, G.C.B.[1] In October of the following year, Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, who had had command of the regiment for five years, retired on half-pay, and was succeeded by Major and Brevet-Colonel Colin Campbell M'Intyre, C.B.

It may be interesting to note here, that in compliance with a circular memorandum, dated Horse-Guards, 10th June 1865, the companies of the regiment, from July 17th, were designated by letters from A to M (excluding J), for all purposes of interior economy, instead of by numbers as hitherto.

The 78th had been at home for nearly six years, when on the 2nd of August 1865, it embarked at Kingstown for Gibraltar, the whole strength of the regiment at the time being 33 officers, 713 men, 74 women, and 95 children. Asiatic cholera was prevalent at Gibraltar at the time of the regiment's arrival, and it therefore encamped on Windmill Hill until the 18th of October. The loss of the regiment from cholera was only 5 men, 1 woman, and 1 child.

During the two years that the 78th remained at Gibraltar, in performance of the tedious routine duties incident to that station, the only event worthy of record here is the retirement on full pay, in October 1866, of Colonel M'Intyre, who had been so long connected with the regiment, and who, as we have seen, performed such distinguished service in India. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lockhart, C.B., who, in assuming the command of the regiment, paid, in a regimental order, a high and just compliment to his predecessor.

On the 6th of July 1867 the 78th embarked at Gibraltar for Canada. Previous to embarkation the regiment paraded on the Alameda, where his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Airey, G.C.B., Governor of Gibraltar, bade the 78th "good-bye" in a short address highly complimentary to the regiment, and especially to Colonel Lockhart, who also, before his old regiment sailed, had to say farewell to it. Colonel Lockhart, after being connected

[1] See portrait on the steel plate of the Colonels of the 78th and 79th Regiments.

with the 78th for thirty years, was about to retire on full pay, and therefore on the morning of the 8th, before the vessel quitted the bay, he handed over the command of the regiment to Major Mackenzie; and on the evening of that day his farewell regimental order was issued, in which he exhibited the deepest feeling at having to bid farewell to his dear old regiment, as well as intense anxiety for the highest welfare of the men. The address is, indeed, very impressive, and we are sorry that space does not permit us to quote it here. "If any 78th man meets me in Scotland," the colonel said, "where, by God's permission, I hope to spend many



Centre Piece of Plate for the Officers' Mess.

happy days, I shall expect he will not pass me by; I shall not him."

After being transhipped at Quebec on board a river steamer, the regiment landed at Montreal on the 23rd of July. The regular routine of garrison duty at Montreal was relieved by a course of musketry instruction at Chambly, and by a sojourn in camp at Point Levis, on the fortification of which place the regiment was for some time engaged.

The only notable incident that happened during the stay of the regiment in Canada was the presentation to it of new colours, the old ones being sadly tattered and riddled, and stained with the life-blood of many a gallant officer. The new colours were presented to

the regiment by Lady Windham, in the Champ de Mars, on the 30th of May 1868, amid a concourse of nearly ten thousand spectators. After the usual ceremony with regard to the old colours, and a prayer for God's blessing on the new by the Rev. Joshua Fraser, Lady Windham, in a few neat, brief, and forcible words, presented the new colours to Ensigns Waugh and Fordyce. Lieutenant-General C. A. Windham, the commander-in-chief, also addressed the regiment in highly complimentary terms. "Though he had not a drop of Scotch blood in his veins," he said, "he had exceedingly strong Scottish sympathies. It was under Scotchmen that he got his first military start in life, and under succeeding Scotchmen he had made his earlier way in the service. . . . . The 78th Highlanders had always conducted themselves bravely and with unsullied loyalty." At the déjeuner which followed, General Windham said that in the whole course of his service he had never seen a regiment which pulled together so well as the 78th, and among whom there were so few differences. All the toasts were, of course, drunk with Highland honours, and all went off most harmoniously down to the toast of the "Ladies," to which Lieutenant Colin Mackenzie had the honour to reply, advising his young brothers in arms to lose no time in coming under the sway of the "dashing white sergeant."

The old colours of the Ross-shire Buffs were sent to Dingwall, in Ross-shire, there to be deposited in the County Buildings or the Parish Church.

On the 8th of May 1869 the regiment left Montreal; and, after being transhipped at Quebec, proceeded to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where it arrived on the 14th of May. Previous to the regiment's leaving Montreal, a very warm and affectionate address was presented to it by the St Andrew's Society.

The regiment remained in Nova Scotia till November 1871, furnishing detachments regularly to St John's, New Brunswick. On several occasions since its return from India, the strength of the regiment had been reduced; and while at Halifax, on the 21st of April 1870, a general order was received, notifying a further reduction, and the division of the regiment into two depôts and eight service companies, consisting in all of 34 officers, 49 sergeants, 21 drummers, 6 pipers, and 600 rank and file. This involved a redistribution of the men of some of the companies; and, moreover, depôt battalions having been broken up on the 1st of April, the depôt companies of the 78th Highlanders were attached to the 93rd Highlanders.

Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Hastings Doyle, K.C.M.G., commanding the forces in British North America, inspected the regiment on the 11th of October 1870, a day or two after which the following very gratifying letter was received by Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, C.B., from Brigade-Major Wilsome Black:—"The general desires me to say that he is not in the habit of making flourishing speeches at half-yearly inspections of Queen's troops (although he does so to militia and volunteers), because her Majesty expects that all corps shall be in perfect order. When they are not, they are sure to hear from him, and a report made accordingly to the Horse Guards; but when nothing is said, a commanding officer will naturally take for granted that his regiment is in good order. The general, however, cannot refrain from saying to you, and begs you will communicate to the officers and men of the regiment under your command, that he was perfectly satisfied with everything that came under his observation at his inspection of your regiment on Tuesday last."

In compliance with orders received, the 78th, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Mackenzie, C.B., embarked on board H.M.'s troop-ship "Orontes," on the 25th of November 1871, and arrived at Queenstown, Ireland, on the 17th of December, where the regiment was transhipped and conveyed to Belfast, arriving in Belfast Lough on the 20th, and disembarking next day.

The strength of the regiment on its arrival in the United Kingdom was 32 officers and 472 non-commissioned officers and men, which on the 22nd of December was augmented by the arrival of the depôt battalion from Edinburgh, consisting of 2 officers and 45 non-commissioned officers and men. Shortly afterwards the strength of the regiment was augmented to 33 officers and 592 non-commissioned officers and privates; and in accordance with the Royal Warrant, dated October 30th, 1871, all the

ensigns of the regiment were raised to the rank of lieutenant, the rank of ensign having been abolished in the army.

During its stay at Belfast the 78th regularly furnished detachments to Londonderry; and on several occasions it had the very unpleasant and delicate duty to perform of aiding the civil power in the suppression of riots caused by the rancour existing between Orangemen and Roman Catholics in the North of Ireland. This trying duty the regiment performed on both occasions to the entire satisfaction of the Irish authorities as well as of the War Office authorities, receiving from both quarters high and well-deserved praise for its prudent conduct, which was the means of preventing greatly the destruction of life and property.

Under the new system of localisation of regiments, it was notified in a Horse Guards General Order, that the 71st Highland Light Infantry and the 78th Highlanders would form the line portion of the 55th infantry sub-district, and be associated for the purposes of enlistment and service. The counties included n this sub-district are Orkney and Shetland, Sutherland, Caithness, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, Nairn, and Elgin, and the station assigned to the brigade depôt is Fort George. In accordance with this scheme, Major Feilden, with a small detachment, proceeded to Fort-George on the 9th of April, to form part of the brigade depôt.

The 78th embarked at Belfast on the 3rd of May 1873, under command of Colonel Mackenzie, C.B. The streets were densely crowded, and the people gave vent to their good feeling by cheering repeatedly as the regiment marched from the barracks to the quay. The regiment was transferred to the "Himalaya," which sailed on the 4th round the west and north coast of Scotland, and anchored in Cromarty Bay on the evening of the 7th, headquarters and six companies disembarking opposite Fort George next day. Two companies remained on board and proceeded to Aberdeen, there to be stationed. A detachment of the companies at Aberdeen proceeded to Ballater on the 15th of May, as a guard of honour to her Majesty the Queen, and again on the 14th of August.

The regiment was inspected by Major-General Sir John Douglas, K.C.B., on the 19th of May the report of the inspection being considered by H.R.H. the Field-Mar hal Commanding-in-Chief as most satisfactory.

The 78th remained at Fort George for only one year, embarking on the 11th of May 1874, under command of Colonel Mackenzie, C.B., for conveyance to Portsmouth, *en route* to Aldershot. The regiment disembarked at Portsmouth on the 15th of May, and proceeded by special train to Farnborough, marching thence to Aldershot. A period of exactly twelve years had elapsed since the 78th was last at this camp.

On the 19th of May the 78th was brigaded with the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders, at a review which took place in the presence of the Czar of Russia; and it is worthy of note that these four kilted regiments are those that represented Scotland at the siege and fall of Lucknow. It is also a curious coincidence that Colonels Macleod, Mackenzie, M'Bean, and Miller all served with the regiments they led on this occasion before the Czar.

Major-General William Parke, C.B., commanding the 1st brigade, inspected the regiment on the 21st of May, and expressed himself highly pleased with the appearance and drill of the Ross-shire Buffs.

At the time we write, the establishment of this most distinguished regiment consists of 27 officers, 64 non-commissioned officers, drummers, and pipers, 40 corporals, and 480 privates, —the total of all ranks thus being 611.

We have the gratification of being able to present our readers with two authentic portraits on steel of two of the most eminent colonels of the Ross-shire Buffs. That of the first colonel, Francis Humberstone Mackenzie, Lord Seaforth, is from the original painting in the possession of Colonel Mackenzie Fraser, of Castle-Fraser; and that of Sir Patrick Grant, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., is from a photograph by Bassano, kindly sent to us by Sir Patrick himself.

SUCCESSION LIST OF COLONELS AND FIELD OFFICERS OF THE 78TH HIGHLANDERS.

COLONELS.

NAMES.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Francis Humberstone Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Seaforth	March 7, 1793	Resigned command of the regiment, retaining his rank. Died, 11th January 1815.
Alex. Mackenzie of Belmaduthy, took the name of Fraser of Castle Fraser	May 3, 1796	Died a Lieutenant-General, September 1809, from fever contracted in the Walcheren expedition.
Sir James Henry Craig, K.C.B.	September 15, 1809	Died, 1812.
Sir Samuel Auchmuty, G.C.B.	January 13, 1812	Died, 1822.
Sir Edward Barnes, G.C.B.	August 25, 1822	Appointed to 31st Foot, 10th October 1834.
Sir L. Smith, Bart., K.C.B., G.C.H.	October 10, 1834	Appointed to the 40th Foot, 9th February 1837.
Paul Anderson, C.B., K.C.	February 9, 1837	Died, 28th December 1851.
Sir Neil Douglas, K.C.B., K.C.H.	December 28, 1851	From Colonel 72nd. Died, 30th Sept. 1853.
Sir W. Chalmers, C.B., K.C.H.	September 30, 1853	Died, 2d June 1860.
Roderick Macneil	June 3, 1860	Died, 22d October 1863.
Sir Patrick Grant, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.	October 23, 1863	Governor of Chelsea Hospital (1874).

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Alex. Mackenzie of Belmaduthy	July 24, 1793	Promoted Colonel-Commandant 27th Feb. 1796.
Alex. Mackenzie of Fairburn	February 10, 1794	2nd Battalion of 1794. To 36th Regiment, 1797.
John Randoll Mackenzie of Suddie	February 27, 1796	A Col. in the army in 1794; he became a Major-General, and was killed at Talavera, 1809.
Alexander Malcolm	1795	Died, 1798.
John Mackenzie, Gairloch	1795	Placed on Half-pay, 1799.[9]
John Mackenzie, junior	1795	Placed on Half-pay, 1795.
Hay Macdowall	May 22, 1797	Col. in the army in 1795, Major-General in 1798, and was promoted to 40th Regiment, 1802. Lost on passage from India, 1809.
Alexander Adams	April 7, 1802	Promoted Major-General, 1814.
Patrick Macleod, Geanies	April 17, 1804	2nd Bat. 1804; Killed at El-Hamet, 21st Ap. 1807.
Hercules Scott, Benholm	July 23, 1807	To 103rd, 1808. Killed in Canada, 1814.
John Macleod, C.B.	May 12, 1808	2nd Battalion of 1804. Major-General, 1819.
James Macdonell, Glengarry	September 7, 1809	Exchanged to Coldstream Guards, 1810.
Sir Edward Michael Ryan, Kt.	February 21, 1811	Died in 1812.
James Fraser	May 1, 1812	Killed at Probolingo in Java, 1813.
Martin Lindsay, C.B.	November 25, 1813	Succeeded Colonel John Macleod in command, 12th Aug. 1819, and retired 27th April 1837.
David Forbes	July 28, 1814	Reduced on Half-pay, 1816.
Henry N. Douglas	April 28, 1837	Died, 1st October 1849.
Martin G. T. Lindsay	April 8, 1842	Exchanged, 15th April 1842.
Roderick Macneil	April 15, 1842	Colonel in the army June 17, 1828, and was promoted Major-General, 9th November 1846.
Jonathan Forbes	November 9, 1846	Retired, 10th December 1847.
E. Twopeny	December 10, 1847	Exchanged to 10th Foot.
Walter Hamilton, C.B.	October 2, 1849	Appointed Inspecting Field Officer, 1st June 1859.
Henry W. Stisted, C.B.	April 19, 1850	Exchanged to 93d Highlanders, 30th Sept. 1859.
John Alexander Ewart, C.B.	September 30, 1859	Retired on Half-pay, 28th October 1864.
Colin Campbell M'Intyre, C.B.	October 28, 1864	Retired on Full-pay, 2d October 1866.
Græme A. Lockhart, C.B.	October 2, 1866	Retired on Full-pay, 13th July 1867.
Alexander Mackenzie, C.B.	July 13, 1867	

MAJORS.

Alex. Mackenzie, Belmaduthy	March 8, 1793	Promoted Colonel-Commandant, 27th Feb. 1796.
George, Earl of Errol	July 24, 1793	To 1st Regiment Foot Guards, 1794. Died, 1799.
Alex. Mackenzie of Fairburn	July 24, 1793	To command of 2nd Battalion, 10th Feb. 1794.
John Randoll Mackenzie of Suddie	February 10, 1794	Promoted, 1794.
Michael Monypenny	October 28, 1794	Promoted to 73rd Regiment, 1798. Died, 1808.
Alexander Malcolm	May 2, 1794	Promoted, 1795.
John Mackenzie, Gairloch	May 3, 1794	Promoted, 1795.
John Mackenzie, junior	1794	Promoted, 1795.
Alexander Grant	1795	Retired, 1798. Died, 1807.
William Montgomery	1795	Promoted to 64th Regiment. Died 1800.
Alexander Adams	August 30, 1798	Promoted, 1802.

[9] "A General, and, at the time of his death, the oldest officer in the British army. He served with high distinction and without cessation from 1779 to 1814. He became a General (*full*) in 1837. So marked was his daring and personal valour, that he was known among his companions in arms as 'Fighting Jack.' General Mackenzie married Lilias, youngest daughter of Alexander Chisholm of Chisholm, and died 14th June 1860, aged 96."—Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*. When the 78th Highlanders were received in Inverness with the utmost enthusiasm, on their return from the Indian Mutiny, General Mackenzie, verging on 100 years, appeared on his balcony to bid them welcome, and was warmly cheered by the successors of those he had so often led to victory.—C. M.

MAJORS—*continued.*

NAMES.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Hercules Scott, Benholm	May 9, 1800	Promoted, 1807.
Patrick Macleod, Geanies	November 18, 1802	To command of 2nd Battalion, 17th April 1804.
David Stewart, Garth	April 17, 1804	Promoted to Royal West Indian Rangers, 1808. Author of the *Sketches.*
James Macdonell, Glengarry	April 17, 1804	Promoted, 1809.
William Campbell	December 13, 1804	Killed at taking Fort Cornelis, in Java, 1810.
James Fraser	July 23, 1807	Promoted, 1813.
Robert Hamilton	April 21, 1808	Retired, 1810.
Martin Lindsay	January 4, 1810	Promoted, 1813.
David Forbes	August 29, 1811	Promoted, 1814.
Duncan Macpherson	November 7, 1811	Major of the regiment in 1820.
James Macbean	December 14, 1811	Major of the regiment in 1820.
Duncan Macgregor	November 25, 1813	Reduced on Half-pay in 1816.
Colin Campbell Mackay, Bighouse	August 11, 1814	Reduced on Half-pay in 1816.
Joseph Bethune	June 14, 1821	
C. G. Falconer	June 26, 1823	
Henry N. Douglas	October 22, 1825	Promoted, 28th April 1837.
James Mill	April 8, 1826	
Benjamin Adams	May 7, 1829	Retired, 17th May 1838.
Martin G. T. Lindsay	April 28, 1837	Promoted, 8th April 1842.
Jonathan Forbes	May 18, 1838	Promoted, 9th November 1846.
E. Twopeny	April 8, 1842	Promoted, 10th December 1847.
R. J. P. Vassall	November 9, 1846	Exchanged to Half-pay.
Walter Hamilton	December 10, 1847	Promoted, 2d October 1849.
J. Burns	May 23, 1848	Exchanged to 2nd Foot.
Henry W. Stisted	May 26, 1848	Promoted, 19th April 1850.
T. J. Taylor	October 2, 1849	Died, 18th June 1850.
Henry Hamilton, C.B.	April 19, 1850	Appointed to the Staff, 1st July 1862.
Colin Campbell M'Intyre, C.B.	June 19, 1850	Promoted, 28th October 1864.
Græme A. Lockhart, C.B.	July 1, 1862	Promoted, 2d October 1866.
Alexander Mackenzie	October 28, 1864	Promoted, 13th July 1867.
Oswald B. Feilden	October 2, 1866	
Augustus E. Warren	July 13, 1867	

ADJUTANTS.

James Fraser	March 8, 1793	Retired, 1794.
James Hanson	February 10, 1794	2nd Battalion of 1794. Became Adjutant of the consolidated Battalion in 1796. Retired.
Donald Fraser	October 1, 1794	
Alexander Wishart	October 20, 1797	Promoted.
John Hay	December 30, 1800	Died in India, 1803.
Joseph Bethune	June 25, 1803	Promoted.
William Mackenzie	April 17, 1804	2nd Battalion of 1804. Promoted.
Thomas Hamilton	September 26, 1805	Deceased.
John Cooper	October 15, 1807	Adjutant of the regiment till succeeded by Bull.
James Fraser	June 15, 1810	
William Smith	June 24, 1813	Adjutant of the 2nd Battalion when reduced.
J. E. N. Bull	May 4, 1826	Promoted, 19th October 1838.
S. M. Edington	October 19, 1838	Resigned, 31st August 1838.
C. Pattison	August 31, 1839	Promoted in Newfoundland Companies.
Hamilton Douglas Gordon	June 16, 1848	Promoted, 10th October 1850.
Laurence Pleydell Bouverie	October 10, 1850	Promoted, 22nd December 1854.
Herbert T. Macpherson, V.C.	December 22, 1854	Promoted, 6th October 1857.
Andrew C. Bogle, V.C.	October 6, 1857	Promoted, 5th November 1858.
G. D. Barker	November 5, 1858	Promoted, 2nd April 1861.
Thomas Mackenzie	April 2, 1861	Resigned, 16th May 1862.
Richard P. Butler	May 16, 1862	Retired, 21st November 1865.
George E. Lecky	November 21, 1865	Resigned, 27th February 1867.
Robert Lockhart Dalglish	February 27, 1867	Retired, 20th July 1867.
E. P. Stewart	July 20, 1867	Promoted, 7th July 1869.
C. E. Croker-King	July 7, 1869	Promoted, 17th July 1872.
Arthur Dingwall Fordyce	August 21, 1872	

PAYMASTERS.

Alexander Bannerman	February 25, 1804	
James Ferguson	March 21, 1805	2nd Battalion of 1804. Deceased.
John Chisholm	December 11, 1817	Retired. Succeeded by Paymaster Taylor.
M. G. Taylor	August 26, 1836	Exchanged to 45th Foot.
E. Evans	July 7, 1846	Retired, 22nd April 1853.
Joseph Webster	April 22, 1853	Retired, 1st April 1864.
Charles Skrine	April 1, 1864	

QUARTER-MASTERS.

NAMES.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Archibald Macdougal	March 8, 1793	Retired.
Alexander Wishart	February 10, 1794	2nd Battalion of 1794. Establishment reduced.
Duncan Macrae	January 23, 1801	To 76th Foot as Ensign.
John Leavoch	February 11, 1804	Promoted from Paymaster's Clerk. He carried the Queen's colour at Assaye and Argaum.
John Macpherson	April 17, 1804	2nd Battalion of 1804. Retired.
Alexander Waters	June 30, 1808	
William Smith	April 19, 1810	
William Gunn	August 6, 1812	Paymaster in Cape Mounted Rifles, May 31, 1839.
Joseph Webster	May 31, 1839	Promoted Paymaster, 22nd April 1853.
Patrick Carroll	April 22, 1853	Retired on Full-pay, 12th September 1856.
Charles Skrine	September 12, 1856	Promoted Paymaster, 1st April 1864.
Alexander Weir	April 26, 1864	

SURGEONS.

Thomas Baillie	March 8, 1793	Died in India, 1802.
William Kennedy	1794	2nd Battalion of 1794.
John Macandie	November 17, 1802	
Thomas Draper	April 17, 1804	2nd Battalion of 1804. Promoted Deputy Inspector-General.
Neil Currie	September 1, 1808	
William Munro	June 3, 1813	To Half-pay.
John M'Roberts, M.D.	November 13, 1817	
Robert Henry Bolton, M.D.	October 30, 1823	
Duncan Henderson	March 23, 1826	Exchanged to 14th Foot.
John M'Andrew	February 15, 1833	Appointed to 40th Foot.
James Burt	July 29, 1836	Appointed to 16th Dragoons.
Archibald Alexander	October 3, 1845	Exchanged to 50th Foot.
Arthur C. Webster	March 23, 1849	Transferred to 10th Hussars.
Joseph Jee, V.C. & C.B.	June 23, 1854	Exchanged to 1st Dragoons, 20th Sept. 1864.
L. C. Stewart	September 20, 1864	Promoted, 17th March 1867.
J. Meane	March 8, 1867	Appointed to the Staff, 6th March 1869.
V. M. M'Master, V.C.	March 6, 1869	Died, 22nd January 1872.
A. W. Beveridge, M.D.	February 17, 1872	

ASSISTANT-SURGEONS.—John Macandie (1795), Alex. Young (1795), John Bowen (1803), Wm. Munro (1805), Alex. Leslie (1805), Walter Irwin (1810), John Hughes (1811), Wm. Macleod (1814), George Maclean (1814), Duncan Henderson, M.D. (1817), Alex Duncan (1826), James Thomson (1826), Arthur Wood, M.D. (1826), James Young (1826), Wm. Robertson (1832), W. H. Allman (1842), John Innes (1842), G. Archer, M.D. (1839), J. Mitchell, M.D. (1843), D. R. M'Kinnon (1844), W. Bowie, M.D. (1844), J. Leitch, M.D. (1846), J. M'Nab, M.D. (1847), A. S. Willocks (1852), E. K. O'Neill (1854), V. M. M'Master (1855), S. S. Skipton, M.D. (1857), A. W. Beveridge, M.D. (1857), P. Kilgour (1866), N. Wade (1867), W. Johnston, M.D. (1872).

DRESS OF THE 78TH HIGHLANDERS—THE FULL HIGHLAND COSTUME.

Officers.—Kilt and belted plaid of Mackenzie tartan; scarlet Highland doublet, trimmed with gold lace according to rank, buff facings (patrol jacket and trews for fatigue dress); bonnet of black ostrich plumes, with white vulture hackle; Menzies tartan hose, red garter knots, and white spatterdashes (shoes and gold buckles, and Mackenzie tartan hose and green garter knots for ball dress); sporran of white goat's hair, with eight gold tassels (two long black tassels undress); buff leather shoulder-belt, with gilt breast plate; red morocco dirk belt, embroidered with gold thistles; dirk and skean-dhu, mounted in cairngorm and silver gilt; the claymore, with steel scabbard; round silver-gilt shoulder brooch, surmounted by a crown. The field officers wear trews, shoulder plaid, and waist belt. The Cabar Feidh on all appointments, with the Elephant, superscribed "Assaye."

Mess Dress.—Scarlet shell jacket, with buff rolling collar and facings, and gold shoulder-knots; Mackenzie tartan vest, with cairngorm buttons.

Sergeants.—Same as privates, with the exception of finer cloth and tartan. Staff sergeants wear the buff cross-belt and claymore, and shoulder plaid with brooch.

Privates.—Kilt and fly of Mackenzie tartan; scarlet Highland doublet, buff facings (buff jacket and trews for fatigue dress); bonnet of black ostrich plumes, with white hackle; sporran of white goat's hair, with two long black tassels; Menzies tartan hose, red garter knots, and white spatterdashes; the Cabar Feidh and the Elephant on the appointments.

Band.—Same as privates, with the exception of red hackles, grey sporrans, buff waist-belts and dirks, and shoulder plaids and brooch.

Pipers.—Same as privates, with the exception of green doublets, green hackles, Mackenzie tartan hose, green garter knots, grey sporrans, black shoulder and dirk belts, claymore, dirk, and skean-dhu, and shoulder plaids with round brooch.

Colonel Mackenzie, C.B., Major Forbes, and the company officers of the 78th presented their pipers, on the 21st of May 1875, with a beautiful set of pipe banners of the value of £100. The mottoes, devices, and honours of the corps are emblazoned on them, and they are considered the most costly flags that have ever been presented to the pipers of any regiment.

THE 79TH QUEEN'S OWN CAMERON HIGHLANDERS.

I.

1793—1853.

The Clan Cameron—Raising of the Regiment—Flanders—West Indies—Holland—Ferrol and Cadiz—Egypt—Ireland—A 2nd battalion—Proposed abolition of the kilt—Denmark—Sweden—Portugal—Corunna—Spain—The Peninsular War—Busaco—Foz d'Arouce—Fuentes d'Onor—Death of Colonel Philip Cameron—Lord Wellington's opinion of the 79th—Salamanca—Siege of Burgos—Vittoria—Pyrenees—Nivelle—Nive—Orthes—Toulouse—Home—Quatre Bras—Waterloo—France—Home—Chichester—Portsmouth—Jersey—Ireland—Canada—New Colours—Scotland—England—Gibraltar—"Bailie Nicol Jarvie"—Canada—Scotland—Chobham—Portsmouth.



EGMONT-OP-ZEE.
EGYPT (WITH SPHINX).
FUENTES D'ONOR.
SALAMANCA.
PYRENEES.
NIVELLE.
NIVE.
TOULOUSE.
PENINSULA.
WATERLOO.
ALMA.
SEBASTOPOL.
LUCKNOW.

THE Camerons are well known as one of the bravest and most chivalrous of the Highland clans. They held out to the very last as steadfast adherents to the cause of the Stuarts, and the names of Ewen Cameron, Donald the "gentle Lochiel," and the unfortunate Dr Cameron, must be associated in the minds of all Scotchmen with everything that is brave, and chivalrous, and generous, and unyieldingly loyal. The clan itself was at one time one of the most powerful in the Highlands; and the regiment which is now known by the clan name has most faithfully upheld the credit of the clan for bravery and loyalty; it has proved a practical comment on the old song, "A Cameron never can yield."

This regiment was raised by Alan Cameron of Erracht, to whom letters of service were granted on the 17th of August 1793. No bounty was allowed by Government, as was the case with other regiments raised in this manner, the men being recruited solely at the expense of the officers. The regiment was inspected at Stirling in January 1794, and at the end of the same month its strength was raised to 1000 men, Alan Cameron being appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.[1] The 79th was at first designated the "Cameronian Volunteers," but this designation was subsequently changed to "Cameron Highlanders."

The following is the original list of the officers of the 79th:—

Major-Commandant—Alan Cameron.
Major—George Rowley.

Captains.

Neil Campbell	Donald Cameron.
Patrick M'Dowall.	George Carnegie.

Captain-Lieutenant and Captain—Archibald Maclean.

Lieutenants.

Archibald Maclean.	Colin Maclean.
Alexander Macdonell.	Joseph Dewer.
Duncan Stewart.	Charles MacVicar.
John Urquhart.	

Ensigns.

Neil Campbell.	Donald Maclean.
Gordon Cameron.	Archibald Cameron.
Archibald Macdonell.	Alexander Grant.
Archibald Campbell.	William Graham.

Chaplain—Thomas Thompson.
Adjutant—Archibald Maclean.
Quartermaster—Duncan Stewart.
Surgeon—John Maclean.

After spending a short time in Ireland and the south of England, the 79th embarked in August 1794 for Flanders. During the following few months it shared in all the disasters of the unfortunate campaign in that country, losing 200 men from privation and the severity of the climate.[2]

Shortly afterwards the regiment returned to

[1] No portrait of this indomitable Colonel exists, or it should have been given as a steel engraving.

[2] Captain Robert Jameson's *Historical Record of the 79th.* To this record, as well as to the original manuscript record of the regiment, we are indebted for many of the following details.

England, and landed in the Isle of Wight, in April 1795. Its strength was ordered to be completed to 1000 men, preparatory to its embarkation for India. While Colonel Cameron was making every exertion to fulfil this order, he received an intimation that directions had been given to draft the Cameron Highlanders into four other regiments. This impolitic order naturally roused the indignation of the colonel, who in an interview[3] with the commander-in-chief deprecated in the strongest terms any such unfeeling and unwise proceeding. His representations were successful, and the destination of the regiment was changed to the West Indies, for which it embarked in the summer of 1795. The 79th remained in Martinique till July 1797, but suffered so much from the climate that an offer was made to such of the men as were fit for duty to volunteer into other corps, the consequence being that upwards of 200 entered the 42nd, while about a dozen joined four other regiments. The officers, with the remainder of the regiment, returned home, landing at Gravesend in August, and taking up their quarters in Chatham barracks. Orders were issued to fill up the ranks of the 79th, and by the exertions of Colonel Cameron and his officers a fresh body of 780 men was raised, who assembled at Stirling in June 1798. In the following year it was ordered to form part of the expedition to the Helder, landing at Helder Point, in North Holland, in August, when it was brigaded with the 2nd battalion Royals, the 25th, 49th, and 92nd Regiments, under the command of Major-General Moore. After various movements, the fourth division, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, came up, on the 2nd of October, with the enemy, strongly posted near the village of Egmont-op-Zee. Notwithstanding the unfavourable nature of the ground, consisting of loose sand-hills, General Moore's brigade made such a vigorous attack with the bayonet, that the enemy were quickly driven from their position, and pursued over the sand-hills till night prevented further operations. In this enterprise, Captain James Campbell, Lieutenant Stair Rose, and 13 rank and file, were killed; and Colonel Cameron, Lieutenants Colin Macdonald, Donald Macniel, 4 sergeants, and 54 rank and file wounded. The regiment was specially complimented for its conduct both by the commander-in-chief and by General Moore; the former declaring that nothing could do the regiment more credit than its conduct that day. It embarked in the end of October, and landed in England on on the 1st of November.

In August 1800 the 79th embarked at Southampton as part of the expedition fitted out to destroy the Spanish shipping in the harbours of Ferrol and Cadiz. It arrived before Ferrol on the 25th, and shortly afterwards the brigade of which the regiment formed part, forced the enemy from their position and took possession of the heights of Brion and Balon, which completely commanded the town and harbour of Ferrol. Lieutenant-General Sir James Pulteney, however, did not see meet to follow out the advantage thus gained, and abandoned the enterprise. In this "insignificant service," as Captain Jameson calls it, the 79th had only Captain Fraser, 2 sergeants, and 2 rank and file wounded.

On the 6th of October the expedition landed before Cadiz, but on account of the very unfavourable state of the weather, the enterprise was abandoned.

In 1801 the Cameron Highlanders took part in the famous operations in Egypt, under Sir Ralph Abercromby; but as minute details of this campaign are given in the histories of the 42nd and 92nd Regiments, it will be unnecessary to repeat the story here. The 79th was brigaded with the 2nd and 50th Regiments, and took an active part in the action of March 13th, in which it had 5 rank and file killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick M'Dowall, Lieutenants George Sutherland and John Stewart, Volunteer Alexander Cameron, 2 sergeants, and 56 rank and file wounded.

In the general engagement of March 21st, in which the brave Abercromby got his death-wound, the light companies of the 79th and the other regiments of its brigade kept the

[3] "At this interview, Colonel Cameron plainly told the Duke, 'to draft the 79th is more than you or your Royal father dare do.' The Duke then said, 'The King my father will certainly send the regiment to the West Indies.' Colonel Cameron, losing temper, replied, 'You may tell the King your father from me, that he may send us to h—l if he likes, and I'll go at the head of them, but *he daurna draft us*,' —a line of argument which, it is unnecessary to add, proved to the Royal Duke perfectly irresistible."—Jameson's *Historical Record*.

enemy's riflemen in check in front, while the fight was raging hotly on the right. The regiment lost one sergeant killed, and Lieutenant Patrick Ross, 2 sergeants, and 18 rank and file wounded.

While proceeding towards Cairo with Major-General Craddock's brigade (to which the Cameron Highlanders had been transferred) and a division of Turks, they had a brush on the 9th of May with a French force, in which the 79th had Captain M'Dowall and one private wounded. At Cairo the regiment had the honour of being selected to take possession of the advanced gate, the "Gate of the Pyramids," surrendered to the British in terms of a convention with the French.

For its distinguished services during the Egyptian campaign, the Cameron Highlanders, besides receiving the thanks of the king and parliament, was one of the regiments which received the honour of bearing the figure of a Sphinx, with the word "Egypt," on its colours and appointments.

After staying a short time at Minorca, the regiment returned to Scotland in August 1802, whence, after filling up its thinned ranks, it was removed to Ireland in the beginning of 1803. In 1804 a second battalion was raised, but was never employed on active service, being used only to fill up vacancies as they occurred in the first battalion, until 1815, when it was reduced at Dundee.

In 1804 the question of abolishing the kilt seems to have been under the consideration of the military authorities, and a correspondence on the subject took place between the Horse-Guards and Colonel Cameron, which deserves to be reproduced for the sake of the Highland Colonel's intensely characteristic reply. In a letter dated "Horse Guards, 13th October 1804," Colonel Cameron was requested to state his "*private* opinion as to the expediency of abolishing the kilt in Highland regiments, and substituting in lieu thereof the tartan trews." To this Colonel Cameron replied in four sentences as follows :—

"Glasgow, 27*th October* 1804.

"Sir,—On my return hither some days ago from Stirling, I received your letter of the 13th inst. (by General Calvert's orders) respecting the propriety of an alteration in the mode of clothing Highland regiments, in reply to which I beg to state, freely and fully, my sentiments upon *that* subject, without a particle of prejudice in either way, but merely founded upon *facts* as applicable to these corps—at least as far as I am *capable*, from thirty years' experience, twenty years of which I have been upon *actual* service in all *climates*, with the description of men in question, which, independent of being myself a Highlander, and well knowing all the convenience and inconvenience of our native garb in the field and otherwise, and perhaps, also, aware of the probable source and clashing motives from which the suggestion now under consideration originally *arose*. I have to observe progressively, that in the course of the late war several gentlemen proposed to raise Highland regiments, some for general service, but chiefly for home defence ; but most of these corps were called from all quarters, and thereby adulterated with every description of men, that rendered them anything but real Highlanders, or even Scotchmen (which is not strictly synonymous), and the colonels themselves being generally unacquainted with the language and habits of Highlanders, while prejudiced in favour of, and accustomed to wear breeches, consequently *averse* to that free congenial circulation of pure wholesome air (as an exhilarating native bracer) which has hitherto so peculiarly befitted the Highlander for *activity*, and all the other necessary qualities of a soldier, whether for hardship upon scanty fare, *readiness in accoutring*, or making *forced marches*, &c., besides the exclusive advantage, when halted, of drenching his kilt, &c., in the *next brook*, as well as washing his limbs, and drying *both*, as it were, by constant *fanning*, without injury to either, but, on the contrary, feeling clean and comfortable, while the buffoon tartan pantaloon, &c., with all its fringed frippery (as some mongrel Highlanders would have it) sticking wet and dirty to the skin, is not very easily pulled off, and *less so* to get on again in case of alarm or any other hurry, and all this time absorbing both wet and dirt, followed up by rheumatism and fevers, which ultimately make great havoc in hot and cold climates ; while it consists with knowledge, that the Highlander in his native garb always appeared more cleanly, and maintained better health in both climates than those who wore even the thick cloth pantaloon. Independent of these circumstances, I feel no hesitation in saying, that the proposed alteration must have proceeded from a whimsical idea, more than from the real comfort of the Highland soldier, and a wish to lay aside that national martial garb, the very sight of which has, upon many occasions, struck the enemy with terror and confusion,—and now metamorphose the Highlander from his real characteristic appearance and comfort in an odious incompatible dress, to which it will, in my opinion, be difficult to reconcile him, as a poignant grievance to, and a galling reflection upon, Highland corps, &c., as levelling that martial distinction by which they have been hitherto *noticed and respected*,—and from my own experience I feel well founded in saying, that if anything was wanted to aid the rack-renting Highland landlords in destroying that source, which has hitherto proved so fruitful for keeping up Highland corps, it will be that of abolishing their native garb, which His Royal Highness the Commander-in chief and the Adjutant-General may rest assured will prove a complete death-warrant to the recruiting service in that respect. But I sincerely hope His Royal Highness will never acquiesce in so painful and degrading an idea (come from whatever quarter it may) as to strip us of our native garb (admitted hitherto our regimental uniform) and *stuff* us into a harlequin tartan pantaloon, which, composed of the usual quality that continues, as at present worn, useful and becoming for twelve months, will not endure six weeks fair wear as a

pantaloon, and when patched makes a horrible appearance—besides that the necessary quantity to serve decently throughout the year would become extremely expensive, but, above all, take away completely the appearance and conceit of a Highland soldier, in which case I would rather see him *stuffed* in breeches, and abolish the distinction at once.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "ALAN CAMERON,
"*Colonel 79th or Cameron Highlanders*."

"To Henry Thorpe, Esq."

The regiment remained in Ireland till November 1805, when it was removed to England, where it did duty at various places till July 1807. In that month the 79th formed part of the expedition against Denmark, where it remained till the following November, the only casualties being four men wounded, during the bombardment of Copenhagen.

After a fruitless expedition to Sweden in May 1808, under Lt.-General Sir John Moore, the regiment was ordered, with other reinforcements, to proceed to Portugal, where it landed August 26th, 1808, and immediately joined the army encamped near Lisbon. After the convention of Cintra, the 79th, as part of Major-General Fane's brigade, joined the army under Sir John Moore, whose object was to drive the French out of Spain. Moore, being joined by the division under Sir David Baird, at Mayorga, had proceeded as far as Sahagun, when he deemed it advisable to commence the ever memorable retreat to Corunna, details of which have already been given. At Corunna, on the 16th of January 1809, the 79th had no chance of distinguishing itself in action, its duty being, as part of Lt.-General Fraser's division, to hold the heights immediately in front of the gates of Corunna; but "they also serve who only stand and wait." The embarkation was effected in safety, and on the army arriving in England in February, the 79th marched to Weeley Barracks, in Essex, about 10 miles from Chelmsford, where many of the men were shortly afterwards attacked with fever, though not a man died.[4]

[4] "In 1809, the 79th accomplished what no other regiment did. In January of that year they were in Spain at the Battle of Corunna, and returned to England in February, when 700 men and several officers suffered from a dangerous typhus fever, yet not a man died. In July they embarked 1002 bayonets for Walcheren, were engaged during the whole siege of Flushing in the trenches, yet had not a man wounded, and, whilst there, lost only one individual in fever—Paymaster Baldock, the least expected of any one. During the three months after their return to England, only ten men died, and in December of that same year again, embarked for the peninsula, 1032 strong."—Note by Dr A. Anderson, Regimental surgeon, p. 44 of H. S. Smith's *List of the Officers of the 79th*.

While in Portugal, Colonel Cameron, who had been appointed commandant of Lisbon with the rank of Brigadier-General, retired from the personal command of the regiment, after leading it in every engagement and sharing all its privations for fifteen years; "his almost paternal anxiety," as Captain Jameson says, "for his native Highlanders had never permitted him to be absent from their head." He was succeeded in the command of the regiment by his eldest son, Lt.-Colonel Philip Cameron.

After taking part in the siege of Flushing, in August 1809, the regiment returned to England, and again took up its quarters in Weeley Barracks, where it was attacked with fever, which carried off a number of men, and prostrated many more, upwards of 40 having to be left behind when the regiment embarked for Portugal in January 1810, to join the army acting under Sir Arthur Wellesley.

Meanwhile a number of men of the 79th, who had been left behind in Portugal on the retreat to Corunna, had, along with several officers and men belonging to other regiments, been formed into a corps designated the 1st battalion of detachments. The detachment of the 79th consisted of 5 officers, 4 sergeants, and 45 rank and file; and out of this small number who were engaged at Talavera de la Reyna on July 27th and 28th, 1809, 14 rank and file were killed, and one sergeant and 27 rank and file wounded.

Shortly after landing at Lisbon, the regiment was ordered to proceed to Spain to assist in the defence of Cadiz, where it remained till the middle of August 1810, having had Lts. Patrick M'Crummen, Donald Cameron, and 25 rank and file wounded in performing a small service against the enemy. After its return to Lisbon, the 79th was equipped for the field, and joined the army under Lord Wellington at Busaco on the 25th of September. The 79th was here brigaded with the 7th and 61st Regiments, under the command of Major-General Alan Cameron.

The regiment had not long to wait before taking part in the active operations carried on

against the French by England's great general. Wellington had taken up a strong position along the Sierra de Busaco, to prevent the further advance of Marshal Massena; and the division of which the 79th formed part was posted at the extreme right of the British line. At daybreak on the 27th of Sept. the French columns, preceded by a swarm of skirmishers, who had nearly surrounded and cut off the picket of the 79th, advanced against the British right, when Captain Neil Douglas gallantly volunteered his company to its support, and opening fire from a favourable position, checked the enemy's advance, and enabled the picket to retire in good order. As the enemy's attack was changed to the centre and left, the 79th had no other opportunity that day of distinguishing itself in action. It, however, lost Captain Alexander Cameron[5] and 7 rank and file killed, Captain Neil Douglas, and 41 rank and file wounded.

After this battle, Wellington deemed it prudent to retire within the strong lines of Torres Vedras, whither he was followed by Massena, who remained there till the 14th of November, when he suddenly broke up his camp and retired upon Santarem, followed by Wellington. The French again commenced their retreat in the beginning of March 1811, closely pursued by the British army. During the pursuit several small skirmishes took place, and in a sharp contest at Foz d'Arouce, the light company of the 79th had 2 men killed, and 7 wounded. In this affair, Lt. Kenneth Cameron of the 79th captured the Lieutenant-Colonel of the 39th French infantry.

On the 2nd of May, Massena, desirous of relieving Almeida, which Wellington had invested, took up a position in front of Dos Casas and Fuentes d'Onor. "The English position," says Jameson, "was a line whose left extended beyond the brook of Onoro, resting on a hill supported by Fort Conception; the right, which was more accessible, was at Nave d'Aver, and the centre at Villa Formosa."

On the 3rd of May, Massena commenced his attack upon the English position, his strongest efforts being directed against the village of Fuentes d'Onor, which he seemed determined to get possession of. The defence of the position was entrusted to the 79th, along with the 71st Highlanders, with the 24th regiment and several light companies in support, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Cameron of the 79th. During the whole of the day the enemy in superior numbers made several desperate attempts to take the village, and indeed did manage to get temporary possession of several parts, "but after a succession of most bloody hand to hand encounters, he was completely driven from it at nightfall, when darkness put an end to the conflict."[6]

Early on the morning of the 5th of May, Massena, who in the meantime had been making dispositions for a renewal of the contest, again directed his strongest efforts against the position held by the 79th and its comrades. By the force of overwhelming numbers the French did succeed in carrying the lower portion of the village, at the same time surrounding and taking prisoners two companies of the 79th, which had got separated from the main body. Meantime, in the upper portion of the village a fierce and deadly contest was being waged between the French Grenadiers and the Highlanders, the latter, according to Captain Jameson, in numerous instances using their muskets as clubs instead of acting with the bayonet, so close and deadly was the strife maintained. "About this period of the action, a French soldier was observed to slip aside into a doorway and take deliberate aim at Colonel Cameron, who fell from his horse mortally wounded. A cry of grief, intermingled with shouts for revenge, arose from the rearmost Highlanders, who witnessed the fall of their commanding officer, and was rapidly communicated to those in front. As Colonel Cameron was being conveyed to the rear by his sorrowing clansmen, the 88th regiment, detached to reinforce the troops at this point, arrived in double-quick time; the men were now at the highest pitch of excitement, and a charge being ordered by Brigadier-General

[5] "This gallant officer commanded the picket of the 79th, and could not be induced to withdraw. He was last seen by Captain (afterwards the late Lieut.-General Sir Neil) Douglas, fighting hand to hand with several French soldiers, to whom he refused to deliver up his sword. His body was found pierced with seven bayonet wounds."—Jameson's *Records*, p. 24.

[6] Jameson's *Record*.

Mackinnon, the enemy was driven out of the village with great slaughter. The post was maintained until the evening, when the battle terminated, and the Highlanders being withdrawn, were replaced by a brigade of the light division."[7]

In these fierce contests, besides Lt.-Colonel Cameron, who died of his wound, the 79th had Captain William Imlach, one sergeant, and 30 rank and file killed; Captains Malcolm Fraser and Sinclair Davidson, Lts. James Sinclair, John Calder, Archibald Fraser, Alexander Cameron, John Webb, and Fulton Robertson, Ensigns Charles Brown and Duncan Cameron, 6 sergeants, and 138 rank and file wounded, besides about 100 missing, many of whom were afterwards reported as killed.

The grief for the loss of Colonel Cameron, son of Major-General Alan Cameron, former and first colonel of the 79th, was deep and wide-spread. Wellington, with all his staff and a large number of general officers, notwithstanding the critical state of matters, attended his funeral, which was conducted with military honours. Sir Walter Scott, in his "Vision of Don Roderick," thus alludes to Colonel Cameron's death :—

> "And what avails thee that, for Cameron slain,
> Wild from his plaided ranks the yell was given?
> Vengeance and grief gave mountain-rage the rein,
> And, at the bloody spear-point headlong driven,
> The despot's giant guards fled like the rack of heaven."[8]

Wellington,—and many other officers of high rank,—sent a special letter of condolence to the colonel's father, Major-General Cameron, in which he speaks of his son in terms of the highest praise. "I cannot conceive," he says, "a string of circumstances more honourable and glorious than these in which he lost his life in the cause of his country."

[7] Jameson's *Record*, p. 27.

[8] In a note to this poem, Scott says that the 71st and 79th, on seeing Cameron fall, raised a dreadful shriek of grief and rage; "they charged with irresistible fury the finest body of French grenadiers ever seen, being a part of Bonaparte's selected guard. The officer who led the French, a man remarkable for stature and symmetry, was killed on the spot. The Frenchman who stepped out of the ranks to take aim at Colonel Cameron was also bayoneted, pierced with a thousand wounds, and almost torn to pieces by the furious Highlanders, who, under the command of Colonel Cadogan, bore the enemy out of the contested ground at the point of the bayonet."

Cameron was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Major Alexander Petrie, who, besides receiving a gold medal, had the brevet rank of Lt.-Colonel conferred on him; and the senior captain, Andrew Brown, was promoted to the brevet rank of Major.

How highly Lord Wellington esteemed the services performed by the 79th on these two bloody days, will be seen from the following letter:—

"VILLA FORMOSA, *8th May*, 1811.

"SIR,—I am directed by Lord Wellington to acquaint you that he will have great pleasure in submitting to the Commander-in-Chief for a commission the name of any non-commissioned officer of the 79th regiment whom you may recommend, as his lordship is anxious to mark the sense of the conduct of the 79th during the late engagement with the enemy.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "FITZROY SOMERSET.

"Major Petrie, Commanding
"79th Highlanders," &c.

Sergeant Donald M'Intosh was selected for this distinguished honour, and, on the 4th of June 1811, was appointed ensign in the 88th Regiment.

The 79th did not take part in any other engagement till the 22nd of July 1812, when it was present as part of the reserve division under Major-General Campbell at the great victory of Salamanca. Its services, however, were not brought into requisition till the close of the day, and its casualties were only two men wounded. Still it was deemed worthy of having the honour of bearing the word "Salamanca" on its colours and appointments, and a gold medal was conferred upon the commanding officer, Lt.-Colonel Robert Fulton, who had joined the regiment at Vellajes in September 1811, with a draft of 5 sergeants, and 231 rank and file from the 2nd battalion.

In the interval between Fuentes d'Onor and Salamanca the 79th was moved about to various places, and twice was severely attacked with epidemic sickness.

After the battle of Salamanca, the 79th, along with the rest of the allied army, entered Madrid about the middle of August, where it remained till the end of that month.

On the 1st of September the 79th, along with the rest of the army, left Madrid under Lord Wellington, to lay siege to Burgos, before which it arrived on the 18th; and on the

morning of the 19th, the light battalion, formed by the several light companies of the 24th, 42nd, 58th, 60th, and 79th regiments, commanded by Major the Hon. E. C. Cocks of the 79th, was selected for the purpose of driving the enemy from their defences on the heights of St Michael's, consisting of a horn-work and flêches commanding the approach to the castle on the right.

"The attack was made by a simultaneous movement on the two advanced flêches, which were carried in the most gallant manner by the light companies of the 42nd and 79th; but a small post, close to and on the left of the horn-work, was still occupied by the enemy, from which he opened a fire upon the attacking party. Lieut. Hugh Grant, with a detachment of the 79th light company, was sent forward to dislodge him, but finding himself opposed to continually increasing numbers, he found it impossible to advance; but being equally resolved not to retire, he drew up his small party under cover of an embankment, and, possessing himself of the musket of a wounded soldier, he fired together with his men and gallantly maintained himself. The remainder of the company now coming up, the enemy was driven within the works; but this brave young officer was unfortunately mortally wounded, and died a few days afterwards, sincerely and deeply regretted.

The two light companies maintained the position until nightfall, when the light battalion was assembled at this point, and orders were issued to storm the horn-work at 11 P.M. A detachment of the 42nd and a Portuguese regiment were directed to enter the ditch on the left of the work, and to attempt the escalade of both demi-bastions, the fire from which was to be kept in check by a direct attack in front by the remainder of the 42nd. The light battalion was to advance along the slope of the hill, parallel to the left flank of the work, which it was to endeavour to enter by its gorge. The attack by the 42nd was to be the signal for the advance of the light battalion, the command of the whole being entrusted to Major-General Sir Denis Pack.[9]

In execution of these arrangements, the troops at the appointed hour proceeded to the assault. The light companies, on arriving at the gorge of the work, were received with a brisk fire of musketry through the opening in the palisades, causing severe loss; they, however, continued to advance, and, without waiting for the application of the felling-axes and ladders, with which they were provided, the foremost in the attack were actually lifted over the palisades on each other's shoulders. In this manner, the first man who entered the work was Sergeant John Mackenzie of tho 79th; Major Cocks, the brave leader of the storming party, next followed, and several others in succession.

In this manner, and by means of the scaling-ladders, the light battalion was, in a few minutes, formed within the work; and a guard, consisting of Sergeant Donald Mackenzie and twelve men of the 79th, having been placed at the gate leading to the castle, a charge was made on the garrison, which, numbering between 400 and 500 men, having by this time formed itself into a solid mass, defied every attempt to compel a surrender; in this manner the French troops rushed towards the gate, where, meeting with the small guard of the 79th, they were enabled, from their overwhelming numbers to overcome every opposition, and to effect their escape to the castle.

Sergeant Mackenzie, who was severely wounded in this affair,[1] and his small party behaved with the greatest bravery in their endeavours to prevent the escape of the French garrison; and bugler Charles Bogle of the 79th, a man of colour, was afterwards found dead at the gate, near a French soldier, the sword of the former and bayonet of the latter through each other's bodies.

The front attack had in the meantime completely failed, and a severe loss was sustained."[2]

The enemy having opened a destructive fire from the castle on the horn-work, the light battalion was withdrawn to the ditch of the curtain; and strong parties were employed during the night in forming a parapet in the gorge.

Afterwards a series of assaults was made against the castle, with but little success. In one of these Major Andrew Lawrie of the 79th was killed while entering a ditch, and encouraging on the party he led by escalade; and the Hon. Major Cocks met with a similar fate while rallying his picket during a night sortie of the French. The death of this officer was very much regretted by Wellington, who in his despatch of October 11, 1812, said he considered "his loss as one of the greatest importance to this army and to His Majesty's service." The army continued before Burgos till Oct. 21, when, being threatened by the advance of strong reinforcements of the enemy, it was deemed advisable to retreat towards the frontiers of Portugal.

At the siege of Burgos, besides the two officers just mentioned, the 79th had one sergeant and 27 rank and file killed; Captain William Marshall, Lt. Hugh Grant, Kewan J. Leslie, and Angus Macdonald, 5 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 79 rank and file wounded.

The regiment, with the rest of the army, remained in cantonments till the middle of May 1813; and in February of that year Lt.-Colonel Fulton retired from the command of the regiment, which was assumed by Lt.-Colonel Neil Douglas,[3] from the 2nd battalion.

Breaking up from winter-quarters about

[9] His portrait is on p. 504, vol. ii.

[1] "Sergeant Mackenzie had previously applied to Major Cocks for the use of his dress sabre, which the major readily granted, and used to relate with great satisfaction that the sergeant returned it to him in a state which indicated that he had used it with effect."

[2] Captain Jameson's *Record*.

[3] His portrait will be found on the steel-plate of Colonels of the 71st and 72nd Regiments.

the middle of May, the army advanced against the enemy, who occupied various strong positions on the north of the Douro, which, however, were precipitately evacuated during the advance of the British army. The enemy retired towards the north-east, in the direction of Burgos, which the British found had been completely destroyed by the French. In the action at Vittoria, in which the enemy was completely routed on the 21st of June, the 79th had not a chance of distinguishing itself in action, as it formed part of Major-General Pakenham's division, whose duty it was to cover the march of the magazines and stores at Medina de Pomar.

At the battle of the "Pyrenees," on the 28th of July, the 6th division, to which the 79th belonged, was assigned a position across the valley of the Lanz, which it had scarcely assumed when it was attacked by a superior French force, which it gallantly repulsed with severe loss; a similar result occurred at all points, nearly every regiment charging with the bayonet. The loss of the 79th was 1 sergeant and 16 rank and file killed; Lieutenant J. Kynock, 2 sergeants, and 38 rank and file wounded. Lt.-Colonel Neil Douglas had a horse shot under him, and in consequence of his services he was awarded a gold medal; and Major Andrew Brown was promoted to the brevet rank of Lt.-Colonel for his gallantry.

Along with the rest of the army, the 79th followed the enemy towards the French frontier, the next action in which it took part being that of Nivelle, November 19, 1813, fully described elsewhere. Here the steadiness of its line in advancing up a hill to meet the enemy excited the admiration of Sir Rowland Hill, and although its casualties were few, the part it took in the action gained for the regiment the distinction of inscribing "Nivelle" on its colours and appointments. Its loss was 1 man killed, and Ensign John Thomson and 5 men wounded.

Continuing to advance with its division, the 79th shared, on the 10th of December, in the successful attack on the enemy's entrenchments on the banks of the Nive, when it had 5 men killed, and Lt. Alexander Robertson, 2 sergeants, and 24 rank and file wounded.[4]

The enemy having retired to the Gave d'Oléron, and the severity of the weather preventing further operations, the 79th went into quarters at St Pierre d'Yurbe, and while here, in Feb. 1814, it marched over to the seaport town of St Jean de Luz to get a new supply of clothing, of which it stood very much in need.

In the battle of Orthes, on February 25th, the 79th had no opportunity of taking part, but took an active share, and suffered severely, in the final engagement at Toulouse.

Early on the morning of the 10th, the 6th division, of which the 79th, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, formed part, along with the 42nd and 91st regiments, constituting the Highland Brigade of Sir Denis Pack, crossed the Garonne and the Ers at Croix d'Orade, following the 4th division, and halted near the northern extremity of the height (between and running parallel with the canal of Languedoc, and the river Ers) on which the enemy was posted, strongly fortified by entrenchments and redoubts. Arrangements were here made for a combined attack, the 6th division, continuing its march along the left bank of the Ers, filed by threes in double-quick time, close under the enemy's guns, from which a heavy cannonade of round and grape-shot was opened, occasioning considerable loss. "The Highland Brigade of Sir Denis Pack," Captain Jameson says, "halted about midway to the position, formed line to the right, and proceeded to ascend the hill. The light companies were now ordered out, and directed to conform to the movements of the brigade, General Pack having mingled with the former, and cheering them on. The grenadier company of the 79th was brought up as a reinforcement to the light troops; and after a vigorous resistance, the enemy was driven to a considerable distance down the opposite slope of the ridge. The pursuit was then discontinued, and a slackened and desultory fire of advanced posts succeeded.

The brigade had, in the meantime, formed on the Balma road across the height, the light companies were recalled, and final arrangements completed for an attack on the two centre redoubts of the enemy's position, designated respectively La Colombette and Le

[4] As the part taken by the 79th in the Peninsular battles has been described at some length in connection with the 42nd and other regiments, it is unnecessary to repeat the details here.

Tour des Augustins. The attack of the former or most advanced redoubt was assigned to the 42nd, and the latter to the 79th, the 91st and 12th Portuguese being in reserve. Both these redoubts were carried at a run, in the most gallant style, in the face of a terrific fire of round shot, grape, and musketry, by which a very severe loss was sustained. About 100 men of the 79th, headed by several officers, now left the captured work to encounter the enemy on the ridge of the plateau; but, suddenly perceiving a discharge of musketry in the redoubt captured by the 42nd in their rear, and also seeing it again in possession of the enemy, they immediately fell back on the Redoubt des Augustins. The Colombette had been suddenly attacked and entered by a fresh and numerous column of the enemy, when the 42nd was compelled to give way, and, continuing to retire by a narrow and deep road leading through the redoubt occupied by the 79th (closely pursued by an overwhelming force of the enemy), the alarm communicated itself from one regiment to the other, and both, for a moment, quitted the works.[5]

At this critical juncture, Lt.-Colonel Douglas having succeeded in rallying the 79th, the regiment again advanced, and in a few minutes succeeded in retaking, not only its own former position, but also the redoubt from which the 42nd had been driven. For this service, Lt.-Colonel Douglas received on the field the thanks of Generals Clinton and Pack, commanding the division and brigade; and the regiments in reserve having by this time come up, the brigade was moved to the right, for the purpose of carrying, in conjunction with the Spaniards, the two remaining redoubts on the left of the position. While, however, the necessary preparations were making for this attack, the enemy was observed to be in the act of abandoning them, thus leaving the British army in complete possession of the plateau and its works. The 79th occupied the Redoubt Colombette during the night of the 10th of April 1814.[6]

The importance of the positions captured by the 42nd and the 79th was so great, and the behaviour of these regiments so intrepid and gallant, that they won special commendation from Wellington, being two of the four regiments particularly mentioned in his despatch of the 12th of April 1814.

The 79th lost Captains Patrick Purves and John Cameron, Lt. Duncan Cameron, and 16 rank and file killed; the wounded were Captains Thomas Mylne, Peter Innes, James Campbell, and William Marshall; Lts. William M'Barnet, Donald Cameron, James Fraser, Ewen Cameron (1st), John Kynock, Ewen Cameron (2nd), Duncan Macpherson, Charles M'Arthur, and Allan Macdonald; Ensign Allan Maclean, Adjutant and Lt. Kenneth Cameron, 12 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 182 rank and file. Of those wounded, Lts. M'Barnet, Ewen Cameron (2nd), and 23 men died of their wounds. Of the 494 officers and men of the 79th who went into action at Toulouse, only 263 came out unwounded.

Lt.-Colonel Neil Douglas received the decoration of a gold cross for this action, in substitution of all his former distinctions; Major Duncan Cameron received the brevet rank of Lt.-Colonel in the army; and the 79th was permitted by royal authority to bear on its colours and appointments the word TOULOUSE, in addition to its other inscriptions. As a proof, likewise, of the distinction earned by it during the successive campaigns in the Peninsula, it was subsequently authorised to have the word PENINSULA inscribed on its colours and appointments.

Napoleon Buonaparte's abdication having put an end to further hostilities, the regiment, after remaining a few weeks in the south of France, embarked in July 1814, arriving at Cork on the 26th, and taking up its quarters in the barracks there. While here, in December, its ranks were filled up by a large draft from the 2nd battalion, and in the beginning of Feb. 1815, it set sail, along with several other regiments, for North America, but was driven back by contrary winds; the same happened to the expedition when attempting to sail again on the 1st of March. On the 3rd, the expedition was countermanded; and on the 17th the 79th sailed for the north of Ireland, to take up its quarters at Belfast, where it

[5] Whilst the enemy thus gained a temporary possession of the redoubts, Lieutenant Ford and seven men of the 79th, who were in a detached portion of the work, separated from its front face by a deep road, had their retreat cut off by a whole French regiment advancing along this road in their rear, when one of the men, with great presence of mind, called out "sit down," which hint was immediately acted on, with the effect of saving the party from being made prisoners, as the enemy supposed them to be wounded, *and a French officer shrugged his shoulders in token of inability to render them any assistance!*"

[6] Jameson's *Historical Record*, p. 43.

remained till May, when, with all the other available forces of Britain, it was called upon to take part in that final and fierce struggle with the great disturber of the peace of Europe, and assist in putting an end to his bloody machinations against the peace of civilised nations. The 79th, having joined Wellington's army at Brussels, was brigaded with the 28th, 32nd, and 95th Regiments, under the command of Major-General Sir James Kempt, the three regiments forming the first brigade of the fifth, or Sir Thomas Picton's division, the Royal Scots, 42nd, 44th, and 92nd regiments forming the other brigade under Major-General Pack.

The events from the night of the 15th to the 18th of June 1815 are so well known, and so many details are given in connection with the 42nd and 92nd Regiments, that it will be sufficient here to indicate the part taken in them by the 79th. The alarm having been rapidly spread of the approach of the French on the night of the 15th—the night of the famous ball well known to all readers of Byron,—preparations were immediately made for marching out, and by four o'clock on the morning of the 16th, the regiment, with its division, provisioned for three days, was on the road to Charleroi. In the passage of *Childe Harold* where Byron's famous description of the episode preceding Quatre Bras occurs, the poet thus refers to the Cameron Highlanders :—

" And wild and high the ' Cameron's Gathering ' rose,
The war-note of Lochiel, which Albyn's hills
Have heard, and heard, too, have her Saxon foes :—
How in the noon of night that pibroch thrills
Savage and shrill ! But with the breath which fills
Their mountain-pipe, so fill the mountaineers
With the fierce native daring which instils
The stirring memory of a thousand years,
And Evan's,[7] Donald's fame rings in each clansman's ears !"

The division halted near the village of Waterloo to cook its provisions ; but before this could be accomplished it was ordered forward towards Quatre Bras, where it halted on the road, at the distance of about half a mile from the enemy, from whom the column was separated by a rising ground. After the two brigade companies had halted for a very short time on this road the division broke off to the left, lining the Namur Road, the banks of which were from ten to fifteen feet high on each side. The Cameron Highlanders formed the extreme left of the British army, and the 92nd the right of the division, being posted immediately in front of Quatre Bras.

Scarcely had this position been taken up, when the enemy advanced in great force, sending out " a cloud of sharpshooters," who were met by the light companies of the first brigade, along with the 8th company and marksmen of the 79th. These maintained their ground bravely, despite the fearful execution done upon them by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy's sharpshooters, who picked out the officers especially, and the artillerymen serving the only two guns yet brought into action. At about four o'clock in the afternoon, the Cameron Highlanders had the honour of being ordered forward to cover the guns and drive the enemy from his advanced position, and gallantly did the regiment perform the service.

" The regiment," says Captain Jameson,[8] " cleared the bank in its front, fired a volley, and, charging with the bayonet, drove the French advanced troops with great precipitation and in disorder to a hedge about a hundred yards in their rear, where they attempted to re-form, but were followed up with such alacrity that they again gave way, pursued to another hedge about the same distance, from which they were a second time driven in confusion upon their main column, which was formed in great strength upon the opposite rising ground. The regiment, now joined by its detached companies, commenced firing volleys upon the enemy from behind the last-mentioned hedge, and in the course of fifteen minutes expended nearly all its ammunition. Whilst in this exposed situation, it was ordered to retire, which it accomplished without confusion, although it had a broad ditch to leap, and the first hedge to repass, when it formed line about fifty yards in front of its original position. Being here much exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns, it was ordered to lie down, and it continued thus for nearly an hour, when it was again directed to resume its first position on the road, and

[7] " Evan " and " Donald " are Sir Evan or Ewen Cameron, and Donald, the " Gentle Lochiel." Their portraits are on pages 296 and 519, vol. i.

[8] *Historical Record*, p. 51.

form in column as circumstances might require. Being afterwards repeatedly threatened by cavalry, it formed and moved forward in square, but without being attacked."

Meantime all the other regiments of the division were engaged; indeed, each battalion of the British army had to sustain, in several instances separately and independently, the whole weight of the superior French masses which bore down upon it. The enemy, however, notwithstanding the many advantages he had, seems to have failed in almost every attack, and the contest for that day ended about dusk decidedly in favour of the British.

The loss of the 79th was Captain John Sinclair, Lt. and Adjutant John Kynock, and 28 rank and file killed; Lt.-Colonel Neil Douglas, Brevet Lt.-Colonels Andrew Brown and Duncan Cameron; Captains Thomas Mylne, Neil Campbell, William Marshall, Malcolm Fraser, William Bruce, and Robert Mackay; Lieuts. Thomas Brown, William Maddock, William Leaper, James Fraser, Donald MacPhee, and William A. Riach; Ensign James Robertson, Volunteer Alexander Cameron, 10 sergeants, and 248 rank and file wounded. All the field officers, according to Captain Jameson, in addition to severe wounds, had their horses shot under them.

At dusk on the 17th the division took up its position among some corn-fields near the farm La Haye Sainte, under cover of a rising ground, the ridge opposite to which was lined by the enemy's columns. The 28th and 79th formed the centre of Picton's division, the left of the division extending towards Ohain, its right resting on the Brussels road.

About half-past ten on the morning of the 18th of June, the French began to move forward to the attack, under cover of a tremendous cannonade, spiritedly answered by the British artillery, posted in advance of a road which ran along the crest of the rising ground in front of the division, and on each side of which was a hedge. Kempt's brigade, deploying into line, advanced to this road, the light companies and the rifles descending into the valley, and maintaining a severe contest against overwhelming numbers. Meantime a heavy column of the enemy's infantry, advancing towards the right of the division, was warmly received by the 28th; and the 32nd and 79th, following up the advantage, each attacking the column opposed to it, a close and obstinate engagement followed, "shedding lasting honour on Kempt's brigade," till at length the enemy gave way in the greatest confusion. It was during this contest that General Picton was killed and General Kempt severely wounded; but although unable, from the severity of the wound, to sit on horseback, the latter would not allow himself to be carried off the field. The column of the enemy thus routed was shortly afterwards surrounded and taken captive by Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry.

Shortly after this the first brigade, being threatened by a body of the enemy's cavalry, formed into squares, and soon afterwards returned to its former position on the road,[9] lining the hedge nearest the enemy, where it was exposed to a galling and destructive fire, both from the guns and sharpshooters, against whom the light companies of Kempt's brigade and the division rifles were several times sent.

After falling back for a supply of ammunition, the first brigade again moved forward, and a general charge having been made along the whole line about seven o'clock, the enemy gave way in all directions, pursued by the Prussians and the English cavalry. The fifth division rested for the night near the farm of *La Belle Alliance*.

The loss of the 79th was Captain John Cameron, Lts. Duncan Macpherson, Donald Cameron, and Ewen Kennedy, 2 sergeants, and 27 rank and file killed; Captains James Campbell, senior, Neil Campbell; Lts. Alexander Cameron, Ewen Cameron, Alexander Forbes, Charles Macarthur, and John Powling; Ensigns A. J. Crawford and J. Nash, 7 sergeants, 4 drummers, and 121 rank and file wounded. Captain Neil Campbell, Lts. Donald Cameron, John Powling, and 48 men died soon afterwards. The total number of officers and men who entered the engagement on the 16th was 776, and out of that only 297 came out on the 18th unwounded; the loss of the 79th exceeded by one that of any other regiment in the army, except the 3rd battalion of the 1st Foot Guards, which was almost annihilated.

Wellington, in his despatch of the 19th, mentions the regiment in terms of high praise; and, as in the case of Toulouse, it was one of the only four British regiments—the 28th, 42nd, 79th, and 92nd—specially mentioned in the despatch. The distinction of a Companionship of the Bath was conferred upon Lt.-Colonel Neil Douglas, and upon Brevet Lt.-Colonels Andrew Brown and Duncan Cameron; Capt. Thomas Mylne was promoted by brevet to be

[9] "During the formation, Piper Kenneth Mackay of the 79th, a brave Highlander, stepped outside of the bayonets and continued to play round the outside of the square, the popular air of '*Cogaidh nà Sìth*' with much inspiriting effect."—Jameson's *Historical Record*.

major in the army; and Lt. Alexander Cameron, upon whom, from the great loss sustained in superior officers, the command of the regiment ultimately devolved, was promoted to the brevet rank of major for his distinguished conduct. Each surviving officer and soldier received the decoration of the "Waterloo" silver medal, and was allowed to reckon two additional years' service.

The regiment, along with the rest of the army, proceeded on the 19th in pursuit of the enemy, arriving on July 8th at Paris, near which it was encamped till the beginning of December. While here, on the 17th of August, at the special request of the Emperor of Russia, Sergeant Thomas Campbell of the grenadiers, a man of gigantic stature, with Private John Fraser and Piper Kenneth Mackay, all of the 79th, accompanied by a like number of each rank from the 42nd and 92nd Highlanders, proceeded to the Palais Elysée in Paris, to gratify the Emperor's desire of examining the dress and equipments of the Highland regiments. Sergeant Campbell especially was most minutely inspected by the Emperor, who, says Campbell, "examined my hose, gaiters, legs, and pinched my skin, thinking I wore something under my kilt, and had the curiosity to lift my kilt to my navel, so that he might not be deceived." After asking Campbell many questions, the Emperor "requested Lord Cathcart to order me to put John Fraser through the 'manual and platoon' exercise, at which performance he was highly pleased. He then requested the pipers to play up, and Lord Cathcart desired them to play the Highland tune '*Còganidh nà Sith*' ('war or peace'), which he explained to the Emperor, who seemed highly delighted with the music. After the Emperor had done with me, the veteran Count Plutoff came up to me, and, taking me by the hand, told me in broken English that I was a good and brave soldier, and all my countrymen were. He then pressed my hand to his breast, and gave me his to press to mine."

In the beginning of December 1815, the 79th, as part of the Army of Occupation, went into cantonments in Pas de Calais, where it remained till the end of October 1818, when it embarked for England, taking up its quarters at Chichester on the 8th of November.

After moving from Chichester to Portsmouth, and Portsmouth to Jersey, the regiment, in May 1820, embarked at Plymouth for Ireland, where it took part in the critical and not very agreeable duty necessitated by the disturbed state of the country, details of which will be found in our account of the 42nd Royal Highlanders, who were in Ireland at the same time.

On quitting Jersey, the "States of the Island" transmitted to the commanding officer of the 79th an address, praising the regiment in the highest terms for its exemplary conduct while stationed in the island.

The 79th remained in Ireland till August 1825, being quartered successively at Fermoy, Limerick, Templemore, Naas, Dublin, and Kilkenny, furnishing detachments at each of these places to the district and towns in the neighbourhood. The regiment seems to have discharged its unpleasant duties as delicately and satisfactorily as did the 42nd Highlanders, and to have merited the esteem and respect of the people among whom it was stationed. On leaving Limerick, where it was quartered for nearly two years, the magistrates and council presented an address to the commanding officer, Lt.-Colonel Douglas, in which they say,—

"The mild manners and military deportment of the officers, as well as the excellent discipline and moral order of the brave men whom you so well command, are happily evinced in the general order which their uniform good conduct has excited in this city; and we beg of you to convey to them the expression of our highest approbation."

In April 1825, the regiment was augmented from eight to ten companies, of 740 rank and file, and in August, the six service companies embarked at Cork for Canada, under the command of Colonel Sir Neil Douglas, arriving at Quebec in the month of October, where they remained till June 1828. During this time, with the exception of a few months in Glasgow, the dépôt companies were stationed at various places in Ireland.

On the 24th of March 1828, Lt.-General Sir R. C. Ferguson, G.C.B.,[1] was appointed colonel of the regiment, in succession to Lt.-General Sir Alan Cameron, K.C.B., who had died at Fulham, Middlesex, on the 9th, after

[1] See his portrait on the steel-plate of Colonels of the 78th and 79th regiments.

being connected with the regiment for about thirty-five years.

On the 18th of June 1828, the anniversary of Waterloo, the 79th, which in that month had removed to Montreal, was presented with new colours, the gift of its new Colonel, Lt.-General Ferguson. The presentation, which was performed by Lady Douglas, took place on the Champs de Mars, in presence of a very numerous assemblage of the élite of the inhabitants of Montreal.

The regiment returned to Quebec in 1833, where it remained till its embarkation for England in 1836. In the October of that year, the service companies were joined at Glasgow by the dépôt companies, which had in the meantime been moving about from place to place in Ireland, England, and Scotland, being stationed for most of the time at various towns in the last mentioned country.

In September 1833, by the retirement of Sir Neil Douglas on half-pay, Brevet Lt.-Colonel Duncan Macdougal succeeded to the command of the regiment; and on the latter's retirement in March 1835, he was succeeded by Major Robert Ferguson.

The regiment remained in Glasgow till June 1837, removing thence to Edinburgh, where it was stationed till the following June, when it proceeded to Dublin. On account of the disturbed state of the manufacturing districts in the north of England in 1839, the regiment was ordered to proceed thither, being quartered at various places. Here it remained till about the end of 1840, when it was again ordered on foreign service, embarking at Deptford for Gibraltar, where it arrived in January 1841, and where it remained performing garrison duty till June 1848.

In April 1841, on the death of Sir R. C. Ferguson, Major-General the Honourable John Ramsay was appointed Colonel of the 79th, and was succeeded, on his death in July 1842, by Lt.-General Sir James Macdonell, G.C.B., whose portrait will be found on the plate of Colonels of the 78th and 79th Regiments. Meantime, on the retirement, in June 1841, of Lt.-Colonel Robert Ferguson, Major Andrew Brown succeeded to the command of the regiment, but exchanged in October following with Colonel John Carter, K.H., from the 1st Royals, who retired in June 1842, and was succeeded by Major the Hon. Lauderdale Maule.

"The monotony of a regiment's life at Gibraltar is well known to every corps that has had to perform garrison duty on the Rock. This monotony falls much more heavily on the men than on the officers of a regiment; the former, although they may leave the garrison gate under certain restrictions, cannot pass the lines which separate the neutral ground from Spanish territory.

A few of the more gifted, therefore, of the 79th, during its seven years' sojourn at Gibraltar, tried from time to time to enliven the community by such means as were at their command, which were slender enough, but went a long way when properly utilised and duly encouraged. Among these, the most popular, perhaps, was the performance of private theatricals by a small company selected from more or less qualified volunteers; and in truth the way in which they contrived to put small pieces of a broad farcical nature on their improvised stage, did no small credit to their natural histrionic abilities. These performances at first took place in the schoolroom, or such other well-sized apartments as could be made available, and "the house" was at all times crammed with a most appreciative audience, comprising all ranks, and representing every corps in the garrison.[2]

At a later period the amateurs of the 79th having discovered their strength, and the real merits of one or two stars (of whom more presently), engaged the town theatre, and gave one or two performances of the national drama "Rob Roy," in a manner which would not have disgraced the boards of many a provincial theatre at home. The one "bright particular star" of the company undoubtedly was a bandsman of the regiment, named C———. His rôle was broad comedy, and the Liston-like gravity of his immovable features gave irresistible point to the humour of such parts as he was accustomed to fill. But the one special character with which he became identified in his limited circle, nearly as completely as the late Mr Mackay was with the Edinburgh public, was "Bailie Nicol Jarvie." Dignity of position, bluntness of perception, dyspepsia itself, were not proof against his quaint delineation of this well-known character.

In 1849 or '50 the dramatic corps had been playing "Rob Roy" with much acceptance in an improvised theatre at Quebec, being a large room used for public meetings and so forth in the principal hotel there. The city is, or was, full of Scotchmen, most of them enthusiastically national, and the performances had been a great success. Unfortunately certain festivities, which were scarcely included in the programme submitted to the commanding officer, followed in connection with these entertainments, and poor C———, among others, was not entirely proof against their seductions. The members of the dramatic corps showed symptoms of falling into habits which could not but be detrimental both to their own welfare and the discipline of the regiment; and the performances after a while had to be stopped.

Shortly after this, one fine morning, as the commanding officer, accompanied by the adjutant and one or two other officers, was crossing the barrack square on his way from the orderly-room, the party encountered the unfortunate quondam Thespian in a state of considerable elevation, between two men of the guard, who were conveying him to durance vile. As his dim eye fell on the form of the commanding

[2] For these and other personal anecdotes relating to the history of the 79th during the last forty years, we are indebted to the kindness of Lt.-Colonel Clephane.

officer, a gleam of tipsy humour for a moment lighted up his somewhat grotesque lineaments ; John Barleycorn had, for the time, extinguished all terrors of the august presence. "Hang a bailie!" hiccuped poor C——— as he passed the group, who were carefully ignoring his vicinity : "Hang a bailie ! ma conscience !" It is scarcely necessary to say that, when brought up for judgment some four-and-twenty hours afterwards, the unfortunate magistrate was dealt with as lightly as the code of military discipline permitted. C—— was discharged soon afterwards, having served his time ; and his subsequent career was never, we believe, traced by his former comrades of the 79th."

On leaving Gibraltar, in June 1848, the regiment proceeded to Canada, but before embarking, the officers and men erected by voluntary subscription a handsome marble tablet, in the Wesleyan Chapel at Gibraltar (where divine service was held for the Presbyterian soldiers of the garrison), to the memory of those non-commissioned officers and soldiers who died during their period of service on the Rock. The regiment arrived at Quebec on the 27th of July 1848, and remained in Canada till August 1851, when it embarked for England, arriving in Leith Roads at the end of the month. On disembarking the headquarters proceeded to Stirling Castle and formed a junction with the dépôt, while three companies were detached to Perth and three to Dundee.

Previous to embarking for England, a highly complimentary letter was addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Lauderdale Maule, by the magistrates and council of Quebec. "It is," says this letter, "with great pleasure that the magistrates bear testimony to the excellent conduct of the men of your regiment during their sojourn in Quebec, where they will be long and favourably remembered." Here also did the officers and men of the 79th erect, in the Scotch Presbyterian Church of St Andrew's, a handsome marble tablet to the memory of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who died during the period of service in Canada.

In February 1849, Major-General James Hay, C.B., was appointed Colonel in succession to Lt.-General Sir James Macdonell, appointed to the Colonelcy of the 71st Regiment ; and in December 1852, Major Edmund James Elliot succeeded to the command of the regiment as Lt.-Colonel by the retirement of the Hon. Lauderdale Maule on half-pay.

In February 1852 the regiment removed to Edinburgh Castle, where it remained till April 1853, and after spending some time at Bury, Preston, and Weedon, it joined the encampment at Chobham in July, where it was brigaded with the 19th and 97th regiments, under the command of Colonel Lockyer, K.H. Here the regiment remained till the 20th of August, when the encampment was broken up, and the 79th proceeded to Portsmouth.

II.

1853—1874.

War with Russia—New Colours—the 79th parts with some of its best men to the 93rd—ordered to the Crimea—the Highland Brigade—The Alma—Sebastopol—Balaklava—Valley of Death—Kertch—Yenikali—Sir Colin Campbell—Dr Mackenzie—Home—Madras—Allahabad—Lucknow—Boodaoon—End of the Indian Mutiny—Meeanmeer—Peshawur—Rawul Pindee—Earl of Mayo—Jubbulpoor—the—93rd Highlanders—Nagpoor—Kamptee—Bombay—Home—Isle of Wight—the Queen's attentions and honours—Colonel Hodgson—Colonel Miller—Ashantee—Coomassie.

The Cameron Highlanders had had a long rest from active service since those two glorious days at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, in the events of which it bore such a prominant and gallant part and lost so many of its braves; now once again the declaration of war with Russia, on the 1st of March 1854, was to afford its untried men a chance to show what stuff they were made of. The 79th was destined to form part of that famous "Highland Brigade," which, under Sir Colin Campbell, did its duty so gallantly with the allied army in the Crimea.

Previous to its embarkation for the East, Lt.-General W. H. Sewell, C.B., was in March appointed colonel in succession to the deceased Lt.-General James Hay; and on April 21st, new colours were, without ceremony, committed to its keeping by Lt.-Col. Edmund James Elliot.

The 79th embarked for active service under rather disheartening circumstances. Only a few weeks before, while it remained uncertain whether it would form part of the expedition, the regiment had been called upon to furnish volunteers to the 93rd regiment, which had received its orders, and was short of its complement. That strange feeling of restlessness which at all times characterises soldiers, added to the natural and praiseworthy wish to be where hot work was expected, had its result in depriving the 79th of some of its best

soldiers. Many of the finest flank-company men took the opportunity of changing their tartan, and the officers of the grenadiers and light company were to be seen one fine morning, like Achilles, "arming, weeping, cursing," to attend the parade which was to see their "best and bravest" handed over to a rival corps. Then speedily came similar orders for the 79th, and volunteers for *it* were hastily summoned. In obedience to the above natural laws forth they came as fast as they were wanted, but not exactly the sort of men to replace those who had gone. However, they did their duty well and bravely throughout the hard days that were in store for them, and it would be wronging them deeply to say a slighting word.

The regiment embarked at Portsmouth in H.M. ship "Simoom" on the 4th of May, and arrived at Scutari on the 20th. Here it was encamped on the plain of Scutari, and was brigaded with the 93rd regiment, the two being joined on June 7th by the 42nd Royal Highlanders; the three regiments, as we have indicated, forming the Highland Brigade under Brigadier General Sir Colin Campbell, and along with the brigade of Guards the 1st division of our army in the East. The regiment remained at Scutari till June 13th, when along with the other regiments of the division it was removed to Varna, where it encamped on the plain overlooking Lake Devnos, about a mile south of the town. While stationed here, it had the misfortune to lose its two senior field-officers, Lt.-Col. E. J. Elliot, and Brevet Lt.-Col. James Ferguson, from fever. About the same time also died Colonel the Hon. L. Maule, who for many years commanded the regiment, and who was now Assistant Adjutant-General to the second division.

Lt.-Col. Elliot was on August 13th succeeded by Major John Douglas. The regiment remained in the district about Varna till the end of August, the strength of many of the men being very much reduced by fever.

On the 29th of August the 79th embarked at Varna, and along with the rest of the allied army arrived at Kalamita Bay on Sept. 14th, disembarking on the same day. Along with the other regiments of its division it marched four miles inland, and bivouacked for the night near Lake Tuzla.

On the 19th, the army was put in motion along the coast towards Sebastopol. For details as to the order of march and incidents by the way, including the slight skirmish near the Bulganak River, we must refer the reader to our account of the 42nd. This regiment, along with the rest of the army, bivouacked near the Bulganak on the night of the 19th, and on the morning of the 20th advanced towards the River Alma, on the heights forming the left bank of which the Russians had taken up what they thought an impregnable position, and were awaiting the arrival of the invading army, never doubting but that, ere night, it should be utterly routed, if not extinguished.



Major-General Sir John Douglas, K.C.B.
From a photograph.

About half-past one o'clock the action commenced by the Russians opening fire from the

redoubt on the left upon the French, who were attempting to assail their position in that direction. The British forces then formed in line, and proceeded to cross the river about the village of Burliuk. The light and second divisions led the way preceded by the skirmishers of the Rifle Brigade, who advanced through the vineyards beyond the village, and spreading themselves along the margin of the river, engaged the Russian riflemen on the opposite bank.

The first division, which formed the left of the allied army, advancing in support, traversed the vineyard and crossed the river, protected by its overhanging banks. On reaching the slope of the hill, the three Highland regiments formed line in échélon, and, "with the precision of a field-day advanced to the attack, the 42nd Royal Highlanders on the right, and the 79th Cameron Highlanders on the left, the extreme left of the allied army."[1]

From its position, the 79th was the last of the Highland regiments to mount the slope on the Russian side of the river, and its appearance on the crest of the slope was opportune; it came in time to relieve the mind of Sir Colin, who trembled for the left flank of the 93rd, down upon which was bearing a heavy column of the enemy—the left Sousdal column. "Above the crest or swell of the ground," Kinglake tells, "on the left rear of the 93rd, yet another array of the tall bending plumes began to rise up in a long ceaseless line, stretching far into the east, and presently, with all the grace and beauty that marks a Highland regiment when it springs up the side of a hill, the 79th came bounding forward. Without a halt, or with only the halt that was needed for dressing the ranks, it sprang at the flank of the right Sousdal column, and caught it in its sin—caught it daring to march across the front of a battalion advancing in line. Wrapped in the fire thus poured upon its flank, the hapless column could not march, could not live. It broke, and began to fall back in great confusion; and the left Sousdal column being almost at the same time overthrown by the 93rd, and the two columns which had engaged the Black Watch being now in full retreat, the spurs of the hill and the winding dale beyond became thronged with the enemy's disordered masses."[2]

The three Highland regiments were now once more abreast, and as Kinglake eloquently puts it, the men "could not but see that this, the revoir of the Highlanders, had chanced in a moment of glory. A cheer burst from the reunited Highlanders, and the "hillsides were made to resound with that joyous, assuring cry, which is the natural utterance of a northern people so long as it is warlike and free."

There were still a few battalions of the enemy, about 3000 men, on the rise of a hill separated from the Highland regiments by a hollow; on these the Highland Brigade opened fire, and the Ouglitz column, as it was called, was forced to turn.

The loss in the battle of the Alma of the Cameron Highlanders, who, although they performed most important and trying service, had no chance of being in the thick of the fray, was 2 men killed and 7 wounded.

On account of the conduct of the regiment, a Companionship of the Bath was conferred upon Lt.-Col. John Douglas, and Captain Andrew Hunt was promoted by brevet to be major in the army.[3]

After clearing the Russians out of the way the allied army marched onwards, and on the 26th took up its position before Sebastopol, Balaklava being taken possession of as a base of operations. On the 1st of October the first division encamped on the right of the light division to assist in the duties of the siege; and the 79th afterwards furnished a number of volunteers, to act as sharpshooters in picking off

[1] "The magnificent mile of line," says Captain Jameson, "displayed by the Guards and Highlanders, the prominent bear-skin, the undulating waves of the clan-tartans, the stalwart frames, steady and confident bearing of these young and eager soldiers advancing under fire, can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it, whilst it contributed materially to the discouragement of the enemy, whose columns perceptibly wavered as they approached. His masses of four-and-twenty deep, absolutely reeled and staggered to and fro under the murderous fire of the Scottish line, which was delivered with great effect at a distance of 200 yards."

[2] *Invasion of the Crimea*, vol. ii. p. 487.

[3] For the episode of Sir Colin Campbell's Scotch bonnet, and other incidents connected with the Highland Brigade generally, we must again refer the reader to our account of the 42nd.

the enemy's gunners and engage his riflemen. On the 8th of October, Sir Colin Campbell was appointed to the command of the troops and position of Balaklava, and was succeeded in command of the Highland Brigade by Colonel Sir D. A. Cameron, K.C.B., of the 42nd, whose portrait we have given on the steel-plate of colonels of that regiment.

After the battle of Balaklava, on October 25th, the 79th along with the 42nd, was moved to a new position on the heights of the north side of the valley of Balaklava, where it continued till May 1855. "Although the Highland Brigade," says Captain Jameson,[4] "was thus at an early period of the campaign unavoidably withdrawn from the siege operations before Sebastopol, it had all-important duties to perform besides those inseparable from the unremitting vigilance imperatively called for in the defence of the base of operations of the army; for in the months of December 1854, and January and February 1855, all the available duty men of the Highland brigade were usually employed at daylight every morning in the severe fatigue of conveying to the army before Sebastopol round shot, shell, and provisions, the load assigned to each man being generally a 32 lb. shot, carried in a sack, or 56 lbs. of biscuit. The preparation of gabions and fascines for the work of the siege, numerous public fatigue duties in the harbour of Balaklava and elsewhere, as well as the labour required for strengthening the entrenchments, likewise devolved upon the brigade."

During the first four months of 1855, low fever and dysentery prevailed in the regiment to such an extent that it was found necessary to put the 79th under canvass in a position about 300 yards higher up the slope, exposed to the sea breezes from the south-west. Very soon after this move the health of the regiment underwent much improvement.

In connection with what we have just stated, we shall introduce here a striking and intensely pathetic reminiscence of the campaign, which has been furnished us by Lt.-Col. Clephane. It shows how these comparatively raw soldiers of the Cameron Highlanders displayed a gallant devotion to their duty under the most trying circumstances which would have reflected credit upon veterans of a dozen campaigns.

"Shortly after the opening of the bombardment of Sebastopol, the 79th Highlanders furnished a party for trench duty, consisting of about 150 men, under command of a field officer, and accompanied by a similar number detailed from the brigade of Guards. They marched for the post of duty shortly before daybreak, taking the well-known route through the "Valley of Death," as it was called. At that time a foe more dreaded than the Russians had persistently dogged the footsteps of the army, never attacking in force, but picking out a victim here and there, with such unerring certainty that to be sensible of his approach was to feel doomed. The glimmering light was at first insufficient for making out aught more than the dark body of men that moved silently along the above gloomy locality in column of march four deep; but as the sun approached nearer the horizon, and the eye became accustomed to the glimmer, it was seen that one man was suffering under pain of no ordinary nature, and was far from being fit to go on duty that morning. Indeed, on being closely inspected, it became evident that the destroyer had set his seal on the unfortunate fellow's brow, and how he had mustered the determination to equip himself and march out with the rest was almost inconceivable. Upon being questioned, however, he persisted that there was not much the matter, though he owned to spasms in his inside and cramps in his legs, and he steadily refused to return to camp without positive orders to that effect, maintaining that he would be better as soon as he could get time to "lie down a bit." All this time the colour of the poor fellow's face was positively and intensely blue, and the damps of death were standing unmistakeably on his forehead. He staggered as he walked, groaning with clenched teeth, but keeping step, and shifting his rifle with the rest in obedience to each word of command. He ought probably to have been at once despatched to the rear, but the party was now close to the scene of action (Gordon's battery), the firing would immediately commence, and somehow he was for the moment forgotten. The men took their places lining the breastwork, the troops whom they relieved marched off, and the firing began, and was kept up with great fury on both sides. All at once a figure staggered out from the hollow beneath the earthen rampart where the men were lying, and fell groaning upon the earth a few paces to the rear. It was the unfortunate man whose case we have just noticed. He was now in the last extremity, and there was not the ghost of a chance for him in this world; but three or four of his comrades instantly left their place of comparative safety, and surrounded him with a view of doing what they could to alleviate his sufferings. It was not much; they raised him up and rubbed his legs, which were knotted with cramps, and brandy from an officer's flask was administered without stint. All in vain, of course; but, curiously enough, even then the dying man did not lose heart, or show any weakness under sufferings which must have been frightful. He was grateful to the men who were busy rubbing his agonised limbs, and expressed satisfaction with their efforts, after a fashion that had even some show of piteous humour about it. "Aye," groaned he, as they came upon a knot of sinews as large as a pigeon's egg, "that's the *vaygabone!*" It became evident now that the best thing that could be done would be to get him home to camp, so that he might at least die beyond the reach of shot and shell. The open

[4] *Historical Record*, p. 100.

ground to the rear of the battery was swept by a perfect storm of these missles; but volunteers at once came forward, and placed upon one of the blood-stained litters the dying man, who, now nearly insensible, was carried back to his tent. This was effected without casualty to the bearers, who forthwith returned to their post, leaving their unfortunate comrade at the point of breathing his last."

Such were the men who upheld the honour of the Scottish name in those days, and such, alas! were those who furnished a royal banquet to the destroyer, Death, throughout that melancholy campaign.

The 79th, in the end of May and beginning of June, formed part of the expedition to Kertch, described in the history of the 42nd. This expedition came quite as a little pleasant pic-nic to those regiments who were lucky enough to be told off as part of the force, and the 79th, along with the other regiments of the Highland brigade, had the good fortune to be so. Yenikali had been very hastily evacuated, all its guns being left in perfect order, and signs everywhere of little domestic establishments broken up in what must have been excessive dismay—expensive articles of furniture, ladies' dresses, little articles of the same sort appertaining to children, all left standing as the owners had left them, fleeing, as they imagined, for their lives. Truth to tell, they would not have been far wrong, but for the presence of the British.[6]

On its return in the middle of June, the Highland brigade took up its old position beside the Guards before Sebastopol, the command of the re-united division being assumed by Sir Colin Campbell. After this the division was regularly employed in the siege operations, it having been drawn up in reserve during the unsuccessful attack on the Malakoff and Redan on the 18th of June.

In August, on account of the formation of an additional division to the army, the old Highland Brigade was separated from the Guards, and joined to the 1st and 2nd battalion Royals, and the 72nd Highlanders, these now forming the Highland division under Sir Colin Campbell.

On the 8th of September, the 79th, along with the other regiments of the brigade, was marched down to the front to take part in the contemplated assault upon the enemy's fortifications. About four in the afternoon, the 79th, under command of Lt.-Col. C. H. Taylor, reached the fifth or most advanced parallel, in front of the great Redan, the 72nd being in line on its left. Before this, however, the Redan had been attacked by the right and second divisions, who, "after exhibiting a devotion and courage yet to be surpassed," were compelled to retire with severe loss; the French attack on the Malakoff had at the same time been successful.

The brigade continued to occupy its advanced position during the remainder of the day exposed to a heavy fire, it being appointed to make another assault on the Redan next morning. Such a deadly enterprise, however, fortunately proved unnecessary, as early next morning it was ascertained that the enemy, after having blown up their magazines and other works, were in full retreat across the harbour by the bridge of boats. The only duty devolving upon the 79th was to send two companies to take possession of the Redan and its works.

The loss of the regiment on the day of the assault, and in the various operations during the siege, was 17 rank and file killed, Lt. D. H. M'Barnet, Assistant-Surgeon Edward Louis Lundy, 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 39 rank and file wounded. While recording the losses of the regiment, honourable mention ought to be made of Dr Richard James Mackenzie, who gave up a lucrative practice in Edinburgh in order to join the British army in the east. He was appointed to the 79th while the regiment was stationed at Varna, and until his death on September 25th 1854, shortly after "Alma," he rendered to the regiment and

[6] The British showed a curious contrast to their allies in this respect. Their complete subordination and obedience to orders were no less remarkable than praiseworthy. This, however, was of no real benefit to the owners, for our free and easy allies had no such scruples. As is usual with them, the comic element soon began largely to intermingle with the thirst for "loot," and grim-looking Zouaves and Sappers were to be seen parading with absurd airs and paces about the streets dressed in ladies garments, with little silk parasols held over smart bonnets perched on the top of their own appropriate head-dresses, and accompanied by groups of quasi-admirers, demeaning themselves after what they doubtless considered to be the most approved Champs Elysées fashion, to the no small wonder and amusement of their less mercurial allies of Scotland, who stood about looking on with broad grins at "*Frangsy* makin' a fule o' himsel'."

the army generally services of the highest importance. He followed the army on foot, undergoing much fatigue and many privations, which, with the arduous labours he took upon himself after the battle, no doubt hastened his much lamented death. After the battle of the Alma, it is said, he performed no fewer than twenty-seven capital operations with his own hand. "So highly were his services appreciated by the 79th, that, after the battle of the Alma, on his coming up to the regiment from attendance on the wounded, several of the men called out, 'Three cheers for Dr Mackenzie!' which was promptly and warmly responded to." The regiment, after the notification of peace, erected to his memory a neat tombstone, with an appropriate inscription, fenced in by a stone wall, on the heights of Belbek, near his resting-place.

His heroic and humane deeds on the battle-field of the Alma were thoroughly appreciated by the 79th, and have been recorded by others. We may, however, faintly gather something of them from his letter to his brother Kenneth—the last he ever wrote. It was written on the day after the battle. In this letter he says: "We" (Dr Scott and himself) "were shaking hands with all our friends, when, to my no small surprise and gratification, as you may believe, a voice shouted out from the column as they stood in the ranks—'*Three cheers for Mr Mackenzie*,' and enough I say it who shouldn't I never heard three better cheers. You will *laugh*, my dear fellow, when you read this, but I can tell you I could scarcely refrain from doing t'other thing. All I could do was to wave my Glengarry in thanks." As to Dr Mackenzie's coolness under fire, the quartermaster of the 79th wrote: "During the height of the action I was in conversation with him when a round shot struck the ground, and rebounding over our regiment, flew over our heads and killed an artillery horse a few yards in our rear." Mackenzie quietly remarked, "That is a narrow escape."

The regiment continued in the Crimea till June 1856, on the 15th of which month it embarked at Balaklava, and disembarked at Portsmouth on the 5th of July, proceeding immediately by rail to the camp at Aldershot.[7]

After being stationed for a short time at Shorncliffe, and for some months at Canterbury, and having been present at the distribution of the Victoria Cross by Her Majesty in Hyde Park on June 26th 1857, the 79th proceeded to Dublin, where it landed on the 28th. Here, however, it remained but a short time, as on account of the Sepoy revolt in India, it was again ordered to prepare for active service. The regiment was rapidly completed to 1000 rank and file, and set sail in the beginning of August, arriving at Madras Roads early in November, when it received orders to proceed to Calcutta, where it disembarked on the 28th of



Richard James Mackenzie, M.D., F.R.C.S. From photograph in 1854, in possession of Kenneth Mackenzie, Esq.

[7] The two addresses delivered to the Highland brigade in the Crimea by Sir Colin Campbell—the first on Sept. 21st, 1855, in connection with the distribution of medals and clasps, and the second on May 9th, 1856, on his leaving the Crimea for England—will be found in the account of the 42nd.

November and occupied Fort-William. After remaining there for a few days, the 79th, on Dec. 2nd, proceeded by rail to Raneegunge, under the command of Lt.-Colonel John Douglas. Towards the end of the month the regiment left Raneegunge for Allahabad, where it halted till the 5th of Jan. 1858, a day memorable in the history of the 79th for its having marched upwards of 48 miles, and gained its first victory in the East, viz., that of Secundragunge, in which happily it had no casualties.

The regiment left Allahabad for Lucknow on the 18th of Jan., and on the 28th of Feb. it joined the force under Sir Colin Campbell at Camp Bunterah. The regiment was then commanded by Lt.-Colonel Taylor, Lt.-Colonel Douglas having been appointed to the command of the 5th Infantry Brigade. After passing the Goomtee, the 79th joined the force under Sir James Outram, and was brigaded with the 1st battalion of the 23rd Fusiliers and the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, under the command of Brigadier General Douglas. The regiment was present, and performed its part bravely during the siege and capture of Lucknow, from the 2nd to the 16th of March 1858, its loss being 7 non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 2 officers, Brevet-Major Miller and Ensign Haine, and 21 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded.[8]

After the capture of Lucknow the 79th joined the division under the command of Major-General Walpole, in the advance towards Allahgunge, Shahjehanpoor, and Bareilly. Its next engagement was the action of Boodaoon, where the regiment had only 1 man wounded, who afterwards died of his wounds. On the 22nd of April the 79th was present at the action of Allahgunge, where it had no casualties. On the 27th, Sir Colin Campbell assumed command of the force and marched on Bareilly, the 79th, along with the 42nd and 93rd, forming the Highland brigade. On the 5th of May the 79th was formed in line of battle before Bareilly, when it helped to gain another glorious victory, with a loss of only 2 men killed and 2 wounded. The regiment received the special thanks of Sir Colin Campbell.

The 79th next made a forced march to the relief of Shahjehanpoor, under the command of Brigadier-General John Jones, and on the 21st of May was again under fire at the attack of that place. Thence it went to Mohoomdee, in the attack on which it took part on the 24th and 25th; here it had 2 men wounded, and, according to the Record-Book, upwards of 100 men suffered from sunstroke.

After this last action the regiment once more found itself in quarters at Futtehgurh and Cawnpoor, one wing being detached to Allahabad; this, however, was only for a short time, as on the 21st of October an order was received for the 79th to join the brigade in Oudh, under Brigadier-General Wetherall, C.B. On the 3rd of November the 79th was present at the storm and capture of Rampoor Kosilab, the regiment losing only 2 men killed, and 1 sergeant and 6 privates wounded. For its conduct on this occasion the 79th was complimented in General Orders by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Brig.-Gen. Wetherall having left the force, was succeeded in command by Sir Hope Grant, K.C.B., who appointed Lt.-Col. Taylor, 79th, to command the brigade, Major Butt succeeding the latter in command of the 79th.

The 79th proceeded by forced marches to Fyzabad to commence the trans-Ghogra operations, and was present at the action of the passage of the Ghogra on the 25th of November, the skirmish at Muchligan on the 6th of Dec., and the skirmish at Bundwa Kotee on the 3rd of Jan. 1859. After the last-mentioned engagement the 79th received orders to proceed to Meean Meer in the Punjab, under the command of Lt.-Col. Taylor.

Thus ended the Indian Mutiny, during which the casualties to the 79th Highlanders amounted to 2 officers wounded, and 158[9] of all ranks killed. For its gallant conduct during the Indian campaign the 79th received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and

[8] We regret that the Record-Book of the 79th is extremely meagre in its account of the part taken by the regiment in the Indian campaign, and we have been unable to obtain details elsewhere. This, however, is the less to be regretted, as the details given in the history of the 42nd, 78th, and 93rd are so full that our readers will be able to form a tolerably ood idea of what the 79th had to undergo.

[9] So in the Record-Book, and if correct, must include a very large number who died from sunstroke, fatigue, and disease.

was authorised to bear on its colours the inscription "Capture of Lucknow." Lt.-Col. Douglas was appointed a K.C.B., and Lt.-Col. Taylor a C.B.

The regiment arrived at Meean Meer on the 8th of April 1859, and on the 15th the command passed into the hands of Lt.-Col. Butt, Colonel Taylor having proceeded to Europe on leave. Lt.-Col. Butt continued in command till the 2nd of April 1860, when he was appointed Chief Inspector of Musketry for Bengal, and was succeeded in command of the regiment by Lt.-Col. Hodgson. On the 16th of March, Lt.-Col. Douglas had retired on half-pay, and Lt.-Col. Taylor did the same on the 10th of May following.

The 79th remained in India till Sept. 1871. On the 5th of Nov. 1860, the right wing, consisting of 287 of all ranks, proceeded to Amritzir under the command of Major M'Barnet. Headquarters left Meean Meer on the 19th of Jan. 1861 for Ferozepoor, where it was joined by the wing from Amritzir in April.

The 79th left Ferozepoor in Feb. 1862 for Nowshera, where it remained till the following November, on the 23rd of which the regiment proceeded to Peshawur, on the frontiers of Afghanistan. In the previous March the regiment lost by death its colonel, General W. A. Sewell, who was succeeded by General the Honourable Hugh Arbuthnott, C.B.

During the stay of the regiment in Peshawur it lost two of its officers. A frontier war having broken out, Lts. Dougal and Jones volunteered their services, and were permitted to proceed with the expedition against the Sitana fanatics, under the command of Brigadier-General Sir M. Chamberlain, K.C.B.; the former was killed when on picquet duty on the 6th of Nov. 1863, and the latter in action on the 18th of the same month.

The 79th remained in Peshawur till Jan. 1864, when it removed to Rawul Pindee, where it remained till 1866. During its stay it furnished a volunteer working party on the Murree and Abbattabad road, and also during 1864 a detachment of 300 of all ranks, under the command of Captain C. Gordon, to the Camp Durrgaw Gully.

In October 1864 the 79th lost by exchange its senior Lt.-Colonel, Colonel Butt having exchanged with Colonel Best of H.M.'s 86th Regiment. By this exchange Lt.-Colonel Hodgson became senior Lt.-Colonel.

For some time after its arrival at Rawul Pindee the regiment continued to suffer from Peshawur fever, a considerable number of men having had to be invalided to England. On the 8th of May 1865 the headquarters and 650 of all ranks proceeded as a working party to the Murree Hills, where the regiment remained till October, much to the benefit of the men's health, as in a fortnight after its arrival all traces of Peshawur fever had disappeared. A similar working party, but not so large, was sent to the Murree Hills at the same time in the following year.

On the 10th of July of this year (1865) Lt.-Colonel Hodgson received his promotion by brevet to full Colonel in the army.

On the 1st of November 1866, the headquarters and left wing marched from Rawul Pindee for Roorkee, and the right wing under command of Major Maitland for Delhi, the former reaching Roorkee on the 15th and the latter Delhi on Dec. 27th. During the regiment's stay at these places the two wings exchanged and re-exchanged quarters, both suffering considerably from fever during the spring of 1867. Both wings in the end of March proceeded to Umballah, to take part in the ceremonial attending the meeting between Earl Mayo, Governor-General of India, and Shere Ali Khan, the Ameer of Cabul; the Cameron Highlanders had been appointed part of His Excellency's personal escort.

On Dec. 7th the headquarters, under the command of Colonel W. C. Hodgson, left Roorkee *en route* to Kamptee, and on the 15th it was joined by the right wing from Delhi, at Camp Jubbulpoor. Here the regiment remained until the 24th, when it commenced to move by companies towards Kamptee, at which station the headquarters arrived on the 1st of January 1870. Shortly before leaving Roorkee a highly complimentary farewell letter was sent to Colonel Hodgson from Major-General Colin Troup, C.B., commanding the Meerut Division.

During January 1870 the 93d Sutherland Highlanders passed through Kamptee *en route* for home, when a very pleasing exchange of

civilities took place between that distinguished regiment and their old comrades of the 79th. At a mess meeting held at Nagpoor on the 30th by the officers of the 93d, it was proposed and carried unanimously that a letter be written to the officers of the 79th, proposing that, in consideration of the friendship and cordiality which had so long existed between the two regiments, the officers of the two corps be perpetual honorary members of their respective messes. The compliment was, of course, willingly returned by the 79th, and the officers of the 93rd Highlanders were constituted thenceforth perpetual honorary members of the 79th mess.

The regiment remained at Kamptee for nearly two years, furnishing a detachment to the fort at Nagpoor. A very sad event occurred in the regiment during its stay at Kamptee: on Aug. 28th, 1871, Captain Donald Macdonald when at great gun drill at the artillery barracks, dropped down on parade, died instantaneously, and was buried the same evening. Captain Macdonald was by birth and habit a Highlander, and was most warmly attached to his regiment, in which he had served for seventeen years. Great regret was felt by all ranks in the regiment on account of his premature and unexpected death. He was only 34 years of age, and a monument was erected by his brother officers over his grave at Kamptee.

On the 2nd of August 1871 Colonel Best was appointed to the command of the Nagpoor field force, with the rank of brigadier-general.

In the same month the 79th received orders to be in readiness to proceed to England, and the non-commissioned officers and men were permitted to volunteer into regiments remaining in India. About 177 of all ranks availed themselves of this offer, a considerable number of whom were married men. The regiment left Kamptee in two detachments on Sept. 22nd and 23rd, and proceeded by Nagpoor and Deolallee to Bombay, where it embarked on board H.M.'s India troop-ship "Jumna" on the 29th and 30th. The "Jumna" sailed for England on the 1st of October, and after a prosperous voyage by way of the Suez Canal arrived at Spithead on the evening of the 6th of November. Next day the regiment was transferred to three ships, and conveyed to West Cowes, Isle of Wight, where it disembarked the same evening, and marched to the Albany Barracks, Parkhurst.

During the fourteen years that the 79th was stationed in India it was inspected by many distinguished general officers, including Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde), Sir William Mansfield (Lord Sandhurst), Sir Hugh Rose, (Lord Strathnairn), Sir Hope Grant, &c., all of whom expressed themselves highly satisfied with the appearance, conduct, and discipline of the regiment.

During its sojourn in the Isle of Wight the 79th was highly honoured on more than one occasion by the very particular notice of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. In Feb. 1872, Her Majesty being at Osborne, was pleased to express her desire to see the 79th Highlanders in marching order. The regiment accordingly paraded at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 16th, and proceeded towards Osborne. When the 79th was within a short distance of the approach to the house, Her Majesty, with several members of the Royal Family, appeared at an angle of the road, and watched the marching past of the regiment with great interest. The regiment, after making a detour towards East Cowes, was returning to Parkhurst by way of Newport, when Her Majesty reappeared, paying particular attention to the dress and appearance of the men as they marched past her for the second time.

This was the last occasion on which Colonel Hodgson was destined to command the 79th. On the 1st of March the regiment sustained an irreparable loss in his death, which took place, after a very short illness. Colonel Hodgson was 49 years of age, had served in the 79th for 32 years, and commanded it for 12, and by his invariable kindness and urbanity had endeared himself to all ranks. His sad and unexpected death spread a deep gloom over the whole regiment. Colonel Maitland, in announcing Colonel Hodgson's death in regimental orders said,—

"The officers have to lament the loss of one who was always to them a kind and considerate commanding officer; and the non-commissioned officers and men have been deprived of a true friend, who was ever zealous in guarding their interests and promoting their welfare."

Colonel Hodgson was buried in Carisbrooke Cemetery, and over his grave a handsome monument of Aberdeen granite has been erected by his brother officers and friends.

By Colonel Hodgson's death Colonel Maitland succeeded to the command of the regiment; he, however, retired on half-pay on the 19th of October following, and Lt.-Colonel Miller was selected to succeed him.

On the 17th of Sept. the 79th had the honour of being reviewed by the late ex-Emperor of the French, Napoleon III., and his son, the Prince Imperial, who lunched with the officers. The Emperor made a minute inspection of the men, and watched the various manœuvres with evident interest, expressing at the conclusion his admiration of the splendid appearance and physique of the men, the high state of discipline of the corps, and the magnificent manner in which the drill was performed.

During Her Majesty's stay at Osborne the 79th always furnished a guard of honour at East Cowes at each of her visits. On the 17th of April 1873 Her Majesty bestowed one of the highest honours in her power on the regiment, when on that day she attended at Parkhurst Barracks to present it with new colours. The presentation took place in the drill-field, and was witnessed by a large number of spectators, who were favoured with a bright sky.

At 11 o'clock A.M. the 79th marched into the field under command of Colonel Miller. The ground was kept by the 102nd Fusiliers, the same regiment also furnishing a guard of honour to Her Majesty. General Viscount Templeton, K.C.B., commanding the district, was present, and also Sir John Douglas, K.C.B., commanding in North Britain, with his A.D.C., Lieutenant Boswell Gordon, of the 79th. The Mayor and Corporation of Newport attended officially, in their robes of office. At 11.45 A.M. Her Majesty arrived, attended by their Royal Highnesses Prince Leopold and Princess Beatrice, the Countess of Errol and other ladies, besides the Equerries in Waiting. The royal party having driven along the line, the band and pipers playing, the usual order of presentation was proceeded with.

The old colours were in front of the left of the line, in charge of a colour party and double sentries. The new colours, cased, were in the rear of the centre, in charge of the two senior colour-sergeants, Taylor and Mackie. The old colours having been trooped, these honoured and cherished standards, around which the Cameron Highlanders had so often victoriously rallied, were borne to the rear by Lts. Annesley and Money to the strains of "Auld Lang Syne." The regiment was then formed into three sides of a square, the drums were piled in the centre, the new colours were brought from the rear, and having been uncased by the Majors, were placed against the pile. Then prayer was offered by the Rev. Charles Morrison, formerly chaplain to the 79th in India, who had come from Aberdeen expressly to perform this duty. This being concluded, Major Cumming handed the Queen's colour and



Lieutenant-Colonel W. C. Hodgson.
From a Miniature in possession of Mrs Hodson, North Petherton, Devonshire, sister of Colonel Hodgson.

Major Percival the regimental colour to Her Majesty, who presented the former to Lt. Campbell and the latter to Lt. Methven, at the same time addressing them thus:—"It gives me great pleasure to present these new colours to you. In thus entrusting you with this honourable charge, I have the fullest confidence that you will, with the true loyalty and well-known devotion of Highlanders, preserve the honour and reputation of your regiment, which have been so brilliantly earned and so nobly maintained by the 79th Cameron Highlanders."

Colonel Miller then replied as follows :—

"I beg permission, in the name of all ranks of the 79th Cameron Highlanders, to present our loyal and most grateful acknowledgments of the very high honour it has pleased your Majesty this day to confer on the regiment. The incident will ever remain fresh in the memories of all on parade, and of those also who are unable to have the honour of being present on this occasion, and of others who have formerly served with the 79th; and I beg to assure your Majesty that, wherever the course of events may require these colours to be borne, the remembrance that they were received from the hands of our Most Gracious Queen, will render them doubly precious, and that in future years, as at present, the circumstance of this presentation will be regarded as one of the proudest episodes in the records of the Cameron Highlanders."

After Colonel Miller's address the regiment re-formed line, and the colours were received with a general salute, after which they were marched to their place in the line in slow time, the band playing "God save the Queen." The ranks having been closed, the regiment broke into column, and marched past Her Majesty in quick and double time. Line was then re-formed, and Lt.-Gen. Viscount Templetown, K.C.B., called for three cheers for Her Majesty, a request which was responded to by the regiment in true Highland style. The ranks having been opened, the line advanced in review order, and gave a royal salute, after which the royal carriage withdrew.

After the parade was dismissed, the old colours, carried by Lts. Annesley and Money, escorted by all the sergeants, were played round the barracks, and afterwards taken to the officers' mess. On the 30th of the month the officers gave a splendid ball at the Town-hall, Ryde, at which about 500 guests were present, the new colours being placed in the centre of the ball-room, guarded on each side by a Highlander in full uniform. To mark the occasion also, Colonel Miller remitted all punishments awarded to the men, and the sergeants entertained their friends at a luncheon and a dance in the drill field.

At the unanimous request of the officers, Colonel Miller offered the old colours to Her Majesty, and she having been graciously pleased to accept them, they were taken to Osborne on the 22nd of April. At 12 o'clock noon of that day the regiment paraded in review order and formed a line along the barracks for the colours to pass, each man presenting arms as they passed him, the band playing "Auld Lang Syne." The colours were then taken by train from Newport to Cowes. At Osborne the East Cowes guard of honour, under command of Captain Allen, with Lts. Bucknell and Smith, was drawn up at each side of the hall door. The old colours, carried by Lts. Annesley and Money, escorted by Quartermaster-Sergeant Knight, Colour-Sergeant Clark, two other sergeants, and four privates, preceded by the pipers, were marched to the door by Colonel Miller, the guard of honour presenting arms. The officers then advanced, and, kneeling, placed the colours at Her Majesty's feet, when Colonel Miller read a statement, giving a history of the old colours from the time of their presentation at Portsmouth, in the month of April 1854, by Mrs Elliot (the wife of the officer at that time colonel of the regiment), a few days before the regiment embarked for the Crimea.

Colonel Miller then said,—

"It having graciously pleased your Majesty to accept these colours from the Cameron Highlanders, I beg permission to express the gratification which all ranks of the 79th feel in consequence, and to convey most respectfully our highest appreciation of this kind act of condescension on the part of your Majesty."

The Queen replied,—

"I accept these colours with much pleasure, and shall ever value them in remembrance of the gallant services of the 79th Cameron Highlanders I will take them to Scotland, and place them in my dear Highland home at Balmoral."

The guard then presented arms, and the colour party withdrew. Her Majesty afterwards addressed a few words to each of the colour-sergeants.

On the 24th of April, Colonel Miller received orders for the troops of the Parkhurst garrison

to march towards Osborne on the following day, for Her Majesty's inspection, and the troops accordingly paraded at 10 o'clock A.M. in review order. On arriving near Osborne the brigade was drawn up in line on the road, the 79th on the right, and the 102nd on the left. Her Majesty was received with a royal salute, and having driven down the line, the royal carriage took up its position at the cross-roads, and the regiments passed in fours; the royal carriage then drove round by a bye-road, and the regiment again passed in fours, after which the troops returned to Parkhurst.

We may state here that on the day on which Her Majesty presented the new colours to the regiment, Colonel Ponsonby, by Her Majesty's desire, wrote to the Field-Marshal Commanding in Chief that "Her Majesty was extremely pleased with the appearance of the men and with the manner in which they moved," and hoped that His Royal Highness might think it right to communicate the Queen's opinion to Lt.-Colonel Miller. The letter was sent to Colonel Miller.

The Queen still further showed her regard for the 79th by presenting to the regiment four copies of her book, "Leaves from our Journal in the Highlands,"—one to Colonel Miller, one for the officers, one for the non-commissioned officers, and one for the privates.

To crown all these signal marks of Her Majesty's attachment to the Cameron Highlanders, she was graciously pleased to let them bear her own name as part of the style and title of the regiment, as will be seen by the following letter, dated—

"*Horseguards*, 10*th July* 1873.

SIR,—By direction of the Field-Marshal Commanding in Chief, I have the honour to acquaint you that Her Majesty has been pleased to command that the 79th Regiment be in future styled "the 79th Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders," that the facings be accordingly changed from green to blue, and that the regiment be also permitted to bear in the centre of the second colour, as a regimental badge, *the Thistle ensigned with the Imperial Crown*, being the badge of Scotland as sanctioned by Queen Anne in 1707, after the confirmation of the Act of Union of the kingdoms.—I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) "J. W. ARMSTRONG,
"*Deputy Adjutant-General.*

"Lieutenant-Colonel Miller,
"Commanding 79th Regiment."

In acknowledgment of this gracious mark of Her Majesty's regard, Colonel Miller despatched a letter to Major-General Ponsonby, at Osborne, on the 12th of July, in which he requests that officer

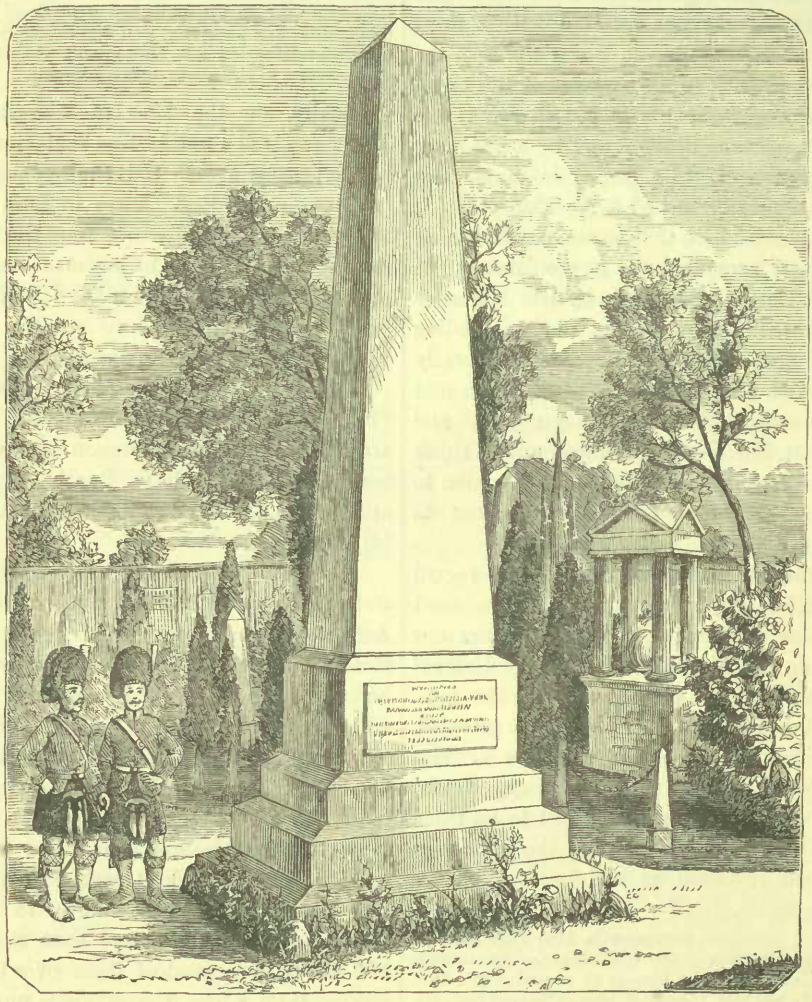
"To convey to the Queen, in the name of all ranks of the 79th, our most respectful and grateful acknowledgments for so distinguished a mark of royal condescension, and I beg that you will assure Her Majesty of the gratification felt throughout the regiment in consequence of the above announcement."

Finally, on the 13th of August Colonel Miller received a notification that Her Majesty had expressed a wish that the regiment should be drawn up at East Cowes to form a guard of honour on her departure from the island on the following day. The regiment accordingly marched to East Cowes on the following afternoon, and presented arms as Her Majesty embarked on her way to Balmoral.

On 18th of September of the same year the 79th left Parkhurst for Aldershot, where it arrived on the same afternoon, and was quartered in A and B lines, South Camp, being attached to the 1st or Major-General Parkes' brigade.

The Black Watch has received great and well-merited praise for its conduct during the Ashantee War, in the march from the Gold Coast to Coomassie. It ought, however, to be borne in mind that a fair share of the glory which the 42nd gained on that dangerous coast, under the able command of Major-General Sir Garnet J. Wolseley, really belongs to the Cameron Highlanders. When the 42nd, at the end of December 1873, was ordered to embark for the Gold Coast, 135 volunteers were asked for from the 79th, to make up its strength, when there at once stepped out 170 fine fellows, most of them over ten years' service, from whom the requisite number was taken. Lieutenants R. C. Annesley and James M'Callum accompanied these volunteers. Although they wore the badge and uniform of the glorious Black Watch, as much credit is due to the 79th on account of their conduct as if they had fought under the name of the famous Cameron Highlanders, in which regiment they received all that training without which personal bravery is of little avail.

Monument in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh, erected in 1857.
The monument is of sandstone, but the inscription is cut in a block of granite inserted below the shaft.



In Memory of

Colonel the Honourable Lauderdale Maule;
Lieut.-Colonel E. J. Elliot, Lieut.-Colonel James Ferguson;
Captain Adam Maitland;
Lieutenant F. A. Grant, Lieutenant F. J. Harrison;
and
Dr K. J. Mackenzie.
also
369 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the 79th Highlanders, who died in Bulgaria and the Crimea, or fell in action during the Campaign of 1854–55.

Lieut. Colonel Clephane, who for many years was connected with the Cameron Highlanders, has been good enough to furnish us with a number of anecdotes illustrative of the inner life of the regiment and of the characteristics of the men in his time. Some of these we have already given in their chronological place in the text, and we propose to conclude our narrative with one or two others, regretting that space does not permit our making use of all the material Colonel Clephane has been so obliging as to put into our hands.

It may probably be affirmed, as a rule, that there exists in the regiments of the British army an amount of harmony and cordial reciprocation of interest in individual concerns, which cannot be looked for in other professional bodies. From the nature of the circumstances under which soldiers spend the best years of their lives, thrown almost entirely together, sometimes exclusively so, and moving, as fate and the War Office may determine, from one point to another of Her Majesty's dominions on their country's concerns, it naturally arises that an amount of familiar knowledge of each other's characteristics is arrived at which in the world at large is rarely attainable. We should state that the period of the following reminiscences is comprehended between the year 1835 and the suppression of the Indian mutiny.

In the 79th Highlanders the harmony that existed among the officers, and the completeness of the chain of fellow-feeling which bound together all ranks from highest to lowest, was very remarkable. It used to be said among the officers themselves that, no matter how often petty bickerings might arise in the fraternity, anything like a serious quarrel was impossible; and this from the very reason that it *was* a *fraternity*, in the best and fullest sense of the word.

And now a temptation arises to notice one or two of those individual members of the regiment whose demeanour and eccentricities of expression furnished a daily supply of amusement:—There was a non-commissioned officer, occupying the position of drill-sergeant about five-and-thirty or forty years ago, whose contributions in this way were much appreciated. "I think I see him now," writes Colonel Clephane, "sternly surveying with one grey eye, the other being firmly closed for the time being, some unlucky batch of recruits which had unfavourably attracted his attention; his smooth-shaven lip and chin, a brown curl brought forward over each cheek-bone, and the whole surmounted by the high white-banded sergeant's forage cap of that day set at the regulation military angle over the right ear. He was a Waterloo man, and must have been verging on middle age at the time of which I write, but there was no sign of any falling off in the attributes of youth, if we except the slight rotundity beneath the waistbelt." No one could be more punctiliously respectful to his superior officers than the sergeant, but when he had young gentlemen newly joined under his charge at recruit drill, he would display an assumption of authority as occasion offered which was sometimes ludicrous enough. On one of these occasions, when a squad of recruits, comprising two newly-fledged ensigns, was at drill in the barrack square, the sound of voices (a heinous offence as we all know) was heard in the ranks. The sergeant stopped opposite the offending squad. There was "silence deep as death"—"Ah—m—m!" said he, clearing his throat after a well-known fashion of his, and tapping the ground with the end of his cane—"Ah—m—m! if I hear any man talkin' in the ranks, I'll put him in the guard 'ouse" (here he looked with stern significance at each of the officers in turn)—"*I don't care who he is!*" Having thus, as he thought, impressed all present with a due sense of the respect due to his great place, he gave a parting "Ah—m—m!" tapped the ground once or twice more, keeping his eye firmly fixed to the last on the more suspected of the two ensigns, and moved stiffly off to the next batch of recruits. No one ever dreamed of being offended with old "Squid," as he was called, after his pronunciation of the word squad, and those who had, as he expressed it, "passed through his hands" would never consider themselves as unduly unbending in holding serious or mirthful colloquy with their veteran preceptor. Thus, on another occasion of considerably later date than the above, some slight practical joking had been going on at the officers' mess, a practice which would have been dangerous but for the real cordiality which existed among its members, and a group of these conversed gleefully on the subject next morning after the dismissal of parade. The peculiar form assumed by their jocularity had been that of placing half a newspaper or so upon the boot of a slumbering comrade, and setting it on fire, as a gentle hint that slumber at the mess-table was objectionable. One officer was inclined to deprecate the practice. "If he had not awoke at once," said he, "he might have found it no joke." "Ah—m—m!" uttered the well-known voice close behind the group, where the sergeant, now dépôt sergeant-major, had, unnoticed, been a listener to the colloquy, "I always grease the paper." This was literally throwing a new light on the subject, and was the worthy man's method of testifying contempt for all undue squeamishness on occasions of broken etiquette.

One or two subordinates in the same department were not without their own distinguishing characteristics. Colonel Clephane writes—"I remember one of our drill corporals, whose crude ideas of humour were not unamusing when all were in the vein, which we generally were in those days. He was quite a young man, and his sallies came, as it were, in spite of himself, and with a certain grimness of delivery which was meant to obviate any tendency therein to relaxation of discipline. I can relate a slight episode connected with this personage, showing how the memory of small things lingers in the hearts of such men in a way we would little expect from the multifarious nature of their occupations, and the constant change to them of scenes and features. A young officer was being drilled by a lance-corporal after the usual recruit fashion, and being a tall slip of a youth he was placed on the flank of his squad. They were being marched to a flank in what was called Indian or single file, the said officer being in front as right hand man. When the word 'halt' was given by the instructor from a great distance off—a favourite plan of his, as testing the power of his word of command—the officer did not hear it, and, while the rest of the squad came to a stand still, he went marching on. He was aroused from a partial reverie by the sound of the well-known broad accent close at his ear, 'Hae ye far to gang the nicht?' and, wheeling about in some discomfiture, had to rejoin the squad amid the unconcealed mirth of its members. Well, nearly thirty years afterwards, when probably not one of them, officer, corporal, or recruits, continued to wear the uniform of the regiment, the former, in passing through one of the streets of Edinburgh, came upon his old instructor in the uniform of a conducting sergeant (one whose duty it was to accompany recruits from their place of enlistment to the head-quarters of their regiments). There was an immediate cordial recognition, and, after a few inquiries and reminiscences on both sides, the quondam officer said jestingly, "You must acknowledge I was the best recruit you had in those days." The sergeant hesitated, smiled grimly, and then replied, "Yes, you were a good enough recruit; but you were a bad richt hand man!"

The sequel of the poor sergeant's career furnishes an

apt illustration of the cordiality of feeling wherewith his officer is almost invariably regarded by the fairly dealt with and courteously treated British soldier. A few years subsequent to the period of the above episode, Colonel Clephane received a visit at his house, quite unexpectedly, from his old instructor. The latter had been forced by this time, through failure of health, to retire from the active duties of his profession, and it was, indeed, evident at once, from his haggard lineaments and the irrepressible wearing cough, which from time to time shook his frame, that he had "received the route" for a better world. He had no request to make, craved no assistance, and could with difficulty be persuaded to accept some refreshment. The conversation flowed in the usual channel of reminiscences, in the course of which the officer learned that matters which he had imagined quite private, at least to his own circle, were no secret to the rank and file. The sergeant also adverted to an offer which had been made to him, on his retirement from the 79th, of an appointment in the police force. "A policeman!" said he, describing his interview with the patron who proposed the scheme; "for Godsake, afore ye mak a policeman o' me, just tie a stane round my neck and fling me into the sea!" After some time, he got up to retire, and was followed to the door by his quondam pupil, who, himself almost a cripple, was much affected by the still more distressing infirmity of his old comrade. The officer, after shaking hands, expressed a hope, by way of saying something cheering at parting, that he should yet see the veteran restored to comparative health. The latter made no reply, but after taking a step on his way, turned round, and said, in a tone which the other has not forgotten, "I've seen *you* once again any way;" and so they parted, never to meet again in this world.

These are small matters, but they furnish traits of a class, the free expenditure of whose blood has made Great Britain what she is.

There is in all regiments a class which, very far remote as it is from the possession of the higher, or, at all events, the more dignified range of attributes, yet, as a curious study, is not undeserving of a few notes. It is pretty well known that each officer of a regiment has attached to his special service a man selected from the ranks, and in most cases from the company to which he himself belongs. Now, it is not to be supposed that the captain of a company will sanction the employment in this way of his smartest men, nor, indeed, would the commanding officer be likely to ratify the appointment if he did; still, I have seen smart young fellows occasionally filling the position of officer's servant, though they rarely continued long in it, but reverted, as a rule, sooner or later, to their places in the ranks, under the influence of a soldier's proper ambition, which pointed to the acquisition of at least a non-commission officer's stripes; not to speak of the difference between Her Majesty's livery and that of any intermediate master, however much in his own person deserving of respect. The young ensign, however, in joining will rarely find himself accommodated with a servant of this class. He will have presented to him, in that capacity, some steady (we had almost said "sober," but that we should have been compelled forthwith to retract), grave, and experienced old stager, much, probably, the worse of wear from the lapse of time and from subsidiary influences, and serving out his time for a pension (I speak of days when such things were), after such fashion as military regulations and an indulgent captain permitted. This sort of man was generally held available for the newly joined ensign, upon much the same principle as that which places the new dragoon recruit on the back of some stiff-jointed steed of supernatural sagacity and vast experience of a recruit's weak points in the way of security of seat, which last, however, he only puts to use when he sees a way of doing so with benefit to his position, unaccompanied with danger to his hide; in other words, while regarding with much indifference the feelings of the shaky individual who bestrides him, he has a salutary dread of the observant rough-rider. A soldier servant of the above class will devote himself to making what he can, within the limits of strict integrity, out of a juvenile master; but woe betide the adventurous wight whom he detects poaching on his preserve! On the whole, therefore, the ensign is not badly off, for the veteran is, after all, really honest, and money to almost any amount may be trusted to his supervision; as for tobacco and spirits, he looks upon them, I am afraid, as contraband of war, a fair and legitimate forfeit if left within the scope of his privateering ingenuity.

Many years ago, while the 79th Highlanders formed the garrison of Edinburgh Castle, Her Majesty the Queen, who had very lately ascended the throne of Great Britain, paid a visit to the metropolis of her Scottish dominions, and a guard of honour from the above regiment was despatched down to Holyrood to keep watch and ward over the royal person. It was late in the season, or early, I forget which, Colonel Clephane writes, and when the shades of evening closed round, the officers of the guard were sensible, in their large, gloomy chamber, of a chilly feeling which the regulated allowance of coals failed to counteract. In other words, the fuel ran short, and they were cold, so it was resolved to despatch one of their servants, a type of the class just alluded to, for a fresh supply. Half-a-crown was handed to him for this purpose—a sum which represented the value of more than a couple of hundredweights in those days,—and Donald was instructed to procure a scuttlefull, and bring back the change. Time went on, the few embers in the old grate waxed dimmer and dimmer, and no Donald made his appearance. At last, when the temper of the expectant officers had reached boiling point, increasing in an inverse ratio to their bodily caloric, the door opened, and Donald gravely entered the apartment. The chamber was vast and the light was dim, and the uncertain gait of the approaching domestic was at first unnoticed. Calmly disregarding a howl of indignant remonstrance on the score of his dilatory proceedings, the latter silently approached the end of the room where the two officers were cowering over the dying embers. It was now seen that he carried in one hand a piece of coal, or some substance like it, about the size of a sixpounder shot. "Where have you been, confound you! and why have you not brought the coals?" roared his master. Donald halted, steadied himself, and glanced solemnly, first at the "thing" which he carefully bore in his palm, then at the speaker's angry lineaments, and in strangely husky accents thus delivered himself:—"Not another—hic—bit of coal in Edinburgh; coalsh—hic—'sh very dear just now, Mr Johnstone!" The delinquent's master was nearly beside himself with fury when he saw how the matter stood, but he could not for the life of him help, after a moment or two, joining in the merriment which shook the very frame of his comrade. Donald, in the meantime, stood regarding both with an air of tipsy gravity, and was apparently quite bewildered when ordered to retire with a view to being placed in durance vile. This incident naturally ended the connection between him and his aggrieved master. It is but fair to state that the hero of the above little anecdote, though I have called him "Donald," was a Lowlander.

SUCCESSION LIST OF COLONELS AND LIEUTENANT-COLONELS OF THE 79TH, THE QUEEN'S OWN CAMERON HIGHLANDERS.

COLONELS.

Names.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Major Alan Cameron	August 17, 1793	Died Lieut.-General, March 9, 1828.
Lieut.-General R. C. Ferguson, G.C.B.	March 24, 1828	Died, April 10, 1841.
Major-General the Hon. J. Ramsay	April 27, 1841	Died, June 28, 1842.
Lt.-General Sir James Macdonell, K.C.B.	July 14, 1842	To 71st Foot, February 8, 1849.
Major-General James Hay, C.B.	February 8, 1849	Died, February 25, 1854.
Lieut.-General W. H. Sewell, C.B.	March 24, 1854	Died, 1862.
Hugh Arbuthnot, C.B.	March 14, 1862	Vice Sewell, deceased.
J. F. Glencairn Campbell	July 12,-1868	Vice Arbuthnot, deceased.
Henry Cooper, C.B.	August 21, 1870	Vice Campbell, deceased.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

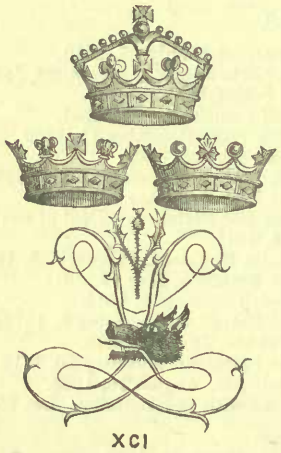
Bat.			
1.	Alan Cameron, Major-Com.	Lt.-Col. Feb. 19, 1794	Major-General, July 25, 1810.
1.	The Hon. A. C. Johnstone	May 2, 1794	Promoted to colonel of a regiment, Jan. 26,1797.
1.	William Ashton	September 18, 1794	Died, September 1796.
1.	Patrick Macdowall	November 1, 1796	Died of wounds, August 1801.
1.	William Eden	August 15, 1798	To 84th Foot, December 11, 1806.
1.	Archibald Maclean	September 3, 1801	Retired, May 28, 1807.
2.	Philip Cameron	April 19, 1804	To 1st Battalion, December 11, 1806.
2.	John Murray	December 11, 1806	To 1st Battalion, May 28, 1807.
1.	Philip Cameron	December 11, 1806	From 2nd Battalion. Died of wounds, May 13, 1811.
1.	John Murray	May 28, 1807	To Malta Regiment, February 23, 1808.
2.	Robert Fulton	May 28, 1807	To 1st Battalion, May 13, 1811.
1.	Robert Fulton	May 13, 1811	Retired, December 3, 1812.
2.	Wm. M. Harvey	May 30, 1811	To 1st Battalion, December 3, 1812.
1.	Wm. M. Harvey	December 3, 1812	Died at sea, June 10, 1813.
2.	Neil Douglas	December 3, 1812	To 1st Battalion, February 20, 1813.
1.	Neil Douglas	February 20, 1813	To Half-pay, August 16, 1833.
2.	Nathaniel Cameron	June 24, 1813	Reduced with 2nd Battalion, Dec 25, 1815.
		Only one Battalion in Regiment.	
1.	Duncan Macdougal	September 6, 1833	Retired, March 13, 1835.
1.	Robert Ferguson	March 13, 1835	Retired, June 8, 1841.
1.	Andrew Brown	June 8, 1841	To 1st Battalion Royals, October 29, 1841.
1.	John Carter, K.H.	October 29, 1841	Retired June 14, 1842.
1.	The Hon. Lauderdale Maule	June 14, 1842	To Half-pay unattached, December 24, 1852.
1.	Edmund James Elliot	December 24, 1852	Died, August 12, 1854.
1.	John Douglas, K.C.B.	August 13, 1854	
1.	R. C. H. Taylor, C.B.	December 12, 1854	To Depôt Battalion, October 1, 1856.
1.	R. C. H. Taylor, C.B.	August 1, 1857	
1.	T. B Butt	April 15, 1859	Chief Inspector of Musketry, Bengal, 1860. Exchanged to 86th Regiment, Sept. 13,1864.
1.	W. C. Hodgson	July 10, 1860	Died at Parkhurst, Isle of Wight, March 1, 1872.
1.	R. M. Best	September 13, 1864	Brigadier-General, India, May 24, 1870. Exchanged from 86th Regiment, Sept. 13, 1864.
1.	K. R. Maitland	March 2, 1872	To Half-pay, October 19, 1872.
1.	G. M. Miller	October 19, 1872	

THE 91st PRINCESS LOUISE ARGYLLSHIRE HIGHLANDERS.

I.

1794–1848.

Raising of the Regiment—At first the 98th—South Africa — Wynberg — Saldanha Bay — Number changed to 91st—Faithfulness of the Regiment—Returns to England — Germany — Ireland — The Peninsula — Obidos—Vimeiro — Corunna—The detached company — Talavera — Walcheren — Peninsula again—Vittoria—Pamplona—Nivelle—Nive—Bayonne — Orthes — Toulouse — Ireland — Quatre Bras — Waterloo — France — Ireland — 91st loses Highland dress—Jamaica—England—Ireland—St Helena—Cape of Good Hope—The Reserve Battalion formed and sails for S. Africa — Wreck of the "Abercrombie Robinson"—Insurrection of Dutch farmers—Frontier service—The Boers again—New colours — The Kaffir War—Amatola Mountains—Attack on Fort Peddie — Buffalo Spruits — 1st Battalion goes home.



XCI

NE OBLIVISCARIS.

Roleia.	Nivelle.
Vimeiro.	Nive.
Corunna.	Orthes.
Pyrenees.	Toulouse.

Peninsula.

This regiment was raised, in accordance with a desire expressed by His Majesty George III., by the Duke of Argyll, to whom a letter of service was granted, dated the 10th of February 1794. In March it was decided that the establishment of the regiment should consist of 1112 officers and men, including 2 lieutenant-colonels. Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, who was a captain in the Foot Guards, was appointed Lieutenant-colonel commandant of the regiment, and assumed the command at Stirling on the 15th of April, 1794.

The regiment was inspected for the first time, on the 26th of May, when it had reached a strength of 738 officers and men, by General Lord Adam Gordon, who particularly noticed the attention and good appearance of the men. The regiment remained at Stirling for a month after this inspection, marching about the middle of June to Leith, at which port, on the 17th and 18th of that month, it embarked *en route* for Netley, where it went into encampment. On the 9th of July the king approved of the list of officers, and the regiment was numbered the 98th.

The 98th, which had meantime removed to Chippenham, marched to Gosport about the end of April, 1795, and on the 5th of May it embarked at Spithead as part of the joint expedition to South Africa, against the Dutch, under Major-General Alured Clark. It arrived in Simon's Bay on the 3rd, landing at Simon's Town, on the 9th of September, and encamped at Muysenberg.[1]

After the army under Major-General Clark arrived at the Cape, it advanced on the 14th of September and carried Wynberg, the battalion companies of the regiment, under Colonel Campbell, forming the centre of the line. On this occasion the 98th had 4 privates wounded. On September 16th the regiment entered Cape Town Castle, and relieved the Dutch garrison by capitulation, all the forts and batteries of Cape Town and its dependencies having been given over to the possession of the British. About a year afterwards, however, an expedition was sent from Holland for the purpose of winning back the Cape of Good Hope to that country, and in the action which took place at Saldanha Bay on the 17th of August 1796, and in which the British were

[1] Here we cannot help expressing our regret at the meagreness of the regimental Record Book, which, especially the earlier part of it, consists of the barest possible statement of the movements of the regiment, no details whatever being given of the important part it took in the various actions in which it was engaged. This we do not believe arose from any commendable modesty on the part of the regimental authorities, but, to judge from the preface to the present handsome and beautifully kept Record Book, was the result of pure carelessness. In the case of the 91st, as in the case of most of the other regiments, we have found the present officers and all who have been connected with the regiment eager to lend us all the help in their power; but we fear it will be difficult to supply the deficiencies of the Record Book, which, as an example, dismisses Toulouse in about six lines.

completely victorious, the grenadier and light companies of the 98th took part. The regiment remained in South Africa till the year 1802, during which time little occurred to require special notice.

In October 1798, while the regiment was at Cape Town, its number was changed from the 98th to the 91st.

In May 1799 a regimental school was established for the first time for the non-commissioned officers and men.

In the beginning of 1799 a strong attempt was made by a number of the soldiers in the garrison at Cape Town to organise a mutiny, their purpose being to destroy the principal officers, and to establish themselves in the colony. Not only did the 91st not take any part in this diabolical attempt, but the papers containing the names of the mutineers and their plans were discovered and seized by the aid of private Malcolm M'Culloch and other soldiers of the regiment, who had been urged by the mutineers to enter into the conspiracy. Lt.-Col. Crawford in a regimental order specially commended the conduct of M'Culloch, and declared that he considered himself fortunate in being the commander of such a regiment.

In November 1802 the first division of the 91st embarked at Table Bay for England, arriving at Portsmouth in February 1803. On the 28th of the latter month the second division had the honour of delivering over the Cape of Good Hope to the Dutch, to whom it had been secured at the peace of Amiens. After performing this duty the division embarked at Table Bay, arriving at Portsmouth in May, and joining the first division at their quarters in Bexhill during the next month.

During the next few years the Record Book contains nothing but an enumeration of the various places to which the regiment marched for the purpose of encamping or acting as garrison. A slight, and no doubt welcome interruption of this routine was experienced in December 1805, at the end of which month it embarked for Hanover, and was brigaded along with the 26th and 28th regiments, under the command of Major-General Mackenzie Fraser.[2] After the regiment had been about a month in Germany the British army was recalled, and the 91st consequently returned to England in the end of January 1806, taking up its quarters at Faversham.

In August 1804, in accordance with the recent Act of Parliament known as the Defence Act, means were taken to add a second battalion to the 91st, by raising men in the counties of Perth, Argyll, and Bute.

The regiment remained in England until the end of 1806, when it embarked at Dover for Ireland, disembarking at the Cove of Cork on Jan. 7th, 1807, and marching into Fermoy. It remained in Ireland, sending detachments to various places, till the middle of 1808, embarking at Monkstown on the 15th of June, to form part of the Peninsular expedition under Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley. The 91st was brigaded with the 40th and 71st regiments under Brigadier-General Crawford, the three regiments afterwards forming the 5th Brigade.[3] The 91st was engaged in most of the actions during the Peninsular war, and did its part bravely and satisfactorily.

On August 9th 1808, the 91st advanced with the rest of the army, and, on the 17th, in the affair at Obidos the light company of the regiment, with those of the brigade under the command of Major Douglas of the 91st, were engaged, when the advanced posts of the enemy were driven from their positions. On August 21st, the regiment was present at the battle of Vimeiro, forming part of the reserve under General C. Crawford, which turned the enemy's right,—a movement which was specially mentioned in the official despatch concerning this important battle.

In the beginning of September, by a new distribution of the army, the 91st was placed in Major-General Beresford's brigade with the 6th and 45th regiments, and in the 4th division, that of Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley. On Sept. 20th, however, it seems to have been attached, with its brigade, to the 3rd division.

On Oct. 19th the regiment advanced into Spain, with the rest of the army under Lt.-Gen.

[2] See his portrait on p. 642, vol. ii.

[3] The account we are able to give here may be supplemented by what has been said regarding the Peninsular war in connection with some of the other regiments.

Sir John Moore, proceeding by Abrantes, Covilhão, Belmonte, Morilhão, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Salamanca, arriving at the last-mentioned place on Nov. 18th. On the 28th the regiment was formed into a brigade with the 20th, 28th, 52nd, and 95th regiments, to compose a part of the reserve army under Major-General the Hon. Edward Paget, in which important capacity it served during the whole of Sir John Moore's memorable retreat to Corunna. On Jan. 11th, 1809, the 91st, along with the rest of the army, took up its position on the heights of Corunna, the reserve brigade on the 16th—the day of battle—being behind the left of the British army. The 91st does not appear to have been actively engaged in this disastrous battle,—disastrous in that it involved the loss of one of England's greatest generals, the brave Sir John Moore. On the evening of the 16th the 91st embarked, and arrived in Plymouth Sound on the 28th.

The officers, non-commissioned officers, and men who were left sick in Portugal on the advance of the regiment with Sir John Moore, were formed into a company under Captain Walsh, and placed as such in the first battalion of detachments. This battalion was commanded by Lt.-Col. Bunbury, and composed part of the army in Portugal under Lt.-General Sir Arthur Wellesley. This company was actively employed in the affairs of May 10th, 11th, and 12th, which led to the capture of Oporto. It afterwards advanced with the army which drove the enemy into Spain.

The company was engaged on July 27th and 28th in the battle of Talavera, in which, out of a total strength of 93 officers and men, it lost 1 officer, Lieutenant Macdougal, and 9 rank and file killed, 1 sergeant and 30 rank and file wounded, and 1 officer, Captain James Walsh, and 19 men missing; in all, 61 officers and men. Captain Walsh was taken prisoner by the enemy in a charge, and with many other officers was marched, under a strong escort, towards France. He, however, effected his escape at Vittoria on the night of August 20th, and after suffering the greatest privation and hardship, he rejoined the army in Portugal, and reported himself personally to Lord Wellington. Captain Thomas Hunter, of the 91st, who was acting as major of brigade, was also wounded and taken prisoner in this action.

Meantime, the main body of the 91st, after being garrisoned in England for a few months, was brigaded with the 6th and 50th Foot, under Major-General Dyott, and placed in the 2nd division, under Lieut.-General the Marquis of Huntly, preparatory to its embarkation in the expedition to Walcheren, under Lieut.-General the Earl of Chatham. The regiment disembarked at South Beveland on August 9th, and entered Middelburg, in the island of Walcheren, on Sept. 2nd. Here it seems to have remained till Dec. 23rd, when it re-embarked at Flushing, arriving at Deal on the 26th, and marched to Shorncliffe barracks. In this expedition to Walcheren the 91st must have suffered severely from the Walcheren fever, as in the casualty table of the Record Book for the year 1809 we find, for the months of Sept. and Oct. respectively, the unusually high numbers of 37 and 42 deaths.

The 91st remained in England till the month of Sept. 1812, on the 18th and 19th of which it again embarked to take its share in the Peninsular war, arriving at Corunna between the 6th and the 12th of October. On October 14th the regiment set out to join the army under the Duke of Wellington, arriving on Nov. 1st at Villafranca, about 12 miles from Benavente. After taking part in a movement in the direction of Bragança, on the frontiers of Portugal, the 91st, which had been placed in the Highland or General Pack's brigade, then under the command of Colonel Stirling of the 42nd Regiment, in the 6th division,—finally removed to San Roma, where it remained during the winter.

In April 1813, the 91st left its winter quarters, and on May 14th advanced with the combined army to attack the enemy. At the battle of Vittoria, on June 21st, the 6th division, to which the 91st belonged, was ordered to defile to the right to watch the movements of a division of the enemy during this important action, and on the 22nd it marched through Vittoria, and took charge of the guns and other warlike stores abandoned by the enemy.

On June 27th the 91st, along with the rest of the army, commenced the march towards Pamplona, and on July 6th the 6th division, in

conjunction with the 5th, invested that fortress. But the blockade of Pamplona having been left to the 5th division and the Spanish legion, the 6th division advanced to San Estevan on July 15th. On the 26th of the same month, the enemy having made some movements to raise the siege of Pamplona, the 6th division moved from San Estevan on that day, and, in conjunction with the 4th and 7th divisions, on July 28th attacked the head of the French column at the small village of Sorauren, near Pamplona, and completely checked its progress. On the 30th, at daybreak, the action recommenced on the right of the division by an attack from the enemy's left wing. The action continued hotly until about noon, when the light companies of the Highland brigade, under the direction of Major Macneil of the 91st Regiment, stormed and carried the village of Sorauren, causing the enemy to flee in all directions, pursued by the division.

On the 28th the regiment lost 1 sergeant and 11 rank and file killed, and 6 officers—Captain Robert Lowrie, Lts. Allan Maclean, John Marshall, and S. N. Ormerod, and Ensigns J. A. Ormiston and Peter M'Farlane—and 97 rank and file wounded; on the 30th, 1 private was killed, and Major Macneil and 8 rank and file wounded. At least about 40 of the wounded afterwards died of their wounds.

The 91st continued to take part in the pursuit of the enemy, and on the night of August 1st bivouacked on the heights of Roncesvalles; on August 8th it encamped on the heights of Maya. The regiment remained in this quarter till the 9th of Nov., on the evening of which the army marched forward to attack the whole of the enemy's positions within their own frontier; and on the next day, the 10th of Nov., the battle of Nivelle was fought, the British attacking and carrying all the French positions, putting the enemy to a total rout. The 91st lost in this action, Captain David M'Intyre and 3 men killed, and 2 sergeants and 4 men wounded.

On November 11th the British continued to pursue the enemy towards Bayonne, but the weather being extremely wet the troops were ordered into cantonments. The British were in motion again, however, in the beginning of Dec., early on the morning of the 9th of which the 6th division crossed the Nive on pontoon bridges, and attacked and drove in the enemy's outposts. As the 6th division had to retire out of the range of the fire of the 2nd division, it became during the remainder of the day merely an army of observation. The only casualties of the 91st at the battle of the Nive were 5 men wounded.

Marshal Soult, finding himself thus shut up in Bayonne, and thinking that most of the British troops had crossed the Nive, made, on the 10th, a desperate sally on the left of the British army, which for a moment gave way, but soon succeeded in regaining its position, and in driving the enemy within the walls of Bayonne. During the action the 6th division recrossed the Nive, and occupied quarters at Ustaritz.

At Bayonne, on Dec. 13th, Sir Rowland Hill declined the proffered assistance of the 6th division, which therefore lay on its arms in view of the dreadful conflict, that was terminated only by darkness. The enemy were completely driven within the walls of Bayonne.

During December and January the British army was cantoned in the environs of Bayonne, but was again in motion on Feb. 5th, 1814, when, with the exception of the 5th division and a few Spaniards left to besiege Bayonne, it proceeded into France. On Feb. 26th the 6th division arrived on the left bank of the Adour, opposite Orthes; and on the morning of the 27th the 3d, 4th, 6th, and 7th divisions crossed on pontoons and drew up on the plain on the right bank of the river. The French thought themselves secure in their fortified heights in front of the British position. About 9 o'clock in the morning the divisions moved down the main road towards Orthes; each division, as it came abreast of the enemy's position, broke off the road and attacked and carried the position in its front. About noon the enemy fled, pursued by the British, who were stopped only by the darkness of night. In the battle of Orthes the 91st had Captain William Gunn and Lts. Alexander Campbell, John Marshall, and John Taylor, and 12 rank and file wounded. At the Aire, on March 2nd, the 91st had 1 man killed, and Captain William Douglas, Ensign Colin Macdougal, 1 sergeant, and 14 men wounded.

The 91st continued with its division to advance towards Toulouse, where the great Peninsular struggle was to culminate. On March 26th, the 6th division arrived at the village of Constantine, opposite to and commanding a full view of Toulouse, and on the 8th it moved to the right, and occupied the village of Tournefouille. Early on the morning of April 4th the division moved a few miles down the Garonne, and a little after daybreak crossed.[4] On the morning of April 10th the army left its tents at an early hour, and at daybreak came in sight of the fortified heights in front of Toulouse. The 6th division was ordered to storm these heights, supported by the Spaniards on the right and the 4th division on the left. About ten o'clock the Highland brigade attacked and carried all the fortified redoubts and entrenchments along the heights, close to the walls of Toulouse. Night alone put an end to the contest. We are sorry that we have been unable to obtain any details of the conduct of the 91st; but it may be gathered from what has been said in connection with the 42nd and 79th, as well as from the long list of casualties in the regiment, that it had a full share of the work which did so much honour to the Highland brigade.

At Toulouse the 91st had 1 sergeant and 17 men killed, and 7 officers—viz., Col. Sir William Douglas,[5] who commanded the brigade after Sir Dennis Pack was wounded, Major A. Meade, Captains James Walsh and A. J. Callender, Lts. J. M. Macdougal, James Hood, and Colin Campbell—1 sergeant, and 93 rank and file wounded; a good many of the latter afterwards dying of their wounds.

As is well known, on the day after the battle of Toulouse news of the abdication of Napoleon, and the restoration of the Bourbons, was received, and hostilities were therefore suspended. On April 20th the 6th division marched for Auch, and on the 24th of June the first detachment of the regiment sailed for home, the second following on July 1st, both arriving at Cork towards the end of the latter month.

Lt.-Colonel Macneil was presented with a gold medal, and promoted to the rank of lt.-colonel in the army, for his services in the Peninsula, and especially for his gallant conduct in command of the light companies of the light brigade of the 6th division at Sorauren. Captain Walsh was also promoted to the rank of brevet lt.-colonel.

On March 17th the 91st, accompanied by the 42nd, 71st, and 79th regiments, sailed for Carlingford Bay, in the north of Ireland, and from thence to the Downs, where it was transhipped into small crafts and sailed for Ostend, where it arrived on the night of the 17th of April.

Although at Quatre Bras and Waterloo,[6] the 91st had no opportunity of coming to close quarters with the enemy, yet its service in these days was so efficient as to gain for it all the honours, grants, and privileges which were bestowed on the army for that memorable occasion. The 91st did good service on the morning of the 18th of June by helping to cover the road to Brussels, which was threatened by a column of the French. On the 19th the 91st took part in the pursuit of the flying enemy, and on the 24th it sat down before Cambray, which, having refused to capitulate, was carried by assault. On this occasion the 91st had Lt. Andrew Cathcart and 6 men wounded; and at Autel de Dieu, on June 26th, a private was killed on this post by some of the French picquets. On July 7th the 91st encamped in the Bois de Boulogne, where it remained till Oct. 31st, when it went into cantonments.

The 91st remained in France till Nov. 2nd, 1818, when it embarked at Calais for Dover; sailed again on Dec. 17th from Gosport for Cork, where it disembarked on the 24th; finally, marching in two divisions, on Dec. 27th and

[4] In connection with the 42nd and 79th Regiments, which with the 91st formed the Highland brigade, many details of the battle of Toulouse have already been given, which need not be repeated here.

[5] Shortly after Sir William Douglas assumed the command, the Duke of Wellington came up and asked who had the command of the brigade. Colonel Douglas replied that he had the honour to command it just then; when Wellington said, "No man could do better," adding, "take the command, and keep it," which Colonel Douglas did until the brigade reached home. Lt.-Colonel Douglas was presented with a gold medal for his services in the Peninsula, and subsequently created K.C.B.

[6] At Waterloo Captain Thomas Hunter Blair of the 91st was doing duty as major of brigade to the 3rd brigade of British Infantry, and for his meritorious conduct on that occasion was promoted Lt.-Col. of the army.

28th, for Dublin, which it reached on the 6th and 7th Jan. 1819.

By this time the 91st had ceased to wear both kilt and tartan, lost its Highland designation, and had gradually become an ordinary regiment of the line. From the statement of John Campbell, who was living at Aberdeen in 1871, and who served in the 91st throughout the Peninsular war, we learn that in 1809, just before embarking for Walcheren, the tartan for the kilts and plaids reached the regiment; but an order shortly came to make it up into trews. Along with the trews, a low flat bonnet with a feather on one side was ordered to be worn. About a year after, in 1810, even the tartan trews were taken from the 91st, a kind of grey trousers being ordered to be worn instead; the feathered bonnet was taken away at the same time, and the black cap then worn by ordinary line regiments was substituted.

The 91st remained in Dublin till July 22nd, 1820, eliciting the marked approbation of the various superior officers appointed to inspect it. On July 22nd it proceeded to Enniskillen, furnishing detachments to the counties of Cavan, Leitrim, and Donegal. Orders having been received in June 1821 that the regiment should prepare to proceed for Jamaica from the Clyde, the 91st embarked on the 18th at Donaghadee for Portpatrick, and marched to Glasgow, where it arrived on the 27th and 28th.

The regiment embarked at Greenock in two divisions in Nov. 1821 and Jan. 1822, arriving at Kingston, Jamaica, in Feb. and March respectively.

The 91st was stationed in the West Indies till the year 1831, during which time nothing notable seems to have occurred. The regiment, which lost an unusually large number of men by death in the West Indies, left Jamaica in three divisions in March and April 1831, arriving at Portsmouth in May and June following. The reserve companies having come south from Scotland, the entire regiment was once more united at Portsmouth in the beginning of August. In October the 91st was sent to the north, detachments being stationed at various towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire till the 10th of July 1832, when the detachments reunited at Liverpool, where the regiment embarked for Ireland, landing at Dublin on the following day. The 91st was immediately sent to Mullingar, where headquarters was stationed, detachments being sent out to various towns. From this time till the end of 1835 the regiment was kept constantly moving about in detachments among various stations in the centre, southern, and western Irish counties, engaged in duties often of the most trying and harassing kind, doing excellent and necessary service, but from which little glory could be gained. One of the most trying duties which the 91st had to perform during its stay in Ireland at this time, was lending assistance to the civil power on the occasion of Parliamentary elections. On such occasions the troops were subjected to treatment trying to their temper in the highest degree; but to the great credit of the officers and men belonging to the 91st, when employed on this duty, they behaved in a manner deserving of all praise.

The 91st having been ordered to proceed to St Helena, embarked in two detachments in November, and sailed from the Cove of Cork on the 1st of Dec. 1835, disembarking at St Helena on the 26th of Feb. 1836. The companies were distributed among the various stations in the lonely island, and during the stay of the regiment there nothing occurred which calls for particular notice. At the various inspections the 91st received nothing but praise for its discipline, appearance, and interior economy.

On the 4th of June 1839, headquarters grenadiers, No. 2, and the light infantry companies, left St Helena for the Cape of Good Hope, disembarking at Algoa Bay on the 31 of July, and reaching Grahamstown on the 8th.

Nothing of note occurred in connection with the regiment for the first two years of its stay at the Cape. It was regularly employed in detachments in the performance of duty at the various outposts on the Fish river, the Kat river, the Koonap river, Blinkwater, Double Drift, Fort Peddie, and other places, the detachments being relieved at regular intervals.

Government having decided upon the formation of reserve battalions, for the purpose of facilitating the relief of regiments abroad, and shortening their periods of foreign service, early in the month of April 1842, the establishment of the four company dépôts of

certain regiments was changed, and formed into battalions of six skeleton companies by volunteers from other corps. The 91st, the dépôt companies of which were then stationed at Naas, was selected in March 1842 as one of the regiments to be thus augmented. When complete the numbers and distribution of the rank and file stood as follows:—1st battalion, 540; reserve battalion, 540; dépôt, 120; total, 1200.

The Lt.-Colonel, whose post was to be with the 1st battalion, had the general charge and superintendence of the whole regiment, assisted by an additional major. The reserved battalion had the usual proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers appointed to it, but had no flank companies. The senior major had the immediate command of the reserve battalion.

The reserve battalion having been reported fit for service, was directed to hold itself in readiness to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope.

The wing under Capt. Bertie Gordon—who had joined the regiment about nine years previously, and who was so long and honourably connected with the 91st—joined the headquarters of the regiment at Naas on May 26th 1842, where the six companies were united under his command, both the lt.-col. and the major being on leave. On the 27th of May the battalion, under Capt. Gordon, proceeded from Naas to Kingstown, and embarked on board the transport "Abercrombie Robinson." On the 2d of June the transport sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, the strength of the regiment on board being 17 officers and 460 men, Lt.-Col. Lindsay being in command. The ship also contained drafts of the 27th regiment and the Cape Mounted Rifles. The transport having touched at Madeira, arrived in Table Bay on the 25th of August 1842. Here the battalion was warned for service on the north-eastern frontier of the colony, relieving the 1st battalion of the regiment, which was to be stationed at Cape Town. In consequence of this arrangement Lt.-Col. Lindsay and Major Ducat disembarked on the 27th, for the purpose of joining the 1st battalion, to which they belonged. All the other officers, not on duty, obtained permission to go ashore, and all landed except six, the command of the troops on board devolving on Capt. Bertie Gordon.

An event now took place which can only be paralleled by the famous wreck of the "Birkenhead" ten years afterwards, the narrative of which we have recorded in our history of the 74th.

At 11 o'clock P.M., on the night of the 27th, it was blowing a strong gale, and the sea was rolling heavily into the bay. The ship was pitching much and began to feel the ground, but she rode by two anchors, and a considerable length of cable had been served out the night before. Captain Gordon made such arrangements as he could, warning the officers, the sergeant-major, and the orderly non-commissioned officers to be in readiness.

From sunset on the 27th the gale had continued to increase, until at length it blew a tremendous hurricane, and at a little after 3 o'clock on the morning of the 28th the starboard cable snapped in two. The other cable parted a few minutes afterwards, and away went the ship before the storm, her hull striking with heavy crashes against the ground as she drove towards the beach, three miles distant under her lee. About the same time the fury of the gale, which had never lessened, was rendered more terrible by one of the most awful storms of thunder and lightning that had ever been witnessed in Table Bay.

While the force of the wind and sea was driving the ship into shoaler water, she rolled incessantly and heaved over fearfully with the back set of the surf. While in this position the heavy seas broke over her side and poured down the hatchways, the decks were opening in every direction, and the strong framework of the hull seemed compressed together, the beams starting from their places. The ship had been driven with her starboard bow towards the beach, exposing her stern to the sea, which rushed through the stern-posts and tore up the cabin floors of the orlop deck. The thunder and lightning ceased towards morning, and the ship seemed to have worked a bed for herself on the sand; for the rolling had greatly diminished, and there then arose the hope that all on board might get safe ashore.

At daybreak, about 7 o'clock, the troops, who had been kept below, were now allowed to come on deck in small numbers. After vain attempts to send a rope ashore, one of the cutters was carefully lowered on the lee side of the ship, and her crew succeeded in reaching the shore with a hauling line. The large surf-boats were shortly afterwards conveyed in waggons to the place where the ship was stranded, and the following orders were given by Captain Gordon for the disembarkation of the troops:—1. The women and children to disembark first; of these there were above 90. 2. The sick to disembark after the women and children. 3. The disembarkation of the troops to take place by the companies of the 91st Regiment drawing lots; the detachment of the 27th Regiment and the Cape Mounted Rifles to take the precedence. 4. The men to fall in on the upper deck, fully armed and accoutred, carrying their knapsacks and their greatcoats. 5. Each officer to be allowed to take a carpet-bag or small portmanteau.

The disembarkation of the women and children and of the sick occupied from half-past 8 until 10 o'clock A.M. The detachments of the 27th Regiment and the Cape Mounted Rifles followed. The disembarkation of the 91st was arranged by, first, the wings drawing lots, and then the companies of each wing.

At half-past 10 one of the surf boats, which had been employed up to this time in taking the people off the wreck, was required to assist in saving the lives of those on board the "Waterloo" convict ship, which was in still more imminent peril about a quarter of a mile from the "Abercrombie Robinson." There was now but one boat to disembark 450 men, the wind and sea beginning again to rise, and the captain was apprehensive that the ship might go to pieces before sunset.

The disembarkation of the six companies went on regularly but slowly from 11 A.M. until 3.30 P.M., the boat being able to hold only 30 men at a time. At half-past 3 the last boat-load left the ship's side. It

contained those of the officers and crew who had remained to the last, Captain Gordon of the 91st, Lt. Black, R.N., agent of transports, the sergeant-major of the reserve battalion of the 91st, and one or two non-commisioned officers who had requested permission to remain.

Nearly 700 souls thus completed their disembarkation after a night of great peril, and through a raging surf, without the occurrence of a single casualty. Among them were many women and children, and several sick men, two of whom were supposed to be dying. Although it had been deemed prudent to abandon the men's knapsacks and the officer's baggage, the reserve battalion of the 91st went down the side of that shattered wreck fully armed and accoutred, and ready for instant service.

It would be difficult to praise sufficiently the steady discipline of that young battalion, thus severely tested during nearly seventeen hours of danger, above eight of which were hours of darkness and imminent peril. That discipline failed not when the apparent hopelessness of the situation might have led to scenes of confusion and crime. The double guard and sentries which had at first been posted over the wine and spirit stores were found unnecessary, and these stores were ultimately left to the protection of the ordinary single sentries. Although the ship was straining in every timber, and the heavy seas were making a fair breach over her, the companies of that young battalion fell in on the weather side of the wreck as their lots were drawn, and waited for their turn to muster at the lee gangway; and so perfect were their confidence, their patience, and their gallantry, that although another vessel was going to pieces within a quarter of a mile of the transport ship, and a crowd of soldiers, sailors, and convicts were perishing before the eyes of those on board, not a murmur arose from their ranks, when Captain Gordon directed that the lot should not be applied to the detachment of the 27th regiment and Cape Mounted Riflemen, but that the 91st should give the precedence in disembarking from the wreck.

The narrative of the wreck was submitted to Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, who wrote upon it words of the highest commendation on the conduct of officers and men. "I have never," the Duke wrote, "read anything so satisfactory as this report. It is highly creditable, not only to Captain Bertie Gordon and the officers and troops concerned, but to the service in which such an instance has occurred, of discretion and of firmness in an officer in command, and of confidence, good order, discipline, and obedience in all under his direction, even to the women and children." The Duke did not forget the conduct of those concerned in this affair; it was mainly owing to the way in which Sergeant-major Murphy performed his duty on this occasion, that in 1846, through the Duke of Wellington's influence, he was appointed to a wardership of the Tower.

In consequence of this unfortunate disaster the 91st remained stationed at Cape Town until Feb. 1843. In Oct. 1842 Lt.-Col. Lindsay took command of the 1st battalion at Grahamstown, and Major Ducat assumed command of the reserve.

As the histories of the two battalions of the 91st during their existence are to a great extent separate, and as the 1st battalion did not remain nearly so long at the Cape as the reserve, nor had so much fighting to do, it will, we think, be better to see the 1st battalion safely home before commencing the history of the 2nd.

During the remainder of its stay at the Cape, till 1848, the 1st battalion continued as before to furnish detachments to the numerous outposts which guarded the colony from the ravages and ferocity of the surrounding natives. Such names as Fort Peddie, Fort Armstrong, Trompeter's Drift, Commity Drift, Eland's River, Bothas Post, &c., are continually occurring in the Record Book of the regiment.

The three companies that were left at St Helena in June 1839 joined the headquarters of the 1st battalion on Dec. 6th, 1842.

In the beginning of Dec. 1842 a force, consisting of 800 men, of whom 400 belonged to the 1st battalion of the 91st, was ordered to proceed from the eastern frontier to the northern boundary, an insurrection of the Dutch farmers having been expected in that quarter. This force, commanded by Colonel Hare, the Lieutenant-Governor, arrived at Colesberg, a village near the Orange river, about the end of the month. No active operations were, however, found necessary, and the troops were ordered to return to their quarters, after leaving 300 men of the 91st in cantonment at Colesberg. Previous to the force breaking up, Colonel Hare issued a frontier order, dated Feb. 1st, 1843, in which he expressed his admiration of the conduct of officers and men.

In the beginning of June 1843 nearly all the disposable troops on the eastern frontier were ordered on a special service to Kaffirland. The 1st and reserve battalions of the 91st furnished detachments for this service. The object of the expedition was to drive a refractory Kaffir chief, named Tola, from the neutral territory, and to dispossess him of a number of cattle stolen from the colony. The third division, commanded by Lt.-Col. Lindsay of the 91st Regiment, in the performance of

this duty encountered some opposition from a body of armed Kaffirs, in a skirmish with whom one man of the battalion was severely wounded. The force returned to the colony in the beginning of the following July, having captured a considerable number of cattle.

The emigrant farmers beyond the Orange river, or N.E. boundary of the colony, having early in the year 1845 committed aggressions on the Griquas or Bastards, by attacking their villages and kraals, and carrying off their cattle, &c., the Griquas claimed the protection of the British Government, the Boers having assembled in large bodies. Accordingly, the detachment of the 91st stationed at Colesberg, consisting of the grenadiers No. 2 and light companies, under the command of Major J. F. G. Campbell, was ordered to the Orange river, about fifteen miles from Colesberg. The detachment, along with a company of the Cape Mounted Riflemen, crossed the river on the night of April 22nd, and marched to Philippolis, a village of the Griquas.

Information having been received that the Boers were encamped in force at Touw Fontein, about thirty-five miles from Philippolis, the detachment marched on the night of the 23rd of April for the camp, within four miles of which camp the Boers and Griquas were found skirmishing, the former, 500 strong, being mounted. Dispositions were made to attack the camp, but the troops of the 7th Dragoon Guards and the company of the Cape Rifles pushed forward, and the Boers fled in all directions, after offering a very slight resistance. The detachment of the 91st remained encamped until the 30th of June, when it was ordered to Grahamstown.

On Nov. 25th of this year the 1st battalion was inspected by Colonel Hare, who, at the same time, presented the regiment with new colours, and expressed in a few words his entire approval of the battalion.

At the commencement of the Kaffir war, in March 1846, the battalion proceeded to Fort Peddie, in the ceded territory,[7] and shortly afterwards it was joined by detachments of the corps from various outposts. The grenadier company at the commencement of the war was attached to the field force under Colonel Somerset, K.H., and was engaged in the Amatola Mountains with the enemy on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of April, when Lt. J. D. Cochrane was severely wounded. What details we have been able to collect concerning the part taken by the 91st in this long and arduous engagement we shall record in speaking of the reserve battalion, which was also largely engaged during these three days.

After this the grenadier company was attached to the reserve battalion, with the exception of a few men, who accompanied Captain Hogg's Hottentot levy to Makassa's Country.

The headquarters of the battalion was engaged in protecting the Fingoe settlement at Fort Peddie, being stationed there when the post was attacked, on the 28th of May 1846, by upwards of 8000 Kaffirs. The strength of the battalion consisted of 254 officers and men; there was also a weak troop of cavalry at the post. The details of this attack will be best told in the words of a writer quoted by Mrs Ward:—[8]

"Finding their scheme of drawing the troops out did not succeed, small parties advanced in skirmishing order, and then the two divisions of Páto and the Gaikas moved towards each other, as if intending a combined attack on some given point. Colonel Lindsay was superintending the working of the gun himself, and, as soon as a body of the Gaikas came within range, a shot was sent into the midst of them, which knocked over several, disconcerted them a little, and threw them into confusion; rapid discharges of shot and shell followed. The Kaffirs now extended themselves in a line six miles in length. These advancing at the same time, so filled the valley that it seemed a mass of moving Kaffirs; rockets and shells were poured rapidly on them, and presently a tremendous fire of musketry was poured, happily, over our heads. The enemy, however, did not come near enough for the infantry to play upon them, and only a few shots were fired from the infantry barracks.

"The dragoons were ordered out, and, though rather late, followed up some of Páto's men, who fled at their approach, Sir Harry Darell galloping after them with his troop. The daring Fingoes followed the Kaffirs to the Gwanga river, four miles off.

"Upwards of 200 of the enemy fell, and more were afterwards ascertained to be dead and dying, but they carried off the greater part of the cattle."

Towards the end of June the battalion furnished to the second division of the army, under Colonel Somerset, three companies under a field officer, which proceeded with the division as far as the Buffalo affluents in Kaffraria, and rejoined headquarters, when the division

[7] The ceded territory was occupied by certain Kaffir tribes only conditionally; by their depredations they had long forfeited all right to remain there.

[8] *The Cape and the Kaffirs*, p. 111.

fell back for supplies, on Waterloo Bay in September. The whole force was under the command of Sir Peregrine Maitland, and, after encountering many difficulties, hardships, and privations, successfully effected the object of the expedition.

Soon after this the battalion furnished detachments for the Fish River line, from Trompeter's Drift to Fort-Brown; and, after the second advance of the 2nd division into the enemy's country, performed a very considerable amount of escort duty in guarding convoys of supplies for the Kei river and other camps.

During the remainder of the stay of the 1st battalion at the Cape, we have no record of its being engaged in any expedition. On January 12th, 1848, it marched from Grahamstown to Algoa Bay, and thence proceeded to Cape Town, where headquarters and three companies embarked for home on the 23rd of February, followed on the 10th of March by the other three companies, arriving at Gosport on the 28th of April and 11th of May respectively. The dépôt was consolidated with the battalion on the 1st of May.

By a memorandum, dated "Horse Guards, 5th May 1846," a second lieut.-colonel was appointed to the 91st, as well as to all the regiments having reserve battalions; he was to have the command of the reserve battalion.

II.

1842–1857.

The reserve battalion—Captain Bertie Gordon cures desertion—Grahamstown—Fort Beaufort—Kaffir War—Amatola Mountains—The Tyumie River—A daring deed—Trompeter's Hill—Amatola and Tabindoda Mountains—"Weel done, Sodger!"—The Kei River—The Rebel Boers—Grahamstown—The Second Kaffir War—Fort Hare—The Yellow Woods—Amatola Mountains—Fort Hare attacked—Kumnegana Heights—The Waterkloof—The Kumnegana again—Amatola Mountains and the Tyumie—The Waterkloof—The Waterkloof again—Patrol work—The Waterkloof again—Eland's Post—The Kei—The Waterkloof again—Blinkwater and other posts—From Beaufort to Port Elizabeth—The battalion receives an ovation—Home—Redistribution of regiment—Aldershot—The Queen visits the lines of the 91st—"The Queen's Hut"—Duke of Cambridge compliments the regiment—Second visit of the Queen—Berwick—Preston—Final absorption of the second battalion.

To return to the reserve battalion. During Oct. and Nov. 1842 desertions had taken place among the young soldiers of the reserve battalion, then at Cape Town, to an unusual extent. At length, when eighteen soldiers had deserted in less than six weeks, and every night was adding to the number, Captain Bertie Gordon volunteered his services to the Major commanding, offering to set off on the same day on a patrolling expedition, to endeavour to apprehend and bring the deserters back. Captain Gordon only stipulated to be allowed the help of one brother officer and of a Cape Corps soldier as an interpreter, with a Colonial Office Order addressed to all field-coronets, directing them to give him such assistance, in the way of furnishing horses for his party and conveyances for his prisoners, as he might require. Captain Gordon's offer was accepted.

Captain Gordon had not the slightest trace or information of the track of a single deserter to guide his course over the wide districts through which his duty might lead his patrol. In taking leave of his commanding officer before riding off, Major Ducat said to him,—"Gordon, if you do not bring them back we are a ruined battalion." The patrol was absent from headquarters for eight days, during which Captain Gordon rode over 600 miles; and when, on the evening of the 16th of Nov., his tired party rode into the barracks of Cape Town, just before sunset, after a ride of 80 miles in 13 hours, 16 out of 18 deserters had been already lodged in the regimental guard-room as the result of his exertions. Two more deserters, hearing that Captain Gordon was out, had come in of their own accord, and thus all were satisfactorily accounted for. The desertions in the reserve battalion from that period ceased.

The battalion embarked on the morning of Feb. 22nd, 1842, for Algoa Bay, but the ship did not sail till the 27th, anchoring in Algoa Bay on March 4th, the battalion disembarking at Port Elizabeth on the 5th. On the 7th the reserve battalion set out for Grahamstown, which it reached on the 13th, and took up quarters at Fort England with the 1st battalion of the regiment.

In the beginning of Jan. 1844 the reserve battalion left Grahamstown for Fort Beaufort, which became its headquarters for the next

four years, detachments being constantly sent out to occupy the many posts which were established, and keep the turbulent Kaffirs in check.

In the early part of 1846 the Kaffir war was commenced, and on April 11th the headquarters of the reserve battalion, augmented to 200 rank and file by the grenadier company of the 1st battalion, marched from Fort Beaufort into Kaffirland with the division, under command of Col. Richardson of the 7th Dragoon Guards; and, on the 14th, the detachment joined Col. Somerset's division near the Debè Flats. The object of this expedition was to chastise the Kaffirs for some outrages which they had committed on white settlers,—one of which was the murder of a German missionary in cold blood, in open day, by some of the people of the chief named Páto.

The attack on the Kaffirs in the Amatola mountains having been ordered for an early hour on April 16th, and the rendezvous having been fixed at the source of the Amatola River, the 91st, of the strength already given, under command of Major Campbell, with about an equal number of Hottentot Burghers, crossed the Keiskamma river, and ascended the Amatola valley. During the greater part of the way the march was through dense bush, with precipitous and craggy mountains on each hand. On reaching the head of the valley the Kaffirs, estimated at from 2000 to 3000, were seen on the surrounding heights, closing in upon the force. The ascent to the place of rendezvous was by a narrow rugged path, with rocks and bush on both sides, and, when the party had got about halfway up the hill, it was attacked on each flank, and was soon exposed to a cross-fire from three sides of a square, the enemy having closed on the rear. The height was gained, however, and the party then kept its ground until joined by Colonel Somerset with the rest of the force shortly afterwards; while waiting for the latter the party was repeatedly attacked. In the performance of this service the 91st had 3 privates killed, and several wounded, 3 severely.

During the night of the 16th a division, under Major Gibsone of the 7th Dragoon Guards, which had been left in charge of the baggage at Burns' Hill, was attacked and the recklessly brave Captain Bambrick of the same regiment killed.

"Major Gibsone's despatch states further—'About seven o'clock, just as I had diminished the size of my camp, we were attacked by a considerable body of Kaffirs, whom we beat off in six or seven minutes, I am sorry to say, with the loss of 4 men of the 91st killed, and 4 wounded.'

"On the 17th, Major Gibsone, in compliance with Colonel Somerset's instructions, moved from Burns' Hill at half-past ten A.M. From the number of waggons (125), and the necessity of giving a support to the guns, Major Gibsone was only enabled to form a front and rear baggage-guard, and could not detach any men along the line of waggons. After proceeding about a mile, shots issued from a kloof by the side of the road; Lieut. Stokes, R.E., ran the gun up to a point some 300 yards in advance, and raked the kloof with a shell. When half the waggons had passed, the Kaffirs made a dash upon one of them, firing at the drivers and some officers' servants, who were obliged to fly; then took out the oxen, and wheeled the waggon across the river. An overpowering force then rushed down from the hills in all directions, keeping up an incessant fire, which was returned by the 7th Dragoon Guards and the 91st with great spirit. The gun was also served with much skill; but, owing to the Kaffirs' immense superiority in numbers, Major Gibsone, to prevent his men from being cut off, was obliged to return to Burn's Hill, where he again put the troops in position. A short time after this, a company of the 91st, under Major Scott, advanced in skirmishing order, keeping up a heavy fire; but the waggons completely blocking up the road, the troops were obliged to make a *détour*, and, after considerable difficulty, succeeded in getting the ammunition-waggons into a proper line, but found it quite impracticable to save the baggage-waggons, the Kaffirs having driven away the oxen. One of the ammunition-waggons broke down, but the ammunition was removed to another; the troops then fought their way, inch by inch, to the Tyumie camp, where they were met by Colonel Somerset's division, and where they again encamped for the night."[9]

On the 18th the camp, with captured cattle, was moved to Block Drift; the guard on the large train of waggons consisted of a detachment of the 91st regiment, under Captain Scott. The rear of the retiring column was brought up by Captain Rawstorne of the 91st and his company, assisted by Lieut. Howard of the 1st battalion. The enemy vigorously attacked the waggons and the division whenever they found cover from the dense bush, which extended the greater part of the distance to Block Drift. Captain Rawstorne was wounded in the stomach by a musket ball, and 1 man of the 91st was killed and 1 mor tally wounded.

On approaching the Tyumie river, the ammunition of Captain Rawstorne's company being all expended, it was relieved from pro-

[9] Mrs Ward's *Cape and the Kaffirs*, p. 86.

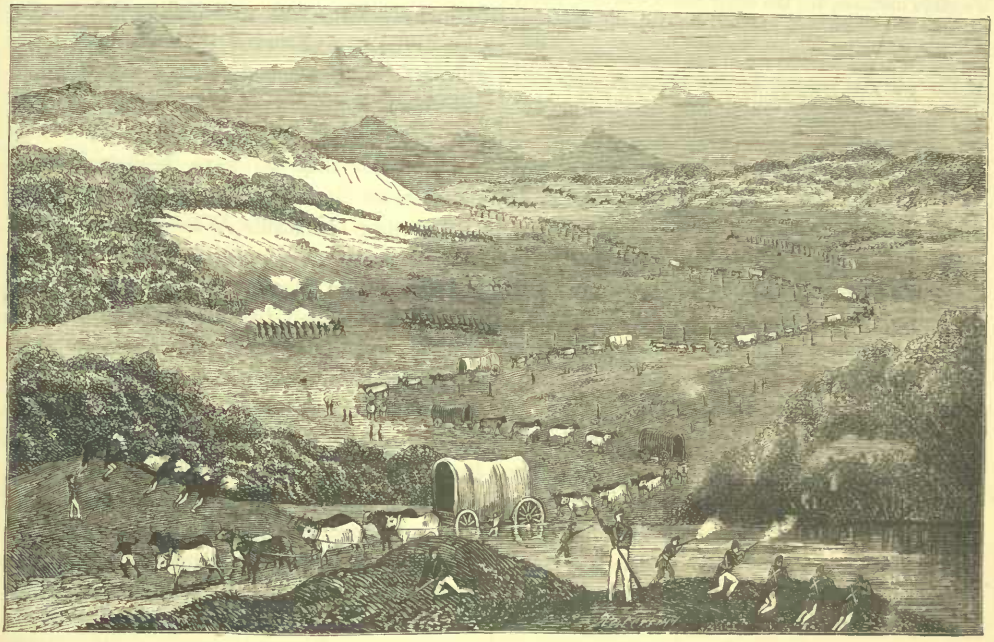
tecting the rear by the grenadier company of the 91st. The waggons crossed the river, the drift being held by the reserve battalion of the 91st and a few dismounted dragoons, the guns of the royal artillery firing from the higher ground on the opposite side of the river.

Again to quote Mrs Ward—[1]

"Thus, scarcely 1500 men, not all regular troops, encumbered with 125 waggons, made their way into the fastnesses of these savages, who were many thousands in number; and although unable to follow up the enemy, of whom they killed at least 300, succeeded in saving all their ammunition, captured 1800 head of cattle, and finally fought their way to the original ground of dispute.

"Among the slain was afterwards discovered a soldier of the 91st, who had probably been burned to death by the savages, as his remains were found bound to the pole of a waggon, and horribly defaced by fire."

The headquarters of the reserve battalion remained at Block Drift until the July following. On the 12th of May it was attacked by the Kaffirs, who were repulsed, with the loss of a chief and 60 men killed; the 91st had 1 man mortally wounded.[2]



Crossing the Tyumie or Chumie River.

From a drawing by Major Ward, 91st.

Lieut. Dickson of the reserve battalion of the 91st, while commanding at Trompeter's Drift, frequently obtained the approbation of Sir Peregrine Maitland and Lt.-Col. Johnston

[1] Page 87.

[2] When the reserve battalion was holding Block Drift, a very daring act was performed by two private soldiers of the regiment. A despatch arrived for the Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, escorted by 18 mounted burghers, with a request from the commandant at Fort Beaufort, that it should be sent on as soon as possible. The communication between Block Drift and Fort Cox, where the Governor was, was completely cut off; and accordingly volunteers were called for to carry the despatch. Two men immediately came forward, Robert Welsh and Thomas Reilly, and to them the despatch was entrusted. They left Block Drift shortly after dark, and proceeded on their perilous journey—dressed in uniform and with their muskets. All went well for the first six miles, although they found themselves in the vicinity of the Kaffirs. Suddenly, on entering a wooded valley at the foot of the Amatola mountains, they came right upon a Kaffir encampment, and had hardly time to throw themselves on the ground in the thick underwood, when they found to their horror that the natives had heard their footsteps, as the latter rushed into the thicket in all directions to look for the intruders. Fortunately a porcupine was sighted, and the Kaffirs evidently satisfied, returned to their camp, muttering that it was an "Easterforke," *Anglice* porcupine, that had alarmed them. Walsh and Reilly, holding their breath, saw the Kaffirs prepare to eat their supper, after which they began to post their sentries! One was put within six yards of the gallant fellows, who, not quite discouraged, still kept quiet. The remaining Kaffirs rolled themselves up in their blankets, and went to sleep. The sentry stood for a few minutes,—looked round, then sat down for a few more minutes, looked round again, and then wrapped

for his great zeal and activity; and on the 21st of May, when a convoy of waggons, proceeding from Grahamstown and Fort Peddie, was attacked and captured by the enemy on Trompeter's Hill, the gallant conduct of Lt. Dickson, who had voluntarily joined the escort, was highly commended by his Excellency the commander-in-chief, in general orders. In reference to this incident, Mrs Ward writes as follows:—

"On this occasion Lieut. Dickson, 91st Regiment, who had been ordered to assist in escorting the waggons a certain distance, till the other escort was met, nobly volunteered to proceed further, and led the advance; nor did he retire till his ammunition was expended. On reaching the rear, he found the commanding officer of the party retreating, by the advice of some civilians, who considered the defile impassable for so many waggons, under such a fire. Lieut. Dickson's coolness, courage, and energy, in not only leading the men, but literally 'putting his shoulder to the wheel' of a waggon, to clear the line, were spoken of by all as worthy of the highest praise. His horse, and that of Ensign Aitchison, were shot under their riders."

On July 27th, the battalion proceeded with Colonel Hare's division to the Amatola mountains, and was present in the different operations undertaken against the Kaffirs between that time and the end of December, when the battalion returned to Block Drift, and thence proceeded to Fort Beaufort, where it remained stationary until the renewal of hostilities against the Kaffirs in the following year.

The head-quarters and two companies entered Kaffirland with Col. Campbell's column, and were present in the operations undertaken in the Amatola and Tabindoda mountains during the months of Sept. and Oct.[3] As a result of these operations the Kaffir chief, Sandilli, surrendered, the 91st having had only 3 men wounded. Lt.-Col. Campbell and the above column received the warmest approbation of Lt.-Gen. Sir George Berkeley in Orders of Dec. 17th, 1847, at the close of the war.

At the end of Oct. the two companies above mentioned, under the command of Capt. Scott, marched to King-Williamstown to join the force about to proceed to the Kei river, under the commander-in-chief, Lt.-Gen. Sir George Berkeley. They were attached to Col. Somerset's division, and served therewith until the end of December, when peace was concluded, and the detachment of the 91st returned to Fort Beaufort.

We regret that we have been unable to obtain more details of the part taken by the 91st during the Kaffir War of 1846–47, in which it was prominently employed. Among those who were honourably mentioned by Sir Peregrine Maitland, in general orders, for their conduct in defending their respective posts when attacked, were Lts. Metcalfe and Thom, and Sergeants Snodgrass and Clark of the 91st.

The reserve battalion removed from Fort Beaufort to Grahamstown in Jan. 1848, nothing of note occurring until the month of July. In that month two companies under the command of Capt. Rawstorne marched from Grahamstown to Colesberg, to co-operate with a force under the immediate command of the Governor, Lt.-Gen. Sir Harry Smith, against the rebel Boers in the N.E. district. After an arduous and protracted march, owing to the inclement season, and swollen state of the rivers, the companies reached the Governor's camp on the Orange river, on August 24th. Detachments under Lt. Owgan, from Fort Beaufort, and under Ensign Crampton, from Fort England, here joined, so that the strength

himself in his blanket, and slept peacefully too. Walsh and Reilly, as may be imagined, did not give him the chance of waking, but made off. They then made a wide circuit, and after numerous escapes from detection, once having been challenged by a Kaffir sentinel (who was *not* asleep), they came to the Keiskama river, and knowing that all the fords were guarded by the Kaffirs, they had to cross by swimming, finally reaching Fort Cox shortly before daylight. Here their dangers were not over, for the sentries, not expecting anything but Kaffirs, treated them to some rapid file firing. Again they lay down in shelter until daybreak, when, being recognised as British soldiers, they were warmly welcomed and delivered their important despatches. Poor Walsh was afterwards killed in action, and Reilly was discharged with a pension after 21 years' service, though it is to be regretted that neither received at the time any public reward of their gallant night's work, which in these days would certainly have been rewarded with the Victoria Cross.

[3] During the advance of the enemy on Block Drift, at the beginning of the war, and when this post was commanded by Lt.-Colonel (then Major) Campbell, he took up a position on the top of the school-house, rifle in hand; four men were employed in loading his arms for him, and he brought down two of the enemy successively in a few minutes. When a third fell dead, a soldier of the reserve battalion 91st Regiment could restrain himself no longer; forgetting Col. Campbell's rank as an officer, in his delight at his prowess as a soldier, the man slapped his commanding officer on the back with a shout of delight, and the exclamation, "Weell done, Sodger!" Was not such a compliment worth all the praise of an elaborate despatch?—*The Cape and the Kaffirs*, p. 198.

of the party of the 91st amounted to 178 officers and men.

After the troops had crossed, Captain Rawstorne remained at Bothas Drift, on the Orange river, with a party of 40 men of the 91st, to guard the Drift, and keep open the communication with the colony. The remainder of the party, furnished by the reserve battalion, under Lt. Pennington, proceeded with the Governor's force in pursuit of the rebels, and was engaged in a most severe and spirited skirmish with the enemy at Boem Plaats on Aug. 29th, when Ensign Crampton, Lt. Owen, and 5 privates were wounded. The enemy held a very strong position, occupying a series of koppies on the right of the road, from which they kept up a heavy fire, against which the Rifle Brigade advanced, supported by the 45th Regiment and artillery. The 91st remained with the guns till the enemy appeared among the ridges on the left, when they were immediately ordered to fix bayonets and charge, which they did in the most gallant manner, causing the enemy to retreat in the greatest confusion, and driving them from every successive hill on which they took up a position, until nightfall. The pursuit was continued with untiring energy, and severe loss to the enemy. Lt. Pennington's name was mentioned by the Commander-in-Chief in his despatch as commanding on that occasion a detachment of the reserve battalion of the 91st, which shared in the praise bestowed by His Excellency on the troops.

The companies returned to Grahamstown on the 15th of October, and from this date the headquarters of the battalion remained at Fort England and Drostdy's Barracks, Grahamstown, for upwards of two years, sending out detachments to perform the ordinary outpost duties of the frontier.

At the outbreak of the second Kaffir war, at the end of 1850, every available man was required for active operations in the field, and the reserve battalion of the 91st marched en route to Fort Hare on Dec. 12th. On the 26th a small detachment of the regiment, under Lt. Mainwaring, marched from Fort Hare to patrol the vicinity of the "military villages,"[4] about six miles distant. As Kaffirs were observed to be assembling in force, a reinforcement from Fort Hare was sent for; on the arrival of this, the patrol proceeded across the country to the Tyumie (or Chumie) Missionary Station, where it halted for a short time. On the patrol leaving the missionary station, a fire was opened on its rear, which was kept up until the party got in sight of Fort Hare, when a company was sent out to assist.

On Dec. 29th a detachment of the 91st, led by Colonel Yarborough, marched towards Fort Cox, under Colonel Somerset, for the purpose of opening a communication with the Commander of the Forces, who was surrounded by the enemy, and of throwing in a supply of cattle for the troops. When nearing the Kamka or Yellow-Woods river, the Kaffirs opened a heavy fire upon this force, when two companies were thrown out in extended order, and advanced till they reached the base of the hill which surmounts the Umnassie (or Peel's) Valley, where a formidable force of the enemy had taken up a position behind rocks which skirt the summit of the hill. It was then found necessary to retire, the Kaffirs endeavouring to outflank and cut off the retreat. A reinforcement was sent from Fort Hare to the assistance of the patrol, which enabled it to return to the fort after a severe struggle, in which Lts. Melvin and Gordon, and 20 men were killed, and Lt. Borthwick, 2 sergeants, and 16 men were wounded; 2 of the latter dying of their wounds.

On the 7th of January 1851, Fort Beaufort, in which was a small detachment of the 91st, under Captain Pennington, was attacked by a numerous force of Kaffirs, under the Chief Hermanes, when the latter was killed in the square of the fort.

On Feb. 24th, the Kaffirs in force, from 5000 to 7000, surrounded Fort Hare, and endeavoured to capture the Fingoes' cattle, but were repulsed by 100 men of the 91st, under Ensign Squirl.

For the next few months the regiment furnished frequent detachments for the perform-

[4] Among the arrangements for the protection of the colony a force was organised in 1848, by placing soldiers discharged from various regiments, including the 91st, on certain grants of land in British Kaffraria, and thus forming military villages.

ance of patrol duty, which required considerable tact, and was attended with considerable danger. On one of these occasions, June 27th, when a detachment of the 91st was with Colonel Eyre's division, Ensign Pickwick and 1 private were wounded.

On the 24th of June, a detachment of 180 men of the 91st, under Major Forbes, proceeded to the Amatola mountains, under command of Major-General Somerset, and was engaged with the enemy on the 26th, 27th, and 28th of June, and the 2nd of July. A General Order was issued on July 3rd, in which the Commander-in-Chief spoke in high terms of the conduct of the troops on this occasion, when the operations were crowned with signal success and the complete discomfiture of the enemy; 2200 head of cattle and 50 horses fell into the hands of the troops, while the enemy were driven with considerable loss from every one of the strong and almost insurmountable passes they attempted to defend.

"The accuracy and energy," the Order says, "with which Major-General Somerset carried into effect with the 1st division [to which the 91st Regiment belonged], the part assigned to him in the complicated and combined movements, deserve the Commander-in-Chief's highest praise. His column sustained the chief opposition of the enemy, principally composed of rebel Hottentots, who resisted our troops with great determination."

Previous to this, on June 6th, Captain Cahill of the 91st, with a small detachment, joined a patrol under Lt.-Col. Michell, which was attacked by a body of the enemy at Fort Wiltshire. It joined Colonel M'Kinnon's division on the Debè, captured a number of cattle and horses, and patrolled Seyolo's country, returning to Fort Peddie on the 12th.

On the 14th of June the enemy, taking advantage of Major-General Somerset's absence from Fort Hare, assembled their bands in the neighbourhood, with the intention of carrying off the Fingoe's cattle. Lt.-Col. Yarborough promptly despatched all the Fingoes, supported by 160 men of the 91st, under Lt. Mainwaring, for the protection of the herds. The Fingoes gallantly attacked the Kaffirs, completely routing them, killing 14 of their number, and re-capturing the whole of the cattle.

On the 8th of August a detachment of the 91st, under Lt. Rae, proceeded from Fort Peddie to escort cattle and waggons to Gentleman's Bush, and after handing them over returned and joined a patrol under Lt.-Col. Michell. The patrol on the following morning marched to Kamnegana Heights, and on arriving there lay concealed till 9 A.M., and afterwards descending to reconnoitre were nearly surrounded by the enemy, when Major Wilmot's life was saved by Sergeant Ewen Ferguson of the 91st. The patrol retired, and attacked the enemy again on the following morning, returning to Fort Peddie on the 11th.

From October 13th to the 23rd a detachment of the 91st, consisting of 318 of all ranks under Lt.-Col. Yarborough, was engaged with the enemy in a series of combined movements at the Waterkloof, as also on the 6th and 7th of November. An idea of the nature of the work which the regiment had to perform may be obtained from the following extract from the "Precis," transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief by Major-General Somerset, who commanded the expedition. On the night of the 13th the force had encamped on one of the spruits of the Kaal Hoek river, and on the 14th Major-General Somerset writes :—

"Marched at 1 A.M.; very thick fog. Gained the ascent above Bush Nek by 5 A.M. At 7 A.M. moved to the bush at the head of the Waterkloof; observed the enemy in force along the whole face of the ridge. At half-past 7 I observed Lt.-Col. Fordyce's brigade on the opposite ridge; moved up Lt. Field's guns, and opened on the enemy, who showed at the head of the Blinkwater. Ordered Lt.-Col. Michel's brigade forward, and sent a squadron of Cape Mounted Rifles and two battalions forward, directing a strong body of skirmishers to be thrown into and line the forest. These were immediately received by a smart fire from the enemy at several points. This sharp attack drove the enemy from their position, which they evacuated, and retired into Blinkwater and Waterkloof. The enemy continued to show themselves. I reinforced the skirmishers with two companies of the 91st, dismounted a troop of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and ordered the whole to push through the ravine, and to communicate with Lt.-Col. Fordyce's brigade, and to order them through. This movement was well effected. In the meantime the enemy continued their efforts to annoy us. Having brought the brigade through, and the enemy being beaten, and all the troops having been under arms from 1 A.M., I retired to form camp at Mandell's Farm, leaving one squadron, one battalion, and two guns of the Royal Artillery to cover the movement. On commencing our move the enemy came out in force and opened a smart fire, following the rear-guard. The enemy were driven off. The troops encamped at Mandell's at 5 o'clock, after being under arms for eighteen hours."

So in all the operations of the succeeding days, in and around the almost inaccessible Waterkloof, the 91st, to judge from the merest hints in Major-General Somerset's despatches, must have performed important services, especially when acting as skirmishers. The fighting continued almost without intermission up to the 7th of November, the loss to the regiment being 1 private killed, and Ensign Ricketts and 8 privates wounded; the ensign afterwards died of his wound, and was buried in the little group of graves at Post Retief.

The next operations in which the 91st seems to have been engaged was on the 30th of December, when Lt. Mackenzie and a small detachment joined a patrol under Major Wilmot, which proceeded from Fort Peddie to the Goga, where it arrived at daylight on the following morning. The patrol lay concealed in the bush until the morning of the 1st of January 1852, and then proceeded to the Kamnegana, scouring the bush and destroying a number of huts. On entering a path lined on both sides with huts the patrol commenced to destroy them, and was vigorously opposed by the Kaffirs, who commenced a heavy fire on its advance, when Major Wilmot was killed by a musket ball fired from one of the huts. Lt. Mackenzie immediately assumed command of the patrol, which was between three camps occupied by the enemy, when he found it necessary to retreat to Fort Peddie, carrying Major Wilmot's body with him.

On the 26th of Jan. a detachment of 416 of all ranks of the 91st under Lt.-Col. Yarborough marched from Fort Hare, and was employed in destroying the enemy's crops on the Amatola mountains and Tyumie until the end of Feb., when it proceeded to Haddon. On the 4th of March the force proceeded to the Waterkloof, and was engaged in a combined movement[5] against the Kaffirs from daylight on that morning until evening, the casualties to the regiment being 1 sergeant and 3 privates killed, and Lt.-Col. Yarborough, Ensign Hibbert, 3 sergeants, and 12 privates wounded, 1 of the sergeants and 1 private ultimately dying of their wounds.[6] Sir Harry Smith in writing to Earl Grey said, "Lt.-Col. Yarborough of the 91st is a steady officer, and greatly distinguished himself on the day he was wounded;" and in reference to this occasion a Division Order, dated March 5th, was issued by Major-Genaral Somerset, from which the following is an extract:—

"The movement was most ably and gallantly conducted by Lt.-Col. Yarborough. . . . . He attributes the comparatively small loss to the manner in which the enemy was charged, checked, and driven back when pressing on in great force, although with every advantage of ground."

We may mention here that on board the "Birkenhead" when she was wrecked on the morning of Feb. 26, 1852,[7] were Captain Wright and 41 privates of the 91st.

On the 10th of March a force of 375 of all ranks of the 91st, under Major Forbes, was again engaged at the Waterkloof in a combined movement,[8] in which 11 rank and file of the regiment were wounded. The Commander-in-Chief, in writing of these operations, said:—

"Lt.-Col. Napier moved on the 10th up the Waterkloof Valley, and on entering the narrow and difficult ground towards its head, it was evident that the enemy meditated an attack upon the rear, and Colonel Napier accordingly placed the 91st regiment, under Major Forbes, in a position to resist it. This was most effectually done after a short fight, and Colonel Napier gained and maintained his position."

On the 17th of March the battalion, under Major Forbes, proceeded from Blinkwater *en route* to Thorn river with Colonel Napier's division, patrolling the country, capturing the enemy's cattle, and destroying the crops. The following extracts from a report of Colonel Napier, dated "Camp, Quantic River, 8th

[5] See vol. ii. p. 599.

[6] When the force was retiring in the direction of their camp, each regiment covered by a company in skirmishing order, that of the 91st was under Lt. Bond. This officer was very short-sighted, and by some means or other was separated from his men, and was nearer the enemy than his skirmishers. Suddenly he was attacked by two Kaffirs, armed, one of whom seized him by the coat. At that time men wearing only side arms were always told off to carry stretchers for the wounded, One of these men, John Sharkie by name, suddenly saw Lt. Bond in the clutches of the savages. He rushed up, struck one of them on the head with his stretcher, killed him dead, and drawing a butcher's knife which he carried in a sheath, plunged it into the throat of the other. Lt. Bond, who then realised the extent of his escape, coolly adjusted his eyeglass, which he always carried, looked steadily at Sharkie, then at the Kaffirs, and said, "By God, Sharkie, you're a devilish plucky fellow; I will see you are properly rewarded for your bravery;" and he kept his word.

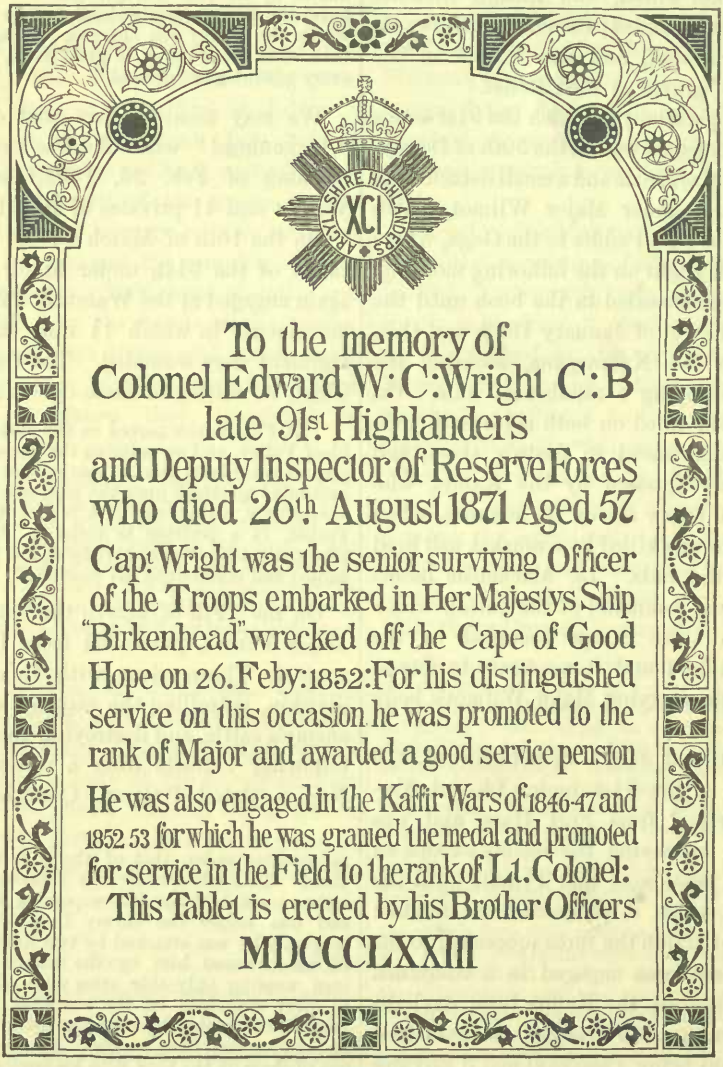
[7] See vol. ii. p. 604.

[8] Ibid. p. 599.

April 1852," gives some details of the work done by the force, of which the 91st formed part :—

"I marched from the camp at the Thomas river at 9 A.M. on the 5th instant, and encamped at the Quantie river at 4 P.M. Next morning I sent Captain Tylden's force, the whole of the mounted Burghers and Fingoes, before daylight to scour the country between the Thomas river and the Kei, while I followed in support with the Cape Mounted Rifles, 60 of the 74th regiment, 200 of the 91st regiment, and the Kat River levy, leaving Captain Robinson, R.A., with the gun and 100 of the line to take charge of the camp. At noon I perceived Captain Tylden on a hill to my front, and the Burghers on another to my left, who made a signal (previously agreed upon) that they saw cattle and wanted support."

The cattle, however, were too far off to attempt to capture them that afternoon, and



Brass Tablet erected in Chelsea Hospital.

the infantry remained on the heights. The attack was resumed next day, when the Kaffirs were made to retreat, and a great quantity of cattle, horses, and goats were captured.

"The infantry, under Major Forbes, 91st regiment," the report states, "were not engaged with the enemy; but, from the judicious position the Major took up, were of great use in preventing the cattle escaping from Captain Tylden."

The battalion returned to Blinkwater on the 16th of May. During the greater part of July operations were carried on against the

enemy in the Waterkloof region, in which a detachment of the 91st formed a part of the force engaged. It was probably during these operations that an attack by a body of rebels upon Eland's Post was gallantly repulsed by a small detachment of the 91st stationed there under Captain Wright (the survivor of the "Birkenhead.") The enemy appeared in considerable force, and manœuvred with all the skill of disciplined troops, extending, advancing, and retiring by sound of bugle. After endeavouring, almost successfully, to draw the little garrison into an ambuscade, they sounded the "close" and the "advance," and moved on to the fort. Captain Wright, with only 23 men of the 91st, then marched out to meet them, and, being joined by a party of the Kat River levy, drove them off with loss.

On the 30th of July the battalion marched from Blinkwater, under Major Forbes, on an expedition which lasted during a great part of August, across the Kei, to capture cattle from the chief Kreli. The expedition was very successful, having captured many thousand head of cattle.

On the 14th of September the battalion, under Major Forbes, marched from Blinkwater to unite with a force under His Excellency General Cathcart to expell the Kaffirs and rebel Hottentots from the Waterkloof. The troops having been concentrated in the neighbourhood of the Waterkloof, were so posted as to command every accessible outlet from the scene of the intended operations, which consisted of an irregular hollow of several miles in extent, nearly surrounded by precipitous mountains, the bases of which, as well as the greater part of the interior basin, were densely wooded. The arduous nature of the duty imposed upon the troops of dislodging such an enemy from such a position may thus be faintly imagined. Four companies of the 91st and Cape Mounted Rifles were posted on the northern heights of the Waterkloof, while another detachment of the regiment and some irregulars from Blinkwater were to move up the Fuller's Hoek ridge; other troops were judiciously posted all around the central position of the enemy. The dispositions having been completed, the several columns moved upon the fastnesses they were to clear at daylight on the 15th.

"The operations of that and the following day," to quote General Cathcart's order, "were conducted with unabated vigour and great judgment on the part of the officers in command. The troops bivouacked each night on the ground of their operations, and pursued on the following day, with an alacrity which cannot be too highly commended, the arduous task of searching for and clearing the forest and krantzes of the enemy. These appeared to be panic-stricken, offering little resistance, but endeavouring to conceal themselves in the caverns and crevices of the wooded hills, where many of them were killed. The results of the three days' operations have been, the evacuation of the Waterkloof and other fastnesses by the Tambookie chief Quashe and the Gaika chief Macomo and his adherents, and the expulsion and destruction of the Hottentot marauders."

Among those specially mentioned by the Commander-in-chief was Major Forbes of the 91st.

The battalion returned to Blinkwater on the 20th of September, where it stayed till the 29th, when it proceeded to Fort Fordyce, sending out detachments to the Waterkloof, Port Retief, and various other posts. The headquarters of the battalion remained at Fort Fordyce till the 10th of November 1853, when it marched to garrison Fort Beaufort, where it remained till July 1855, sending out detachments regularly to occupy various frontier posts.

On July 6th 1855 the battalion marched, under command of Major Wright, from Fort Beaufort *en route* for embarkation at Port Elizabeth, having been ordered home, after a stay of thirteen years in the colony. Previous to its march, the Commander of the forces issued a General Order highly complimentary to the battalion; and the inhabitants of Fort Beaufort presented an address to the officers and men, which spoke in the highest terms of the conduct of the regiment during the Kaffir wars.

In marching through Grahamstown the battalion received a perfect ovation from the inhabitants and from the other regiments stationed there. About the middle of the pass which leads out of the town a sumptuous luncheon had been prepared for officers and men by the inhabitants; before partaking of which, however, the regiment was presented with an address, in the name of the inhabitants, expressive of their high regard and admiration for the officers and men of the 91st.

A very large number must have remained

behind as settlers, as the battalion, when it embarked at Port Elizabeth on the 30th of July, numbered only 5 captains, 7 lieutenants, 4 staff, 21 sergeants, 14 corporals, 9 drummers, and 340 privates. Nothing of importance occurred during the voyage, the battalion disembarking at Chatham on the 29th of September.

On the 10th of Nov., a letter was received from the Horse-Guards, directing a redistribution of the regiment into 6 service and 6 dépôt companies, each of 60 rank and file,



Lieutenant-Colonel Bertie Edward Murray Gordon.
From a Photograph.

besides officers and non-commissioned officers, the term "reserve battalion" being thenceforth discontinued, though, practically, the battalion seems to have lasted till 1857, when the dépôt companies of the two battalions were incorporated. We shall briefly carry the history of this battalion up to that time.

On the 4th of April 1856, the dépôt companies, as the reserve battalion was now called, left Chatham for Aldershot, under command of Lt.-Col. Gordon, and took up their quarters in the North Camp (Letter M).

On the 19th and 20th of April the troops in camp, including the 91st, were reviewed by Her Majesty, and on July the 16th the Queen visited the lines of the 91st. The royal carriage stopped in the centre of the 91st lines, where Her Majesty alighted, and entered one of the soldiers' huts. The Queen walked quite through the hut, and asked questions of Lt.-Col. Gordon, and made observations indicating Her Majesty's Gracious satisfaction. After leaving this hut, which belonged to No. 2 company (Capt. Lane's), the Queen signified her desire to see the soldiers' cook-house, which she entered, expressing her praise of its cleanliness and order, and of the excellence of the soup. The Queen then re-entered her carriage and proceeded at a foot pace through the other portions of the lines, Lt.-Col. Gordon walking by the side of Her Majesty, and pointing out various other excellent arrangements. After the Queen had departed the soldiers visited the hut which had received the royal visit, and surveyed it with a sort of wondering and reverential interest.

The following inscriptions were afterwards placed on the doors at each end of the hut (No. 6 hut, M lines, North Camp), which had been honoured by Her Majesty's visit. On the front door:—

"Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Alice, visited the lines of Her Majesty's faithful soldiers of the 91st Argyll Regiment, and deigned to enter this hut. 16th June 1856."

On the door in the private street:—

"Henceforth this hut shall be a sacred place,
And its rude floor an altar, for 'twas trod
By footsteps which her soldiers fain would trace,—
Pressed as if the rude planking were a sod,
By England's monarch; none these marks efface,
They tell of Queenly trust, and loyalty approved of God."

Orders were afterwards issued to the troops in camp at Aldershot, by direction of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, calling attention to the manner in which the lines of the 91st camp were kept, and desiring that the same order and the same efforts to procure occupation and amusement for the soldiers might be

made by the other regiments. The strictest orders were also issued to the barrack department to maintain the inscription on the "Queen's Hut," as it is called.

On the 7th of July, the lieutenant-general commanding made an unexpected visit of inspection of the lines of the regiment. Lt.-General Knollys expressed himself satisfied in the highest degree with the order of the lines, and with the companies' huts, as also with the works completed by the dépôt to give amusement to the men.

On the same day Lt.-Col. Gordon received orders to be ready to proceed to Berwick-on-Tweed early on the following morning, and on the same evening the Queen, without warning, again passed down through the lines of the 91st, the royal carriage stopping opposite the door of the hut previously visited by Her Majesty, who read the inscription which had been placed over the door.

On the morning of July 8th the companies of the 91st left Aldershot by train for Berwick, stopping at Peterborough and York, and reaching Berwick on the 10th.

On Jan. 20th, 1857, Lt.-General Sir Harry Smith inspected the dépôt companies, and addressed Lt.-Col. Gordon and the battalion in a speech which was highly complimentary, afterwards assuring Lt.-Col. Gordon in a private note, that his words of praise "were as fully merited as they were freely bestowed."

The dépôt companies remained in Berwick till the 3rd of March, when they proceeded by train to Preston, almost the entire population of Berwick accompanying the dépôt to the railway station. The Mayor and Sheriff had previously expressed to Lt.-Col. Rawstorne the general respect with which the conduct of all ranks had inspired the citizens, and the general regret which was felt at the removal of the 91st. At Preston, on the 30th of March 1857, the remains of the dépôt companies were incorporated with the dépôt battalion at Preston, commanded by Lt.-Col. Smith, C.B., while under the command of Brevet Lt.-Col. Rawstorne.

Thus ends the somewhat chequered history of the reserve battalion of the 91st; and now we shall return to the point at which we left off the history of the 1st battalion of the regiment.

III.

1857–1874.

The first battalion—Gosport—Dover—The regiment deprived of its bagpipes—The northern district—Belfast—Excellent conduct of the regiment—Enniskillen—Dublin—Cork—Furnishes volunteers to Crimean regiments—Malta—Greece—The Piræus—Useful works of the 91st while in Greece—Major Gordon the moving spirit—Encampment at Salamis Bay and Pentelicus—Reading-room started—Works executed at the Piræus by the regiment—New system of promotion—Discovery of the old Waterloo Roll—Old Colours—Highland dress and designation restored—Home—The Queen's attentions—Col. Gordon's retirement—He is succeeded by Lt.-Col. Sprot—His energy and efficiency—Marriage of the Princess Louise—The 91st as her guard of honour—The presents from the officers and men—Aldershot—Inverary Castle—The Queen's mark of approbation—The change of designation—Regimental Museum—The Tontine Snuff-Box, &c.

We left the 1st battalion at Gosport in May 1848, and on Oct. the 13th of the same year Lt.-Col. Lindsay retired from the service, when the command of the battalion devolved upon Lt.-Col. Yarborough. The regiment remained at Gosport till April 1850, during which time there is nothing remarkable to record.

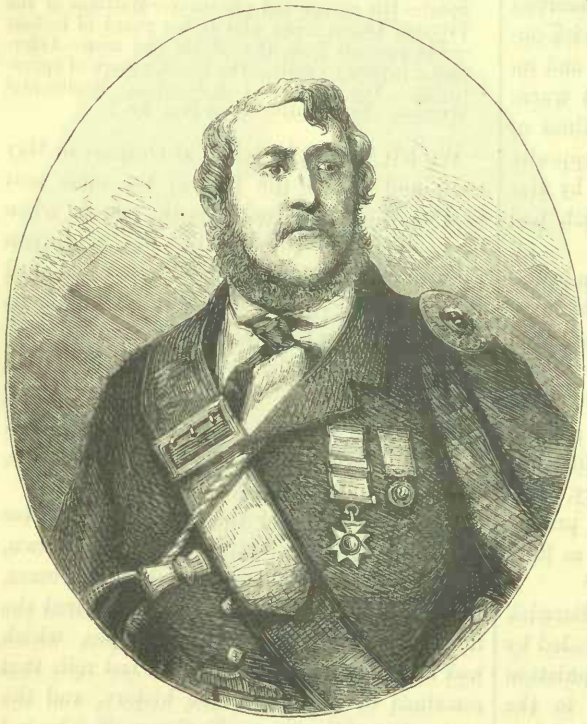
The 91st proceeded to Dover in three divisions, on the 4th, 6th, and 9th of April; headquarters, under the command of Lt.-Col. Campbell, occupying the Heights' Barracks, other companies being located in the Castle.

After the arrival of the regiment at Dover it was inspected by Major-General G. Brown, C.B., K.H., Adjutant-General to the Forces, who, for some inscrutable reason, ordered the immediate abolition of the bagpipes, which had been fondly clung to as the last relic that remained of the origin, the history, and the nationality of the corps. To the unofficial mind this must appear an exceedingly harsh, and quite uncalled for measure, though, as will be seen, ample amends was in the end made to the regiment for this "unkindest cut of all." In the meantime the 91st lost its bagpipers.

The 91st did not stay long at Dover; having received orders to move to the northern district, it proceeded by detachments, in the end of Dec. 1850 and beginning of Jan. 1851, to Preston, Liverpool, and Manchester, moving about among these three towns for the next few months, the grenadier company, under Captain Bayly, being sent to the Isle of Man. After about six months' duty in the northern

district, the regiment proceeded to Fleetwood, and embarked in detachments on the 22nd and 24th of July for Belfast, whence a draft of 1 sergeant and 60 rank and file, under Captain Wright, proceeded to Cork on the 26th Dec., and embarked on board the ill-fated "Birkenhead," on Jan. 7th, 1852, to join the the reserve battalion at the Cape of Good Hope.

The stay of the regiment in Belfast was comparatively short; but during that time officers and men won the respect and attachment of the inhabitants for their excellent behaviour, their kindliness, and their liberality to charitable institutions. On the occasion of the regiment's leaving Belfast, an address, signed by the Mayor, the Earl of Belfast, and about 200 of the leading citizens, was presented to Lt.-Col. Campbell and the other officers, expressive of their gratitude and esteem for the "high-toned gentlemanly conduct" of the officers, and the soldierlike and exemplary conduct of the men.



Major-General John Francis Glencairn Campbell.
From a Photograph.

Between the 26th of April and the 3rd of May the regiment marched in detachments to Enniskillen, where it was next to be stationed. On several occasions, during its stay at Enniskillen, the 91st had to perform the delicate, and not very agreeable duty of aiding the civil power to maintain order at elections as well as on other occasions. This duty the regiment always performed with admirable promptness, great tact, and excellent effect.

The 91st remained at Enniskillen until the month of March 1853, when, between the 19th and 30th of that month, it marched in detachments to Dublin, and was there quartered in Richmond Barracks. The 91st was, of course, regularly inspected while in Ireland, the reports of the inspecting officers being invariably of the most favourable kind.

After a year's stay in Dublin the 91st left that city by railway, in detachments, for Cork, and outstations, between the 25th of April and the 1st of May 1854, detachments being sent from headquarters to Spike Island, Haulbowline Island, and Carlisle Fort. The regiment, although as a body it did not take part in the Crimean war, liberally furnished volunteers to the three Highland regiments that bore so distinguished a part in that contest, and also to the 50th Regiment. In this way it parted with about 250 of its best men.

On the 23rd of June Lt.-Col. J. F. G. Campbell was promoted to the rank of Colonel.[9]

The 91st made but a short stay at Cork, as on the 15th of December it embarked, under command of Col. Campbell, on board H.M.S. "Saint George," *en route* for Malta, and this heavy old-fashioned three-decker did not cast anchor in the harbour of Valetta till Jan. 11th 1855. Besides 26 officers and staff, the strength of the regiment, as it landed at Malta, was 649 non-commissioned officers and privates, 39 women, and 51 children.

After a stay of about two months at Malta the 91st embarked on the 20th of March for

[9] On Nov. 12, 1860, Colonel Campbell became Major-General.

the Piræus, in Greece, which it reached on the 23rd. The regiment took up its quarters in the miserable warehouses that formed the barracks of the British soldiery. Colonel Straubenzee of the 3rd Regiment handed over the command of the British Force in Greece to Colonel Campbell, who also retained the command of the regiment; but he was ordered by the general commanding-in-chief to hand it over, on the 3rd of June, to Major Bertie Gordon.

The 91st was located in Greece for about two years, during which time it was engaged in operations which were of the highest benefit, not only to the men, but also to the district in which they were stationed. We regret that space prevents us from giving a detailed account of the various ways in which the regiment rendered itself useful, and staved off the *ennui* and consequent demoralisation which always attend the idle soldier. The presiding genius of the regiment during its stay in Greece, and, indeed, during the whole time that he had any important connection with it, was Major Bertie Gordon.

The relations of the 91st with the French force stationed in Greece, officers and men, were particularly cordial, both as regards work and enjoyment.

The accommodations allotted to the regiment were very defective in every detail that is deemed necessary for the permanent barrack occupation of British soldiers, while, owing to a peculiar arrangement with the commissariat department, the evil could not be remedied. It was, no doubt, the thoughtful ingenuity of Major Gordon that discerned a happy remedy for the evil, by selecting a spot at Salamis Bay, about three miles from the Piræus, on a slope close to the sea, for the construction of a camp in which a detachment of the regiment might take up its quarters, and thus remedy to some extent the stinted accommodation provided in the town. To this place the grenadiers and No. 1 company marched on the 4th of April, under the command of Major Gordon, who commenced at once a system of road-making, throwing up field-works, the construction of a small landing place, and other works, which employed and interested both officers and men; thus the little camp soon became a cheerful and accessible spot. The only difficulty that they had to encounter was the want of tools, of which the supply from headquarters was very stinted indeed; it consisted of three spades and three pickaxes. But by dint of persistent applications, Major Gordon obtained an additional supply from the Greek authorities. An ancient well, which may have watered part of the fleet of Xerxes, was at the bottom of the hill, and furnished excellent water.

To this delightful little encampment detachments were sent in rotation at intervals during the stay of the regiment in the Piræus; and it was no doubt greatly owing to this and to the other exertions of Major Gordon for the good of his men, that the regiment was in such excellent condition, notwithstanding its miserable quarters in the town.

Another excellent service of Major Gordon, one which both benefitted the health of the men and trained them to the practical duties of the soldier, was to take a detachment occasionally to a considerable distance from camp where it bivouacked as best it could, and sometimes slept out all night on extemporised couches of heath and branches, arranged round the bivouac fires.

On the 15th of June, another encampment was formed at a spot selected near the monastery of Pentelicus, on Mount Pentelicus, nine miles from Athens, and fifteen miles from the Piræus, the ground having been previously selected by Major Gordon. To this camp also detachments were sent in regular rotation.

In September 1855 Major Gordon was very deservedly promoted to the rank of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.

We should have stated before, that, on the 29th of June, a reading-room for the soldiers was established for the first time in the regiment. A sergeant and his wife were placed in charge, a roll of members was prepared, and a subscription of 6d. a month was charged from each member. Periodicals and newspapers were procured, and coffee and light drinks were prepared by the sergeant's wife for those who cared to pay for them.

Lt.-Col. Gordon, after repeatedly urging it upon those in authority, at length gained permission to commence the reconstruction and elevation of the whole surface-level of the wide projecting quay which formed the parade

of the battalion ; also to raise, drain, and level the roadways of the streets, in which the barracks of the battalion were situated. These useful works were commenced on the 18th of December, and ten days later, Lt.-Col. Gordon went home to take command of the six dépôt companies, when the command of the service companies devolved on Major W. T. L. Patterson, who had recently been promoted from captain.

The 91st embarked in two divisions on the 28th of Feb. 1857 for the Ionian Islands, where it was stationed for the next eighteen months, detachments being located in Corfu, Vido, Zante, and latterly, Cephalonia. Here, also, the regiment was employed in the construction of useful works. Among these was an approach from the esplanade at Argostoli, in Cephalonia, in the shape of steps upon a large scale, formed from the materials of a useless five-gun battery, which work was described by the Resident of Cephalonia as a "great public improvement," and, with his authority, obtained the appellation of "The Argyll Steps."

Lt.-Col. Bertie Gordon arrived at Corfu in April 1857, and assumed command of the regiment, Colonel Campbell having obtained leave of absence in the previous March.

In taking leave of the headquarters companies on the 17th of August, they having been ordered from Corfu to the Southern Islands, Major-General Sir George Buller, C.B., told them "he had selected the 91st for the service of the Southern Islands, partly because it was a more formed regiment, a finer body of men, and better drilled than the others."

The 91st, having received orders to proceed to India by the overland route, embarked at Corfu, and sailed on the 5th of Sept. 1858, arriving at Alexandria on the 8th; but it seems to have remained on board H.M.S. "Perseverance" until the 18th. On that day headquarters, with 5½ companies, disembarked at 1.30 P.M., and at once entered railway carriages prepared for their conveyance, and proceeded towards Suez. The left wing disembarked on the following day. Partly by railway, and partly on donkeys, the two wings were conveyed to Suez, where they embarked on board two vessels, which arrived at Bombay on the 7th and 9th of October respectively. Both detachments were reunited at Poonah on the 11th.

On Oct. 28th Colonel Campbell, C.B., having been appointed to the command of a brigade at Toogoo, in Burmah, Major Patterson assumed command of the regiment.

On Nov. 3rd the 91st commenced its march to Kamptee, where it did not arrive till the 11th of the following month. On its march, while at Jafferabad, on Nov. 20th, an order was received by telegraph from the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army to leave a wing at Jaulnah. The left wing, under command of Major Savage, accordingly returned to that place, and did not arrive at headquarters until the 25th of Feb. 1859. It had been employed during the latter part of January and the beginning of February in operations against insurgent Rohillas, to the south of Jaulnah, and had made long marches, without, however, being engaged with the enemy.

On the 7th of March Lt.-Colonel Bertie Gordon arrived from England and assumed the command, and on the 9th a small detachment, under Lieut. Gurney, proceeded to Chindwarrah, a village about 84 miles north of Kamptee. On the same day No. 5 company, under Captain Battiscombe, marched as part of a field-force directed on Mooltye and Baitool. On the 27th Major Patterson joined and took command of the field-force, which remained out till the 18th of April. A similar field-force was sent out on April 22nd for a short time to the same districts.[1]

It was about this time that Colonel Bertie Gordon inaugurated his new system of promotion in the non-commissioned ranks of the regiment. Competitive examinations of lance and full corporals, under a strictly organised system, were the basis of this plan. During the period extending from Sept. 1860 to Jan. 1861, seventy corporals and lance-corporals were examined, twenty-five of whom obtained

[1] We must mention here that on the 1st of Nov. of this year Quartermaster Paterson took his final leave of the regiment, which, as a private, he joined in 1832, and from which he had never been absent since joining it. He was with it in St Helena, Africa, Greece, the Ionian Islands, and India, from which last place he now left the regiment as an invalid. In his long and varied service he always proved himself a worthy soldier.

promotion out of their regular turn, owing to their position on the merit roll.

The 91st remained in India till the year 1868, and we can note only in the briefest possible manner the principal occurrences in connection with the regiment during that period.

An event of very great interest to the regiment occurred on the 27th of Aug. 1871; this was the discovery of the old Waterloo roll of the regiment among the orderly-room papers. It had been saved from destruction by Sergeant Hirst in 1848, when a quantity of old books and papers had been ordered to be burned. The interesting document was now sent to London, where it was so handsomely bound as to ensure, we hope, its preservation in all time coming.

On the 16th of Oct. of the same year, Col. Gordon received from the daughters of the late Lt.-Col. Lindsay an offer of the old colours of the 91st. Col. Gordon gladly accepted this graceful offer, and sent the colours, which had seen many a hard-fought field, to Ellon Castle, Aberdeenshire, there to find a permanent home, and to be preserved as an heirloom in his family.

In Aug. 1861, Lt.-Col. Gordon was promoted to be colonel by brevet. He had succeeded to the command of the regiment in Nov. 1860, on the promotion of Lt.-Colonel Campbell to the rank of Major-General. There had been for some time, in accordance with the regulations for the augmentation of the Indian establishment, two Lt.-Cols. to the 91st, Major W. T. L. Patterson having been raised to that rank on the retirement of Col. Campbell.[2]

On the 24th of April 1862, Col. Gordon proceeded on leave to England. During his absence, in Feb. 1863, the 91st left Kamptee for Jubbulpoor, which it reached on the 19th, after a march of fifteen days. The regiment was now in the Bengal Presidency, and under the command of Gen. Sir Hugh Rose, G.C.B. then Commander-in-Chief in India.

One of the most notable and gratifying events in the history of the 91st during the *régime* of Col. Bertie Gordon was the restoration to it of its original Highland designation, along with the Highland dress, the tartan trews, however, taking the place of the more airy kilt. So far back as 1833, an ineffectual effort had been made to have its nationality restored to the regiment. Col. Gordon resumed the attempt shortly after he obtained command of the regiment at Kamptee in 1859, and with the most determined perseverance, amid discouragements that would have daunted any ordinary man, he did not cease his solicitations until they resulted in complete success in the year 1864. Col. Gordon found a powerful and willing supporter in his Grace the Duke of Argyll, who was naturally anxious to have the regiment raised by his ancestors once more recognised by its original name, "the Argyllshire Highlanders." The voluminous correspondence carried on between Col. Gordon, the War Office authorities, and the Duke of Argyll, we cannot reproduce here. The letters of Col. Gordon show clearly his ability, his enthusiasm, his perseverance, and his intense

[2] This, we think, is the proper place to give a few personal details of Col. Bertie Gordon, who was in many respects a very remarkable man—a man imbued with the most chivalrous notions of a soldier's vocation, and at the same time one of the most practical men that ever held command of a regiment. He was a strict disciplinarian, and yet no officer could take more care than he of the personal comfort and best welfare of his men. He loved his regiment dearly, and it is greatly owing to him that the 91st has attained its present position. He has found a successor in every respect worthy of him in the present commander, Lt.-Col. Sprot.

Bertie Edward Murray was born at Auchlunies, Aberdeenshire, on the 17th of Dec. 1813. He was the son of Alexander Gordon, Esq., of Auchlunies, afterwards of Ellon Castle, Aberdeenshire, and Albinia Louisa Cumberland, daughter of Lady Albinia Cumberland. He was educated at Rainham, Kent, the Edinburgh Academy, and the Edinburgh Royal Military Academy. He obtained his first commission in the 91st Regiment in the year 1832, and joined in 1833. At school Bertie Gordon showed abilities much beyond average. Reserved, and sometimes proud, Bertie Gordon was slow to form intimate friendships, but he was warm-hearted and generous, ever ready to assist a companion, or to prevent the oppression of a younger boy. Always strictly honourable and truthful, he was fearless of danger, and if, in boyish pranks, there was anything to be done which required nerve and courage, Bertie Gordon was sure to be found in the front ranks. The chief incidents in his military career have been already told. Did space permit, we could fill pages concerning the institutions he founded in the regiment—gymnasia for non-commissioned officers and men, reading-rooms, refreshment-rooms, dancing-rooms, children's homes, &c. His name is worthy of remembrance as one who had the loftiest ideas of the duties of his position, and who spared no pains to carry out his ideas by the wisest action. A regiment commanded by such a man could not fail to attain the highest degree of efficiency.

nationality and love for his regiment. We can only say that, after a long correspondence, Col. Gordon's efforts resulted in triumph, as will be seen in the following War Office memorandum, notifying the restoration to the 91st of its Highland designation and dress, of which it had been deprived fifty years before:—

"War Office, Pall Mall, *May* 3, 1864.

"Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of the 91st Foot resuming the appellation of the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders, and being clothed and equipped as a non-kilted Highland corps, as follows:—Tunic, as worn in all Highland regiments; Trews, of the Campbell tartan; Chaco, blue cloth, with diced band and black braid; Forage Cap, Kilmarnock, with diced band. The officers to wear plaids and claymores. The alteration of the dress is to take place from 1st April 1865. The white waistcoat with sleeves, issued to other Highland regiments, will not be worn by the 91st Foot."

In Jan. 1866 Col. Gordon arrived at Jubbulpoor, and assumed command of the regiment. In Dec. of the same year the 91st left its quarters at Jubbulpoor and proceeded partly on foot and partly by train to Dumdum, which it reached on the 11th. While at Dumdum Col. Gordon's health broke down, and on the recommendation of a medical board, he left India for Europe in Oct. 1866, handing over the command of the regiment to Major Battiscombe.

After staying a year at Dumdum, the 91st was removed in Jan. 1867 to Hazareebagh. Here the 91st remained until the end of the year, setting out on Dec. 1st for Kamptee again, which it reached after a long and tedious journey, partly on foot and partly by train, on the 26th of January 1868.

After a stay of a few months at Kamptee, the 91st got the welcome route for home, setting out in two detachments on the 7th and 8th of Oct. for Bombay, where it embarked on the 12th. The regiment proceeded by Suez, and arrived at Portsmouth on Nov. 13th, disembarking on the 15th, and proceeding by rail to Dover, where Col. Bertie Gordon resumed command. The 91st had been on foreign service for the long period of fourteen years, and it is very remarkable that during all that time there were only ten desertions. The dépôt companies removed from Fort George and were amalgamated at Dover with the service companies on Nov. 25th.

In August of this year Her Majesty was pleased to place the name of Col. Bertie Gordon on the list of officers receiving the reward of £100 a year for distinguished service.

The 91st remained at Dover until June 1870, during which time two events occurred of some importance in its domestic history. The first of these was the presentation of new colours on the 24th of Aug. 1869, on the glacis of the Western Heights, Dover. As the Duke and Duchess of Argyll were unable to be present, the colours were presented to the regiment by Mrs Bertie Gordon, as her Grace's representative. The Archbishop of Canterbury consecrated the colours, being assisted by five other clergymen in full canonicals. After an impressive prayer by his Grace the Archbishop, the colours were received by Mrs Gordon at the hands of Major Penton and Major Sprot, and by her given to Ensigns Lloyd and Gurney, with these words:—

"Colonel Gordon, officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders,—Proud as I am this day to present to you your new colours, I would fain have had my place better filled by her Grace the Duchess of Argyll. Soldiers, your colours have been well earned, not alone in the protracted struggle of three Kaffir campaigns, but also by long service in tropical climes under a burning sun. I know you will receive them as a sacred trust. Guard them carefully. Fight manfully around them when called upon. Be foremost, as you have always been, in serving your Queen and country; and be the pride, as you are at this moment, of your commanding officer."

After a fervent address by Col. Gordon, thanking Mrs Gordon for the service she had performed, which was only one of "many acts of unobtrusive kindness" by which she showed her interest in the welfare of the regiment.

The old colours having been gladly accepted by the Duke of Argyll, were, in the month of October, taken by an escort to Inverary Castle, in the great hall of which they now occupy a conspicuous position.

The other important event in the history of the regiment while it was stationed at Dover, was the retirement of Colonel Bertie Gordon. This was indeed an event of very great moment in the career of the 91st, and we therefore must find space for the pathetic order in which Colonel Gordon bade farewell to the regiment he loved so dearly. He had left on leave on the 11th of Nov. 1869, handing over the command of the regiment to Major Sprot, and his

farewell order is dated "Ellon Castle, Ellon, 29th January 1870:"—

"His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief having been pleased to grant compliance with the request preferred by Colonel Bertie Gordon, to be permitted to retire on the half-pay of the army, Colonel Gordon bids farewell to the noble regiment in which he has served for more than seven and thirty years, and in which he has held command ever since April 1855. Colonel Gordon's service in the 91st Highlanders comprises exactly one-half the period of its existence as a corps, and he has held command in his regiment during a fifth part of its history. Years have gone by since every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private soldier with whom he stood in these noble ranks, when he commenced his career in the army, have passed away. For twelve years Colonel Gordon has been the very last of the 800 who formed the Argyllshire regiment in 1832, and in its ranks of the present day he leaves behind him but one soldier (Lt. Grant) who shared with him those hours of impending death, when he commanded the Reserve Battalion of the regiment in 1842, cast away on the shores of Africa in that dark night of tempest, when its discipline and devotion came forth from the shattered wreck unbroken and undiminished by that sorest trial. Colonel Gordon calls to mind that he has served under three stands of colours presented to the regiment, and that at the recommendation of His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, he was permitted, by the favour of Her Most Gracious Majesty, to announce to his old regiment, seven years ago, the restoration of that nationality in its designation and uniform, under which it was embodied by its ducal chieftain in the last century.

"Colonel Gordon believes that the time has come to retire from the regiment he has loved, and to leave its fortunes in younger and stronger hands. But, although severed from its noble ranks, Colonel Gordon will still feel that the words of his regimental order of 1863 must ever prove true—'The Argyllshire regiment has ever served their sovereign and their country steadily;' while he calls upon all ranks to remember those that the late Lieut.-General Sir George Napier addressed to the Reserve Battalion in 1842—'Ninety-first, I have known you in camp and quarters, and I have seen you in action, and I have never known or seen a better.'"

In such words did this brave, noble-minded, and accomplished soldier bid farewell to his dear old regiment. He survived the "farewell" only a few months, having died at Ellon Castle on the 27th of July of the same year, at the comparatively early age of 57 years. So long as the name of the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders remains on the roll of the British Army, the memory of Colonel Bertie Gordon ought to be cherished in its ranks.

As we have already said, Colonel Gordon found a successor in every way worthy of him in Major Sprot, who succeeded to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the regiment on the 29th of January 1870. Captain Wood succeeded to the vacant majority, Lieutenant Alison to the company, and Ensign Chater to the lieutenancy and adjutancy, in which latter capacity he had acted for one year.[3]

On succeeding to the command of the regiment Colonel Sprot issued an order, dated "Dover, 29th January 1870," in which he said—

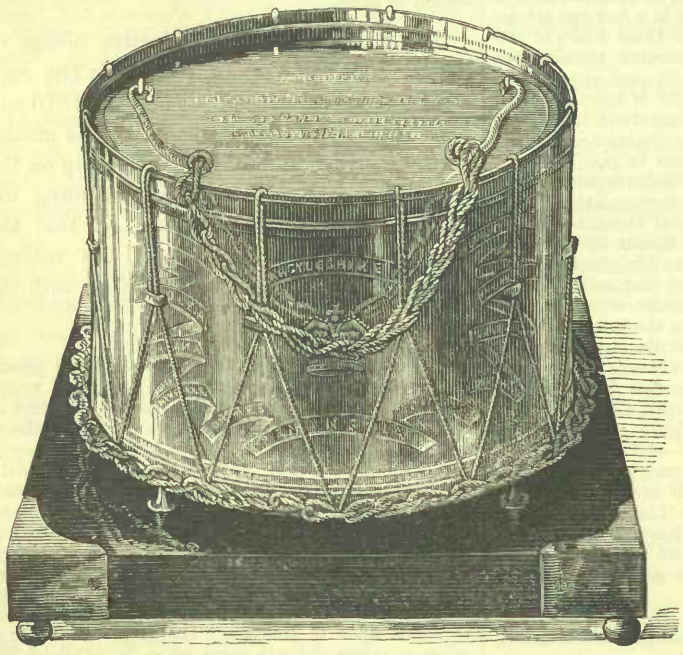
"With two exceptions I have seen the troops of all the states of Europe. Full half my service was spent with our armies in India. I have become intimate with the greater portion of our regiments, and I have seen no body of soldiers of whom I have formed a higher opinion than of the Argyllshire Highlanders. . . . . I have now under my care a regiment in the highest state of discipline and efficiency. . . . . Let us then join together in one continued effort to attain this end, that the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders may ever be second to none."

The remainder of the distinctive history of the 91st may be very briefly told. The regiment left Dover on the 18th of June 1870 and proceeded to Aldershot, marching the greater part of the way, and reaching the camp on the morning of the 25th. Notwithstanding the excessive heat of the weather, and that the men marched fully accoutred, the column came in each day to its halting-place with the

[3] We very much regret that space does not permit our giving a detailed account of the many and varied services of Colonel Sprot since he joined the army in 1848. Colonel Sprot, we may here mention, belongs to one of the oldest and best known Edinburgh families. He is son of Mark Sprot, Esq. of Riddell, Roxburghshire, and has connections among many old and well-known Scottish families, both Highland and Lowland. It would be difficult to find an officer in any branch of Her Majesty's service who has taken more pains to attain a thorough knowledge of every branch of science that in any way bears upon the duties which an officer may, under any circumstances, be called upon to perform. His preparations for a military career did not cease when he obtained his commission, but by persevering study he so mastered the arts of engineering, surveying, and similar branches of applied science, that while still a lieutenant he was employed by Government in the superintendence of works of the highest importance in India. From 1849 Colonel Sprot spent about twelve years in India, during the greater part of which he occupied positions, both civil and military, of the greatest responsibility. As captain he served continuously throughout the whole of the Indian Mutiny from May 1857 until May 1860; was present in one action, and received the Indian war medal for his services. Colonel Sprot joined the 91st as a major from the 83rd regiment in the year 1868, and since he assumed command he has set himself heart and soul to raise the 91st Highlanders to the highest possible pitch of efficiency. Every man in the regiment is carefully trained in all the practical duties of a soldier; and, indeed, to a great deal more than a soldier is bound to know, and that in such a manner, that were the regiment to be suddenly engaged in an active campaign, it would likely have less difficulty than most regiments in adapting itself to the exigiencies of the occasion.

greatest regularity, a compact body of men without a single straggler.

As soon as it was announced that a marriage was to take place between the Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne, Lt.-Col. Sprot wrote to the Duke of Argyll, offering to send a detachment of the regiment to form a guard of honour at the wedding. The Duke replied very graciously, and only a few days before the wedding was to take place, Colonel Sprot learned that Her Majesty had been graciously pleased to order that a detachment of the 91st should attend at Windsor on the day of the marriage, March 21st, 1871.



Inscription.—From the Soldiers of the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders, presented by the kind permission of Her Majesty to Her Royal Highness The Princess Louise, on her Marriage, 21st March 1871.

On Saturday morning, the 17th of March, a body of 100 picked men, with band, pipers, and full complement of officers, after having been inspected by Colonel Sprot, marched off to the tune of "Haste to the Wedding," amidst the encouraging cheers of their less fortunate comrades. The guard was commanded by Captain Gregg, and marched by Bagshot and Ascot Heath, reaching Windsor at 4 p.m. When the detachment arrived at Windsor it found that everything had been prepared for it by the Grenadier Guards; the officers of the latter corps invited the officers of the 91st to be their guests, and the soldiers had not only drawn rations and fitted beds, but had even cooked dinner for the Highlanders.

On Monday the 20th, Lt.-Col. Sprot rode over from Aldershot to Windsor, and on arriving at the Castle received Her Majesty's command to meet her at 3 o'clock p.m., in the private apartments, where she would be prepared to receive the wedding present for her daughter, which the officers and men of the 91st intended to give. The gift of the officers consisted of a Brooch, the fac-simile of that worn by them to fasten their plaids, but in pure gold, and with a very handsome cairngorm pebble, set transparently, together with a copy in miniature of the regimental dirk, in Scotch pebble, suited for a shawl pin. On the back of the brooch were engraved the names of all the officers then serving. The gift from the soldiers, to which they unanimously subscribed, was a Silver Biscuit-Box, in the shape of one of their own drums, with the honours of the regiment engraved on the side, and an appropriate inscription on the head. It was mounted on a stand of Scotch bog oak, with silver corners and feet.

Colonel Sprot, in his audience with the Queen, was accompanied by Captain Gregg, Lt. Grant, Sergeant-Major Fasinidge, and Pipe-Major M'Dougal. Her Majesty was accompanied by the Princess Louise, Prince Arthur, Prince Christian, and others. Lt.-Col. Sprot, in a few appropriate and well-chosen words, presented the officers' present, which the Princess graciously accepted, and desired

Colonel Sprot to convey to the officers "her sincere thanks for their very pretty present." Colonel Sprot then intimated to Her Majesty the wish of the non-commissioned officers and men to offer the present above mentioned, at which Her Majesty expressed much gratification.

On the day of the ceremony the guard of Highlanders was drawn up at the entrance to St George's Chapel, Windsor, Colonel Sprot having command of the troops at the chapel. After the ceremony, the officers of the guard had the honour of being present at the déjeuner, the bagpipes and drums of the 91st playing alternately with the band of the Grenadier Guards.

The guard of the 91st returned to Aldershot on the 22nd by the way it came. During its stay at Aldershot it went through the usual routine of field-days, inspections, and other duties, invariably winning the genuine approbation of every officer that had the opportunity of witnessing its training. On the 10th of July, when the Queen reviewed the troops at Aldershot, the 91st marched past by double companies of 70 file, and marched so well, that Her Majesty sent a complimentary message to the regiment by the General commanding the brigade.

In August, while the festivities consequent on the wedding of the Marquis of Lorne were going on at Inverary,[4] the soldiers' present was sent to the Princess Louise, who, as well as the Marquis, cordially accepted and acknowledged it. On the application of the Duke of Argyll, three pipers of the regiment, with the Pipe-Major, attended these rejoicings, and were much admired both for their soldier-like appearance and good playing.

In September 1871 the 91st formed part of the force which was called out for field manœuvres, immediately after the conclusion of which, the regiment received orders to proceed to Aberdeen and Fort George.

On the 27th and 30th the regiment left Aldershot in two detachments for London, and embarked the same day at Wapping, and reached Aberdeen on the 29th of September and the 4th of October respectively; the second detachment was delayed by stormy weather. The former detachment, headquarters, reached Fort George on the day of its arrival at Aberdeen, but the second detachment, of four companies, remained at Aberdeen.

Shortly after the marriage of the Princess Louise, Her Majesty expressed a desire to confer some distinguishing mark on the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders to commemorate the event, and desired Lt.-Col. Sprot to be communicated with as to what the regiment would like. Colonel Sprot, after consulting with his oldest officer, suggested the kilt, to which Her Majesty readily agreed, but to which the military authorities objected. Colonel Sprot then intimated that the regiment would like to be designated "the Princess Louise Argyllshire Highlanders," and bear on its colour the boar's head, with the motto "Ne Obliviscaris" (crest and motto of the Argyll family). To this there could be no objection, and a War-Office memorandum, of April 2nd, 1872, authorised the regiment to indulge its wish, the Princess Louise's coronet and cypher to be also placed on the three corners of the regimental colour.

After staying about eighteen months at Fort George, the 91st proceeded to Edinburgh in May 1873. The regiment arrived at Granton on the morning of May the 12th, and after landing in the most orderly manner, commenced its march under Colonel Sprot up the hill to the old castle on the rock. On the route the 91st passed the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, who were marching out of the castle, and were on their way to embark at Granton; each corps shouldered arms to the other, and the pipers struck up a merry greeting. The large crowds of people who had collected along the route to witness the departure of the 93rd, waited to give a hearty welcome to the Princess Louise Highlanders.

During its stay in Edinburgh the regiment gained the respect and admiration of the inhabitants for their steady conduct and soldierly bearing. The efforts made by Colonel Sprot to keep his troops up to the highest state of efficiency won the praise both of the press and the citizens.[5]

[4] Lt.-Col. Sprot was invited to the castle on the occasion, but by a severe illness was prevented from being able to accept the invitation.

[5] Colonel Sprot, we may mention here, is the author of a little manual of outpost duty, written in a concise and clear manner, and giving a reason for everything. This manual will be found useful to all ranks, from the field-officer to the sentry.

For the first time in Edinburgh the military stationed in the Castle had a field-day in the prosecution of drill in outpost duty, which excited a deal of interest and curiosity on the part of the citizens, who had not been made aware of the arrangements. Col. Sprot of the 91st so highly appreciates this method of training, which is frequently practised at Aldershot and other large military stations, that at Fort George he had frequent recourse to it. A variety of exciting movements took place, ranging from Duddingston and Arthur Seat all along the route to the Castle Esplanade. The crowd attracted by the firing in the streets gradually augmented both in numbers and excitement. The whole proceedings lasted over seven hours, and the troops being drawn up in square, were complimented on their conduct throughout the engagement.

During the time that the 91st were in Edinburgh they had repeatedly been out on field-days, and besides such strategic movements as above, have also been systematically exercised in throwing up trenches, tent-pitching, flag-signalling, &c.

After remaining in Edinburgh for about a year only, to the great regret of the inhabitants, the 91st left for Newry in Ireland on the 29th of June 1874.

In conclusion, we should mention, that belonging to the officer's mess of the Argyllshire Highlanders is quite a little museum of precious and artistic curiosities. One of the most valuable and interesting of these is a tontine snuff-box of silver gilt, casket-shape, 8¼ inches long, 6 inches wide, and 3 inches deep. This very handsome box was originated by the officers who were in the regiment in the year 1810, on the condition that it could be claimed by the last survivor, if replaced by a similar box. It was claimed in 1841 by Colonel Anderson, who replaced it by a similar box, the original box being now in Edinburgh, in possession of General Anderson, late R.A., the nephew of the late Colonel Anderson. In 1870 Colonel Bertie Gordon was the last survivor of those whose names were inscribed on the box of 1841, and as it was not claimed by him, it became the property of the officers then serving in the regiment, whose names are inscribed on the inner lids of the box. On the outside of the lid is the arms of the regiment, surmounted by the crown, and on the oval the names of the victories up to the Peninsula. On the bottom of the box, underneath the Rose, Shamrock, and Thistle, and the date 1810, are the names of those who started the original box, headed by Lt.-Col. William Douglas. There are 50 names in all, and of these 11 are Campbells, and 17 others belong to various Highland clans; of the remainder, 11 seem distinctly Scotch. On the inside of the lid are the names of the officers of the regiment in 1841, when the new box was presented, headed by Colonel Gabriel Gordon and Lt.-Col. R. Anderson. Here there are in all 41 names, only 2 of them being Campbells, although 15 seem certainly Scotch, 3 being Gordons. On the inner lids of the box, as we have said, are the names of the officers who were in the regiment in 1870, when Colonel Bertie Gordon, failing to claim it, it became the property of the officers. The list is headed by Lt.-Col. Sprot, and there are 37 in all. Let us hope that it will be long before there will be a last survivor to claim it.

Among the mess plate there are several other articles of beautiful characteristic and artistic design. Of these we may mention the following:—

A large punch-bowl, of repoussé work, silver; height, 9 inches, diameter, 13½ inches., presented by General Duncan Campbell of Lochnell. It is handsomely embossed with a design of flowers, grapes, and other fruits, and is supposed to have been originally taken by the French from a Spanish convent during the Peninsular war, and to have afterwards fallen into the hands of General Campbell. The ladle belonging to the bowl is of very ancient and peculiar design, having a Spanish coin, date 1758, at the bottom.

A silver snuff-box in two divisions, the gift of Lt.-Col. Catlin Crawfurd, who commanded the 91st in the Peninsula. Several silver mounted horn snuff-mulls, presented at different periods, including a very large and handsome ram's head, mounted with silver, studded with cairngorms, as a snuff and cigar box, the joint gift of Lieutenants W. Grant and C. L. Harvey in the year 1864, bearing the names of the officers then serving in the regiment. The width across the horns is 17 inches.

A cigar-lighter in the form of a boar's head, the regimental crest in silver, mounted on an oval ebony stand with wheels. The upper part of the head forms a receptacle for spirits of wine. The tushes are removable and tipped with asbestos. This is the joint gift of Captain C. G. Alison and Lieutenant and Adjutant Vernor Chater, date 1870.

Lastly, we shall mention a large silver quaich, 4½ inches in diameter, with straight projecting handles, with the boar's head engraved on them. It is of ancient Highland pattern, and has engraved round the upper portion a tracing taken from one of the remarkable stones of Argyll. It bears this inscription in Gaelic,—"From the Officers of the Highland Rifle Regiment (Militia) to the Officers of the 91st Princess Louise's Highlanders, Fort George, May 1872."

A fine example of the spirit of friendly rivalry and mutual good feeling subsisting between the line and the volunteers was shown on the 23rd of May and the 6th of June 1874, in a competition between ten sergeants of the 91st (Princess Louise Argyllshire Highlanders) and an equal number of the 1st Mid-Lothian Rifle Volunteers, which took place at the Seafield Ranges. At the conclusion of the first match the volunteers entertained their military friends and competitors at dinner; and at the conclusion of the second match, which came off at the ranges in Hunter's Bog, when there was only one point of difference in the scores, the Mid-Lothian team were invited by their military friends to the castle, where they were entertained at dinner in a very handsome and cordial manner. Before separating, the Leith men presented the team of the 91st with a beautiful gold cross, to be competed for by those who had shot in both matches, the conditions to be arranged by themselves. It was much regretted that the early departure of the 91st prevented a third trial of skill, the more especially as the competitors were so equally matched.

A portrait of General Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, after the painting by Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A., is given on the plate of Colonels of the 91st, 92nd, and 93rd Regiments.

SUCCESSION LIST OF COLONELS AND LIEUTENANT-COLONELS OF THE 91ST PRINCESS LOUISE ARGYLLSHIRE HIGHLANDERS.

COLONELS.

Names.	Date of Appointment.	Age when Appointed	Of what Country.	Date of First Commission in the Army.	By whose vacancy, and by what means.	Remarks.
General Duncan Campbell.....	May 3, 1796	...	Scotland	Not known.	New appointment.	Promoted to Major-General, April 29, 1802; Lt.-General, April 25, 1808; General, August 12, 1819.
General G. Gordon.	April 10, 1837	...	Do.	Jan. 6, 1781	*Vice* General D. Campbell deceased.	Died Aug. 7, 1855.
Lieut.-General C. Gore	Aug. 8, 1855	...	Ireland	...	*Vice* General Gordon deceased, Aug. 7, 1855.	Transferred to 6th Regiment, March 9, 1861.
Major-General C. Murray Hay.....	March 9, 1861	...	Scotland	...	*Vice* Lt.-General Sir Charles Gore removed.	Promoted Lt.-General, Aug. 24, 1861.
Lieut.-General C. G. J. Arbuthnot.....	July 15, 1864	...	...	...	*Vice* Lt.-General C. Murray Hay deceased.	Transferred from 86th, July 15, 1864.
General James R. Craufurd.....	Aug. 27, 1870	...	...	...	*Vice* Lt.-General C. G. J. Arbuthnot transferred to 72nd.	

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

D. Macneil.....	Aug. 23, 1818	41	Scotland	April 17, 1794	*Vice* Douglas deceased.	Removed Sept. 23, 1824.
J. M'Donald.....	Sept. 23, 1824	36	Do.	Dec. 17, 1803	*Vice* Macneil retired.	Army rank, Sept. 4, 1817; retired on Half-pay.
J. M. Sutherland....	Sept. 16, 1827	44	Do.	Nov. 27, 1794	*Vice* Dalyell.	Army rank, May 1825; retired Dec. 2, 1831.
R. Anderson.....	Dec. 2, 1831	42	Do.	July 9, 1803	*Vice* Sutherland retired.	Retired July 2, 1841.
C. Burne.....	July 2, 1841	46	Ireland	Oct. 4, 1810	*Vice* Anderson retired.	Exchanged to Half-pay, July 16, 1841.
R. Macneil	July 16, 1841	...	...	Never joined.	*Vice* Burne to Half-pay.	Exchanged to 78th Regiment, April 15, 1842.
M. G. T. Lindsay...	April 15, 1842	46	England	Dec. 16, 1813	*Vice* Macneil, 78th Regiment.	Retired Oct. 13, 1848.
J. F. G. Campbell...	April 14, 1746	36	Scotland	Oct. 25, 1827	Without purchase.	Colonel, June 20, 1854, Augmentation Reserve Battalion; promoted Major-General, Nov. 12, 1860.
C. C. Yarborough...	Oct. 13, 1848	40	England	June 9, 1825	With purchase; *vice* Lindsay retired.	Reduced to Half-pay, 1855; Colonel, Nov. 28, 1853.
Bertie Gordon.....	Aug. 31, 1858	42	Scotland	Oct. 26, 1832	Augmentation to the Indian Establishment.	Retired by sale, Jan. 29, 1870.
W. T. L. Patterson..	Nov. 12, 1860	38	Do.	Feb. 22, 1859	Without purchase; *vice* Campbell promoted.	Seconded April 1, 1861; to Half-pay on reduction.
J. Sprot.....	Jan. 29, 1870	39	Do.	Oct. 17, 1851	With purchase; *vice* Gordon retired on Half-pay.	

THE 92ND GORDON HIGHLANDERS.

I.

1794–1816.

Raising the regiment—The Duchess of Gordon's bounty—The Lochaber men and Captain John Cameron—First list of officers—Thoroughly Highland character of the Gordon Highlanders—M'Kinnon the bard—First five years of service—Ireland—Holland—Egmont-op-Zee—Sir John Moore's regard for the regiment—Egypt—Severe losses of the regiment—M'Kinnon's poem on the battle of Alexandria—Ireland—Glasgow—Weeley—Copenhagen—Sweden—Portugal—Walcheren—Peninsula—Fuentes d'Onor—Arroyo de Molinos—Almaraz—Alba de Tormes—Vittoria—Pyrenees—Maya—92nd disregards orders—Nive—Orthes—Aire—Ireland—2nd battalion disbanded—Brussels—Quatre Bras—Colonel John Cameron—Waterloo—Paris—Home.



EGMONT-OP-ZEE.	VITTORIA.
MANDORA.	PYRENEES.
EGYPT WITH SPHINX.	NIVE.
CORUNNA.	ORTHES.
FUENTES D'ONOR.	PENINSULA.
ALMARATH.	WATERLOO.

THE Marquis of Huntly,[1] whilst a captain in the 3rd Foot Guards, having offered to raise a regiment for general service, letters were granted to him for this purpose on the 10th of February 1794. In his zeal for the service the marquis was backed by his father and mother, the Duke and Duchess of Gordon, both of whom, along with the marquis himself, took an active share in the recruiting. It is quite a true story that the beautiful Duchess of Gordon recruited in person on horseback at markets, wearing a regimental jacket and bonnet, and offering for recruits the irresistible bounty of a kiss and a guinea. The result was, that, within the short space of four months, the requisite number of men was raised, and on the 24th of June the corps was inspected at Aberdeen[2] by Major-General Sir Hector Munro, and embodied under the denomination of the "Gordon Highlanders." The officers appointed were:—

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.

George, Marquis of Huntly.

Majors.

Charles Erskine of Cadross, killed in Egypt in 1801.
Donald Macdonald of Boisdale, died in 1795.

Captains.

Alexander Napier of Blackstone, killed at Corunna in 1809.
John Cameron of Fassifern, killed at Quatre Bras, 16th June, 1815.
Honourable John Ramsay, son of Lord Dalhousie.
Andrew Paton.
William Mackintosh of Aberarder, killed in Holland in 1799.
Alexander Gordon, son of Lord Rockville, killed at Talavera in 1808, Lieutenant-Colonel 83rd regiment.
Simon Macdonald of Morar.

Captain-Lieutenant.

John Gordon, retired as Major.

Lieutenants.

Peter Grant, died in 1817, Major on half-pay
Archibald Macdonell, died in 1813, Lieutenant-Colonel of veterans.
Alexander Stewart.
Sir John Maclean, Major-General, K.C.B., 1825.
Peter Gordon, died 1806.
Thomas Forbes, killed at Toulouse in 1814, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 45th regiment.
Ewan Macpherson.
George H. Gordon.

[1] His portrait is on the plate of colonels of the 91st, 92nd, and 93rd regiments.

[2] "Here the Lochaber men (raised by Captain Cameron) showed at once the influence of that clan-feeling under which they had consented to go to war. When it was proposed to draft them into the separate divisions of grenadiers and light troops, they at once declared that they would neither be separated from each other, nor serve under any captain except Cameron, that they had followed him as their leader, and him only they would serve. It required all his persuasion to induce them to submit to the rules of the service; but, assisted by his relative, Major Campbell of Auch,—a man of weight and experience,—and promising that he himself would always watch over their interests in whatever division they were ranked, he prevailed on them to submit; and as we shall subsequently see, none of them ever had cause to reproach him with forgetting his pledge." Memoir of Colonel Cameron, by Rev. A. Clerk.—When Huntly first resolved to raise the regiment, he called on old Fassifern, and offered to his son John a captain's commission in it. Fassifern, however, declined the gratifying offer on the ground that he was unable to raise the number of men necessary to entitle his son to such a rank; whereupon the marquis offered the captaincy without any stipulation or condition, saying he would be glad to have John Cameron as a captain in his regiment, though he brought not a single recruit.

Ensigns.

Charles Dowle, died of wounds in Egypt in 1801.
George Davidson, killed at Quatre Bras in 1815, then Captain in the 42nd regiment.
Archibald Macdonald.
Alexander Fraser, killed 2nd October 1799.
William Tod.
James Mitchell, Lieutenant-Colonel in 1815, retired in 1819.

Staff.

Chaplain.—William Gordon.
Adjutant.—James Henderson, died in 1796.
Quarter-master.—Peter Wilkie, died in 1806.
Surgeon.—William Findlay, died in Egypt in 1801.

It is apt to be supposed that because the Gordon estates now lie only in Aberdeen and Banff, and because the regiment was first collected at Aberdeen, that it belongs particularly to that district; but this is quite a mistake. The 92nd was raised principally in the highland districts of the Gordon estates, and from the estates of the officers or their relations; but it should be remembered that these estates then extended, or the Duke had seignorities over the lands, as far west as Ballachulish and Lochiel, taking in Strathspey, and Lochaber, and it was from these highland districts, of which Fort-William is the centre, that it was mostly raised and for a long time after recruited. It also drew very many of its men from Argyll and the Western Isles. The 92nd along with the 79th should be classed with the Inverness-shire, &c., Militia, and, in conjunction with the 91st and 74th, along with the Argyllshire; the 92nd being connected with North Argyll and Isles, the 91st with Lorn, and the 74th with Cowal and Kintyre. It has always been particular in its recruiting; even after giving nearly all its men as volunteers to regiments going to the Crimea, and stress being laid upon it to fill up quickly, the commanding officers determined to enlist, as usual, only Scotchmen, and hence the great popularity of the corps in Scotland. Although the men (with the exception of volunteers from other regiments), are still all Scotch, they are not so entirely from the Highlands as formerly; yet the regiment is quite an example in spirit and feeling of the old Highland clan, and M'Donald is still the most common name in its ranks. Several Gaelic poets or "bards" have worn its tartan, the most distinguished being Corporal Alexander M'Kinnon, a native of Arasaig, in Inverness-shire, whose descriptions of the battles of Bergen-op-Zoom and the war in Egypt are among the most spirited modern Gaelic poems. The officers have all along been mostly taken from among good Scottish families; and so highly were its non-commissioned officers thought of in the army, that it was, and is, no uncommon thing for them to be promoted as sergeant-majors and as adjutants into other corps, and to be selected as adjutants of militia and volunteers.

The regiment embarked at Fort-George on the 9th of July 1794, and joined the camp on Netley Common in August, when it was put on the list of numbered corps as the 100th regiment. The first five years of its service were spent at Gibraltar, Corsica, Elba, and Ireland, in which latter place it had most arduous and trying duties to perform; these, however, it performed with the best results to the country.

The Gordon Highlanders left Ireland in June 1799 for England, to join an armament then preparing for the coast of Holland. The number of the regiment was changed about this time to the 92nd, the former regiment of that number, and others, having been reduced.

The first division of the army, of which the 92nd formed part, landed on the Dutch coast, near the Helder, on the morning of the 27th of August, without opposition; but the troops had scarcely formed on a ridge of sand hills, at a little distance from the beach, when they were attacked by the enemy, who were however driven back, after a sharp contest of some hours' duration. The 92nd, which formed a part of General Moore's brigade, was not engaged in this affair; but in the battle which took place between Bergen and Egmont on the 2nd of October it took a very distinguished share. General Moore was so well pleased with the heroic conduct of the corps on this occasion, that, when he was made a knight of the Bath, and obtained a grant of supporters for his armorial bearings, he took a soldier of the Gordon Highlanders in full uniform as one of them.[2]

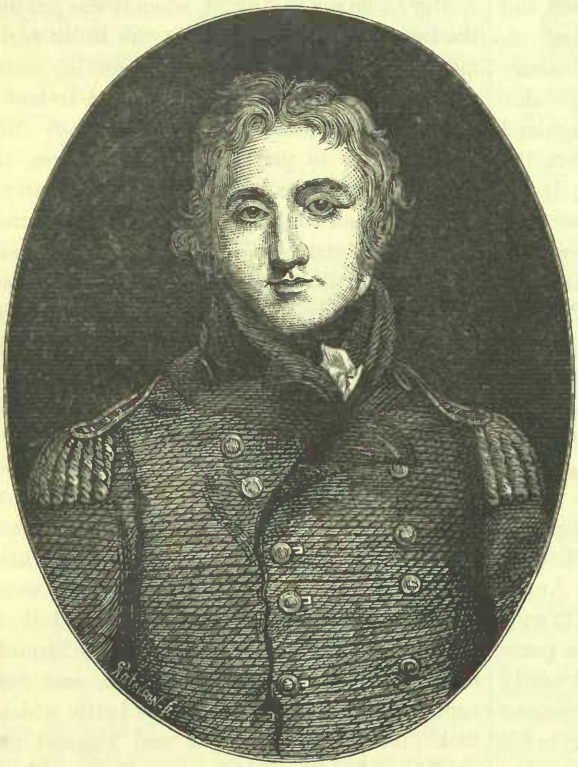
[2] Stewart.—The following extract from a letter from Moore to Lt.-Col. Napier will explain the reason of this :—

"Richmond, 17*th Nov.* 1804.

"My Dear Napier,—. . . . . My reason for troubling you for a drawing is that, as a knight, I am entitled to supporters. I have chosen a light infantry soldier for one, and a Highland soldier for the other, in gratitude to and commemoration of two soldiers of

In the action alluded to, the 92nd had Captain William Mackintosh, Lts. Alexander Fraser, Gordon M'Hardy, 3 sergeants, and 54 rank and file, killed; and Colonel, the Marquis of Huntly, Captains John Cameron, Alexander Gordon, Peter Grant, John Maclean, Lieutenants George Fraser, Charles Chadd, Norman Macleod, Donald Macdonald, Ensigns Charles Cameron, John Macpherson, James Bent, G. W. Holmes, 6 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 175 rank and file, wounded.

After returning to England, the regiment



General Sir John Moore.
(From a painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.)

again embarked on the 27th of May 1800, and sailed for the coast of France; but no landing took place, and the fleet proceeded to Minorca, where the 92nd disembarked on the 20th of July. It formed part of the expedition against Egypt, details of which will be found in the account of the service of the 42nd regiment. The Gordon Highlanders particularly distinguished themselves in the battle of the 13th of March 1801. The British army moved forward to the attack in three columns of regiments; the 90th, or Perthshire regiment, led the advance of the first or centre column, and the Gordon Highlanders that of the second or left, the reserve marching on the right, covering the movements of the first line, and running parallel with the other two columns. The enemy were strongly fortified on a rising ground, and well appointed with cavalry and artillery. As soon as the regiments in advance had cleared some palm and date trees they began to deploy into line; but before the whole army had formed the enemy opened a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, and descended from the heights to attack the 92nd, which had by this time formed in line. The fire was quickly returned by the Gordon Highlanders, who not only firmly maintained their ground singly against the attacks of the enemy supported by a powerful artillery, but drove them back with loss. In this action the 92nd had 19 rank and file killed; and Lt.-Col. Charles Erskine (who afterwards died of his wounds), Captains the Honourable John Ramsay, Archibald Macdonald, Lts. Norman Macleod, Charles Dowle (both of whom also died of their wounds), Donald Macdonald, Tomlin Campbell, Alexander Clarke (the two last died of their wounds), Ronald Macdonald, Alexander Cameron, Ensign Peter Wilson, 10 sergeants, and 100 rank and file wounded.

The regiment had suffered much from sickness during the voyage from Minorca to Egypt, and with this and its recent loss in battle it was so reduced in numbers that General Abercromby ordered it to the rear on the night of the 20th of March, in order to take post upon

the 92nd, who, in action of the 2nd October, raised me from the ground when I was lying on my face wounded and stunned (they must have thought me dead), and helped me out of the field. As my senses were returning I heard one of them say, 'Here is the General, let us take him away,' upon which they stooped, and raised me by the arm. I never could discover who they were; and, therefore, concluded they must have been killed. I hope the 92nd will not have any objection—as I commanded them, and as they rendered me such a service—to my taking one of the corps as a supporter . . . . . believe me, &c.,
"JOHN MOORE."

the shore at Aboukir. Major Napier, on whom the command of the 92nd had devolved in consequence of the death of Col. Erskine, did not, however, remain long in this position, but hurried back as soon as he heard the firing, and assumed his former place in the line. The regiment lost 3 rank and file killed, and Captain John Cameron, Lt. Stewart Matheson, and 37 rank and file wounded.

At the battle of Alexandria, Corporal M'Kinnon, the Gaelic poet already alluded to, was severely wounded, and was nearly buried for dead, when his friend, Sergeant M'Lean, saved him. He composed a Gaelic poem, full of spirit, on the battle, part of which we give in a translation by the Rev. Dr Maclauchlan:—

A SONG ON THE BATTLE IN EGYPT.

It was not heard in the course of history,
In the conflict or strife of arms,
That fifteen thousand men so famous as you
Drew swords under their King.
Glorious was the Scottish champion
Who had that matter entrusted to him;
They were not clowns who were chosen with him,
To bring their deeds of arms to an issue.
* * * * *
The brave heroes were drawn
Into a heavy, fierce body;
Powerful, strong were the hands,
The fine spark going off;
Seeking a place where they might kneel,
If any enemy were to meet them,
The ground would be left bloody
With steel that pierces men's bodies.

There were hearty, vigorous lads there,
Who never yielded in fear,
Following them as best they might.
Fifty horse were turned by their exploits.
It was a vain thought for the horsemen
That they could not find men to contend with them;
And the heroes, who could not be shaken,
Chasing them out on the hill.
* * * * *
We were ready on our legs,
To pursue with all speed,
On the thirteenth morning which they fixed,
With our noble fearless commander.
The two youngest of our regiments—
The Grahams and the Gordons—
Running swiftly to meet them
Pouring down from the hill.
* * *
Heavy was the flight for them,
Hard as ever was heard of;
Abercromby was up with them,
With his men who were ready at hand.
Were it not for the town which they reached
With cannon all surrounded,
More of them were in their graves,
And had got cold upon the hill.

In a short time the regiment recovered its health, and shared in all the movements of the army in Egypt till the termination of hostilities, when it embarked for Ireland, and landed at Cork on the 30th of January 1802.

For their services in Egypt, King George III. conferred upon the 92nd and other regiments the honour of bearing on their colours and appointments the "Sphinx," and the word "Egypt." The Grand Seignior established the order of the Knighthood of the Crescent, of which the general officers were made members; and gold medals were presented to the field-officers, captains, and subalterns.

The regiment was removed from Ireland to Glasgow, where it arrived on June 6th, and remained until the renewal of hostilities in 1803, when it was marched to Leith, and embarked for the camp which was then forming at Weeley. At this time was embodied a second battalion of 1000 men, raised under the Army of Reserve Act, in the counties of Nairn, Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen. This corps served as a nursery for the regiment during the war.

In January 1806 Major-General the Honourable John Hume was made colonel, in room of the Marquis of Huntly removed to the 42nd.

The regiment formed part of the expedition sent against Copenhagen in 1807, and served in Sir Arthur Wellesley's brigade. The only instance which offered on this occasion to the regiment to distinguish itself was a spirited and successful charge with the bayonet, when it drove back a greatly superior number of the enemy.

In the year 1808 the regiment embarked for Sweden under Sir John Moore, but its services were not made use of; and immediately upon the return of the expedition to England the troops employed were ordered to Portugal under the same commander, landing on the 27th of August. The 92nd accompanied all the movements of General Moore's army, and had the misfortune to lose its commanding officer, Col. Napier of Blackstone, who was killed at Corunna, where the first battalion was posted towards the left of the army on the road leading to Betanzos, "and throughout the day supported its former reputation." Col. Napier was adored by the regiment, to which he was more like a father than a commanding officer. The regiment had only 3 rank and file killed, and 12 wounded; among the latter

was Lt. Archibald Macdonald, who afterwards died of his wounds.

On its return to England the regiment was quartered at Weeley, where it received a reinforcement of recruits, which increased the strength of the corps to rather more than 1000 men. This number was, however, greatly reduced in the Walcheren expedition, only 300 out of the 1000 returning fit for duty; but the loss was speedily supplied by recruits from the second battalion. The regiment embarked for Portugal on the 21st of September 1810, and joined the British army under Lord Wellington at the lines of Torres Vedras, in the following month.

The service of the 92nd in the Spanish Peninsula and the south of France is so blended with the operations of Lord Wellington's army that, to give a complete idea of it, it would be necessary to enter into details which the limited space allotted to this division of the history will not admit of, and the most important of which have been given in our notices of the other Highland regiments, especially the 42nd and 71st. In all the actions in which they were engaged, the Gordon Highlanders upheld the high military reputation which they had acquired in Egypt, and supported the honour of their native country in a manner worthy of Highlanders.

The 92nd was brigaded with the 50th and 71st under the command of Sir William Erskine at Fuentes d'Onor, May 5th, 1811. The first battalion of the 92nd was stationed to the right of the town, covering a brigade of nine-pounders, and was exposed to a very heavy cannonade. The regiment had 7 rank and file killed, and 2 officers, Major Peter Grant and Lt. Allan M'Nab, and 35 rank and file wounded. Lt.-General Rowland Hill having driven the French from their post at Caceres, the latter, on the approach of the British, retired, halting at Arroyo de Molinos. After a very fatiguing march from Portalegre, the first battalion of the 92nd arrived close to Arroyo on the 27th of October 1811, and next day took part in a well fought battle. The 92nd was placed in the centre of its brigade, and was ordered to proceed to the market-square, and, if possible, to the other side of the town. As the regiment was proceeding along one of the streets, the French, taken by surprise, came out to see what was the matter, and the Prince D'Aremberg was taken prisoner in a half-naked state by a sergeant of the 92nd. The French, however, soon assembled, threw themselves across the head of the street, and commenced firing upon the advancing regiment, the shot taking deadly effect, owing to the narrowness of the street. By this time great confusion and uproar prevailed in the town. The 71st moved down to the assistance of the 92nd, while the 50th secured all the passages to the town, and captured the French artillery. The 92nd thus reinforced now pushed its way through the suburbs, and cleared the town of the enemy. The latter, however, afterwards formed in a field, and fired down a lane upon the advancing regiment. The 92nd had 3 men killed, and Col. Cameron, Brevet-Major Dunbar, and Captains M'Donald and M'Pherson, and 7 rank and file wounded.

At Almaraz, on May 19th, 1812, the 92nd again did good service in assisting materially to destroy the bridge and fortifications. This point was of great importance to the enemy, as it secured the only direct communication between his two armies, which were now in effect placed several days more distant. The 92nd had only 2 rank and file wounded.

At Alba de Tormes, on November 10th and 11th, the 92nd had 8 rank and file killed, and 1 officer and 33 rank and file wounded.

At the battle of Vittoria, fought on June 21st, 1813, the 92nd distinguished itself by seizing the height occupied by the village of Puebla, holding it against a most determined resistance, and, after a fierce struggle, put the enemy to flight. Its casualties were 4 rank and file killed, and 16 wounded. A medal was conferred on Lt.-Col. John Cameron of the 92nd.

In the various actions connected with the passage of the Pyrenees the 92nd took a prominent part, behaving itself in its usual valorous manner; in the words of Sir William Napier, "the stern valour of the 92nd would have graced Thermopylæ."

On the 25th of July 1813, the 92nd was stationed in the Maya Pass, on the right of the road leading from Urdax, and the 71st still farther to the left. The enemy collected a force

of about 15,000 men behind some rocky ground in front of the British right, and with this overwhelming force drove in the light companies of the second brigade, gaining the high rock on the right of the allied position before the arrival of the second brigade from Maya, which was therefore compelled to retrace its steps towards the village, instead of falling back to its left on the first brigade. Lt.-Col. Cameron detached the 50th to the right the moment the action commenced. That regiment was severely engaged, and was forced to retire along the ridge. The right wing of the 92nd, under Major John M'Pherson, was sent to its support, and for some time had to stand the whole brunt of the enemy's column. The right wing of the 71st regiment was also brought up, but such was the advantage of the position the enemy had gained by separating the two brigades, and in a manner descending upon the Pass of Maya, while a fresh division was pushing up to it from the direction of Urdax, that the small body of troops received orders to retire to a high rock on the left of the position. This movement was covered by the left wings of the 71st and 92nd regiments, which, relieving each other with the utmost order and regularity, and disputing every inch of ground, left nothing for the enemy to boast of. The brigade continued to hold the rock until the arrival of Major-General Edward Barnes' brigade, when a general charge was made, and every inch of ground recovered as far as the Maya Pass.

On this occasion the 92nd was ordered by Lt.-General the Honourable Sir William Stewart not to charge, the battalion having been hotly engaged for ten successive hours, and in want of ammunition. The 92nd, however, for the first time disregarded an order, and not only charged, but led the charge.[3]

The 92nd behaved with equal bravery on July 30th and 31st and August 1st, its casualties altogether during the passage of the Pyrenees being 53 rank and file killed, 26 officers and 363 rank and file wounded.

In the passage of the Nive the 92nd had its full share of the fighting. On the 13th of December, besides being exposed during the day to a continued fire of musketry and artillery, the battalion made four distinct charges with the bayonet, each time driving the enemy to his original position in front of his entrenchments. At one time the 92nd while pressing onwards was arrested by a fearful storm of artillery. Of one of these charges Sergeant Robertson writes:—

"The order was given to charge with the left wing of the 92nd, while the right should act as riflemen in the fields to the left of the road. The left wing went down the road in a dashing manner, led by Col. Cameron, who had his horse shot under him, and was obliged to walk on foot. As soon as we came up to the French many of them called out for quarter, and were made prisoners. After the enemy had maintained their ground for a short time, they saw that it was impossible for them to stand against us. The road was soon covered with the dead and dying. The French now broke off to their own right, and got into the fields and between the hedges, where they kept up the contest until night. Although the action ended thus in our favour, we did not gain any new ground. After the battle was over, we were formed on a piece of rising ground about a mile to our own rear, when Lord Wellington came in person to thank the 92nd for their gallant conduct and manly bearing during the action, and ordered a double allowance of rum, and that we should go into quarters on the following day."[4]

On this occasion Lts. Duncan M'Pherson, Thomas Mitchell, and Alan M'Donald were killed. Major John M'Pherson (mortally), Captains George W. Holmes, Ronald M'Donald, and Donald M'Pherson; Lts. John Catenaugh, Ronald M'Donald, James John Chisholm, Robert Winchester, and George Mitchell, and Ensign William Fraser were wounded. 28 rank and file were killed, and 143 wounded.

In commemoration of this action an honorary badge was conferred by His Majesty on Lt.-Col. Cameron, bearing the word "Nive," and the senior captain of the regiment (Captain James Seaton) was promoted to the brevet rank of major. The royal authority was also granted for the 92nd to bear the word "Nive" on its regimental colour and appointments.

On the morning of the 15th of Feb., the 92nd marched in pursuit of the enemy, who was discovered late in the evening, strongly posted on the heights in front of Garris, which the division attacked and carried in gallant style. The French obstinately disputed their ground, and made several attempts to recover it after dark, but finding the British troops

[3] Cannon's *Record of 92nd Regiment.*

[4] *Journal*, page 122.

immovable, they retreated with considerable loss through St Palais. On this occasion Major James Seaton was mortally wounded, and expired on the 22nd of the following month. The other casualties were 3 rank and file wounded.

During the night the enemy destroyed the bridge at St Palais, and every exertion was made to repair it. On the 16th of Feb., the 92nd crossed in the afternoon, and occupied a position in advance.

On the 17th of Feb., the enemy was discovered in the village of Arriverete, on the right bank of the Gave de Mauléon, endeavouring to destroy the bridge over it. A ford was discovered a little higher up, which the 92nd crossed under cover of the British artil-



Colonel John Cameron's Coat of Arms.

lery, and immediately attacking the troops in the village with its usual success, drove the enemy out of it, and secured the bridge by which the troops were enabled to cross. The enemy retired across the Gave d'Oléron, and the battalion, which had 10 rank and file wounded in this enterprise, was cantoned in Arriverete and the neighbouring villages.

In honour of this occasion, it was granted by royal warrant, that Lt.-Col. Cameron should bear for his crest a Highlander of the 92nd regiment, up to the middle in water, grasping in his right hand a broad sword, and in his left a banner inscribed 92nd, within a wreath of laurel; and as a motto over it the word "Arriverete."

At Orthes the 42nd, 79th, and 92nd met for the first time in the Peninsula, and a joyful meeting it was, as the men of the three regiments were almost all Scotchmen, many of whom were old friends. Lord Wellington was so much pleased with the scene at the meeting of these regiments that he ordered them to encamp beside each other for the night.

In the affair at Aire there were 3 rank and file killed, and 3 officers and 29 men wounded. His Majesty granted permission to Lt.-Col. Cameron to bear upon his shield a view of the town, with the word "Aire." Both in Division and General Orders the 92nd was specially mentioned, along with the 50th, as deserving to have "the good fortune of yesterday's action decidedly attributed to it." Moreover, a special letter from the Mayor of Aire warmly thanked Col. Cameron for the conduct of his men, and for having preserved the town from pillage and destruction. The losses of the regiment in these actions were not great, being altogether, according to General Stewart, 2 rank and file killed, and 5 officers and 55 rank and file wounded.

On the 10th of April the 92nd advanced by the Muret road to the vicinity of Toulouse, and drove Marshal Soult's outposts into his entrenchments on that side. The services of the battalion were not again required during this day; it however witnessed the gallant conduct of its comrades on the opposite bank of the river, driving the enemy from his redoubts above the town, and gaining a complete victory.

During the 11th of April nothing particular occurred beyond a skirmish, and confining the enemy to the suburbs. The French evacuated Toulouse during the night, and the white flag was hoisted. On the 12th of April the Marquis of Wellington entered the city amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. The 92nd followed the enemy on the Villa Franche road, and encamped in advance of that town.

In the course of the afternoon of the 12th of April, intelligence was received of the abdication of Napoleon: had not the express been delayed on the journey by the French police, the sacrifice of many valuable lives would have been prevented.

A disbelief in the truth of this intelligence occasioned much unnecessary bloodshed at

Bayonne, the garrison of which made a desperate sortie on the 14th of April, and Lt.-General Sir John Hope (afterwards Earl of Hopetoun), the colonel of the 92nd regiment, was taken prisoner. Major-General Andrew Hay was killed, and Major-General Stopford was wounded. This was the last action of the Peninsular war.

On April 20, 1814, the 92nd marched into Villa Franche; on the 24th to Beziège; and on the 25th occupied quarters in Toulouse.

After peace had been established between Britain and France, the 92nd returned home, disembarking at Monkstown, Ireland, on the 29th of July, and proceeding to Fermoy Barracks, at which the thanks of Parliament were communicated to the regiment for "the meritorious and eminent services it had rendered to the King and country during the course of the war."

On the 24th of October 1814, the second battalion was disbanded at Edinburgh, and 12 sergeants, 13 drummers, and 161 rank and file were transferred to the first battalion.

The 92nd, however, had not long to rest at home, being called again into active service, to take part in the grand concluding act of the drama enacted by Napoleon for so many years on the theatre of Europe. The regiment sailed from the Cove of Cork on the 1st May 1815, and arrived at Ostend on the 9th. On the 11th the regiment went to Ghent, where it stayed till the 28th, when it removed to Brussels, the men being billeted throughout the city. Here they were served with four days' bread, and supplied with camp-kettles, bill-hooks, and everything necessary for a campaign, which, according to all accounts, was fast approaching. The inhabitants of Brussels like those of Ghent treated the Highlanders with great kindness, the latter, by their civility and good behaviour, making themselves great favourites.

On the evening of the 15th of June the alarm was sounded in Brussels, and hasty preparations were made to go out to meet the enemy. Col. Cameron, who had that day been invested with the order of the Bath, and who was present at the famous ball given by the Duke of Wellington when the alarm was given, was quickly at the head of the regiment. The march was commenced at daybreak on the 16th by the Namur gate. Lt.-General Sir Thomas Picton's division, to which the 92nd belonged, came under fire about two o'clock in front of Genappe, at Quatre Bras, where the main road from Charleroi to Brussels is crossed by another from Nivelles to Namur, and which served as the British communication with the Prussians on the left. The 92nd was formed in front of Quatre Bras farm-house on the road, lining a ditch, with its rear to the walls of the building and garden, its right resting on the cross-roads, and its left extending down the front. Shortly after the 92nd was thus formed, the Duke of Wellington and his staff came and dismounted in the rear of the centre of the regiment. The enemy poured a very hot fire of artillery on this post, and his cavalry charged it, but was received by a well-directed volley from the regiment, and forced to retire with great loss of men and horses. Immediately after this the French infantry attacked the position on the right and in front, and the Gordon Highlanders, who had been standing impatiently eager for action, were now ordered to charge the advancing enemy: "92nd, you must charge these fellows," the Duke said, and with one bound the regiment was over the ditch advancing at full speed, and making the French give way on all sides. The 92nd continued to pursue the enemy, and was hotly engaged till nightfall, when the action ceased. It was very much cut up both in officers and men, as it was among the first to go into action, and, along with the other Highland regiments, had for a long time to resist the attack of the entire French army. Undoubtedly its greatest loss on this hot day was the brave and high-minded Col. Cameron, concerning whom we give a few details below.[5]

[5] John Cameron was son of Ewen Cameron of Fassifern, a nephew of the "Gentle Lochiel." As we have seen, he entered the regiment at its formation, and took part in most of its hard services. He was universally beloved and respected, especially by the Highland soldiers, in each man of whom he took the interest of a father, and felt himself responsible for their welfare and good conduct. The following account of his death is taken from his biography, written by the Rev. Dr Archibald Clerk of Kilmallie:—"The regiment lined a ditch in front of the Namur road. The Duke of Wellington happened to be stationed among them. Colonel Cameron seeing the French advance asked permission to charge them. The Duke replied,

Besides their colonel, the 92nd lost in the action Captain William Little, Lt. J. J. Chisholm, Ensigns Abel Becker and John M. R. Macpherson, 2 sergeants, and 33 rank and file. The wounded officers were Major James Mitchell (afterwards lieutenant-colonel); Captains G. W. Holmes, Dugald Campbell, W. C. Grant (who died of his wounds); Lts. Thomas Hobbs, Thomas Mackintosh, Robert Winchester, Ronald Macdonnell, James Kerr Ross, Alexander Macpherson, Ewen Ross, Hector M'Innes; Ensigns John Barnwell, Robert Logan, Angus Macdonald, Robert Hewit, and Assistant-Surgeon John Stewart; also 13 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 212 rank and file.



Colonel John Cameron.
From Original Painting in possession of Mrs Cameron Campbell of Monzie.

On the morning of the 17th Lord Wellington had collected the whole of his army in the position of Waterloo, and was combining his measures to attack the enemy; but having received information that Marshal Blucher had been obliged, after the battle of Ligny, to abandon his position at Sombref, and to fall back upon Wavre, his lordship found it necessary to make a corresponding movement. He accordingly retired upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo. Although the march took place in the middle of the day the enemy made no attempt to molest the rear, except by following, with a large body of cavalry brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge. On the former debouching from the village of Genappe, the earl made a gallant charge with the Life Guards, and repulsed the enemy's cavalry.

Lord Wellington took up a position in front of Waterloo. The rain fell in torrents during the night, and the morning of the 18th was ushered in by a dreadful thunder-storm; a prelude which superstition might have regarded as ominous of the events of that memorable and decisive day. The allied army was drawn up across the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, with its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine,

George Logan, John Mackinlay, George Mackie,

'Have patience, you will have plenty of work by and by.' As they took possession of the farm-house Cameron again asked leave to charge, which was again refused. At length, as they began to push on the Charleroi road, the Duke exclaimed, 'Now, Cameron, is your time, take care of the road.' He instantly gave the spur to his horse, the regiment cleared the ditch at a bound, charged, and rapidly drove back the French; but, while doing so, their leader was mortally wounded. A shot fired from the upper storey of the farm-house passed through his body, and his horse, pierced by several bullets, fell under him.. His men raised a wild shout, rushed madly on the fated house, and, according to all accounts, inflicted dread vengeance on its doomed occupants. Ewen Macmillan (Cameron's foster brother), who was ever near his master and his friend, speedily gave such aid as he could. Carrying him with the aid of another private beyond reach of the firing, he procured a cart, whereon he laid him, carefully and tenderly propping his head on a breast than which none was more faithful." He was carried to the village of Waterloo, and laid in a deserted house by the roadside, stretched upon the floor. "He anxiously inquired how the day had gone, and how his beloved Highlanders had acquitted themselves. Hearing that, as usual, they had been victorious, he said, 'I die happy, and I trust my dear country will believe that I have served her faithfully.' . . . . Thus he met with a warrior's death, and more, with a Highland

which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter-la-Haye, which was also occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, the allies occupied the house and farm of Hougoumont, and in front of the left centre they possessed the farm of La Haye Sainte. The Gordon Highlanders, who were commanded by Major Donald Macdonald, in consequence of the wound of Lt.-Col. Mitchell, who had succeeded Col. Cameron in the command, were in the ninth brigade with the Royal Scots, the Royal Highlanders, and the 44th regiment. This brigade was stationed on the left wing upon the crest of a small eminence, forming one side of the hollow, or low valley, which divided the two hostile armies. A hedge ran along this crest for nearly two-thirds its whole length. A brigade of Belgians, another of Hanoverians, and General Ponsonby's brigade of the 1st or Royal Dragoons, Scotch Greys, and Inniskillings, were posted in front of this hedge. Bonaparte drew up his army on a range of heights in front of the allies, and about ten o'clock in the morning he commenced a furious attack upon the post at Hougoumont. This he accompanied with a very heavy cannonade upon the whole line of the allies; but it was not till about two o'clock that the brigades already mentioned were attacked. At that time the enemy, covered by a heavy fire of artillery, advanced in a solid column of 3000 infantry of the guard, with drums beating, and all the accompaniments of military array, towards the position of the Belgians. The enemy received a temporary check from the fire of the Belgians and from some artillery; but the troops of Nassau gave way, and, retiring behind the crest of the eminence, left a large space open to the enemy. To prevent the enemy from entering by this gap, the third battalion of the Royal Scots, and the second battalion of the 44th, were ordered up to occupy the ground so abandoned; and here a warm conflict of some duration took place, in which the two regiments lost many men and expended their ammunition. The enemy's columns continuing to press forward, General Pack ordered up the Highlanders, calling out, "Ninety-second, now is your time; charge." This order being repeated by Major Macdonald, the soldiers answered it by a shout. Though then reduced to less than 250 men, the regiment instantly formed two men deep, and rushed to the front, against a column ten or twelve men deep, and equal in length to their whole line. The enemy, as if appalled by the advance of the Highlanders, stood motionless, and upon a nearer approach they became panic-stricken, and, wheeling to the rear, fled in the most disorderly manner, throwing away their arms and every thing that incumbered them. So rapid was their flight, that the Highlanders, notwithstanding their nimbleness of foot, were unable to overtake them; but General Ponsonby pursued them with the cavalry at full speed, and cutting into the centre of the column, killed numbers and took nearly 1800 prisoners. The animating sentiment, "Scotland for ever!" received a mutual cheer as the Greys galloped past the Highlanders, and the former felt the effect of the appeal so powerfully, that, not content with the destruction or surrender of the flying column, they passed it, and charged up to the line of the French position. "Les braves Ecossais; qu'ils sont terribles ces Chevaux Gris!" Napoleon is said to have exclaimed, when, in succession, he saw the small body of Highlanders forcing one of his chosen columns to fly, and the Greys charging almost into his very line.

During the remainder of the day the 92nd

warrior's death. His remains were hastily interred in a green alley—*Allée verte*—on the Ghent road, under the terrific storm of the 17th." In the April of the following year his remains were removed to Scotland, and from Leith conveyed in a King's ship to Lochaber, and committed to their final resting-place in the churchyard of Kilmallie, where lie many chiefs of the Cameron clan. His age was only 44 years. In honour of Cameron's distinguished service his father was created Baronet of Fassifern. A handsome monument—an obelisk—was afterwards erected to Cameron at Kilmallie, for which an inscription was written by Sir Walter Scott, who seems to have had an intense admiration for the brave and chivalrous Highland hero, and who, in his *Dance of Death*, speaks of him thus:—

"Through battle, rout, and reel,
Through storm of shot, and hedge of steel,
Led the grandson of Lochiel,
The valiant Fassifern.

Through steel and shot he leads no more,
Low laid 'mid friend's and foemen's gore;
But long his native lake's wild shore,
And Sunart rough, and wild Ardgour,
And Morven long shall tell;

And proud Ben Nevis hear with awe,
How, at the bloody Quatre Bras,
Brave Cameron heard the wild hurrah
Of conquest as he fell."

regiment remained at the post assigned it, but no opportunity afterwards occurred of giving another proof of its prowess. The important service it rendered at a critical moment, by charging and routing the élite of the French infantry, entitle the 92nd to share largely in the honours of the victory.

"A column of such strength, composed of veteran troops, filled with the usual confidence of the soldiers of France, thus giving way to so inferior a force, and by their retreat exposing themselves to certain destruction from the charges of cavalry ready to pour in and overwhelm them, can only be accounted for by the manner in which the attack was made, and is one of the numerous advantages of that mode of attack I have had so often occasion to notice. Had the Highlanders, with their inferior numbers, hesitated and remained at a distance, exposed to the fire of the enemy, half an hour would have been sufficient to annihilate them, whereas in their bold and rapid advance they *lost only four men.* The two regiments, which for some time resisted the attacks of the same column, were unable to force them back. They remained stationary to receive the enemy, who were thus allowed time and opportunity to take a cool and steady aim; encouraged by a prospect of success, the latter doubled their efforts; indeed, so confident were they, that when they reached the plain upon the summit of the ascent, they ordered their arms, as if to rest after their victory. But the handful of Highlanders soon proved on which side the victory lay. Their bold and rapid charge struck their confident opponents with terror, paralysed their sight and aim, and deprived both of point and object. The consequence was, as it will always be in nine cases out of ten in similar circumstances, that the loss of the 92nd regiment was, as I have just stated, only 4 men, whilst the other corps in the stationary position lost eight times that number."[6]

At Waterloo the 92nd had 14 rank and file killed, and Captains Peter Wilkie and Archibald Ferrier, Lts. Robert Winchester, Donald Macdonald, James Kerr Ross, and James Hope, 3 sergeants, and 96 rank and file wounded.

After Waterloo, the 92nd, along with the rest of the army, proceeded to Paris, in the neighbourhood of which it encamped on the 3rd of July. Shortly after leaving Waterloo, while halting near a small village for the night, the Duke of Wellington in person came up and thanked the 92nd for the manner in which the men had conducted themselves during the engagement, and lavished upon them the highest eulogiums for their exertions to uphold the reputation of the British army. The Highland Society of Scotland unanimously passed a vote of thanks "for the determined valour and exertions displayed by the regiment, and for the credit which it did its country in the memorable battles of the 16th and 18th of June 1815."

[6] Stewart.

The 92nd stayed at Paris till the end of November, when it was marched to Boulogne, and on December 17th it embarked at Calais, landing at Margate on the 19th. After staying at various places in England, it marched from Berwick-on-Tweed to Edinburgh on the 7th of September 1816, and took up its quarters in Edinburgh Castle on the 12th, this being the second visit to its native country since its embodiment. Like the 42nd in similar circumstances, the men of the 92nd were treated with the greatest kindness, and entertained with profuse hospitality at almost every place on the way. On their entry into Edinburgh, a vast crowd assembled in the roads and streets. The 42nd, between which and the 92nd there has always been a friendly rivalry, had been there shortly before, and a man of that regiment standing among the crowd cried in banter to a passing company of the 92nd, "This is nothing to what it was when we came home; we could hardly make our way through the crowd." A 92nd man quickly retorted, "You should have sent for us to clear the way for you, as we have often done before."

II.

1816—1874.

Ireland—Jamaica—Terrible losses from Yellow Fever—Colonelcy of the 92nd—Scotland—Ireland—New Colours—Gibraltar—Malta—Barbadoes—Scotland—Ireland—Ionian Islands—Gibraltar—Large numbers volunteer into Crimean regiments—Re-enlist in 92nd at first opportunity—Regiment goes to the Crimea—Return to Gibraltar—India—The Mutiny—Employed in Central Provinces—Performs much harassing work—Field service—Oojein—Harassing marches—Engagement near Rajghur—Mungrowlee—Combined movements—Sindwaho—Koraya—Rajpoor—Fatigueing work in the Bunswarra country—Mhow—Jhansi—Lullutpoor—Seepree—the Bundelcund Jungle—Importance of work performed by 92nd—Dugshai—Its various stations in India—Authorised to use designation of "Gordon Highlanders"—Home—Gosport—Edinburgh—Presentation of New Colours—Glasgow—Aldershot—Ireland—Aids the civil power—Leaves its New Year's dinner cooking—India again—Julinder—Camp of exercise at Delhi—Chukrata—Portrait of the Marquis of Huntly, the last Duke of Gordon.

The regiment was quartered in Edinburgh till April 1817, when it was sent to Ireland,

where it remained till 1819, performing duties somewhat similar to those already recorded of the 42nd. On the 16th April the 92nd sailed for Jamaica, where it arrived on June 2nd. On its march to Up-Park Camp, it was followed by the whole population of Kingston and vicinity, who crowded from all quarters to witness so novel a sight as a Highland regiment in Jamaica. Shortly after its arrival in Jamaica the regiment suffered fearfully from yellow fever in its most virulent form. Indeed, such was the sickness and mortality, that the regiment was, in August, in a manner ordered to be dispersed. On the 28th of that month, a strong detachment, chiefly composed of convalescents, embarked on board the "Serapis" guard-ship, then at anchor off Port-Royal.

The total loss sustained by the regiment from the 25th of June to the 24th of December 1819, consisted of 10 officers,—namely, Majors Archibald Ferrier, and John Blainey (Brevet Lt.-Col.), Lts. Andrew Will, Thomas Gordon, Hector Innes, George Logan, Richard M'Donnell, and George Mackie (Adjutant), Ensign Francis Reynolds, and Assistant-Surgeon David Thomas; 13 sergeants, 8 drummers, and 254 rank and file. This considerably exceeds the total number of men of the regiment killed in all the engagements, from the time of its formation in 1794 down to Waterloo in 1815.

In January 1820, Lt.-Gen. John Hope succeeded the Earl of Hopetoun as Colonel of the 92nd; the latter being removed to the 42nd. General Hope continued to be Colonel till 1823, when he was removed to the 72nd, and was succeeded in the colonelcy of the 92nd by Lt.-Gen. the Hon. Alexander Duff.

The regiment remained in Jamaica till 1827, and from the exemplary conduct and orderly demeanour of the officers and men, gained the respect and good wishes of the inhabitants wherever it was stationed. In the summer of 1825 it had again been attacked with fever, and lost in the course of two months Major Charlton, Captain Donaldson, Lt. Deans, and 60 men. The gaps then made in the regiment were, however, regularly filled up by considerable detachments of recruits from England, so that the strength of the 92nd was never far below the proper mark.

Owing to the terrible death-rate in the West Indies and other causes, Lt.-Col. Gardyne writes, as the 92nd had fallen into comparatively bad order for a time, and on its return home, Lt.-Col. John M'Donald, of Dalchoshnie, afterwards General Sir John M'Donald, K.C.B., was appointed to the command; an officer who had served with great distinction in Spain, a thorough soldier, and a true Highlander, he soon brought the 92nd back to its natural condition of perfect discipline, and remained in command till he was promoted Major-General.

In February and March 1827, the regiment embarked in detachments at Kingston for England, on reaching which it was sent to Scotland, the whole of the regiment, depôt and service companies, joining at Edinburgh in the end of May. In the beginning of 1828 the 92nd was removed to Glasgow, from which it sailed to Ireland in July, landing at Dublin August 4th. It remained in Ireland till 1834.

In 1829, orders having been received directing that steel-mounted swords should be adopted by Highland regiments, the officers of the 92nd immediately supplied themselves with the claymore, a sword similar to that originally used in the regiment. In 1830, the regiment was authorised to adopt trousers of the regimental tartan for all occasions when the kilt was not worn. While in Jamaica, white trousers alone were allowed to be used.

At all the inspections that took place while in Ireland, the 92nd, like the other Highland regiments, received the unqualified praise of the inspecting officers. It also gained for itself the respect and esteem of all classes of the inhabitants in performing the disagreeable duty of assisting the civil power in suppressing the "White Boy" outrages, to which we have referred in our account of the 42nd. Once only were the men compelled to resort to the last military extremity.

On the 13th of December 1830, the anniversary of the battle of the Nive, a new stand of colours was presented to the regiment in Dublin by His Excellency Lt.-Gen. the Right Hon. Sir John Byng, who complimented the regiment on its brilliant and distinguished conduct in all its engagements.

In July 1831 Lt.-Gen. Duff was succeeded in the colonelcy of the regiment by Lt.-Gen.

Sir John Hamilton Dalrymple (afterwards Earl of Stair).

In August 1833 the regiment was divided into six service and four depôt companies, preparatory to the embarkation of the former for Gibraltar. The depôt companies proceeded to Scotland in October, where they remained till 1836, when they returned to Ireland.

The service companies embarked at Cork in February 1834 for Gibraltar, where they arrived on the 10th of March. Here they remained till January 1836, when the regiment removed to Malta, where it was stationed till 1841.



Sir John M'Donald, C.B.
From Original Painting at Dunalastair.

In May 1840 the depôt companies were again removed from Ireland to Scotland. In January 1841, the service companies left Malta for Barbadoes, where they arrived in April. In May 1843 the headquarters and one company removed to Trinidad, while detachments were stationed at Grenada and Tobago. In the same month, Lt.-Gen. Sir William Maclean succeeded the Earl of Stair as colonel of the regiment, the former being removed to the 46th.

The service companies embarked in December 1843 for Scotland, arriving in February 1844 at Aberdeen, where they were joined by the depôt companies from Dundee. From Aberdeen the 92nd went to Glasgow, and in July 1845 to Edinburgh, where it remained till April 1846, when it removed to Ireland, where it remained till March 5th, 1851, when headquarters and 4 companies under command of Lt.-Col. Atherley sailed from Queenstown for the Ionian Islands. A complimentary address was received from the mayor and citizens of Kilkenny, on the 92nd quitting that city, expressive of the regret they experienced in parting with the regiment, the conduct of which had gained the esteem of all classes.

The regiment disembarked at Corfu on March 29th, and on May 17th was joined by the other two service companies under command of Major Lockhart.

While in the Ionian Islands, the 92nd received notice that kilted regiments were to use the Glengarry bonnet as a forage cap, with the regimental band or border similar to that on the feather bonnet.

The 92nd remained in the Ionian Islands until March 1853, embarking in three detachments for Gibraltar on the 21st, 23rd, and 28th of that month, respectively. During its stay in the Ionian Islands it was regularly inspected, and was invariably complimented, we need scarcely say, by the inspecting officer, on its high state of efficiency in all respects.

While the regiment was in Gibraltar, the war between this country and Russia broke out, and in consequence the 92nd was augmented to 1120 of all ranks, and subsequently to 1344. This increase, however, was soon destined to be considerably reduced, not by the casualties of war,—for the 92nd was not fortunate enough to be in the thick of the fray,—but by the large numbers who volunteered into other regiments destined for the Crimea. So large a number of men volunteered into those regiments about to proceed to the scene of the struggle, that little more than the officers'

colours and band remained of what was the day before one of the finest, best drilled, and best disciplined regiments in the army. The depôt companies, stationed at the time at Galway, volunteered almost to a man into the 42nd and 79th. The men of the service companies entered English regiments, and on their arrival at Varna asked to be allowed to enter Highland corps. This, however, could not be done, and on the conclusion of the war many of those that were left unscathed petitioned to be allowed to rejoin their old corps, saying they had volunteered for active service, and not to leave their regiment. Their request was not granted; but so strong was their *esprit de corps*, that at the expiration of their first period of service many of them re-enlisted in the 92nd, two of their number bringing back the Victoria cross on their breasts. Such a loss to the regiment as these volunteers occasioned almost broke the spirit of the officers and of the soldiers left; but by unsparing exertions the regiment was recruited in an incredibly short time with a very superior class of men, mostly from the Highland counties, but all from Scotland.

On the 25th of June 1855 Lt.-General John M'Donald, C.B., was appointed to the colonelcy of the regiment, in room of the deceased Sir William M'Bean, K.C.B.

The 92nd was, after all, sent to the Crimea, but too late to take any part in active operations. At the request of Lord Clyde the regiment was sent out to join his division before Sebastopol, and about 600 officers and men left Gibraltar during September 1855, landing at Balaklava just after the taking of Sebastopol. Though the 92nd was actually under fire in the Crimea, it did not obtain any addition to the numerous names on its colours. It remained in the Crimea till May 1856, on the 23rd of which month it embarked at Balaklava for Gibraltar, where it remained for eighteen months longer before embarking for India, previous to which the establishment of the regiment was considerably augmented, the service companies alone numbering upwards of 1100 officers and men. The 92nd embarked on the 20th of January 1858, to take part in quelling the Indian Mutiny; and before leaving, both in general orders and in brigade orders, Lt.-Col. Lockhart and the officers and men were eulogised in the highest terms for the splendid character of the regiment.

The light companies of the 92nd disembarked at Bombay on the 6th of March, under the command of Col. Atherley; the other two companies, under the command of Lt.-Col. Mackenzie, joined head-quarters at Bombay on the 30th of March. The 92nd, during its stay in India, was employed in the Central Provinces, under Sir Hugh Rose, formerly a 92nd officer, and distinguished itself by the rapidity of its forced marches and steadiness under fire; but although it took part in many combats, skirmishes, and pursuits, doing good and important service to its country, it had not the good fortune to be in any great victory such as to be thought worthy of being recorded on the colours beside such glorious names as Egypt and Waterloo. Lt.-Col. Lockhart was made a C.B. for his services while commanding the 92nd in this campaign. We shall endeavour briefly to indicate some of the services performed by the regiment while taking its share in the suppression of the mutiny.

On the 30th of March a detachment, under the command of Major Sutherland, proceeded to Surât on field-service, rejoining headquarters on the 8th of June. Four days after, the right wing of headquarters, under command of Lt.-Col. Archibald Inglis Lockhart, proceeded to Mhow on field-service, but must have returned before the 22nd of August, on which day headquarters, consisting of Nos. 1, 3, 7, and 10 companies, marched upon Oojein, to the north of Indore, having received sudden orders to that effect on the afternoon of the 21st. The companies formed part of a field-force column, which was required to put down some rebellious symptoms that had shown themselves near Oojein. The column was placed under the command of Lt.-Col. Lockhart, and reached Oojein on the 25th. Here all was found quiet, and the column was directed toward Mundesoor, but on its march intelligence was received that the rebels had crossed to the right bank of the Chumbul river, and in consequence the march of the column was directed upon Agoor, which place it reached on the 28th, having marched 50 miles through a most difficult country in 38

hours. After remaining here for three days the column advanced to Soosneer, 16 miles to the northward; and intelligence having been received that a force of 15,000 rebels, with 38 guns, had taken possession of the fortified town of Jhalra Patun, it was resolved to wait at Soosneer until support arrived. On the 9th of Sept. a squadron of H.M.'s Lancers and 2 guns of the Bengal Artillery joined the camp; on the morning of the 10th, a change in the enemy's movements having meantime taken place, the reinforced column marched to Zeera-



Colonel (now Major-General) Lockhart, C.B.
From a Photograph.

poor, about 10 miles south of Machilpoor, to which the enemy had moved, both towns being on the right bank of the Kallee Sind. At Zeerapoor the column was joined by another force under the command of Lt.-Col. Hope of the 71st Highland Light Infantry, which was also under Col. Lockhart's orders. On the same night, the 10th, Major-General Michel, C.B., commanding the Malwah division, joined and assumed command, entirely approving of the arrangements which had been made. The united column set out in pursuit of the rebels on the 12th, and marching by Bullwarrah and Rajghur, on the 15th came upon the enemy's camp at a short distance from the latter town, but found it had been quite recently abandoned, the rebels having evidently beat a precipitate retreat. The European infantry was left here to breakfast and grog, and the Major-General, with the cavalry, native infantry, and artillery, pushed on and brought the enemy to a stand in a jungly country. The latter opened a well-sustained fire upon their pursuers, which, however, proved nearly harmless. On the European infantry coming up, the 92nd, under Captain Bethune, and the 4th Bombay Rifles deployed into line and advanced, covered by their own skirmishers, and supported by the 71st Highlanders and the 19th Bombay Native Infantry. According to orders not a shot was fired until the jungle thinned so much as to enable the skirmishers to see the enemy. After a few rounds from the guns, the infantry again advanced, and the rebels abandoned their position and fled, pursued by the cavalry. The infantry proceeded to Bhowra, where they encamped, having marched 20 miles in the course of the day under a burning sun, by which many of the men were struck down. The only casualties of the 92nd in the above action were 2 men wounded.

The force halted at Bhowra until the 18th of Sept., the whole being formed into one brigade under Lt.-Col. Lockhart. Setting out on that day, the force marching by Seronj reached Mungrowlee on the 9th of Oct., when just as the tents had been pitched, it was reported that the rebels were advancing in force, and were within half a mile of the camp. The squadron of the 17th Lancers was immediately pushed forward, rapidly followed by the artillery and infantry, the 92nd being commanded by Captain Bethune. The enemy, taken by surprise, retreated, and took up position on an eminence 3 miles distant from Mungrowlee, and crowned by the ruins of a village. The rebels covered their front with guns placed in

a strip of jungle, which was filled with cavalry and infantry. The British infantry deployed into line, and, covered by skirmishers, advanced upon the enemy's position. The guns of the latter at once opened, and there was also a well-sustained but not very effective fire of small arms kept up from the jungle. The skirmishers directing their fire on the enemy's guns (whose position could only be ascertained from their smoke), steadily advanced. After an ineffectual attempt to turn the left wing of the British by the enemy's cavalry, the latter gave way, leaving their infantry to be severely handled by the Lancers. The line continued to advance, and six guns were taken by a rush of the skirmishers, many of the gunners being shot and bayoneted when endeavouring to escape. The guns being now brought up, the rebels soon were in rapid retreat. There appears to have been no casualties to the 92nd in this well-fought action.

It having been ascertained that the rebels had crossed the Betwa, and were now located on the right bank of that river, Major-General Michel arranged with Brigadier Smith, commanding a field column in the Chundaree district, that the two forces should make a combined movement, and for this purpose they were divided into three columns. The left column, consisting of the infantry of his brigade, under Brigadier Smith, was to move down the left bank of the river towards the Chundaree, prepared to cross to the right bank if necessary. The cavalry and horse artillery of both brigades, forming the centre column, under the immediate command of Major-General Michel, was to cross at the ford by which the enemy had retreated. The right column, consisting of the infantry and artillery of Lt.-Col. Lockhart's brigade, under that officer, was to cross the river by the Khunjea Ghaut and proceed to Nurat. This place it reached on the 17th of October, and on the 18th was joined by the centre column, which had been unable to penetrate the very dense jungle.

On the morning of the 19th, the 92nd being led by Captain A. W. Cameron, the two combined columns marched upon the village of Sindwaho, about 12 miles distant, and where the enemy were reported to be in strength. The force halted within half a mile of the village, to the right of which the enemy were discovered drawn up in order of battle. The cavalry and horse artillery advanced to the attack, and the infantry, who were to advance upon the village, under Lt.-Col. Lockhart, were deployed into line, covered by skirmishers. The 71st passed to the right of the village, the 92nd through the village and thick enclosures on the left, and the 19th Bombay Native Infantry were on more open ground to the left of the 92nd. The enemy were found to have abandoned the village, but many were shot down in the advance of the skirmishers through the enclosures. When clear of the village, the infantry advanced in echelon of battalions from the right. While the 71st took ground to the right, and the 19th Bengal Native Infantry went to the help of the Bombay Artillery, the 92nd, under Captain Cameron, advanced in the face of a large body of cavalry, who had posted themselves under a large tope of trees on a rising ground and frequently threatened to charge. By this time the 92nd was quite separated from the rest of the force. A battery of artillery having been sent to join the 92nd, and as the enemy still threatened to charge, the skirmishers were recalled, and fire opened from right to left; as shot and shell were at the same time thrown into the tope, the enemy retired, and were soon in rapid retreat, pursued by the cavalry.

During the 20th the force halted at Tehree and on this as on previous occasions the Major-General issued an order congratulating the troops on their success, and justly praising the exertions and bravery of officers and men. On this last occasion, Col. Lockhart's ability in handling his brigade elicited the Major-General's warmest approbation.

The force set out again on the 21st, and marching each day reached Dujorial on the 24th. The Major-General having heard that the enemy were at Kimlasa, moved on Kuraya at 2 A.M. on the 25th, and at dawn the whole of the rebel army was discovered crossing in front just beyond Kuraya. When the cavalry, which had started an hour later than the infantry, came up, they found that the infantry under Col. Lockhart, having cut through the enemy's line of march, had just wheeled to the right and part advanced skirmishing.

The infantry had indeed dispersed the enemy when the cavalry arrived; the latter therefore set out in rapid pursuit, the infantry following for about five miles and clearing the villages of the rebels.

The force remained at Kuraya till the 27th, when it proceeded south, and reached Bhilsa on the 2nd of November. On the 4th the Major-General proceeded with the cavalry in pursuit of the rebels, who had crossed the Nerbudda, leaving the infantry and Le Marchant's battery of artillery to watch Bhilsa and Bhopal, both being threatened by bodies of local rebels. The infantry remained at Bhilsa until the 9th, when, proceeding by Goolgong, they reached Bhopal on the 17th, leaving it on the 23rd for Sehore.

The rebels, in the meantime, after crossing the Nerbudda, had been again repulsed by the troops in Candeish. One hundred men of the 92nd, part of a small column under Major Sutherland, proceeded on the 20th of November to cross the Nerbudda, and on the 24th reached Jeelwana, where they were joined by another 50 men of the 92nd and a like number of the 71st mounted on camels. On the morning of the 24th Major Sutherland proceeded with 120 Highlanders and 80 sepoys, partly on camels, and soon ascertaining that the rebels, under Tantéa Topee, with two guns, were on the road to Rajpoor, pushed on in pursuit. On approaching Rajpoor, the rebel force was perceived passing through it, and the Highlanders, on camels, pushing rapidly forward, came on the enemy in half an hour. Before the men, however, could dismount for the attack, the rebels again retired. By this time the men following on foot, both Europeans and natives, having marched at a very rapid pace in rear, overtook the men on camels. The whole now advanced together direct upon the enemy, who had taken up a strong position, in order of battle, on a rocky and wooded ridge, their two guns on the road commanding the only approach. The Highlanders, supported by the native troops, at once advanced, and rushing up the road under a shower of grape, in a very short time captured the guns, on which the rebels precipitately abandoned their position. In this attack, Lt. and Adjutant Humfrey was wounded.

Major Sutherland's force remained in the neighbourhood of Kooksee until the 27th of December, when it was ordered to join headquarters at Mhow.

Lt.-Col. Lockhart's column left Sehore and marched upon Indore on the 29th of November, that town being considered in danger of an attack by the rebels. Indore was reached on December 4th, and the column halted there until the 6th, when it returned to quarters at Mhow, having detached No. 10 and part of No. 3 companies under Captain Bethune to join a small force proceeding towards Rutlâm. These companies were subsequently attached to Brigadier Somerset's column, and mounted on camels, they underwent great privations and severe fatigue during the rapid pursuit in the Banswarra country. On the morning of the 1st of January 1859, the column came up with the rebels at daylight at Baroda, but the men had scarcely dismounted ere the rebels had, as usual, commenced a rapid retreat; this, however, they did not effect before being considerably cut up by the cavalry and guns attached to the force. These companies did not rejoin headquarters until the 24th of May 1859.

On the 2nd of March, headquarters, numbering about 1000 officers and men, marched from Mhow to Jhansi, there to be quartered; but, on reaching Bursud, they were directed by Brigadier-General Sir R. Napier to assist in clearing that neighbourhood of some rebels said to be located in the jungles. For this purpose all the heavy baggage was left at Bursud in charge of a company, and the remainder proceeded in light order to Ummeerghur and subsequently to Karadev. The jungles were in vain searched for any rebels, and on the 25th the force again got on to the main road at Goona and proceeded towards Jhansi, which it reached on the 7th of April. Nos. 8 and 9 companies proceeded direct to Lullutpoor, where they were stationed on detached duty under Major Sutherland. Remnants of rebels who had, after being broken up into small parties, reunited under Feroze Shah, and taken refuge in the dense jungles, were by the junction of forces from Lullutpoor and other places driven from their refuge, without, however, their having been actually come in contact with. The duty was, never-

theless, of a harassing nature, and was rendered more so by the sickness which had latterly prevailed at Lullutpoor and reduced the men stationed there to a weak condition.

On the 1st of June 1859, No. 7 company was detached to Seepree, and on the evening of the 30th, 40 men of that company under Ensign Emmet, mounted on elephants, proceeded with a mixed native force, the whole under the command of Major Meade, to surprise a numerous party of rebels who had located themselves in a village about 28 miles distant. The village, which was situated on an eminence and surrounded by thick jungle, was reached by 5.30 A.M. on the 1st of July, and the attack immediately commenced. The rebels in considerable numbers took refuge in a large house well loop-holed, and kept up a warm fire of musketry on their assailants; they were not finally subdued until the house caught fire. Of the 92nd, 4 rank and file were wounded, and Major Meade, in reporting the affair to the commanding officer, said:—"I cannot speak too highly of Ensign Emmet and your men; their coolness and steadiness was most conspicuous."

On the 14th of October, Nos. 1 and 2 companies proceeded, mounted on camels, as part of a small force ordered from Jhansi under command of Col. Lockhart, in conjunction with 6 other columns, to clear the Bundelcund jungles of rebels. The force continued in the field until the 14th of December. Some difficult and harassing marches were performed in the course of these operations, but the rebels having broken through the circle to the north-east, the Jhansi column, being stationed on the west, did not come in contact with them.

Thus it will be seen that the 92nd performed important and harassing duties during the suppression of the great Indian Mutiny, and certainly seem to have deserved some outward mark of the services they then rendered to their country. Brigadier-General Sir Robert Napier, in bidding farewell to the officers and men of the Gwalior division on the 11th of January 1860, specially acknowledged the important assistance he had received from Col. Lockhart and the men under his command. Notwitstanding the fatiguing work the 92nd had to undergo, both Sir Robert Napier and Lord Clyde, in reporting on their inspection, spoke in the highest terms of the condition of the regiment.

The various detachments having joined headquarters at Jhansi, the regiment, numbering about 960 officers and men, under command of Col. Lockhart, C.B., left Jhansi on the 15th of March for Dugshai, there to be quartered.

The 92nd remained in India for nearly three years longer, during which little occurred in connection with the regiment calling for special notice. Besides the places already mentioned, it was stationed at Umballa, Benares, Rajghaut, and Calcutta, and, on its half-yearly inspection, invariably elicited the unqualified commendation of the inspecting officers and the War Office authorities; the regimental school gained the special praise of the latter.

While stationed at Dugshai, in September 1861, the regiment received the gratifying intelligence that Her Majesty had been graciously pleased to authorise the 92nd being designated "The Gordon Highlanders," by which name it was popularly known at the period of its being raised and for some time afterwards; indeed we suspect it had never ceased to be popularly known by this title.

The Gordon Highlanders embarked at Calcutta for England in two detachments on the 24th and 28th of January 1863, respectively, and rejoined at Gosport on the 20th of May. This was the first time the regiment had been quartered in England since the 22nd of August 1816. Before the 92nd left India, 396 men volunteered into regiments remaining in the country; the deficiency was, however, soon filled up, as, on its being made known, Scotchmen serving in English regiments gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of serving in so distinguished a corps.

The 92nd did not remain long at Gosport. It embarked at Portsmouth on the 10th of July for Edinburgh, arriving off Granton Pier on the 13th, and marching to the Castle through an enthusiastic crowd. It was 17 years since the Gordon Highlanders had last been in Edinburgh. Shortly after its arrival the regiment was inspected by its Colonel, General Sir John M'Donald, K.C.B., who had formerly commanded the 92nd for the long period of 18 years.

The regiment remained scarcely a year in Edinburgh, during which time only one event occurred to mark the "even tenor of its way;" this was the presentation of new colours on the 13th of April 1864. The Highlanders, on that day, were formed in review-order on the Castle Esplanade, shortly after which Major-General Walker, C.B., commanding in Scotland, arrived on the ground accompanied by his staff. General Sir John M'Donald, K.C.B., the veteran colonel of the regiment, was also present, along with Lady M'Donald and other members of his family. After the usual ceremony had been gone through with the old colours, and after the Rev. James Millar, Chaplain of Edinburgh Castle, had offered up an appropriate prayer, the Major-General placed the new colours in the hands of Lady M'Donald, who addressed the regiment in a few most appropriate words :—

"It would be, I believe," she said, "according to established custom, that, in placing these colours in your hands, I should remind you of the duty you owe to them, your Queen, and your country; but, to the Gordon Highlanders, any such counsel would, I feel, be superfluous; their glorious deeds of the past are sufficient guarantee for the future, that wherever and whenever these colours are borne into action, it will be but to add new badges to them and fresh honour to the regiment. I cannot let this opportunity pass without touching on the many happy years I spent among you, without assuring you of the pleasure it gives me to see you again, and of my warmest wishes for your welfare and prosperity."

On the 25th of May 1864, the 92nd left Edinburgh for Glasgow under the command of Col. A. I. Lockhart, C.B. Detachments were also sent to Paisley and Ayr. The 92nd remained in Glasgow till March 1865, during which time it took part in a large sham fight in Renfrewshire, and was present at the inauguration by the Queen of a statue of Prince Albert at Perth, the first erected in the kingdom. On the 25th of January 1865, the depôt joined headquarters from Stirling. It is unnecessary to say that in all its public appearances, and at all inspections while in Scotland, as elsewhere, the Gordon Highlanders received, and that deservedly, the highest encomiums on their appearance, discipline, and conduct.

On the 6th of March 1865, the 92nd, consisting of 1033 officers, men, women, and children, embarked on the Clyde for Portsmouth, *en route* for Aldershot, arriving at the Camp on the 10th of the same month. While at Aldershot, Major C. M. Hamilton was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, and succeeded to the command of the regiment in place of Col. Lockhart, C.B.

The 92nd after remaining a year at Aldershot, during which nothing of note occurred, left for Portsmouth on the 1st of March 1866, and embarked on the same day for Ireland, Lt.-Col. Hamilton commanding. The regiment disembarked at Kingstown on the 5th, and proceeded to the Curragh Camp, where it remained till the 9th, when it removed to Dublin, with the exception of A and C companies, which were left at the Curragh to go through a course of musketry instruction. On the regiment leaving Aldershot, a most gratifying report concerning it was sent to headquarters; the 92nd Highlanders, the Brigade General reported,—

"Are well drilled, their conduct sober, orderly, and soldierlike; discipline good, and all one could desire in a well regulated corps."

During its stay in Ireland the 92nd had a taste of the unpleasant duty of aiding the civil power. On the 31st of December 1867, two detachments were sent out for this purpose from the Curragh Camp, where the whole regiment was then stationed, one, under command of Major A. W. Cameron, to Cork; and the other, under command of Captain A. Forbes Mackay, to Tipperary. These detachments seem to have performed their duty effectively and without the sad necessity of resorting to extreme measures;[1] they did not return to Dublin, the former remaining at Cork and the latter proceeding to that place on the 18th of January 1868. Here these detachments were joined by the rest of the regiment on the 25th of January, on which day it embarked at Queenstown for India, sailing next day under command of Lt.-Col. Hamilton. The regiment proceeded by the overland route, and landed at Bombay Harbour on the 26th of February. Here the 92nd was transhipped into three vessels to be

[1] The regiment had arranged a grand New Year's entertainment, and the unfortunate men of these detachments, who had to march on two hours' notice, had to leave the dinner cooking. They turned out as cheerfully as circumstances would permit, there being just enough of grumbling to have made it very hot work for the Fenians had they showed fight.

taken to Kurrachee, where headquarters arrived on the 8th of March. From Kurrachee this detachment made its way partly by river (the Indus), partly by rail, and partly by road, to Julinder, in the Punjaub, which it reached on the 30th of March, and was joined by the remaining portion of the regiment on the 7th of April. During its stay at Julinder the 92nd furnished detachments regularly to garrison Fort Govindghur, Umritsur, and had the honour, in February 1870, to take part in the reception at Meean Meer of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh; on this occasion the regiment was commanded by Lt.-Col. M'Bean, who had been promoted to the command of the 92nd in room of Lt.-Col. Hamilton. Detachments, consisting mostly of young and sickly men, were also sent occasionally to Dalhousie to be employed in road-making in the Chumba Hills.

The 92nd remained quartered at Julinder until the 18th of December 1871, on which day headquarters and three companies under command of Major G. H. Parker, proceeded by rail to Delhi to form part of the force collected there at the Camp of Exercise. Here it was posted to the 1st brigade (Col. N. Walker, C.B., 1st Buffs) of the 2nd division commanded by Major-General M'Murdo, C.B. The remaining three companies joined headquarters on the following day. The camp of exercise was broken up on the 1st of February 1872, and in the brigade order issued on the occasion by Col. Walker, he stated that—

"The last six weeks have added to the interest I have for many years taken in the career of my old friends the 92nd Highlanders;"

he also specially mentioned the name of Captain Chalmer of the 92nd, for the valuable services which the latter invariably rendered him.

On the 2nd of February the regiment set out on its march to Chukrata, which it reached on the 2nd of March.

We have much pleasure in referring our readers to the plate of Colonels of the 91st, 92nd, and 93rd regiments, on which we give a portrait of the Marquis of Huntly, who raised the regiment, and was afterwards the last Duke of Gordon, from a painting by A. Robertson, miniature painter to H.R.H. the late Duke of Sussex, and kindly lent us by the Duke of Richmond for our engraving. The portrait was painted in 1806 A.D., and exhibited the same year at the Royal Academy.

The Duke of Gordon's statue stands in Castle Street, Aberdeen, with the inscription "First Colonel 92nd Gordon Highlanders" at the foot of the granite pedestal. His familiar name in his own district was "The Cock of the North."

The 92nd uniform is the full Highland costume of Gordon tartan. The officers have a black worm through their lace, as a token of mourning for Sir John Moore.

SUCCESSION LISTS OF COLONELS AND LIEUTENANT-COLONELS OF THE 92ND GORDON HIGHLANDERS.

COLONELS.

GEORGE, MARQUIS OF HUNTLY, . May 3, 1796
Served as Brigadier-General in Ireland in . 1798
Went to Holland, ... 1799
Wounded at Egmont-op-Zee, . Oct. 2, 1799
Major-General, ... Jan. 1, 1801
Colonel of the 42nd, . . . Jan. 3, 1806
Lieut.-General, ... April 1808
General, ... Aug. 1809
To the 1st (Royal Foot), ... 1820
K.G.C.B., Duke of Gordon, . . . 1827
Governor of Edinburgh Castle and Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, . . . 1834
Removed to the Scots Fusilier Guards, . 1834
Died, ... May 28, 1836

JOHN, EARL OF HOPETOUN, G.C.B., Jan. 3, 1806
Cornet Light Dragoons, . . May 28, 1784
Lieutenant in 27th Foot, ... 1786
Captain 17th Light Dragoons, . . . 1789
Major in 1st Foot, ... 1792
Lieut.-Col. 25th, ... 1793
M.P. for Linlithgowshire, ... 1796
Deputy Adjutant-General in Holland, . 1799
Adjutant-General to the Army in the Mediterranean, ... 1800
Served in Egypt, ... 1801
Colonel of the Lowland Fencible Infantry and Major-General, ... 1802
Deputy Governor of Portsmouth, . . 1805
Lieut.-General, ... April 25, 1808
Commanded under Moore in Spain, . . 1809
Succeeded in command on Moore's death, . ,,
Last on board the fleet at Corunna; K.C.B., ,,
Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, . . 1813
At Nivelle, Nive, Bayonne, . . . 1813
Baron Niddry and Earl of Hopetoun, . . 1814
General, ... 1819
Colonel of the 42nd, ... 1820
Died at Paris, ... Aug. 27, 1823

SIR JOHN HOPE, G.C.H., . . Jan. 29, 1820
Cadet in Houston's Brigade, . . . 1778
Ensign, ... 1779
Captain, ... 1782
Captain 60th Foot, ... 1787
Captain 13th Light Dragoons, . June 30, 1788
Aide-de-Camp to Sir Wm. Erskine, 1793 and 1794
Major 28th Light Dragoons, . . . 1795
Lieut.-Colonel, ... 1796
Served at the Cape, ... 1796–1799
To 32nd Foot, ... 1799
In the West Indies, ... 1800–1804
Assistant Adjutant-General in Scotland, . 1805
Deputy Adjutant-General to Copenhagen, . 1807
Brigadier-General to the Staff, N. Britain, . 1808
And then Deputy Adjutant-General there, . 1809
Major-General, ... 1810
On the Peninsular Staff, ... 1812
For Salamanca, a medal.
On the Staff in Ireland and N. Britain till 1819; made Lieut.-General and G.C.H., . 1819
Colonel of the 92nd, . . . Jan. 29, 1820
To the 72nd Highlanders, . . Sept. 6, 1823
Died, ... Aug. 1, 1836

HON. SIR ALEXANDER DUFF, G.C.H., Sept. 6, 1823
Removed to the 37th Regiment, . July 20, 1831

JOHN, EARL OF STAIR, K.T., . July 20, 1831
Removed to the 46th Regiment, . May 31, 1843

SIR WM. M'BEAN, K.C.B., . . May 31, 1843

SIR JOHN MACDONALD, K.C.B., . June 25, 1855

LORD STRATHNAIRN, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., June 25, 1866

SIR JOHN CAMPBELL, . . . March 1869
Lieut.-General. Died, . . Dec. 28, 1871

LIEUT.-GENERAL GEORGE STAUNTON, Dec. 29, 1871

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Names.	Date of Appointment.	Date of Removal.	Remarks.
The Marquis of Huntly, Lieut.-Col. Commandant	Feb. 10, 1794	May 3, 1796	Promoted Colonel 92nd, May 3, 1796.
Charles Erskine	May 1, 1795	March 13, 1807	Died of wounds received in action near Alexandria, March 13, 1801.
James Robertson	Oct. 11, 1798	Aug. 3, 1804	Retired on Half-pay.
Alexander Napier	April 5, 1801	Jan. 16, 1809	Killed at Corunna, Jan. 16, 1809.
James Willoughby Gordon	Aug. 4, 1804	June 13, 1808	Quarter-Master General of the Forces, and promoted Lieut.-Col. Commandant of the Royal African Corps.
John Cameron	June 23, 1808	June 16, 1815	Killed at Quatre Bras.
John Lamont	Mar. 30, 1809	Dec. 25, 1814	Retired on Half-pay.
James Mitchell	June 13, 1815	Sept. 1, 1819	Retired.
Sir Frederick Stovin	Sept. 2, 1819	Aug. 8, 1821	Removed to the 90th Foot.
William Brydges Neynoe	Aug. 9, 1821	Oct. 3, 1821	Exchanged to H. P. of the 4th Foot.
David Williamson	Oct. 4, 1821	Nov. 20, 1828	Retired.
John Macdonald	Nov. 21, 1828	Nov. 8, 1846	Promoted Major-General, Nov. 9, 1846.
John Alex. Forbes	Nov. 9, 1846	Nov. 22, 1849	Retired.
Mark Kerr Atherley	Nov. 23, 1849	Sept. 25, 1855	
Geo. Edward Thorold	Sept. 25. 1855	Nov. 10, 1856	Retired on Half-pay; 42nd, July 23, 1857; retired on full-pay, March 16, 1858. See 42nd R. H.
Archibald Inglis Lockhart	Dec. 26, 1857	March 1865	Retired.
E. E. Haines	Mar. 4, 1865	Sept. 1, 1865	Retired.
Christian Monteith Hamilton	Sept. 1, 1865	Dec. 14, 1865	Retired.
Forbes M'Bean	Dec. 15, 1869	Dec. 23, 1873	Retired.
Arthur Wellington Cameron	Dec. 24, 1873		

THE 93RD SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS.

I.

1800–1854.

Curious method of raising the regiment—Character of the men—Guernsey—Ireland—Cape of Good Hope—Battle of Blauw-berg—High character of the regiment—A regimental church formed—Its benevolence—England—America—New Orleans—Dreadful carnage—Ireland—West Indies—Canterbury—Presentation of New Colours by the Duke of Wellington—Weedon—The northern district—Ireland—Canada—Stirling—Edinburgh—Glasgow—Aberdeen—Portsmouth—Chobham—Devonport—War with Russia.



CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. ALMA. BALAKLAVA. SEVASTOPOL. LUCKNOW.

THIS, perhaps the most Highland of the Highland regiments, was raised in the year 1800, letters of service having been granted for that purpose to Major-General Wemyss of Wemyss,[1] who had previously raised the Sutherland Fencibles, many of the men from which joined the new regiment. The strength at first fixed upon was 600 men, which number was in a short time raised, 460 being obtained from Sutherland, and the remainder from Ross-shire and the adjoining counties. The regiment was however, soon augmented to 1000 men, with officers in proportion; and in 1811 it numbered 1049 officers and men, of whom 1014 were Highlanders and Lowlanders, 17 Irish, and 18 English.

One striking peculiarity in the constitution of the 93rd consists in its having probably furnished the last instance of the exercise of the clan influence on a large scale in the Highlands. The original levy was completed not by the ordinary modes of recruiting, but by a process of conscription. A census having been made of the disposable population on the extensive estates of the Countess of Sutherland, her agents lost no time in requesting a certain proportion of the able-bodied sons of the numerous tenantry to join the ranks of the Sutherland regiment, as a test at once of duty to their chief and their sovereign. The appeal was well responded to; and though there was a little grumbling among the parents, the young men themselves seem never to have questioned the right thus assumed over their military services by their chief. In a very few months the regiment was completed to its establishment.

As a crucial proof of the high character of the first levy for the 93rd it may be stated, that until the final inspection of the corps the recruits were never collected together. They were freely permitted, after enrolling their names, to pursue their callings at home, until it was announced in the various parish churches that their presence was required, when a body of 600 men was assembled, and marched, without a single absentee, to Inverness, where the regiment was inspected by Major-General Leith Hay in August 1800.

During the sojourn of the regiment at Inverness there was no place of confinement in connection with it, nor were any guards mounted, the usual precautions necessary with soldiers being quite inapplicable to the high-principled, self-respecting men of Sutherland. Many of the non-commissioned officers and men were the children of respectable farmers, and almost all of them of reputable parentage, the officers being mostly well-known gentlemen connected with Ross and Sutherland. Indeed, the regiment might be regarded as one large family, and a healthy rivalry, and stimulus to the best behaviour was introduced by classifying the different companies according to parishes. While the characteristics referred to seem to have strongly marked the Sutherland Highlanders,

[1] His portrait will be found on the Plate of Colonels of the 91st, 92nd, and 93rd regiments.

our readers will have seen that to a greater or less degree they belonged to the original levies of all the Highland regiments.

In Sept. 1800 the 93rd embarked at Fort George for Guernsey, where it was for the first time armed and fully equipped, and where it made rapid progress in military training.[2]

In February 1803 the 93rd was removed to Ireland, where it continued till July 1805. While in Dublin, like most of the other Highland regiments at one time or another in Ireland, it had to assist in quelling an attempted insurrection, performing the disagreeable duty kindly, but firmly and effectually.

In July 1805 the 93rd joined the armament against the Cape of Good Hope, under Major-General Sir David Baird, referred to already in connection with the 71st and 72nd, which took part in the expedition.

The expedition sailed early in August, and, after a boisterous voyage, arrived and anchored in Table Bay on Jan. 4th, 1806. The troops formed two brigades, one of which, consisting of the 24th, 38th, and 83rd regiments, was under the command of Brigadier-General Beresford; the other, called the Highland brigade, comprehending the 71st, 72nd, and 93rd regiments, was commanded by Brigadier-General Ronald C. Ferguson. On the 5th, General Beresford, who had been detached to Saldanha Bay, in consequence of the violence of the surf in Table Bay, effected a landing there without opposition; and on the 6th the Highland brigade landed in Lospard Bay, after a slight resistance from a small body of light troops stationed on the adjoining heights. In landing, 35 men of the 93rd were drowned by the upsetting of a boat in the surf, and Lt.-Colonel Pack of the 71st, and a few men, were wounded.

Having landed his stores on the 7th, General Baird moved forward the following day, and ascending the summit of the Blauw-Berg (Blue Mountain), he found the enemy, to the number of about 5000 men, drawn up in two lines on a plain, with twenty-three pieces of cannon. Forming his troops quickly in two columns, he thereupon directed Lt.-Colonel Joseph Baird, who commanded the first brigade, to move with that brigade towards the right, while the Highland brigade, which was thrown forward upon the high road, advanced against the enemy. Apparently resolved to retain their position, the enemy opened a heavy fire of grape, round shot, and musketry, which was kept up warmly as the British approached, till General Ferguson gave the word to charge. This order was obeyed with the accustomed alacrity of the Highlanders, who rushed upon the enemy with such impetuosity as at once to strike them with terror. After discharging the last volley without aim or effect, the enemy turned and fled in great confusion, leaving upwards of 600 men killed and wounded. The loss of the British was only 16 men killed and 191 wounded. The 93rd had only 2 soldiers killed, and Lt.-Col. Honyman, Lts. Scobie and Strachan, Ensigns Hedderick and Craig, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, and 51 rank and file wounded. After this victory the colony surrendered.

The Sutherland Highlanders remained in garrison at the Cape till 1814, when they embarked for England. During this long period nothing occurred to vary the quiet and regular life of the regiment. This life was, indeed, remarkably regular, even for a Scottish regiment, and, we fear, would find no parallel in any corps of the present time. The men, who were mostly actuated by genuine religious principle, such principle as is the result of being brought up in a pious Scottish family, conducted themselves in so sedate and orderly a fashion, that during their stay at the Cape severe punishments in their case were unnecessary, and so rare was the commission of crime, that twelve and even fifteen months have been known to elapse without a single court-martial being assembled for the trial of any soldier of the 93rd. Moreover, as an emphatic compliment to the steadiness of the men, their presence was generally dispensed with when the other troops of the garrison

[2] At Guernsey, on May 6, 1802, died at the age of 40, Sergeant Sam. M'Donald, well known at the time by the appellation of "Big Sam." He served in the American War, was afterwards fugleman to the Royals, and subsequently lodge porter at Carlton House. In 1793 he was appointed sergeant in the Sutherland Fencibles, joining the 93rd when it was raised. He measured 6 ft. 10 in. in height, 4 feet round the chest, was strongly built, muscular, and well-proportioned. His strength was prodigious, but he was never known to abuse it. His tomb was restored by the non-commissioned officers of the 79th Cameron Highlanders in 1820, and in 1870 by the officers of the 93rd.

were commanded to witness the infliction of corporal punishment.

But the most remarkable proof of the intensity and genuineness of the religious feeling in the regiment, as well as of its love of all that was peculiar to their native land, remains to be told. There being no divine service in the garrison except the customary one of reading prayers to the troops on parade, these Sutherland men, in addition to their stated meetings for reading the Bible and for prayer, in 1808 formed a church among themselves, appointed elders and other office-bearers, engaged and paid a stipend to a minister of the Church of Scotland, and had divine service regularly performed according to the forms of the Presbyterian Church. As a memorial of this institution there still remains in possession of the sergeants' mess the plate used in the communion service, and until recently there existed among the regimental records the regulations intended for the government of its members. This establishment had an excellent effect, not only on its immediate members, who numbered several hundreds, but also upon those who made no pretence of being guided by religious principle.

Such men were not likely to forget the claims of relationship and benevolence, and indeed such was their frugality, that in addition to their contributing to the support of their minister and to the charitable funds formed in the regiment, the men were in the habit of lodging in a trusted officer's hands savings amounting to from £5 to £50, until an opportunity occurred of forwarding the money to their relatives at home; upon one occasion, in particular, £500 were remitted to Sutherland, exclusive of many minor sums sent home through the post-office.

In the month of April 1814, the 93rd embarked for Europe, amid, as may easily be believed, the general regret of the colony; it landed at Plymouth on August 15th of the same year. Of the 1018 non-commissioned officers and men who disembarked, 977 were Scotch.

The regiment had not been many weeks at home when it was again ordered on foreign service, this time, alas, of a much more disastrous kind than that which it performed during its long stay at the Cape. Although it had not the good fortune to take part in the stormy events which were shortly to take place on the field of Europe, and share in the glory accruing therefrom, yet the work it was called upon to perform, so far as bravery, endurance, and suffering are concerned, deserved as great a meed of praise as if it had been performed on the field of Quatre Bras or Waterloo.

Early in September 1814,[3] the 93rd had received orders to hold itself in readiness for immediate embarkation, and on the 16th it embarked in three divisions as part of the armament under Major-General Sir John Keane, destined to operate in North America; for at this time, unfortunately, Britain was at war with the United States. The fleet sailed on the 18th, and on November 23rd, joined, at Jamaica, the squadron under Vice-Admiral the Honourable Alexander Cochrane.

The united forces, the command of which was now assumed by General Keane, amounted to 5400 men. With this force he sailed from Jamaica on the 27th of November, and on December 13th landed near Cat Island, at the entrance of a chain of lakes leading to New Orleans. On the 23rd the troops landed without opposition at the head of the Bayonne; but were attacked on the following night by a large body of infantry, supported by a strong corps of artillery. After a spirited contest the enemy were repulsed with loss. On the 27th, Major-General the Honourable Sir Edward Pakenham, who had arrived and assumed the command of the army on the 25th, moved the troops forward in two columns, and took up a position within six miles of New Orleans, in front of the enemy's lines. The position of the Americans was particularly favourable, having a morass and a thick wood on their left, the Mississippi on their right, and a deep and broad ditch in front, bounded by a parapet and breast-works, extending in a direct line about a thousand yards, and mounted

[3] In 1813 a second battalion was added to the regiment. It was formed at Inverness, and after some instructions in discipline, was destined to join the army under the Duke of Wellington in France; but owing to the peace of 1814 this destination was changed to North America. This battalion was embarked, and landed in Newfoundland, where it was stationed sixteen months, and then returning to Europe in 1815, was reduced soon after landing.

with artillery, and a flanking battery on the right bank of the river.

For several hours on the 28th, the force was kept in front of these works, under insufficient shelter, and, allowed neither to advance nor retire, suffered considerable loss from the storm of shot and shell poured upon it; the 93rd lost 3 men killed and several were wounded. On the three following days, the 93rd, as did every other corps, lost several men in their encampment, from the guns of the enemy, which were placed in battery on the right bank of the Mississippi. We shall give the rest of this narrative in the words of the well-kept Record-Book of the regiment, which, we believe, quotes from the journal kept by Captain Charles Gordon, one of the early officers of the 93rd.

On the 1st of January 1815, long before daybreak, the army was in motion, and placed in position similar, but closer to the American lines than on the 28th of December. Forming in close column of regiments, the troops were ordered to lie down and wait for the favourable issue of the British batteries against the enemy's works, the former opening with a brisk fire at daylight, but unfortunately all in vain. After a cannonade of several hours, the greater part of the guns were silenced and dismounted, and after a harassing day, the army was ordered to retire to its former bivouac. The 93rd lost 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, and 6 rank and file killed, and several wounded.

Nothing was done for the next few days, though the army underwent great fatigue in the carriage of guns, stores, &c., and were continually annoyed by the batteries of the enemy on the opposite side of the Mississippi. On the afternoon of the 7th, the army had its hopes again raised by the orders issued for a general attack on the following morning, but, in the words of Captain Gordon, "as this expedition commenced, so did it terminate, in disappointment—utter disappointment and calamity."

On the 8th of January the main body of the 93rd, flushed with the hope of measuring bayonets with their hitherto concealed opponents, advanced in compact close column towards the centre of the American lines, from which poured a tremendous fire of grape and musketry (including buckshot); but its patience and discipline were again put to the test when within about 80 yards of the enemy's breastworks, by an order to halt. In this unenviable position, without permission or even power to fire with any effect whatever, with nothing visible but the murderous muzzles of thousands of American rifles, only the tops of the men's caps being seen as they loaded and fired resting upon their parapets, a staff-officer was heard to exclaim as he hurriedly came up and rode away,—"93rd, have a little patience and you shall have your revenge." But, alas! it was decreed otherwise; the regiment continued in its fatal position without receiving any further orders, officers and men being mowed down in all directions, until Sir John Lambert, the senior surviving general officer, thought it advisable to order the army to retire. In this most disastrous affair, action it could not well be termed, the regiment was dreadfully cut up.

The following is a list of the killed and wounded in this sadly mismanaged affair, in which the gallant 93rd probably lost more officers and men in a few hours than it did throughout the whole of the Indian Mutiny campaign, in which, as will be seen, it had perhaps hotter work to do than ever fell to the lot of any single regiment. The killed were Lt.-Col. Dale, commanding the 93rd, Captains Hitchins and Muirhead, Lieutenants Munro and Phaup (both prisoners, who died of their wounds), Volunteer Johnston, 4 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 115 rank and file, including those who died next day of their wounds. There were wounded, Captains Ryan, Boulger, M'Kenzie, and Ellis; Lieuts. John M'Donald, Gordon, Hay, Graves, M'Lean, Spark, and D. M'Pherson, Volunteer John Wilson, 17 sergeants, 3 drummers, and 348 rank and file. It is sad to think that neither gain nor glory resulted from this dreadful carnage.

The army having re-embarked, the fleet weighed anchor again on the 7th of February, and made for the mouth of the Bay of Mobile, where the greater part of the army disembarked on the Dauphin Isle. Preparations were here being made to attack the fortified town of Mobile, when news arrived that preliminaries of peace had been signed between Great Britain and the United States. After being encamped about six weeks, the army was ordered to embark for Europe. The 93rd, at least the fragment left of it, arrived at Spithead on the 15th of May 1815, and being in too weak a state to take part in the stirring events taking place on the Continent, it was ordered to Ireland, disembarking at Cork on the 28th of May, and proceeding to Birr Barracks.

The second battalion having been disbanded at Sunderland, the ranks of the first battalion were filled up by a large draft of non-commissioned officers and privates from the former. As the history of the regiment is comparatively uneventful up to the time of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny, we shall rapidly run over its movements previous to these stirring periods.

The 93rd appears to have moved about successively from Birr to Athlone, Nenagh, and Limerick, sending out numerous detachments, and in June 1818, to have proceeded to Dublin, where it remained till the following

May (1819). On leaving Dublin, it was again detached to the southern counties, where it was frequently called upon to perform the most delicate and harassing duties.

Between the 3rd and 8th of November 1823, the regiment embarked at the Cove of Cork in four transports for the West Indies, without having lost a single man by desertion. It may be taken as a proof of the continued good conduct of the regiment during the eight years it was stationed in Ireland, that Lieutenant-General Lord Combermere, in his general order issued on its departure, stated that

"No regiment in the service stands in greater estimation, or has been more conspicuous for its discipline and soldier-like conduct, than the 93rd."

Only one detachment proceeded to Demerara, the others being landed at Barbados in December 1823; the former, however, shortly afterwards joined the latter. The regiment remained in garrison at Barbados till the month of February 1826, when it was removed to Antigua and St Christopher, sending a detachment from the former island to Montserrat. These stations the 93rd occupied till February 1830, when it was removed to St Lucia and Dominica, where it remained till January 1832, when all the service companies were again collected together at Barbados, where they were stationed for upwards of two years longer. After having spent ten and a half years in the Windward and Leeward Island, the regiment embarked for England in two detachments on the 26th of March and the 3rd of April 1834, leaving behind it 117 of its men as volunteers to other regiments. On its arrival at Spithead on the 6th of May, the strength of the regiment was only 371, having been thus reduced by death, the discharge of invalids, and volunteers to other corps. The proportions of deaths in the regiment, however, while stationed in the West Indies, was considerably below that of other regiments.

It was originally intended that the regiment should proceed at once to Scotland, where it had not been quartered since its first formation; but on account of the serious demonstrations that were made by the populace in London about the period of the regiment's return to England, it was deemed expedient to draw as many troops as possible around the capital. The 93rd was consequently sent to Canterbury, where it arrived on the 8th of May 1834, and where it was shortly afterwards joined by the depôt companies from Scotland.

During the stay of the Sutherland Highlanders in Canterbury, the most notable incident in its history was the presentation of new colours to the regiment by his Grace the Duke of Wellington, an event which seems even now to be looked back upon as marking a red-letter day in the calendar of the 93rd. The presentation took place on the 7th of October 1834, and immense preparations were made for the ceremony. The day fortunately turned out particularly favourable, and not fewer than 10,000 persons must have turned out to witness the presentation, including many of the nobility and gentry of the county. We regret that space forbids us entering into details, or giving at length the wise and stirring address of the "Great Duke." Suffice it to say, that after referring to the past achievements of the 93rd, and of the soldier-like appearance and orderly conduct of individuals of the regiment who had attracted his attention in passing through the town, he urged upon officers and men, as the result of his long and valuable experience, the inestimable value of discipline in maintaining the efficiency of a regiment, without which no amount of personal valour would be of avail.

"I have passed," the Duke said, "the best years of my life in the barracks and the camps of the troops. The necessities of the service and my duty have compelled me to study the dispositions and the wants of the soldiers, and to provide for them. And again I repeat to you, enforce the observance of the rules of discipline, subordination, and good order, if you mean to be efficient, to render service to the public, to be respectable in the eyes of the military world as a military body, to be respected by the community, to be comfortable and happy among yourselves, and, above all, if you mean to defend to the last your colours which I have presented to you, the person of your sovereign, and the institutions, dominions, and rights of your country, and to promote its glory (as your predecessors have in this same regiment), by your actions."

Lt.-Col. M'Gregor having replied in feeling and most appropriate terms, the regiment performed several evolutions before the Duke, who expressed his approbation of the soldier-like appearance of the men, and of their steadiness under arms. The rest of the day, both by officers and men, was given up to festivity

and rejoicing. The officers entertained the Duke and upwards of 200 guests at a magnificent banquet in the mess-room, which had been ingeniously enlarged for the occasion. On the opposite side of the barrack-yard tables were laid for nearly 700, including the non-commissioned officers, privates, their wives and children, who enjoyed an excellent dinner of roast beef and plum-pudding, with an allowance of beer, given by the amiable and benevolent lady of Col. M'Gregor. It was altogether a proud day for the Sutherland High-



Lieutenant-Colonel (now General) Sir Duncan M'Gregor, K.C.B.
From a painting in possession of the 93rd.

landers. The whole terminated with the greatest good humour and conviviality. The soldiers continued to enjoy themselves to a late hour, dancing their native dances to their national music.

A few days after this memorable occasion, the regiment left Canterbury for Weedon, in Northamptonshire, where it was stationed till the spring of the following year (1835), detaching three companies to Newcastle-under-Lyme. In the end of May 1835, the 93rd left Weedon for the northern district of England, headquarters being stationed at Blackburn, and detachments at Bolton, Rochdale, Burnley, and Nottingham. In the following September headquarters was removed to Liverpool, and the other companies to Haydock Lodge, Wigan, and Chester Castle. The whole regiment was collected at Liverpool in October, on the 27th and 29th of which month it embarked in two detachments for Dublin. Here the 93rd remained till October 1836, when it was removed to Newry; after being stationed at which town for upwards of a year, it was removed, in the end of November and beginning of December 1837, to Cork, preparatory to its embarkation for Canada, to quell the serious insurrection which was threatening the British power in that colony.

The 93rd in two divisions, under Lt.-Col. M'Gregor and Major Arthur, sailed from Cork on the 6th and 23d of January 1838 respectively. The division under Major Arthur reached Halifax on the 29th of January; but that under Lt.-Col. M'Gregor met with so boisterous a passage, that it did not reach its destination till the 5th of March. On the following day the two divisions were reunited at Halifax. It is unnecessary to follow the various and complicated movements of the regiment during the suppression of the Canadian rebellion, more especially as it never had a chance of coming into contact with the rebels, except at Prescott, on the 16th of November 1838, when it was present at the attack and capture of the brigands in the Windmill, in which affair it suffered no casualties. The 93rd, in the performance of its duties at this period, was often much divided, and frequently had to endure great hardships in its movements about the country. No. 4 company was, throughout the whole rebellion, in the Lower Provinces, attached to the 71st Highland Light Infantry.

The regiment was re-united at Toronto on the 28th of November, and the women, children, and baggage arrived on the 13th of December, just before the closing of the navi-

gation. On the 4th of the latter month Lt.-Col. Spark arrived at Toronto, and assumed the command of the regiment, in succession to Lt.-Col. M'Gregor.

The 93d remained at Toronto till the 17th of June 1843, with the exception of one year —from May 1840 till May 1841—when it was stationed at Drummondsville, Falls of Niagara. It is scarcely necessary to say that, during this time, as always indeed, the Sutherland Highlanders received the unqualified approbation of the officers whose duty it was to inspect it.

"This fine regiment still continues," to use the words of an order issuing from the Horse Guards, in December 1842, "to maintain its character for comparative sobriety and good order amidst the dissipation with which it appears to be surrounded; and that it is as remarkable for its splendid appearance in the field, and the correctness of its evolutions, as for the quiet and orderly habits of its men in their quarters."

On leaving Toronto, in May 1845, the 93rd went to Montreal, a wing which was sent to Kingston in the previous June joining headquarters there. On this wing leaving Canada West, Major-General Sir Richard Armstrong issued an order, in which he spoke of the appearance ("superb," he called it) and conduct of the regiment in the highest possible terms.

The 93rd continued for other four years in Canada, leaving Montreal in July 1846—the same month that the regiment received its first supply of percussion muskets—for Quebec, where it remained till August 1, 1848, when it embarked for home, after an absence of more than ten years. On the arrival of the "Resistance" at Portsmouth, it was ordered to proceed to Leith, where it arrived on the 30th of August. The regiment disembarked next day, and proceeded to Stirling Castle, where, in a few weeks, it was joined by the dépôt companies. During its stay at Stirling detachments were sent to Perth and Dundee, and the regiment was twice selected to furnish a guard of honour for her Majesty the Queen,—in the summer of 1849, during her stay at Balmoral, and in August of the same year, when Her Majesty paid a visit to Glasgow.

The 93rd remained at Stirling till April 5, 1850, when it was removed to Edinburgh, where it was stationed for only one year, during which it again furnished a guard of honour to Ballater, as well as to Holyrood, during her Majesty's stay at that historical palace. From Edinburgh the regiment went to Glasgow, on the 15th of April 1851, and on the 23rd of the following February removed to Weedon. The 93rd remained at Weedon for only six months, proceeding, on the 11th of August and two following days, to Portsmouth, where it occupied the Anglesea Barracks. After a stay at Portsmouth of about ten months, the 93rd, on June 14, 1853, proceeded to Chobham Common, to form part of a force which was encamped there under the command of General Lord Seaton, C.B., for the purpose of manœuvring. On leaving Cobham, on July 15, the regiment proceeded to Devonport, part of it being stationed at Dartmoor Prison, and another part at Millbay, Plymouth.

We should mention here that, on Nov. 30, 1852, died Lt.-General William Wemyss, who for two years had been colonel of the regiment, and who from infancy had been associated with it, his father having been Major-General Wemyss, who raised the Sutherland Highlanders. Lt.-General Wemyss had all along taken an intense interest in the regiment, in which he had been almost born. He was succeeded in the colonelcy by Major-General Edward Parkinson, C.B.

Once more had the war-trumpet sounded, calling the nations of Europe to take sides and do battle with each other, after a long, long rest. The Sutherland Highlanders were destined to have their own share in the struggle, being one of the first Highland regiments selected to meet the Russians in the East. In connection with the 42nd and 79th, the other two regiments of the famous Highland Brigade, we have given some general details of the movements of the army in the East, and especially in the Crimea, that we shall confine ourselves here strictly to the work of the 93rd, more especially so as, before it could again lay down its arms and take breath, it had harder, if not bloodier, work to perform than has fallen to its lot since it was first embodied. In the Indian mutiny the Sutherland Highlanders had a magnificent opportunity (perhaps their first real one) of showing what sort of stuff they were made of. How gloriously they came out of their trial will be seen in the sequel.

II.

1854–1857.

Embarks for the East—Gallipoli—Scutari—Varna—Sickness and cholera—Crimea—Battle of the Alma—Sebastopol—Balaklava—Battle of Balaclava—The "Thin Red Streak"—Heavy duties—Discomforts—Terrible hurricane—Disease—Kertch—First assault on Sebastopol—Second assault—Evacuation of Sebastopol—Exploit of Lt. M'Bean—Return home—Aldershot—Visited by the Queen—Dover—Presentation of Colours by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge—Embarkation for China—Destination changed for India—The Indian Mutiny—Lands at Calcutta.

On the 12th of February 1854, orders were received to prepare for embarkation on active service; and as the establishment of the regiment was on the peace footing, it received 170 volunteers from the 42nd and 79th, including a few men from the dépôt battalion. On the 27th of February, when the regiment embarked at Plymouth, it consisted of 1 lieut.-colonel (Ainslie), 2 majors, 8 captains, 9 lieutenants, 7 ensigns, and 6 staff officers, 41 sergeants, 20 drummers, and 850 rank and file. After it had been in the East for a few months, this establishment was considerably increased. After staying at Malta for a few weeks, the regiment, on the 6th of April, sailed for Gallipoli, where it encamped, and where it had the first taste of official mismanagement in the shape of miserably inadequate rations. The 93rd stayed at Gallipoli, part of the time engaged in throwing up entrenchments, till May 6th, when it was removed to Scutari, where it had the misfortune to lose Lieut. M'Nish, who was drowned in a swollen stream.

After a few weeks' stay at Scutari, the 93rd was sent, on the 13th of June, to Varna, in the neighbourhood of which it remained till it embarked for the Crimea, along with the rest of the allied army, and where, in common with many other regiments, it suffered severely from sickness, cholera here first making its appearance. From this cause the regiment lost, while at Varna, 21 men and 1 officer (Lieut. Turner). From this and other causes, a general depression of spirits prevailed in the brigade; for the 93rd had been joined by the 42nd and 79th. This temporary feeling, however, rapidly disappeared when it became certainly known, towards the end of August, that active operations were about to take place in the Crimea.

When, on the 31st of August, the 93rd was transferred to the transports in which it was to be taken to the Crimea, it numbered 792 officers and men; 102 non-commissioned officers and men, and 20 soldiers' wives being left behind at Varna, with most of the baggage, under Ensign M'Bean. The landing of the armies at Old Fort, Kalamita Bay, has been already described in connection with the 42nd,[1] as well as what happened until the allied army came face to face with the Russians entrenched on the left bank of the Alma.

We should mention here, that at the time of landing in the Crimea the general health of the regiment was much impaired by the sickness and exposure it had been subjected to while in Bulgaria: on the passage to the Crimea it lost several men from cholera. Its first night in the Crimea gave the 93rd a taste of the hardships and privations which it, like other British regiments, was destined to undergo. It passed the night, a very tempestuous and wet one, without shelter of any kind.

On the 19th of Sept. the allied armies commenced their march towards Sebastopol, over an undulating plain, the English being on the left, the post of danger, as Kinglake so forcibly points out, the French in the centre, and the Turks on the right, close to the sea. As our readers know, the 93rd, along with the 42nd and 79th, formed the Highland brigade, under Sir Colin Campbell, which, with the Guards, constituted the First Division under H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge. After bivouacking near the small stream Boolganak, where the first brush with the enemy occurred, the 93rd, with the rest of the army, advanced, about mid-day on the 20th, towards the river Alma, on the left bank of which the Russians had already been descried, entrenched on formidable-looking and strongly-fortified heights. On coming to within a short distance of the river, the English army deployed into line successively of divisions. The First Division thus became the second line, the Light Division forming the first. The Highland brigade formed the extreme left of the allied army, and was thus opposed to the Russian right, the

[1] Vol. ii. p. 410.

93rd being in the centre of the brigade, having the 42nd on the right, and the 79th on the left. Full general details of the advance will be found in the history of the 42nd,[2] and here we shall confine ourselves to the work of the 93rd.

The battle commenced about half-past one P.M. After the Light and Second Divisions had crossed the river, the First Division advanced, the Guards in front, and the three Highland regiments on the left in échelon. The latter, after advancing a short distance under heavy fire, were ordered to lie down in rear of the wall of a vineyard. After remaining there for a few minutes, the order to advance was again given, and was promptly complied with, the Highland regiments, led by their brigadier, the gallant and much-beloved Sir Colin Campbell, pushing through a vineyard into and across the river, the water in many places coming up to the men's waists. After a momentary delay in reforming, the three regiments advanced up the hill, in échelon, the 42nd leading on the right, the 93rd close behind on the left. The hill was steep, and the fire from the battery in front of the enemy's battalions very severe. Yet the Highlanders continued to advance for nearly a mile without firing a shot, though numerous gaps in their ranks showed that that of the enemy was doing its work. A short distance above the river, the 93rd passed the 77th regiment, part of the Light Division, halted in line, and thus found itself immediately opposed to the enemy. Having nearly gained the summit of the heights, the regiment opened a brisk fire upon the battalions immediately in its front, accompanied by a hearty Highland cheer as it still advanced. After a hesitating delay of a few minutes the enemy fell back, and commenced their retreat in great confusion, suffering fearfully from the destructive volleys of the newly-tried Minie. The command was then given to halt, a brisk fire being kept up until the enemy had fled out of range; and in less than an hour from this time no vestige of the Russian army remained in sight but the dead and wounded.

The 93rd in this battle lost 1 officer (Lieut. Abercromby), 1 sergeant, and 4 rank and file killed; 2 sergeants and 40 rank and file wounded.

[2] Vol ii. p. 412.

After a halt to bury the dead and look after the wounded, the army continued its march in the direction of Sebastopol, reaching Balaklava on the 26th, where it bivouacked for the night. The 93rd was at first posted before the village of Kadikoi, at the entrance of the gorge leading to Balaklava, partly to protect the position, but principally for the purpose of being employed in fatigue duty. It was only on the 3rd of Oct. that a few tents, barely sufficient to hold the half of the men, were issued to the regiment. On the 6th of the same month the 93rd had to deplore the loss from cholera of Major Robert Murray Banner, an officer universally beloved and respected.

On the 13th of October a large force of the enemy having concentrated in the valleys of Baidar and the Tchernaya, and threatening Balaklava, Sir Colin Campbell was sent down by Lord Raglan to assume command of the troops in Balaklava. He immediately ordered a force of 331 officers and men of the 93rd, under Major Charles Henry Gordon, to proceed to the heights eastward of Balaklava to assist in intrenching and strengthening the position there already occupied by the marines. Below these heights, eastward of Balaklava, and on the western heights, a number of intrenched batteries had been raised, to command the approaches to Balaklava. Each of these was manned by a force of about 250 Turks, and they formed a sort of semicircle, being numbered from the eastward from No. 1 to 6.

About 7 o'clock on the morning of Oct. 25th, a large force of the enemy debouched from the direction of the Tchernaya and Baidar valleys, and attacked the Turkish redoubts with a large body of skirmishers and artillery. The British force, which had been under arms since before daylight, consisted of about 800 marines on the heights, with the detachment of the 93rd under Major Gordon. The main body of the regiment under Lt.-Col. Ainslie, was drawn up in line on a small hill in front of its encampment, covering the approach to Balaklava from the plain, having some Turkish regiments on the right and left; and on the left front the brigades of light and heavy cavalry were drawn up in columns. The action commenced by the Russians concentrating a severe fire of artillery upon No. 1, the eastward redoubt, from which, after a short re-

sistance, the Turks were dislodged, and the redoubt, containing three guns, was captured by the enemy. In obedience to an order previously received in case of such a casualty, Major Gordon with his detachment at once proceeded to join Lt.-Col. Ainslie in the plain, a distance of about two miles. The capture of No. 1 redoubt was speedily followed by that of Nos. 2 and 3, when the Russians commenced a severe fire upon the flying Turks. The 93rd, now joined by the detachment from the heights, was directed to advance, covered by the light company, and throwing forward the left. The enemy then opened upon the regiment with round shot and shell from the redoubts from which they had driven the Turks. This caused some casualties, and the 93rd was ordered by Sir Colin Campbell—who at the moment may be said to have commanded in person—to retire under cover of a small rising ground immediately in the rear, where the regiment remained for a short time lying down under a fire of artillery, till a large body of cavalry appeared on the opposite side of the plain, about 1000 yards in front. The order was then given to the regiment, which was in line, to advance a short distance to the summit of the rising ground in front, and to commence firing upon the cavalry, which were bearing down upon it at a rapidly increasing gallop. To quote the words of Dr Russell, the well-known *Times'* correspondent, who witnessed the action :—

"The Russians in one grand line charged in towards Balaklava. The ground flies beneath their horses' feet; gathering speed at every stride, they dash on towards that thin red streak tipped with a line of steel. The Turks fire a volley at 800 yards and miss; as the Russians came within 600 yards, down goes that line of steel in front, and out rings a volley of Minie musketry. The distance is too great, the Russians are not checked, but still sweep onwards through the smoke with the whole force of horse and man, here and there knocked over by the shot of our batteries alone. With breathless suspense every one awaits the bursting of the wave upon the line of Gaelic rock; but ere they came within 200 yards, another deadly volley flashes from the levelled rifle, and carries terror into the Russians. They wheel about, open files right and left, and fly back faster than they came. 'Brave Highlanders! Well done,' shout the spectators. But events thicken, the Highlanders and their splendid front are soon forgotten. Men scarcely have a moment to think of this fact, that the 93rd never altered their formation to receive that tide of horsemen. 'No,' said Sir Colin Campbell, 'I did not think it worth while to form them even four deep.' The ordinary British line, two deep, was quite sufficient to repel the attack of these Muscovite cavaliers."

Another attack by the Russians was gallantly repulsed by the heavy cavalry, and about 10 o'clock A.M. the Guards, along with the 42nd and 79th Highlanders, came up under H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge. It was about this time that the heroic but disastrous charge of the light cavalry under Lord Cardigan took place, after which the First and Fourth Divisions advanced, the enemy retiring and concentrating on Nos. 1 and 3 redoubts. At nightfall the First and Fourth Divisions returned to their position before Sebastopol, the 42nd and 79th remaining behind at Balaklava. In this engagement the 93rd had only 2 privates wounded. The Russian force was estimated at about 18 battalions of infantry, with from 30 to 40 guns, and a large body of cavalry.

Sir Colin Campbell in his despatch drew Lord Raglan's special attention to the gallantry and eagerness of the 93rd under Lt.-Col. Ainslie, and Lord Raglan in his despatch to the Duke of Newcastle spoke in high terms of the conduct of "that distinguished regiment."

After this the 93rd, along with the rest of the Highland brigade, had heavy duties to perform in intrenching the position at Balaklava; and now that the weather began to break, and the clothes of the men were in tatters, and the accommodation afforded by the tents miserably insufficient, their condition was wretched indeed. The climax came on the 14th of Nov., when the ever-memorable hurricane swept almost every kind of shelter off the face of the ground, and tore the tents to rags, leaving the poor soldiers completely exposed to its violence. All this, combined with the wretched and insufficient food, soon told sadly on the health of the soldiers. It was only in the spring of 1855 that anything was done to remedy this state of matters. With the erection of huts, and the arrival of good weather, the health of the regiment began to improve. Meantime, from Oct. 1854 to March 1855, nearly the whole regiment must have, at one time or other, been on the sick list, and nearly 100 died from disease. Among the latter was Lt. Kirby, who arrived in the Crimea on Dec. 2nd, and died on Feb. 15th following. We may also mention here the deaths of Lt. James Wemyss, of cholera, on June 13, and that of Lt. Ball, of fever, on June 18.

It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the siege of Sebastopol, in which the 93rd, like

all the other regiments in the Crimea, had to do its share of harassing and dangerous duty. The regiment took part in the expedition by the Straits of Yenikale to Kertch in the end of May and beginning of June, returning to Balaklava on the 14th of the latter month. In the first assault on Sebastopol on June 18th, 1855, the 93rd, with the rest of its division under Sir Colin Campbell, held a position close to the Woronzoff Road, in rear of the 21 gun battery, ready to act as circumstances might require. This attack, as is known, was unsuccessful; and from the 18th of June to the 22rd of August, the duties in the trenches of the right attack were entirely performed by the First, Second, and Light Divisions alternately, and during this period the 93rd sustained a loss of 6 killed and 57 wounded, several of the latter dying of their wounds. On the night of the 6th of August Bt.-Major J. Anstruther M'Gowan of the 93rd was unfortunately severely wounded and taken prisoner, while visiting some sentries posted in front of the advanced trench right attack. It was a considerable time after his capture that it was ascertained that Major M'Gowan had died of his wounds on August 14th at Simpheropol.

Lt.-Col. Ainslie was compelled twice to proceed on sick leave; first on the 28th of June, when Major Ewart assumed command of the regiment, and again on August 17th, when Lt.-Col. Leith Hay occupied his place. We may state here that Lt.-Col. Ainslie did not return to the regiment, retiring on Jan. 25th, 1856, when he was succeeded by Lt.-Col. Leith Hay.

On the 8th of Sept. the second grand assault upon Sebastopol took place, and early in the morning of that day the whole of the Highland brigade marched from Kamara to their old encampment on the heights before Sebastopol, where the knapsacks were deposited. The brigade then proceeded at once to the trenches of the right attack, remaining in support during the attack, in which, however, the Highlanders took no part. The assault on the Redan having again failed, the Highland brigade was pushed on to occupy the advanced trenches of the right attack, remaining there during the night, ready to repel any sortie that might be made. On the 9th it was the intention again to assault the Redan, the four Highland regiments to form the storming party; but on the night of the 8th the Russians evacuated the south side of Sebastopol, and the brigade in consequence returned to Kamara on the evening of the 9th.

A circumstance connected with the evacuation of Sebastopol should be mentioned. About midnight on the 8th, the Russian fire having previously ceased, and everything appearing unusually quiet, Lt. W. M'Bean, the adjutant of the 93rd, left the advanced trench and approaching the Redan, was struck with the idea that it was deserted by the Russians. He accordingly gallantly volunteered to enter it, which he did with a party of 10 volunteers of the light company, under Lt. Fenwick, and a like number of the 72nd, under Capt. Rice; they found no one in the Redan but the dead and wounded left after the assault. The party, however, had a narrow escape, as an explosion took place in the Redan shortly after.

The loss of the 93rd on the 8th of Sept. was 2 rank and file killed and 7 wounded.

During the winter of 1855–56, the regiment was employed in erecting huts, making roads, draining camps, and latterly in brigade drill and target practice with the Enfield rifle, which had been issued to the regiment in Sept. 1855; the health of the battalion was very good

During its stay in the Crimea, 158 non-commissioned officers and privates were invalided to England; 11 officers and 323 non-commissioned officers and privates were either killed in action or died of wounds or disease; and 92 non-commissioned officers and privates were wounded.

The 93rd left the Crimea on June 16th, 1856, and arrived at Portsmouth on July 15th, proceeding to Aldershot on the same day. Next day the regiment was inspected by The Queen, who walked down the line accompanied by Prince Albert and a numerous staff, minutely noticing everything, and asking many questions regarding the welfare of the corps. Again, on the 18th, Her Majesty, attended by the Princess Royal, visited the huts of the regiment, several of which she was pleased to enter; she also tasted the rations prepared for the dinners of the men.

As the next episode in the history of the Sutherland Highlanders is the most important in its career, as they had, in the Indian Mutiny, an opportunity of showing what mettle they

were made of, such as they never had since their embodiment, we feel bound to give it considerable prominence, and must therefore pass briefly over events both before and after.

On the 23rd of July the regiment left Aldershot for Dover, where shortly after it was joined by the depôts from Malta (under Bt. Lt.-Col. Gordon), and from Dundee, under Captain Middleton. On Jan. 31st, 1857, orders were received for the 93rd to hold itself in readiness for immediate embarkation for India, on which occasion it received 201 volunteers



Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Adrian Hope.
From a photograph.

from the 42nd, 72nd, 79th, and 92nd. On the 6th of March, however, orders were received that the 93rd hold itself in immediate readiness for embarkation for China, and a few days after, Lt.-Col. the Hon. Adrian Hope was brought in from half-pay as second lieutenant-colonel.

On the 22nd May, H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge was graciously pleased to present new colours to the 93rd, in lieu of the now tattered ensigns that, twenty-three years before, had been presented at Canterbury by the Duke of Wellington. After the usual ceremony, H.R.H. made an appropriate address, in which he expressed his confidence that, should the services of the 93rd be required, it would guard the new colours with the same zealous feeling of honour and nobleness of conduct as it displayed in the late campaign.

By the 25th of May all the service companies were collected at Portsmouth, one depôt company being left behind at Dover, under Captain Brown. On the 1st of June, Nos. 3, 7, and 8 companies, under Lt.-Col. Hope, proceeded to Plymouth, and embarked on board H.M.'s ship "Belleisle" for China, sailing on the 3rd of June.

On the 4th of June the remaining service companies, under Lt.-Col. Leith Hay, proceeded to the Clarence dockyard, Gosport, where, drawn up in line, they received Her Majesty on her landing from the Isle of Wight. After a royal salute, Her Majesty was pleased to walk down the whole line, minutely inspecting every man. The regiment then marched in slow and quick time past the Queen, who expressed to Lt.-Col. Leith Hay how much pleased she was with its appearance.

On the 16th of June, the grenadiers, Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 6, and light companies, with part of No. 5, embarked on board the s.s. "Mauritius," and sailed the following morning for China, under Lt.-Col. Leith Hay. The remainder of No. 5 company followed with the next transport. The strength of the regiment on embarkation for China was 52 officers and 1069 non-commissioned officers and men. The "Mauritius" entered Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope, where she found the "Belleisle" at anchor. Here Lt.-Col. Hope conveyed to the detachment on board the "Mauritius" the startling intelligence of the mutiny of the Bengal Native Army, and that orders had been received for the 93rd to proceed with all possible despatch to Calcutta, instead of China. The "Mauritius" anchored in the Hooghly, opposite Fort William, on the 20th of Sept. 1857, the anniversary of the battle of the Alma, and the

93rd was welcomed by its old brigadier, the newly appointed Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell. The detachment under Lt.-Col. Adrian Hope did not arrive until the 26th.

III.

1857–1875.

On the road to Cawnpoor—Engagement near Futtehpoor—Attack on Buntara—Force assembled on the Plain of the Alum Bagh—Sir Colin Campbell's address to 93rd—Disposition of the force—on the road to Lucknow—Lucknow—The Dilkoosha—The Martinière—Banks's Bungalow—The Secunder Bagh—A terrible fight—Capt. Stewart—The Shah Nujeef—Adrian Hope's last effort—Sergeant Paton—Meeting of Campbell, Outram, and Havelock—Back to Cawnpoor—Dispersion of the rebel army—Second attack upon Lucknow—93rd in Lucknow—The Dilkoosha taken—The Martinière taken—The Begum Kotee—Terrible slaughter—Individual bravery—The 93rd at Rohilcund—Death of Adrian Hope—At Bareilly—March into Oude—Rebel hunting—End of the Mutiny—Losses—Peshawur—Cholera—Conduct of the men—Medical officers—Sealkote—The Umbeyla Campaign—Jhansi—Surgeon-major Munro—Bombay—93rd sails for home—New colours—Duke and Duchess of Sutherland—Ball at Holyrood—The Queen's interest in the regiment—Honours to officers—The Autumn Manœuvres—Strength of the regiment.

No time was lost in sending the 93rd up the river to Chinsurah, and by the 10th of October, the whole regiment in detachments was hurrying along the grand trunk road towards Cawnpoor, distant about 600 miles. By October 31st, the main body of the regiment, with Cols. Hay and Hope, had reached Cawnpoor, and in a day or two had crossed the Ganges and joined the column under Brigadier Hope Grant, assembling in Oude, for operations against Lucknow; the force was encamped between Bunnee Bridge and the Alum Bagh, about 10 miles in rear of the latter place. At Futtehpoor, three companies, under Brevet Lt.-Col. Gordon, were left to garrison that place, and to hold in check a considerable force of rebels, known to be in the neighbourhood. On the 1st of Nov. one of these companies, under Captain Cornwall, formed part of a small force which had a severe but successful engagement with a considerable body of the rebels at Khaga, near Futtehpoor. This was a severely contested affair, and the men were exhausted by a long march before reaching the enemy's position, but nevertheless fought with such spirit and gallantry as to excite the admiration of Captain Peel, R.N., who had command of the force. The casualties of the 93rd company (No. 3) in this action were severe, being 3 men killed, and Ensign Cunningham and 15 men wounded.

On the following day, Nov. 2nd, the detachment under Lt.-Col. Adrian Hope, consisting of the grenadiers, Nos. 1, 2, and 4 companies, was also engaged in an attack on a fortified village in Oude, Buntara, and drove the enemy from the position, killing a number of them, and destroying the village. The casualties of the 93rd were 1 man killed and 3 wounded.

By Nov. 13th the detachment under Brevet Lt.-Col. Gordon had come up, and the whole of the regiment was thus once more together. On the 11th of Nov. the entire force assembled in the plain of the Alum Bagh, divided into brigades, and was reviewed by the commander-in-chief. The brigade to which the 93rd was posted consisted of headquarters of the 53rd, the 93rd, and the 4th Punjab Rifles, and was commanded by Lt.-Col. the Hon. Adrian Hope of the 93rd, appointed brigadier of the 2nd class. The little army, numbering about 4200 men, was drawn up in quarter distance column facing Lucknow. The 93rd stood in the centre of the brigade, on the extreme left, and after passing in front of the other regiments and detachments, Sir Colin Campbell approached the regiment, and thus addressed it:—

"93d, we are about to advance to relieve our countrymen and countrywomen besieged in the Residency of Lucknow by the rebel army. It will be a duty of danger and difficulty, but I rely upon you."

This short and pointed address was received by the regiment with such a burst of enthusiasm that the gallant old chieftain must have felt assured of its loyalty and devotion, and confident that wherever he led, the 93rd would follow, and if need be, die with him to the last man. The 93rd was the first regiment on that occasion that made any outward display of confidence in their leader, but as the veteran commander returned along the line, the example was taken up by others, and cheer upon cheer from every corps followed him as he rode back to the camp.

All the sick and wounded having been sent into the Alum Bagh on the 13th, preparations were made for the advance, which commenced next day. The army marched in three columns,

viz., the advance, the main column, and the rear guard. The 93rd, along with the 53rd, 84th, 90th, 1st Madras Fusiliers, and 4th Punjab Rifles, constituted the 4th Infantry Brigade forming part of the main column, and was under command of Brigadier Adrian Hope. The regiment had already lost, of sick, wounded, and killed, about 140 men, so that its strength as it entered the desperate struggle was 934 men. A detachment of 200 men of the 93rd formed part of the rear guard, which also contained 200 of the 5th Brigade under Lt-Col. Ewart of the 93d.[1]

Instead of approaching by the direct Cawnpoor road to Lucknow, Sir Colin determined to make a flank march to the right, get possession of the Dilkoosha and Martinière, on south side of the city, which the enemy occupied as outposts, push on thence to attack the large fortified buildings Secunder Bagh, Shah Nujeef, &c., lying between the former and the Residency, and thus clear a path by which the beleaguered garrison might retire.

As the narrative of the advance and succeeding operations is so well told in the Record Book of the regiment, we shall transcribe it almost verbatim, space, however, compelling us to cut it down somewhat.[2]

At nine o'clock A.M. of November 14, 1857, the flank march commenced. As the head of the advance column neared the Dilkoosha, a heavy musketry fire was opened on it from the left, and the enemy made some attempt to dispute the advance, but were soon driven over the crest of the hill sloping down to the Martinière, from the enclosures of which a heavy fire of artillery and musketry opened upon the advancing force. This was soon silenced, and the infantry skirmishers rushed down the hill, supported by the 4th Infantry Brigade, and drove the enemy beyond the line of the canal.

During the early part of the day two companies of the 93rd were detached, viz., the Grenadiers, under Capt. Middleton, close to the Cawnpoor road, to command it, while the baggage, ammunition, &c., were filing past; and No. 1, under Capt. Somerset Clarke, was pushed on to the left to seize and keep possession of a village so as to prevent the enemy from annoying the column in that quarter.

While the leading brigade, in skirmishing order, was gradually pushing the enemy beyond the Dilkoosha, the 4th Brigade followed in support, at first in open column, and while doing so, the 93rd lost 1 man killed and 7 wounded. After the enemy had been driven down the hill towards the Martinière, the 93rd was allowed to rest under cover of some old mud walls to the left rear of the Dilkoosha, until the order was given for the brigade to advance upon the Martinière itself. Then the 4th Punjab Rifles moved first in skirmishing order, supported by the 93rd, the Naval Brigade keeping up a heavy fire on the left, the result being that the enemy were driven back upon their supports beyond the canal. The Punjab Rifles pushed on and occupied part of a village on the other side of the canal, while the 93rd, with the Madras Fusiliers occupied the wood and enclosures between the Martinière and the canal. Immediately on taking up this position, three companies of the regiment under Capt. Cornwall were sent to an open space on the left of the Martinière, close to the Cawnpoor road, for the purpose of protecting the Naval Brigade guns, while the headquarters, reduced to three companies under Col. Hay, remained within the enclosure. Towards evening the enemy from the other side of the canal opened a sharp artillery and musketry fire on the whole position, part of it coming from Banks's Bungalow. This continued till nearly seven P.M., when the Commander-in-Chief rode up and called out the Light Company and part of No. 8, and desired them to endeavour to seize Banks's Bungalow. As soon as the Naval Brigade guns were fired, this party under Col. Hay, in skirmishing order, made a rush towards the canal, which, however, was found too deep to ford. As the night was closing in, the Light Company remained extended in skirmishing order behind the bank of the canal, while Col. Hay with the remainder returned to the Martinière compound. Capt. Cornwall with the three detached companies also returned; but the Grenadiers and No. 1 company remained, holding detached positions to the left of the army.

During the day the rear-guard (of which 200 of the 93rd formed part), under Lt.-Col. Ewart, was several times hotly engaged with the enemy, but drove them back on each occasion, with no loss and few casualties on our side. The casualties of the regiment throughout the day's operations amounted to 1 man killed and 11 men wounded.

On the 15th, the 93rd was not actively engaged; but in its position behind the Martinière compound was exposed to a constant fire, by which only 1 man was killed and 2 men were wounded. By this time headquarters was joined by the 200 who formed part of the rearguard. Late in the evening all the detached parties were called in, and the regiment bivouacked for the night in a position close under the Martinière.

At six o'clock A.M. on the 16th the force was under arms, and formed in the dry bed of the canal *en masse*, at quarter-distance column, and about nine o'clock advanced, close along the western bank of the Goomtee, for about two miles, when the head of the column encountered the enemy in a wood, close to a large village, on the southern outskirts of the city, and drove them in on their own supports. The 93rd —nearly every available officer and man being present—was the leading regiment of the main column, and, in consequence of the press in the narrow lanes, it was some time before it could be got up to support the skirmishers of the 53rd that were struggling with the enemy among the enclosures. Having driven the enemy back in this quarter, the 93rd emerged from the tortuous lanes of the village into an open space, directly opposite the Secunder Bagh, a high-walled enclosure, about 100 yards square, with towers at the angles, and loopholed all round. Here the regiment deployed into line, exposed to a biting musketry fire from the loopholed building, to avoid which Col. Hay was ordered to move the regiment under cover of a low mud wall about 30 yards from the southern face of the Secunder Bagh, while some guns were being placed in position in an open space between the Secunder Bagh and another building opposite on the

[1] For details and illustrated plan as to previous operations, see vol. ii. p. 667 and 677.

[2] See vol. ii. p. 677, where a plan is given, illustrative of the operations for the Relief of Lucknow.

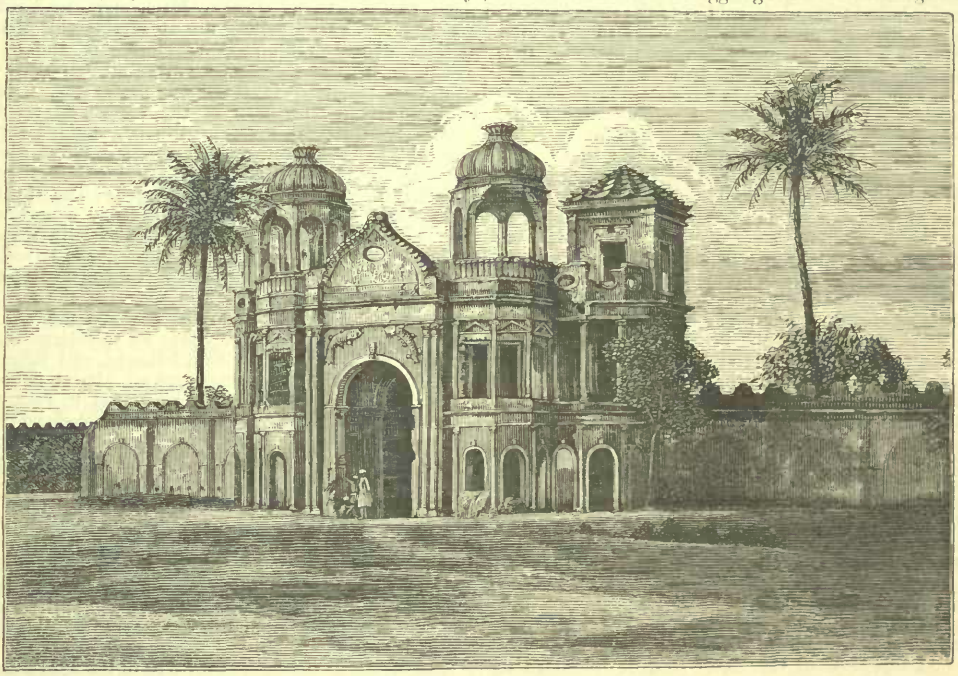
west side, for the purpose of breaching the south-western angle of the former.

As the last company of the 93rd—the 8th, under Capt. Dalzell—was moving into its place in line, the Commander-in-Chief called upon it to drag up a heavy gun to assist in breaching the wall; and gallantly and willingly was the difficult and dangerous duty performed, and the huge gun wheeled into position under a most withering fire. When the breach was being made, two companies, under Col. Leith Hay, took possession of a large serai or mud enclosure opposite the Secunder Bagh, driving the enemy out before them. In the meantime, the breach having been considered practicable, the assault was given by the 4th Punjab Rifles and the 93rd, supported by part of the 53rd and the battalion of detachments.

It was a glorious and exciting rush. On went, side by side in generous rivalry, the Sikh and the Highlander—the 93rd straining every nerve in the race, led gallantly by the officers. The colours, so lately confided to the regiment by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, were opened to the breeze, and carried proudly by Ensigns Robertson and Taylor.

The greater part of the regiment dashed at the breach, and among the first to enter were Lt.-Col. Ewart and Capt. Burroughs. At the same time, three companies advanced between the Secunder Bagh and the serai on the left, so as to keep down the artillery fire opened on the British flank by the enemy from the direction of the European barracks. The opening in the wall of the Secunder Bagh was so small that only one man could enter at a time; but a few having gained an entrance, they kept the enemy at bay, until a considerable number of the Highlanders and Sikhs had pushed in, when in a body they emerged into the open square, where commenced what was probably the sternest and bloodiest struggle of the whole campaign.

Shortly after the breach had been entered, and while the men were struggling hand to hand against



The Secunder Bagh.

From a photograph in possession of the Regiment.

unequal numbers, that portion of the 93rd which had driven the enemy out of the serai, under Col. Hay, succeeded in blowing open the main gate, killing a number of the enemy in two large recesses on each side; and pressing their way in, rushed to the support of those who had passed through the breach. Away on the right also of the building, the 53rd had forced an entrance through a window. Still, with desperate courage and frightful carnage, the defence went on, and for hours the sepoys defended themselves with musket and tulwar against the bayonets and fire of the Highlanders, and 53rd, and the Punjab Rifles; but there was no escape for them, and the men, roused to the highest pitch of excitement, and burning to revenge the butchery of Cawnpoor, dashed furiously on, gave no quarter, and did not stay their hands while one single enemy stood to oppose them. No, not until, at the close of the day, the building formed one mighty charnel house—for upwards of 2000 dead sepoys, dressed in their old uniforms, lay piled in heaps, and on almost all was apparent either the small but deadly bayonet wound, or the deep gash of the Sikh tulwar.

As might be guessed, the regiment did not pass scatheless through this fiery contest; not a few were killed, and many wounded. The sergeant-major, Donald Murray, was one of the first to fall; he was shot dead as he advanced in his place in the regiment. Then fell Capt. Lumsden, of the H.E.I.C.S., attached to the 93rd as interpreter. Within the building, Capt. Dalzell was killed by a shot from a window above. Lts. Welch and Cooper were severely wounded; and Lt.-Col. Ewart, Capt. Burroughs, and Ensign Macnamara bore away with them bloody reminiscences of the dreadful fray.

A large number of officers and men were recommended for the Victoria Cross, though few of the former obtained it; for although all richly deserved

the honour, it is well known that mere personal adventure is discouraged on the part of those who are in command. Of the men of the regiment the coveted honour was conferred on Lance-Corporal John Dunley, Private David Mackay, and Private Peter Grant, each of whom performed a feat of bravery which contributed not a little to the success of the day. They were elected for the honour by the vote of the private soldiers. No doubt many others deserved a similar honour, and it seems almost invidious to mention any names, when every one doubtless did his best and bravest.

During the desperate struggle within, one of the boldest feats of arms of the day was performed by Capt. Stewart of the 93rd, son of the late Sir W. Drummond Stewart of Murthly. Of the three companies which had moved out between the Serai and the Secunder Bagh, to keep down the flank fire of the enemy while the breaching was going on, two, with a few of the 53rd, led on by Capt. Stewart, in the most gallant style, dashed forward, seized two of the enemy's guns, which were raking the road, and immediately after effected a lodgment in the European barracks, thus securing the position on the left. For this splendid and useful feat of bravery he was elected by the officers of the regiment for the honour of the Victoria Cross, which was most deservedly conferred on him.

All this was effected by three o'clock P.M.

The regimental hospital had been established early in the day beneath the walls of the Secunder Bagh, and throughout the desperate struggle, in the midst of the hottest fire, the Assistant-Surgeons Sinclair, Menzies, and Bell, were constantly to be seen exposing themselves fearlessly in attendance on the wounded.

Almost immediately after the above operations, the 4th Brigade was withdrawn by Brigadier Adrian Hope, with the exception of the two companies of the 93rd occupying the barracks; and after a short rest, was sent to clear a village on the right of the road leading to the Residency, and between the Secunder Bagh and the Shah Nujeef. This was easily effected, and the brigade remained under cover in the village, while preparations were being made to take the Shah Nujeef. It having been found impossible to subdue the enemy's musketry fire from the latter building by artillery, the Commander-in-Chief collected the 93rd around him and said, "I had no intention of employing you again to-day, but the Shah Nujeef must be taken; the artillery cannot drive the enemy out, so you must, with the bayonet." Giving the regiment some plain directions as to how they were to proceed, he said he would accompany them himself.

At this moment the Naval Brigade redoubled its fire, and Middleton's troop of Horse Artillery poured a continuous stream of grape-shot into the brushwood and enclosures around the building. Under this iron storm the 93rd, under Col. Hay, all excited to the highest degree, with flashing eye and nervous tread, rolled on in one vast wave, the greyhaired warrior of many fights, with drawn sword, riding at its head surrounded by his staff, and accompanied by Brigadier Adrian Hope. As the regiment approached the nearest angle of the building, the men began to drop under the enemy's fire, poured forth from behind the loophooled walls; but still not a man wavered, and on went the regiment without a check, until it stood at the foot of the wall, which towered above it 20 feet, quite uninjured by the artillery fire.

There was no breach and no scaling-ladders; and unable to advance, but unwilling to retire, the men halted and commenced a musketry battle with the garrison, but of course at great disadvantage, for the Sepoys poured in their deadly volleys securely from behind their cover, while the 93rd was without shelter or protection of any kind, and therefore many fell. By this time nearly all the mounted officers were either wounded or dismounted. Brigadier Hope, his A.D.C. and Brigade Major, had their horses shot under them; Lt.-Col. Hay's horse was disabled by a musket shot; and two of the Commander-in-Chief's staff were dangerously wounded. As there was no visible means of effecting an entrance on this side, a party of the regiment pushed round the angle to the front gate, but found it was so well covered and protected by a strong work of masonry as to be perfectly unassailable. One more desperate effort was therefore made by artillery, and two of Peel's guns were brought up under cover of the fire of the regiment, dragged along by a number of men of the 93rd, Brigadier Hope, Colonel Hay, and Sir David Baird heartily lending a hand. Still, though the guns hurled their shot in rapid succession at only a few yards distance, no impression could be made.

Success seemed impossible, the guns were withdrawn, and the wounded collected, in which last duty Lt. Wood and Ensign Macnamara rendered good service under a galling fire at considerable risk to themselves. Evening was fast closing in, and the assault must necessarily soon be given up, but Brigadier Hope resolved to make one last effort. He collected about fifty men of the 93rd, and crept cautiously through some brushwood, guided by Sergeant Paton, to a part of the wall in which the sergeant had discovered a spot so injured that he thought an entrance might be effected. The small party reached this unperceived, and found a narrow rent, up which a single man was pushed with some difficulty. He reported that no enemy was to be seen near the spot, and immediately Brigadier Hope, accompanied by Colonel Hay and several of the men, scrambled up and stood upon the inside of the wall. The sappers were immediately sent for to enlarge the opening, when more of the 93rd followed, and Brigadier Hope with his small party gained, almost unopposed, the main gate, threw it open, and in rushed the 93rd, just in time to see the enemy in their white dresses gliding away into the darkness of the night. Sergeant Paton for the above daring service deservedly received the Victoria Cross. Thus ended the desperate struggle of the day, and the relief of the Residency was all but secured. Lts. Wood and Goldsmith were here severely wounded, and a number of men killed and wounded. A deep silence now reigned over the entire position, and the little army, weary and exhausted by its mighty efforts, lay down upon the hard-won battle-ground to rest, and if possible to sleep.

The casualties throughout the day to the 93rd were very great. Two officers and 23 men killed, and 7 officers and 61 men wounded. As many of the latter died of their wounds, and most of the survivors were permanently disabled, they may be regarded as almost a dead loss to the regiment.

Early on the following morning, as soon as daylight had sufficiently set in to enable anything to be seen, the regimental colour of the 93rd was hoisted on the highest pinnacle of the Shah Nujeef, to inform the garrison of the Residency of the previous day's success. The signal was seen and replied to. This act was performed by Lt. and Adjt. M'Bean, assisted by Sergeant Hutchinson, and it was by no means unattended with danger, for the enemy, on perceiving their intention, immediately opened fire, but fortunately without injury to either.

The 93rd was not employed on the 17th further than in holding the different positions taken on the previous day. The 53rd and 90th captured the Messhouse, Hospital, and Motee Mahul. The communication with the Residency was now opened, and there was great joy among the relieving force when Generals

Outram and Havelock came out to meet the Commander-in-Chief.

On the evening of Nov. 18th, 1857, the distribution of the 93rd, which was now completely broken up, was as follows:—Head-quarters under Col. Hay, consisting of 120 men, occupied the Serai in rear of the European barracks; three companies under Lt.-Col. Ewart held the barracks; one company under Capt. Clarke held the Motee Mahul, while part of the garrison of the Residency held the Hern Khanah and Engine-house. These two latter positions secured the exit of the garrison. One company and part of the light company, under Capt. Dawson, held the Shah Nujeef, and kept in check the enemy's batteries placed close down on the eastern bank of the Goomtee. All these parties were constantly on the alert, and exposed night and day to the fire of the enemy's artillery and musketry. On the 18th only 1 man was wounded.

During the 19th, 20th, and 21st the evacuation of the Residency was carried on, and by the night of the 22d all was ready for the garrison to retire. The whole was successfully accomplished, the retirement taking place through the lane by which the relieving force had approached the Secunder Bagh on the 16th. The brigade to which the 93rd belonged had the honour of covering the retreat as it had led the advance of the main body on the 16th;[3] and, early on the morning of the 23d, the whole regiment was once more together in the grounds round the Martinière, but retired and bivouacked behind the Dilkoosha during the afternoon. From the 19th to the 23rd the 93rd had 6 men wounded and 1 man killed. Two unfortunate accidents occurred on the 23d: a corporal and 3 men were blown up by the explosion of some gunpowder, and Colour-Sergeant Knox, who answered to his name at daylight, did not appear again; it is supposed that in the uncertain light he had fallen into one of the many deep wells around Lucknow.

Thus was accomplished one of the most difficult and daring feats of arms ever attempted, in which, as will have been seen, the 93rd won immortal laurels. But its work was by no means done.

On the 24th the army continued its retrograde movement towards Cawnpoor, staying three days at the Alum Bagh, removing the baggage and the sick, to enable preparations to be made for the defence of that position. On the 27th the march was resumed by the Bunnee bridge, the army encumbered with women, children, sick, and baggage, which, however, after a little confusion, the main column got clear of. Next day, as the march went on, the sound of heavy firing was heard; and when the troops were told that it was the Gwalior rebel contingent attacking Cawnpoor, they, fatigued as they were, braced themselves for renewed exertions. About ten o'clock on that night (the 28th) the main column arrived at within a short distance of the bridge of boats at Cawnpoor. Between heat, and dust, and hunger, and exhaustion the march was a dreadfully trying one, yet not a man was missing by twelve o'clock that night. A short but welcome sleep came to renew the strength of the brave and determined men.

At daylight on the 29th the enemy commenced a heavy fire on the entrenched camp and bridge of boats. Peel's guns immediately opened fire, under cover of which the 53rd and 93rd approached the bridge, and, under a perfect storm of shot, shell, and bullets, succeeded in crossing it, and in gaining the open plain close to the artillery barracks, taking up a position between this and the old sepoy lines in front of the city of Cawnpoor, and near that sacred spot where General Wheeler had defended himself so long and nobly against the whole power of Nana Sahib. By this movement the communication with Allahabad was reopened, the only casualty to the 93rd being Ensign Hay slightly wounded. All the convoy of women, wounded, &c., was got over, and by December 3rd the greater portion were safely on their way to Allahabad, and everything nearly ready for an attack on the rebel army.

On the morning of December 1, as the 93rd was turning out for muster, the enemy opened fire upon it with shrapnel, by which Captain Cornwall, Sergeant M'Intyre, and 5 privates were severely wounded. The regiment, therefore, took shelter under cover of the old lines, returning, except the picquet, at night to the tents, and continuing so to do until the morning of the 6th.

On the morning of the 6th the 93rd paraded behind the old sepoy lines, afterwards moving to the left and keeping under cover until the whole disposable force of the army was formed in mass on the left, under cover of the new barracks and some ruins behind them. Brigadier Greathead kept the line of the canal, extending from the fort; Walpole crossed the canal on Greathead's left, so as to secure all the passes from the city. While these operations were being carried out, Hope's brigade, consisting of the 42nd, 53rd, and 93rd, supported by Brigadier Inglis, moved away to the left, towards the open plain where the enemy's right rested, while the cavalry and horse artillery, making a wide sweep, were to turn the enemy's right flank, and unite their attack with that of Hope. On debouching into the plain, the enemy opened fire, when the 53rd and Sikhs were immediately thrown to the front in skirmishing order, and pressed eagerly forward, while the 93rd and 42nd, in successive lines, followed rapidly up. Notwithstanding the unceasingly hot fire of the enemy, which began to tell upon the men, still onward in majestic line moved the Highlanders, for a time headed by the Commander-in-Chief himself, who rode in front of the 93rd.

On approaching the broken ground near the bridge, it was found necessary to alter the formation somewhat. The enemy disputed the passage of the bridge by a heavy shower of grape, which, however, caused little loss. As the regiment cleared the bridge, the enemy retired, and at the same time Peel's heavy guns came lumbering up, and as they passed along the left of the 93rd, a number of the men seized the drags, pulled them to the front, and helped to place them for action. They opened, and caused the enemy to retire still further, when the 93rd again formed into line, as also did the 42nd, and both continued to advance still under a heavy fire, for the enemy's artillery disputed every inch of ground. But gradually, steadily, and surely the Highlanders pressed on, urging the enemy back, until at last the standing camp of the Gwalior contingent opened to view, when the Commander-in-Chief ordered Nos. 7 and 8 companies to advance at a run and take possession. It was empty, but no preparations had been made to carry off anything. The hospital tents alone were tenanted by the sick and wounded, who, as the soldiers passed, held up their hands and begged for mercy; but the men turned from them in disgust, unable to pity, but unwilling to strike a wounded foe.

After passing through the camp, the 93rd formed line again to the right and advanced, still annoyed by a galling fire of round shot and shrapnell. During a momentary halt, Lieut. Stirling was struck down by a round shot, and General Mansfield, who was with the regiment at the time, was struck by a shrapnell bullet. The advance continued, and the enemy drew back, disputing every foot of ground. General Mansfield with some guns, the rifles, and 93rd secured the Subadar's Tank in rear of the enemy's left, while Sir

[3] For the details of the retreat see the history of the 78th, vol. ii. p. 679.

Colin Campbell with a small force, including two companies of the 93rd, pressed the pursuit of the routed Gwalior contingent along the Calpee road. By sunset the rebels in the city, and on the left beyond it, had retired by the Bithoor road.

The casualties to the 93rd were 2 officers and 10 men wounded. That night the regiment bivouacked in a large grove of trees which had been occupied in the morning by the enemy, who, unwittingly, had prepared an evening meal for their opponents, for beside the many little fires which were still burning were found half-baked cakes, and brazen vessels full of boiled rice.

The centre and left of the rebel army retreated during the night by the Bithoor road, but were followed on the 8th by General Hope Grant with the cavalry, light artillery, and Hope's brigade, and early on the morning of the 9th, after a long march of twenty hours, they were overtaken at the Serai Ghât on the Ganges, attacked, dispersed, and all their guns, 15 in number, and ammunition taken.

Thus was defeated and dispersed the whole of the rebel army which but a few days before had exultingly laid siege to the entrenched camp at Cawnpoor: broken, defeated, pursued, and scattered, it no longer held together or presented the semblance of an organised body. That evening the force encamped close to the river, and next day fell back on Bithoor, where it remained till the end of the month.

The next few days were occupied in clearing the rebels from the whole district around Lucknow, the British force advancing as far as Futtehgurh. Here it was encamped till the 1st of February 1858, when the camp was broken up. The Commander-in-Chief returned to Cawnpoor, and the troops commenced to move by different routes towards Lucknow, now become the centre of the rebel power. Hope's brigade marched to Cawnpoor, and on arriving there was broken up, the 53d being removed from it. This was a source of great disappointment both to that corps and the 93rd. The two regiments having been together in so many dangers and difficulties, and having shared in the glorious relief of the Residency of Lucknow, a feeling of attachment and esteem had sprung up between them, which was thoroughly manifested when the 93rd left Cawnpoor and passed into Oude on the 10th of February; the band of the 53rd played it to the bridge of boats, by which the 93rd crossed the Ganges, and both officers and men of the former lined the road in honour of their old comrades.

From the middle to the end of February, the army destined to attack the city of Lucknow was collecting from all quarters, and stationed by regiments along the road leading thither from Cawnpoor, to protect the siege train in its transit. By the end of the month the largest and best equipped British army ever seen in India, led by the Commander-in-Chief in person, was collected in the Alum Bagh plains, prepared for the attack. A new organisation of the army now took place, new brigades and divisions were formed, and new brigadiers and generals appointed to each.

On February 28, 1858, the 93rd arrived at the Alum Bagh, and on the following morning, March 1, moved, with two troops of horse artillery, the 9th Lancers, and 42nd Highlanders, round Major-General Outram's rear and right flank, behind the fort of Jelalabad, and, making a sweep of some miles, came suddenly upon an outlying picquet of the enemy about a mile to the south of the Dilkoosha. The enemy, taken by surprise, fell back fighting, but in the end fled in disorder to the Martinière, leaving the Dilkoosha and the villages and enclosures on both sides to be occupied by their pursuers. Towards the afternoon other brigades and regiments followed, and took up positions on the left, extending so as to communicate with Major-General Outram's right. In this position the whole force bivouacked for the night; and in a day or two the regimental camp was formed close to the river Goomtee, where it remained till March 11. From March 2nd the regiment was employed every other day as one large outlying picquet, and posted in a dense tope of trees surrounded by a high wall, A constant fire was kept up on this position by the enemy, happily with no loss to the 93rd. The regiment was also kept constantly employed in other duties. On the 9th, along with its brigade, the 93rd took part in the storming of the Martinière, which was given up by the enemy after a very slight resistance, only a few of the 93rd being wounded. The enemy were pursued by the 42nd and 93rd, the latter pushing on beyond Banks's bungalow, and taking possession of a large garden close to the enemy's second chain of works, which was formed by the Begum's Palace, the Mess House, the Motee Mahul, the old Barracks, the Shah Nujeef, and the Secunder Bagh. While this was being effected, the 53rd, which had been allowed to rejoin their comrades of the 93rd, made a dash at the Secunder Bagh and took possession, just as a large body of the enemy was approaching to garrison it. The 93rd bivouacked in the garden for the night. During the day the enemy had been driven close up to the city by other sections of the army, and the next day was employed in making breaches in the Begum Kotee or Palace, a large pile of buildings and enclosures in front of and covering the celebrated Kaiser Bagh, known to be strongly garrisoned, and fortified and protected, as the enemy considered it to be the key of the whole position.

At 3 o'clock P.M., on the 11th, it was announced to the 93rd that the honour of assaulting the position was allotted to them by the Commander-in-Chief. The regiment formed up in a patch of thick wood close to road leading directly to the front of the Begum Kotee, and thence to the Kaiser Bagh. It was told off by Brigadier Adrian Hope into two divisions,—the right wing, under Col. Leith Hay, consisting of the grenadiers, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 companies, and the left wing, under Bt. Lt.-Col. Gordon, consisting of Nos. 5, 6, 8, and light companies; the former to assault and enter by the front breach, and the latter by that on the right flank of the position made by the battery from Banks's bungalow. No. 7 company was left to guard the camp. At 4 P.M. the large guns became silent, and at the same time the enemy's musketry fire slackened. At this moment the 93rd wound out of the enclosures, advanced up the road, and, without a shot fired at it, got under cover of some ruined buildings,—Col. Hay's division almost in front of the gate, and Col. Gordon's to the right flank.

At a signal given by Brigadier Adrian Hope, both storming parties emerged from their cover, and each dashed at headlong speed, and with a deafening cheer, right at its respective breach. The enemy were taken by surprise, but quickly manning the walls and loopholes, poured a perfect storm of musketry on the advancing columns. Not a man fell, for the enemy fired too high; not a man wavered, and, under a storm of bullets hissing over and around them, the gallant stormers came close up to the breaches, but were suddenly, though only for a moment, checked by a broad ditch, the existence of which was not known before. A moment of surprise, not hesitation, ensued, when a few of the grenadiers, headed by Capt. Middleton, leapt into the ditch, and were immediately followed by the whole. Colonel Hay, Capt. Middleton, and a few more having gained the other side of the ditch, dragged the others up, and then, one by one, they commenced to enter the narrow breach. At the same time the left wing storming party, with equal rapidity and daring, had gained the breach on the right, and the leading files, headed by Capt. Clarke, effected an entrance.

Every obstacle that could be opposed to the stormers had been prepared by the enemy; every room, door, gallery, or gateway was so obstructed and barricaded that only one man could pass at a time. Every door, every window, every crevice that could afford the slightest shelter, was occupied by an enemy; and thus, in threading their way through the narrow passages and doorways, the men were exposed to unseen enemies. However, one barrier after another was passed, and the men in little parties, headed by officers, emerged into the first square of the building, where the enemy in large numbers stood ready for the struggle.

No thought of unequal numbers, no hesitation for a moment, withheld the men of the 93rd, who, seeing their enemy in front, rushed to the encounter; and for two hours the rifle and the bayonet were unceasingly employed. From room to room, from courtyard to courtyard, from terrace to terrace, the enemy disputed the advance; at one moment rushing out and fighting hand to hand, at another gliding rapidly away, and taking advantage of every available shelter. No one thought of giving or asking quarter; and useless would any appeal for mercy have been, for the Highlanders, roused to the highest state of excitement, were alike regardless of personal danger, and deaf to everything but the orders of the officers. There were two wickets by which the enemy could escape, and to these points they crowded, many of them only to meet destruction from parties of the regiment stationed outside. One wicket was to the right rear, and the other was to the left front, both opening to roads that led to the Kaiser Bagh. The left wing, on gaining an entrance through the right breach, drove the enemy with great slaughter across to the wicket on the left flank of the buildings, and followed hard in pursuit up the road leading along this flank of the Begum Kotee to the Kaiser Bagh; then retired, and taking up positions along the side of this road, kept in check the enemy's supports that attempted to come down this road, and destroyed such of the garrison as attempted to escape. As the leading companies of the right wing were effecting their entrance at the front breach, Capt. Stewart led his company, No. 2, along the ditch round to the right flank of the position, seeking another entrance. He failed in finding one, however, but met a small party of the 93rd belonging to the left wing, supported by the 42nd, engaged with a large body of Sepoys. The enemy had been driven back by a rush, and a large brass gun taken from them and turned upon themselves in their retreat. The enemy, reinforced, returned to the attack, and obliged their opponents to retire slowly. A party of the regiment under Capt. Middleton arriving, the enemy again retired, leaving their brass gun in possession of the 93rd. At this moment, and at this point, numbers of the enemy were shot down or blown up in attempting to escape by the wicket on this side of the buildings. At last, about 7 o'clock P.M., as darkness was closing in, the masses of the enemy had disappeared, the fire had slackened, the position was won, and the regiment rested from its struggle.

The wounded were all collected and taken by Dr Munro to the regimental camp. All the medical officers were present throughout the day, the assistant-surgeons Sinclair and Bell with the right wing, and Menzies with the left, accompanied the stormers; Dr Munro remained outside to receive the wounded.

The casualties amounted to 2 officers (Capt. C. W. M'Donald and Lt. Sergison), and 13 men killed; 2 officers (Lt. Grimstone and Ensign Hastie), and 45 men wounded. The losses of the enemy must have been enormous, as next day 860 dead bodies were buried, all found within the different enclosures; many must have escaped wounded. It was afterwards known that the garrison consisted of eight picked Sepoy regiments, altogether amounting to nearly 5000 men, who had sworn to die in defence of this position of the city. The 93rd numbered about 800 men.

Several individual acts of bravery, performed both by officers and men, are well worthy of being recorded. Lt. and Adjt. M'Bean encountered eleven of the enemy in succession, and after a hand-to-hand fight killed them all; for this he received the Victoria Cross. Young Captain M'Donald had been wounded severely in the early part of the day by a splinter of a shell in his sword arm, but refused to retire to hospital. On entering the breach at the head of his company, cheering them on, he was shot through the thigh, and in this disabled state, was being carried to the surgeon, when a bullet passed through his neck and killed him. Lt. Sergison, in attempting to break open a door, behind which a number of the enemy were concealed, was shot dead. Lt. Grimstone received a wound while in hot and deadly pursuit of an enemy, whom he overtook and killed. Capt. Clarke, several paces in front of his company, was the first man of his party to enter the breach. Indeed, almost all the officers had hand-to-hand encounters with single enemies. The pipe-major, John M'Leod, was the first to force his way in at the front breach, and no sooner was he in than he began and continued throughout the whole of the fighting, in places perfectly exposed, to cheer and encourage the men with the wild notes of his bagpipes. No words are sufficient to express the gallantry and devotion and fearless intrepedity displayed by every man in the regiment; and well deserved indeed was the meed of high praise contained in the general orders of Major-General Lingard and the Commander-in-chief. All the operations connected with the storming of the place were conducted by Brigadier Adrian Hope, and the position was carried by the 93rd Highlanders exclusively, supported at first by part of the 42nd, and the 4th Punjab Rifles.

The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, colonel of the regiment, was sitting in Durbar with Jung Bahadoor,[4] when an aide-de-camp hastily entered his presence, with the intelligence that the Begum Kotee was taken after a hard struggle and severe loss. The gallant chief sprang from his seat, and exclaimed, "I knew they would do it."

On the afternoon of the 13th the regiment was relieved and returned to camp, where it remained till the evening of the 20th, when, with the exception of No. 7 company, it returned and took up a position around the Imambarah, preparatory to an attack which was to be made next day on the last position held by the enemy on the north side of the city. During the interval between the 13th and the 20th, the Kaiser Bagh, Imambarah, and other positions had been taken from the enemy; the regiment, however, had no share in these operations.

On the 21st the 93rd, supported by the 4th Punjab Rifles, after some severe skirmishing and street fighting, succeeded in expelling the enemy from several large mosques and enclosures, situated at the north end of the city. Only 11 of the 93rd were wounded.

This terminated the fighting within the city, which was now completely in possession of the British. The 93rd returned to the Dilkoosha, and remained in camp till April 7th, when it was ordered to prepare to form part of a force destined for Rohilcund, under Brigadier-General Walpole.

It will have been seen that no regiment was more

[4] This loyal chief, when Nepaulese ambassador in England, saw the 93rd at Edinburgh, and expressed a wish to *buy* the regiment!

frequently employed than the 93rd in all the operations against Lucknow, under the Commander-in-Chief, who intrusted to this trustworthy regiment some of the most difficult duties.

At daylight on April 7th, the regiment moved from the Dilkoosha, and joined the rest of the force about five miles on the north-west side of Lucknow. This force consisted of the old Crimean Highland brigade, the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd, two troops of horse artillery, some heavy siege guns, the 9th Lancers, some Native Infantry, Sappers, and Native Cavalry, all under Brigadier-General Walpole. The strength of the 93rd was 41 officers and 833 men.

The "Old Highland Brigade" thus reunited, was commanded by Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope. The force continued to march in a north-west direction till April 16th, a day which can never be forgotten by the 93rd, for with every certainty of success, energy, ability, and desire to fight, the force was entirely mismanaged.

Before the regiment marched from Lucknow, Bt. Lt.-Col. Charles Gordon, C.B., the senior major, an officer who had served many years in the 93rd, took leave, having effected an exchange with Bt. Lt.-Col. Ross, commanding a depôt battalion in Scotland.

Long before daylight on the 16th of April 1858 the force was under arms, and moved cautiously a few miles across country, when a halt was called, the baggage collected, and a strong guard told off to protect it; this guard consisted of two guns and detachments from every corps. About 10 o'clock A.M., the whole force cautiously advanced through some thick wood, and came suddenly on a native mud fort, the garrison of which immediately opened fire with guns and musketry. The 42nd was in advance, supported by the 93rd, the 79th being in reserve. The guns were quickly placed in position, and opened a rapid fire on the fort, while the 42nd and two companies of the 93rd and 4th Punjab Rifles were pushed forward close to the walls, under cover of some low banks, and commenced a brisk fire on the garrison. The 42nd occupied the cover in front, the 93rd on the left flank, and the Punjab Rifles on the right flank of the fort. During the whole day things remained in this state; the guns played on the fort without the least effect, and the skirmishers exchanged shots with the garrison, with but little loss to the enemy, while that of the 93rd and the rest of the force was severe and irreparable.

Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, a leader not only admired but beloved by his brigade, and by the 93rd especially, fell while endeavouring to find out the arrangements of the fort, and see if there was any means of entering; not that any order had been given to assault, but it is more than probable that had he lived a few hours longer, an assault would have taken place. For an hour or two the guns played upon the fort, but after the death of Hope nothing was done, and the force outside only continued to get the worst of it. While the other regiments suffered severely in officers and men, the 93rd thus lost their much-beloved brigadier, while 6 men were wounded.

At sunset the force was withdrawn, and to the amazement of all (the enemy firing at the force as it retired), the camp was formed within a mile of the fort. Next morning the fort was empty, the enemy having vacated it during the night, evidently at leisure, for nothing was left except the ashes of their dead and a broken gun-carriage. The force having taken possession of the place, measures were at once taken to destroy it. Originally it had been a square enclosure, but had fallen into decay; it was so open and unprotected by any work behind, that a regiment of cavalry might have ridden in. And before this paltry place was lost the brave Adrian Hope, who had passed unscathed through the fierce fires of Lucknow and Cawnpoor. In the evening his remains were buried with military honours, along with two officers of the 42nd.

On the death of Brigadier Hope, Col. Hay, C.B., of the 93rd assumed command of the Highland Brigade, and Major Middleton that of the 93rd. Next day, April 17th, the force resumed its march, and in three days afterwards, at the village of Allahgunge, the enemy in force were again encountered, attacked, and dispersed, with a very large loss to them, but none to their assailants. Here Bt. Lt.-Col. Ross took command of the 93rd.

The force stayed at Allahgunge for three days, during which it was strongly reinforced, and the Commander-in-Chief himself took command of the entire army. On the 27th of April the largely augmented force moved *en route* for Bareilly and Shahjehanpoor, where it arrived on the 30th of April. The army moved again next day, and on the 4th of May was joined by another brigade. On the 5th it encountered a rebel army on the plains east of Bareilly, which after an engagement of some hours retired. This was a most trying day, for the heat was tremendous; the 93rd was the only regiment that did not lose men from the effects of the heat, neither had it any casualties during the engagement. On the 7th the city of Bareilly was taken possession of. On that day a wing of the regiment, under Lt.-Col. Ross, was employed to dislodge a body of the enemy which had occupied some buildings in the city. After a struggle of some hours the enemy were all dislodged and killed, the casualties of the 93rd being only 3 men wounded.

The regiment had now a rest of five months, during which it remained at Bareilly, where, however, the men suffered extremely from fever; and there were also a good many cases of sunstroke, a few of which were fatal.

On October 17th, the 93rd marched to Shahjehanpoor to form a brigade along with the 60th Royal Rifles and 66th Ghoorkas; along with this were some guns, cavalry, and regular troops, all under command of Brigadier Colin Troup. Two days after the junction of the regiments the whole column entered Oude, and in the second day's march encountered a large body of rebels at a village called Poosgawah, in which they had entrenched themselves. From this position they were quickly expelled, and the force breaking up into small columns followed in pursuit. No sooner had the bulk of the force passed through the village than a body of rebel cavalry appeared in the rear, and attacked the baggage as it was struggling through the narrow entrance into the village. The main body of the baggage guard was far in the rear, and the enemy was at first mistaken for the irregulars of the force, until they began to cut up the camp followers. At this moment, the sick of the 93rd, 12 in number, who at Surgeon Munro's request had been armed the night before, turned out of their dhoolies, and kept up a sharp fire, which held the enemy in check until the arrival of the Mooltanee Cavalry, which had been sent from the front, and which immediately dispersed the enemy's cavalry. The regiment lost 1 man killed.

The force remained in the vicinity of the village for a few days. At daylight on October 26th it was under arms, and the enemy was found in position at a village called Russellpoor, on the opposite side of a deep nullah, flanked on one side by a large village, and on the other by some rising ground. The guns and the 6th Rifles attacked, the main body of the 93rd being held in reserve; one company, under Captain M'Bean, supported the heavy guns. The enemy were driven from their position and put to flight, with considerable loss to themselves, particu-

larly on the right, where Captain M'Bean's company was engaged.

Next day the force moved on to Noorungabad, where it remained till Nov. 8, 1858, and where the Royal proclamation was read, transferring the government of India to H.M. the Queen. On the 8th, at midnight, the force got under arms and marched towards Meethoolee, a strong mud fort belonging to one of the Rajahs of Oude, who had refused to surrender. By a circuitous route, the force felt its way towards the fort, upon which it suddenly came about mid-day on the 10th. Firing immediately commenced on both sides, and active preparations were made for an assault next day; but it was found that the enemy had slipped off during the night.

After this the 93rd, until the beginning of February 1859, was constantly employed under General Troup, sometimes united and sometimes detached, hunting the rebels out of their hiding-places, ultimately driving them beyond the Gogra (or Sarúj). Thus ended the work of the SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, in which it took, at least, as prominent a part as did any other regiment, and in which it won for itself never-dying fame. Not, however, did it gain its glory cheaply; between Sept. 30, 1857, and Dec. 31, 1859, the 93rd lost in killed, died of disease, wounded, accidents, and missing, 180 men, besides 58 who were invalided to England. The remainder of its history we must run over with the utmost brevity.

After its great exertions and sufferings, the 93rd stood much in need of rest, and means of restoration for the jaded constitutions of officers and men. Therefore, the route to Subhatoo, a hill station near Simla, was welcomed by the regiment, which set out for its new quarters on Feb. 27th, 1859, and arrived on April 13th. Here it remained till the beginning of November, when it was ordered to Umballah for drill and musketry instruction.

The 93rd was destined to make an unusually long stay in India, as not till 1870 did it again set foot on its native shores. During this time it was kept constantly moving from place to place, but these movements we need not, even if we had space, follow minutely. The two main events which marked this period of the regiment's history, were a most severe attack of cholera while at Peshawur, and a short campaign against the Mussulman fanatics of the Mahaban hills.

The regiment left Umballah in January 1860, its next station being Rawul Pindee, where it arrived on March 9th, leaving it again on November 14, 1861, for Peshawur, which it reached on the 22nd. The health of the regiment here was at first particularly good, but in May 1862 rumours of the approach of cholera began to circulate. The rumours turned out to be too true, as an undoubted case of cholera occurred in the regiment on the 7th of July; and between this and the beginning of November, it was attacked four separate times, so that there was scarcely a man, woman, or child who did not suffer to a greater or less extent. Among the men there were 60 deaths, among the women 13, and among the children 12. Nor did the officers escape; several of them were attacked, of whom 4 succumbed,—Col. Macdonald, Major Middleton, Ensign Drysdale, and Dr Hope—making 89 in all. It was only by moving out and encamping at a distance from the pestilential town that the epidemic was got rid of, though for a long time after it the regiment was in a very feeble condition.

On the death of Col. Macdonald, Major Burroughs took command of the regiment, till the arrival shortly after of Col. Stisted.

The Record-Book pays a high and well-merited tribute to the admirable conduct of the men during this terrible and long continued attack from a mysterious and deadly foe, far more trying than the bloodiest struggle "i' the imminent deadly breach." There was scarcely a man who did not feel the workings of the cholera poison in his system; yet, notwithstanding, there was never any approach to panic, no murmuring or shrinking from duties of the most trying and irksome kind. At one time the same men would be on hospital fatigue duty almost every day, rubbing the cramped limbs of groaning, dying men. Yet no one ever complained or tried to hold back. So long as their strength held out, they not only performed the duties assigned to them willingly, but with a kindness, tenderness, and devotion which can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it.

It is only simple justice, also, to enter upon record a statement of the distinguished services rendered during this trying period to the regiment, by the surgeon, Dr Munro, and the assistant-surgeons, Bouchier, Hope, and Baxter. No man could have worked more faithfully than did Dr Munro. Night and day his thoughts were with the men, his zeal never flagged, his resources never failed, and he seemed never to think he had done enough. Even when his own strength gave way, and he was reduced to a shadow, he still clung to his post. None who witnessed his energy, skill, and love for the men will ever forget it.

On Nov. 3rd the regiment had reached Kuneh Khâl, from which it proceeded to Sealkote by Hattee on the Grand Trunk road, where the detachments from Peshawur, Chumkunah,

and Cherat were waiting to receive it. Sealkote was reached on December 30, 1862.

Into the details of the Umbeyla campaign against the Mussulman fanatics we need not enter, as the 93rd had really no fighting to do. The 93rd, under command of Col. Stisted, set out to join Sir Neville Chamberlain's force in the Umbeyla Pass, on November 3rd, reaching Permowli, in the Yuzufzai country, on November 25th. Thence a long detachment of the regiment with some artillery, by means of elephants, camels, mules, and ponies, under command of Major Dawson of the 93rd, set out on December 9th to join the force in the Umbeyla Pass, which was reached after a most fatiguing march.

The 93rd remained at the camp in the Umbeyla Pass until December 20th, taking its share in the camp and picquet duties. On December 15th, General Garvock, who had succeeded to the command, advanced with half his force against the enemy, leaving the other half behind to guard the camp. Among the latter half was the 93rd. After General Garvock's advance, the enemy attacked the camp, with a very trifling loss on the side of the British. General Garvock was completely successful, and the 93rd detachment joined the rest of the regiment at Nowakilla. From this, on December 23rd, under Col. Stisted, the regiment set out for Durbund, where it remained encamped till the end of January 1864. It again set out on February 1st, and after a long march reached Sealkote once more on the 27th.

At all the official inspections of the regiment the reports of the inspecting-officers were perfectly satisfactory.

The 93rd made a long stay at Sealkote, during which it sent detachments to garrison various forts in the surrounding district. It quitted Sealkote on Nov. 1st, 1866, and, under command of Col. Burroughs, proceeded to Jhansi, which, after a long march and many encampments, it reached on January 18, 1867.

During its stay at Jhansi, the regiment sustained a great loss, in the promotion, in March 1867, of Surgeon-Major William Munro, M.D., C.B., to be a Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals. Dr Munro had been surgeon of the Sutherland Highlanders since 1854, when he joined the regiment whilst on its march from Old Fort to the River Alma. He was present with the regiment throughout the Crimean and Indian campaigns, and we have already referred to his conduct during the attack of cholera at Peshawur. By his zeal, ability, and heroic devotion to duty, Dr Munro had endeared himself to every officer and man of the regiment, by all of whom, whilst rejoicing at his well-earned promotion, his departure was sincerely deplored. At his departure he expressed a wish to be enrolled as an honorary member of the officer's mess, a request that was acceded to with acclamation.

While at Jhansi, the colonel, General Alex. Fisher M'Intosh, K.H., died, Aug. 28, 1868. He had formerly been a major-in the regiment, and was succeeded in the colonelcy by Lt.-General Charles Craufurd Hay.

In August 1869, the regiment was again scourged with cholera, a very large number being attacked, both at Jhansi and among the detachment at Sepree; the deaths, however, were only 11. During the latter part of September, moreover, and throughout October, the regiment was prostrated by a fever, which though not deadly, was very weakening. On October 20th, 50 per cent. of the soldiers at headquarters were on the sick list.

The 93rd, under Col. Burroughs, left Jhansi on December 27, 1869, en route for Bombay, to embark for home, after an absence of 12½ years. Partly by road and partly by rail, it proceeded leisurely by Cawnpoor, so full of sad memories, Allahabad, Jubbulpoor, Nagpoor, and Deolalee, to Bombay, which it did not reach till February 14, 1870.[5] On the same evening, officers, men, wives, and children, 681 in all, were safely on board the troop-ship "Jumna," which steamed out of the harbour on the following morning. By Suez, Alexandria (where the 93rd was transferred to the "Himalaya"), and Gibraltar, the regiment arrived off Portsmouth on March 21, sailing again next day for Leith, which it reached on the 25th, but did not disembark till the 28th. One detachment, under Col. Dawson, and another, under Bt. Lt.-Col. Brown, disembarked at Burntisland, the

[5] For an account of the very pleasant interchange of civilities between the officers of the 93rd and 79th, when both met at Nagpoor, see vol. ii. p. 718.

former proceeding to Stirling, and the latter to Perth. Headquarters, under Col. Burroughs, disembarked in the afternoon, and proceeded by rail to Aberdeen, and, after an absence of 19 years, was welcomed home to Scotland with unbounded enthusiasm by the citizens. Before leaving India, 117 non-commissioned officers and men had volunteered into other regiments remaining in the country.

After a stay of upwards of a year at Aberdeen, the 93rd was removed to Edinburgh, where on its arrival on June 15, 1871, notwithstanding the miserable state of the weather, it met with a warm welcome. One company was left at Ballater, as a guard of honour to the Queen, one at Aberdeen, one at Fort George, and another was sent to Greenlaw.

On Aug. 4, 1871, while the regiment was stationed at Edinburgh, it was presented with new colours by Her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland. The ceremony in the Queen's Park was witnessed by about 10,000 spectators. Accompanying the Duchess were the Duke of Sutherland and the Marquis of Stafford. After the old colours, worn and tattered by service in India, had been trooped, and the usual ceremonies gone through, Ensigns Cunliffe and Hannay advanced, and kneeling, were presented with the new colours by the Duchess, who addressed the regiment in a few appropriate and touching words. Colonel Burroughs made an exceedingly appropriate reply, in which he offered for Her Grace's acceptance the old colours of the regiment, which had waved over so many deadly struggles. The Duchess accepted the colours, returning the Queen's colour, however, to be placed over the memorial erected in St Giles' Cathedral to the officers and soldiers who fell in the Crimea. Shortly after, however, it was decided that, owing to the little care taken of the colours at St Giles, they should be removed and sent to Dunrobin, to be placed beside the others. The Duke of Sutherland, in January 1873, was elected an honorary member of the officer's mess of the 93rd.

The Duke and Duchess, and a large party of ladies and gentlemen, were entertained at luncheon by the officers in the Picture Gallery of Holyrood. After a number of appropriate toasts had been drunk, the tables were cleared away, and reel dancing commenced, and entered into enthusiastically. It is said that till then, no dancing had taken place in Holyrood since the days of Bonnie Prince Charlie; according to some even, not since the days of the "braw gallant" Charles II. The Duke and Duchess of Sutherland afterwards went to the Castle, and visited the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and their wives and families, by all of whom they were enthusiastically received. A few days after, the sergeants gave a very successful ball to their friends to celebrate the occasion.

In the autumn of 1870, we may mention here, Her Majesty the Queen, having noticed that a detachment of the regiment, under, Capt. M. W. Hyslop, H.M.'s guard of honour at Ballater, wore kilts and plaids of hard tartan, and that after a march in wind and rain the men's knees were much scratched and cut by the sharp edge of this tartan, the Queen was graciously pleased to direct that soft instead of hard tartan be in future supplied to Highland regiments. Accordingly, as soon as the hard tartan in store was used up soft tartan kilts and plaids were issued to the non-commissioned officers and men of the 93rd; this took place in April 1872.

Another instance of Her Majesty's womanly disposition, and of her thoughtfulness and care for all about her, we shall mention. During her stay at Holyrood in August 1872, a captain's guard of the 93rd Highlanders was stationed at the palace. Her Majesty walked across from the palace to the guard-room, and satisfied herself that the guard was comfortably housed and properly taken care of, entering into conversation with the soldiers cooking the day's rations.

On Monday May 12, 1873, the 93rd left Edinburgh for Aldershot. On the previous Saturday, the Lord Provost (the Right Hon. James Cowan) and magistrates of Edinburgh publicly bade farewell in the name of the citizens to the regiment, the Lord Provost addressing officers and men in the courtyard of the Council Chambers, in a few appropriate and highly complimentary words, to which Col. Burroughs made a brief but feeling reply. The officers were then invited to a banquet in the Council Chambers, and the soldiers were also liberally regaled with refreshments.

On their way to Granton, on the 12th December, to embark on board the "Himalaya," the 93rd marched through crowds of admiring spectators, and passed the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders on the way to take their place.

It reached Aldershot on the 15th, and occupied D, G, and H lines of the North Camp.

Among the list of recipients of Her Majesty's favour on her 54th birthday (1873), Col. Burroughs' name appeared as nominated a C.B., making the ninth officer of the regiment who had been thus honoured.



Lieutenant-Colonel William M'Bean, V.C.
From a Photograph.

In July and August 1873, the 93rd, commanded by Colonel Burroughs, took part in the "Autumn Manœuvres" in Dartmoor, and received great praise from the generals under whom it served, as well as special notice from H.R.H. the Field Marshal, Commanding-in-Chief, for its smart appearance on parade, and the excellency of its skirmishing.

On August 8th Lt.-Col. J. M. Brown retired on full pay, after a service of 45 years in the regiment.

On Sept. 28th, Lt.-General Sir H. W. Stisted, K.C.B., was appointed honorary colonel, vice Lt.-General C. C. Hay deceased.

On Oct. 29th, Col. Burroughs, C.B., retired on half-pay, and was succeeded in command by Lt.-Col. M'Bean, V.C., who has well earned the honourable position he now fills.

Lieut.-Col. M'Bean commanded the 93rd during the manœuvres of 1874 at Aldershot, where it remained till the 2nd of July, when it removed to Cambridge Barracks, Woolwich.

The strength of the 93rd, one of the finest Highland regiments, at the present time (1875) is 31 officers, and 642 non-commissioned officers and men, including the depôt.

On the next page we give an engraving of the splendid Centre-Piece of plate belonging to the officer's mess, which was designed by one of the officers of the regiment. The sculpture on one side is supposed to represent the shot-riven wall of an outwork at Sebastopol, where an officer of the 93rd contemplates the dead body of a Russian soldier lying near a private of the regiment, who reclines severely wounded, the regimental pipe-major, in a commanding position above the group, playing "the gathering." The other side (which we engrave) has an exact reproduction from a photograph of one of the gateway towers of the Secunder Bagh at Lucknow, for an account of the storming of which place in November 1857, see pages 790, 791. An officer and private of the 93rd, and a dead Sepoy, emblematise that terrible Indian struggle and its result. Ornamental silver shields on each side of the ebony pedestal bear on one side the badge of the regiment, and on the other the presentation inscription, describing it as a memorial from some of the officers (whose names run round a silver rim on the top of the pedestal) of the part taken by the regiment in the Crimean war of 1854, and suppression of the Indian Mutiny in 1857.

This splendid work of art was inspected by Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle in July 1870, when she was graciously pleased to express her approval both of the design and workmanship. It cost the subscribers nearly £500; and when we consider that it *exactly* reproduces the dresses, &c., of the regiment at the period represented, time will greatly enhance its present value. The uniform and accoutrements of the Russian soldier are of one of the regiments overthrown by the 93rd at the Alma, and those of the Sepoy the dress of one of those rebel corps entirely annihilated in the Secunder Bagh.

We have the pleasure of giving, on the Plate of Colonels of the 91st, 92nd, and 93rd regiments, the portrait of Major-General Wm. Wemyss of Wemyss, from a painting by Raeburn, at Wemyss Castle, Fife; and that of Sir Henry W. Stisted, K.C.B., from a photograph.



CENTRE-PIECE OF OFFICERS' PLATE.

Described on page 800

SUCCESSION LIST OF COLONELS AND LIEUTENANT-COLONELS OF THE 93RD SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS.

COLONELS.*

Names and Titles.	Date of Appointment.	Date of Retirement.	Remarks.
William Wemyss of Wemyss	Aug. 25, 1800	1822	Died.
Sir Thomas Hislop, Bart., G.C.B.	Feb. 8, 1822	June 4, 1822	Removed to 51st Foot.
Sir Hudson Lowe, K.C.B.	June 4, 1822		
Sir John Cameron, K.C.B.	July 23, 1832	May 31, 1833	Removed to 9th Foot.
Sir Jasper Nicolls, K.C.B.	May 31, 1833	July 15, 1840	Removed to 38th Foot.
Sir James Douglas, K.C.B.	June 15, 1840	April 10, 1850	Removed to 42nd Royal Highlanders.
William Wemyss	Mar. 10, 1850	Nov. 30, 1852	Died Colonel.
Lt.-General Edward Parkinson, C.B.	Dec. 10, 1852	1858	Died Colonel.
Lord Clyde (Sir Colin Campbell), G.C.B., K.S.I., D.C.L.	Jan. 15, 1858	June 22, 1860	Removed to Coldstream Guards. Raised to the Peerage, Aug. 16, 1858. Died Aug. 14, 1863.
Lt.-General William Sutherland,	June 4, 1860	1862	Died Colonel.
Lt.-General Alex. Fisher Macintosh, K.H.	June 3, 1862	Aug, 28, 1868	Died Colonel.
Lt.-General Charles Craufurd Hay	Aug. 29, 1868		Died Colonel.
Lt.-General Sir Henry William Stisted, K.C.B.	Sept. 28, 1873		

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Alexander Halket	Aug. 25, 1800	May 3, 1810	To 104th Foot.
George Johnstone	May 3, 1810		
Andrew Creagh	Sept. 29, 1814	Mar. 7, 1822	Removed to 81st Foot.
William Wemyss	Mar. 16, 1815		
Henry Milling	Mar. 7, 1822	Dec. 26, 1822	From 81st Foot. Retired without joining the regiment.
The Hon. Sir Charles Gordon	Dec. 26, 1822		Retired on Half-pay. Died in command of 42nd in 1835.
Duncan M'Gregor	Mar. 23, 1826		
Robert Spark	July 28, 1838		
Lorenzo Rothe	Feb. 21, 1852		
William Bernard Ainslie, C.B.	Oct. 21, 1853	Jan. 25, 1856	Retired.
Alex. Sebastian Leith Hay	April 16, 1855		
The Hon. Adrian Hope	Jan. 25, 1856	April 16, 1858	Retired on Half-pay, Nov. 10, 1856, and in March 1857 brought in from Half-pay as second Lt.-Col. Killed in action, April 16, 1858.
John A. Ewart, C.B.	April 16, 1858	Sept. 30, 1859	Exchanged to 78th.
Henry William Stisted, C.B.	Sept. 30, 1859		Exchanged from 78th.
Robert Lockhart Ross	Dec. 21, 1860		
Frederick William Traill Burroughs, C.B.	Aug. 10, 1864	Oct. 29, 1873	Retired on Half-pay.
Erskine Scott Francis G. Dawson	Nov. 29, 1864		
William M'Bean, V.C.	Oct. 29, 1873		

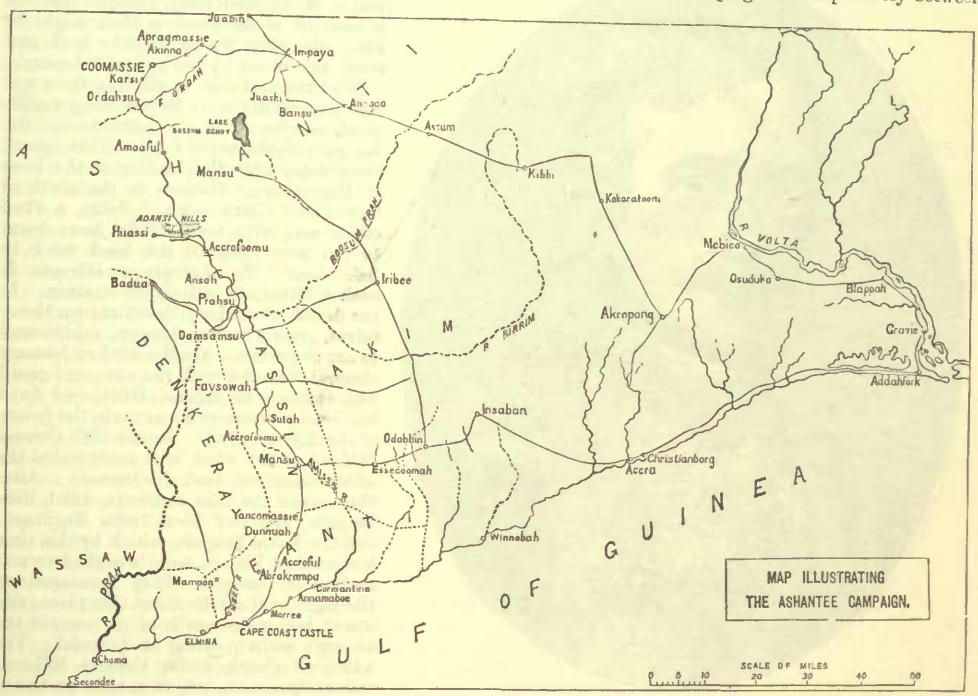
* We are sorry that the dates are so defective; but, after making every exertion to obtain them, we have not been able to fill up all the blanks.

APPENDIX TO THE 42ND ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT, THE BLACK WATCH.

1873–1875.

The Ashantee Campaign—Malta.

WE left the Black Watch at Devonport in the beginning of 1873, with no likelihood then of its being called upon to engage in actual service. On the Gold Coast of Africa, however, mischief had been brewing for many years, and during the course of 1873 the conduct of Coffee Calcallee, king of the barbarous country of Ashantee, had been such that unless a decisive blow were immediately struck, Britain would be compelled to resign possession of her territory in that part of the African coast; and, as our readers no doubt know, that territory had been considerably increased by the cession to Britain, in 1872, of the Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast. Thus in 1873 the coast for many miles, both east and west of Cape Coast Castle, the seat of government, was under the British protection. The principal native population of the territory are the Fantees, who from years of oppression had been reduced to a state of abject cowardice, as was but too well shown in the brief campaign against their inland enemy, the King of Ashantee. The Ashantee territory extends northwards from the Gold Coast to a distance of about 300 miles, its middle being traversed by the River Prah, which flows in the upper part of its course from east to west, but turns at Prah-su towards the south, and reaches the sea at Chamah, to the west of Cape Coast Castle. The capital of the Ashantee territory is Coomassie, about 100 miles directly north from Cape Coast Castle, and about half that distance north of the bend of the Prah, at the town of Prah-su. The population of Coomassie had been very much exaggerated. At the commencement of the campaign it was probably between



20,000 and 30,000. Here the despotic King of Ashantee lived in great state, and in the indulgence of the superstitious and terribly cruel practices known as the Ashantee "Customs." It is hoped that the lesson which has been read him by a handful of British soldiers will ultimately lead to the abolition of these "Customs," and to a general amelioration of the miserable lot of the peoples in that part of Africa.

We need not enter upon the very complicated event which led to the British Government sending out an expedition, under the determined, clear-headed, and accomplished Sir Garnet Wolseley, C.B., to let this barbarous despot know the strength of the British arm. The measures hitherto taken to keep the Ashantees in their place had been so inadequate, that their kings had become intolerably bold and confident, and had indeed acquired an utter contempt of the British power as exhibited on the Gold Coast. King Coffee Calcallee resolved, about the end of 1872, to strike such a blow as would utterly stamp out the British rule on that coast. And in January 1873 an army of 60,000 warriors—and the Ashantees though cruel are brave and warlike—was in full march upon Cape Coast Castle. The whole force at the disposal of Colonel Harley, in whom the administration was vested, was about 1000 men, mainly West India troops and Houssa police, with some marines. It was estimated that a contingent of about 60,000 would be raised from the friendly tribes, but this number figured only on paper. By April the Ashantees were within a few miles of Cape Coast Castle. Things were getting desperate, when a small force of marines, under Lt.-Col. Festing, arrived from England in the beginning of June. With this and other small reinforcements, the English managed to keep the barbarians at bay until the arrival, on October 2nd, on the Gold Coast of Major-General Sir Garnet J. Wolseley, who had been selected to command a force which was being organised in England to sweep back the threatening horde. He was accompanied only by his staff.

and immediately on landing set about clearing the Ashantees out of several towns in the neighbourhood of Cape Coast Castle. Sir Garnet's clear-headedness and admirable power of organisation soon inspired the few troops at his command with perfect confidence; and by the time the force of which the 42nd formed part arrived at the Gold Coast, everything was prepared for an advance towards the capital of the Ashantee kingdom. We cannot linger over the preliminary work in which Lord Gifford, Colonel Festing, the unfortunate Lieut. Eardley-Wilmot, and other officers whose names are now familiar to the British public, played a prominent part. By the end of November the Ashantee force was in full retreat on Coomassie, and by the end of December General Wolseley with his staff and some 500 sailors and marines was at Prah-su



Major-General Sir Garnet J. Wolseley, K.C.M.G., C.B.
From a photograph taken Oct. 22, 1874.

Meantime the small force which had been organising in England was on its way to the scene of operations. The 42nd was the principal regiment of the line, as a large part of the 23rd Welsh Fusileers had to re-embark, owing to the desertion of some thousands of native carriers who had been engaged to carry the necessary baggage through the unwholesome country. As we said at the conclusion of the history of the 79th, a considerable number of volunteers from that regiment accompanied the Black Wateh, which left Portsmouth on the 4th of December 1873, and arrived off Cape Coast Castle on the 17th, disembarking on the 3rd and 4th of January 1874. Besides the 23rd, 42nd, and 2nd battalion Rifle Brigade, there were detachments of Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, and Royal Marines, which, with the force already on the ground, formed the army with which Sir Garnet Wolseley was to pierce into the very heart of the Ashantee kingdom, through a country of marshes and matted forests, the growth of centuries, and forming an almost impenetrable ambush for the enemy, who knew how to take advantage of it. As Lord Derby remarked, this was to be "an engineers' and doctors' war." The engineers worked admirably in the construction of roads, bridges, telegraphs, and camps; and it became simply a question whether the British soldiers would be able to hold out against the pestiferous climate long enough to enable them to reach Coomassie and return to the Gold Coast ere the heavy rains set in in the early spring. Happily the energy, skill, and knowledge of General Wolseley were quite equal to the emergency; and backed by an able and determined staff, and his small force of brave and willing soldiers, he accomplished his mission with complete success. All possible preparations were made on the road to Prah-su, previous to the commencement of the march of the main body, in order that not a moment of the precious time might be lost,—the white troops must be back and ready to embark by the end of February.

We have said that at starting there was considerable difficulty in procuring a sufficient number of native carriers for the baggage of the small force. This caused some delay after the landing of the force at Mansu, some distance to the north of Cape Coast Castle,—which delay, a 42nd officer said with truth, "did more harm to our men than all the hard work in Ashantee." To Europeans idleness in such a climate is utterly prostrating. In the dearth of carriers, the 42nd men themselves, greatly to their honour, volunteered to act as porters. On the 23rd of January General Wolseley with the advanced guard had crossed the Adansi Hills, and fixed his headquarters at Fomannah, the palace of the Adansi king. On the 26th Colonel M'Leod of the 42nd, who commanded the advanced guard, took Borborassie. After this service the 23rd Fusileers, 42nd, Rifle Brigade, the 2nd West India Regiment, and the Naval Brigade, which by this time had reached Prahsu, were brought forward, resting on Insarfu. They encamped on the night of the 30th about that place, and about two miles north of it, towards the enemy's main position at Amoaful. The advanced guard, under Colonel M'Leod, was at Quarman, within a mile or two of the enemy's position.

The entire country hereabout is one dense mass of brush, penetrated by a few narrow lanes, "where the ground, hollowed by rains, is so uneven and steep at the sides as to give scanty footing. A passenger," to quote the *London News'* narrative, "between the two walls of foliage, may wander for hours before he finds that he has mistaken his path. To cross the country from one narrow clearing to another, axes or knives must be used at every step. There is no looking over the hedge in this oppressive and bewildering maze. Such was the battle-field of January 31st. The enemy's army was never seen, but its numbers are reported by Ashantees to have been 15,000 or 20,000. Its chief commander was Amanquatia, the Ashantee general. The Ashantees were generally armed with muskets, firing slugs; but some had rifles. As they were entirely concealed in the bush, while our countrymen stood in the lane or in the newly-cut spaces, precision of aim was no advantage to our side."

The main body of the enemy was encamped on the hill rising towards the town of Amoaful; but thousands of them also must have been skulking in the bush through which the small British force had to march before reaching the encampment. At early dawn on the 31st the British force moved upon the village of Egginassie, where the first shots were fired from an Ashantee ambush. The force was carefully arranged to suit the nature of the ground, with a front column, a left column, a right column, and a rear column, all so disposed that when they closed up they would form a square, the columns taking in spaces to the right and left of the central line of advance, so as to prevent any attack on the advancing front centre.

The front column was commanded by Brigadier-General Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., C.B. It consisted of the 42nd, under Major Baird, Major Duncan Macpherson, and Major Scott, a detachment of the 23rd Fusileers, Captain Rait's Artillery, manned by Houssas, and a detachment of the Royal Engineers. The left column was commanded by Brigadier-Colonel M'Leod of the 42nd, and the right column by Lt.-Col. Evelyn Wood, 90th Light Infantry; part of the right column consisted of miscellaneous native African levies, under Captain Furze of the 42nd. The paths through the jungle were cut for each column of troops by large parties of native labourers.

Thus clearing their way through the jungle, and often scarcely able to obtain foothold from the slippery state of the marshy ground, the force advanced against the enemy. When the front of the small force had got a few hundred yards beyond the village of Egginassie, it was assailed by a tremendous fire of musketry from an unseen foe, very trying to the nerves even of an experienced and well-trained soldier. By this time five companies of the 42nd were in skirmishing order. The slugs were dropping thick and fast; had they been bullets, scarcely a man of the Black Watch would have lived to tell the tale. As it was, there were few of the officers who did not receive a scratch, and nearly 100 of the men were wounded. Major Macpherson was shot in the leg, but limped on with a stick, and kept the command for some time, when he was compelled to give it up to Major Scott. It was at this critical moment that Capt. Rait's gun—there was no room for two—came into action at 50 yards from the enemy, on the direct line of advance. The shells fired at that short distance, with deadly effect, soon forced the enemy to clear the road. In a moment, as they gave way upon their own left upon the road, the 42nd pushed them in thence along the whole line, and they began to yield another 50 yards or more, and Rait's gun again came into action against the enemy, who had at once taken up a fresh position, as the bush prevented the Black Watch from forming quickly.

Again the enemy per force gave way before the shells along the road. Again the 42nd took instant advantage of it, and the enemy rolled back. The men were now in such high spirits, according to the account of one who was present, that the terrors of the bush were no more. Sir Archibald Alison saw that the moment had come. He ordered the pipers to play. Down together, with a ringing cheer, went the splendid regiment under his orders, straight at the concealed foe. Away rolled every Ashantee in front of them; away down one hill and up another, on which stood the village of Amoaful itself. By half-past eleven the village was in the hands of the British force. It was not, however, till after two that the fighting was over, as the flank parties, the left as we have said, commanded by the Colonel of the 42nd, had much more trouble and numerous casualties in fighting and clearing their way through the bush. By the time mentioned, however, the last Ashantee had shown his heels in full retreat. Of the 42nd Bt.-Major Baird was severely wounded, from which he died at Sierra Leone on the 6th of March. Major Macpherson, Captains Creagh and Whitehead, Lts. Berwick, Stevenson, Cumberland, and Mowbray, and 104 men wounded.

On Feb. 1st, the day after this signal victory, the adjacent village of Becqueh was captured and destroyed by Col. M'Leod, with the naval brigade and several detachments, supported by portions of the 42nd and 23rd. On the 2nd, the army was at Agemanu, six miles beyond Amoaful, every inch of the ground between the two places being disputed by the enemy. On this day Lt. Wauchope of the 42nd was slightly wounded. On the 3rd, Sir Garnet moved by the westerly road, branching off to the left from Agemanu, through Adwabin and Detchiasa to the river Dah or Ordah, the enemy again opposing the advance and hanging round the flanks of the force. King Coffee Calcallee had tried to stop the advance of the British by offering to pay an indemnity, but in vain, as no reliance whatever could be put in any of his promises; the King therefore resolved to dispute the passage of the river. The battle of Ordah-su, as it is called, was fought on Feb. 4th, and lasted seven hours. When the troops reached the Dah on the evening of the 3rd, it



Sir John M'Leod, K.C.B

From a photograph.

was a tremendous downpour of rain, and it was not till next morning that the engineers managed to complete their bridge over the river. By this bridge, on the morning of the 4th, the advanced guard, the rifle brigade and some native troops under Colonel M'Leod, crossed the bridge, and soon found itself fiercely engaged with very large numbers of the enemy, who had crowded into the villages on each side of the road, from which it was found exceedingly difficult to dislodge them. The first shots were fired about 7 A.M., and Sir Garnet Wolseley in his official despatch, dated Coomassie, Feb. 5th, thus describes the rest:—

"The advanced guard, under the command of Col. M'Leod, 42nd Highlanders, was brought to a stand still shortly after the advance began; and a general action soon developed itself, lasting for more than six hours. The enemy did not, however, fight with the same courage as at Amoaful, for although their resistance was most determined, their fire was wild, and they did not generally attack us at such close quarters as in the former action.

"The village of Ordahsu having been carried by the rifle brigade at nine o'clock, I massed all my force there, having previously passed all the reserve ammunition, field hospitals, and supplies through the troops, who held the road between the river and the village, a distance of about a mile. The enemy then attacked the village with large numbers from all sides, and for some hours we could make no progress, but steadily held our ground. The 42nd Highlanders being then sent to the front, advanced with pipes playing, and carried the enemy's position to the north of the village in the most gallant style; Captain Rait's artillery doing most effective service in covering the attack, which was led by Col. M'Leod.

"After some further fighting on the front line, a panic seems to have seized the enemy, who fled along the road to Coomassie in complete rout. Although the columns they had detailed to assault our flanks and rear continued for some time afterwards to make partial attacks upon the village, we followed close upon the enemy's heels into Coomassie. The town was still occupied by large numbers of armed men, who did not attempt to resist. The King had fled no one knew whither. Our troops had undergone a most fatiguing day's work, no water fit for drinking having been obtained during the action or the subsequent advance, and the previous night's rest having been broken by a tornado, which drenched our bivouac. It was nearly six o'clock when the troops formed up in the main street of Coomassie, and gave three cheers for the Queen."

The 42nd was the first to enter the capital, the pipers playing at its head, about half-past four in the afternoon; by half-past seven the whole force was inside Coomassie, and the discomfiture of the Ashantees was complete, the king himself having fled.

Mr H. M. Stanley, the well-known correspondent of the *New York Herald*, in describing the advance on Coomassie, wrote as follows of the bravery of the Black Watch:—

"The conduct of the 42nd Highlanders on many fields has been considerably belauded, but mere laudation is not enough for the gallantry which has distinguished this regiment when in action. Its bearing has been beyond praise as a model regiment, exceedingly disciplined, and individually nothing could surpass the standing and gallantry which distinguished each member of the 42nd or the Black Watch. They proceeded along the well ambushed road as if on parade, by twos. 'The Forty-second will fire by companies, front rank to the right, rear rank to the left,' shouted Col. Macleod. 'A company, front rank fire! rear rank fire!' and so on, and thus vomiting out twoscore of bullets to the right and twoscore to the left, the companies volleyed and thundered as they marched past the ambuscades, the bagpipes playing, the cheers rising from the throats of the lusty Scots until the forest rang again with discordant medley of musketry, bagpipe music, and vocal sounds. It was the audacious spirit and true military bearing on the part of the Highlanders, as they moved down the road toward Coomassie, which challenged admiration this day. Very many were borne back frightfully disfigured and seriously wounded, but the regiment never halted nor wavered; on it went, until the Ashantees, perceiving it useless to fight against men who would advance heedless of ambuscades, rose from their coverts, and fled panic-stricken towards Coomassie, being perforated by balls whenever they showed themselves to the hawk-eyed Scots. Indeed, I only wish I had enough time given me to frame in fit words the unqualified admiration which the conduct of the 42nd kindled in all who saw or heard of it. One man exhibited himself eminently brave among brave men. His name was Thomas Adams. It is said that he led the way to Coomassie, and kept himself about ten yards ahead of his regiment, the target for many hundred guns; but that, despite the annoying noise of iron and leaden slugs, the man bounded on the road like a well-trained hound on a hot scent. This example, together with the cool, calm commands of Col. Macleod, had a marvellous effect upon the Highland battalion."

In the action on the 4th, Capt. Moore and Lts. Grogan and Wauchope of the 42nd were wounded, the latter severely this time; 14 men were also wounded.

Thus, in the space of about a month, by the decision and energy of the leader of the expedition, and the willingness of his officers and troops, was the great object of the campaign accomplished in the most masterly manner, and the Ashantees humbled as they had never been before, and taught a lesson they are not likely soon to forget. As during the 5th there seemed no hope of the treacherous king coming to terms, and as it was absolutely necessary for the safety of the troops that the return march should be immediately commenced, Sir Garnet resolved to destroy Coomassie, and set out at once. Having, therefore sent off all the wounded, he issued orders for an advance on the morning of the 6th. Early on that morning the homeward movements commenced, headed by the naval brigade, and covered by a rear guard of the 42nd, which did not retire till the town had been set on fire in every quarter, and the mines which had been placed under the palace fired. A tornado had raged during the previous night, but the destruction of the town by fire was complete.

Thus the campaign was virtually at an end, and Gen. Wolseley made all possible haste to bring his little army back to Cape Coast Castle, which, notwithstanding the swollen state of the rivers, he accomplished by February 19th. While on his way back Gen. Wolseley received the unqualified submission of the humbled king. No time was lost in getting the troops out of the influence of the deadly climate. Without delay, therefore, the embarkation took place. The 42nd embarked in the "Nebraska" on the 23rd, and sailed on the 27th in the "Sarmatian," the steamer which brought them from England. It arrived at Portsmouth on March 23rd, where it was received with tremendous enthusiasm. All had suffered more or less from the effects of the climate, but what with good constitutions and care, the 42nd in course of time regained its "wonted health and strength." Previous to its embarkation for Ashantee the 42nd, like the other regiments, was provided with suits of dark grey (retaining in the head dress their red feather), as being much more appropriate for the work to be done than the usual regimental costume. The

men's kits were, however, on board the "Sarmatian," and the national garb was therefore donned before landing, so that the regiment came ashore in all the glory of its national garb.

Among the officers specially mentioned by Sir Garnet Wolseley for having performed prominent services during the campaign were Col. Macleod, C.B., who was afterwards made a K.C.B.; Majors Macpherson and Scott; Capts. Farquharson, V.C., Furze, and Kidston; and Lt. Wauchope. The special thanks of Parliament were awarded to the troops, and honours were showered upon the Commander by the Queen and country. Major Macpherson and Scott were made Lieutenant-Colonels and C.B.'s., and had the brevet of lieutenant-colonel conferred on them. Captains Bayly, Farquharson, V.C., and Furze, were made Bt.-Majors. The Victoria Cross was conferred on Sergt. Samuel M'Gaw. The non-commissioned officers and men selected to have medals "for distinguished conduct in the field" at the hand of the Sovereign—and had them presented by Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle on the 16th of May 1874, in presence of Colonel Sir John M'Leod, K.C.B., commanding the regiment, were—Wm. Street, sergt.-instructor of musketry; sergt. Henry Barton; privates John White, George Ritchie, George Cameron, and William Bell; piper James Wetherspoon; privates Henry Jones, Wm. Nichol, and Thomas Adams. Also, Sergeant-Major Barclay was awarded the medal for "meritorious services" for distinguished conduct during the campaign.

In conclusion, we think the following is worth recording; it is told in a letter from a soldier of the 42nd, which appeared in the *Inverness Advertiser*:—

"We were the objects of great curiosity on the part of the Fantees (natives of this bit of the country), who hung round the camp all day in crowds, and numbers of whom had followed us from a large village through which we passed just as the sun was rising, our pipes making the whole street ring with the tune of 'Hey, Johnnie Cope,' which they struck up just as we entered the village; the whole place was in an uproar at once, the people rushing out of their huts in the utmost consternation, evidently thinking the Ashantees were on them. The pipes were something new; bugles they had heard something of, but bagpipes were unknown instruments of warfare to them. As soon as they realised that it was not their dreaded foes who were present, they began to approach cautiously, but catching sight of the pipers, who still adhere to the garb of old Gaul in defiance of War-Office regulations, a fresh stampede took place, to the intense amusement of our men; nor did the boldest of them venture to come near until the rear of the detachment was clear of the village. By the time, however, that we reached our halting-place, we were surrounded by a considerable crowd, the pipers still forming the attraction, the natives evidently looking on these as officers or dignitaries of the very highest importance, and the pipes themselves as some kind of mysterious instrument by which the enemy is to be vanquished. So far, indeed, did their respect for these personages carry them, that a war-dance in their honour was got up, and carried on with great vigour, to the evident disgust of big Duncan, our pipe-major, who wanted to know what he was made a peep show of for, and if they had never seen a kiltie before."

The regiment remained at Portsmouth until Nov. 15th, when it embarked for Malta under command of Sir John Macleod, K.C.B. Its strength on embarkation was 26 officers, 43 sergeants, 21 drummers and pipers, and 630 rank and file. It arrived at Malta, after calling at Queenstown, on the 27th, and, after being a few days under canvas, went into Isola barracks, &c., the same that was occupied by the regiment in 1832, and again in 1844.

FENCIBLE CORPS.

The plan of raising Fencible corps in the Highlands was first proposed and carried into effect by Mr Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham), in the year 1759. During the three preceding years both the fleets and armies of Great Britain had suffered reverses, and to retrieve the national character great efforts were necessary. In England county militia regiments were raised for internal defence in the absence of the regular army; but it was not deemed prudent to extend the system to Scotland, the inhabitants of which, it was supposed, could not yet be safely entrusted with arms. Groundless as the reasons for this caution undoubtedly were in regard to the Lowlands, it would certainly have been hazardous at a time when the Stuarts and their adherents were still plotting a restoration to have armed the clans. An exception, however, was made in favour of the people of Argyll and Sutherland, and accordingly letters of service were issued to the Duke of Argyll, then the most influential and powerful nobleman in Scotland, and the Earl of Sutherland to raise, each of them, a Fencible regiment within his district. Unlike the militia regiments which were raised by ballot, the Fencibles were to be raised by the ordinary mode of recruiting, and like the regiments of the line, the officers were to be appointed and their commissions signed by the king. The same system was followed at different periods down to the year 1799, the last of the Fencible regiments having been raised in that year.

The following is a list of the Highland Fencible regiments according to the chronological order of the commissions, with the date of their embodiment and reduction:—

1. The Argyll Fencibles (No. 1), 1759–1763.
2. The Sutherland Fencibles (No. 1), 1759–1763.
3. The Argyll or Western Fencibles (No. 2), 1778–1783.
4. The Gordon Fencibles, 1778–1783.
5. The Sutherland Fencibles (No. 2), 1779–1783.
6. The Grant or Strathspey Fencibles, 1793–1799.
7. The Breadalbane Fencibles (three battalions), 1793 and 1794–1799 and 1802.
8. The Sutherland Fencibles (No. 3), 1793–1797.
9. The Gordon Fencibles (No. 2), 1793–1799.
10. The Argyll Fencibles (No. 3), 1793–1799.
11. The Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles (two battalions), 1794 and 1795–1802.
12. The Dumbarton Fencibles, 1794–1802.
13. The Reay Fencibles, 1794–1802.
14. The Inverness-shire Fencibles, 1794–1802.
15. The Fraser Fencibles, 1794–1802.
16. The Glengarry Fencibles, 1794–1802.
17. The Caithness Legion, 1794–1802.
18. The Perthshire Fencibles, 1794–1802.
19. Argyll Fencibles (No. 4), 1794–1802.
20. Lochaber Fencibles, 1799–1802.
21. The Clan-Alpine Fencibles, 1799–1802.
22. The Ross-shire Fencibles, 1796–1802.
23. Regiment of the Isles, or Macdonald Fencibles, 1799.
24. Argyll Fencibles (No. 5), 1796–1802.
25. The Ross and Cromarty Rangers, 1799–1802.
26. The Macleod Fencibles, 1799–1802.

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